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CONVENIENT SHORTHAND: THE SUPREME COURT AND THE LANGUAGE OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY

H. JEFFERSON POWELL'
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INTRODUCTION

Recent Supreme Court decisions have dramatically underscored the significance of the states as vital entities within the United States constitutional system. The Court has repeatedly protected the states' political and legal integrity against congressional conscription¹ and federal court litigation.² In addition, the Court has broadened the effective range of state autonomy through its revival of content-based limitations on the scope of Congress's delegated powers.³ This recent wave of federalism has generated opinions that often seem to turn on

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^{1.} See Printz v. United States, 521 U.S. 898 (1997) (holding unconstitutional temporary provisions of federal law imposing certain duties on local law enforcement officials); New York v. United States, 505 U.S. 144 (1992) (holding unconstitutional a provision of federal law requiring state legislatures to take certain actions under specified circumstances).

^{2.} See Idaho v. Coeur d'Alene Tribe, 521 U.S. 261 (1997) (holding federal-court action to quiet title to land claimed by a state barred by state sovereign immunity); Seminole Tribe v. Florida, 517 U.S. 44 (1996) (holding unconstitutional federal statute subjecting state to federal-court action). As Seminole Tribe demonstrates, there is a direct link between federalism-based limits on the Article III courts and similar limitations on Congress.

^{3.} See City of Boerne v. Flores, 521 U.S. 507 (1997) (holding that the Religious Freedom Restoration Act exceeded Congress's power under section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment); United States v. Lopez, 514 U.S. 549 (1995) (holding the Gun-Free School Zones Act exceeded Congress's power under the Commerce Clause).

what it means to ascribe "sovereignty" to the states. As the Court said in one of the most recent decisions, *Alden v. Maine*:⁴

Congress has vast power but not all power. When Congress legislates in matters affecting the States, it may not treat those sovereign entities as mere prefectures or corporations. Congress... must respect the sovereignty of the States.⁵

The problem with this principle of respect for state sovereignty is that its meaning is not self-evident. The states plainly are not "sovereigns" as that term is used in international law, or even in the domestic sphere. As the Court acknowledged, the Constitution rests on a "premise of sovereignty in both the central Government and the separate States." The language of state sovereignty may be convenient shorthand, as the *Alden* Court said, for the expression "Eleventh Amendment immunity," but unless we are clear about what such shorthand denotes, the terminology is of little analytical value.

This essay is an effort to outline what a modern Supreme Court justice might mean when using the terms "sovereign" and "sovereignty" in an opinion discussing the role and powers of the states under the federal Constitution. Because a justice writing an opinion is engaged in law, not political theory or historical scholarship, the most obvious background to his or her decisions about terminology are earlier opinions of the Court. The second part of this essay reports the results of this attempt to examine and make sense of the Court's use of the language of state sovereignty from the 1790s to the present. The Court seems to employ the terms in a number of ways, not all of which are easy to relate to one another. The consequence is that general assertions about "state sovereignty" are without clear meaning.

^{4. 119} S. Ct. 2240 (1999) (holding a state court action against a state authorized by Congress pursuant to the Commerce Clause barred by state sovereign immunity).

^{5.} Id. at 2268.

^{6.} Id.

^{7.} See id. at 2246.

LANGUAGE OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY

As Chisholm v. Georgia⁸ demonstrates, the justices of the Supreme Court have discussed the sovereignty of the states from the beginning. An analysis of the Court's use of state sovereignty language from 1789 to the present is therefore appropriate.⁹ What emerge are two trends in the Court's use of this language that are particularly interesting. First, the ways in which the Court has used the language of state sovereignty can be categorized, even over a period of two hundred years, into several broad classifications and more, smaller subcategories. Second, the frequency of state sovereignty discussions in the Court's opinions over time follows a remarkable pattern of ebb and flow that seems to reflect the societal and judicial tenor of the development of American history.

A. The Categories of State Sovereignty Discourse

Despite the centrality of federalism to the American political landscape, ¹⁰ the Court has never provided a precise definition of "state sovereignty." In fact, the Court has failed even to use the idea or language of "state sovereignty" in a consistent way in its opinions. Nevertheless, there are certain broad patterns in the Court's employment of the language that can be meaningfully represented by the categories enumerated below. The description of each category explains the uses it represents, and includes subcategories where that is necessary to bring out nuances in the Court's usage. In addition, there are illustrative examples from the Court's opinions for each category.

We should note what is probably obvious: any use of a category scheme of this sort is necessarily imperfect. Unless the reader examines the opinions themselves, which the ap-

^{8. 2} U.S. (2 Dall.) 419 (1793).

^{9.} Search conducted on Lexis-Nexis, in the GENFED library, US file, in July 1997. We examined 2300 cases, categorizing about 1300 as relevant to our inquiry. Of course, the results of our search are not perfect or exact, but we believe our results show enough depth and breadth to provide enough value to merit their use in this article. The search results were updated in January 1999 to include all cases decided in 1998.

^{10.} See United States v. Lopez, 514 U.S. 549, 568-83 (1995) (Kennedy, J., concurring).

pendix to this essay is intended to facilitate, he or she is dependent on our integrity and our judgment. Even if the reader assumes that we have done the work honestly, it is as a practical matter certain that some of our judgments about categorizing individual uses would seem erroneous. In our view, however, the sheer volume of references that we catalogued provides reason to believe that individual errors on our part would not invalidate our overall findings.

1. Sovereignty as the Government's Dominion

The first category of state sovereignty language used by the Court is an adaptation of the historical concept of sovereignty in the British government. The sovereign, be it Crown or King-in-Parliament, was the supreme authority in the body politic; as the unitary "Leviathan" or the government institutions of the "Commonwealth," it spoke for and ruled over the entire nation. This power of dominion over the people and the nation had three important aspects: control over territory and the persons living there, immunity against challenges to authority, and a legitimation of leadership. These three aspects of British sovereignty were carried over into the language of state sovereignty by the Court.

It is natural that control of *territory* is an aspect of state sovereignty, since political power cannot exist without resources and persons over which authority is exercised. The Court has frequently applied this classic understanding of territorial sovereignty to the states. For example, states have power over the land, navigable waters, real property, wild animals, and persons within their territory; this kind of sovereignty is also what is transferred from Congress to the new State government when a United States Territory is admitted to the Union. Consider the language used by the Court in *Arizona v. California*: "A justiciable controversy is presented only if Arizona, as a sovereign state, or her citizens, whom she rep-

^{11.} See generally THOMAS HOBBES, LEVIATHAN (London, George Routledge & Sons 1886) (1651).

^{12.} See John Locke, Two Treatises of Government 143–48 (Peter Laslett ed., Cambridge Univ. Press 1988) (1690).

^{13. 298} U.S. 558 (1936).

resents, have present rights in the unappropriated water of the river."14

The Court's opinion in Florida Department of State v. Treasure Salvors, Inc. ¹⁵ provides a more recent example of the territorial connotation of sovereignty: "The contracts permitted Treasure Salvors 'to conduct underwater salvage from and upon certain submerged sovereignty lands of and belonging to the State of Florida." Finally, in Hoboken v. Pennsylvania Railroad, ¹⁷ the Court described an easement of access to navigable waters as a

public right [that] is entirely distinct in its essential qualities from the title of the State in lands under tidewaters. The former inheres in the State in its sovereign capacity. The latter is strictly proprietary. . . .

