The Articles of Convention of States

A collection of scholarly writings by premier experts on Article V of the U.S. Constitution

USA OKLAHOMA MISSISSIPPI INDIANA WASHINGTON ILLINOIS WYOMING SOUTH CAROLINA OREGON TEXAS CONNECTICUT ARKANSAS NEW HAMPSHIRE KENTUCKY MICHIGAN ALASKA MASSACHUSETTS CALIFORNIA IOWA MINNESOTA MARYLAND SOUTH DAKOTA GEORGIA OHIO

Convention of States ACTION

CONVENTION *of* STATES

ACTION

www.conventionofstates.com

Edition 1, 2 July 2018

Table of Contents

FOREWORD

When Michael Farris and I founded the Convention of States Project, we never could have predicted the number or quality of American scholars that the movement would attract.

Constitutional Goliaths like Mark Levin, Robert Natelson, and Randy Barnett spent countless hours researching the history and legitimacy of the Article V process. Scholarly articles and *The Liberty Amendments* were published.

Journalists and media personalities began recognizing Article V as the only solution to the problems in D.C.—the same issues they reported on daily. More articles were published. Soon they started appearing in Forbes, Fox News, CNN, The Washington Times, and other major networks across the country.

Then came the skeptics. As naysayers brought up concerns, attorneys like Charles J. Cooper, a long-time constitutional litigator for the NRA, published papers defending Article V as the best way to protect our right to bear arms. Before long, each objection was debunked by another great American thinker.

What you are about to read is a small collection of a much greater body of work, written by the people, for the people. As a fellow citizen, I hope you will read these scholarly pieces and become familiar with this topic.

I pray that you stay involved with, and increase your knowledge of the only legal, peaceful and practical way to save our nation from a downward slide toward financial insolvency and loss of the freedoms won with our independence.

If you are inspired by these pieces authored by some of the most accomplished Constitutional Scholars alive, please share them with others so we can educate everyone about the miracle of Article V. May these Articles of Convention of States guide you on your journey to uphold the last line of defense, entrusted to us by our Founding Fathers.

In Liberty,

Mark Meckler

President, Convention of States Action

Section 1: Why We Need a Convention of States

The protection of liberty requires a strict adherence to the principle that power is limited and delegated.

A SOLUTION AS BIG AS THE PROBLEM

Michael P. Farris, JD, LLM Convention of States Action Co-Founder

When we look at the federal government today, we see four major abuses of power.

These abuses are not mere instances of bad policy. They are driving us towards an age of "soft tyranny" in which the government does not shatter men's wills but "softens, bends, and guides" them. If we do nothing to halt these abuses, we run the risk of becoming nothing more than "a flock of timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd." (Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, 1840)

1. The Spending and Debt Crisis

The $21 trillion national debt is staggering, but it only tells part of the story. Under standard accounting practices, the federal government owes around $100 trillion more in vested Social Security benefits and other programs. This is why the government cannot tax its way out of debt. Even if it confiscated everything, it would not cover the debt.

2. The Regulatory Crisis

The federal bureaucracy has placed a regulatory burden upon businesses that is complex, conflicted, and crushing. Little accountability exists when agencies—rather than Congress—enact the real substance of the law. Research from the American Enterprise Institute shows that, since 1949, federal regulations have lowered the real GDP growth by 2% and made America 72% poorer.

3. Congressional Attacks on State Sovereignty

For years, Congress has been using federal grants to keep the states under its control. Combining these grants with federal mandates (which are rarely fully funded), Congress has turned state legislatures into their regional agencies rather than respecting them as truly independent republican governments.

A radical social agenda and an invasion of the rights of the people accompany all of this. While significant efforts have been made to combat this social erosion, these trends defy some of the most important principles.

4. Federal Takeover of the Decision-Making Process

The Founders believed that the structures of a limited government would provide the greatest protection of liberty. Not only were there to be checks and balances between the branches of the federal government, but power was to be shared between the states and federal government, with the latter only exercising those powers specifically granted in the Constitution.

Collusion among decision-makers in Washington, D.C., has replaced

these checks and balances. The federal judiciary supports Congress and the White House in their ever-escalating attack upon the jurisdiction of the fifty states.

We need to realize that the structure of decision-making matters. Who decides what the law shall be is as important as what is decided. The protection of liberty requires a strict adherence to the principle that power is limited and delegated.

Washington, D.C., does not believe in this principle, as evidenced by an unbroken practice of expanding the boundaries of federal power. In a remarkably frank admission, the Supreme Court rebuffed a challenge to federal spending power, despite acknowledging that power had grown far beyond the bounds envisioned by the Founders.

What Does this Mean?

This is not a partisan issue. Washington, D.C., will never voluntarily relinquish meaningful power—no matter who is elected. The only rational conclusion is this: Unless some political force outside of Washington, D.C., intervenes, the federal government will continue to bankrupt this nation, embezzle the legitimate authority of the states, and destroy the liberty of the people. Rather than securing the blessings of liberty for future generations, Washington, D.C., is on a path that will enslave our children and grandchildren to the debts of the past. The problem is big, but we have a solution. Article V gives us a tool to fix the mess in D.C.

Our Solution Is Big Enough to Solve the Problem

Rather than calling a convention for a specific amendment, Convention of States Action (COSA) urges state legislatures to properly use Article V to call a convention for a particular subject—reducing the power of Washington, D.C. It is important to note that a convention for an individual amendment (e.g., a Balanced Budget Amendment) would be limited to that single idea. Requiring a balanced budget is a great idea that COSA fully supports. Congress, however, could comply with a Balanced Budget Amendment by simply raising taxes. We need spending restraints as well. We need restraints on taxation. We need prohibitions against improper federal regulation. We need to stop unfunded mandates.

A Convention of States needs to be called to ensure that we are able to debate and impose a complete package of restraints on the misuse of power by all branches of the federal government.

What Sorts of Amendments Could Be Passed?

The following are examples of amendment topics that could be discussed at a convention of states:

- A Balanced Budget Amendment
- A redefinition of the General Welfare Clause (the original view was that the federal government could not spend money on any topic within the jurisdiction of the states)
- A redefinition of the Commerce Clause (the original view was that Congress was granted a narrow and exclusive power to regulate shipments across state lines–not all the economic activity of the nation)
- A prohibition on using international treaties and law to govern the domestic law of the United States
- A limitation on using executive orders and federal regulations to enact laws (since Congress is supposed to be the exclusive agency to enact laws)
- Imposing term limits on Congress and the Supreme Court
- Placing an upper limit on federal taxation
- Requiring the sunset of all existing federal taxes and a super-majority vote to replace them with new, fairer taxes

Of course, these are merely examples of what would be up for discussion. The Convention of States itself would determine which ideas deserve serious consideration, and it would take a majority of votes from the states to formally propose any amendments.

The Founders gave us a legitimate path to save our liberty by using our state governments to impose binding restraints on the federal government. We must use the power granted to the states in the Constitution.

The Founders gave us a legitimate path to save our liberty. We must use the power granted to the states in the Constitution.

The Convention of States is now a real and growing movement, with supporters in all 50 states and a clear focus on constitutional amendments that would "limit the power and jurisdiction of the federal government, impose fiscal restraints, and place term limits on federal officials."

POWER TO THE PEOPLE! HERE'S WHY WE NEED A CONVENTION OF STATES

Steve Hilton Host of *The Next Revolution with Steve Hilton*

One of the things that first inspired me about America was the passion for localism, a driving force of the American Revolution and an idea enshrined in the Constitution.

