

Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| <i>Acknowledgments</i> | xi |
| Introduction | 1 |
| The Constitution's Primary Structural Purpose | 1 |
| A Brief History of an Idea | 6 |
| Plan of the Book | 12 |

PART I THINKING CONSTITUTIONALLY AND COLLECTIVELY

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. Foundations: <i>McCulloch</i> | 25 |
| Introduction | 25 |
| Constitutional Purposes and Pluralist Interpretation | 27 |
| Negotiating Conflicts among Modalities and Purposes | 36 |
| Democratic Legitimacy | 39 |
| Implied Powers, the Necessary and Proper Clause, and Collective Action | 43 |
| Parsing Marshall's Reference to a Pretextual Purpose | 49 |
| Democratic Illegitimacy | 50 |
| A Cautionary Tale | 52 |
| Conclusion | 56 |
| 2. The New "Science of Politics" | 57 |
| Introduction | 57 |
| Definitions and Behavioral Assumptions | 58 |
| Categories of Classic Collective-Action Problems | 62 |
| More Complex Strategic Interactions | 72 |
| Solutions to Collective-Action Problems | 79 |
| Collective-Action Reasoning as a Justification for Federal Power | 89 |
| Conclusion | 92 |

PART II A COLLECTIVE-ACTION THEORY OF THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE—AND ITS LIMITS

| | |
|---|-----|
| 3. The Roles of the States and the Interstate Compacts Clause | 97 |
| Introduction | 97 |
| Preliminary Distinctions | 98 |
| Values of Federalism | 99 |
| Pre-ratification History | 102 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| The Constitution | 105 |
| Historical Practice | 111 |
| Congressional Consent in Theory | 113 |
| Congressional Consent in Practice | 117 |
| The Practical Difficulties of Relying on the States | 122 |
| Conclusion | 127 |
| 4. The Necessity of Federal Power: Taxing, Spending, and Borrowing | 131 |
| Introduction | 131 |
| Structural Problems with the Articles | 132 |
| The Constitutional Convention | 137 |
| The Constitution | 142 |
| Taxing | 146 |
| Spending | 156 |
| Borrowing | 167 |
| Conclusion | 169 |
| 5. Interstate Commerce, Foreign Commerce, and Related Principles | 171 |
| Introduction | 171 |
| The Interstate Commerce Clause | 172 |
| The Anti-commandeering Principle | 205 |
| The Dormant Commerce Principle | 208 |
| Foreign and Indian Commerce | 217 |
| Preemption | 223 |
| Conclusion | 227 |
| 6. National Security, Positive Externalities, and National Uniformity | 229 |
| Introduction | 229 |
| Positive Interstate Externalities: National Security | 230 |
| Positive Interstate Externalities: The Postal and Intellectual-Property Powers | 235 |
| The Virtues of Uniformity: Naturalization and Bankruptcy | 247 |
| More Uniformity: Standards, Currency, and Counterfeiting | 254 |
| Not Just Administration: Lower Federal Courts and Federal Enclaves | 261 |
| Necessary and Proper, Again | 264 |
| Conclusion | 264 |
| 7. Executive Energy, Judicial Authority, and Federal Supremacy | 267 |
| Introduction | 267 |
| Article II | 268 |
| Article III | 278 |
| Article VI | 306 |
| Conclusion | 310 |

X CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Postscript on Methodology</i> | 489 |
| <i>Index of Constitutional Provisions</i> | 493 |
| <i>Index of Cases</i> | 495 |
| <i>General Index</i> | 497 |