

# Activating My Democracy

- MIDDLE SCHOOL -

LESSON  
5

## Real People to the Rescue!

How to amend  
the U.S. Constitution

ultimate  
CIVICS



# Activating My Democracy

**Civics lessons and resources for grade 6-8**  
**2019 Edition**

**Explores how to:** (1) Move ideas into action; (2) Understand values, wealth, and rights; (3) Understand rights, privileges, and the balance of power; (4) Trace the historic roots of the democracy crisis in current events; (5) Amend the U.S. Constitution to protect human rights; and (6) Exercise our rights to defend what we love.

**Empowers:** Youth by nurturing self-efficacy and teaching skills and strategies to take control of their destiny.

**Engages:** Youth as change agents to define their roles as global citizens during a critical time in human history.

## **Special thanks to**

ad hoc focus group of retired teachers of King County, WA  
Sunnyside Environmental School grades 6-8 (2015-2016)

## **Contributors**

Occasional gifts from those able to pay it forward  
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**“El poder de la gente es mayor que la gente en el poder.”  
“The power of the people is greater than the people in power.”  
~ Bolivia people’s chant, The Corporation, 2004 film**

**“A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail.”  
~ Oscar Wilde, 1891**

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Timeline of Personhood Rights and Powers, 2002

Adapted and used with permission from Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom  
<https://movetoamend.org/sites/default/files/CorpPersonhoodExplanationTimeline.pdf>

POCLAD Artwork by Matt Wuerker

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<http://poclad.org/art/>



**ultimate  
CIVICS**

# Real People to the Rescue!

## How to amend the U.S. Constitution

### Rationale

The proceedings and debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 were kept secret until after the death of the last Founding Father, James Madison, in 1836. When first published in 1838, the writings reveal an extensive debate about how much democracy should be allowed.

The aristocrats who drafted the Constitution were well aware that a real democracy would lead to the poor people organizing to take away the property of the rich. Their solution was to *reduce democracy* by vesting a special class of people – the wealthy aristocrats – with the power to “protect the minority of the opulent against the majority,” as James Madison stated.

Soon enough, Madison realized his error and began condemning the system that he had created. The wealthy minority proved not to be enlightened, benign leaders who dedicated themselves to the welfare of all. Instead, the Monied Power began to craft both policy and the economy to serve its own interests.

The result is the extreme inequality gap in the U.S. – the second-highest level of inequality among 34 mostly developed nations – with all the attendant social problems like violence, mental illness, drug addiction, obesity, loss of community, imprisonment, unequal opportunities, and poor health and wellbeing that affect everyone, not only the poor.

A key driver of the inequality gap is the ability of the Monied Power to build and consolidate wealth through a business model that the U.S. Supreme Court, long ago, empowered with human rights. Corporations wield their human rights to tip elections to their advantage and then secure laws to amass their wealth. By 2016, 71 of the 100 largest countries and corporations, based on economic revenue, were corporations not countries.

The 2010 Supreme Court ruling in *Citizens United* galvanized the American public to press for a constitutional amendment to overrule the court. Since *Citizens United*, citizens in 38 states have passed resolutions and petitions, calling for a constitutional amendment. In response,

“[O]ur government ought to secure the permanent interests of the country against innovation. Landholders ought to have a share in the government... They ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority. The Senate, therefore, ought to be this body; and to answer these purposes, they ought to have permanency and stability.”

~ James Madison, 1787



amendments have been introduced in every U.S. congressional session since *Citizens United*, including the current Congress, to establish that only natural persons have constitutional rights and that political money is not speech.

Such an amendment could overturn the entire body of common law that empowers artificial persons constitutional rights, including the right to spend unlimited amounts of money to influence elections. Such an amendment could restore rule to the people and law and order to corporations.

Lesson 5 explores reasons and ways to amend the Constitution to address the internal threat from artificial entities with human rights. This issue is pivotal to survival of our democracy. It presents a monumental teachable moment for young Americans.

### **Enduring Understanding for Civics Grades 6-8\***

- Assess specific rules and laws as a means of addressing public problems. (D2.Civ.12.)
- Analyze the purposes, implementation, and consequences of public policies in multiple settings. (D2.Civ.13.)

*\*C3 Framework for Social Studies State Standards*

<http://www.socialstudies.org/system/files/c3/C3-Framework-for-Social-Studies.pdf>

### **Essential Questions**

- Why does democracy only work when people are in charge?
- Why is it so hard to amend the Constitution?
- What are the two ways to amend the Constitution?
- What happens when the Supreme Court creates laws that weaken democracy?
- How could the Supreme Court be made more democratic?

### **Learning Objectives**

Students can:

- Explain that in a democracy, government listens and responds to its citizens; when government responds only to wealthy persons, it's an oligarchy.
- Explain that the Founders made it hard to amend the Constitution, but now the country has grown large, diverse, and polarized, making amendment even more difficult.
- Describe two ways to amend the Constitution through Congress or state conventions.
- Explain that when the highest law of the land weakens democracy, the people have two choices: let democracy die or overrule the court by amending the Constitution.
- Share ideas for making the Supreme Court more democratic by publicly-funded elections and creating term limits, maximum age limits, and diversity requirements.

**"There is change going on, mainly among the young people, but that is where change usually starts. Where's it gonna go? That's really up to you. It goes where people like you direct it."**

**~ Noam Chomsky, 2017**



# Materials & Preparation

## Lesson 5

Introduces a game-changing action in real time: How to amend the U.S. Constitution to defend against internal threats to democracy. Using films, students reflect on the reason to amend the Constitution, examine the constitutional amendment process, and consider the Supreme Court's role in shaping historical progress. Eighth-grade students evaluate three proposed amendments, and all grades use interactive activities to explore how an "ideal" amendment could restore rule to the people and law and order to corporations and society. (100 minutes)

### Time

Approximately 100 minutes: interactive activities supported by films and PowerPoint slides.