After battling the centralizing zeal of the British bureaucracy from inside that nation's government – and realizing that even the politicians on my own side who had promised to give away power preferred to hoard it once elected – I looked forward to living in a nation where power really was in people's hands.

And then we actually moved to the U.S. six years ago. In most ways, America has exceeded my expectations. I am so inspired by everything from the people to the National Parks to amazing cities like New Orleans, where I recently spent some time. And one of my proudest moments was taking my children to the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia and really understanding the incredible vision of the Founders.

But the one area where I have been profoundly shocked and disappointed is the political system. I was amazed to discover the extent to which power in America, just like in Britain, has been centralized in the hands of an insular and arrogant ruling elite. The politicians in Congress. The bureaucrats in the administrative state. The big donors and big business lobbyists who grease the wheels and help keep the whole baleful show on the road. In a word, the Swamp.

This is not what it was supposed to

Donald Trump's election as president...the populist uprising had found its voice. But now we need the next revolution – and the beauty of it is that it's all written down in America's founding documents.

Article V of the Constitution allows state legislatures to initiate a Convention of States, at which amendments to the Constitution can be proposed without congressional initiative.

be like. From the beginning, power was enshrined with the states, not the central government. States have their own constitutions, after all, because in many ways they are sovereign.

Even the name – United States of America – speaks to the notion of a federation more than a monolithic country. That sentiment was codified in the 10th Amendment to the Constitution: "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."

How hollow that promise looks today. The federal government reaches down from Washington, imposing costly regulations and unfunded mandates and exerting jurisdiction over areas of policy from health care to housing to welfare to ... well, you name it ... that could and should be run by state or local government.

And since the 1970s, the federal judiciary has sided with the executive and legislative branches' desire to acquire more power – a desire that is nonpartisan. Both Republicans and Democrats are guilty of centralizing power.

Power should be as close to people as possible. There has to be a very good reason for it to flow upwards from the people. A member of the Washington elite saying "I want it!" is not a good reason.

In 2016, I went back to Britain to campaign for Brexit – the withdrawal of Britain from the European Union – for precisely this reason. Why on Earth should a distant and unaccountable EU bureaucracy in Brussels have such a huge say over the laws that governed the British people's lives? Against the odds – and the smug predictions of the elite – Brexit passed, and the populist revolution was underway.

This is not what it was supposed to be like. From the beginning, power was enshrined with the states, not the central government. States have their own constitutions, after all, because in many ways they are sovereign.

Then came the big one later that year: Donald Trump's election as president. The populist uprising had found its voice. But now we need the next revolution – and the beauty of it is that it's all written down in America's founding documents.

The United States Constitution is, in fact, a profoundly populist one. It includes built-in mechanisms to challenge power-hungry politicians and bureaucrats in the capital.

Article V of the Constitution allows state legislatures to initiate a Convention of States, at which amendments to the Constitution can be proposed without congressional initiative. It takes 34 states to call the convention and 38 to ratify any amendments proposed.

The Convention of States is now a real and growing movement, with supporters in all 50 states and a clear focus on constitutional amendments that would "limit the power and jurisdiction of the federal government, impose fiscal restraints, and place term limits on federal officials."

A number of states have already passed resolutions or actual legislation. But the only way this will happen is if you get involved – and you can do that here.

"Power should be as close to people as possible. There has to be a very good reason for it to flow upwards from the people. A member of the Washington elite saying 'I want it!' is not a good reason."

Amendments work. In fact, amendments have had a major impact on American political life, mostly for good.

THE LAMP OF EXPERIENCE: CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS WORK

Robert Natelson — *Independence Institute's Senior Fellow in Constitutional Jurisprudence and Head of the Institute's Article V Information Center*

Opponents of a Convention of States long argued there was an unacceptable risk that a convention might do too much. It now appears they were mistaken. So they increasingly argue that amendments cannot do enough.

The gist of this argument is that amendments would accomplish nothing because federal officials would violate amendments as readily as they violate the original Constitution.

Opponents will soon find their new position even less defensible than the old. This is because the contention that amendments are useless flatly contradicts over two centuries of American experience — experience that demonstrates that amendments work. In fact, amendments have had a major impact on American political life, mostly for good.

The Framers inserted an amendment process into the Constitution to render the underlying system less fragile and more durable. They saw the amendment mechanism as a way to:

- correct drafting errors;
- resolve constitutional disputes, such as by reversing bad Supreme Court decisions;
- respond to changed conditions; and
- correct and forestall governmental abuse.

The Framers turned out to be correct, because in the intervening years we have adopted amendments for all four of those reasons. Today, nearly all of these amendments are accepted by the overwhelming majority of Americans, and all but very few remain in full effect. Possibly because ratification of a constitutional amendment is a powerful expression of popular political will, amendments have proved more durable than some parts of the original Constitution.

Correcting Drafting Errors

Although the Framers were very great people, they still were human, and they occasionally erred. Thus, they inserted into the Constitution qualifications for Senators, Representatives, and the President, but omitted any for Vice President. They also adopted a presidential/vice presidential election procedure that, while initially plausible, proved unacceptable in practice.

The founding generation proposed and ratified the Twelfth Amendment to correct those mistakes. The Twenty-Fifth Amendment addressed some other deficiencies in Article II, which deals with the presidency. Both amendments are in full effect today.

Resolving Constitutional Disputes and Overruling the Supreme Court

The Framers wrote most of the Constitution in clear language, but they knew that, as with any legal document, there would be differences of interpretation. The amendment process was a way of resolv-

Women's Suffrage envoys on and about the East Steps of the Capitol, May 9, 1914. The Nineteenth Amendment was ratified August 18, 1920.

ing interpretive disputes.

The founding generation employed it for this purpose just seven years after the Constitution came into effect. In Chisholm v. Georgia, the Supreme Court misinterpreted the wording of Article III defining the jurisdiction of the federal courts. The Eleventh Amendment reversed that decision.

In 1857, the Court issued Dred Scottv.Sandford, in which it erroneously interpreted the Constitution to deny citizenship to African Americans. The Citizenship Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment reversed that case.

In 1970, the Court decided Oregon v. Mitchell, whose misinterpretation of the Constitution created a national election law mess. A year later, Americans cleaned up the mess by ratifying the Twenty-Sixth Amendment.

All these amendments are in full effect today, and fully respected by the courts.

Responding to Changed Conditions

The Twentieth Amendment is the most obvious example of a response to changed conditions. Reflecting improvements in transportation since the Founding, it moved the inauguration of Congress and President from March to the January following election.

Similarly, the Nineteenth Amendment, which assured women the vote in states not already granting it, was passed for reasons beyond simple fairness. During the 1800s, medical and technological advances made possible by a vigorous market economy improved the position of women immeasurably and rendered their political participation far more feasible. Without these changes, I doubt the Nineteenth Amendment would have been adopted.

Needless to say, the Nineteenth and Twentieth Amendments are in full effect many years after they were ratified.

Correcting and Forestalling Government Abuse

Avoiding and correcting government abuse was a principal reason the Constitutional Convention unanimously inserted the state-driven convention procedure into Article V. Our failure to use that procedure helps explain why the earlier constitutional barriers against federal overreaching seem a little ragged. Before looking at the problems, however, let's look at some successes:

- We adopted the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Twenty-Fourth Amendments to correct state abuses of power. All of these are in substantially full effect.
- In 1992, we ratified the Twenty-Seventh Amendment, 203 years after James Madison first proposed it. It limits congressional pay raises, although some would say not enough.
- In 1951, we adopted the Twenty-Second Amendment, limiting the President to two terms. Eleven Presidents later, it remains in full force, and few would contend it has not made a difference.

