



# REVIEW—Six Amendments—How and Why We Should Change the Constitution

**Author: Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens**

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Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens served on the Supreme Court of the United States from 1975 until 2010. After retiring from the Supreme Court, Justice Stevens wrote a book titled "Six Amendments." In his book, Justice Stevens discussed the Articles of Confederation which gave the states more power and did not permit centralized government. Born out of an ineffective form of government, the Constitution was drafted and ratified by the States. Article V describes the process of amending the Constitution (a 2/3 votes by both houses of Congress or by a Convention of 3/4 of state legislatures is required). His book notes that Article V prohibited two kinds of amendments: 1) the total ban on any amendment that would deprive any state without consent 'of its equal suffrage in the Senate' and 2) any amendments prior to 1808 that would allow Congress to regulate the importation of slaves. The first ten amendments to the Constitution are known as the 'Bill of Rights.' See copy of the Constitution and Amendments attached hereto as Exhibit A.

Justice Stevens set forth six proposed changes to six amendments: 1) curtailing the "anti-commandeering rule and adding four words 'and other public officials' to Article VI 2) the abolition of "gerrymandering" 3) political contributions should have "reasonable" limitations placed on campaign expenditures allowed by corporations 4) an end to the doctrine of sovereign immunity 5) a complete elimination of the death penalty and 6) a curtailing of gun rights and a narrow definition of the Second Amendment and the right to bear arms.

I am going to give an overview of the six proposed amendments by retired Supreme Court Justice Stevens. Due to time constraints of an hour and quarter, I will review three of the six proposed amendments in more detail.

Justice Stevens includes a prologue that discusses the development of the U.S. Constitution. The Articles of Confederation was an agreement between the existing states on a more localized state government based form of government. The Articles of Confederation was like a 'treaty' of multiple "sovereign" state governments. Arising out of the Articles of Confederation, the U.S. Constitution was adopted and ratified by the states. Justice Stevens points out in its preamble that the Constitution was established by "the people 'not by the states' in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the

common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity . . . ." Article V describes two ways to amend the Constitution: 1) by a 2/3 vote by both houses of Congress or 2) by a convention of 2/3 of the state legislatures and two ways to ratify the proposed amendments. First, by approval by 3/4 of state legislatures or Second, by conventions in 3/4 of the states. Article V prohibited two kinds of amendments: 1) a total ban on any amendment that would deprive any state without its consent of 'of its equal Suffrage in the Senate' and 2) the limitation prohibiting amendment prior to 1808 that would allow Congress to regulate the importation of slaves. Justice Stevens give a great history lesson into the formulation of the U.S. constitution and its Amendments.

Chapter One states that Article VI of the Constitution establishes the 'Supremacy Clause,' which provides that "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Law of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding." Justice Steven explains that the problem is that you cannot force state actors and state officials to enforce federal rules of law. Justice Stevens argues that state officials should be forced to follow "federal law" because of "serious risk" in dealing with national catastrophes or acts of terrorism and "impairs efficient administration of ordinary federal programs." Justice Steven introduces emotional arguments of the Newtown School shootings and Virginia Tech "mass murder."

Getting back on point, the book quotes the *Printz v. United States* (521 US 898, [1997]). The *Printz* case established what is now known as the 'anti-commandeering rule.' The anti-commandeering rule states that the federal government has no power to impose any duty whatsoever and compel him to perform it with respect to federal law. This raises the issue of federal sovereignty vs. state sovereignty. In the case of *New York v. United States* (505 US 144, [1991]), the Court invalidated a federal statute that required states to enact legislation providing for the disposal of radioactive waste within its borders. In the case of *Brown v. Board of Education* and *Cooper v. Aaron* (347 US 483, [1954]), the holdings stated 'that the States and Federal Government in all circumstances must be viewed as coequal sovereigns.' Justice Stevens makes the arguments that are not the case today. The case of *National*

League of Cities v. Usary (Sec. of Labor) (426 US 833,[ 1976] ) would support the anti-commandeering rule had it not been overruled.

In National League, the Court invalidated a Congressional act that required states to comply with the Fair Labor Standards Act that federal statutes 'impermissibly impaired the states' ability to act as a sovereign.' In Garcia v. San Antonio Metropolitan Transit Authority (486 US 528,[ 1985] ), the Court stated that states' sovereign interests are 'more properly protected by procedural safeguards inherent in the structure of the federal system than judicial created limitations on federal power.' Garcia overruled National League case and went on to state that the National League decision "limited the power of the federal government to respond to problems in a national dimension."

