

Table of Contents

<i>Preface</i>	xxi
PART I. GOVERNMENTAL POWERS..... 1	
Chapter 1. The Supreme Court and Judicial Review	3
I. Development of Judicial Review	4
A. Origins.....	4
<i>Marbury v. Madison</i>	4
<i>Cooper v. Aaron</i>	13
<i>Bush v. Gore</i>	14
Cass Sunstein, <i>Order Without Law</i>	25
Pamela S. Karlan, <i>Unduly Partial: The Supreme Court and the</i> <i>Fourteenth Amendment in Bush v. Gore</i>	25
John C. Yoo, <i>In Defense of the Court’s Legitimacy</i>	26
Michael J. Klarman, <i>Bush v. Gore Through the Lens of</i> <i>Constitutional History</i>	27
Mark Tushnet, <i>Renormalizing Bush v. Gore: An Anticipatory</i> <i>Intellectual History</i>	28
B. Contemporary Use of the Judicial Power.....	29
<i>The Federalist</i> No. 78 (Alexander Hamilton).....	30
C. Constitutional Interpretation: “When and How”	35
1. Head Start — Contraception/Reproduction: A Case Study	35
<i>Tileston v. Ullman</i>	36
<i>Poe v. Ullman</i>	37
D. Supremacy and State Courts	41
<i>Martin v. Hunter’s Lessee</i>	42
1. Review of State Courts “In-Action”: Independent/Adequate Grounds.....	46
<i>Michigan v. Long</i>	47
II. Jurisdictional Limitations on the Scope of the Judicial Power.....	50
A. Congressional/Statutory	50
1. Supreme Court/Appellate Jurisdiction	51
<i>Ex parte McCardle</i>	51
2. Lower Federal Courts.....	56
B. Article III “Case and Controversy” — Constitutional and Discretionary Abstention.....	57
1. The Constitutional Requirements.....	57
2. Advisory Opinions: Adversity, Mootness, and Collusion.....	58
<i>Muskrat v. United States</i>	58
<i>DeFunis v. Odegaard</i>	61
<i>Roe v. Wade</i>	65
3. “Measuring” Controversy/Adversity.....	66
4. Standing/Personalized Harm	66
a. Ripeness/Concreteness.....	66
<i>Nashville, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railway v. Wallace</i>	67

5. Measuring Adversity: Judicial Restraint and the Discretionary Use of the Judicial Power — Limiting Judicial Activism	68
6. Standing: Citizen and Taxpayer Suits	69
<i>Massachusetts v. Mellon</i>	70
<i>Flast v. Cohen</i>	73
<i>United States v. Richardson</i>	78
<i>Valley Forge Christian College v. Americans United for Separation of Church and State</i>	83
7. “In-House Rules” and Contemporary Judicial Self-Governance	87
<i>Warth v. Seldin</i>	88
<i>Valley Forge Christian College v. Americans United for the Separation of Church and State</i>	97
<i>DaimlerChrysler Corp. v. Cuno</i>	101
<i>Hein v. Freedom from Religion Foundation, Inc.</i>	104
<i>Arizona Christian School Tuition Organization v. Winn</i>	113
<i>Clapper v. Amnesty International et al.</i>	118
<i>Arizona State Legislature v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission et al.</i>	126
<i>Alabama Legislative Black Caucus et al. v. Alabama et al.</i>	128
<i>United States v. Windsor</i>	129
<i>Hollingsworth v. Perry</i>	140
<i>Susan B. Anthony List v. Driehaus</i>	147
8. Standing and Federalism: Prudence and Enforcing the Tenth Amendment	152
9. Article III Minimums: How Minimum Is Minimum? or “How Low Can You Go”?	153
<i>Allen v. Wright</i>	153
<i>Trump v. Hawaii</i>	158
10. Article III Minimums: Can Congress “Create” Standing?	159
<i>Lujan v. Defenders of Wildlife</i>	159
<i>Massachusetts v. Environmental Protection Agency</i>	167
11. Article III Minimums: “Injury in Fact” and “Causal Connection”	171
<i>Summers v. Earth Island Institute</i>	171
C. Discretionary Abstention/The Power to Decline Jurisdiction	171
1. Avoiding Constitutional Questions	171
<i>Cohens v. Virginia</i>	172
<i>Ashwander v. Tennessee Valley Authority</i>	173
2. Political Questions	175
<i>Collegrove v. Green</i>	175
<i>Baker v. Carr</i>	177
<i>Powell v. McCormack</i>	181
<i>Nixon v. United States</i>	185
<i>Goldwater v. Carter</i>	186
D. Supreme Court Practice	190
Chapter 2. Congress and Federal Authority	193
I. Authority to Legislate: National Powers in Federal Union	193

