
Constitutional Developments in Illinois

by
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**A Background Paper for the
Committee of 50 to Re-examine the Illinois Constitution**

Illinois Commission on Intergovernmental Cooperation
A service agency of the Illinois General Assembly

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The state of Illinois has a long history of constitutional change. Unlike the federal government, which has had only one Constitution since the Articles of Confederation, Illinois has had four constitutions since its admission to statehood in 1818. In addition, there have been two other proposed constitutions which were rejected by the voters in referendums. Thus, Illinois history has known frequent consideration of the state constitution and the need to revise it.

The Early Constitutions

The first constitution was adopted in 1818, followed by new constitutions in 1848 and 1870.

There were many controversial issues confronting the 1818 convention, but one that received much attention -- and had national implications -- was the question of slavery. The convention eventually reached a compromise which guaranteed that Illinois would be a free state, while at the same time protected existing property rights. The constitution did not need Illinois voters' approval. Instead, it needed the approval of the U.S. Congress as a requirement for statehood. There the question of not having a specific prohibition on slavery was the principal point in debate. The resolution to admit Illinois passed on a divided vote, with the opposition coming from northern congressmen. On December 3, 1818, Illinois became a state, and had its first constitution.

Slavery continued to be a major problem. During the 1823 legislative session a resolution for a convention call was approved by proslavery legislators. But the convention call, which needed only a simple majority, was rejected by the voters. With the advent of Jacksonian democracy, another try for a convention was made in 1842. The voters gave the question of a call that year more yes than no votes, but not the required majority of those voting for representatives in the General Assembly.

Another call for a convention was approved in 1846, and this one was successful. The document which convention delegates submitted to the voters was approved, and on April 1, 1848, the state had its second constitution. There was little opposition to the document, but two side issues dominated the debate and were submitted as separate questions to the voters. One, prohibiting negro immigration, was given strong support; the other, permitting the levy of a tax to pay the state debt, passed by a relatively close margin.

Concern for further constitutional change came shortly after the approval of the 1848 Constitution. Illinois was in the process of transition from a state with an exclusively rural economy to one which had the features of a modern industrial state. Railroads were a central part of the state's economic life by 1850. Anti-bank and anti-corporation sentiments were

by-products of this transitional period, and they were the focus of the new drive for constitutional change. In 1856, only eight years after the previous convention, a referendum to call another convention was submitted and decisively defeated. Voting was mainly along sectional lines, with the northern part of the state strongly in support of the call.

A successful call, however, was held four years later in 1860. The convention met in 1862, with the southern part of the state dominating leadership. The Democrats wrote a partisan constitution with provisions which were antibank, anticorporation, and profarmer. The document and several side issues were defeated but not overwhelmingly. The side issue preventing negro immigration was strongly supported. The fact that it did not become law because the main package was defeated is moot, since the 1848 constitution containing a similar provision remained in effect.

Post-Civil War Developments

After the Civil War, constitutional change in Illinois became an issue again. The call for a convention was urged by the Governor, approved by the 1867 legislature, and approved by the voters in 1868 by a close vote. The delegates were elected in November 1869 and seated the next month. The convention organized on a bipartisan basis, with a mood of conciliation and compromise prevailing, a mood difficult to establish in the immediate post-Civil War Period.

The product of the convention, which was to be the constitution of the state for a hundred years, was longer and more detailed than earlier documents, signifying the growth in complexity of state needs and problems. The convention delegates, according to one historian, "cured most of the faults of the 1848 constitution. They drafted a new basic law that was voluminous in detail and in time would be criticized as being a strait jacket on progress. Nevertheless, the new constitution endured for a century as Illinois kept abreast of its sister states while advancing from a predominantly rural civilization into the atomic age." (Robert P. Howard, Illinois: A History of the Prairie State, Eerdmans, 1972)

One of the most controversial side issues provided a new method of electing members to the House of Representatives in the General Assembly. The cumulative voting method was devised to reduce regional tensions by a system of "minority representation." This system was to be controversial for more than one hundred years.