Justice Steven points out that local sheriffs and county law enforcement officials can refuse to participate in federal programs, including programs that are designed to deal with domestic violence issues. Again, Justice Stevens argues that national disaster response; efficient use of federal administrations; and national hazards, including perceived gun violence, would justify the elimination of the anti-commandeering rule.

Discussion: What do you think are the pros and cons of eliminating the anti-commandeering rule? What do you think we should do to replace it, if at all? What about sheriffs not enforcing gun registration in several states, including New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey? What about states' rights?

The second proposed amendment is to eliminate "political gerrymandering by adopting the following amendment, "Districts represented by members of Congress, or by members of any state legislative body, shall be compact and composed of contiguous territory. The states shall have the burden of justifying any departures from this requirement by reference to neutral criteria such as natural, political, or historic boundaries or demographic changes. The interest in enhancing or preserving the political power of the party in control of the state government is not such a neutral criterion."

Justice Steven states there are two kinds of gerrymandering: racial and political. The Court in Gomillion v. Lightfoot (364 US 339,[1960] ) unanimous held that the Alabama legislature could not change its boundaries based on a racial basis. While racial gerrymandering is prohibited, political gerrymandering is completely acceptable. Political gerrymandering dates back to the beginnings of our country. Justice Stevens states that the Supreme Court's dealing with political gerrymandering is "wishy-washy." Justice Stevens points out for "purposes of justiciability under the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment. The same standard applied to discrimination against political groups as to applied against racial groups." In Karcher v. Daggett ( 462 US 725, [1983] ), Justice White stated 'any apportionate scheme that purposely prevents proportional representation is unconstitutional.' Justice Steven points out that the Constitution does not require proportional representation.

In Illinois State Employees Union v. Lewis ( 427 F2d 561, [1972] ), Justice Stevens opined that 'While the patronage system is defended in the name of democratic tradition, its paternalistic impact on the political process is actually at war with the deeper traditions of democracy embodied in the First Amendment.' The case of David v. Bandemer (478 US 109, [1986]) opined that federal judges should never review political gerrymandering cases. In Vieth v. Jubelirer (541 US 267, [2004] ), the court did not disagree that gerrymandering is incompatible is democracy.

Discussion: What are the pros and cons of eliminating gerrymandering? Is it even possible to have the courts deal with political gerrymandering? What about "one person one vote?"

The next amendment proposed by Justice Stevens involves placing "reasonable limitations" on commercial campaign financing. The book starts out explaining the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 which placed limits on corporations and unions using general treasury funds to finance campaign speech during 30 days before a primary election. In 2003, in the case of Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission ( 558 US 310, [2010] ), in a 5 to 4 vote, the Supreme Court held that corporations have an unlimited constitutional right to finance campaign speech. Justice Stevens takes the position that corporations should have limitations and regulations placed on them but not individual citizens and was one of the dissenters.

His justification for imposing regulations on a corporation is to provide an "opposing candidate with an equal opportunity to persuade their fellow citizens to vote for them." In 1976, the Supreme Court opinion in Buckley v. Valeo (424 US 1, [1976] ) raised concerns about violation of the First Amendment of protected free speech in regards to campaign financing. The Buckley decision did not include Justice Stevens.

In the Citizens United case, the Court opinion that greater restrictions on speech seeking to persuade voters for or against a particular candidate than on other speech. The Citizens United case stated that the First Amendment prohibited 'restrictions distinguishing among different speakers, allowing speech by some and not other.' Justice Stevens points out that the Court in Citizens United opined that the First Amendment will tolerate "'some' regulation of campaign speech that it more restrictive than regulations of speech in other contexts." The book points out several cases that allowed stricter regulation on corporations using their general funds in campaign financing.

Justice Stevens believes that the Citizens United decision took a wrong step in the direction of corporate funds used in campaign financing. He proposes the following amendment to the Constitution, "Neither the First Amendment nor any other provision of this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit the Congress or any state from imposing reasonable limits on the amount money candidates for public office, or their supporters, may spend in election campaigns."