... [E]very previous right of the State of New Jersey [in the land conveyed], whether proprietary or sovereign, is transferred or extinguished, except such sovereign rights as the State may lawfully exercise over all other private property.¹⁸

Contrary to the reasoning of the majority in *Chisholm*, the Supreme Court has long viewed the states as possessing *immunity from compulsory jurisdiction* as part of their sovereign status. The principle of the immunity of the sovereign means that a state cannot be sued by individuals, whether its own citizens or not, unless it has given its consent (as most states have done in their Tort Claims Acts). "All [cases] recognize that the State, as a sovereign, is not subject to suit; that the State cannot be enjoined; and that the State's officers, when sued, cannot be restrained from enforcing the State's laws or be held liable for the consequences flowing from obedience to the State's commands." The Court also reads the Eleventh Amendment's (ostensibly much narrower) focus on federal di-

^{14.} Id. at 567.

^{15. 458} U.S. 670 (1982) (plurality opinion).

^{16.} Id. at 674 (citation ommitted).

^{17. 124} U.S. 656 (1888).

^{18.} Id. at 681-91.

^{19.} Hopkins v. Clemson Agric. C., 221 U.S. 636, 644 (1911).

versity jurisdiction in the light of this notion of state sovereignty. "The [Eleventh] Amendment's . . . greater significance lies in its affirmation that the fundamental principle of sovereign immunity limits the grant of judicial authority in Art. III." Finally, under the Sovereign Acts Doctrine, a court will not read a waiver of sovereign immunity into the terms of a contract unless the "surrender[] of sovereign authority . . . appear[s] in unmistakable terms." The analogous principle of statutory construction requires courts to presume that the sovereign has not limited its own power, unless there is an explicit provision doing so. 22

The American justification for this category of state sovereignty language lies not in divine right, but rests on the theory of *popular sovereignty*. The federal government draws its authority from "We the People of the United States," who ratified the Constitution. Because the states are not merely administrative creations of the federal government, however, they too must have a source of legitimation for their authority. The Court has consistently and emphatically held that the source of the sovereignty of the states is the same as that of the federal government: the people of the state, by the state constitution, create and sustain the state government to represent them.

[T]he people of the several States are absolutely and unconditionally sovereign within their respective territories. . . .

• • • •

. . . [T]he people of a State may, by the form of government they adopt, confer on their public servants and representatives all the powers and rights of sovereignty which they themselves possess; or may restrict them within such limits as may be deemed best and safest for the public interest.²³

^{20.} Pennhurst State Sch. & Hosp. v. Halderman, 465 U.S. 89, 98 (1984).

^{21.} United States v. Winstar, 518 U.S. 839, 860 (1996); see also Wisconsin & Mich. Ry. Co. v. Powers, 191 U.S. 379, 386-87 (1903).

^{22.} See, e.g., United States v. United Mine Workers, 330 U.S. 258, 272 (1947) ("There is an old and well-known rule that statutes which in general terms divest pre-existing rights or privileges will not be applied to the sovereign without express words to that effect.").

^{23.} Ohio Life Ins. & Trust Co. v. DeBolt, 57 U.S. (16 How.) 416, 428–29 (1853).

2. Sovereignty as the Power of Superior Legislation

The second category of state sovereignty discourse is derived from the international relations meaning of sovereignty—that of political independence. A government is sovereign when it answers to no superior government—when it enjoys an unfettered capacity of choice with respect to policy and practice. The states obviously are not sovereigns in the true international law sense: the Constitution accords virtually plenary authority over international relations to the federal government, and within its constitutional scope the federal government—including the judicial branch—has superior authority over state action.

The Court nonetheless sometimes employs sovereignty language to signal the states' freedom from superior authority in certain areas. It most often invokes sovereignty in this sense with respect to three areas of legislative competence. First, states have the power of taxation to raise revenues from those under their authority. Perhaps the most often quoted example of state sovereignty language falls into this category: "All subjects over which the sovereign power of a State extends." are objects of taxation; but those over which it does not extend. are, upon the soundest principles, exempt from taxation. This proposition may almost be pronounced self-evident."24 Second. states may charter corporations under their laws. "It would be a strange anomaly to hold that a State, having chartered a corporation to make use of certain franchises, could not in the exercise of its sovereignty inquire how these franchises had been employed "25 Third, states must create the election districts from which the state and federal representatives of the people are chosen. "The States have traditionally guarded their sovereign districting prerogatives jealously "26" "[T]he inherently political process of redistricting is as much at the core of state sovereignty as any other."27

^{24.} McCulloch v. Maryland, 17 U.S. (4 Wheat.) 316, 429 (1819).

^{25.} Wilson v. United States, 221 U.S. 361, 384 (1911).

^{26.} Bush v. Vera, 517 U.S. 952, 985 (1996).

^{27.} Id. at 1012 n.9 (Stevens, J., dissenting).

3. Sovereignty as the State-Federal Distribution of Power

The third category of the Court's state sovereignty language reflects the division of political power between the state and federal governments under the Constitution. In effect, both levels of government possess some powers in both categories (1) and (2) above; the realm of possible powers of government can be held exclusively by one, concurrently by both, prohibited to one, or barred from either. In a wide range of areas of governmental power, to say the state is "sovereign" expresses these relationships with the federal government in a substantive way, expressing the state-federal separation of powers that the Court views as a safeguard for liberty.²⁸

As a matter of hornbook federal constitutional law, the powers possessed by the states include all those not delegated to the federal government or prohibited to the states by the Constitution. Therefore, the Court occasionally talks of the reserved sovereignty of the states to express a constitutional presumption of state retention of power.²⁹ The Commerce Clause "remains in the Constitution as a grant of power to Congress to control commerce and as a diminution pro tanto of absolute state sovereignty over the same subject matter." Until Congress speaks, however:

The power of the State to discriminate between her own domestic corporations and those of other States, desirous of transacting business within her jurisdiction, is clearly established As to the nature or degree of discrimination, it belongs to the State to determine, subject only to such limitations on her sovereignty as may be found in the fundamental law of the Union.³¹

^{28.} See Coleman v. Thompson, 501 U.S. 722, 759 (1991) (Blackmun, J., dissenting) ("[F]ederalism secures to citizens the liberties that derive from the diffusion of sovereign power.").

^{29.} Compare our category of the *principle of dual sovereignty*, *infra* at section 5, which encompasses references to the general existence of divided levels of government. By contrast, *reserved sovereignty* refers to the distribution of specific powers by the Constitution.

^{30.} Carter v. Virginia, 321 U.S. 131, 137 (1944).

^{31.} Ducat v. Chicago, 77 U.S. (10 Wall.) 410, 415 (1870).