Now the problems: Because we have not used the convention process, the first 10 amendments (the Bill of Rights) remain almost the only amendments significantly limiting congressional overreaching. I suppose that if the Founders had listened to the "amendments won't make any difference" crowd, they would not have adopted the Bill of Rights either. But I don't know anyone today who seriously claims the Bill of Rights has made no difference.

"I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience," Patrick Henry said. "I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past."

In this case, the lamp of experience sheds light unmistakably bright and clear: Constitutional amendments work.

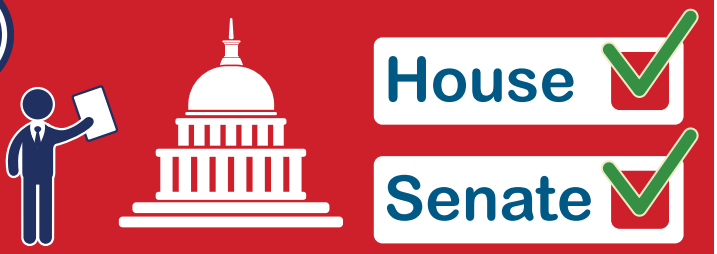
PROCESS OF AN ARTICLE V CONVENTION OF STATES

1

The People Lead

- Citizens ask state legislators to sponsor and support the Convention of States Resolution.

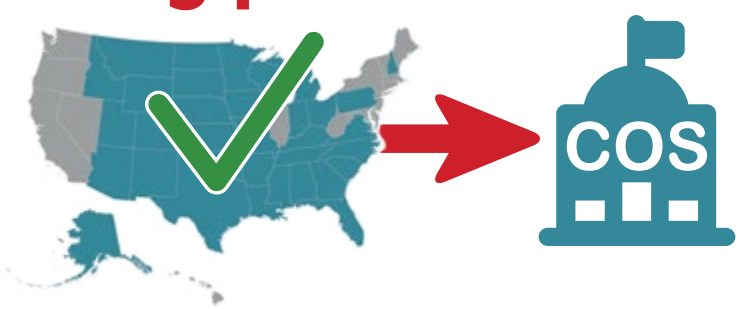
2



State Legislators Act

- One or several state legislators sponsor the COS Resolution and file it in their state legislature.
- The COS Resolution passes out of committee and floor votes in both chambers of the state legislature.

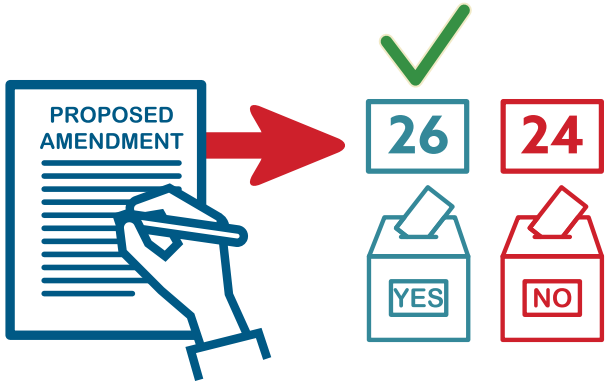
3



Convention is Called

- When 34 states pass the COS Resolution, the states select commissioners to represent them at the convention.
- States send as many commissioners as they choose, but each state only gets one vote.

4



Amendments are Proposed

- Commissioners propose, debate, and vote on amendments limited to the topics listed in the COS Resolution. Proposed amendments outside of that agenda would be out of order.
- Proposed amendments passed by a majority of state delegations (26) are sent to the states for ratification.

5

Amendments are Ratified

- Proposed amendments only become part of the Constitution if ratified by 38 states.
- It only takes 13 states to stop a bad amendment from being ratified.

6

Constitution is Amended

- By asserting your constitutional power under Article V, you can act as a final check on rampant federal overreach, and use the Constitution to save the Constitution.

Section 2: Mythbusting

Article V's convention process is part of the beautiful constitutional machinery built to protect the states and the people from an overreaching federal government.

FIVE MYTHS ABOUT ARTICLE V

Rita Dunaway, Esq. National Legislative Strategist for the Convention of States Project

The constitutional boundaries separating the three federal branches and setting outer limits on their power are barely visible anymore.

Many Americans are turning toward Article V of the Constitution as the only way to restore those boundaries. It provides a way for states to propose constitutional amendments to restrain federal power if two-thirds of the state legislatures (34 states) "apply" for a convention to do so.

A constitutional amendment is strong medicine, to be sure, but it is the only medicine that can cure the disease of federal overreach that is otherwise terminal to our Republic. Here are 5 myths about the Article Five antidote and its side effects

1. An Article V convention is a "Constitutional Convention" or "Con-Con."

This point can get confusing, because Article V is a provision of the Constitution, so a convention held pursuant to its terms could be described as "constitutional" in that sense. But what most people mean when they describe an Article V convention as a "Con-Con" is that it is the same type of gathering as the one in 1787 that produced our Constitution. And that implication is clearly wrong.

The distinction between the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 and a convention held pursuant to Article V lies in the source of authority for each. The states gathered in 1787 pursuant to their residual powers as individual sovereigns—not pursuant to any provision of the Articles of Confederation for proposing amendments.

An Article V convention, on the other hand, derives its authority from the terms of Article V itself and is therefore limited to proposing amendments to the Constitution we already have, pursuant to the prescribed procedures.

2. We have no idea how an Article V convention would operate.

Article V itself is silent as to the procedural details of a convention, leading some to speculate that we are left clueless as to how the meeting would function. But while it's true that there has never been an Article V convention, per se, the states have met in conventions at least 33 times. There is a clear precedent for how these meetings work.

In fact, many of the Framers had attended one or more conventions, and the basic procedures were always the same. For instance, voting at an interstate convention is always done as states, with each state getting one vote, regardless of population or the number of delegates in attendance (that's why it's a convention of states—not a

The process is so well-safeguarded that it has proven incredibly difficult to invoke.

convention of delegates).
The more detailed, parliamentary rules of the convention are decided by the delegates at the convention itself.

3. The topic of an Article V convention cannot be limited, so convention delegates could re-write the entire Constitution once they assemble.

If states weren't free to define the scope of an Article V convention, then America would have already witnessed many of them. Over the course of our nation's history, states have filed over 400 applications for Article V conventions. The reason we haven't had one yet is because there have never been 34 applications requesting a convention on the same topic.

Moreover, this proposition makes no sense from a historical, practical or legal perspective. In every interstate convention ever held, there was always a specified topic or agenda for the meeting. Practically speaking, some limitation on the topic is necessary in order for the state legislatures to provide instructions to the delegates they send as their agents (states always instruct their delegates).

4. Congress would control an Article V convention.

Anyone who has read James Madison's record of the Philadelphia Convention proceedings knows that the very reason the drafters added the convention method of proposing amendments to Article V was to give the states a way to bypass Congress—which has its own, express power to unilaterally propose amendments. They would never have given Congress control over both methods.

Congress only has two powers related to the convention: to issue the formal call, setting the date and location of the convention once 34 similar applications are received, and to choose between two methods of state ratification for any proposals offered by the convention. That's it.

In fact, at least one federal court has definitively ruled that Congress cannot use any of its Article One powers—including its power under the Necessary and Proper Clause—to affect Article V procedures.

5. The Article V convention process has no safeguards to protect our Constitution from rogue delegates or big-money special interest groups.

To the contrary, the process is so well-safeguarded that it has proven incredibly difficult to invoke! There are numerous, redundant safeguards on the process.