There was a relatively quiet period following the adoption of the 1870 Constitution, until the election of reform-minded Governor Frank O. Lowden in 1916. The governor's inaugural message contained a strong plea for a constitutional convention. The legislature approved the call in 1917, as did the voters the following year.

The Fifth Illinois Convention convened in January 1920. It proved to be a long one. The product of the convention was submitted as a single document in December 1922 and was overwhelmingly defeated. A later critic, emphasizing that the 1920-22 convention was out of touch with the voters, said of the convention that "it proceeded as if it were framing a constitution for an abstract Utopia of its own creation, instead of the state of Illinois with living people and rather concrete and easily ascertainable political

opinions." (Henry P. Chandler, University of Pennsylvania Law Review 71, 1923). The 1920 convention proposed a constitution which would have permitted Bible reading in public schools, and contained a provision on equal administration of the law without regard to race, though it did not prohibit the legislature from adopting laws forbidding interracial marriage. The proposed constitution contained a reapportionment plan which favored downstate Illinois at the expense of Cook county; it also abolished the cumulative voting system in the House of Representatives and contained a revenue article which permitted a graduated income tax. The delegates did not take advantage of an obvious opportunity to streamline the amending process, despite the difficulties experienced in trying to amend the 1870 Constitution, as well as the effort required to call the 1920 convention.

The last major pre-World War II constitutional revision effort was in 1934 when the question of calling a convention failed. The call received more yes than no votes, but 56% of those voting in the election did not express an opinion on the question and caused its defeat.

Post-World War II Developments

The post war efforts for revision of the constitution began when the Chicago Bar Association appointed a Committee on Constitutional Revision. Samuel W. Witwer, who was to play a major role in constitution revision, was selected to be chair of the bar association committee. The first effort for a convention call in 1947 failed in the legislature. The constitutional reform effort gained momentum when Adlai E. Stevenson became governor in 1949.

Stevenson presented a constitutional convention package to the legislature that year. Handling the matter for Stevenson in the legislature was the late Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, then Stevenson's director of revenue. The proposition lost on a close vote in the House of Representatives.

The Republicans in the legislature offered an alternative to Stevenson's "con-con" package -- the "gateway amendment." It eased the vote needed on constitutional amendments. It also provided that three amendments could be submitted, whereas before only one could be placed on the ballot. The legislature, with Stevenson's support, approved the gateway amendment, and submitted the question to the voters on a separate blue ballot. The blue ballot was to become identified with constitutional revision questions to this day. A strong campaign was waged for the gateway amendment, and it received an overwhelmingly favorable vote.

It was felt that constitutional revision by amendment was more desirable than a constitutional convention. The new amendment powers were used by the General Assembly in 1955 and in subsequent years. But enthusiasm for this approach diminished, as its track record during the next fifteen years was not impressive. From 1955 to 1966, fifteen amendments were submitted to the voters and six were approved. Only two of the adopted amendments were very far-reaching -- the 1954 reapportionment amendment and the 1962 judicial reform amendment. This record was not impressive, and particularly discouraging were the three unsuccessful attempts to amend the revenue article.

Path to the 1970 Constitutional Convention

The major development that gave renewed focus to constitutional revision was the 1964 at-large election for the House of Representatives, which resulted from the failure of the legislature and governor to redraw house districts. Many new faces were in the legislature which convened in 1964. As a group they were described as "blue ribbon," and they were ready for reform.

Among their reform enactments was the creation of a legislative Constitution Study Commission. The commission, composed of legislators appointed by the leaders and public members appointed by the governor, was given an open-ended charge to "study any and all provisions" of the constitution; to determine whether "any part or all" shall be revised; and to determine whether any revision shall be by a constitutional convention or by piecemeal enactment. After two years of study, the commission concluded that "a Constitutional Convention is the best and most timely way to achieve a revised Constitution."