The next amendment that Justice Stevens proposes is an end to the Doctrine of Sovereign Immunity. The book gives a history lesson on the origins of sovereign immunity, which dates back to the doctrine that the 'king can do no wrong.' In 1793, in *Chisholm v. Georgia* ( 2 US [2 Dall.] 419, [1793] ), the Court opined that the doctrine of sovereign immunity is not available as a defense. As a result of that case, the 11th Amendment was ratified. The 11th Amendment states "the Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State."

In 1821, Chief Judge John Marshall stated in *Osborn v. Bank of United States* (22 US 738, [1827] ) that Ohio could not impose a state tax on a national bank and he made it clear in his opinion that the 11th Amendment was not to 'maintain the sovereignty of the State from deregulation . . .but preserved federal jurisdiction over states in cases other than those filed by a citizen from another state.' In 1876, the Court in *Board of Liquidation v. McComb* (92 US 537, [1876] ) 'rebuffed an attempt by Louisiana to modify the terms of a bond issue . . . .the plaintiff's rights: An unconstitutional law will be treated by the courts as null and void.' Justice Stevens points out what President Lincoln stated, "It is as much as duty of Government to render prompt justice against itself, in favor of its citizens, as it is to administer the same between private individuals."

Justice Stevens goes on to quote issues and cases where problems arise when a private citizen cannot seek a judicial remedy because of the Doctrine of Sovereign Immunity, which include slavery, separate by equal doctrine, taxing issues, voting rights , etc. The book points out the case of *Ex parte Young* (209 US 123,[ 1908] ). In that case, the Court firmly rejected sovereign immunity defense when asserted by the federal government. In the 1974 decision in *Edelman v. Jordon* (415 US 651, [1974] ), the case opined expanded the use and scope of the doctrine of sovereign immunity.

However in the case of *Fitzpatrick v. Bitzer* ( 427 US 445,[ 1976] ), the Court stated that Congress could abrogate the 11th Amendment. In 1976, it allowed Connecticut state employees to recover an award based on Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act as amended in 1972. The Supreme Court made several other decisions from 1970's through the 1990's went on to allow Congress to abrogate the 11th Amendment and states actors using sovereign immunity.

Justice Stevens wants the Constitution to be amended to include, "Neither the Tenth Amendment, nor any other provision of this Constitution, shall be construed to provide any state, state agency, or state officer with an immunity from liability for violating acts of Congress, or any provision of this Constitution."

Next, Justice Stevens recommends that the death penalty should be abolished. Justice Stevens points out that in 1846, the state legislature of Michigan abolished capital punishment for any crime other than treason. The decision was due to an innocent man being executed in Canada.

Justice Stevens points out that the real justification for capital punishment is an "eye for an eye." He talks at length about the *Florida v. Nixon* case ( 543 US 175 , [1984] ) of 1984. In that case, Nixon's attorney acknowledged the guilt of his client and wanted to advise the jury on the death penalty phase his client's conduct was a product of mental illness. Nixon never approved of this trial strategy Appeals went on for years and years. Finally after many years, the Supreme Court ruled that the decision to choose a trial strategy belongs to the client and that without client consent, the 'lawyer's actions constitute an impermissible forfeiture of the client's constitutional right to an adversarial proceeding to determine guilt.' As of the time of this book was written, Nixon remained on "death row."

Many other cases have tried to use many arguments about the methods used in an execution. Justice Stevens point out that in 2008, in *Baze v. Rees* (553 US 35, [2008] ), the Supreme Court upheld Kentucky's method of execution of prisoners who have been sentenced to death. However the Nixon case points out that the Court that prohibits states from subjecting the defendant to a kind of pain that he inflicted on his victim. According to Justice Stevens, the doctrine of an "eye for an eye" is not justification for the use of capital punishment.

Justice Stevens points out that in the late 1980's through the present date, DNA testing became available, and has helped to exonerate wrongly convicted offenders who have been sentenced to death. His book leaves out the wide number of cases that discuss the aspect of "cruel and unusual punishment."

Justice Stevens believes that due to the risk of execution of a wrongfully convicted person, the justification of "eye for an eye" is not enough to employ the use of capital punishment. Therefore, he proposes the following words to added to the 8th Amendment, "Excessive bail shall not be required, not excessive fine imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments such as the death penalty inflicted."

