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Academic Employment

2007 to Present THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. THOMAS MINNEAPOLIS, MN

Distinguished University Chair and Professor of Law (2007-date), Co-Director, University of St. Thomas Pro-Life Advocacy Center (“PLACE”), Dean’s Award for Scholarship (2011), Chair, Promotion and Tenure Committee (2010-2013, 2016-2017), Dean’s Award for Teaching (2015). Fellow (James Madison Program) and Visiting Professor of Politics, Princeton University (Spring Semester 2018); Visiting Professor, Daystar University (Athi River, Kenya) (Spring Semester, 2010); Strauss Distinguished Visiting Professor, Pepperdine University (Spring Semester 2020); Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University (2021-2022).

1991 to 2007 UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA LAW SCHOOL MINNEAPOLIS, MN

McKnight Presidential Professor of Law & Public Policy (2004-2007), Law Alumni Distinguished Professor (2007), Briggs & Morgan Professor of Law (2000-2007), Associate Dean for Research and Scholarship (2004-2007), Julius E. Davis Professor (1998-1999), Full Professor (1998-date); Associate Professor (1991-1998). Visiting Professor, Uppsala Universitet Juridiska Institutionen (Uppsala, Sweden) (2001); University of St. Thomas School of Law (Minneapolis, MN) (2003-04). Subjects taught: Civil Procedure, Constitutional Law, Law & Religion, Professional Responsibility, War & National Security, Separation of Powers, Lincoln & the Constitution. Committees: Appointments (chair); Education Policy (chair); Honor Code (chair), numerous other committee memberships. Editor-in-(mis)Chief, Constitutional Commentary

Education

1982 to 1985 YALE LAW SCHOOL NEW HAVEN, CT

Editor, Yale Law Journal
Winner, Yale Moot Court appellate advocacy competition, 1983
Director, Yale Federalist Society, 1984-85
Director, Yale Moot Court, fall 1983-84

1982 to 1985 YALE DIVINITY SCHOOL NEW HAVEN, CT

Master of Arts in Religion, 1985 (concurrent with J.D. from Yale Law School)

1981 to 1982 NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY CHICAGO, IL

School of Law. John Henry Wigmore Scholar.
Completed first year with "A" average (5.93/7.00). Selected for Northwestern University Law Review.

1977 to 1981 NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY EVANSTON, IL

College of Arts and Science. Bachelor of Arts with Distinction, Economics, 1981. Phi Beta Kappa. Dean's list for four years. Mortar Board. Richter Scholar. National Merit Scholar. GPA 3.86/4.00.

Legal Employment

1991 to date Attorney Consultant, Legal Ethics and Professional Responsibility.
Litigation and Consulting Practice, Legislative Testimony, Professional Expert Opinion Letters, on Constitutional Issues of Religious Liberty, Free Speech, and other Matters. (See Professional Service, below).

1989 to 1991 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Attorney-Advisor, Office of Legal Counsel

1986 to 1989 CENTER FOR LAW & RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
Senior Staff Counsel

1985 to 1986 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Trial Attorney, Criminal Division Honors Program;
Special Assistant U.S. Attorney, E.D. Va.

Books

Michael Stokes Paulsen & Luke Douglas Paulsen, **The Constitution: An Introduction** (2015)

Michael Stokes Paulsen (ed.), **Our Constitution: Landmark Interpretations of America's Governing Document** (2013)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, Steven G. Calabresi, Michael W. McConnell, Samuel Bray & William Baude, **THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES** (Foundation Press 2010) [casebook] (2d ed. 2013) (3d ed. 2017) (4th ed. 2021).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, “**What Roe v. Wade Should Have Said**” (Opinion of “Justice Paulsen”) (book chapter) in J. Balkin ed. What Roe v. Wade Should Have Said: The Nation's Top Legal Experts Relate America's Most Controversial Decision (2005).