As recommended by the commission, the call was on the November 1968 ballot. After a strong campaign by a citizens' organization, the Illinois Committee for Constitutional Revision, the call was approved by 71.4 percent of those voting in the election.

The delegates were elected in the fall of 1969 and the Sixth Illinois Constitutional Convention was convened December 8, 1969 -- one hundred years to the day since the 1969-70 convention convened.

Preparatory Work

The 1969-70 convention had the advantage of good preparatory work, primarily by the Constitution Study Commission and its staff. The staff gathered material on developments in other states. The commission organized the preparation of the publication, The Illinois Constitution: An Annotated and Comparative Analysis, by lawyers George D. Braden and Rubin G. Cohn. This work became the "bible" for the delegates.

The commission decided not to get into substantive issues, and this void was filled by the governor's creation of a Constitution Research Group. This group, composed of academicians, prepared discussion papers on issues that would probably come before the convention. The group's papers were published by the University of Illinois Press. The University of Illinois also organized a seminar for the news people likely to cover the convention. The purpose of the seminar was to explain the differences the reporters would find between covering the convention and covering the legislature.

The 1969-70 Convention

Convening in December 1969, the Sixth Illinois Constitutional Convention had a long and sometimes controversial history before adjourning on September 3, 1970. The convention met at a time when there was national unrest over the Cambodian invasion, particularly on college campuses. As the convention deliberated, some universities closed down and the national guard and state police were stationed on campuses. Little discussion of the convention took place on campuses. The unrest did not apparently lead to any specific discussion or action at the convention, but it may have had some effect. The convention did not agree with allowing 18-year olds to vote, for example, but submitted it as a side issue. Another action that might have been tied to the times was the refusal to include any language on higher education, as the academic community wanted.

An important decision, made before the convention, eased the task of the delegates; the approval of the flat rate income tax in 1969. The tax was upheld by the state supreme court in August 1969, after the call had been approved but before the delegates were elected. If this action had not been taken by the legislature and approved by the court, the outcome of the convention might have been different.

The convention reviewed the 1870 Constitution very carefully. The delegates revised, deleted and reorganized the old document. The 1970 convention, like most of its predecessors, submitted a "package" and four separate side issues. The side issues were controversial and it was decided to let the voters decide the issues as separate questions. These were the already mentioned 18-year old vote, the abolition of the death penalty, the method of selecting judges, and continuation of the cumulative voting method of selecting state representatives.

Changes Made by the 1970 Illinois Constitution*

<u>1870 Article</u>	<u>1970 Changes</u>
Preamble	- Includes "social" statements.
Boundaries	- Omitted
Bill of Rights	- Prohibits discrimination in jobs and housing based on sex and race.
	- Equal rights for women.
	- Prohibits discrimination against handicapped.
	- Legislature may abolish grand juries.
	- Right to bear arms subject only to the police power.
	- Permits installment payment for fines.
	- Provides freedom from unreasonable eavesdropping.
Distribution of Powers	- Specification of powers not to be construed as a limitation.
Legislative	- Increased size of Senate by one (to 59)
	- Made Senate and House districts coterminous.
	- Minimum age of senator lowered to 21.
	- Reapportionment by bipartisan commission with "tie-breaker" provision as last resort.
	- Bills read three times by title only.
	- Governor has sixty days to consider bills.
	- Legislature can override vetoes by three-fifths vote.
	- Governor given reduction and amendatory votes.
	- Provision for annual legislative sessions.
	- Legislature and governor can call special legislative sessions.
	- Deletion of prohibition on lotteries.
	- Deletion of prohibited special legislation list.

* Does not include separately submitted items. In effect, these are the changes made by the proposed constitution after the third reading, but before the referendum.

Changes Made by the 1970 Illinois Constitution (continued)

Executive Department

- Omits Superintendent of Public Instruction.
- Changes Auditor to Comptroller.
- Executive Department may be reorganized by the Governor.
- Lowers age requirements of officers to 25.
- Lowers residency requirement of officers to three years.
- Treasurer allowed to succeed himself.
- Gubernatorial elections in nonpresidential years, starting in 1978.
- Joint elections of governor and lt. governor.
- Secretary of State to canvass election returns and to settle ties by lot.
- Gubernatorial succession specified through elected officials.
- Provides procedures for determining the disability of the governor.

