A Limited Article V Constitutional Convention?

Opinions by:
Chief Justice Warren Burger
Associate Justice Arthur Goldberg
Retired U. S. District Judge Bruce Van Sickle
Nine Nationally Reputed Professors of Law
A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

- CANNOT BE LIMITED TO A SINGLE ISSUE
- CAN BECOME A RUNAWAY

See the opinions of two former Supreme Court Justices, a retired U. S. District Court Judge, and nine nationally reputed professors of law.

Opinions of:
Chief Justice Warren Burger
Associate Justice Arthur Goldberg
Retired U. S. District Judge Bruce Van Sickle
Rex Lee, Professor of Law and President of Brigham Young University
Gerald Gunther, William Cromwell Professor of Law, Stanford University
Professor Neil Cogan, School of Law, Southern Methodist University
Charles L. Black, Jr., Sterling Professor of Law, Yale University
Charles Wright, School of Law, The University of Texas at Austin
Professor Christopher Brown, University of Maryland School of Law
Jefferson Fordham, College of Law, University of Utah
Lawrence Tribe, Harvard University Law School
Charles Rice, Professor of Law, Notre Dame Law School
Dear Phyllis:

I am glad to respond to your inquiry about a proposed Article V Constitutional Convention. I have been asked questions about this topic many times during my news conferences and at college meetings since I became Chairman of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, and I have repeatedly replied that such a convention would be a grand waste of time.

I have also repeatedly given my opinion that there is no effective way to limit or muzzle the actions of a Constitutional Convention. The Convention could make its own rules and set its own agenda. Congress might try to limit the convention to one amendment or to one issue, but there is no way to assure that the Convention would obey. After a Convention is convened, it will be too late to stop the Convention if we don’t like its agenda. The meeting in 1787 ignored the limit placed by the Confederation Congress "for the sole and express purpose."

With George Washington as chairman, they were able to deliberate in total secrecy, with no press coverage and no leaks. A Constitutional Convention today would be a free-for-all for special interest groups, television coverage, and press speculation.

Our 1787 Constitution was referred to by several of its authors as a "miracle." Whatever gain might be hoped for from a new Constitutional Convention could not be worth the risks involved. A new Convention could plunge our Nation into constitutional confusion and confrontation at every turn, with no assurance that focus would be on the subjects needing attention. I have discouraged the idea of a Constitutional Convention, and I am glad to see states rescinding their previous resolutions requesting a Convention. In these Bicentennial years, we should be celebrating its long life, not challenging its very existence. Whatever may need repair on our Constitution can be dealt with by specific amendments.

Cordially,

Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly
68 Fairmount
Alton, IL 62002
In Response to the Clear Confrontation

Viewpoint

A

By column / Commentary

* Steer clear of constitutional convention

(Continued)

March 4, 1966

The Arizona Republic

6C
LAWFUL AND PEACEFUL REVOLUTION:
ARTICLE V AND CONGRESS' PRESENT DUTY
TO CALL A CONVENTION FOR
PROPOSING AMENDMENTS

The Honorable Bruce M. Van Sickle
Lynn M. Boughey

George C. Detweiler
P. O. Box 771
Twin Falls, ID 83303
convention. Congress cannot thwart amendments proposed by a convention by refusing to designate whether ratification will be by the state legislature or by state conventions. Such an attempt would be such a naked assertion of unconstitutional power that it scarcely deserves serious discussion. Nonetheless, the proposed legislation described above441 amazingly provides for this thinly veiled veto power. The enactment and use of this proposal would completely defeat the purpose of Article V, and would constitute nothing less than the nullification of a constitutional provision by legislative fiat. If the convention proposes one or more amendments, Congress then is obliged under Article V to designate the mode of ratification. Article V cannot be read as granting Congress the authority to prevent, by any means, the forwarding of proposed amendments to the states for their review.

