

**IN THE SUPREME COURT OF WISCONSIN**  
No. 2021AP1450-OA

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Billie Johnson, Eric O'Keefe, Ed Perkins and Ronald Zahn,  
*Petitioners,*

Black Leaders Organizing for Communities, Voces de la  
Frontera, League of Women Voters of Wisconsin, Cindy  
Fallona, Lauren Stephenson, Rebecca Alwin, Congressman  
Glenn Grothman, Congressman Mike Gallagher, Congressman  
Bryan Steil, Congressman Tom Tiffany, Congressman Scott  
Fitzgerald, Lisa Hunter, Jacob Zabel, Jennifer Oh, John Persa,  
Geraldine Schertz, Kathleen Qualheim, Gary Krenz, Sarah J.  
Hamilton, Stephen Joseph Wright, Jean-Luc Thiffeault, and  
Somesh Jha,

*Intervenors-Petitioners,*

v.

Wisconsin Elections Commission, Marge Bostelmann in her  
official capacity as a member of the Wisconsin Elections  
Commission, Julie Glancey in her official capacity as a  
member of the Wisconsin Elections Commission, Ann Jacobs  
in her official capacity as a member of the Wisconsin  
Elections Commission, Dean Knudson in his official  
capacity as a member of the Wisconsin Elections  
Commission, Robert Spindell, Jr. in his official capacity  
as a member of the Wisconsin Elections Commission and Mark  
Thomsen in his official capacity as a member of the  
Wisconsin Elections Commission,

*Respondents,*

The Wisconsin Legislature, Governor Tony Evers, in his  
official capacity, and Janet Bewley Senate Democratic  
Minority Leader, on behalf of the Senate Democratic Caucus,

*Intervenors-Respondents.*

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Original Action in the Wisconsin Supreme Court

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APPENDIX TO RESPONSE BRIEF OF INTERVENOR-  
PETITIONERS BLACK LEADERS ORGANIZING FOR  
COMMUNITIES, VOCES DE LA FRONTERA, LEAGUE OF  
WOMEN VOTERS OF WISCONSIN, CINDY FALLONA,

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LAURA STEPHENSON, REVECCA ALWIN

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Wisconsin, Cindy Fallona, Lauren  
Stephenson, and Rebecca Alwin*

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### **CERTIFICATION BY ATTORNEY**

I hereby certify that filed with this brief is an appendix that complies with § 809.19(2)(a) and that contains, at a minimum: (1) a table of contents; (2) the findings or opinion of the circuit court; (3) a copy of any unpublished opinion cited under § 809.23(3)(a) or (b); and (4) portions of the record essential to an understanding of the issues raised, including oral or written rulings or decisions showing the circuit court's reasoning regarding those issues.

I further certify that if this appeal is taken from a circuit court order or judgment entered in a judicial review of an administrative decision, the appendix contains the findings of fact and conclusions of law, if any, and final decision of the administrative agency.

I further certify that if the record is required by law to be confidential, the portions of the record included in the appendix are reproduced using one or more initials or other appropriate pseudonym or designation instead of full names of persons, specifically including juveniles and parents of juveniles, with a notation that the portions of the record have been so reproduced to preserve confidentiality and with appropriate references to the record.

Dated this 1<sup>st</sup> day of November, 2021.

Signed:

*Electronically signed by Douglas M. Poland*  
Douglas M. Poland

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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA  
RICHMOND DIVISION

Golden Bethune-Hill, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Virginia State Board of Elections, *et al.*,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 3:14-cv-00852-REP-  
AWA-BMK

**Defendant-Intervenors' Status Report**

Pursuant to this Court's order of September 14, 2018, ECF No. 263 at 2, requiring the Defendant-Intervenors to file periodic "status reports on the progress of the redistricting efforts in the General Assembly," Defendant-Intervenors respectfully state the following.