Some powers are held concurrently by the state and federal governments. A good example is the principle of dual sovereignty in criminal justice. As both the state and federal governments are sovereign legislators, both may punish crimes against their laws. Consequently, the prohibition on double jeopardy is not violated when the same conduct violates the laws of more than one sovereign.32 As the Court noted in Screws v. United States,33 "[t]he instances where an act denounced as a crime by both national and state sovereignties' may be punished by each without violation of the double jeopardy provision of the Fifth Amendment are common."34 It is important to recognize the significance of a government being a "sovereign" in such a situation. A mere municipality is not a dual sovereign for the purposes of double jeopardy: "[P]etitioner could not lawfully be tried both by the municipal government and by the State of Florida. In this context a 'dual sovereignty' theory is an anachronism, and the second trial constituted double jeopardy violative of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments "35

The Constitution also places limits on the sovereignty of the states. In some areas of legislation, there is federal supremacy. When a federal law is properly within the scope of federal authority, *preemption* occurs, rendering any state law within that scope overriden by the federal one. One example of preemption as it pertains to sovereignty can be found in *Robb* v. Connolly³⁶ in which the Court held that a state prisoner's habeas corpus petition was beyond the scope of the state's jurisdiction:

While the sovereignty of the State within its territorial limits to a certain extent was conceded, that sovereignty, the court adjudged, was so limited and restricted by the supreme law of the land, that the sphere of action appropriated to the United States [with a federal court writ of habeas corpus for a state prisoner is] entirely beyond the reach

^{32.} A typical example is the application of federal civil rights laws to hate crimes or police brutality, as a supplement to or substitute for state criminal or civil law responses to such conduct.

^{33. 325} U.S. 91 (1945).

^{34.} *Id.* at 108 n.10 (plurality opinion) (quoting United States v. Lanza, 260 U.S. 377, 382 (1922)).

^{35.} Waller v. Florida, 397 U.S. 387, 395 (1970) (Brennan, J., concurring).

^{36. 111} U.S. 624 (1884).

of the judicial process issued by a State judge or a State court....³⁷

By comparison, the *Privileges and Immunities Clauses* restrict the legislative power of the states at their source, limiting the range of state legislative choices from the beginning. "The primary purpose of this clause... was to help fuse into one Nation a collection of independent, sovereign States. It was designed to insure to a citizen of State A who ventures into State B the same privileges which the citizens of State B enjoy."

The Court sometimes discusses state sovereignty by comparison or in historical perspective. The most common comparison is between the state-federal sovereignty relationship and the interaction between the federal, state, and *Native American sovereigns*. Unlike the state-federal relationship, in which the Constitution governs the distribution of power, relations with Native Americans were historically considered to be governed by treaties and territory-status agreements and other concepts of international law, rather than by domestic constitutional structures. Nevertheless, the sovereignty language used is quite similar to state sovereignty discourse:

Indians share in the territorial and political sovereignty of the United States. The retained sovereignty of the tribe is but a recognition of certain additional authority the tribes maintain over Indians who consent to be tribal members. Indians like all other citizens share allegiance to the overriding sovereign, the United States.³⁹

In addition, the Court occasionally analyzes the arguments about the *historical position of the states* as true international sovereigns when trying to understand the modern distribution of state and federal power.

Texas occupied towards the United States the position of an independent sovereignty. Its citizens were determined by its laws, and they prescribed the manner in which aliens might become citizens.

^{37.} Id. at 631.

^{38.} Toomer v. Witsell, 334 U.S. 385, 395 (1948).

^{39.} Duro v. Reina, 495 U.S. 676, 693 (1990).

The United States admitted Texas as one of the States of the Union with its population as it stood. Those who were citizens of the State became citizens of the United States 40

4. Sovereignty as the State-State Distribution of Power

The relationships among the several states, each equal to the others in political status, provide the fourth category of the Court's state sovereignty discussions. The states must have cooperative interactions and successful methods of dispute resolution if they are to function together in governing the American people at the local level.

The Court's language of sovereignty in these cases takes many forms. The Court calls for comity between sovereigns when states must interact. For example, the Court has noted that:

[A]s a corollary of the recognized power of a government thus to deal with its own citizen by a decree which would be operative within its own borders, irrespective of any extraterritorial efficacy, it follows that the right of another sovereignty exists, under principles of comity, to give to a decree so rendered such efficacy as to that government may seem to be justified by its conceptions of duty and public policy. 41

When cooperation breaks down, the Court's original jurisdiction provides the forum for lawsuits between sovereigns to be settled peacefully. "The model case for invocation of this Court's original jurisdiction is a dispute between States of such seriousness that it would amount to casus belli if the States were fully soveriegn."42 The Constitution, however, limits any such state-state cooperation by way of the Compact Clause, which forbids interstate agreements without the approval of Congress.⁴³ The Compact Clause "adapts to our Union of sovereign states the age-old treaty-making power of independent sovereign nations."44 "It is a power inherent in sovereignty

^{40.} Contzen v. United States, 179 U.S. 191, 195 (1900).

^{41.} Haddock v. Haddock, 201 U.S. 562, 570 (1906).

Texas v. New Mexico, 462 U.S. 554, 571 n.18 (1983).
 See U.S. CONST. art. I, § 10, cl. 3.

^{44.} West Virginia ex. rel. Dyer v. Sims, 341 U.S. 22, 31 (1951).

limited only to the extent that congressional consent is required."45

The most common problem, however, is state-state interaction in judicial matters. In matters of judicial jurisdiction, the Court itself has set forth rules for defining the criminal law, the reach of long-arm statutes, state court primacy in interpreting state law, and interjurisdictional cooperation. He Philips Petroleum Co. v. Shutts provides an example of this sort of common law rule making: "There is simply no demonstration here that the Kansas Supreme Court's [choice of law] decision has impaired the legitimate interests of any other states or infringed on their sovereignty in the slightest." Another example of jurisdictional issues, which arise between states, can be found in the seminal jurisdictional case, Pennover v. Neff: 49

[E]very State possesses exclusive jurisdiction and sovereignty over persons and property within its territory

So the State, through its tribunals, may subject property situated within its limits owned by non-residents to the payment of the demand of its own citizens against them; and the exercise of this jurisdiction in no respect infringes upon the sovereignty of the State where the owners are domiciled.⁵⁰

In addition, the *Full Faith and Credit Clause* provides a constitutional rule of recognition for judicial proceedings among the states.⁵¹ "The Full Faith and Credit Clause . . . substituted a

^{45.} Id. at 35 (Jackson, J., concurring).

^{46.} See, e.g., Kolender v. Lawson, 461 U.S. 352 (1983) (holding a state criminal statute unconstitutionally vague); World-Wide Volkswagen Corp. v. Woodson, 444 U.S. 286 (1980) (applying minimum contacts analysis to find a lack of personal jurisdiction over a defendant); Darr v. Burford, 339 U.S. 200, 204 (1950) (stating that comity requires deferral of federal habeas corpus review until state courts have had an opportunity to correct a constitutional violation); International Shoe Co. v. Washington, 326 U.S. 310 (1945) (holding that personal jurisdiction is satisfied when a defendant has sufficient minimum contacts with the forum state); Erie R.R. Co. v. Tompkins, 304 U.S. 64 (1938) (stating that a federal court in a diversity action must interpret and apply state substantive law).

^{47. 472} U.S. 797 (1985).

^{48.} Id. at 836 (Stevens, J., concurring in part and dissenting in part).

^{49. 95} U.S. 714 (1877).

^{50.} Id. at 722-23.

^{51.} See U.S. CONST. art. IV, § 1.

command for the earlier principles of comity and thus basically altered the status of the States as independent sovereigns."⁵² In fact:

The very purpose of the full faith and credit clause was to alter the status of the several states as independent foreign sovereignties, each free to ignore obligations created under the laws or by the judicial proceedings of the others, and to make them integral parts of a single nation throughout which a remedy upon a just obligation might be demanded as of right, irrespective of the state of its origin.⁵³

5. Sovereignty as a Rhetorical Tool

The final category of state sovereignty discourse in the Court's opinions is the rhetorical use of the word "sovereignty," without a substantive usage of the term. Like many adjectives in legal writing, using "sovereignty" in this fashion only makes the argument sound stronger, but does not actually increase its persuasiveness. These applications of state sovereignty language are numerous and varied, and all equally colorful and analytically meaningless.