First, the topic specified in the 34 applications that trigger the convention act as an initial limitation on it. These applications are the very source of authority for the convention, so any proposals beyond their scope would be out of order.
Second, state legislatures can recall any delegates who exceed their authority or instructions. Convention delegates are the agents of their state legislature and are subject to its instructions. As a matter of basic agency law, any actions taken outside the scope of a delegate's authority would be void.

But the final and most effective protection of the process is the simple fact that it takes 38 states to ratify any amendment proposed by the convention. This means that it would only take 13 states to block any ill-conceived or illegitimately advocated proposal.

The idea that 38 states would ratify an amendment that was proposed by rogue delegates acting blatantly beyond the scope of their authority and against the expressed will of their state legislatures is deeply insulting to the American people, suggesting that we are no longer capable of wise self-governance.

The government created by our Constitution is only suited to a people who are capable of self-governance. Article V's convention process is part of the beautiful constitutional machinery built to protect the states and the people from an overreaching federal government. It is time for us to use it.

We can't walk boldly into our future without first understanding our history.

CAN WE TRUST THE CONSTITUTION? ANSWERING THE RUNAWAY CONVENTION MYTH

Michael P. Farris, JD, LLM Convention of States Action Co-Founder

Some people contend that our Constitution was illegally adopted as the result of a "runaway convention." They make two claims.

1. The delegates were instructed to merely amend the Articles of Confederation, but they wrote a whole new document.

2. The ratification process was improperly changed from 13 state legislatures to 9 state ratification conventions.

The Delegates Obeyed Their Instructions from the States

The claim that the delegates disobeyed their instructions is based on the idea that Congress called the Constitutional Convention. Proponents of this view assert that Congress limited the delegates to amending the Articles of Confederation. A review of legislative history clearly reveals the error of this claim. The Annapolis Convention, not Congress, was the political impetus for calling the Constitutional Convention. The delegates from the 5 states participating at Annapolis concluded that a broader convention was needed to address the nation's concerns. They named the time and date (Philadelphia; second Monday in May).

The Annapolis delegates said they were going to work to "procure the concurrence of the other States in the appointment of Commissioners." The goal of the upcoming convention was "to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate for the exigencies of the Union."

What role was Congress to play in calling the Convention? None. The Annapolis delegates merely sent a copy of their resolution to Congress solely "from motives of respect."

What authority did the Articles of Confederation give to Congress to call such a Convention? None. The power of Congress under the Articles was strictly limited, and there was no theory of implied powers. The States possessed residual sovereignty which included the power to call this convention.

Seven state legislatures agreed to send delegates to the Constitutional Convention prior to the time that Congress acted to endorse it.

The States told their delegates that the purpose of the Convention was the one stated in the Annapolis Convention resolution: "to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate for the exigencies of the Union."

Congress voted to endorse this Convention on February 21, 1787. It did not purport to "call" the Convention or give instructions to the delegates. It merely proclaimed that "in the opinion of Congress, it is expedient" for the Convention to be held in Philadelphia on the date previously informally set by the Annapolis Convention and formally approved by 7 state legislatures.

Ultimately, 12 states appointed delegates. Ten of these states followed the phrasing of the Annapolis Convention with only minor variations in wording ("render the Federal Constitution adequate"). Two states, New York and Massachusetts, followed the formula stated by Congress ("solely amend the Articles" as well as "render the Federal Constitution adequate").

Every student of history should know that the instructions for delegates came from the states. In *Federalist 40*, James Madison answered the question of "who gave the binding instructions to the delegates." He said: "The powers of the convention ought, in strictness, to be determined by an inspection of the commissions given to the members by their respective constituents [i.e. the states]." He then spends the balance of *Federalist 40* proving the delegates from all 12 states properly followed the directions they were given by each of their states. According to Madison, the February 21st resolution from Congress was merely "a recommendatory act."

The States, not Congress, called the Constitutional Convention. They told their delegates to render the Federal Constitution adequate for the exigencies of the Union. And that is exactly what they did.

The Ratification Process Was Properly Changed

The Articles of Confederation called for approval of any amendments by Congress and ratification by all 13 state legislatures. Moreover, the Annapolis Convention document and a clear majority of States insisted that any amendments coming from the Constitutional Convention would have to be approved in this same manner—by Congress and all 13 state legislatures.

The reason for this rule can be found in the principles of international law. The States were sovereigns. The Articles of Confederation were, in essence, a treaty between 13 sovereign states. Normally, the only way changes in a treaty can be ratified is by the approval of all parties to the treaty.

However, a treaty can provide for something less than unanimous approval if all the parties agree to a new approval process before it goes into effect. This is exactly what the Founders did.

When the Convention sent its draft of the Constitution to Congress, it also recommended a new ratification process. Congress approved both the Constitution itself and the new process.

History tells the story.
The Constitution was legally adopted.
Now, let's move on to getting our nation back to the greatness the Founders originally envisioned.

Along with changing the number of required states from 13 to 9, the new ratification process required that state conventions ratify the Constitution rather than state legislatures. This was done in accord with the preamble of the Constitution—the Supreme Law of the Land would be ratified in the name of "We the People" rather than "We the States."

But before this change in ratification could be valid, all 13 state legislatures would have to consent to the new method. All 13 state legislatures did just this by calling conventions of the people to vote on the merits of the Constitution.

Twelve states held popular elections to vote for delegates. Rhode Island made every voter a delegate and held a series of town meetings to vote on the Constitution. Thus, every state legislature consented to the new ratification process thereby validating the Constitution's requirements for ratification.

Those who claim to be constitutionalists while contending that the Constitution was illegally adopted are undermining themselves. It is like saying George Washington was a great American hero, but he was also a British Spy. I stand with the integrity of our Founders who properly drafted and properly ratified the Constitution.

Our constitutional rights, especially our Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms, are in peril.

AN OPEN LETTER CONCERNING THE 2ND AMENDMENT AND THE CONVENTION OF STATES PROJECT

Charles J. Cooper Long-Time Constitutional Law Litigator for the NRA

Our constitutional rights, especially our Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms, are in peril.

With every tragic violent crime, liberals renew their demands for Congress and state legislatures to enact so-called "commonsense gun control" measures designed to chip away at our individual constitutional right to armed self defense. Indeed, were it not for the determination and sheer political muscle of the National Rifle Association, Senator Feinstein's 2013 bill to outlaw so-called "assault weapons" and other firearms might well have passed. But the most potent threat facing the Second Amendment comes not from Congress, but from the Supreme Court. Four justices of the Supreme Court do not believe that the Second Amendment guarantees an individual right to keep and bear arms. They believe that Congress and state legislatures are free not only to restrict firearms ownership by law-abiding Americans, but to ban firearms altogether. If the Liberals get one more vote on the Supreme Court, the Second Amendment will be no more.