On September 28, Defendant-Intervenors presented a status report optimistic about the prospect of a legislative solution to the constitutional violations this Court identified in its memorandum opinion.<sup>1</sup> And there was then reason for hope. The House, as it did in 2011, appeared to be putting partisanship aside and rallying around neutral principles to accomplish its legislative duties under the Virginia Constitution.

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<sup>1</sup> As previously stated, Defendant-Intervenors assume the correctness of that opinion for the sake of argument only.

For starters, a bill labeled HB7002 was introduced and advocated as a proposal to remedy point by point the various items the Court's opinion identified as manifestations of racial predominance in the districts. That bill was drawn with no attention to race. The principle purpose was to take what the Court had criticized as racially motivated maneuvers and undo them. For example, where the Court believed a precinct was split for a racial motive, HB7002 reunited it. Where a district became less compact for what the Court believed were racial reasons, HB7002 made it more compact. Additionally, HB7002 sought to preserve the partisan make up in surrounding districts on the theory that the 2011 plan was passed with overwhelming bi-partisan support, so the replacement should preserve the composition the 2011 plan established and not give a win to *either* party—including the *Republican* Party.

An even more legislatively promising bill, HB7003, sponsored by Delegate Jones took its starting point from a bill proposed by Democratic Delegate Lamont Bagby, HB7001. HB7001 redrew the Challenged Districts with undisclosed racial purposes ostensibly under the notion that some specific black voting-age population levels could be identified district by district. The basis for those choices and how they were applied remain unclear to this day because the map-drawer was never identified and no one with any specific knowledge answered questions the Committee on Privileges and Elections had about HB7001. What *was* clear from HB7001 was its purpose in maximizing Democratic Party gain. The bill paired Republican incumbents not remotely living near each other into the same districts

with remarkable precision, and it tilted the political composition radically to maximize Democratic Party gain.

Delegate Jones's response through HB7003 was to show that none of this partisan tilt was necessary to achieve whatever unknown racial goals HB7001 was intended to accomplish. HB7003 takes the *same* remedial districts HB7001 proposed (the single exception being a slightly modified HD95) but pairs *no* incumbent Members and preserves the partisan balance established in the 2011 plan. Thus, while neither the justifications for HB7001's racial goals (and even what they are) nor the policy purposes of that bill (except for rank partisanship) have ever been disclosed, HB7003 demonstrated that compromise was possible. The overriding purpose, again, was to remedy the violations (however the Democratic Party believed HB7001 did that) while not giving political points to *either* party. HB7003 showed that the Democratic proposal's remedial purposes, opaque as they are, could be accommodated without sweeping political bias.

Democratic Delegates took notice of this willingness to compromise and spoke in favor of HB7003 (as the Richmond Times Dispatch reported).<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Delegate Jones emphasized at the time—and emphasizes to this day—that HB7003 remains a work in progress and any other input from either side of the aisle would be welcome. A solution appeared to be right around the corner, and, for that reason,

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<sup>2</sup> RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, Sept. 26, 2018, available at: [https://www.richmond.com/news/virginia/government-politics/exclusive-va-house-gop-introducing-new-redistricting-plan-with-some/article\\_22b9f4ec-dd94-54bf-8f55-d7bd793890ee.html](https://www.richmond.com/news/virginia/government-politics/exclusive-va-house-gop-introducing-new-redistricting-plan-with-some/article_22b9f4ec-dd94-54bf-8f55-d7bd793890ee.html).

Defendant-Intervenors as of September 28 were optimistic about doing the legislative work entrusted to them by the Commonwealth's citizens. HB7003 was passed out of Committee and referred to the House. Speaker Cox called for a special session to begin October 21, creating a meaningful possibility of legislation before the court-imposed October 31 deadline. (HB7001, meanwhile, was voted down in Committee as a partisan gerrymander.)

