## **Constitutional Underpinnings** (5-15%)

- I. Considerations that influenced the formulation and adoption of the Constitution
  - A. Roots
    - 1. Religious Freedom
      - a) Puritan Theocracy
        - (1) 9 of 13 had state church
      - b) Rhode Island
        - (1) Roger Williams
      - c) Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom
        - (1) Thomas Jefferson
        - (2) First Amendment
    - 2. Representative Government
      - a) Jamestown 1619
      - b) Mayflower Compact
    - 3. Individual Liberties Incorporated into Colonial Laws and Constitutions
  - B. American Revolution
    - 1. Reaction to Violations of Individual Liberties
    - 2. Reaction to Tyranny of King George
      - a) Concentration of Power
    - 3. Reaction to Attack on Representative Government
    - 4. **Declaration of Independence** 
      - a) Equality
      - b) Natural Rights
        - (1) Life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness
        - (2) Purpose of government
      - c) **John Locke** 
        - (1) Second Treatise on Government
        - (2) Life, liberty, and property
        - (3) Social Contract
  - C. Articles of Confederation 1781
    - 1. States wrote constitutions that guaranteed individual liberties
    - 2. Confederation reflected views on state sovereignty
    - 3. Created fragile "league of friendship"
    - 4. Many Weaknesses
      - a) Limited and Inadequate Central Government
      - b) No Executive or Judicial Branches
      - c) Congress Had Little Authority Over States or Citizenry
    - 5. Annapolis Convention
      - a) Alexander Hamilton
      - b) Called for a Convention to Amend the Articles
    - 6. Shays' Rebellion
      - a) Catalyst for Strengthening Articles
      - b) Highlighted Need for Stronger Central Government
  - D. Constitutional Convention 1787

- The Delegates
   a) 55 of most influential men in the nation
   b) Main Contributors

   James Madison
   Notes
  - (2) Alexander Hamilton
  - (3) George Washington
    - (a) Presided
  - c) Secret Proceedings
- 2. Consensus
  - a) Republican Government
    - (1) Representative Democracy
    - (2) Although the y distrusted the common people
      - (a) House was the only body elected directly by the people
      - (b) Senate
        - (i) State Legislatures
        - (ii) 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment
      - (c) President
        - (i) Electoral College
      - (d) Restrict voting to white male landowners
        - (i) States determine voting qualifications
  - b) Balanced Government Favoring the Protection of Property
    - (1) An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution by Charles Beard
  - c) National Government Consisting of a Supreme Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Branch
  - d) Need for a Strong Executive and Independent Judiciary
    - (1) Thought Legislative would be most powerful branch
- 3. Conflict and Compromise
  - a) Large States v. Small States
    - (1) NJ Plan
      - (a) Small
      - (b) Equal Representation
    - (2) VA Plan
      - (a) Large
      - (b) Representation Based on Population
    - (3) Great or Connecticut Compromise
      - (a) Bicameral Legislature
        - (i) House
          - (a) Population
        - (ii) Senate
          - (a) Equal
  - b) North v. South

- (1) 2/3 Majority in Senate to Ratify Treaties
  - (a) South
- (2) 3/5 Compromise
- (3) End Slave Trade
- E. Ratification
  - 1. Nine States Necessary
    - a) Violation of Articles
  - 2. Federalists
    - a) Favored Ratification
    - b) The Federalist Papers
      - (1) Madison, Hamilton, and John Jay (Publius)
      - (2) New York
      - (3) Meaning and Justification for Constitutional Provisions
  - 3. Anti-Federalists
    - a) Feared National Government was Too Strong
    - b) Wanted Bill of Rights to Guarantee Individual Liberties
    - c) Worried About States' Rights
    - d) George Mason
      - (1) VA Declaration of Rights
      - (2) Refused to sign Constitution
    - e) Patrick Henry
  - 4. Madison promised to introduce a Bill of Rights in first Congress in order to address Anti-Federalist concerns
    - a) Madison originally believed government was limited enough under the Constitution that individual liberties would not be threatened
    - b) Amendments he introduced were very similar to Mason's Declaration of Rights
  - 5. All States Eventually Ratified
    - a) Two largest states (VA and NY) were last to ratify
- II. Separation of Powers and the Constitution
  - A. Three Branches
    - 1. Legislative, Executive, and Judicial
  - B. Checks and Balances
    - 1. Each branch has a role in the actions of others yet is politically independent of others
    - 2. Federalist 51
      - a) Madison
      - b) Pluralism
      - c) Ambition checks ambition
      - d) No one group will have all the power
    - 3. Powers of Each Branch
      - a) Legislative-Congress-Makes Laws-Article I
        - (1) Power of the Purse