Judicial Department

- Supreme court given greater discretion over appellate jurisdiction.
- Judges prohibited from holding other jobs while on bench.
- Judicial Inquiry Board created.
- Supreme and Appellate Court Judges to appoint their clerks.
- Two or more counties may share one state's attorney.
- Legislature has impeachment power over judges.

Suffrage

- Deletes "male" requirement.
- Lowers residency requirements.
- Restoration of suffrage to felons.
- Creates State Board of Election.

Education

- State given primary responsibility for financing education.
- Creates State Board of Education with power to appoint state educational officer.

Revenue

- Allows classification of property for tax assessing purposes in large counties.
- Limits income taxes to flat rate with corporate rate to be no higher than an eight to five ratio with individual rates.
- Legislature to abolish corporate personal property taxes by 1979 with replacement authorization given to legislature.
- Permits exemptions for homesteads and rent.

Changes Made by the 1970 Illinois Constitution (continued)

- Farm property assessed at a level not higher than single family residential property.
 - Reasonable exemptions for sales tax.
 - Eased state debt restrictions.
 - Creates new finance article with executive budget, post audit, and uniform accounting system.
- Counties
- Creates new local government article and deletes specific article on counties.
 - Grants home rule powers to some cities and counties with referendum option for others.
 - Removes constitutional restriction on local debt.
 - Grants some unrestricted debt to home rule units.
 - Sheriffs and treasurers allowed to succeed themselves.
 - Provides for area tax by counties and municipalities for special services.
 - Permits changes in form of county and municipal governments by referendum.
 - Provides more flexible structure in county government.
 - Removes judicial appointing power of boards of special districts.
 - Encourages intergovernmental cooperation.
 - Local officers to receive salaries - not fees from fines.
- Militia
- Drops sex and age qualifications.
- Warehouses
- Deleted.
- Canals
- Deleted.
- Illinois Central Railroad
- Deleted.
- Constitutional Revision
- Reduces legislative vote to three-fifths.
 - Reduces voter majority to three-fifths voting on issue.
 - Requires convention call every twenty years.
 - Provides for popular initiative in changes in legislative article.
 - Requires general election before legislature can consider amendments to federal constitution.
- Additions made by
1970 Constitution
- Adds an environmental article
 - Statement of economic interest for public officials.
 - Protects pension payments of government workers.
 - Allows state assistance for mass transportation system.
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The convention decided to submit its work to the voters at a special election on December 15, 1970. A new citizens' campaign, Illinois Citizens for the New Constitution, was established at the urging of Governor Ogilvie. Various interest groups supported the new constitution; others opposed it. Special campaign groups were organized to support or oppose certain issues.

The new constitution passed statewide with bipartisan support by a 56% margin. The following table gives the vote on the main package and the side issues at the special election.

Summary of Vote on Blue Ballot Questions,
Special Election, December 15, 1970

Proposed Constitution	
Yes	1,122,425
No	838,168
Election of representatives from	
Option 1-A. Multi-member districts by cumulative voting	1,031,241
Option 1-B. Single-member districts	749,909
Selection of judges by	
Option 2-A. Election	1,013,559
Option 2-B. Appointment	867,230
Abolish death penalty	
Yes	676,302
No	1,218,791
Lower voting age to 18	
Yes	869,816
No	1,052,924

Source: Illinois Government No. 34, by JoAnna M. Watson, Urbana: Institute of Government & Public Affairs, University of Illinois, February 1971.

The vote was more favorable in Cook County than in southern Illinois. Mayor Daley endorsed the main body of the proposed constitution on November 30, only two weeks before the vote. This endorsement made support of the proposed constitution clearly bipartisan. It was well-publicized, and polls showed a jump in those who favored the new constitution. Only thirty of the state's 102 counties supported the document, but they represented three-fourths of the Illinois population. Sixty-five percent of Cook County's voters supported the main document, as opposed to 45% of the downstate vote.