### Sessions

1. When corporations rule
2. Restoring rule by the People

### Materials and Preparation by Session

#### All sessions

- Post online vocabulary, resources, and any class assignments
- Arrange tables into 6 groups
- Hang TIMELINE POSTERS from Lesson 3 in the classroom
- 1 pocket copy per student of Declaration of Independence and U.S. Constitution
  - » Bulk discounts available: [www.nccs.net/pc](http://www.nccs.net/pc)
- 1 copy per student of Vocabulary for Lesson 5

### Session 1: When corporations rule

#### Materials

- PowerPoint notes and slides 1–8
- 2 films
  - » The Story of *Citizens United v. FEC*
  - » <http://storyofstuff.org/movies/story-of-citizens-united-v-fec/>
  - » Why is the Constitution so hard to amend?
  - » [www.youtube.com/watch?v=FwREAW4SIVY](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FwREAW4SIVY)
- ACTIVITY: the Rights Race
  - » 3 double-sided copies of the Rights Race script
  - » 1 double-sided copy of corporate charter with charter rights on BLUE paper
  - » 1 double-sided copy of corporate charter with constitutional rights on ORANGE paper
  - » Corporation props: Accessories like sunglasses and a hat, if possible
- 18 double-sided copies of partner ACTIVITY analysis sheet for viewing two films



## Preparation

- Review PowerPoint notes and slides 1–8, including teaching guides for activities and vocabulary
- Slide 3: Prep for the Rights Race ACTIVITY, Act I
- Download and cue films for viewing
  - » Slide 4: *Story of Citizens United v. FEC*
  - » Slide 5: *Why is the Constitution so hard to amend?*
- Place at tables: 3 ACTIVITY guides for film viewing

## Session 2: Restoring rule by the people

### Materials

- PowerPoint notes and slides 9–19
- If conducting this activity: 18 single-sided, uncollated, copies of ACTIVITY, “What does this bill do?”
  - » Separate into 3 stacks: HJR 48, HJR 2, and SJR 20
  - » Do NOT cut sheets
- 1 copy of ACTIVITY “Overrule clues”; cut into 6 sets
- 4 single-sided copies of ACTIVITY “Overrule labels” on BLUE paper
  - » Cut apart and affix 2 paper clips and 1 set of clues to each label
- Exit ticket: 1 single-sided copy per student of ACTIVITY “Real people to the rescue”

**“A constitutional amendment always seems impossible – until it becomes inevitable.”**

**~ Jamie Raskin  
Maryland State Senator, 2012**

## Preparation

- Review lesson materials
- Place at table groups:
  - » 3 copies of HJR 48 ACTIVITY
  - » Slide 14: 3 copies of HJR 2 ACTIVITY
  - » Slide 15: 3 copies of SJR 20 ACTIVITY
  - » Slide 16: 2 copies of OVERRULE labels and clues
- Slide 17: Prep for the Rights Race ACTIVITY, Act II (See Rights Race script)
- Slide 19: Handout exit tickets 10 minutes before end of class

### RESOURCES

**Secret proceedings of the 1787 constitutional convention**

**Original source:** <https://archive.org/details/secretproceedin00convgoog>  
**Searchable copy:** [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/yates.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/yates.asp)

**Noam Chomsky, *Requiem for the American Dream* (Seven Stories Press, 2017)**

**film trailer,** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zl\\_lk70ppEI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zl_lk70ppEI)



# Power Point Notes

## Lesson 5

### 1. *Ultimate Civics!* COVER SLIDE

Everyone has a story.

#### **Suggested instruction for teacher**

- ADD *your* 1-minute story to set this lesson on ways to fix the democracy crisis and how citizens might get involved.

In the last lesson, we learned how artificial persons gained human rights and power over the people. In this lesson, we will explore ways that people are working to defend democracy, put corporations back in their place, and restore power to the people.

### 2. Essential questions

Our essential questions are:

- Why does democracy only work when people are in charge?
- Why is it so hard to amend the Constitution?
- What are the two ways to amend the Constitution?

### 3. The Rights Race – Act I

We're about to conduct the first act of "The Rights Race." This will give us a sense of what happens when corporations rule our democracy.



#### **Instructions**

- Take students to open space or hallway for this exercise.
- Instruct students to line up about 25 feet away from and facing teacher.
- Conduct the Rights Race, Act I, using the script.
- Debrief either in the space or classroom.

The point of this activity: The general consensus or feeling should be that corporations have too much power over people and have too much influence in our government.

### 4. Game-changing ideas

We're going to watch two films. Our first film is "Why democracy only works when people are in charge."

We will stop the film a few times so you can reflect on what you are learning. There are analysis sheets for the film at your tables. Share them with a partner. Listen for statements in the film that you can support with legal evidence from the Timeline.



#### **Show film**

- **1<sup>st</sup> stop:** 2:36
- **2<sup>nd</sup> stop:** 4:46
- **3<sup>rd</sup> stop:** 7:07
- **Continue** to end







### Instructions and discussion guide

- After each of the first 3 stopping points, ask students to turn to a partner and work on matching law from the Timeline with statements from film.
- After a couple minutes, go over answers (see Film Guide).
- Allow any other discussion about film before proceeding.

*Last section: Ideas to fix democracy crisis*  
Encourage discussion after listing ideas from film.

For example, one suggestion in film is to target only for-profit corporations.

- Idea: Target artificial persons, not just for-profit corporations.
- Idea: Make it clear that all constitutional rights, not just 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment rights, are only for people.

<CLICK>

Why might publicly-funded elections be more democratic? (see vocab)

- Empowers people regardless of their personal wealth, to run for public office.
- Equal spending rules make campaigns more accessible to a more diverse group of candidates.
- Disempowers corporations and wealthy individuals by removing their influence on politicians.

### STUDENT RESOURCES

Film: *The Story of Citizens United v. FEC*  
<http://storyofstuff.org/movies/story-of-citizens-united-v-fec/>

TED-Ed film: *Why is the Constitution so hard to amend?*  
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=FwREAW4SIVY](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FwREAW4SIVY)

film trailer, *Requiem for the American Dream* by Noam Chomsky [www.youtube.com/watch?v=rWD8Wksx\\_zl](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rWD8Wksx_zl)

### 5. Amending the Constitution: How?

Our second film explores the process for amending the Constitution and why this process is so hard. Turn over your activity sheet for the next film analysis.