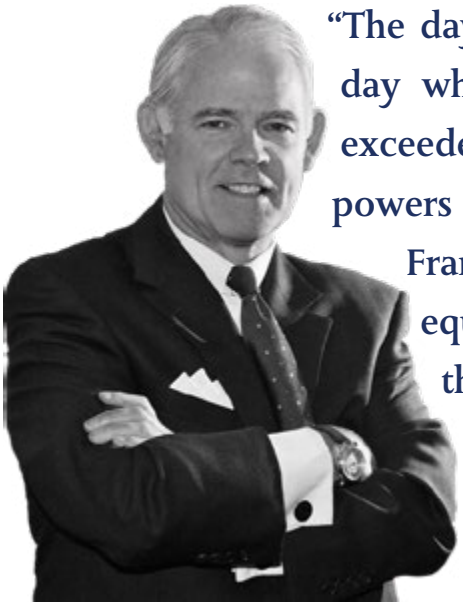
Constitutional law has been the dominant focus of my practice for most of my career as a lawyer, first in the Justice Department as President Reagan's chief constitutional lawyer and the chairman of the President's Working Group on Federalism, and since then as a constitutional litigator in private practice. For almost three decades, I have represented dozens of states and many other clients in constitutional cases, including many Second Amendment cases. In 2001, for example, I argued the first federal appellate case to hold that the Second Amendment guarantees every law-abiding responsible adult citizen an individual right to keep and bear arms. And in 2013 I testified before the Senate in opposition to Senator Feinstein's anti-gun bill, arguing that it would violate the Second Amendment. So I am not accustomed to being accused of supporting a scheme that would "put our Second Amendment rights on the chopping block." This charge is being hurled by a small gun-rights group against me and many other constitutional conservatives because we have urged the states to use their sovereign power under Article V of the Constitution to call for a convention for proposing constitutional amendments designed to rein in the federal government's power.

The real threat to our constitutional rights today is posed not by an Article V convention of the states, but by an out-of-control federal government, exercising powers that it does not have and abusing powers that it does. The federal government's unrelenting encroachment upon the sovereign rights of the

The real threat to our constitutional rights today is posed not by an Article V convention of the states, but by an out-of-control federal government, exercising powers that it does not have and abusing powers that it does.

states and the individual rights of citizens, and the Supreme Court's failure to prevent it, have led me to join the Legal Board of Reference for the Convention of States Project. The Project's mission is to urge 34 state legislatures to call for an Article V convention limited to proposing constitutional amendments that "impose fiscal restraints on the federal government, limit its power and jurisdiction, and impose term limits on its officials and members of Congress." I am joined in this effort by many well-known constitutional conservatives, including Mark Levin, Professor Randy Barnett, Professor Robert George, Michael Farris, Mark Meckler, Professor Robert Natelson, Andrew McCarthy, Professor John Eastman, Ambassador Boyden Gray, and Professor Nelson Lund. All of us have carefully studied the original meaning of Article V, and not one of us would support an Article V convention if we believed it would pose a significant threat to our Second Amendment rights or any of our constitutional freedoms. To the contrary, our mission is to reclaim our democratic and individual freedoms from an overreaching federal government.

The Framers of our Constitution carefully limited the federal government's powers by specifically enumerating those powers in Article I, and the states promptly ensured that the Constitution would expressly protect the "right of the people to keep and bear arms" by adopting the Second Amendment. But the Framers understood human nature, and they could foresee a day when the federal government would yield to the "encroaching spirit of power," as James Madison put in the Federalist Papers, and would invade the sovereign domain of the states and infringe the rights of the citizens. The Framers also knew that the states would be powerless to remedy the federal government's encroachments if the process of amending the Constitution could be initiated only by Congress; as Alexander Hamilton noted in the Federalist Papers, "the national government will always be disinclined to yield up any portion of the authority" it claims. So the Framers wisely equipped the states with the means of reclaiming their sovereign powers and protecting the rights of their citizens, even in the face of congressional opposition. Article V vests the states with unilateral power to convene for the purpose of proposing constitutional amendments and to control the amending process from beginning to end on all substantive matters.



"The day foreseen by the Framers – the day when the federal government far exceeded the limits of its enumerated powers – arrived many years ago. The Framers took care in Article V to equip the people, acting through their state legislatures, with the power to put a stop to it. It is high time they used it."

The day foreseen by the Framers – the day when the federal government far exceeded the limits of its enumerated powers – arrived many years ago. The Framers took care in Article V to equip the people, acting through their state legislatures, with the power to put a stop to it. It is high time they used it.

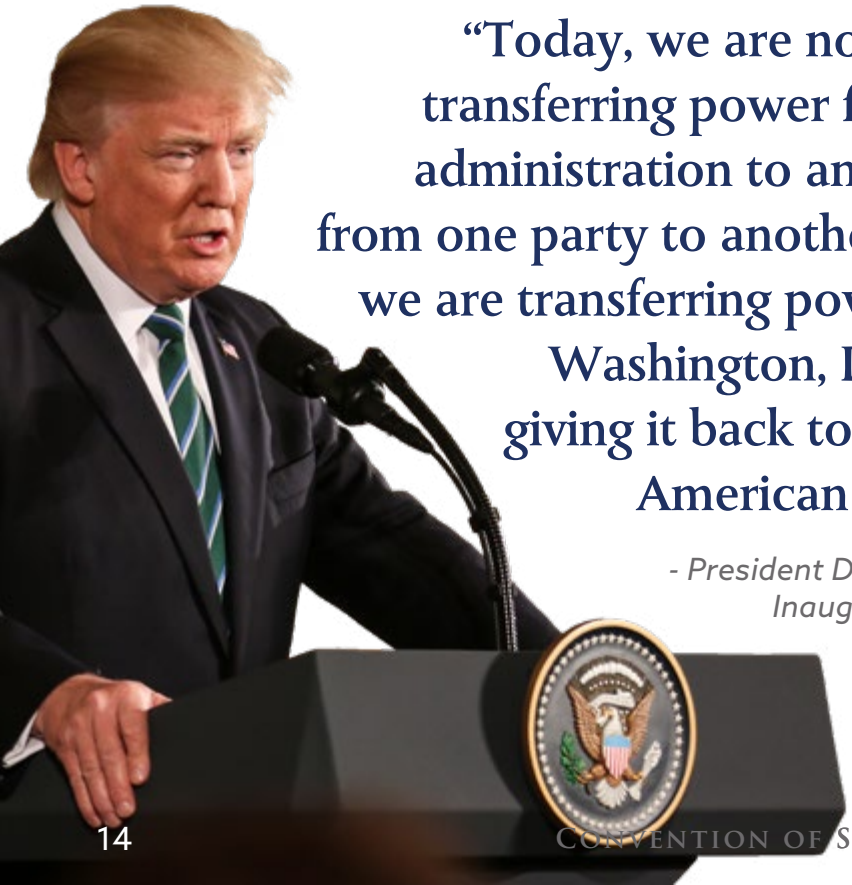
Section 3: The Benefits

"What's the right fight when it seems like there are just so many fights? I want you to focus on one thing...If you are serious about saving the nation, this is the best way to do it."

WE CAN DRAIN THE SWAMP

Sean Hannity is a conservative commentator and host of *The Sean Hannity Show*

For more than twenty years, Sean Hannity has filled the radio airwaves and Fox News channel with conservative news and commentary. We are pleased that this prominent and influential figure has endorsed the Convention of States. Hannity supported President Trump's pledge to "drain the swamp" in Washington, D.C., when the President said during his inaugural speech, "today, we are not merely transferring power from one administration to another, or from one party to another -- but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C., and giving it back to you, the American People."



"Today, we are not merely transferring power from one administration to another, or from one party to another — but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C., and giving it back to you, the American People."

- President Donald Trump, Inaugural Address, Jan. 20, 2017

However, Hannity points out that the swamp is frankly too deep for the President to drain alone. "We know about the D.C. Swamp and the Deep State. We know it is too deep to be drained from the inside...it's not going to happen. President Trump is doing his best, but the D.C. monsters and the swamp are fighting against everything he does everyday. They want to destroy him. What can we do to help? What's the right fight when it seems like there are just so many fights?"