The last issue I would like to review in Justice Stevens' book proposes the following revision of the Second Amendment: "A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms when serving in a Militia shall not be infringed." The Second Amendment currently states "A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed." Justice Stevens starts out his chapter on revision of the Second Amendment mentioning the "Newtown, Connecticut, high - powered automatic weapons have been used to kill innocent victims in more senseless public incidents." He argues that state legislatures are in a better position than judges to "assess the wisdom of such rules and to evaluate the costs and benefits that rule changes can be expected to produce. It is those legislatures, rather than federal judges, who make decisions that will determine what kinds of firearms should be available to private citizens, and when and how they may be used."

In *United States v. Miller* (307 US 175,[ 1939] ), in 1939, the Court opined that Congress could prohibit the possession

of sawed-off shotgun because that sort of weapon had no reasonable relation to the preservation or efficiency of a 'well regulated Militia.' Justice Stevens states in 1975 through his time on the bench, it was understood by the Supreme Court that the Second Amendment could be limited in its scope to arms that were related to military activities. Stevens quoted a piece done in 1991 by the MacNeil/Lehrer NewHour that one of the greatest 'fraud[s]' on the American public was the perceived expansion of the scope of the Second Amendment.

Six Amendments goes on to explain about the 2008, 5 to 4 decision in the District of Columbia v. Heller (554 US 570, [2008]). The Supreme Court decision in Heller opined that the Second Amendment protects a civilians right to keep a handgun in his home for purposes of self – defense. In 2010, the Supreme Court rendered a decision in McDonald v. Chicago (130 S.Ct. 3020, [2010]) involving the Due Process Clause of the 14th Amendment. The McDonald decision was a 5 to 4 opinion. Justice Stevens dissented and stated "the Court's decision was a unique in the extent to which the Court had exacted a heavy toll in terms of state sovereignty . . . even apart from States' long history of firearms regulations and its location at the core of their police powers, this is a quintessential area in which federalism ought to be allowed to flourish without this Court's meddling.

Whether or not we can assert a plausible constitutional basis for intervening, there are powerful reasons why we should not do so. Across the Nation, States and localities vary significantly in the patterns and problems of gun violence, as well as in the traditions and cultures of lawful gun use . . . The City of Chicago, for example, faces a pressing challenge in combatting street gangs. Most rural areas do not."

Justice Stevens goes on to argue that the Heller decision "provides no obstacle to regulation prohibiting the ownership or use of the sorts of automatic weapons used in the tragic multiply killings in Virginia, Colorado, and Arizona in recent years. The failure of Congress to take any action to minimize the risk of similar tragedies in the future cannot be blamed on the Court's decision in Heller." The Heller decision goes out of its way not only to narrow its opinion on the type of 'subset of weapons used in self –defense,' but prohibition on carrying concealed weapons by felons and the mentally ill as well as 'forbidding the carrying of weapons in sensitive places such as schools and government buildings or imposing conditions and qualifications on the commercial sale of arms are specifically identified as permissible regulations.'

Justice Stevens goes on to point out that the Second Amendment expressly endorses the substantive common law rule protecting the citizen's right and duty to keep and bear arms when serving in a state militia. The Heller decision was primarily decided on the interests in protecting the common – law right of self-defense. Steven states "[t]he notion that the states were concerned about possible infringement of that right by federal programs is really quite absurd." As a result of Heller and McDonald, Justice Stevens argues that the Second Amendment which was originally adopted to protect states from federal interference with their power to

ensure that their militias were 'well regulated' has given federal judges the ultimate power to determine the validity of state regulations and law on both civilian and militia – related uses of arms. He ends with a final argument that the framers of the Constitution meant to state that the Second Amendment was limited in scope that 'the right of the people to keep and bear Arms when serving in the Militia shall not be infringed. Again, Justice Stevens quotes several tragedies of Newton and the Navy Yard in Washington.

Discussion: What do you think are the pros and cons to limiting the Second amendment's scope to the right of the people to "keep and bear arms" should be limited to being in or around a militia? Do you think that the federal government has a right to regulate firearms? If so, what scope? What about the broad scope of the Second Amendment? What about the issue of automatic vs. semi-automatic weapons? What about the right to self-defense, especially in rural areas where it could take the police many minutes or even hours to arrive in place like Alaska, Montana, etc.? What about the politics of a City like Chicago or the State of Illinois and the right of self - defense? What about the idea of universal right of self-defense no matter where you go? Head Sherriff In Milwaukee and Detroit outright state they cannot protect its citizens and they encourage legal citizens to be armed. What about other regulations of firearms?