We'll stop the film like before for you to reflect a bit. Watch for 2 ways, 2 steps, and 2 numbers to amend in the first viewings.



### Show film

- **1<sup>st</sup> stop** at 1:02 for first step in question 1.
- **2<sup>nd</sup> stop** at 1:20 for second step in question 1.
- **3<sup>rd</sup> stop** at 3:02 for question 2. Watch for reasons why it's hard to amend, and why it matters.
- **Continue** to end for question 3. Watch for ideas about how to make things more democratic.



### Instructions and discussion guide

- At each stopping point and at end of film, ask students to work at tables to answer questions. Use core vocab in answers: Article V Convention, propose, ratify.



# Why democracy only works when people are in charge

## Film Guide

### 1. Why do corporations have so much power and influence in elections and government?

**EVIDENCE: Match LAW from Timeline with opinions from film.**

**1886** equal protection of law for corporations      **2005** Energy Policy Act

**1996** eliminates truth in ads and campaigns      **2010** unlimited spending for corporations

1996 During election campaigns, it's harder to hear facts over misleading ads.

1886 Chevron is not a (natural) "person," but artificial persons have equal protection of law.

2005 Oil companies have elected lawmakers who pass laws to weaken laws that protect clean air, clean water, and safe drinking water.

2010 Corporations can spend unlimited amounts of money to influence elections.

### 2. Have "We the People" have lost control of our democracy to corporations?

**EVIDENCE: Match LAW from Timeline with opinions from film.**

**1819** limits state control of corporations      **1919** corporation exist to make money

1819 State governments used to control corporations through charters for specific short-term project, but the law changed.

1919 Corporations are now required by law and markets to make money for their shareholders (owners).

### 3. Are corporations using 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment rights to influence elections and pass laws?

**EVIDENCE: Match LAW from Timeline with opinion from film.**

**1976** political speech = money      **1978** commercial speech for corporations

**1986** right not to speak for corporations      **2010** unlimited giving for corporations

1976 People gain protected 1st Amendment right to unlimited campaign spending.

1978 Corporations gain protected right for advertising on citizen initiatives.

1986 Corporations gain protected right to censor public information (not speak).

2010 Corporations gave money to independent groups that spent \$300 million in 2010 mid-terms, more than every mid-term election since 1990 combined.

### 4. What ideas does film offer to fix the democracy crisis?

- Amend Constitution to establish that 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment rights are not for for-profit corporations.
- Congressional act to support public financing of elections.



# Why is the Constitution so hard to amend?

## Film Guide

### 1. What are the 2 ways, 2 steps, and 2 key numbers to amend the Constitution?

**Review vocab:** propose, ratify, and convention.

#### 2 Ways

through Congress

through states with Article V Conventions

#### First step and key number

Two-thirds of both houses propose an amendment.

Two-thirds of the states call a convention for proposing an amendment.

#### Second step and key number

Three-quarters of the state legislatures ratify the amendment.

Three-quarters of the state conventions ratify the amendment.

**By convention: How many states to propose?** 34 **How many to ratify?** 38

### 2. Why is it so hard to amend the Constitution? Use discussion points.

Intentional: Founders made it difficult!

Country is... larger, more diverse, and most polarized since Civil War.

Small number: 2% of the population can block amendments.

#### How does U.S. compare to other democratic countries? Use evidence from film.

U.S. has amended its Constitution 27 times—out of nearly 11,000 attempts, and not at all since 1992. Constitution has not kept current with changing times.

Germany has amended its Constitution 50 times since 2003.

France has amended its Constitution 23 times since 1958.

### 3. If it's so hard for people to amend the Constitution, who defines progress in the U.S.? Is this democratic? Why or why not?

- The Supreme Court expanded its interpretation of existing laws (through case law).
- Case law remains LAW until overruled by later case law or by an amendment.
- No, it is NOT democratic because—
  - » Justices are appointed, not elected, and they serve for life.
  - » Not very diverse and often old.
  - » Sometimes 5 Justices decide define progress.

#### What ideas are offered in the film to make things more democratic?

Current idea: Amend the Constitution to make it easier to amend it.

Founder's idea: Let laws expire after 19 years.

Hint: Maybe Supreme Court should be made more democratic.



- After a couple minutes, go over answers (see Film Guide).
- Allow any other discussion about film before proceeding to next viewing.
- At the end, finish discussion and show all the answers.

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Consider how the Supreme Court could be made more democratic.

- Hint: 1913 in Timeline and vocab: publicly-funded elections
- Amend Constitution to make Justices elected by the people.
- Set term limits, upper age limits, and diversity thresholds for race and gender.
- Require publicly-funded elections for this office.
- Who initiates the process of amending the Constitution?
  - » Hint: Lots of rally activity shown in the film. Do you think public officials just wake up one day and decide to amend the Constitution?
  - » PEOPLE! When enough people demand reform, then politicians act.

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Citizens have successfully amended the Constitution 27 times. The first time included 10 amendments in the Bill of Rights. People have used petitions, resolutions, and ballot initiatives to get their cities and states to request Congress to introduce proposed amendments.

## Fun facts

*Amending the Constitution: time from proposal to adoption*

Twenty-two amendments (counting the Bill of Rights) were adopted within 3 years of being proposed.

The shortest time was just over 3 months for the 26<sup>th</sup> Amendment.

The longest time was over 202 years for the 27<sup>th</sup> Amendment.

But wait... aren't some people missing?

- Hint if needed: They were missing at first in the Rights Race too.
- Corporations are persons, too.

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## 6. Calls to amend the Constitution

People are calling for constitutional reform through Congress and by state convention, but for very different reasons.

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People are working for a constitutional amendment to overturn the *Citizens United* ruling. Bills have been introduced in every Congress since 2011 to establish that constitutional rights are only for natural persons and that money is not protected speech.

<CLICK>

The Monied Power is organizing an Article V Convention of the States to propose at least nine amendments. None are about overturning *Citizens United*, taking away human rights from corporations, or restricting corporations' influence on elections and government.