The most common rhetorical use of sovereignty is to buttress the impact of a statement about a state or its activities. In some uses, which we have called emphatic adjectives, "sovereign" merely means "government," or is entirely superfluousleaving out the word "sovereign" would not alter the statement's meaning, only its impact. Consider the following example: "[T]he Illinois 'sexually dangerous person' proceeding may only be triggered by a criminal incident; may only be initiated by the sovereign State's prosecuting authorities "54 Again, in the following quote, the term "sovereign" is largely superfluous: "[N]either the Bill of Rights nor the laws of sovereign States create the liberty which the Due Process Clause protects."55

In other uses, what is normally denominated merely as state action is called an action of the "sovereign." In the assessment of a drainage tax, the Court has said that the state

^{52.} Estin v. Estin, 334 U.S. 541, 546 (1948).

^{53.} Milwaukee County v. M.E. White Co., 296 U.S. 268, 276-77 (1935).

^{54.} Allen v. Illinois, 478 U.S. 364, 379 (1986) (Stevens, J., dissenting).

^{55.} Meachum v. Fano, 427 U.S. 215, 230 (1976) (Stevens, J., dissenting).

"is exercising sovereign power, and can, of course, direct or authorize the work to be done in such a way and compensation made on such terms as in its discretion may seem best." Another example of the use of "sovereign" as a synonym for state action is as follows: "Federal intrusions into state criminal trials frustrate both the State's sovereign power to punish offenders and their good-faith attempts to honor constitutional rights." ⁵⁷

In addition to using state sovereignty language to emphasize a particular point, the Court also invokes state sovereignty to describe the general principles of our constitutional structure. For the most part, references to a *principle of dual sovereignty* are colorful ways of saying that federalism exists. For example:

Commerce is a unit and does not regard state lines, and while, under the Constitution, interstate and intrastate commerce are ordinarily subject to regulation by different sovereignties, yet when they are so intermingled together that the supreme authority, the Nation, cannot exercise complete effective control over interstate commerce without incidental regulation of intrastate commerce, such incidental regulation is not an invasion of state authority....⁵⁸

Both federal and state action are considered actions of sovereigns in the following quote: "[B]usinesses necessarily [are] subject to the dual sovereignty of the government of the Nation and the State in which they reside;' when regulations promulgated by the sovereigns conflict, federal law necessarily controls." The Court also occasionally refers to the states' quasi-sovereignty, a term that, like all "quasi-" terms in the law, simply begs the question.

Quasi-sovereign interests stand apart.... They are not sovereign interests, proprietary interests, or private interests pursued by the state as a nominal party. They consist of a set of interests that the State has in the well-being of its

^{56.} New Orleans v. Warner, 175 U.S. 120, 136 (1899) (citation omitted).

^{57.} Engle v. Isaac, 456 U.S. 107, 128 (1982).

^{58.} Railroad Comm'n v. Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R.R., 257 U.S. 563, 588 (1922).

^{59.} FERC v. Mississippi, 456 U.S. 742, 767 (1982) (second alteration in original) (quoting National League of Cities v. Usery, 426 U.S. 833, 845 (1976)).

populace. Formulated so broadly, the concept risks being too vague to survive the standing requirements of Art. III: A quasi-sovereign interest must be sufficiently concrete to create an actual controversy between the State and the defendant. ⁶⁰

The emptiest rhetorical uses of state sovereignty language are, somewhat ironically, sometimes difficult to distinguish from the most analytically meaningful—those situations in which the language refers to an account of the constitutional structure of federalism that might have important and consistent implications if it were accepted. The Court invokes the principle of state sovereignty, yet often all that is meant is that state governments are important institutions whose interests should not be trampled upon lightly by the federal government (as opposed to municipalities or territories, to whom such deference is not due). We are told, for example, that there is an "equal necessity, under our system of government, to preserve the power of the States within their sovereignties as to prevent the power from intrusive exercise within the National sovereignty."61 This statement tells the reader precisely nothing about the constitutional extent of the states' inviolate "power... within their sovereignties." Similar language may, however, reflect or refer to analytically useful accounts of the constitutional law of federalism. When the Court in Bell v. New Jersev⁶² informs us that although "New Jersey... urges that the imposition of liability for misused funds interferes with state sovereignty, in violation of the Tenth Amendment," it "cannot agree" because "[r]equiring States to honor the obligations voluntarily assumed as a condition of federal funding before recognizing their ownership of funds simply does not intrude on their sovereignty."63 The Court arguably identifies the power to accept or reject nonconstitutional federal obligations as part of what it means to call the states "sovereign."

These categories of rhetorical uses of the word sovereignty may seem to cut close to the substantive categories laid out in sections (1) to (4) above. A few contrasts may make the distinc-

^{60.} Alfred L. Snapp & Son, Inc. v. Puerto Rico, 458 U.S. 592, 602 (1982).

^{61.} South Covington & Cincinnati St. Ry. v. Kentucky, 252 U.S. 399, 404 (1920).

^{62. 461} U.S. 773 (1983).

^{63.} Id. at 790.

tions more clear. For instance, writing that "Jesse Helms is the senior Senator from the sovereign state of North Carolina" uses "sovereign" an emphatic adjective because the word sovereignty contributes virtually nothing beyond the fact that North Carolina is one of the fifty states, ergo it has some attributes of sovereignty, none of which are raised. On the other hand, saying that "the competing claims in the boundary dispute between the sovereign states of North Carolina and Tennessee" implicates the dominion (territorial) and state-state (original jurisdiction) categories. Likewise, the statement that "Congress should not step on the toes of the sovereign states" is an invocation of the principle of state sovereignty, but it only puts forward a position that all but the most radical nationalist would accept. It is another thing entirely to say that "Congress has intruded upon state sovereignty because this corporations regulations act goes beyond the scope of its interstate commerce powers," because the legislation (corporations) and statefederal (reserved sovereignty, preemption) categories are apparent. At any rate, even if our distinctions may seem fuzzy to the reader, we have tried our best to remain internally consistent in our applications.

B. Patterns of State Sovereignty Discourse Over Time

The patterns of the Supreme Court's use of state sovereignty language are at once both unsurprising and immensely interesting. The distribution of references to state sovereignty among our five categories reveals some intriguing results. Even more fascinating, however, were the historical trends revealed when we examined the frequency of references to state sovereignty across the years. These historical trends may help explain why the meaning of "state sovereignty" has remained so obscure, even after over 200 years of Supreme Court opinions.

Before proceeding, some introductory information may prove helpful. The total number of cases we found applicable and categorized, from 1792 to 1997, was 1280. These cases contained a total of 1692 different uses of state sovereignty language, as measured by our categories or subcategories. For example, a case containing multiple uses of one meaning of state sovereignty was counted as a single reference to that category of usage. Other cases used several different meanings

of state sovereignty. Such cases were counted multiple times, once for each different category of usage found in the opinion. Over time, the Court has averaged 6.19 cases per year in which a reference to state sovereignty is made, with an average of 8.17 discrete references per year to our various categories of meaning. The years with the most state sovereignty references are: 1982 (40), 1985 and 1976 (28), 1981 (27), and 1983 (26), and 1890 (24).