Academic Articles

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Abortion as an Instrument of Eugenics**, Harvard L. Rev. Forum (June 1, 2021), available at <https://harvardlawreview.org/2021/06/abortion-as-an-instrument-of-eugenics/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Relevance and Irrelevance of James Madison to Faithful Constitutional Interpretation**, in “A Madisonian Constitution for All,” at 83 (National Constitution Center, available at https://constitutioncenter.org/media/files/Madisonian%20White%20Papers_%20EBook.pdf) (2019).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **To End a (Republican) Presidency**, 132 Harvard L. Rev. 689 (2018) (reviewing Tribe & Matz, *To End a Presidency: The Power of Impeachment* (2018)).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The President and the Myth of Judicial Supremacy**, 14 U. St. Thomas L. Rev. 602 (2018)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Five Provocative Pro-Life Proposals**, 35 Quinnipiac L. Rev. 661 (2017).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Checking the Court**, 10 N.Y.U. J. L. & Liberty 18 (2016) (invited “Foreword”).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Unconscionable War on Moral Conscience**, 91 Notre Dame L. Rev. 1167 (2016) (reviewing R. George, *Conscience and Its Enemies* (2013)).

Articles

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Constitutional Propriety of Ideological “Litmus Tests” for Judicial Appointments**, 83 University of Chicago Law Review Online 28 (2016).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Drone On: The Commander in Chief Power to Target and Kill Americans**, 2 Harv. J. Law & Pub. Pol’y Fed. Ed. 263 (Winter 2015).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Is Religious Freedom Irrational?** 112 Mich. L. Rev. 1043 (2014) (reviewing Brian Leiter, *Why Tolerate Religion?* (2013)).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Text, the Whole Text, and Nothing But the Text, So Help Me God: Un-writing Amar’s Unwritten Constitution**, 81 U Chi L Rev 1385 (2014) (reviewing Akhil Amar, *America’s Unwritten Constitution: The Precedents and Principles We Live By* (2012)).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Kermit Gosnell and Uncle Tom’s Cabin**, 8 University of St. Thomas Journal of Law & Pub. Pol’y 1 (2014)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Plausibility of Personhood**, 74 Ohio State L. J. 13 (2013).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Priority of God: A Theory of Religious Liberty**, 39 Pepperdine L. Rev. 1159 (2013).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Disaster: The Worst Religious Freedom Case in Fifty Years**, 24 Regent U. L. Rev. 283 (2012).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Our Perfect, Perfect Constitution**, 27 Const. Comm. 531 (2011).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **How to Count to Thirty-four: The Constitutional Case for a Constitutional Convention**, 34 Harv. J. L. & Pub. Policy 837 (2011)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The War Power**, 33 Harv. J. L. & Pub. Pol’y, 113 (2010)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Constitutional Power to Interpret International Law**, 118 Yale L. J. 1774 (2009)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Does the Constitution Prescribe Rules for Its Own Interpretation?** 103 Nw. U. L. Rev. 857 (2009)

Articles (cont.)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Freedom of Speech at a Private, Religious University** 2 U. St. Thomas J. Law & Pub. Policy 104 (2009)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Lincoln and Judicial Authority**, 83 Notre Dame L. Rev. 1227 (2008)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **A Government of Adequate Powers**, 31 Harv. J. L. & Pub. Policy 991 (2008).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Does the Supreme Court's Current Doctrine of Stare Decisis Require Adherence to the Supreme Court's Current Doctrine of Stare Decisis?** 86 North Carolina L. Rev. 1165 (2008) (symposium on Precedent and the Roberts Court).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Precedent as Tactical Weaponry**, Texas Law Review "See Also," www.texasrev.com/seealso/volume-86/issue-5/precedent-as-tactical-weaponry.html

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Can a Constitutional Amendment Overrule a Supreme Court Decision?** 24 Const. Comm. 285 (2007)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Prospective Abolition of Abortion: Abortion and the Constitution in 2047**, 1 U. St. Thomas J. Law & Pub. Policy 51 (2007).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Good Riddance, Jim, Chen, You No-Good Lousy So-and-So**, 24 Const. Comm. 1 (2007) ("tribute").

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Is St. Paul Unconstitutional?** 23 Const. Comm. 1 (2006).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **How to Interpret the Constitution (and How Not To)**, 115 Yale L.J. 2037 (2006) (review essay).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Emancipation Proclamation and the Commander in Chief Power**, 40 Georgia L. Rev. 807 (2006).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Intrinsically Corrupting Influence of Precedent**, 22 Const. Comm. 289 (2005) (symposium)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Killing Terri Schiavo**, 22 Const. Comm. 585 (2005) (symposium)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Civil War as Constitutional Interpretation**, 71 U Chi L Rev 691 (2004) (reviewing D. Farber, Lincoln's Constitution).

Articles (cont.)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Constitution of Necessity**, 79 Notre Dame L. Rev. 1257 (2004) (Symposium: "The Constitution after September 11")

Vasan Kesavan & Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Let's Mess With Texas**, 82 Texas L. Rev. 1587 (2004).

