

## Sec. 7—Bills and Resolutions

## Cls. 1–3—Legislative Process

Although the ORV Clause excepts only adjournment resolutions and makes no explicit reference to resolutions proposing constitutional amendments, the practice and understanding, beginning with the Bill of Rights, has been that resolutions proposing constitutional amendments need not be presented to the President for veto or approval. *Hollingsworth v. Virginia*,<sup>517</sup> in which the Court rejected a challenge to the validity of the Eleventh Amendment based on the assertion that it had not been presented to the President, is usually cited for the proposition that presentation of constitutional amendment resolutions is not required.<sup>518</sup>

**The Legislative Veto.**—Beginning in the 1930s, the concurrent resolution (as well as the simple resolution) was put to a new use—serving as an instrument to terminate powers delegated to the Chief Executive or to disapprove particular exercises of power by him or his agents. The “legislative veto” or “congressional veto” was first developed in context of the delegation of power to the Executive to reorganize governmental agencies,<sup>519</sup> and was furthered by the necessities of providing for the President national security and foreign affairs powers immediately prior to and during World War II.<sup>520</sup> The proliferation of “congressional veto” provisions in legislation over the years raised a series of interrelated constitutional questions.<sup>521</sup> Congress until relatively recently had applied the veto provisions to some action taken by the President or another executive officer—such as a reorganization of an agency, the lowering or rais-

<sup>517</sup> 3 U.S. (3 Dall.) 378 (1798).

<sup>518</sup> Although *Hollingsworth* did not necessarily so hold (see Tillman, *supra*), the Court has reaffirmed this interpretation. See *Hawke v. Smith*, 253 U.S. 221, 229 (1920) (in *Hollingsworth* “this court settled that the submission of a constitutional amendment did not require the action of the President”); *INS v. Chadha*, 462 U.S. 919, 955 n.21 (1983) (in *Hollingsworth* the Court “held Presidential approval was unnecessary for a proposed constitutional amendment”).

<sup>519</sup> Act of June 30, 1932, § 407, 47 Stat. 414.

<sup>520</sup> See e.g., Lend Lease Act of March 11, 1941, 55 Stat. 31; First War Powers Act of December 18, 1941, 55 Stat. 838; Emergency Price Control Act of January 30, 1942, 56 Stat. 23; Stabilization Act of October 2, 1942, 56 Stat. 765; War Labor Disputes Act of June 25, 1943, 57 Stat. 163, all providing that the powers granted to the President should come to an end upon adoption of concurrent resolutions to that effect.

<sup>521</sup> From 1932 to 1983, by one count, nearly 300 separate provisions giving Congress power to halt or overturn executive action had been passed in nearly 200 acts; substantially more than half of these had been enacted since 1970. A partial listing was included in *The Constitution, Jefferson’s Manual and Rules of the House of Representatives*, H. Doc. No. 96–398, 96th Congress, 2d Sess. (1981), 731–922. A more up-to-date listing, in light of the Supreme Court’s ruling, is contained in H. Doc. No. 101–256, 101st Cong., 2d sess. (1991), 907–1054. Justice White’s dissent in *INS v. Chadha*, 462 U.S. 919, 968–974, 1003–1013 (1983), describes and lists many kinds of such vetoes. The types of provisions varied widely. Many required congressional approval before an executive action took effect, but more commonly they provided for a negation of executive action, by concurrent resolution of both houses, by resolution of only one house, or even by a committee of one house.