A. A Lesson in Nation Building	196
<i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i>	196
B. Other Aspects of Federal Power.....	208
<i>Murphy v. National Collegiate Athletic Association</i>	212
C. The Modern Anti-federalist Revival	215
<i>U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton</i>	216
II. Commerce Power	223
A. The Court at the Threshold: “Fulton’s Folly”	224
<i>Gibbons v. Ogden</i>	224
B. The Indirect-Direct Test: Laissez-Faire and Limitation of National Power	226
<i>United States v. Knight</i>	226
<i>Houston, E. & W. Ry. Co. v. United States (The Shreveport Rate Case)</i>	229
<i>Swift & Co. v. United States</i>	230
<i>Hammer v. Dagenhart</i>	230
1. No “New Deal”	235
<i>A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States</i>	235
<i>Carter v. Carter Coal Co.</i>	240
2. “Court Packing”	242
C. Substantial Effect: Expansion of Federal Authority: 1937-1995 — “A Switch in Time to Save the Nine”	244
<i>NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.</i>	244
<i>United States v. Darby</i>	248
<i>Wickard v. Filburn</i>	251
D. The Use of the Expanded Commerce Power as a Regulatory Tool for Federal Authority— Early Precedents.....	254
<i>Champion v. Ames (The Lottery Case)</i>	255
<i>Perez v. United States</i>	257
E. Drawing on the Expansive Commerce Power to Protect Civil Rights	259
<i>Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States</i>	261
<i>Katzenbach v. McClung</i>	263
F. Limits on the Commerce Power in the Modern Era	267
<i>United States v. Lopez</i>	268
<i>United States v. Morrison</i>	284
1. “Is Home Weed Home Feed?”	291
<i>Gonzales v. Raich</i>	291
2. The Affordable Health Care Act and the Commerce Clause	314
<i>National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius</i>	314
G. State Autonomy, Federalism, and the 10th and 11th Amendments: Modern Limits on the Commerce Power	321
1. Pre- <i>Garcia</i> “State Sovereignty and the 10th Amendment”	321
<i>National League of Cities v. Usery</i>	322
<i>Hodel v. Virginia Surface Mining Association</i>	322
<i>United Transportation Union v. Long Island Railroad</i>	323
<i>Federal Energy Regulatory Commission v. Mississippi</i>	323
<i>EEOC v. Wyoming</i>	323