- (2) Override Presidential Veto with 2/3 Vote of Both Houses
- (3) Propose Constitutional Amendments with 2/3 Vote
- (4) House Can Impeach President and Other Federal Officials Including Judges
- (5) Senate Confirms Senior Federal Appointments Including Judges
- (6) Money Bills Begin in House
- (7) Senate Approves Treaties With 2/3 Vote
- (8) Senate Tries All Impeachments
- (9) Determines Number, Location, and Jurisdiction of Federal Courts
- (10) Declare War
- b) Executive-President-Enforces Laws-Article II
  - (1) Veto Bills
  - (2) Call Special Session of Congress
  - (3) Pardon People Convicted of Federal Crimes
  - (4) Nominate Officers of the U.S. Government Including Judges
  - (5) Commander in Chief
- c) Judicial-Supreme Court and Lower Courts-Interprets Laws-Article III
  - (1) Declare Executive Actions and Laws Unconstitutional
    - (a) Judicial Review
      - (i) Marbury v. Madison (1803)
      - (ii) John Marshall
  - (2) Appointed For Life
  - (3) Chief Justice Presides in Presidential Impeachment Trials in the Senate
- C. The Living Constitution
  - 1. World's Oldest
  - 2. Vagueness Leads to Judicial Interpretation
    - a) Loose v. Strict Interpretation
    - b) Original Intent?
      - (1) Federalist Papers
      - (2) Madison's Notes
      - (3) Other Writings by the Framers
  - 3. Formal Mechanisms for Change-Article V
    - a) Amending the Constitution
      - (1) Proposing Amendments
        - (a) 2/3 of Both house of Congress
        - (b) Convention Requested by State Legislatures in 2/3 of States
          - (i) Never used
      - (2) Ratifying Amendments

- (a) Two Methods-Congress Chooses Which One
  - (i) ¾ of State Legislatures
  - (ii) Specially Called Ratifying Conventions in 34 of States
    - a) Only used for the 21<sup>st</sup>
      Amendment
- (b) Supreme Court has said ratification must take place within a "reasonable time"
  - (i) Sometimes a deadline is set
    - (a) ERA
  - (ii)  $27^{th}$  Amendment
    - (a) Proposed in 1789 and ratified in 1992
- (3) How It Has Been Used
  - (a) To Guarantee Individual Liberties
    - (i) Bill of Rights
      - (a) First Ten Amendments
  - (b) To Add or Subtract National Government Power
    - (i) 11<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup>, and 27<sup>th</sup> Amendments
  - (c) To Expand the Electorate and Its Power
    - (i) 15<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>, 24<sup>th</sup>, and 26<sup>th</sup> Amendments
  - (d) To Reduce the Electorate's Power
    - (i) 22<sup>nd</sup> Amendment
  - (e) To Limit State Government Power
    - (i) 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Amendments as well as those that expand the electorate and its power
  - (f) To Make Structural Changes in Government
    - (i) 12<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 25<sup>th</sup> Amendments
- 4. Informal Methods of Change
  - a) Judicial Interpretation
    - (1) Judicial Review
  - b) Congressional Elaboration and Interpretation
    - (1) Judicial Branch
    - (2) "High Crimes and Misdemeanors"
  - c) Presidential Practices
    - (1) Executive Orders
      - (a) Full force of law
      - (b) Can be rescinded by future presidents
    - (2) Executive Privilege
      - (a) *U.S. v. Nixon* (1974)