There is nothing in Article V to limit the power of such a convention. It could create a



new constitution like what happened during the 1787 Convention, which was also led by the Monied Power.

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Let's focus on what 85 percent of the people want to do: Put people back in charge of our democracy and limit power and influence of corporations in elections and government.

## 7. Democracy first aid

It is a lot of work to amend the Constitution, so it is important to make sure the wording of the amendment does what we want it to do.

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The ideal bill would establish two things:

- Only natural persons have natural rights, and
- Money is not speech.

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The ideal bill would cover both issues and have no "*weasel words*." This is core vocab. When you are dealing with bills and policy, you need to watch out for words that are used to do the opposite of what is written – or to do nothing, while looking like they do what you want.

## 8. Completion of first session

Suggested stopping point for class.

Next: Restoring rule by real people

## 9. Ultimate Civics! COVER SLIDE

## 10. Essential questions

Our essential questions for this lesson are:

- What happens when the Supreme Court creates laws that weaken democracy?
- How could the Supreme Court be made more democratic?

## TEACHER RESOURCES

Article V Convention 2018, comments on goals

<https://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/380467-a-convention-of-states-is-the-last-thing-america-needs-right-now>

<http://inthesetimes.com/article/18940/alec-balanced-budget-corporate-constitutional-convention>

<https://conventionofstates.com/states-that-have-passed-the-convention-of-states-article-v-application>

Was the 1787 Convention a "runaway convention"?

[www.thenewamerican.com/culture/history/item/18356-1787-constitutional-convention-why-the-secrecy-rule](http://www.thenewamerican.com/culture/history/item/18356-1787-constitutional-convention-why-the-secrecy-rule)

[www.termimits.com/dispelling-the-runaway-convention-myth/](http://www.termimits.com/dispelling-the-runaway-convention-myth/)

## 11. When the Supreme Court weakens democracy

What does happen when the Supreme Court creates laws that weaken democracy?

The internal threats grow and affect everyone. For example, one result of unchecked greed in the U.S. is an extreme wealth inequality.

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In 2016, the top 10% held 75% of the nation's family wealth – homes, cars, land, savings, personal stuff, investments, and businesses.

- How much does that leave for everyone else?



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- » The bottom 90% held less than 25% of the family wealth – and this is getting worse.

But “*wealth inequality*” is about more than economic wealth. It is also huge differences in social, environmental, and political wealth, and differences in opportunity and treatment.

#### TEACHER RESOURCES

Inequality data sources

<https://equitablegrowth.org/the-distribution-of-wealth-in-the-united-states-and-implications-for-a-net-worth-tax/>

100 top economies

<http://theconversation.com/who-is-more-powerful-states-or-corporations-99616>

Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson, *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone* (Bloomsbury Press, 2009)

Robert Putnam, *Our Kids: The American Dream in Crisis* (Simon & Schuster, 2015)

#### STUDENT RESOURCES

Film, *Corruption is legal in America*  
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=5tu32CCA\\_lg](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5tu32CCA_lg)

<CLICK>

This is core vocab, because when the rich have power and authority, it’s not even called a democracy anymore. It turns into an “*oligarchy*” – government by the wealthy.

One way that citizens can defend democracy is by working together to overrule the Court. Even though the Supreme Court is the highest court, common law is not the highest law. People have the authority to overturn common law by amending the Constitution.

“This member of the Government [the Judiciary] was at first considered as the most harmless and helpless of all its organs. But it has proved that the power of declaring what the law is, *ad libitum*, by sapping and mining slyly and without alarm the foundations of the Constitution, can do what open force would not dare to attempt.”

~ Thomas Jefferson to Edward Livingston, 1825

#### Suggestions for slides 12–15

- 6<sup>th</sup> grade: Skip and go to slide 16.
- 7<sup>th</sup> grade: Guided facilitation of HJR 48 only, the ideal bill with no weasel words.
- 8<sup>th</sup> grade: All 3 bills. The other 2 bills are short and tricky Turn into guided facilitation, if needed.
  - » SJR 20 focuses on natural rights, but it doesn’t do what it claims to do.
  - » HJR 2 focuses on artificial persons, but it also doesn’t do what it claims.

#### 12. Analyzing and comparing bills

We are going to analyze and compare 3 proposed constitutional amendments to overturn *Citizens United*. Proposed amendments are introduced in Congress for discussion as special types of “*bills*,” called “*joint resolutions*.” These are core vocab.

“HJR” are joint resolutions introduced in





the House; “SJR” are introduced in the Senate. All bills are assigned numbers when introduced.

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Our first bill is HJR 48. Review your ACTIVITY sheet, “What does this bill do?” Work together at your tables.

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### Instructions

- First, read the bill summary on the left side and circle any weasel words.

Circled words are reminders to be cautious when interpreting the bill. Does the bill actually do what it wants you to believe it does? If not, what does it do?

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There are six statements about what an ideal bill might do. The six statements are the same for all three bills, so we can compare the bills.

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### Instructions, continued

- Read each statement and decide if the bill does or doesn’t do it. Circle your answers, yes or no.
- Summarize what the bill does from the yes answers.
- Summarize what’s missing – what the bill doesn’t do – from the no answers.
- Be ready to share.

### 13. What does this bill do?

The first bill is HJR 48. Take 10 minutes to analyze it.

### Discussion guide for HJR 48

Roll up screen and project onto white board.

Ask a table group volunteer to write their answers on white board in the HJR 48 column.

Underlined words in bill summary will serve as clarification points for discussion of other bills.

HJR 48 has no weasel words and is very straight-forward. Use bill guide.

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### More in-depth discussion points

Should local government have the power to regulate campaign financing and require donor disclosure for local elections? Why or why not?

- Yes. Free and fair elections are a central pillar of democracy at all levels of government.

Should governments have the power to regulate campaign financing and donor disclosure for ballot initiatives? Why or why not?

- Yes. Money should not be protected speech under the 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment because this gives persons with more money more influence in elections. Government has a duty to regulate campaign financing to make elections fair for everyone.
- Yes. Ballot measures are supposed to be a tool for people to initiate and pass laws as a check and balance on the elected officials. Ballot measures that are bought and paid by wealthy individuals destroy the purpose of these measures.
- Yes. Free and fair elections are a central pillar of democracy and this includes voting on ballot initiatives.