<i>Garcia v. San Antonio Metropolitan Transit Authority</i>	323
<i>South Carolina v. Baker</i>	325
2. The Anti-Commandeering Doctrine, or “Other Ways to Skin a Cat”	326
<i>New York v. United States</i>	326
<i>Printz v. United States</i>	336
<i>Murphy v. National Collegiate Athletic Association</i>	350
H. The Rehnquist Court Fetish—“Dual Sovereignty,” the 11th Amendment: Limitation of Congressional Power.....	357
III. Other National Powers.....	361
A. The Taxing and Spending Powers	361
1. The Taxing Power	362
<i>Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co. (Child Labor Tax Case)</i>	362
<i>United States v. Kahriger</i>	365
<i>National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius</i>	369
2. The Spending Power	371
<i>United States v. Butler</i>	372
<i>Steward Machine Co. v. Davis</i>	377
3. Conditional Spending.....	380
<i>South Dakota v. Dole</i>	380
<i>National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius</i>	386
B. The War and Treaty Powers.....	393
1. The War Power	393
<i>Woods v. Miller Co.</i>	393
2. The Treaty Power	394
<i>Missouri v. Holland</i>	394
<i>Medellín v. Texas</i>	396
IV. State Regulation and the National Economy: The Dormant Commerce Clause	396
A. Introduction.....	396
1. Comment: The American Common Market.....	398
B. The American Common Market as Seen in the Constitution and Supreme Court Decisions.....	401
1. Constitutional Provisions	401
2. Supreme Court Decisions.....	402
C. Development of the Dormant Commerce Clause.....	403
1. Early Cases.....	403
<i>Gibbons v. Ogden</i>	403
<i>Cooley v. Board of Wardens</i>	406
2. Race, Slavery, and the Dormant Commerce Clause	410
<i>Groves v. Slaughter</i>	412
D. The Modern Dormant Commerce Clause	417
<i>Di Santo v. Pennsylvania</i>	417
1. Category One: Discrimination	419
a. Category One (A) — Facial Discrimination	420
<i>City of Philadelphia v. New Jersey</i>	421
<i>Comptroller of the Treasury of Md v. Wynne</i>	427
<i>South-Central Timber Development, Inc. v. Wunnicke</i>	431

<i>Department of Revenue of Kentucky v. Davis</i>	435
<i>C & A Carbone, Inc. v. Town of Clarkstown</i>	438
<i>United Haulers Association v. Oneida-Herkimer Solid Waste Management Authority</i>	441
b. Category One (B) — Discriminatory Purpose or Effect (Non-Facial Discrimination)	445
<i>Baldwin v. G.A.F. Seelig, Inc.</i>	446
2. Category Two: Nondiscriminatory, Yet Burdensome, State Legislation (Pike Balancing).....	449
<i>Southern Pacific Co. v. Arizona ex rel. Sullivan</i>	450
<i>McBurney v. Young</i>	457
Chapter 3. The President, Executive Authority, and Separation of Power	459
I. Presidential Power: Domestic Affairs	460
<i>Youngstown Sheet & Tube v. Sawyer (The Steel Seizure Case)</i>	461
<i>Dames & Moore v. Regan</i>	472
A. The “War on Terrorism”	479
<i>Hamdi v. Rumsfeld</i>	480
<i>Rumsfeld v. Padilla</i>	494
<i>Rasul v. Bush</i>	497
<i>Hamdan v. Rumsfeld</i>	503
<i>Boumediene v. Bush</i>	514
II. Presidential Power: Foreign Affairs	522
<i>United States v. Curtiss-Wright Corp.</i>	523
A. Executive Agreements	525
<i>Menachem Binyamin Zivotofsky v. John Kerry</i>	526
B. Military Affairs: The President and Use of Armed Forces	534
III. Separation of Powers	541
A. Legislative Veto	542
<i>INS v. Chadha</i>	542
B. Impoundment	549
<i>Clinton v. City of New York</i>	549
C. Executive Officers.....	559
<i>Bowsher v. Synar</i>	559
<i>Morrison v. Olson</i>	566
<i>Free Enterprise Fund v. Public Company Accounting Oversight Board</i>	574
<i>NLRB v. Noel Canning</i>	576
D. Watergate and Executive Privilege	587
<i>United States v. Nixon</i>	587
<i>Clinton v. Jones</i>	591
<i>Cheney v. U.S. District Court</i>	601
E. The Trump Proceedings	602
<i>Trump v. U.S. Mazars, LLP</i>	605