IV. THE INABILITY OF STATES TO LIMIT AN ARTICLE V CONVENTION

Article V provides to the states the power to apply for a convention for proposing amendments, and the power to ratify amendments proposed either by Congress or by the convention process. As shown in this article, the plain language of Article V and the history of its drafting demonstrate that a convention for proposing amendments cannot be limited to a single issue. The states, like Congress, have no authority to limit the scope of the convention to a single topic. As such, a state does not have the power to limit a constitutional convention to particular topics by limiting the efficacy of its application for a convention called to consider only one topic.442 A state does not have the ability to defeat its application by claiming viability of the application only if the convention accedes to that state's improper demand that only one topic be addressed at the convention. The states have no authority to place such an unconstitutional demand in the application. When a state applies under Article V for the calling of a convention for proposing amendments it knows from the language of Article V that it cannot inhibit the scope of the convention. It is a convention for proposing amendments. The clear language of the Article, combined with the historic fact that the selection of the plural form of the word "amendments" was a deliberate act, leads steadfastly to the inescapable conclusion that a state cannot limit the convention, or its application, to one

241. See supra text accompanying notes 212-23.
242. See supra text accompanying notes 172-78.
topic. On the other hand, prior to reaching the necessary applications from two-thirds of the states, a state presumably has the ability to rescind its application or to include a time limit on the effectiveness of its application. Moreover, a withdrawal of an application after reaching the necessary two-thirds mark cannot be effective because once that mark is reached the terms of Article V trigger the requirement of Congress to call a convention. Once the final legislative vote applying for a convention for proposing amendments has been taken, the Constitution obliges Congress to call a convention, and no subsequent act can vitiate that obligation. Thus, permitting a state to rescind its application after the two-thirds has been met would be contrary to Article V because it would have the disastrous consequence of giving each applying state a veto power over the convention after it was already required to be called.

V. COUNTING THE PENDING APPLICATIONS

In determining the number of states that have pending applications for a convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution, several points must be recognized. First, the mere passage of time does not defeat the efficacy of an application. The time lapse between the first application and the thirty-fourth application is not material. Second, there is nothing in Article V that supports a construction of contemporaneousness. According to the text of Article V, Congress must call a convention upon the application of two-thirds of the state legislatures. There is nothing in the language of Article V that provides a time limit on the applications. An application, once made, continues unless it is rescinded or reaches its own termination date.

It is true that a contemporaneousness requirement has some intuitive appeal, based on the sense that the framers inserted the two-thirds requirement so that a convention would be called only when there was a substantial nationwide consensus that a convention was needed. If

243. Although Congress may fix reasonable time limits relating to the ratification of its own proposed amendments, Dillion v. Glas, 256 U.S. 368, 325-76 (1921); Coleman v. Miller, 307 U.S. 433, 452 (1939), there is nothing in the text of Article V or the intent of the framers that would support a limitation being placed upon the states relating to time limits for applying for an Article V convention for proposing amendments. This point can also be shown by the analogous Supreme Court decision in Leser v. Garnett, 258 U.S. 130 (1922), in which the Leser Court points out that the governing law relating to the amendment process is Article V of the Constitution, and that Article V necessarily "transcends any limitation sought to be imposed by the people of a state." Id. at 137.
December 18, 1989

Representative Reese Hunter
4577 Wellington Street
Salt Lake City, UT 84117

Dear Mr. Hunter:

This is in response to your letter of December 12 in which you asked for my opinion concerning whether under Article V of the United States Constitution, a constitutional convention called to consider a particular issue could be limited either by congressional directive or otherwise to that single issue.

The only safe statement that could be made on this subject is that no one knows, but the only relevant precedent would indicate that the convention could not be so limited. Anyone who purports to express a definitive view on this subject is either deluded or deluding. As a result, in determining the steps you should take as a responsible representative of the people of Utah, you and other members of the legislature should realize that the risks are very real that (1) just as happened in 1787, the convention might not in fact limit itself as instructed by Congress and (2) the convention's forays into areas forbidden then by Congress might eventually be upheld.

In short, if the question is whether a runaway convention is assured, the answer is no, but if the question is whether it is a real and serious possibility, the answer is yes. In our history we have had only one experience with a constitutional convention, and while the end result was good, the convention itself was definitely a runaway.