### Conclusion

Does HJR 48 help achieve the People’s ideal goals? Why or why not?



- Yes. It covers both key issues and the additions extend the same protections for free and fair elections to local campaigns and ballot measures.

#### STUDENT RESOURCES

##### HJR 48 summary

[www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/48](http://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/48)

### 14. What does this bill do?

Our next bill is SJR 20. It was not reintroduced in the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress as of this writing. You have about 6 minutes to analyze it.

#### Discussion guide for SJR 20

- Consider stopping analysis to identify and explain weasel words BEFORE students proceed with analysis.
- Before starting discussion, ask a different table group volunteer to write their answers on white board in the SJR 20 column.
- Use bill guide.

#### *Use of weasel words*

“Artificial entities” is a broader term that includes corporations. Using the narrower “corporate entities” does not resolve the threat to democracy created by non-humans with human rights.

The very confusing last paragraph actually does the opposite of what it claims: It recognizes human rights for artificial persons (except corporations) in constitutional law.

<CLICK>

#### *Conclusion*

Does SJR20 help achieve the People’s goal? Why or why not?

- No. It only deals with corporations, not all artificial entities. This is deceptive as it pretends to fix a problem, but it really doesn’t.

- No. Instead of taking away human rights for artificial person, the bill makes human rights for artificial persons constitutional law.
- No. This issue and campaign financing need to be addressed together to fix the democracy crisis. It’s harder to pass two amendments. It’s better to bundle the issues together and ensure both issues are fully addressed.

#### STUDENT RESOURCES

##### SJR 20 summary

[www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-joint-resolution/20](http://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-joint-resolution/20)

##### Bill comparison

<https://movetoamend.org/other-amendments-2018-archive>

### 15. What does this bill do?

Our last bill is HJR 2. You have about 6 minutes to analyze it.

#### Discussion guide for HJR 2

- Consider stopping analysis to identify and explain weasel words BEFORE students proceed with analysis.
- Before starting discussion, ask a different table group volunteer to write their answers on white board in the HJR 2 column.
- Use bill guide.
- After discussion, roll down screen for slides.

#### *Use of weasel words*

Emphasize that requiring limits on candidates, including wealthy individuals, is fine, but “reasonable” limits does nothing to eliminate corruption.

Also, adding “and other” means this resolution recognizes constitutional rights of artificial persons *in constitutional law*, a higher law than common law. Further, by allowing







# Comparative Bill Guide

## GUIDE TO Summary: HJR 48 – 116<sup>th</sup> Congress (2019-2020)

Bill summaries by Congressional Research Service  
Introduced in House (02/22/2019)

### Constitutional Amendment

This joint resolution proposes a constitutional amendment providing that:

- the rights protected by the Constitution are the rights of natural persons only;
- artificial entities, such as corporations..., established by the laws of any State, the United States, or any foreign state shall have no rights under this Constitution and are subject to regulation by the People through federal, state, or local law; and
- the privileges of such artificial entities shall be determined by the People, through Federal, State, or local law, and shall not be construed to be inherent or inalienable

The amendment requires federal, state, and local government to:

- regulate, limit, or prohibit contributions and expenditures, including those of a candidate, to ensure:
  - » that all citizens, regardless of their economic status, have access to the political process, and
  - » that no person gains, as a result of that person's money, *[a lot]* more access or ability to influence in any way the election of any candidate for public office or any ballot measure
- require that any ... *[allowed]* contributions and expenditures be publicly disclosed.

Nothing in this amendment shall be construed to abridge freedom of the press.

[www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/48](http://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/48)

## What does this bill do?

### 1. Circle any weasel words\* in bill summary.

none (Underlined text in bill are ONLY in Guide and are strong words to help clarify language in other 2 bills.)

### 2. Circle your answer.

- Yes No Establishes that only natural persons have inalienable rights and protected constitutional rights.
- Yes No Establishes that artificial persons have no rights under Constitution and that privileges are not inalienable.
- Yes No Establishes that artificial persons are regulated by government and the People.
- Yes No Establishes that money is not speech.
- Yes No Requires government to regulate, limit, or prohibit campaign contributions and expenditures.
- Yes No Requires government to require public disclosure of ... contributions and expenditures.

### 3. What's does it do? (summarize)

- ✓ Ends constitutional rights for all artificial entities, including corporations.
- ✓ Ends political money equals speech under 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment.
- ✓ Requires governments to control campaign financing rules for purpose of fair election and equal opportunity.
- ✓ Requires donor disclosure.
- ✓ Also extends power to control campaign financing rules to local government and it includes ballot measures.
- ✓ Clarifies: Campaign finance laws do not limit 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment.

### 4. What's missing?

Nothing: comprehensive, clear, and concise.



# Comparative Bill Guide

## GUIDE TO Summary: SJR 20 – 115<sup>th</sup> Congress (2017-2018)

Bill summaries by Congressional Research Services  
Introduced in Senate (02/03/2017)

### Constitutional Amendment

This joint resolution proposes a constitutional amendment declaring that:

- the rights... *[listed]* in the Constitution and other rights... *[held]* by the people are the rights of natural persons;
- the terms "people," "person," and "citizen" as used in the Constitution do not include corporate entities established by the laws of any state, the United States, or any foreign state; and
- corporate entities are subject to such regulation as the people, through representatives in Congress and state representatives, may determine reasonable, consistent with the powers of Congress and the states.

It prohibits the Constitution from being construed to limit such rights... *[listed]* in the Constitution and other rights... *[held]* by the people, which are unalienable.

[www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-joint-resolution/20?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22tester%22%5D%7D](http://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-joint-resolution/20?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22tester%22%5D%7D)

### What does this bill do?

#### 1. Circle any weasel words\* in bill summary. (See underlining.)

- \*Corporate entities does not include all artificial persons; corporations could simply assume a different identity.  
\*Reasonable – it's not reasonable to limit constitutional rights.  
\*Subject to regulation does not mean regulation is required.  
\*It prohibits... actually confirms protected rights for artificial persons in constitutional law.