PART II. INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES	613
Chapter 4. Application of the Bill of Rights	615
I. Adoption of the Bill of Rights	615
A. The Failure to Include a Written Bill of Rights	615
II. The Bill of Rights and the States.....	620
<i>Barron v. Baltimore</i>	620
III. Slavery and the Constitution: The Ignoble Compromise.....	622
<i>Prigg v. Pennsylvania</i>	624
<i>Dred Scott v. Sanford</i>	635
IV. The Civil War and the Post–Civil War Amendments.....	639
A. The Amendments “Annotated”	640
1. Amendment XIII	640
2. Amendment XIV	640
3. Amendment XV	642
B. Reconstruction and a Return to Normalcy	642
1. “Radical” Reconstruction.....	642
2. “A Return to Normalcy”	643
C. A Supreme Court Trilogy.....	644
<i>Slaughter-House Cases</i>	645
<i>The Civil Rights Cases</i>	656
<i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i>	667
V. The Struggle for Incorporation	670
A. “Nor Shall Any State Deprive Any Person of Life, Liberty, or Property, Without Due Process of Law”	670
<i>Palko v. Connecticut</i>	671
<i>Adamson v. California</i>	672
<i>Duncan v. Louisiana</i>	678
<i>Williams v. Florida</i>	689
<i>Burch v. Louisiana</i>	693
1. The Second Amendment, and Incorporation Part I.....	697
a. “The Right of the People to Keep . . . Arms, Shall Not Be Infringed” ..	697
b. “And Bear Arms”—	701
2. The Second Amendment, and Incorporation Part II.....	702
<i>McDonald v. City of Chicago</i>	702
<i>Evangelisto Ramos, Petitioner v. Louisiana</i>	712
VI. The State Action Limitation	715
A. Public Function	717
<i>Marsh v. Alabama</i>	717
<i>Evans v. Newton</i>	719
<i>Amalgamated Food Employees Union Local v. Logan Valley Plaza</i> ...	721
<i>Hudgens v. National Labor Relations Board</i>	724
<i>Jackson v. Metropolitan Edison Co.</i>	727
<i>Flagg Brothers v. Brooks</i>	729
<i>Manhattan Community Access Corporation, et al., Petitioners</i> <i>v. Deedee Halleck, et al.</i>	731
1. “The White Primary Cases”	737

<i>Nixon v. Herndon</i>	737
<i>Nixon v. Condon</i>	737
<i>Grove v. Townsend</i>	737
<i>Smith v. Allwright</i>	737
<i>Terry v. Adams</i>	738
B. State Involvement.....	739
<i>Shelley v. Kraemer</i>	739
<i>Pennsylvania v. Board of Directors of City Trusts of</i> <i>City of Philadelphia</i>	742
<i>Evans v. Abney</i>	743
<i>Burton v. Wilmington Parking Authority</i>	743
1. “State Encouragement”	747
<i>Reitman v. Mulkey</i>	747
<i>Moose Lodge v. Irvis</i>	751
2. “Contemporary Standards”	754
<i>Jackson v. Metropolitan Edison Co.</i>	754
<i>Flagg Brothers v. Brooks</i>	758
<i>Lugar v. Edmondson</i>	760
<i>Edmonson v. Leesville Concrete Co.</i>	762
<i>Brentwood Academy v. Tennessee Secondary School</i> <i>Athletic Association</i>	765
Chapter 5. Constitutionally Protected Rights — Due Process.....	769
I. Substantive Due Process.....	769
A. Introduction.....	769
<i>Lochner v. New York</i>	770
1. Decline of Judicial Intervention	776
<i>Nebbia v. New York</i>	776
<i>United States v. Carolene Products Co.</i>	778
<i>Williamson v. Lee Optical</i>	780
B. The Contract and Takings Clauses.....	784
1. The Contract Clause	784
a. Nineteenth-Century Developments	784
<i>Fletcher v. Peck</i>	784
b. Twentieth-Century Developments	788
<i>Home Building & Loan Ass’n v. Blaisdell</i>	789
<i>Allied Structural Steel v. Spannaus</i>	798
2. The Takings Clause	802
a. Public Use	803
<i>Berman v. Parker</i>	803
<i>Kelo v. New London</i>	806
b. Regulatory Takings	816
<i>Pennsylvania Coal Co. v. Mahon</i>	817
<i>Keystone Bituminous Coal Ass’n v. DeBenedictis</i>	823
<i>Koontz v. St. Johns River Water Management District</i>	829
C. Revival of Substantive Due Process.....	834
1. “Fundamental” Right to Privacy	834