I hope this is helpful to you.

Sincerely,

Rex E. Lee

REL: jn
My major concern is with constitutional processes. The convention method of amending the Constitution is a legitimate one under Article V; it is an appropriate method for proposing amendments when two-thirds of the state legislatures, with appropriate awareness of and deliberation about the uncertainties and risks of the convention route, choose to apply to Congress to call a convention. But the ongoing balanced budget convention campaign has not been a responsible invocation of that method. Instead, between 1976 and 1979, about half of the state legislatures adopted applications without any serious attention to the method they were using, in an atmosphere permeated with wholly unfounded assurances by those who lobbied for the convention route that a constitutional convention could easily and effectively be limited to consideration of a single issue, the budget issue. In my view, a convention cannot be effectively limited. But whether or not I am right, it is entirely clear that we have never tried the convention route, that scholars are divided about what, if any, limitations can be imposed on a convention, and that the assurances about the ease with which a single issue convention can be had are unsupportable assurances.

I find it impossible to believe that it is deliberate, conscientious constitution-making to engage in a process that began in the 1970s with a mix of inattention, ignorance and narrow, single-issue focus; that might well expand to a broader focus during the campaigns for electing convention delegates; and that would not blossom fully into a potentially broad constitutional revision process until the convention delegates are elected and meet. There is no denying the fact that, if the present balanced budget convention campaign succeeds in eliciting the necessary applications from 34 state legislatures, the convention call will be triggered by inadequately considered state applications, for the vast preponderance of the legislative applications rest on an entire absence of consideration of the risks of a convention route. In my view, that constitutes a palpable misuse of the Article V convention process. The convention route, as I have said, is legitimate when deliberately and knowingly invoked. The ongoing campaign, by contrast, has produced a situation where inattentive, ignorant, at times cynically manipulated state legislative action threatens to trigger a congressional convention call. I cannot support so irresponsible an invocation of constitutional processes.

Gerald Gunther,
William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Law
Crown Quadrangle
Stanford, California
94305
Statement of Professor Neil H. Cogan

I agree almost entirely with the foregoing memorandum.

My understanding of the Federal Convention is that it is a general convention; that neither the Congress nor the States may limit the amendments to be considered and proposed by the Convention; that the Convention may be controlled in subject matter only by itself and by the people, the latter through the ratification process. My understanding is further that the States and Congress may suggest amendments and the people give instructions, but that such suggestions and instructions are not binding. Thus, I believe that should the Congress receive thirty-four applications that clearly and convincingly are read as applications for a general convention (whether or not accompanied by suggested amendments), then Congress must call a Federal Convention.

While it is plainly appropriate to examine the traditional historical sources -- text, debates, papers and pamphlets, correspondence and diaries -- it is plain too that these sources must be examined, and other sources chosen, within the context of our evolving theory of government. As I understand that theory, the Federal Convention is the people by delegates assembled, convened to consider and possibly propose changes in our fundamental structures and relationships -- indeed, in our theory of government itself --, and controlled only by the people and certainly not by other bodies the tasks and views of which may disqualify them from fundamental change and which themselves may be the subjects and objects of fundamental change.
April 16, 1987

The Honorable Clint Hackney
House of Representatives
Box 2910
Austin, Texas 78769

Dear Representative Hackney:

The law library has provided me with a copy of H.C.R. 69, which you introduced in the Legislature in order to have the Legislature rescind the petition by the 65th Legislature asking Congress either to adopt a balanced budget amendment or to call a constitutional convention for the purpose of proposing such an amendment. I enthusiastically support your resolution.

A balanced budget is something devoutly to be wished. I doubt very much, however, whether amending the Constitution is the way to get it. I feel quite certain that even opening the door to the possibility of a constitutional convention would be a tragedy for the country.