Hannity has been in the fight a long time, seeing promises broken time and time again by corrupt politicians that only want to keep them-

selves in office while lining their pockets. He has come to see that Washington is fundamentally broken. As Hannity points out, "The massive, budget-busting spending bill that passed proves that D.C. will NEVER reform itself. If Republicans in Congress and the Presidency can't control our deficit spending...then who can? We the People actually can."

When Sean discovered the Convention of States movement, he knew he found the right solution for the corruption and irresponsibility in Washington. Through a little known clause in Article V of the Constitution, states can pass resolutions to call a convention limited to proposing amendments that impose fiscal restraints on the federal government, limit the power and jurisdiction of the federal government, and limit the terms of office for its officials and for members of Congress.

Hannity said, "The solution is in our Constitution. We can call a Convention of States to restrain the size, scope, power and jurisdiction of the federal government. That includes stopping the madness of borrowing and spending... and mortgaging our kids' and grandkids' future. We don't need the approval of anyone in Washington or the federal government to approve it. Congress and the courts can't stop us.

"The reality is that we can and we must take power back. We the People have constitutional authority - we just have to use it. We have the power of the Convention of States."
While electing good people to office is important, Hannity emphasizes this fight requires more. "We have some good people trying to fight with us, but don't sit around and complain.

"President Trump can't do it alone. And Congress won't do it. We can drain the swamp together.

"If you're serious about making a huge impact on the country in a positive way, it's through a Convention of States."

"You watch what's happening every single day and you see the deep state, what they've done, and what they are doing. Obviously, they're at war against the President, but also against freedom itself. They're not going to clean up the swamp. They're not capable of monitoring themselves, so it falls to us."

"How many times have you heard me talking about a Convention of States and you say, 'I need to do this?' You do need to do it. We need you to do it. I'll give the President a lot of credit. He's taking all this heat and he's trying to do his part, but you know what? He needs us to help him."

Article V is the ultimate nullification procedure.

THE ARTICLE V SOLUTION — THE WAY TO IMPLEMENT THE TENTH AMENDMENT

Rita Dunaway, Esq. National Legislative Strategist for the Convention of States Project

It's the elephant in the room. The 10th Amendment boldly declares:

"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."

But if the daily news is any indication, there is no subject exempt from federal power. Through its power of the purse, which is virtually unlimited under the modern interpretation, Congress can impact, influence, or coerce behavior in nearly every aspect of life.

The question, then, that holds the key to unlocking our constitutional quandary, is this: how do states protect their reserved powers under the 10th Amendment?

On a piecemeal basis, states can certainly challenge federal actions through lawsuits, arguing that the federal government lacks constitutional authority to act in a particular area. But what if the court, as it is wont to do, "interprets" the Constitution as providing the disputed authority? What then?

In their frustration and disbelief over the growing extent of federal abuses of power (and the refusal of our Supreme Court to correct them), some conservatives argue that states should engage in "nullification," whereby the states simply refuse to comply with federal laws they deem unconstitutional.

While there are some, less dramatic forms of nullification that are perfectly appropriate and constitutional—such as states refusing to accept federal funds that come attached to federal requirements—this state-by-state, ad hoc review of federal law is fraught with legal and practical pitfalls.

The states' constitutional remedy is to amend the Constitution to clarify the meaning of the clauses that have been perverted. In this way, the states can assert their authority to close the loopholes the Supreme Court has opened.

First of all, which state officer, institution, or individual decides whether a federal action is authorized under the Constitution? Is it the state supreme court, the legislature, the attorney general—or can any individual make the determination? After all, the 10th Amendment reserves powers to individuals as well as to states.

Secondly, how can a state enforce its nullification of a federal law? For instance, if a state decides that the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate is unconstitutional, how can it protect its citizens against the "tax" that will be levied against them if they fail to comply? It's difficult to envision an effective nullification enforcement method that doesn't end, at some point, with armed conflict.

But for true conservatives whose goal is to conserve the original design of our federal system, the far more fundamental problem with this type of in-your-face nullification is the fact that it was not the Founders' plan.

Article Six tells us that the Constitution, and federal laws passed pursuant to it, are the "supreme law of the land." Under Article Three, the United States Supreme Court is considered to be the final interpreter of the Constitution. While some claim that this was not the Founders' intention, historical records such as Alexander Hamilton's Federalist 78 demonstrate it was, in fact, the judiciary that they intended to assess the constitutionality of legislative acts.

And then we have the 10th Amendment itself. It establishes a principle, but it does not establish a remedy or process for protecting the reserved powers from federal intrusion.

That missing process is found in Article Five. Faced with a federal government acting beyond the scope of its legitimate powers—and a Supreme Court that adopts erroneous interpretations of the Constitution to justify the federal overreach—the states' constitutional remedy is to amend the Constitution to clarify the meaning of the clauses that have been perverted. In this way, the states can assert their authority to close the loopholes the Supreme Court has opened.

You don't have to take my word for it.

In an 1830 letter to Edward Everett, James Madison said:

"Should the provisions of the Constitution as here reviewed be found not to secure the Govt. & rights of the States agst. Usurpations & abuses on the part of the U.S. the final resort within the purview of the Constn. lies in an amendment of the Constn. according to a process applicable by the States."

In other words, Article Five is the ultimate nullification procedure. For states that have the will to stand up and assert their 10th Amendment rights, they can do so by applying for an Article V convention to propose amendments that restrain federal power.

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.

American taxpayers have lost multiple billions of dollars on campnies owned by big political donors who received federal funding and then went bankrupt.

CURBING THE CORRUPTING INFLUENCE OF MONEY IN POLITICS

Vickie Deppe

Most Americans are legitimately suspicious of lobbyists and big-money political donors…so much so, that the Supreme Court's Citizens United decision sparked its own Article V movement.

But an Article V Convention to limit the power and jurisdiction of the federal government and establish spending controls and term limits upon its officials gives the states the power to propose amendments that can address this problem in a variety of ways.

Big-money donors are not usually ideologically motivated, but they do expect favorable treatment for themselves or their business interests once their candidate is sworn in as a legislator. We believe taking away the favors politicians have to dispense will dry up this money and restore the level playing field Americans hold dear, far more effectively than continued attempts at a regulatory solution...for which someone always finds a workaround, anyway.

One of the most common means for politicians to reward their supporters is through regulatory exemptions. An amendment that prohibits members of Congress from exempting themselves and their friends from the laws they make for the rest of us not only enjoys the unanimous support of voters we've surveyed, but also removes a powerful incentive for business owners to attempt to "buy" candidates. A companion amendment removing de facto lawmaking authority from unelected bureaucrats will help prevent members of Congress from hiding these activities from voters. Such amendments will also help locally-owned businesses compete more effectively with large corporations who can afford lobbyists and attorneys to keep them in compliance with ever-more burdensome and complex federal regulations. Americans agree that a business should succeed because it offers a superior product or service to its customers...not because it has friends in Washington.

Another vehicle for cronyism rests in the power of politicians to use taxpayer money to invest in and award grants, loans, and loan guarantees to for-profit businesses. Why should the politically connected get to shake down the American taxpayer when they couldn't convince local banks and investors to fund their projects? American taxpayers have lost multiple billions of dollars on companies owned by big political donors who received federal funding and then went bankrupt. Moreover, when the federal government invests in businesses, even as it regulates them and the financial markets in which they function, it acts as both referee and player. This creates an additional

Americans agree that a business should succeed because it offers a superior product or service to its customers...not because it has friends in Washington.

dimension of conflict-of-interest that everyday Americans find unacceptable. The only way this practice will be stopped is for the states to propose and ratify an amendment prohibiting it; there is too much power and money involved to expect Congress to reform itself.