Thus Illinois had a new Constitution - its fourth. It was a remarkable achievement, many believed, because of the times, and because Illinois was a large and divided industrial and partisan state.

After the special election, the Governor created a special task force to review the implementation of the provisions of the new constitution. Some tension developed between the task force and the legislature, but eventually almost all of the provisions requiring legislation were enacted; an exception was the provision mandating uniform accounting for local governments.

The Constitution Revision Cost

Depending on how important one considers a constitutional convention, the convention was an expensive or inexpensive operation. Fourteen million dollars was spent on the entire process, although nearly eleven million of this was to reimburse local officials for election expenses for the nomination and election of delegates and for the referendum on the new constitution. The delegates were reasonably well paid, and there were few charges that the compensation was excessive. And, unlike legislators at that time, the delegates had a per diem allowance for living expenses. A convention must have adequate funding to be successful, but at the same time it should not be so expensive that it becomes a public issue. Illinois seems to have obtained a balance between the two returns (see the appendix for the actual costs).

Post-Convention Publications

The 1970 convention is probably the best documented and analyzed of any recent state conventions. The convention itself provided for the publication of its proceedings, committee reports, etc. These seven volumes have been cited frequently, especially in court cases.

An overall analysis of the constitutional revision effort and of the constitution was published in 1974 by the National Municipal League. It was entitled Revision Success: The Sixth Illinois Constitutional Convention.

In addition, there have been many academic publications, including a multivolume series published by the University of Illinois Press. Each monograph analyzed a functional area. In addition, there have been many journal articles.

Illinois Issues, established in 1975, had as one of its missions a constant review of postconvention development. For example, that magazine has recently published a series on the use of the new home rule powers of municipalities and Cook County. The series has been reprinted in a separate monograph.

There is, in short, no lack of material available to persons who want information on deciding how to vote on the question of whether or not the state should call another convention.

Post 1970 Constitutional Developments

There have been some attempts to reverse the decision of the the constitutional convention in the legislature, but few have gotten on the ballot. Since 1970, only nine amendments have been placed on the ballot. Of these, four have been approved by the voters. One amendment -- the so-called "cutback" amendment reducing the size of the House of Representatives and eliminating cumulative voting -- was placed on the ballot by initiative petitions permitted for the legislative article alone. (The amendments to the legislative article must be limited to structural and procedural matters.) The cutback amendment was approved by the voters in 1980.

Five amendments have been defeated. Three of them sought to exempt property owned by veterans organizations from property taxes.

The following table, which first appeared in Illinois Issues (November 1986), lists the amendments in capsule form and the vote:

Proposed Constitutional Amendments Since 1970
(Percentages based on total votes cast on amendments: 60% must approve*)

	General Election Total Vote	Yes	No
1974 Restrict Governor's Amendatory Veto	3,047,822	1,302,313 (49.5%)	1,329,719 (50.5%)
1978 Personal Property Tax	3,342,985	952,416 (56.5%)	733,845 (43.5%)
1978 Veterans' Property Tax Exemption	---	747,907 (48.1%)	806,579 (51.9%)
1980 House Cutback/ Single-member District	4,868,823	2,112,224 (68.5%)	962,325 (31.5%)
1980 Delinquent Tax Sales	---	1,857,985 (69.9%)	798,422 (31.1%)
1982 Bail and Habeas Corpus	3,856,875	1,389,796 (85.4%)	239,380 (14.6%)
1984 Veterans' Property Tax Exemption	4,969,330	1,147,864 (52.4%)	1,042,481 (47.6%)

* To be adopted, an amendment must receive either a three fifths vote of those voting on the issue, or a majority of those voting in the election.