We celebrate this year the Bicentennial of the Constitution of the United States. For 200 years it has served us well. I start with a strong presumption against any amendment to it and with an absolutely conclusive belief that we should not have a constitutional convention. Your resolution correctly says that scholarly legal opinion is divided on the potential scope of a constitutional convention's deliberations. I think that is an accurate statement. My own belief, however, is that a constitutional convention cannot be confined to a particular subject, and that anything it adopts and that the states ratify will be valid and will take effect. We have only one precedent, the Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. It was summoned "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein." From the very beginning it did not feel confined by the call and gave us a totally new Constitution that completely replaced the Articles of Confederation. I see no reason to believe that a constitutional convention 200 years later could be more narrowly circumscribed.
The Honorable Clint Hackney  
April 16, 1987  
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We will have a balanced budget when we have a President and Congress with the determination to adopt such a budget. I hope that day comes soon, but I hope even more that the day never comes when the country is exposed to the divisiveness and the possible untoward results of a constitutional convention.

I hope you are successful in persuading your colleagues in the House and Senate to adopt H.C.R. 69.

Sincerely,

Charles Alan Wright
Amendment by National Constitutional Convention: A Letter to a Senator

Excerpts from a letter to a senator by Charles L. Black, Jr, Sterling Professor of Law, Yale University (1979)

The Nineteenth Century Record

In my earlier letter to Congressman Celler, described and cited above, I said that the notion that state legislatures may limit the subject matter in their applications for conventions was "nothing but a child of the twentieth century." I used Brickfield's tables, there cited, to establish that, until around the turn of the century, that through all the turmoil until that time, nothing but general applications were transmitted to Congress by the states. This, if true, is very important because it shows that for more than a century after the Constitution went into effect, this Article V provision was not generally understood as empowering the states to set the agenda of any convention they applied for, or to apply for a convention so limited.

Think what that means. Through the controversies over the Alien and Sedition Laws, over the Embargo, over the "internal improvements" bills, over the Bank of the United States, over the early fugitive-slave laws, not one single legislature acted as though it thought it had power to force Congress to call a convention limited to one of these topics. It did not even occur to Kentucky and Virginia when they were busy with "interposition" against what they felt to be unconstitutional actions of Congress, to go at the matter via a limited Article V convention...

Let me add one final word of crucial importance: I have argued here, as in my Celler letter, for the conclusion that an Article V convention must be entirely general, and that a state application asking for something other than that is void. I fully believe in this view.

But it would be quite sufficient for now to hold to the far more modest proposition that, at least an application "for the purpose of proposing" a minutely described amendment is a mere travesty of grown-up constitutionalism, and indeed of the very word "propose," as applied to a solemnly assembled national constitutional convention. Assembling a convention for such a ministerial or rigorously channeled function is a bit of foolishness one can by no stretch of fancy think the Constitution calls for.

For Black's complete desertion go to: http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers
November 25, 1991

STATEMENT OF PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER BROWN

The most alarming aspect of the fact that 32 of the necessary 34 states have called for a constitutional convention is the threat this development poses to a system that has worked so well for nearly 200 years. In spite of the fact that 3 states have rescinded their calls for a constitutional convention in recent years, convention supporters have clearly stated their intent to lull the final 2 states into passing convention requests, thereby forcing the U.S. Supreme Court into either upholding the state rescissions or mandating the first federal constitutional convention since 1787. We are on the brink of encountering the risks of radical surgery at a time when the patient is showing no unusual signs of difficulty. If this country were faced with an uncontrollable constitutional crisis, such risks might be necessary; but surely they have no place in the relatively placid state of present day constitutional affairs. Now is not the time for the intrusion of a fourth unknown power into our tripartite system of government.

After 34 states have issued their call, Congress must call "a convention for proposing amendments." In my view the plurality of "amendments" opens the door to constitutional change far beyond merely requiring a balanced federal budget. The appropriate scope of a convention's agenda is but one of numerous uncertainties now looming on the horizon: Need petitions be uniform, limited or general? By whom and in what proportion are the delegates to be chosen? Who will finance the convention? What role could the judiciary play in resolving these problems? The resolution of these issues would inevitably embroil the government in prolonged discord.