The distribution of the total number of uses of state sovereignty language among our various categories is of some interest by itself. Slightly more than half of the references to state sovereignty made by the Court fall into our four substantive categories, while the remainder are in the fifth category, rhetorical use. All legal writing, including Supreme Court opinions, must be persuasive to be effective, so it is not at all surprising that the justices would make rhetorical use of state sovereignty language quite often to try to increase the impact of their words. Table 1 displays our findings by category. Chart 1 displays Table 1 in graphical form; Chart 2 separates out the subcategories with significant references of their own right.

TABLE 1. Distribution of References

Category	References	Total (approx. %)
Dominion	402	24
Legislation	165	10
State-Federal	258	15
State-State	139	8
Rhetoric	728	43
Total	1692	100

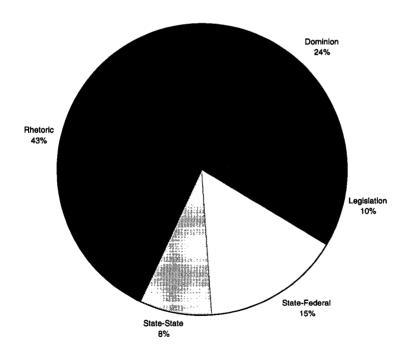


Chart 1. Graphical Depiction of Distribution of References.

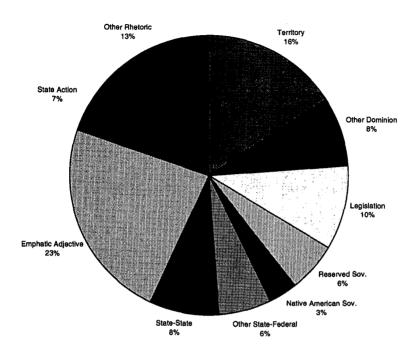


Chart 2. Graphical Depiction of Distribution of Subcategories.

Even more interesting, however, are the historical trends that appear in the Court's use of state sovereignty language. The first major trend is the number of references per year. Chart 3 displays this data.

Periods of dramatic increase in the number of references per year appear from 1840–60, 1890–1915, and 1974–present. Periods of dramatic decrease occur from 1860–67 and 1940–72. As the reader will immediately recognize, the Court's linguistic behavior unsurprisingly reflect the ebb and flow of the Court's, or rather the justices', politics. The pre-Civil War Taney Court (1837–60) and the turn of the century Fuller Court (1888–1910) were dominated by justices whose substantive moral and political commitments made resistance to a nationalistic interpretation of the Constitution often (but not always) congenial, while 1974 is a serviceable starting point for the increasingly

successful effort of Justice (now Chief Justice) Rehnquist to rehabilitate federalism as a legally enforced limit on national power. Conversely, it is hardly surprising that the Civil War and its immediate aftermath discouraged judicial invocation of the very language that the Confederacy invoked to justify secession, and the interval between 1940 and 1972 is almost exactly the era in which a strong majority of the justices endorsed New Deal nationalism ("The [tenth] amendment states but a truism . . ."⁶⁴). If future appointments to the Court should create a new nationalistic majority, it is reasonable to expect that references to state sovereignty will diminish substantially from the current Court's rate.

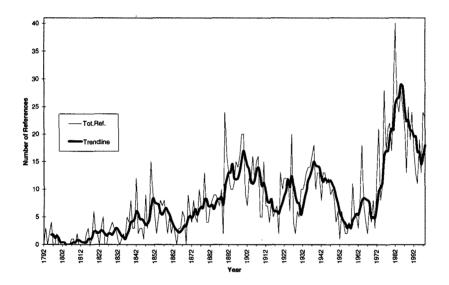


Chart 3. Number of Sovereignty References versus Year.

The information on the number of state sovereignty references per year is interesting, but it may not be significant without a comparison to the number of total cases decided by the Court each year. We defined total cases decided as those cases decided by the Court for which an opinion was written, because only opinions, and not summary dispositions, have the textual length necessary to include usage of state sovereignty

^{64.} United States v. Darby, 312 U.S. 100, 124 (1941).

language.⁶⁵ Compiling this data on total number of opinions per year allowed us to compare the number of cases disposed of in which state sovereignty discourse could have been used to the number that actually did so. The number of total cases per year reveals some interesting trends. Chart 4 displays this data.

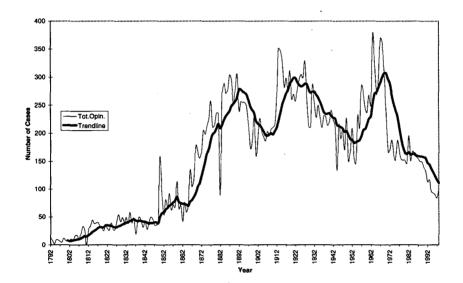


Chart 4. Number of Cases with State Sovereignty References versus Year.

The number of cases decided by opinions grew almost exponentially from the 1790s to 1885, then levelled off from 1885–1970. In 1970, however, the number of opinions written gradually began decreasing each year, a trend that has continued to the present. This fact, of course, makes the upsurge in references to state sovereignty in the post-1973 period even more impressive.

The data on state sovereignty cases and references, and on the total cases decided by an opinion each year gave us the in-

^{65.} Search conducted on Westlaw in August 1997; updated in January 1999. This search retrieved all opinions written each year, either by a Justice or those issued per curiam.

formation to analyze the most interesting comparison: the number of sovereignty cases as a percentage of the total cases decided each year. Chart 5 displays these results.

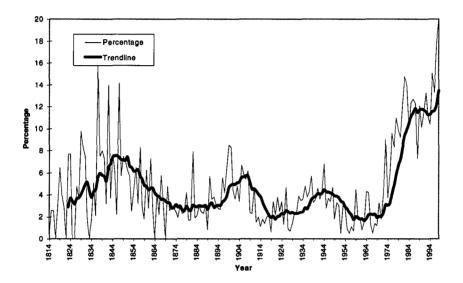


Chart 5. Sovereignty Cases as a Percentage of Total Cases versus Year.

In general, the number of cases each year in which any form of state sovereignty language is used by the Court hovers around 4% of total cases. However, two periods of much higher frequency are readily apparent. They are 1840-55 and 1975-Once again, the apparent explanation for these highest frequency periods of state sovereignty discourse is unsurprising, but informative. The Taney Court's use of this language declines only when a majority of the justices began to act on the conviction that national judicial power could bring a satisfactory—in other words, pro-slavery—resolution to sectional conflict over the institution's preservation and extension. The later period is, as we already noted, the era in which the absolute number of references to state sovereignty climbs as a result of the efforts of Chief Justice Rehnquist and others. The upsurge in the absolute figure combines with the sharp decline in the total number of opinions filed to provide striking testimony to their success in reversing the New Deal's substantial abandonment of state sovereignty language.