## **EXHIBIT A**

### **U.S. Constitution**

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

### **Article I (Article 1 - Legislative)**

#### **Section 1**

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

#### **Section 2**

- 1: The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.
- 2: No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.
- 3: Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term

of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.<sup>2</sup> The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4: When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

5: The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

### Section 3

1: The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof,<sup>3</sup> for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

2: Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.<sup>4</sup>

3: No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4: The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

5: The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

6: The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

7: Judgment in Cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

### Section 4

1: The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

2: The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December,<sup>5</sup> unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

### Section 5

1: Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

2: Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

3: Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

4: Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

### Section 6

1: The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States.<sup>6</sup> They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

2: No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

## Section 7

- 1: All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.
- 2: Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.
- 3: Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

## Section 8

- 1: The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;
- 2: To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;
- 3: To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;
- 4: To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;
- 5: To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;
- 6: To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;
- 7: To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

- 8: To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;
- 9: To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;
- 10: To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;
- 11: To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;
- 12: To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;
- 13: To provide and maintain a Navy;
- 14: To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;
- 15: To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;
- 16: To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;
- 17: To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And
- 18: To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

## Section 9

- 1: The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.
- 2: The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.
- 3: No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

- 4: No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.<sup>7</sup>
- 5: No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.
- 6: No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.
- 7: No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.
- 8: No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

#### **Section 10**

- 1: No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.
- 2: No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.
- 3: No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

### **Article II (Article 2 - Executive)**

#### **Section 1**

- 1: The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows
- 2: Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

- 3: The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.<sup>8</sup>

- 4: The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.
- 5: No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.
- 6: In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office,<sup>9</sup> the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.
- 7: The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.
- 8: Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

## Section 2

- 1: The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.
- 2: He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.
- 3: The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

## Section 3

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

## Section 4

The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

## Article III (Article 3 - Judicial)

### Section 1

The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

### Section 2

1: The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made,

under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;1 —between Citizens of different States, —between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

- 2: In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.
- 3: The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

## Section 3

- 1: Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.
- 2: The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

## Article IV (Article 4 - States' Relations)

### Section 1

Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

### Section 2

- 1: The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.
- 2: A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.
- 3: No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.<sup>11</sup>

**Section 3**

- 1: New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.
- 2: The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

**Section 4**

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

**Article V (Article 5 - Mode of Amendment)**

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI (Article 6 - Prior Debts, National Supremacy, Oaths of Office)

- 1: All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.
- 2: This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.
- 3: The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

**Article VII (Article 7 - Ratification)**

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

The Word "the", being interlined between the seventh and eight Lines of the first Page, The Word "Thirty" being partly written on an Erasure in the fifteenth Line of the first Page. The Words "is tried" being interlined between the thirty second and thirty third Lines of the first Page and the Word "the" being interlined between the forty third and forty fourth Lines of the second Page.

done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

**U.S. Bill of Rights**

**The Preamble to The Bill of Rights**

**Congress of the United States**

**begun and held at the City of New-York, on**

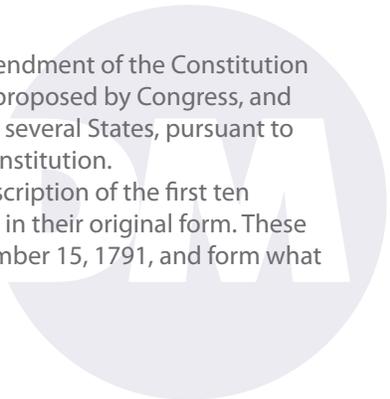
**Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.**

THE Conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution.

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all, or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution; viz.

ARTICLES in addition to, and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

Note: The following text is a transcription of the first ten amendments to the Constitution in their original form. These amendments were ratified December 15, 1791, and form what is known as the "Bill of Rights."



### **Amendment I**

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

### **Amendment II**

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

### **Amendment III**

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

### **Amendment IV**

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

### **Amendment V**

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

### **Amendment VI**

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

### **Amendment VII**

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

### **Amendment VIII**

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

### **Amendment IX**

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall

not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

### **Amendment X**

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

### **AMENDMENT XI**

Passed by Congress March 4, 1794. Ratified February 7, 1795. Note: Article III, section 2, of the Constitution was modified by amendment 11.