Finally, term limits can serve to disrupt the ability of lobbyists and big donors to groom and maintain politicians. Term limits are wildly popular among voters, but many legislators have serious and legitimate reservations. There are two reasons that legislators opposed to term limits can feel good about supporting our initiative.

The state legislatures, not the Convention of States Project or voters directly, are in the driver's seat at the convention. Our application provides the opportunity for term limits to be discussed, but in no way guarantees that they will be included on the agenda, much less adopted or ratified. Those who oppose term limits will have the opportunity to argue forcefully against them, and states may instruct their delegation to vote "no" if such a measure comes to a floor vote.

Momentum for term limits is largely driven by dissatisfaction with legislators over the issues and abuses discussed above. When common sense reforms are adopted to curb these abuses, the pressure for term limits will likely subside. It may seem counterintuitive, but our application offers the best avenue to avoid term limits because it has the potential to remedy the root causes behind the push for them. Absent such measures, term limits will continue to gain popular support. U.S. Term Limits, a group dedicated to enacting term limits on legislators, makes gains every election cycle, and has recently announced a new Article V effort to complement its legislator pledge initiative.

Otto von Bismarck once compared laws to sausage. He said it's probably best if people don't watch them being made. Here at the Convention of States Project, we're working to put the kitchen in plain view of the diners.

Why should the politically connected get to shake down the American taxpayer when they couldn't convince local banks and investors to fund their projects?

It is time for the states to use the tool the Constitution provides in Article V to curtail judicial tyranny once and for all.

HOW TO STOP JUDGES FROM LEGISLATING FROM THE BENCH

Rita Dunaway, Esq. National Legislative Strategist for the Convention of States Project

"We need more Republicans in 2018 and must ALWAYS hold the Supreme Court!"

This recent tweet by President Trump naturally ruffled the feathers of liberal pundits, but it points to a particular perversion of our federal system that should be troubling to all of us: a highly politicized and virtually omnipotent judiciary.

The founders expected the judiciary to be the "least dangerous" branch of government; the neutral arbiter of legal questions according to the written laws adopted pursuant to the political process. But today, that would be a poor description of what the court actually does.

Thanks to the idea that we live under an "organic Constitution" whose meaning changes with the times, many federal judges today are not so much neutral arbiters as they are linguistic contortionists, twisting the black-and-white words of our Constitution to accommodate shape-shifting societal values.

The states' constitutional remedy is to amend the Constitution to clarify the meaning of the clauses that have been perverted. In this way, the states can assert their authority to close the loopholes the Supreme Court has opened.

In the hands of judges allowed to operate according to this philosophy, the Constitution cannot effectively define or limit government power. As long as we permit judges to reinvent the meaning of the words and phrases that frame our government, the political persuasion of those judges will not only be relevant, but key.

Do they think the Affordable Care Act is a good idea? Then they will just announce that Congress' taxation power allows it to penalize individuals for not purchasing a qualifying policy. Voila – a precedent declaring Congress to have a

power that neither a single Founding Father nor intellectually honest modern-day reader would have ever perceived from constitutional text.

The late Justice Antonin Scalia once lamented, "The Court must be living in another world. Day by day, case by case, it is busy designing a Constitution for a country I do not recognize." A Court with the power to do this is guaranteed to be a politicized Court, and the government of which it is a part will be one whose boundaries are constantly moving.

If we all agree that this is problematic – if we prefer the rule of law to the rule of judges – then we should unite to restore a judiciary that decides cases on the basis of what is actually written in the law. Where the law is silent, the question is left to the political process.

But how do we get back to this?

The long-term solution is constitutional amendment. Through an amendment, we should instruct the court to strictly construe the enumerated powers of the federal government according to the meaning of the words when written, and that while the people's liberties should be interpreted broadly, new "rights" may only be codified by legislatures or added pursuant to Article V's constitutional amendment process; they may not be created by the courts.

The effect of this kind of permanent rule of constitutional interpretation would be not only to restrict the courts to doing what courts were meant to do, but also to put the rest of the federal government back inside its constitutional fences. It would require federal courts to strike down the myriad actions and policies of federal agencies, institutions and officials that are not directly tied to an enumerated federal power as those powers were originally understood.

This, in turn, would restore a robust federal system in which state and local governments – which are much more responsive to the people – determine the vast majority of the laws and policies that govern us.

Despite what some may suggest, interpreting the Constitution strictly according to its original meaning doesn't relegate us to life with an outdated Constitution. When changes are truly needed, they simply must be made and approved by "we, the people," according to the process we all agreed upon (in Article V) rather than made by judicial fiat.

This is what it looks like to live under the rule of law.

We have long complained about illegitimate "judicial activism" and the ways it has undermined ou- self-governance. It is time for the states to use the tool the Constitution provides in Article V to curtail judicial tyranny once and for all. How a federal judge – and especially a Supreme Court justice – will interpret the supreme law of our land is too significant to be merely a litmus test used by partisan politicians in the appointment process. It should be a black-and-white mandate to the judiciary contained in the Constitution itself.

Many federal judges today are not so much neutral arbiters as they are linguistic contortionists, twisting the black-and-white words of our Constitution to accommodate shape-shifting societal values.

Section 4: Appendix

APPLICATION FOR A CONVENTION OF STATES

Whereas, the Founders of our Constitution empowered State Legislators to be guardians of liberty against future abuses of power by the federal government, and

Whereas, the federal government has created a crushing national debt through improper and imprudent spending, and

Whereas, the federal government has invaded the legitimate roles of the states through the manipulative process of federal mandates, most of which are unfunded to a great extent, and

Whereas, the federal government has ceased to live under a proper interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, and

Whereas, it is the solemn duty of the States to protect the liberty of our people—particularly for the generations to come—by proposing Amendments to the Constitution of the United States through a Convention of the States under Article V for the purpose of restraining these and related abuses of power,

Be it therefore resolved by the legislature of the State of _____:

Section 1. The legislature of the State of _____ hereby applies to Congress, under the provisions of Article V of the Constitution of the United States, for the calling of a convention of the states limited to proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States that impose fiscal restraints on the federal government, limit the power and jurisdiction of the federal government, and limit the terms of office for its officials and for members of Congress.

Section 2. The secretary of state is hereby directed to transmit copies of this application to the President and Secretary of the United States Senate and to the Speaker and Clerk of the United States House of Representatives, and copies to the members of the said Senate and House of Representatives from this State; also to transmit copies hereof to the presiding officers of each of the legislative houses in the several States, requesting their cooperation.

Section 3. This application constitutes a continuing application in accordance with Article V of the Constitution of the United States until the legislatures of at least two-thirds of the several states have made applications on the same subject.

END WASHINGTON'S OVERREACH

Washington D.C., will never voluntarily relinquish power. Article V of the Constitution offers the single best remedy for the crisis our nation is facing. The most important thing you can do to be a part of the solution is to tell your elected state legislators your position. ***Please ACT now and sign the petition below.*** *Thank you for your commitment to restore constitutional government.*

Dear [State Legislator],

Almost everyone knows that our federal government is on a dangerous course. The unsustainable debt, combined with crushing regulations on states and business, is a recipe for disaster.

What is less known is that the Founders gave state legislatures the power to act as a final check on abuses of power
in Washington, D.C. Article V of the U.S. Constitution authorizes the state legislatures to call a convention for proposing needed amendments to the Constitution.