CONCLUSION

Several conclusions emerge from our inquiry into the Court's use of the language of "state sovereignty." Much of the time the Court is unmistakably using the term without giving it any clear meaning at all: the two most obviously rhetorical subcategories, emphatic adjectives and sovereignty as a synonym for state action, together make up 30% of the total references. In addition, much of the time the Court is unmistakably using the language in ways that have content, but nonetheless have little practical analytical significance. References to state sovereignty that have in view the states' territorial nature, or their legislative jurisdiction to tax or create corporations and election districts—between them 25% of the total—tell us little or nothing about how to resolve actual disputes over when the national government may or may not constitutionally override state territorial authority or displace state legislative choices. Finally, the Court has not hewn to any consistent analytical predictability for when it will adopt its use of state sovereignty talk. The frequency and vigor with which the Court's opinions have invoked the sovereignty of the states have waxed and waned in response to outside circumstances and changes in personnel. Neither the more nationalistic justices nor their opponents can invoke a continuous judicial tradition of rejecting or accepting notions of state sovereignty. If their linguistic behavior is to be believed, the most interesting fact about the justices' views on state sovereignty has been their failure to create and bequeath a lasting consensus about the meaning of the term.

The language of state sovereignty does not embody a coherent, historically accepted concept of the states' role in the federal system. To recognize this fact, as we believe it to be, is not at all to deny the importance of federalism issues. Nor does it lead to nationalistic conclusions about disputed matters. The point is, rather, one of intellectual clarity and decisional integrity. Questions about the immunity of states from federal-court actions, or the authority of Congress to impose duties on

state officials, or the power of the states to impose term limits on federal officeholders, cannot be resolved by reference to a global concept of "state sovereignty" because no such concept has ever secured long-term adherence. Strong nationalists fear, reasonably enough, that the ambiguous language of state sovereignty obscures the real issues and interests that the Court should address in federalism cases. But invocations of the sovereignty of the states ought to be equally unpalatable to those who believe that the Constitution accords federalism vigorous legal protection. A constitutional law of federalism that can survive the next round of nationalistic appointments to the Court will need reason and not just rhetoric. The siren song of state sovereignty simply is a diversion from the true task of finding the correct resolution of the particular constitutional or federalism issues that arise and, as Chief Justice Marshall wrote long ago, "will probably continue to arise, as long as our system shall exist."66

APPENDIX

Notes on the Appendix

The cases with citations are listed by year, followed by the category or categories of state sovereignty language (laid out in Part II.A.) which appear in the case.

The categories of state sovereignty language are abbreviated as follows:

TY	territory
SIS	state sovereign immunity generally
SIE	state sovereign immunity under the Eleventh
	Amendment
SAD	sovereign acts doctrine
POP	popular sovereignty
TAX	taxation
CORP	corporations
DIST	election districts
RS	reserved sovereignty
DSC	dual sovereignty in criminal justice
PRE	preemption
PIC	Privileges and Immunities Clauses
NA	Native American sovereignty
HIST	historical uses of sovereignty
COM	comity
OJ	original jurisdiction
CCL	Compact Clause
IJ	judicial jurisdiction
FFC	Full Faith & Credit Clause
EA	emphatic adjectives
SA	state action
DSP	principle of dual sovereignty
QS	quasi-sovereignty
SSP	principle of state sovereignty

Abbreviations of case names follow Table 6 in *The Bluebook: A Uniform System of Citation* (16th ed. 1996), with some additional abbreviations that do not impede clarity. Procedural phrases in case names have for the most part been omitted.

<u> 1998</u>

Calderon v. Coleman, 525 U.S. 141	EA
United States v. Balsys, 524 U.S. 666	DSC
Wisconsin Dep't of Corr. v. Schact, 524 U.S. 381	SIE
Pennsylvania Bd. of Probation & Parole v. Scott, 524	DSC
U.S. 357	
Pennsylvania Dep't of Corr. v. Yeskey, 524 U.S. 206	SSP
Hopkins v. Reeves, 524 U.S. 88	EA
New Mexico v. Reed, 524 U.S. 151	EA
New Jersey v. New York, 523 U.S. 767	TY
Kiowa Tribe v. Manufacturing Tech., Inc., 523 U.S. 751	NA, SIE
Montana v. Crow Tribe of Indians, 523 U.S. 696	NA
Calderon v. Thompson, 523 U.S. 538	EA
United States v. Estate of Romani, 523 U.S. 517	EA
California v. Deep Sea Research, Inc., 523 U.S. 491	TY, SIE
Ohio Adult Parole Auth. v. Woodard, 523 U.S. 272	EA
Lewis v. United States, 523 U.S. 155	DSC
Bogan v. Scott-Harris, 523 U.S. 44	SIS
South Dakota v. Yankton Sioux Tribe, 522 U.S. 329	NA, TY
Baker v. General Motors Corp., 522 U.S. 222	FFC
Chicago v. International Coll. of Surgeons, 522 U.S. 156	EA
Foster v. Love, 522 U.S. 67	EA

DSP, RS,
SSP
EA
EA
EA, DIST,
HIST
TY, NA,
SIE
SA
TY
SA
EA, SIS
PRE, TAX
EA
NA
SA
EA
EA, SIS

<u>1996</u>

United States v. Winstar Corp., 518 U.S. 839	EA, SAD
Board of County Comm'rs v. Umbehr, 518 U.S. 668	EA
United States v. Virginia, 518 U.S. 515	EA
Medtronic, Inc. v. Lohr, 518 U.S. 470	PRE
Shaw v. Hunt, 517 U.S. 899	EA
Bush v. Vera, 517 U.S. 952	DIST
Quackenbush v. Allstate Ins. Co., 517 U.S. 706	JJ
BMW of N. Am. v. Gore, 517 U.S. 559	COM
Lonchar v. Thomas, 517 U.S. 314	EA
Seminole Tribe v. Florida, 517 U.S. 44	SIE
Morse v. Republican Party, 517 U.S. 186	SA
Fulton Corp. v. Faulkner, 516 U.S. 325	EA

1995

TY, OJ
EA
EA
NA, COM
SSP, EA
EA
OJ, QS
RS, HIST
EA
EA
POP
EA
JJ
EA

<u>1994</u>

Reich v. Collins, 513 U.S. 106	SIE
Hess v. Port Auth. Trans-Hudson Corp., 513 U.S. 30	SIE, CCL
Holder v. Hall, 512 U.S. 874	EA
McFarland v. Scott, 512 U.S. 849	EA
Consolidated Rail Corp. v. Gottshall, 512 U.S. 532	EA
Department of Tax'n v. Milhelm Attea, 512 U.S. 61	NA
O'Melveny & Myers v. Federal Deposit Ins. Corp., 512 U.S. 79	EA
Department of Revenue v. Kurth Ranch, 511 U.S. 767	DSC

BFP v. Resolution Trust Corp., 511 U.S. 531	EA
Department of Revenue v. ACF Indus., 510 U.S. 332	TAX

United States v. Dixon, 509 U.S. 688	DSC
Harper v. Virginia Dep't of Tax'n, 509 U.S. 86	TAX
South Dakota v. Bourland, 508 U.S. 679	NA
Oklahoma Tax Comm'n v. Sac & Fox Nation, 508 U.S.	NA
114	
United States v. Idaho, 508 U.S. 1	PRE
United States v. California, 507 U.S. 746	TAX
Withrow v. Williams, 507 U.S. 680	EA
Brecht v. Abrahamson, 507 U.S. 619	EA
Nebraska v. Wyoming, 507 U.S. 584	EA
United States v. Texas, 507 U.S. 529	SIS
Delaware v. New York, 507 U.S. 490	SA
Itel Containers Int'l Corp. v. Huddleston, 507 U.S. 60	TAX
Puerto Rico Aqueduct & Sewer Auth. v. Metcalf &	SIE
Eddy, 506 U.S. 139	