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

### **AMENDMENT XII**

Passed by Congress December 9, 1803. Ratified June 15, 1804. Note: A portion of Article II, section 1 of the Constitution was superseded by the 12th amendment.

The Electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; -- the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; -- The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. [And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. --]\* The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be

eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.  
\*Superseded by section 3 of the 20th amendment.

### **AMENDMENT XIII**

Passed by Congress January 31, 1865. Ratified December 6, 1865.

Note: A portion of Article IV, section 2, of the Constitution was superseded by the 13th amendment.  
Section 1.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

#### **Section 2.**

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

### **AMENDMENT XIV**

Passed by Congress June 13, 1866. Ratified July 9, 1868.

Note: Article I, section 2, of the Constitution was modified by section 2 of the 14th amendment.

#### **Section 1.**

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

#### **Section 2.**

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age,\* and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

#### **Section 3.**

No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given

aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

#### **Section 4.**

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

#### **Section 5.**

The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

\*Changed by section 1 of the 26th amendment.

### **AMENDMENT XV**

Passed by Congress February 26, 1869. Ratified February 3, 1870.

#### **Section 1.**

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude--

#### **Section 2.**

The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

### **AMENDMENT XVI**

Passed by Congress July 2, 1909. Ratified February 3, 1913.

Note: Article I, section 9, of the Constitution was modified by amendment 16.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

### **AMENDMENT XVII**

Passed by Congress May 13, 1912. Ratified April 8, 1913.

Note: Article I, section 3, of the Constitution was modified by the 17th amendment.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the

election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

#### **AMENDMENT XVIII**

Passed by Congress December 18, 1917. Ratified January 16, 1919. Repealed by amendment 21.

##### **Section 1.**

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

##### **Section 2.**

The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

##### **Section 3.**

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

#### **AMENDMENT XIX**

Passed by Congress June 4, 1919. Ratified August 18, 1920. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### **AMENDMENT XX**

Passed by Congress March 2, 1932. Ratified January 23, 1933. Note: Article I, section 4, of the Constitution was modified by section 2 of this amendment. In addition, a portion of the 12th amendment was superseded by section 3.

##### **Section 1.**

The terms of the President and the Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

##### **Section 2.**

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

##### **Section 3.**

If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify,

then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

##### **Section 4.**

The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

##### **Section 5.**

Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

##### **Section 6.**

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

#### **AMENDMENT XXI**

Passed by Congress February 20, 1933. Ratified December 5, 1933.

##### **Section 1.**

The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

##### **Section 2.**

The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

##### **Section 3.**

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

#### **AMENDMENT XXII**

Passed by Congress March 21, 1947. Ratified February 27, 1951.

##### **Section 1.**

No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office

of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

#### **Section 2.**

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

#### **AMENDMENT XXIII**

Passed by Congress June 16, 1960. Ratified March 29, 1961.

#### **Section 1.**

The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

#### **Section 2.**

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### **AMENDMENT XXIV**

Passed by Congress August 27, 1962. Ratified January 23, 1964.

#### **Section 1.**

The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

#### **Section 2.**

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### **AMENDMENT XXV**

Passed by Congress July 6, 1965. Ratified February 10, 1967.  
Note: Article II, section 1, of the Constitution was affected by the 25th amendment.

#### **Section 1.**

In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

#### **Section 2.**

Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President,

the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

#### **Section 3.**

Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

#### **Section 4.**

Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office.

Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

#### **AMENDMENT XXVI**

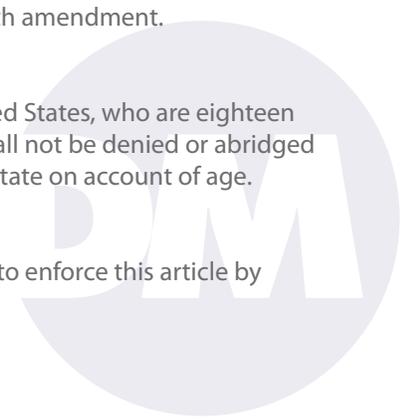
Passed by Congress March 23, 1971. Ratified July 1, 1971.  
Note: Amendment 14, section 2, of the Constitution was modified by section 1 of the 26th amendment.

#### **Section 1.**

The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

#### **Section 2.**

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.



**AMENDMENT XXVII**

Originally proposed Sept. 25, 1789. Ratified May 7, 1992.  
No law, varying the compensation for the services of the  
Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an  
election of Representatives shall have intervened.