- (i) Exists, but not in criminal investigation
- (ii) Watergate Tapes
- (3) Propose Legislation Through a Member of Congress
  - (a) Actively push for its passage
- (4) Leader in Foreign or Economic Crisis and Promotion of General welfare
  - (a) World War II and Great Depression
    - (i) FDR
      - (a) Beginning of Modern ("Imperial") Presidency
  - (b) Beginning of Nuclear Age and Cold War
    - (i) Leader of the "Free World"
    - (ii) Commit Troops without Declaration of War
  - (c) September 11
  - (d) Only one capable of swift action
    - (i) Katrina?
- d) Custom and Usage
  - (1) Emergence of Political Parties
    - (a) Divided Government
  - (2) Expansion of the Electorate and Move Toward More Direct democracy
    - (a) States
      - (i) Expansion of Suffrage
      - (ii) Direct Primaries
      - (iii) Initiative, Referendum, and Recall
    - (b) 15<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 26<sup>th</sup> Amendments
    - (c) Lower Voter Turnout
  - (3) Establishment of Independent Agencies
  - (4) Televised Press Conferences and State of the Union
  - (5) Presidential and Vice Presidential Debates
- e) Changes in Technology
  - (1) Radio and Television
    - (a) President can appeal directly to public
    - (b) Constant coverage of President
    - (c) C-SPAN
    - (d) 24 Hour a Day News Channels
      - i) Live coverage of events
  - (2) Targeted Direct Mail
    - (a) Campaign Tool
  - (3) Nuclear Weapons
    - (a) Increased presidential power
      - i) "The Football"

- (4) Internet
  - (a) Email
  - (b) Blogs
- (5) Polling
- (6) Cell Phones and Fax Machines
  - (a) Instant Communication

## III. Federalism

- A. Constitutional Division of Powers Between the National and State Governments
- B. Types
  - 1. Dual (Layer Cake)
    - National Government has Specific List of Powers and All
       Others Belong to the States
    - b) Supreme Court is the Umpire
    - c) Prevailing View For First Hundred Years
  - 2. Cooperative
    - System of Intergovernmental Relations in Delivering Goods and Services and Calls for Cooperation Among Various Levels of Government
  - 3. Marble Cake
    - a) Morton Grodzins
    - b) All Levels of Government are Involved in a Variety of Issues and Programs Rather Than Fixed Positions as in Dual or Layer Cake
  - 4. Competitive
    - a) Thomas Dye
    - b) Many Different Levels of Government Competing With Each Other Over Ways to Put Together Services and Taxes
  - 5. Permissive
    - a) Power is Shared but States' Share Rests Upon Permission of National Government
  - 6. New
    - a) Power of National Government is Limited in Favor of Broad Powers Reserved for the States
    - b) Ronald Reagan, William Rehnquist
- C. Alternatives
  - 1. Unitary
    - a) Britain
  - 2. Confederation
    - a) Articles, Southern States During American Civil War, European Union
- D. Advantages
  - 1. Confederation Had Been Tried and Unitary was Out of the Question Due to Strong State Allegiances
  - 2. Federalism Checks the Growth of Tyranny
    - a) Pluralism