1002	
Mississippi v. Louisiana, 506 U.S. 73	OJ, TY
Cipollone v. Liggett Group, 505 U.S. 504	PRE
Sawyer v. Whitley, 505 U.S. 333	EA
Wright v. West, 505 U.S. 277	EA
New York v. United States, 505 U.S. 144	SSP
Georgia v. McCollum, 505 U.S. 42	EA
Ankenbrandt v. Richards, 504 U.S. 689	TY
Evans v. United States, 504 U.S. 255	RS, PRE
Keeney v. Tamayo-Reyes, 504 U.S. 1	EA
United States Dep't of Energy v. Ohio, 503 U.S. 607	PRE
United States v. Alaska, 503 U.S. 569	TY
Arkansas v. Oklahoma, 503 U.S. 91	TY
Paschal v. Didrickson, 502 U.S. 1081	SIE
County of Yakima v. Confederated Tribes & Bands, 502	NA
U.S. 251	
In re Blodgett, 502 U.S. 236	EA

<u> 1991</u>

Hilton v. South Carolina Duh Dr. Comm'n 500 II C	CIE DC
Hilton v. South Carolina Pub. Ry. Comm'n, 502 U.S.	SIE, RS,
197	PRE
Hafer v. Melo, 502 U.S. 21	SIE
Barnes v. E-Systems, Inc., 501 U.S. 1301	SIE
Blatchford v. Native Village, 501 U.S. 775	SIE, NA
Coleman v. Thompson, 501 U.S. 722	DSP, SA,
	POP
Gregory v. Ashcroft, 501 U.S. 452	DSP, RS,
	SA
Metropolitan Wash. Airports Auth. v. Citizens for	EA
Abatement of Aircraft Noise, 501 U.S. 252	
Illinois v. Kentucky, 500 U.S. 380	TY
Lankford v. Idaho, 500 U.S. 110	SA
McClesky v. Zant, 499 U.S. 467	SA
City of Columbia v. Omni Outdoor Advert., Inc., 499	SSP, EA,
U.S. 365	SA
Equal Empl. Opp. Comm'n v. Arabian Am. Oil Co., 499	EA
U.S. 244	
Salve Regina College v. Russell, 499 U.S. 225	EA
Oklahoma Tax Comm'n v. Potawatomi Indian Tribe,	NA
498 U.S. 505	
Dennis v. Higgins, 498 U.S. 439	DSP

1000	
Georgia v. South Carolina, 497 U.S. 376	TY
Perpich v. Department of Defense, 496 U.S. 334	DSP
Howlett v. Rose, 496 U.S. 356	SIS
McKesson Corp. v. Division of Alcoholic Bev. & Tobacco,	SIS
496 U.S. 18	
Duro v. Reina, 495 U.S. 676	NA
Pennsylvania Dep't of Pub. Welfare v. Davenport, 495	EA, JJ
U.S. 552	
Burnham v. Superior Ct., 495 U.S. 604	TY
North Dakota v. United States, 495 U.S. 423	EA
Port Auth. Trans-Hudson Corp. v. Feeney, 495 U.S. 299	SIS, CCL
Ngiraingas v. Sanchez, 495 U.S. 182	POP, SIS
Missouri v. Jenkins, 495 U.S. 33	EA
Yellow Freight Sys. v. Donnelly, 494 U.S. 820	DSP
United States Dep't of Labor v. Triplett, 494 U.S. 715	EA
Tafflin v. Levitt, 493 U.S. 455	DSP, JJ,
	EA

<u> 1989</u>

Brendale v. Confederated Tribes & Bands, 492 U.S. 408	TY, NA
Duckworth v. Eagan, 492 U.S. 195	SSP
Murray v. Giarratano, 492 U.S. 1	SA
Hoffman v. Connecticut Dep't of Income Maint., 492	SIS, SIE
U.S. 96	
Missouri v. Jenkins, 491 U.S. 274	SIE, SIS
New Orleans Pub. Service, Inc. v. Council of New Or-	EA
leans, 491 U.S. 350	
Pennsylvania v. Union Gas Co., 491 U.S. 1	SSP, RS,
	SIS
Dellmuth v. Muth, 491 U.S. 223	SIE
Will v. Michigan Dep't of State Police, 491 U.S. 58	EA, SSP
Asarco Inc. v. Kadish, 490 U.S. 605	EA
Cotton Petroleum Corp. v. New Mexico, 490 U.S. 163	TAX, NA
Pueblo of Acoma v. Padilla, 490 U.S. 1029	NA
Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians v. Holyfield, 490	NA
U.S. 30	
Oklahoma Tax Comm'n v. Graham, 489 U.S. 838	NA
Davis v. Michigan Dep't of Treas., 489 U.S. 839	TAX
New York City Bd. of Estimate v. Morris, 489 U.S. 688	EA
Harris v. Reed, 489 U.S. 255	JJ
City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co., 488 U.S. 469	EA

<u>1988</u>

Louisiana v. Mississippi, 488 U.S. 990	OJ
NCAA v. Tarkanian, 488 U.S. 179	EA
Pennsylvania v. Bruder, 488 U.S. 9	EA
Thompson v. Oklahoma, 487 U.S. 815	EA
Kadrmas v. Dickinson Pub. Schs., 487 U.S. 450	EA
Sun Oil Co. v. Wortman, 486 U.S. 474	FFC
Goodyear Atomic Corp. v. Miller, 486 U.S. 174	DSP
Patrick v. Burget, 486 U.S. 94	SA
City of New York v. FCC, 486 U.S. 57	PRE
South Carolina v. Baker, 485 U.S. 505	TAX, SIS,
	EA
Phillips Petroleum Co. v. Mississippi, 484 U.S. 469	TY

Nollan v. California Coastal Comm'n, 483 U.S. 825	TY
Welch v. Texas Dep't of Hwys. & Pub. Transp., 483 U.S.	SIE, DSP
468	
American Trucking Ass'n v. Scheiner, 483 U.S. 266	EA
South Dakota v. Dole, 483 U.S. 203	DSP

Tyler Pipe Indus. v. Washington State Dep't of Revenue, 483 U.S. 232	TAX
Puerto Rico v. Branstad, 483 U.S. 219	JJ
California v. Superior Ct., 482 U.S. 400	EA
First English Evangelical Lutheran Church v. County of Los Angeles, 482 U.S. 304	EA
Texas v. New Mexico, 482 U.S. 124	OJ, CCL
Utah Div. of State Lands v. United States, 482 U.S. 193	TY
United States v. Cherokee Nation, 480 U.S. 700	NA, TY
Amoco Prod. Co. v. Village of Gambel, 480 U.S. 531	NA
Keystone Bituminous Coal Ass'n v. DeBenedictis, 480 U.S. 470	SA
California v. Cabazon Band, 480 U.S. 202	NA
Iowa Mut. Ins. Co. v. La Plante, 480 U.S. 9	NA, EA
City of Pleasant Grove v. United States, 479 U.S. 462	DSP
International Paper Co. v. Ouellette, 479 U.S. 481	EA
324 Liquor Corp v. Duffy, 479 U.S. 335	SSP
West Virginia v. United States, 479 U.S. 305	SIS