Vasan Kesavan & Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Interpretive Force of the Constitution's Secret Drafting History**, 91 Georgetown L.J.1113 (2003).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Irrepressible Myth of *Marbury***, 101 Mich. L. Rev. 2706 (2003).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, ***Marbury's* Wrongness**, 20 Const. Comm. 343 (2003) (Symposium on 200th Anniversary of *Marbury v. Madison*).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Worst Constitutional Decision of All Time**, 78 Notre Dame L. Rev. 995 (2003).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, ***Youngstown Goes to War***, 19 Const. Comm. 215 (2002) (Symposium on Fiftieth Anniversary of *Youngstown Sheet & Tube v. Sawyer*).

Vasan Kesavan & Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Is West Virginia Unconstitutional?**, 90 Cal. L. Rev. 291 (2002).

Michael Seuss Paulsen, **The Grinch Who Stole Legislation (A Sequel)**, 19 Const. Comm. 539 (2002).

Michael Seuss Paulsen, **Green Eggs and Legislation**, 18 Const. Comm. 1 (2001).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Lawson's Awesome (Also Wrong, Some)**, 18 Const. Comm. 231 (2001).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Scouts, Families, and Schools**, 85 Minn. L. Rev. 1917(2001) (Symposium on freedom of expressive association).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Abrogating Stare Decisis by Statute: May Congress Remove the Precedential Effect of Roe and Casey?**, 109 Yale L. J. 1535 (2000).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **A Constitutional Independent Counsel Statute**, 5 Widener L. Symposium J. 111 (2000).

Articles (cont.)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Dead Man's Privilege: Vince Foster and the Demise of Legal Ethics**, 68 Fordham L. Rev. 807 (1999).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Nixon Now: The Courts and the Presidency After Twenty-Five Years**, 83 Minn. L. Rev. 1337(1999).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **I'm Even Smarter than Bruce Ackerman: Why the President Can Veto His Own Impeachment**, 16 Const. Comm. 1 (1999).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Who "Owns" the Government's Attorney-Client Privilege?** 83 Minn. L. Rev. 473 (1998).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Hell, Handbaskets, and Government Lawyers: The Duty of Loyalty and its Limits**, 61 Law & Contemp. Prob. 83 (1998).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Medium Rare Scrutiny**, 15 Const. Comm. 397 (1998).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Dirty Harry and the Real Constitution**, 63 U Chi L Rev 1457 (1997) (reviewing Akhil R. Amar, The Constitution and Criminal Procedure: First Principles).

Michael Stokes Paulsen & Steffen N. Johnson, **Scalia's Sermonette**, 72 Notre Dame L. Rev. 863 (1997).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **God is Great, Garvey is Good: Making Sense of Religious Freedom**, 72 Notre Dame L. Rev. 1597 (1997) (reviewing John H. Garvey, What Are Freedoms For?).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **How Yale Law School Trivializes Religious Devotion**, 27 Seton Hall L. Rev.1259 (1997).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Counting Heads On RFRA**, 14 Const. Comm. 7 (1997).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Limited Public Forum: Unconstitutional Conditions on "Equal Access" for Religious Speakers and Groups**, 29 U. C. Davis L. Rev. 653 (1996).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Is Bill Clinton Unconstitutional? The Case for President Strom Thurmond**, 13 Const. Comm. 217 (1996).

Articles (cont.)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Captain James T. Kirk and the Enterprise of Constitutional Interpretation: Some Modest Proposals from the Twenty-Third Century**, 59 Albany L. Rev. 671 (1995).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Straightening Out the Confirmation Mess**, 105 Yale L. J. 549 (1995) (reviewing Stephen L. Carter, The Confirmation Mess).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Double Jeopardy Law After Akhil Amar: Some Civil Procedure Analogies and Inquiries**, 26 Cumberland L. Rev. 23 (1995).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Next Constitutional Convention: Rules for Congress and the Courts**, in A Second Constitutional Convention? (NLCPI, 1995).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **A RFRA Runs Through It: Religious Freedom and the U.S. Code**, 56 Montana L. Rev. 249 (1995)

Michael Stokes Paulsen & Daniel N. Rosen, **Brown, Casey-style: The Shocking First Draft of the Segregation Opinion**, 69 NYU L. Rev. 1287 (1994).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Most Dangerous Branch: Executive Power to Say What the Law Is**, 83 Georgetown L.J. 217 (1994).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Protestantism and Comparative Competence: A Reply to Professors Levinson and Eisgruber**, 83 Georgetown L.J. 385 (1994).