- b) Madison
- 3. Allows Unity Without Uniformity
- 4. Encourages Experimentation
- 5. Keeps Government Closer to the People
- E. Constitutional Structure
  - 1. **National Government Powers** 
    - a) Expressed
      - (1) Powers of the three branches that are listed in **Articles I, II, and III** 
        - (a) Power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce has allowed them to regulate many activities
          - (i) Gibbons v. Ogden (1824)
          - (ii) U.S. v. Morrison
          - (iii) See Commerce Clause Litigation in Supremacy of National Laws Handout
        - (b) Power to Tax and Spend
          - (i) Withholding Funds
            - (a) Discrimination
            - (b) Speed Limit
            - (c) Drinking Age
          - (ii) Grants
            - (a) Four Purposes
              - (i) Supply state and local governments with revenue
              - (ii) Establish minimum national standards for things such as highways or clean air
              - (iii) Equalize resources among the states
              - (iv) Attack national problems yet minimize the growth of federal agencies
            - (b) Types
              - (i) Revenue Sharing-Federal grants to state and local governments to be used at their discretion 1972-1987
              - (ii) Categorical Grants-Money given for

- specific categories sometimes allocated by a predetermined formula
- (iii) Project GrantsSpecific amount of money allocated to states and localities based on applications to fund specific projects
- (iv) Block Grants-Broad grants to states for prescribed activities with very few strings attached, States have considerable flexibility
- (c) Politics
  - (i) Centralist v. Decentralist
- (iii) Federal Mandates
  - (a) Often Unfunded
  - (b) ADA
  - (c) Environmental Laws
  - (d) Unfunded Mandates Reform Act of 1995
    - (i) Put some mild restraints on Congress but did not end the practice

- b) Implied
  - (1) Necessary and Proper Clause-Article I
  - (2) McCulloch v. Maryland
- c) Inherent
  - (1) Powers Related to Foreign Affairs Which Must be Handled by National Government
    - (a) Dealing with foreign countries
      - (i) Appointing and receiving ambassadors
      - (ii) Treaties
    - (b) War
- 2. Powers of the States
  - a) 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment
    - (1) Reserved Powers

- (a) All powers not given to the national government and not forbidden by the Constitution are "reserved" for the states
- (2) Concurrent Powers
  - (a) Powers shared with the national government
- 3. Supremacy Clause-ArticleVI
  - a) National Government and Constitution are Supreme
  - b) McCulloch v. Maryland
  - c) John Marshall
  - d) Preemption
- 4. Limits and Obligations
  - a) Powers Denied to National Government/Congress
    - (1) **Article I Section 9**
    - (2) Courts and Congress have placed some limits on National Government power over states
      - (a) U.S. v. Morrison
  - b) Powers Denied to States
    - (1) Article I Section 10
    - (2) 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment
  - c) Obligations of National Government
    - (1) Guarantee a Republican form of government
    - (2) Protect states against domestic insurrection
- 5. Interstate Relations-Article IV
  - a) Full Faith and Credit
  - b) Privileges and Immunities
  - c) Extradition
  - d) Interstate Compacts
- F. The Role of Courts
  - 1. See Supremacy of National Laws Handout
- G. The Politics of Federalism
  - 1. Centralist v. Decentralist
  - 2. Growth of Big Government
  - 3. Federal Grants
  - 4. New Federalism
  - 5. Devolution Revolution
- IV. Theories of Democratic Government
  - A. Types of Democracies
    - 1. Direct
    - 2. Representative
      - a) Republic
      - b) Preference of Framers
      - c) Charles Beard
    - 3. Constitutional
  - B. Democratic Values
    - 1. Personal Liberty
      - a) John Stuart Mill

- b) September 11
- 2. Respect for the Individual
- 3. Equality
  - a) Law
  - b) Opportunity
- 4. Popular Consent
  - a) Majority Rule
  - b) Minority Rights
- 5. Values in Conflict
- C. Conditions Conducive to Democracy
- D. **John Locke** 
  - 1. State of Nature
  - 2. Human Nature
    - a) Thomas Hobbes
  - 3. **Declaration of Independence**
- E. Pluralist v. Elitist Views
- F. Confederation, Federal, and Unitary
- G. Parliamentary
  - 1. No Separation of Legislative and Executive
  - 2. Proportional
    - a) Minor Parties