But that all has changed. On October 2, Governor Northam issued a press release stating for the first time the remarkable position that, contrary to Virginia's constitution, redistricting should not be conducted by the legislature at all. *See* Exhibit A. Though previously he had stated publicly and privately that a legislative compromise would be superior to a court-imposed plan, Governor Northam switched his position, stating that the work of "a nonpartisan special master" would be preferable to anything the legislature could pass, even by the bipartisan vote that appeared to be possible. In other words, all the House's bi-partisan effort had been, unbeknownst to House leadership, a complete waste of time and effort. Governor Northam's press release stated "I must unequivocally state that I will veto House Bill 7003 should it reach my desk"—notwithstanding that HB7003 remained then and now a work in progress and that further input would have been and still would be welcome.

The Governor's indication that nothing the House passes will be good enough, even by taking the Democratic Party's remedial districts wholesale, smacks of partisanship. It suggests a belief that Democratic Party advantage is the main



priority and will be easier to secure through this Court's equitable powers than through the legislative process. Defendant-Intervenors raised this concern when Defendants sought to hasten this already truncated remedial process, ECF No. 260 at 9-10 ("This motion appears to reflect an attempt by Democratic interests to leverage this Court's power to achieve a strategic advantage in this quintessentially political affair."), and this concern is being realized.

Speaker Cox has cancelled the special session that showed so much promise but now would be a waste. But make no mistake: neither the House leadership nor the Republican Party declared this impasse. Quite the opposite, Speaker Cox and Delegates Jones, Bell, and others have repeatedly stated a willingness to work with all interested persons, especially members of the Democratic Party. Responsibility for declaring impasse lies entirely with the Governor.

For these reasons, Defendant-Intervenors are now fulfilling their promise of candor to the Court to state the facts on the ground as they are, not as Defendant-Intervenors wish them to be. Without assistance from the Governor in being willing to compromise, Defendant-Intervenors do not see how a legislative solution is possible. Defendant-Intervenors respectfully represent that a legislative solution is unlikely to occur before the court-imposed deadline.

Dated: October 5, 2018

Respectfully Submitted,

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### CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on this 5th day of October, 2018, a copy of the foregoing was filed and served on all counsel of record pursuant to the Court's electronic filing procedures using the Court's CM/ECF system.

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# Exhibit A



**For Immediate Release:** October 2, 2018

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## Governor Northam Issues Statement on Partisan Redistricting Process and Planned Veto of House Bill 7003

P-I.App.0154

**RICHMOND**—Governor Northam today issued the following statement on the General Assembly’s progress to produce a constitutional remedy pursuant to the Court’s approaching October 30 deadline.

“Since the federal court’s June 26th finding that 11 Virginia House of Delegates districts were unconstitutional, I have closely monitored the legislature’s progress to produce a remedy. I understand and appreciate the effort devoted to the maps drafted in House Bills 7001, 7002, and 7003; however, the nature of the August 30th and September 27th proceedings in the House Privileges and Elections Committee reinforced my belief that this partisan process should not continue and that the federal court is best positioned to construct a remedial districting plan.

Given this conviction, I must unequivocally state that I will veto House Bill 7003 should it reach my desk.

The federal court has contemplated a process by which it, through a nonpartisan special master, will construct a remedial districting plan should legislative efforts fail, and I believe that is the best course of action before us. Virginians deserve fair and constitutional lines in place in time for June 2019 primaries, without further delay.

I have championed nonpartisan redistricting from my first campaign for public office in 2007 and I continue to believe that is the true solution on this incredibly important issue. In the 2018 General Assembly session I offered amendments to House Bill 1598 and Senate Bill 106 that would have created a fairer redistricting process, particularly with respect to the protection of racial minorities, but those were defeated on a party-line vote. I hope legislators from both parties and in both chambers will come to the table in the 2019 session to propose and adopt an amendment to enshrine nonpartisan redistricting in the Virginia Constitution. I will support this effort and engage when appropriate to reinforce the fundamentals of fairness, which are lacking in the current process. Furthermore, I will continue to advocate for the protection of minority representation in the General Assembly.”

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