<i>Griswold v. Connecticut</i>	834
2. Abortion	843
<i>Roe v. Wade</i>	843
3. The Nature of the Right.....	850
<i>Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey</i>	851
<i>Thomas E. Dobbs, State Health Officer of the Mississippi</i> <i>Department of Health, et al., Petitioners v. Jackson Women’s</i> <i>Health Organization</i>	876
4. Extending Privacy Rights: Family, Marriage, Procreation, Child Bearing	913
<i>Moore v. City of East Cleveland</i>	913
<i>Zablocki v. Redhail</i>	916
<i>Michael H. v. Gerald D.</i>	918
<i>James Obergefell v. Richard Hodges, Director,</i> <i>Ohio Department of Health</i>	930
a. How Far Does Obergefell Go [Part 1]?.....	946
b. How Far Does Obergefell Go [Part 1]?.....	947
<i>McDonald v. City of Chicago</i>	948
5. Sexual Orientation.....	954
<i>Lawrence v. Texas</i>	955
6. Right to Die	966
<i>Cruzan v. Director, Missouri Department of Health</i>	966
<i>Washington v. Glucksberg</i>	973
<i>Vacco v. Quill</i>	984
II. “Procedural” Due Process	988
A. Procedural Due Process in Civil Procedure.....	990
1. Opportunity to Be Heard	991
Chapter 6. Constitutionally Protected Rights — Equal Protection	997
I. An Overview — The “Old” and the “New”	998
A. Something “Old”	998
B. Something “New”	998
C. The Newer Than New but Older Than Old Equal Protection	998
II. Discriminatory Classifications	1000
A. Economic Regulations: The Rational Purpose Test.....	1000
<i>Kotch v. Board of River Port Pilots</i>	1000
<i>Railway Express Agency v. New York</i>	1003
<i>Dandridge v. Williams</i>	1006
B. “Proving Up Discrimination, Discriminatory Purpose”	1008
<i>Yick Wo v. Hopkins</i>	1009
<i>Washington v. Davis</i>	1010
<i>Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp.</i>	1017
<i>Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs et al. v.</i> <i>Inclusive Communities Project, Inc., et al.</i>	1020
1. Note on Disparate Impact	1026
<i>Personnel Administrator of Massachusetts v. Feeney</i>	1027
<i>Rogers v. Lodge</i>	1035

C. Race-Based Classifications	1042
1. Strict Scrutiny.....	1042
<i>Loving v. Virginia</i>	1043
2. Racial Segregation — Apartheid.....	1046
a. The Road to <i>Brown</i>	1046
<i>State of Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada</i>	1046
<i>Sweatt v. Painter</i>	1048
<i>McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education</i>	1051
<i>Hernandez v. Texas</i>	1053
<i>Brown v. Board of Education (Brown I)</i>	1055
<i>Brown v. Board of Education (Brown II)</i>	1058
<i>Martin L. Levy, Separate But Equal Is Inherently Unequal</i>	1060
b. Implementation	1065
c. Contemporary Standards	1066
<i>Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education</i>	1066
d. “The North”	1069
<i>Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver</i>	1069
<i>Columbus Board of Education v. Penick</i>	1072
<i>Pasadena City Board of Education v. Spangler</i>	1076
e. “Inter-District Relief”	1078
<i>Milliken v. Bradley (Milliken I)</i>	1079
f. “Recent Era”	1081
<i>Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell</i>	1081
<i>Missouri v. Jenkins</i>	1085
g. “Use of the Political Process to Repeal Remedies”	1090
<i>Hunter v. Erickson</i>	1090
<i>Washington v. Seattle School District No. 1</i>	1092
<i>Crawford v. Los Angeles Board of Education</i>	1096
h. Colleges and Universities.....	1098
<i>United States v. Fordice</i>	1098
3. Affirmative Action	1105
<i>Regents of the University of California v. Bakke</i>	1105
<i>City of Richmond v. Croson</i>	1129
<i>Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Pena</i>	1145
<i>Ricci v. DeStefano</i>	1155
a. <i>Bakke</i> Revisited	1162
<i>Grutter v. Bollinger</i>	1163
<i>Gratz v. Bollinger</i>	1172
<i>Fisher v. The University of Texas at Austin</i>	1176
<i>Schuetz v. Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action,</i> <i>Integration & Immigrant Rights & Fight for Equality by Any</i> <i>Means Necessary (BAMN)</i>	1193
(i.) Racial Diversity in K-12 Public Education	1205
<i>Parents Involved in Community Schools v.</i> <i>Seattle School District</i>	1206
(ii.) “Disparate Impact,” Title VII, and Employment Practices.....	1214
D. Gender-Based Classifications	1215