#### 2. Circle your answer.

- Yes No Establishes that only natural persons have inalienable rights and protected constitutional rights.  
Yes No Establishes that artificial persons have no rights under Constitution and that privileges are not inalienable.  
Yes No Establishes that artificial persons are regulated by government and the People.  
Yes No Establishes that money is not speech.  
Yes No Requires government to regulate, limit, or prohibit campaign contributions and expenditures.  
Yes No Requires government to require public disclosure of ... contributions and expenditures.

#### 3. What does it do?

- ✓ Appears to establish that natural persons have natural rights, but does opposite; it establishes constitutional rights for artificial persons.  
✓ Limits power of people to control corporations directly.  
✓ Prohibits limits on protected rights including those of artificial entities except corporations; this strengthens political speech.

#### 4. What's missing?

- ✓ Does not end constitutional rights for all artificial entities.  
✓ Does not end political money equals speech under 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment.  
✓ Does not require donor disclosure.



# Comparative Bill Guide

## GUIDE TO Summary: HJR 2 – 116<sup>th</sup> Congress (2019-2020)

Bill summaries by Congressional Research Services  
Introduced in House (01/03/2019)

### Constitutional Amendment

This joint resolution proposes a constitutional amendment authorizing Congress and the states to set reasonable limits on the raising and spending of money by candidates and others to influence elections.

The amendment grants Congress and the states the power to implement and enforce this amendment by legislation. They are allowed to distinguish between natural persons and corporations or other artificial entities created by law, including by prohibiting such entities from spending money to influence elections.

[www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/2](http://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/2)

### What does this bill do?

#### 1. Circle any weasel words\* in bill summary. (See underlining.)

- \*Reasonable is wishy-washy; what is reasonable to a wealthy individual may not be to a person of less means.
- \*Others recognizes and protects political speech for artificial persons as constitutional law.
- \*Grants does not mean requires.
- \*Allowed to distinguish between raises artificial personhood from common law to constitutional law.

#### 2. Circle your answer.

- Yes No Establishes that only natural persons have inalienable rights and protected constitutional rights.
- Yes No Establishes that artificial persons have no rights under Constitution and that privileges are not inalienable.
- Yes No Establishes that artificial persons are regulated by government and the People.
- Yes No Establishes that money is not speech.
- Yes No Requires government to regulate, limit, or prohibit campaign contributions and expenditures.
- Yes No Requires government to require public disclosure of ... contributions and expenditures.

#### 3. What does it do?

- ✓ Recognizes artificial personhood as constitutional law.

#### 4. What's missing?

- ✓ Does not end constitutional rights for all artificial entities.
- ✓ Does not end political money equals speech under 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment.
- ✓ Does not require government to regulate or control campaign financing or require donor disclosure.

Congress “to distinguish between” natural and artificial persons, this establishes artificial persons with human rights *in constitutional law*. This concept is deadly to democracy.

<CLICK>

### Conclusion

Does HJR31 help achieve the People’s goal? Why or why not?

- » No. It will strengthen artificial personhood by making it constitutional law!
- » No. It only pretends to restore government control of campaign financing, but instead of taking away human rights for artificial person, the bill makes human rights for artificial persons constitutional law.
- » This and the issue of artificial entities with human rights need to be addressed together to fix the democracy crisis. It’s harder to pass two amendments. It’s better to bundle the issues together and ensure both issues are fully addressed.



### Instructions

- Reflect and share with a partner: What did you learn about policy-making from this activity?
- Share with class.

### Discussion guide

Even when public really wants something, law makers can propose bills that do what public wants or look like they do want public wants, but really protect the opposite viewpoint.

It’s really important to do your homework and read bills before you decide whether or not to support them.



## STUDENT RESOURCES

### HJR 2 summary

[www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/2](http://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/2)

### Bill comparison

<https://movetoamend.org/other-amendments>

## 16. What changed in law?

Let’s say that the ideal amendment was ratified by 38 states. It’s official! Corporations and other artificial persons no longer have constitutional rights like human persons and money is not protected political and commercial speech.

A constitutional amendment is a power shift. It changes and it changes society, maybe not always for the better at first.

Like what happened with black codes and “Jim Crow” laws in a southern power struggle when slavery was abolished after the Civil War.

Or what happened with 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment rights and loss of control of campaign financing as a corporate backlash after the civil rights and environmental rights movements of the 1950s to 1970s.

Let’s identify some of the laws that will change if our ideal constitutional amendment is passed.



### Instructions

- Teacher hands out 2 OVERRULE labels and 2 clues to each table.
- Read and decide: Each table has 2 clues for 2 different laws.
  - » Post an OVERRULE label across the laws on the Timeline. Teacher

## Overrule Guide

TABLE TEAM 1      1905, 2010a

Clue 1: *Lochner v. New York*

Court grants corporations a protected right under 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment to freedom of contract to exploit workers and poor.

Clue 2: *Citizens United v. FEC*

Court grants corporations and other artificial persons a protected right under 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment to unlimited spending in elections.

TABLE TEAM 4      1819, 1996

Clue 1: *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*

Court creates a new actor in Constitution and limits state control of corporate charters.

Clue 2: *International Dairy Foods Assoc. v. Amestoy*

Court extends a corporation's protected right not to speak to commercial and political speech, to facts and opinions. This eliminates truth in ads and campaigns.

TABLE TEAM 2      1922, 1986

Clue 1: *Pennsylvania Coal v. Mahon*

Court grants corporations a protected right under 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment to fair payment for obeying laws that might decrease their future profits.

Clue 2: *Pacific Gas & Electric v. PUC of California*

Court grants corporations a protected right under 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment not to speak; for example, to not truthfully label food products.

TABLE TEAM 5      1976, 2010b

Clue 1: *Buckley v. Valeo*

Court rules that political speech equals money; that spending on political campaigns is protected speech under 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment. Any limits are unconstitutional.

Clue 2: *SpeechNow.org v. FEC*

Court grants corporations a protected right under 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment to unlimited giving to Super PACs without disclosing donor names.