Michael Stokes Paulsen & Michael W. McConnell, **The Doubtful Constitutionality of the Clinic Access Bill**, 2 Va. J. Social Pol. & Law 261 (1994).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Is Lloyd Bentsen Unconstitutional?** 46 Stan. L. Rev. 907 (1994).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **A General Theory of Article V: The Constitutional Lessons of the 27th Amendment**, 103 Yale L. J. 677 (1993).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Merryman Power and the Dilemma of Autonomous Executive Branch Interpretation**, 15 Cardozo L. Rev. 81 (1993).

Articles (cont.)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Reverse Discrimination and Law School Faculty Hiring: The Undiscovered Opinion**, 71 Tex. L. Rev. 993 (1993).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Lemon is Dead**, 43 Case Western Reserve L. Rev. 795 (1993).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Book Review** of Robert Burt, The Constitution in Crisis, 10 Constitutional Commentary 221 (1993).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Many Faces of Judicial Restraint**, 1993 The Public Interest Law Review 3 (1993).

Michael Stokes Paulsen & Steven H. Galebach, **Protecting Our Heritage of Religious Liberty** (book chapter) in Cultural Conservatism: Theory and Practice (W. Lind ed. 1991) 175.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Accusing Justice: Some Variations on the Themes of Robert M. Cover's Justice Accused**, 7 J. Law & Religion 33 (1989).

Michael A. Paulsen, **Religion, Equality, and the Constitution: An Equal Protection Approach to Establishment Clause Adjudication**, 61 Notre Dame L. Rev. 311 (1986).

Works in Progress

Michael Stokes Paulsen, ***It's a Girl***

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Was *Dred Scott* Rightly Decided?**

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Dormant Fourteenth Amendment**

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Constitutional Power of Lower Court Judges to Disregard Supreme Court Precedent**

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Insistent Analogy to Slavery**

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Power to Declare Peace**

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Is There a Constitutional Right to Cannibalism?**

Selected Other Publications

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Repudiating Roe (Part II): The Pernicious Doctrine of Stare Decisis**, The Public Discourse (June 29, 2021), <https://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2021/06/76580/>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Repudiating Roe (Part I): The Most Important Abortion Case in Thirty Years**, The Public Discourse (June 28, 2021), <https://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2021/06/76590/>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Constitutional and Moral Imperative of Immediate Impeachment**, The Bulwark (January 8, 2021), <https://thebulwark.com/the-constitutional-and-moral-imperative-of-immediate-impeachment/>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Pro-life Case Against Trump**, The Bulwark (October 29, 2020), <https://thebulwark.com/the-pro-life-case-against-trump/>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Pray, Trust, Act, and Hope: An Easter Letter**, The Public Discourse (April 11, 2020), <https://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2020/04/62236/>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Constitutional Power of Impeachment**, Law & Liberty (series of twenty on-line articles, June 2018-January 2019), <https://www.lawliberty.org/author/michael-paulsen/> (collecting articles).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Originalism: A Logical Necessity**, National Review (September 13, 2018) (special issue). Available at <https://www.nationalreview.com/magazine/2018/10/01/originalism-a-logical-necessity/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Constitutional Freedom Not to Promote Abortion**, Law & Liberty (March 20, 2018) <https://www.lawliberty.org/2018/03/20/the-constitutional-freedom-not-to-promote-abortion-nifla-becerra/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Constitutional Propriety of Impeaching the President**, Law & Liberty (Feb. 23, 2018), <https://www.lawliberty.org/2018/02/23/the-constitutional-propriety-of-impeaching-the-president-andrew-johnson-150-anniversary/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Constitutional Position and Powers of the Presidency: Executing the Laws and Interpreting the Constitution**, The Public Discourse (April 3, 2017), <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2017/04/18934/>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Commander in Chief: War, Foreign Affairs, and the Constitutional Power to Impeach a President**, The Public Discourse (April 4, 2017), <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2017/04/18939/>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Trump's First Unconstitutional War**, National Review (April 11, 2017), <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/446633/donald-trump-syria-strike-unconstitutional-declaration-war>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Difference Between Yoo and Me**, National Review (Bench Memos) (April 20, 2017), <http://www.nationalreview.com/bench-memos/446909/war-powers-syria-trump-john-yoo>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **John Yoo's Living Constitution – Continued**, National Review (Bench Memos) (April 21, 2017), <http://www.nationalreview.com/bench-memos/446970/yoo-trump-war-syria-constitution>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **John Yoo, Alexander Hamilton, and War Powers: The Evidence of History**, National Review (Bench Memos) (April 26, 2017), <http://www.nationalreview.com/bench-memos/447068/syria-war-trump-yoo-hamilton-history>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Wrong on Every Count: William Watkins, Jr. on the Trinity Lutheran Case**, National Review (Bench Memos) (May 9, 2017), <http://www.nationalreview.com/bench-memos/447452/watkins-trinity-lutheran-religious-freedom-playground-surfaces-mootness>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Kevin Newsom's Insightful Take on The Slaughter-House Cases**, National Review (Bench Memos) (May 24, 2017), <http://www.nationalreview.com/bench-memos/447920/newsom-slaughter-house-cases>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Constitutional Power of the Electoral College**, The Public Discourse (November 21, 2016) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2016/11/18283/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Case for Shrinking the Supreme Court**, National Review Online (Oct. 19, 2016)
<http://www.nationalreview.com/article/441188/supreme-court-2016-election-fewer-justices-would-curb-its-power>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Wreckage of Obergefell** (Review of Supreme Court Term), *First Things* (October 2015) (lead feature article).