Assembling a convention and thereby encountering and attempting to resolve these questions would surely have a major effect upon the ongoing operations of our government. Unlike the threats posed by Richard Nixon's near impeachment, the convening of a convention could not necessarily be compromised to avoid disaster. It would surely create a major distraction to ordinary concerns, imposing a disabling effect on this country's domestic and foreign policies. Only the existence of an actual breakdown in our existing governing structure warrants such a risk-prone tinkering with our constitutional underpinnings. Now is not the time to take such chances.
November 29, 1983

I here offer brief comments of my own. The proponents are trying to blend the two methods of constitutional change made available by Article Five. They are saying that they do not trust a convention, so they propose to resort to such a body. That is incongruous. They may not have it both ways.

It is to be noted that in the American tradition a constitutional convention is not a constituent assembly — a body competent both to draft and to adopt a constitution. In such an assembly is reposed sovereignty. The state antecedents of the Federal Constitution of 1787 all contemplated voter ratification. In this context it is not unreasonable to conclude that the members of the 1787 federal convention perceived such a convention to be competent to have the widest range of action in proposing amendments. Of course the very text confirms this by use of the plural "amendments." A convention might propose a single amendment but it would clearly have a wider range.

If what proponents desire is a particular change, the state legislative initiation method is adapted to the purpose. If more general review and possible changes are contemplated the convention method is plainly indicated.

Jefferson B. Fordham
The primary threat posed by an Article V Convention is that of a confrontation between Congress and such a Convention. Upon Congress devolves the duty of calling a Convention on application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states, and approving and transmitting to the states for ratification the text of any amendment or amendments agreed upon by the convention. The discretion with which Congress may discharge this duty is pregnant with danger even under the most salutary conditions.

In the event of a dispute between Congress and the Convention over the congressional role in permitting the Convention to proceed, the Supreme Court would almost certainly be asked to serve as referee. Because the Court might feel obliged to protect the interests of the states in the amendment process, it cannot be assumed that the Court would automatically decline to become involved on the ground that the dispute raised a nonjusticiable political question, even if Congress sought to delegate resolution of such a dispute to itself. Depending upon the political strength of the parties to the dispute, a decision to abstain would amount to a judgment for one side or the other. Like an official judgment on the merits, such a practical resolution of the controversy would leave the Court an enemy either of Congress or of the Convention and the states that brought it into being.

A decision upholding against challenge by one or more states an action taken by Congress under Article V would be poorly received by the states involved. Truly disastrous, however, would be any result of a confrontation between the Supreme Court and the states over the validity of an amendment proposed by their Convention. Yet the convention process could, quite imaginably, give rise to judicial challenges that would cast the states into just such a conflict with the Supreme Court — despite congressional attempts to exclude such disputes from the Court’s purview.

At a minimum, therefore, the federal judiciary, including the Supreme Court, will have to resolve the inevitable disputes over which branch and level of government may be entrusted to decide each of the many questions left open by Article V.

The only possible way to circumvent the problematic prospect of such judicial resolution is to avoid use of the Convention device altogether until its reach has been authoritatively clarified in the only manner that could yield definitive answers without embroiling the federal judiciary in the quest through an amendment to Article V itself.
Mr. Don Fotheringham  
Save the Constitution Committee  
Box 4582  
Boise, ID  83704  

Dear Mr. Fotheringham:

You have asked my opinion the effort to rescind the Idaho legislature's approval of the proposed constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget. It would be within the power of the legislature, in my opinion, to rescind its approval. The courts could possibly regard the efficacy of that rescission as a political question committed by the Constitution to the discretion of Congress. Nevertheless, even if it were not judicially enforceable, such a rescission would be within the power of the Idaho legislature and it ought to be regarded by Congress as binding.

On the merits of the rescission, I support it for the reasons stated in the enclosed article from the April 22, 1987, issue of The New American.

I hope this will be helpful. If there is any further information I can provide, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Rice  
Professor of Law

Enclosure