TABLE TEAM 3      1886, 2014

Clue 1: *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific RR*

Court decides unofficially that corporations as artificial persons have equal protection of laws with natural persons. This becomes official law.

Clue 2: *McCutcheon v. FEC*

Court grants wealthy individuals a protected right under 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment to spend unlimited money on political campaigns, parties, and Super PACs.

TABLE TEAM 6      1906, 1978

Clue 1: *Hale v. Henkel*

Court grants corporations a protected right under 4<sup>th</sup> Amendment to freedom from unreasonable search and seizures. Ruling limits government's ability to enforce laws.

Clue 2: *First National Bank of Boston v. Bellotti*

Court grants corporations a protected right under 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment to advertise on citizen initiatives.



demonstrates, being careful to not cover dates.

- As students post labels, review the work and ask tables to correct, if needed:

1819.4	1886.3	1905.1
1906.6	1922.2	1976.5
1978.6	1986.2	1996.4
2010.1	2010.5	2014.3

- After all labels are posted, walk Timeline with a table partner.
  - » Review Timeline postings and think about the question: How did this amendment shift power?
  - » Return to tables and discuss.
  - » Be ready to share.

<CLICK>

### Discussion guide

#### *Equal protection of laws—overruled*

Only natural persons have natural rights and rights under the constitution. No more 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment equal protection of laws for artificial persons.

<CLICK>

No more constitutional rights for corporations and other artificial entities. Corporations have only charter rights controlled by the people through state governments.

<CLICK>

#### *Money is not protected speech—overruled*

Corporations and other artificial entities and wealthy persons cannot spend or give unlimited amounts of money to political candidates, parties, or Super PACs.

<CLICK>

#### *Power shift*

Rule is restored to the people – the real people.

<CLICK>

Government is required to regulate campaign financing on elections and ballot initiatives in ways that will help ensure fair access and opportunity.

#### *Other laws overruled*

Students may have observed during Timeline review that other laws would be overruled. These are listed in case students ask about them.

- **1893**, revokes standing in Bill of Rights and 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment due process natural right
- **1897**, revokes ability to use Bill of Rights protections against states and 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment judge-made right to just compensation
- **1947**, revokes judge-made 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment right of free speech for corporate employers
- **2014**, revokes judge-made 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment right of freedom of religion to some artificial entities

### 17. The Rights Race – Act II

Let's conduct the second act of "The Rights Race" to see what it will feel like when people rule our democracy.



#### Instructions

- Take students to open space or hallway for this exercise.
- Instruct students to line up about 25 feet away from and facing teacher.
- Conduct the Rights Race, Act II, using the script.
- Debrief either in the space or classroom.

The point of this activity: The general consensus or feeling should be an exciting sense of empowerment for the people.



## 18. What could change in society?

Anything we want. People could use our constitutional rights to protect what we love and need. We could demand accountability from government to pass laws –

<CLICK>

- to remake free and fair elections
- to reform our prison system, our schools, our health care
- to transition to healthy, safe energies
- and more!

In short, we could work together towards equity, justice, and a fair society for all. **Read** Noam Chomsky's quote to students.

**"There is change going on, mainly among the young people, but that is where change usually starts. Where's it gonna go? That's really up to you. It goes where people like you direct it."**  
~ Noam Chomsky, 2017

## 19. *Ultimate Civics!* COVER SLIDE

Determine if students are ready for a class project or extracurricular activities to follow through on their interest area. By creating and implementing their own action plans, students will learn lifetime skills in civic engagement.

### STUDENT RESOURCES

#### Take Action Toolkit

<https://movetoamend.org/toolkit/resolutions>

#### Petitions, resolutions, ordinances

<https://movetoamend.org/resolutions-map>

#### State resolutions in support of amending the Constitution

<https://freespeechforpeople.org/state-resolutions-in-support-of-amending-the-constitution/>



#### Instructions

- Hand out exit tickets for "Real People to the Rescue."
- Allow about 10 minutes for students to complete it.
- If time allows, ask students to share "take-aways" with a partner or class.
- Collect as students exit.

Find Exit Ticket Guide after vocabulary.



# Vocabulary-Lesson 5

## Core Vocabulary

**Article V Convention:** a formal meeting of the states to amend the Constitution, as allowed under Article V of the Constitution

**bill:** draft of a proposed law presented to a legislative body for discussion

**joint resolution:** a type of bill that is used for special purposes

**oligarchy:** government by the wealthy; when the rich have authority

**propose:** offer up a bill for consideration and discussion

**ratify/ratification:** approve or adopt a bill into law; final approval or adoption of a bill into law

**wealthy inequality:** a great difference in wealth, opportunity, and treatment

**weasel words:** statements that are misleading or unclear to evade a direct position or statement

## Support Vocabulary

**abridge:** limit

**citizen initiatives:** a type of ballot measure that allows citizens to propose a law or constitutional amendment

**campaign finance regulation:** rules on giving and spending money during election activities, and on reporting donor names

**construe:** interpret to mean

**disclose:** reveal

**implement:** put into effect; enact

**publicly disclose:** reveal in public; make known to the people

**publicly-funded elections:** elections that are funded with government tax revenue or income tax donations rather than corporate campaign contributions or wealthy individuals

**regulate:** control or supervise by means of rules and laws

**shareholder:** stockholder; an owner or holder of one or more shares in a corporation

**Super PAC:** an independent group that can raise or spend unlimited amounts of money to elect or defeat political candidates

**usurp:** take by someone's power or property by force





# Real People to the Rescue

## Exit ticket guide

### 1. Why does democracy only work when people are in charge? Check all that apply.

- ☒ People want laws to protect public health, clean air and water, living wage jobs, public education, safe products, renewable energy; laws that are fair and just.
- ☒ Corporations want the same laws as people and support passing these laws.
- ☒ Corporations exist to make profits for their owners, and they want laws to help them make more money.
- ☒ Corporations want to influence elections to get people elected who make laws to help corporations make money, instead of passing laws that people want.