The Convention of States Project seeks to call an Article V convention to propose only amendments that would impose fiscal restraints on the federal government, limit its power and jurisdiction, and impose term limits on its officials and members of Congress.

I support this approach. I want our state to be one of the necessary 34 states to pass a resolution calling for this kind of Article V Convention. You can find a copy of the model resolution and the Handbook for Legislators and Citizens (which explains the process and answers many questions) here: http://www.conventionofstates.com/handbook_pdf

I ask that you support the Convention of States Project and consider becoming a co-sponsor of the resolution. Please respond to my request by informing the national COS team of your position, or sending them any questions you may have:

info@conventionofstates.com or (540) 441-7227

Thank you for your service to the people of our district.

Respectfully, [Your Name]

CLICK HERE TO
SIGN THE PETITION

THE JEFFERSON STATEMENT

On September 11, 2014, some of our nation's finest legal minds convened to consider arguments for and against the use of Article V to restrain federal power. These experts specifically rejected the argument that a Convention of States is likely to be misused or improperly controlled by Congress, concluding instead that the mechanism provided by the Founders is safe. Moreover, they shared the conviction that Article V provides the only constitutionally effective means to restore our federal system. The conclusions of these prestigious experts are memorialized in The Jefferson Statement, which is reproduced here. The names and biographical information of the endorsers, who have formed a "Legal Board of Reference" for the Convention of States , are listed below the Statement.

The Constitution's Framers foresaw a day when the federal government would exceed and abuse its enumerated powers, thus placing our liberty at risk. George Mason was instrumental in fashioning a mechanism by which "we the people" could defend our freedom—the ultimate check on federal power contained in Article V of the Constitution.

Article V provides the states with the opportunity to propose constitutional amendments through a process called a Convention of States. This process is controlled by the states from beginning to end on all substantive matters.

A Convention of States is convened when 34 state legislatures pass resolutions (applications) on an agreed topic or set of topics. The Convention is limited to considering amendments on these specified topics.

While some have expressed fears that a Convention of States might be misused or improperly controlled by Congress, it is our considered judgment that the checks and balances in the Constitution are more than sufficient to ensure the integrity of the process.

The Convention of States mechanism is safe, and it is the only constitutionally effective means available to do what is so essential for our nation—restoring robust federalism with genuine checks on the power of the federal government.

We share the Founders' conviction that proper decision-making structures are essential to preserve liberty. We believe that the problems facing our nation requireseveral structural limitations on the exercise of federal power. While fiscal restraints are essential, we believe the most effective course is to pursue reasonable limitations, fully in line with the vision of our Founders, on the federal government.

Accordingly, I endorse the Convention of States Project, which calls for an Article V Convention for "the sole purpose of proposing amendments that impose fiscal restraints on the federal government, limit the power and jurisdiction of the federal government, and limit the terms of office for its officials and for members of Congress." I hereby agree to serve on the Legal Board of Reference for the Convention of States Project.

Signed,

*Randy E. Barnett**	*Charles J. Cooper**	*John C. Eastman**	*Michael P. Farris**
*Robert P. George**	*C. Boyden Gray**	*Mark Levin**	*Nelson Lund*
*Andrew McCarthy**	*Mark Meckler**	*Mat Staver*	

Original signers of The Jefferson Statement

ENDORSEMENTS

Mark Levin

Author and Radio Host

"I have whole-heartedly endorsed the Convention of States Project. I serve on its Legal Board of Reference because they propose a solution as big as the problem."

Sean Hannity

Author and Talk Show Host

"There's a solution in our Constitution. We have the power to call a Convention of States to restrain the size, the power, the scope, and the jurisdiction of the federal government. If you're serious about saving the nation, this is the best way to do it. Join the constitutional revolution with Convention of States Project."

Senator Rand Paul

Kentucky

"...I support the Convention of States Project to restore the original constitutional limits on federal power by calling a limited convention to propose amendments to rein in our out-of-control federal government."

Mike Huckabee

Former Governor of Arkansas

"My longtime friend, Michael Farris - who is an excellent constitutional litigator and professor - has joined with Mark Meckler... to actually bring [a Convention of States] into reality. I have reviewed their plan and it is both innovative and realistic."

Ben Carson

Secretary, U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Dev.

When asked if he endorsed Convention of States, Dr. Carson stated: "Very much so.... Our Founders knew that there would probably come a time when you might have to make some adjustments to the Constitution."

Lt. Col. Allen West *(U.S. Army, Ret.)*

Former Representative from Florida

"Thank goodness the Founders had the wisdom to provide us with Article V of the Constitution, which gives us the right and power to hold an Amending Convention for the purpose of proposing amendments to restrain the scope and power of the federal government... Under the system of federalism, I support the efforts to gather a constitutional Convention of States consistent with Article V and honoring the 10th Amendment."

Senator Marco Rubio

Florida

"I put my trust in the people, not Washington, in the critical effort to restore constitutional, limited government. The Convention of States Project is a genuine grassroots movement to achieve that goal, and one that I am proud to be a part of."

Jim DeMint

Former U.S. Senator from South Carolina

"Americans are sick and tired of the doubletalk coming out of Washington. So am I. After serving in the House, the Senate, and as President of the Heritage Foundation, I've finally realized the most important truth of our time: Washington D.C., will never fix itself. Article V is the only solution."

Ben Shapiro

Editor-In-Chief of the Daily Wire

"I absolutely support the Convention of States Project…. Article V exists so that the people have the final say, not the federal government. If you believe the people should decide instead of Washington, D.C., then you should support the Convention of States Project."

Gov. Greg Abbott

Governor of Texas

"The Founders of the United States of America inserted Article V into the Constitution, because they knew the entrenched powers of Washington would thumb their noses at the states and try to hijack the system for themselves...That is why we need a Convention of States, authorized in the Constitution, to propose amendments to fix America."

Tom Coburn, M.D.

Former U.S. Senator from Oklahoma

"There is not enough political will in Washington to fix the real problems facing the country. It's time for the people to take back their country. The plan put forth by Convention of States is a great way to do just that by using the process the founders gave us for reining in the federal government."

Pete Hegseth

Talk Show Host, Fox News Channel

"The leviathan of today's federal government continues to grow unabated, pushing the people further away from our Founder's vision of self-governance. The Convention of States Project is the only constitutional pathway for citizens to save our Republic by restoring it to her citizens. Article V of our Constitution underscores the duty of active citizenship and I am proud to stand with millions of volunteers in this effort."

Lawrence Jones

Host, The Blaze

"The only way to put government back in check and return to America to its founding documents is if 'we the people' do it. Convention of States is a great organization built by and for the grassroots. I believe we have the opportunity right now to get to convention and turn our country around."

Steve Hilton

Talk Show Host, Fox News Channel

"I believe we have the opportunity right now to get to convention and turn our country around."

Sarah Palin

Former Governor of Alaska

"On a state level I think it's very important that we find candidates and elect them, who would be willing to call for a Convention of States if need be. Because that is the tool the people have to rein in government."

Want to see more resources like this?

Please consider making a contribution today
to help support the creation of these valuable resources.

CLICK HERE TO
DONATE

USA OKLAHOMA MISSISSIPPI INDIANA WASHINGTON ILLINOIS WYOMING SOUTH CAROLINA OREGON TEXAS CONNECTICUT ARKANSAS NEW HAMPSHIRE KENTUCKY MICHIGAN ALASKA MASSACHUSETTS CALIFORNIA IOWA MINNESOTA MARYLAND SOUTH DAKOTA GEORGIA OHIO

CONVENTION of STATES ACTION