1. Heightened Review	1215
<i>Goesaert v. Cleary</i>	1215
<i>Craig v. Boren</i>	1217
<i>Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan</i>	1221
<i>J.E.B. v. Alabama</i>	1225
<i>United States v. Virginia</i>	1226
a. Are All Differences Between Men and Woman	
Archaic Generalizations?	1238
<i>Michael M. v. Sonoma County Superior Court</i>	1239
2. Affirmative Action	1242
<i>Rostker v. Goldberg</i>	1243
<i>Califano v. Webster</i>	1246
E. Alienage.....	1247
<i>Foley v. Connelie</i>	1247
<i>Bernal v. Fainter</i>	1248
1. “Federal Government”	1250
<i>Hampton v. Wong</i>	1250
<i>Mathews v. Diaz</i>	1251
F. Nonmarital Children	1252
<i>Clark v. Jeter</i>	1252
G. “Additional Classes”?	1254
1. Disabilities.....	1254
<i>City of Cleburne v. Cleburne Living Center</i>	1254
2. Age	1259
<i>Massachusetts Board of Retirement v. Murgia</i>	1259
3. Sexual Orientation.....	1261
<i>Romer v. Evans</i>	1261
a. Comments Concerning <i>Romer</i> and Sexual Orientation.....	1273
<i>United States v. Windsor</i>	1273
III. Discrimination in Denial of Fundamental Rights: Strict Scrutiny	1286
<i>San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez</i>	1287
<i>Plyler v. Doe</i>	1297
A. Vote.....	1302
<i>Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections</i>	1302
1. “Reapportionment”	1303
<i>Reynolds v. Sims</i>	1303
a. Congressional Districts	1307
b. State Elective Districting.....	1308
c. Gerrymandering	1308
(i.) Political Gerrymandering	1309
<i>Davis v. Bandemer</i>	1309
<i>Vieth v. Jubilirer</i>	1320
<i>Shaw v. Reno</i>	1325
<i>Hunt v. Cromartie</i>	1338
<i>Alabama Legislative Black Caucus et al. v. Alabama et al</i>	1349
<i>Arizona State Legislature v. Arizona Independent</i>	
<i>Redistricting Commission et al</i>	1357

<i>Evenwel et al. v. Abbott, Governor of Texas</i>	1362
<i>Abbott v. Perez</i>	1368
<i>Gill v. Whitford</i>	1373
<i>Common Cause v. Rucho</i>	1377
B. Access to Courts.....	1390
<i>M.L.B. v. S.L.J.</i>	1390
<i>Tennessee v. Lane</i>	1396
C. Interstate Travel.....	1396
<i>Shapiro v. Thompson</i>	1396
<i>Saenz v. Roe</i>	1400
IV. Enforcement Legislation.....	1404
A. Post-Reconstruction Civil Rights Laws.....	1404
1. Enforcing the Civil War Amendments.....	1404
a. Criminal Provisions.....	1405
b. Civil Provisions.....	1405
B. Reach of the Enforcement Power.....	1406
1. The Right to Vote and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.....	1406
<i>South Carolina v. Katzenbach</i>	1407
<i>City of Rome v. United States</i>	1409
<i>City of Boerne v. Flores, Archbishop of San Antonio</i>	1414
<i>United States v. Morrison</i>	1423
<i>Tennessee v. Lane</i>	1427
2. Congressional Protection of Voting Rights — The Court in the 21 st Century: “Winds of Change A-Shift”?.....	1435
<i>Northwest Austin Municipal Utility District Number One</i> <i>v. Holder</i>	1436
<i>Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder</i>	1440
<i>Brnovich v. Democratic National Committee</i>	1458
The Constitution of the United States.....	1479
 <i>Table of Cases</i>	 1493
<i>Index</i>	1499