In addition, in 1986 there were two proposed amendments offered in the general election. One, denying bail bond for certain criminals, passed with 77% of the voters in favor. The other, which would exempt veterans' property from the property tax, failed again with 54% of the voters in favor; a majority, but not enough to amend the constitution.

The amendments usually pass on the three fifths measure. The cutback amendment received a 63% vote of those voting on the issue, but only 43% of those voting in the election.

To get a better idea of the interest in amending the 1970 Constitution, one should look at the proposed amendments that moved through the legislative process part way. During the 1985-86 legislative session, 21 amendments were introduced in the Senate and 19 in the House. Two of the amendments passed both houses and were on the ballot. One Senate and two House amendments passed the first house and died in the second house.

The three amendments passing one house, but not both, were: SJR 004 - confirmation by the Senate for Chief Education Officer; HJR 008 - shortens residency period for voting purposes from 6 months to 30 days; HJR 012 - requires a revenue estimate for the general revenue fund to be submitted to the Comptroller and General Assembly by February 1 of each year. Many other issues were included in amendments that did not pass in the house of origin. How many of these were seriously pursued is not clear. A number of other topics were covered by proposed amendments introduced in earlier years.

In the years since the adoption of the 1970 Constitution, the legislature has constantly reviewed that document. There does not, however, seem to be any major effort to overturn the work of the 1970 Convention.

Not surprisingly, there have been many decisions by state and federal courts interpreting the 1970 Constitution. It is hard to categorize them. A useful summary of the cases is found in the Legislative Research Unit's publication, 1970 Illinois Constitution: Annotated for Legislators.

A federal court found the requirement for a three fifths vote in the legislature on amendments to the U.S. Constitution to be unconstitutional. (Illinois Constitution, Article 14, Sec. 4). Another provision which was invalidated by federal courts set the voting residency requirement at six months. The U.S. Supreme Court set a maximum of fifty days. Another provision of the same section (Art. 3, sec. 1) was invalidated by the adoption of an amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The Illinois Constitution sets the voting age at 21, but this has been superseded by the 18-year old voting age now in the federal Constitution.

But overall, the 1970 Constitution has held up well and has been little changed by the voters or court interpretation.

The 1988 Vote

The 1970 Constitution provides that, "If the question of whether a Convention should be called is not submitted during any twenty year period, the Secretary of State shall submit such question at the general election in the twentieth year following the last submission." Apparently this means that there will be a vote on the question on the call of a convention at the general election in November 1988, since the last vote on the call for a convention was in November 1968.

If the vote on the call were favorable, it is difficult to anticipate what issues would be before the convention. To illustrate the point, who, prior to 1970, would have anticipated that the last convention would debate the parliamentary form of government for Illinois? The issue was brought up at the 1970 convention.

The convention, if called, is a free body and can take any action within the framework of the U.S. constitutional system. At one extreme, the convention could overthrow all the work of the 1970 Convention, or at the other, it could change a very limited number of provisions and perhaps add a few items. The best guess is that it would take the latter conservative approach.

Given the difficulty of anticipating the actions of a convention, it seems fairly obvious that some issues are likely to be debated.

First, it would seem quite clear that the convention would want to correct the outmoded provisions in the election article and the provision on the amendment vote by the legislature for U.S. constitutional amendments.

There are a series of emotional issues that would likely surface at a convention. These include: the initiative and referendum, a right-to-life provision, permission for prayer in public schools, gun control, and the abolition of the death penalty.

There are another series of issues that pertain to the structure of governments. These include:

A. The Legislative Branch

- Size of the legislature
- A unicameral legislature
- Revised redistricting procedures
- Biennial legislative sessions
- Continue legislative initiative
- Clarify effective dates for new legislature

B. The Executive Branch

- Eliminate elective offices, such as State Treasurer
- Review governor's veto power, especially amendatory veto
- Nomination of governor and lieutenant governor as a team
- An elective Board of Education and/or an elective Superintendent of Education
- Include provisions for higher education, including the issue of constitutional autonomy

C. Judicial Branch

Method of selection of judges
The judicial disciplinary organization

D. Local Government

Home rule
- continue?
- who gets it?
- taxation powers
Local finance - a local income tax
Eliminate certain county offices as elective offices
Structure of local government generally

And lastly, there are a series of issues pertaining to state finances that would probably surface if a convention were called. One could expect debate on the following:

- a graduated income tax;
- removal of the 8:5 ratio for income taxes on corporations and individuals;
- a review of the debt provisions for state and local governments;
- the definition of public funds that has caused the controversy between the courts and auditor general; and
- review of the property tax and state funding for local elections.