### 2. Why is it so hard to amend the Constitution? Check all that apply.

- ☐ Founders made it hard to protect political deals that led to ratify of the Constitution.
- ☒ 50 states instead of 13 means that 38 states instead of 7 must ratify an amendment.
- ☒ Country is more diverse and polarized.

### 3. Describe how to amend the U.S. Constitution by choosing words to fill in the blanks.

**two-thirds (2/3s)**                      **propose**                      **ratified**                      **people**  
**three-quarters (3/4s)**                      **Congress**                      **States**                      **Convention**

A constitutional amendment process starts when people initiate it through petitions, resolutions, and ballot initiatives. When there is enough support, Congress may propose an amendment by a 2/3s (number) vote of both Houses. The amendment is valid when ratified by 3/4s (number) of the States. Alternatively, the legislatures of 2/3s (number) of the States may also call a Convention to propose an amendment. The amendment is valid when ratified by 3/4s (number) of the legislatures of the States.

### 4. What happens when the Supreme Court creates laws that weaken democracy? Check all that apply.

- ☒ Democracy dies and becomes government by the wealthy or most powerful.
- ☒ People amend the Constitution to overrule the Court and restore rule by people.

### 5. How could the Supreme Court be made more democratic? Check all that apply.

- ☒ Justices could be elected with publicly-funded campaigns.
- ☒ Justices could have term limits like other elected positions.
- ☒ Setting minimum and maximum age limits for Justices.
- ☒ Setting diversity requirement to reflect race and gender balance of nation.

### 6. What is your “take-away” from this lesson?



# Resources – Lesson 5

## STUDENT RESOURCES

### ***The democracy crisis***

Film, *The Story of Citizens United v. FEC*: <http://storyofstuff.org/movies/story-of-citizens-united-v-fec/>

Film trailer for *Requiem for the American Dream* by Noam Chomsky:  
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=rWD8Wksx\\_zI](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rWD8Wksx_zI)

Film, *Corruption is legal in America*: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=5tu32CCA\\_lg](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5tu32CCA_lg)

### ***Amending the U.S. Constitution***

TED-Ed: *Why is the Constitution so hard to amend?*  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FwREAW4SIVY>

Fun facts: [www.lexisnexis.com/constitution/amendments\\_factoids.asp](http://www.lexisnexis.com/constitution/amendments_factoids.asp)

### ***Analyzing joint resolution***

HJR 48 (2019): [www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/48](http://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/48)

HJR 2 (2019): [www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-joint-resolution/20](http://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-joint-resolution/20)

HRJ 20 (2017): [www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/2](http://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-joint-resolution/2)

Comparison of proposed amendments, 2019 Congress: [movetoamend.org/other-amendments](http://movetoamend.org/other-amendments)

Comparison of proposed amendments, 2018 Congress: <https://movetoamend.org/other-amendments-2018-archive>

### ***Take action! Lesson extension ideas***

Petitions, resolutions, ordinances: [movetoamend.org/resolutions-map](http://movetoamend.org/resolutions-map)  
[freespeechforpeople.org/state-resolutions-in-support-of-amending-the-constitution/](http://freespeechforpeople.org/state-resolutions-in-support-of-amending-the-constitution/)

Take Action Toolkit: [movetoamend.org/toolkit/resolutions](http://movetoamend.org/toolkit/resolutions)



# Resources – Lesson 5

## TEACHER RESOURCES

### **Framed: “to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority”**

Secret proceedings of the 1787 constitutional convention

Original source: [archive.org/details/secretproceedin00convgoog/](http://archive.org/details/secretproceedin00convgoog/)

Searchable copy: [avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/yates.asp/](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/yates.asp/)

Noam Chomsky, *Requiem for the American Dream* (Seven Stories Press, 2017)

film trailer based on book: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=rWD8Wksx\\_zI](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rWD8Wksx_zI)

### **Inequality data sources**

Wealth distribution

<https://equitablegrowth.org/the-distribution-of-wealth-in-the-united-states-and-implications-for-a-net-worth-tax/>

100 top economies: <http://theconversation.com/who-is-more-powerful-states-or-corporations-99616>

Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson, *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone* (Bloomsbury Press, 2009)

Robert Putnam, *Our Kids: The American Dream in Crisis* (Simon & Schuster, 2015)

### **Article V Conventions**

Proposed convention 2018, comments on goals

[thehill.com/opinion/campaign/380467-a-convention-of-states-is-the-last-thing-america-needs-right-now](http://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/380467-a-convention-of-states-is-the-last-thing-america-needs-right-now)

[inthesetimes.com/article/18940/alec-balanced-budget-corporate-constitutional-convention](http://inthesetimes.com/article/18940/alec-balanced-budget-corporate-constitutional-convention)

<https://conventionofstates.com/states-that-have-passed-the-convention-of-states-article-v-application>

Was the 1787 Convention a “runaway convention”?

[www.thenewamerican.com/culture/history/item/18356-1787-constitutional-convention-why-the-secrecy-rule](http://www.thenewamerican.com/culture/history/item/18356-1787-constitutional-convention-why-the-secrecy-rule)

[www.termlimits.com/dispelling-the-runaway-convention-myth/](http://www.termlimits.com/dispelling-the-runaway-convention-myth/)

### **Ways to make the Supreme Court more democratic**

[www.huffingtonpost.com/douglas-j-amy/make-the-supreme-court-more-accountable\\_b\\_1608825.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/douglas-j-amy/make-the-supreme-court-more-accountable_b_1608825.html)

[www.vox.com/polyarchy/2018/6/27/17511030/supreme-court-term-limits-retirement](http://www.vox.com/polyarchy/2018/6/27/17511030/supreme-court-term-limits-retirement)

[www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/06/29/it-took-conservatives-50-years-to-get-a-reliable-majority-on-the-supreme-court-here-are-3-reasons-why/?utm\\_term=.e5113c881efc](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/06/29/it-took-conservatives-50-years-to-get-a-reliable-majority-on-the-supreme-court-here-are-3-reasons-why/?utm_term=.e5113c881efc)

[www.nytimes.com/2008/05/25/world/americas/25iht-judge.4.13194819.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/25/world/americas/25iht-judge.4.13194819.html)