<u>1986</u>

R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. v. Durham County, 479 U.S.	DSP
130	
Kelly v. Robinson, 479 U.S. 36	RS
Allen v. Illinois, 478 U.S. 364	EA
Davis v. Bandemer, 478 U.S. 109	DIST
Ford v. Wainwright, 477 U.S. 399	EA
Kuhlmann v. Wilson, 477 U.S. 436	JJ
Murray v. Carrier, 477 U.S. 478	IJ
Maine v. Taylor, 477 U.S. 131	EA
Offshore Logistics, Inc. v. Tallentire, 477 U.S. 207	TY
Bowen v. Public Agencies, 477 U.S. 41	SSP
Three Affiliated Tribes v. Wold Eng'g, 476 U.S. 877	SIS, NA,
	QS
Bowen v. American Hosp. Ass'n, 476 U.S. 610	DSP
Louisiana Pub. Serv. Comm'n v. FCC, 476 U.S. 355	PRE
Evans v. Jeff D., 475 U.S. 717	SIS
Del v. Van Arsdall, 475 U.S. 673	SSP, EA,
	DSP, POP
Exxon Corp. v. Hunt, 475 U.S. 355	EA
Fisher v. City of Berkeley, 475 U.S. 260	DSP, EA
United States v. Maine, 475 U.S. 89	TY
Daniels v. Williams, 474 U.S. 327	SIS

<u>1985</u>

1000	
Green v. Mansour, 474 U.S. 64	SIE
Heath v. Alabama, 474 U.S. 82	DSC
California State Bd. of Equalization v. Chemehuevi In-	NA
dian Tribe, 474 U.S. 9	
Mitsubishi Motors v. Soler Chrysler-Plymouth, 473 U.S.	EA
614	
United States v. Bagley, 473 U.S. 667	EA
School Dist. v. Ball, 473 U.S. 373	EA
Oklahoma v. Arkansas, 473 U.S. 610	TY
Atascadero State Hosp. v. Scanlon, 473 U.S. 234	SIS
Phillips Petroleum Co. v. Shutts, 472 U.S. 797	JJ, FFC
Superintendent v. Hill, 472 U.S. 445	EA
Mountain States Tel. & Tel. Co. v. Pueblo of Santa Ana,	TY
472 U.S. 237	
Northeast Bancorp v. Board of Governors of Fed. Re-	CCL
serve Sys., 472 U.S. 159	
Montana v. Blackfeet Tribe, 471 U.S. 759	NA
National Farmers Union Ins. Co. v. Crow Tribe of Indi-	NA
ans, 471 U.S. 845	
Town of Hallie v. City of Eau Claire, 471 U.S. 34	SSP
Southern Motor Carriers Rate Conf. v. United States,	SA, SIS
471 U.S. 48	
Supreme Ct. v. Piper, 470 U.S. 274	PIC, EA
Heath v. Alabama, 470 U.S. 1026	DSC
United States v. Louisiana, 470 U.S. 93	TY
Garcia v. San Antonio Metro. Trans. Auth., 469 U.S.	SSP, EA,
528	SA, QD,
	DSP, RS

<u>1984</u>

The state of the s	Dag
Borchardt v. United States, 469 U.S. 937	DSC
National Farmers Union Ins. Co. v. Crow Tribe of Indi-	NA
ans, 468 U.S. 1315	
Hudson v. Palmer, 468 U.S. 517	SIS
FCC v. League of Women Voters, 468 U.S. 364	EA
Bacchus Imports Ltd. v. Dias, 468 U.S. 263	TY
Franchise Tax Bd. v. United States Postal Serv., 467	TAX, SIS
U.S. 512	
South-Central Timber Dev. v. Wunnicke, 467 U.S. 82	EA
Escondido Mut. Water Co. v. La Jolla Band of Mission	NA
Indians, 466 U.S. 765	
Hoover v. Ronwin, 466 U.S. 558	EA, SSP,
	SA

Summa Corp. v. California, 466 U.S. 198	EA
Keeton v. Hustler Mag., Inc., 465 U.S. 770	EA
Lynch v. Donnelly, 465 U.S. 668	EA
South Carolina v. Regan, 465 U.S. 367	OJ, TAX
Solem v. Bartlett, 465 U.S. 463	TY
Dixson v. United States, 465 U.S. 482	EA
United Bldg. & Constr. Trades Council v. Mayor & Council, 465 U.S. 208	HIST, FFC
Pennhurst State Sch. & Hosp. v. Halderman, 465 U.S. 89	SIE, JJ

<u>1983</u>

1909	
Hawaii Hous. Auth. v. Midkiff, 463 U.S. 1323	JJ
Michigan v. Long, 463 U.S. 1032	EA
American Bank & Trust Co. v. Dallas County, 463 U.S.	TAX
855	
Rice v. Rehner, 463 U.S. 713	NA
Lehr v. Robertson, 463 U.S. 248	EA
Karcher v. Daggett, 462 U.S. 725	EA
Mennonite Bd. of Missions v. Adams, 462 U.S. 791	TAX
Supreme Ct. v. Consumers Union, Inc., 462 U.S. 1137	JJ
Texas v. New Mexico, 462 U.S. 554	OJ
New Mexico v. Mescalero Apache Tribe, 462 U.S. 324	NA, PRE
Bell v. United States, 462 U.S. 356	DSC
Maggio v. Fulford, 462 U.S. 111	EA
Bell v. New Jersey, 461 U.S. 773	SSP, DSP
Hensley v. Eckerhart, 461 U.S. 424	SIS
Smith v. Wade, 461 U.S. 30	DSP
Arizona v. California, 460 U.S. 605	SIE
Equal Empl. Opp. Comm'n v. Wyoming, 460 U.S. 226	EA, SA
White v. Massachusetts Council of Constr. Empl'rs, 460	SSP, TAX
U.S. 204	
Jefferson County Pharm. Ass'n. v. Abbott Labs, 460	SA, EA
U.S. 150	
Hewitt v. Helms, 459 U.S. 460	EA
South Dakota v. Neville, 459 U.S. 553	EA

<u>1982</u>

1902	777.7
Colorado v. New Mexico, 459 U.S. 176	TY
Illinois v. Gates, 459 U.S. 1028	EA
City of Polson v. Confederated Salish & Kootenai	NA, QS
Tribes, 459 U.S. 977	
Sporhase v. Nebraska, 458 U.S. 941	QS
Ramah Navajo Sch. Bd., Inc. v. Bureau of Revenue, 458	NA, TAX
U.S. 832	TY
Florida Dep't of State v. Treasure Salvors, Inc., 458	11
U.S. 670	OC DCD
Alfred L. Snapp & Son v. Puerto Rico, 458 U.S. 592	QS, DSP, EA
THE LEGISLAND AND A SECOND ASSESSMENT OF THE S	
Washington v. Seattle Sch. Dist. No. 1, 458 U.S. 457	POP, EA
Northern Pipeline Constr. Co. v. Marathon Pipe Line	TY
Co., 458 U.S. 50	777.7
South Dakota v. Nebraska, 458 U.S. 276	TY
Board of Educ. v. Pico, 457 U.S. 853	EA
Blue Shield v. McCready, 457 U.S. 465	QS
Patsy v. Board of Regents, 457 U.S. 496	SIS
California v. United States, 457 U.S. 273	TY
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EA
CORP, JJ
EA
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TY
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TAX
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TY
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TY

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