These are illustrations of some of the issues one could anticipate might be raised in any convention. There are many more. The convention might take all these items and the list of new provisions in the 1970 Constitution found in the table on page 5, but of course this is unlikely.

Conclusion

The legislature wisely decided that the 1970 Constitution should be reviewed by the Committee of 50. A periodic review of a state's constitution is desirable to see if the document is adequate for the times.

After the Committee of 50 has made its study and issued its reports, it will be up to the voters to decide if Illinois needs a constitutional convention.

The 1970 Convention provided for a referendum every twenty years, and the legislature has assisted in this process by creating the Committee of 50.

APPENDIX

Constitutional Convention Appropriations, 1965-1971

	<u>Amount Appropriated</u>	<u>Amount Expended</u>
Vote on proposition on whether to hold a convention ^a	(see note)	(see note)
Constitution Study Commission I (1965-67; 1965 H.B. 1911)	\$20,000	\$18,142
Constitution Study Commission II (1965-69; 1967 S.B. 1376)	75,000	71,903
Constitution Study Commission III (1969; 1969 H.B. 1957)	100,000	69,201
Reimbursement to local election officials for expenses incurred at the general election of delegates (1969; S.B. 194)	2,500,000	2,499,573 ^b
Reimbursement to local election officials for expenses incurred at the primary election of delegates (1969; S.B. 194)	2,500,000	2,498,281
Deficiency appropriation for the primary and general elections mentioned above (1969; S.B. 1276)	1,550,000	1,192,258
Salaries and expenses of members of convention (1969; S.B. 193)	1,750,000	1,750,000
Supplemental appropriation for salaries and expenses of members (1970; S.B. 1514)	127,780	127,780
General expenses of the Convention; mileage and postage allotment for members (1969; S.B. 193)	1,100,000	1,099,995
Administrative expenses of the Auditor of Public Accounts (1969; S.B. 193)	30,000	11,935
Legislative Reference Bureau - to assist convention (1969 S.B. 371) (1970; S.B. 1218)	50,000 16,998	33,002 16,834
Illinois Legislative Council - to assist convention (1969; S.B. 371) (1970; H.B. 3537)	50,000 30,000	31,131 13,277

	<u>Amount Appropriated</u>	<u>Amount Expended</u>
To Secretary of State for publication and dissemination of proposed constitution together with explanatory information-tabloid form	1,225,000	873,821
Printing and distribution by printer to 102 county clerks		(340,833)
Postage and handling charges from county clerk to electorate		(351,219)
Paid to newspapers for inclusion as supplement to newspaper		(178,223)
Tape recording of constitution for the blind		(3,414)
Miscellaneous expenses incurred by Secretary of State		(132)
Reimbursement to county clerks for conduct of special December 15, 1970 election on the adoption or rejection of the proposed Constitution (1970; H.B. 299)	3,300,000	3,298,292
Deficiency appropriation for the December 15, 1970 election (1971; S.B. 616)	140,000	118,638
Appropriation to Secretary of State for printing and publication of convention's verbatim debate, journals, committee reports, etc. (1971; S.B. 795)	200,000	200,000 est.
Grand Total	\$14,764,778	\$13,924,063

- (a) Since this referendum was held in conjunction with the November 1968 general election, no cost information is available.
- (b) The primary election actually cost \$2,955,296, while the general election cost \$3,234,814. A deficiency appropriation was necessary and is shown in the table.