Michael Stokes Paulsen & Luke Paulsen, **The Great Interpreter**, *First Things* (May 2015) (feature article).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **2014 Supreme Court Roundup**, *First Things* (November 2014) (lead feature article).

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Supreme Greatness of Justice Antonin Scalia**, The Public Discourse (March 15, 2016)
<http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2016/03/16612/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Scalia at St. Thomas: Closing Arguments**, The Public Discourse (February 18, 2016)
<http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2016/02/16501/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen & Luke Paulsen, **The Constitutional Powers of War and Peace**, The Public Discourse (August 17, 2015)
<http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2015/08/15504/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Stakes of Free Exercise**, The Public Discourse (August 13, 2015)
<http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2015/08/15439/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen & Luke Paulsen, **America's Great Charter**, The Washington Times (July 1, 2015).
<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/jul/1/celebrate-liberty-month-wanted-americas-great-char/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen & Luke Paulsen, **Exceptional Constitution, Exceptional Nation**, St. Paul Pioneer Press (July 17, 2015)
<http://www.twincities.com/2015/07/17/exceptional-constitution-exceptional-nation/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Myth of Judicial Supremacy**, The Volokh Conspiracy (May 19, 2015),
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2015/05/19/the-myth-of-judicial-supremacy/?tid=a_inl

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Lincoln Versus Judicial Supremacy**, The Volokh Conspiracy (May 20, 2015), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2015/05/20/lincoln-versus-judicial-supremacy/?tid=a_inl

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Constitutional Case for Interposition and Nullification**, The Volokh Conspiracy (May 20, 2015), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2015/05/20/the-constitutional-case-for-interposition-and-nullification/>

Michel Stokes Paulsen, **Taking Impeachment Seriously as a Constitutional “Check”**, The Volokh Conspiracy (May 21, 2015), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2015/05/21/taking-impeachment-seriously-as-a-constitutional-check/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **What Are the Lessons of the Constitution’s 225-Year History of Interpretation?** The Volokh Conspiracy (May 22, 2015) <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2015/05/22/what-are-the-lessons-of-the-constitutions-225-year-history-of-interpretation/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Citizens, Unite! Part Two of Your Constitutional Primer**, The Public Discourse (May 20, 2015), *available at* <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2015/05/15016/>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Everything You Need to Know About Constitutional Law**, The Public Discourse (May 19, 2015), *available at* <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2015/05/15013/>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Justice Scalia’s Worst Opinion**, The Public Discourse (April 17, 2015), *available at* <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2015/04/14844/>.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Passover, Abortion, and Rabbi Ruth Bader Ginsburg**, The Public Discourse (April 3, 2015), *available at* <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2015/04/14741/>.

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Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Men, Abortion, Sin, and Salvation** (April 30, 2014) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2014/05/13080/>

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Robert P. George and Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Authorize Force Now** (February 26, 2014) (*National Review Online* (“NRO”)) <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/371512/authorize-force-now-robert-p-george-michael-stokes-paulsen>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words: The Constitutional Soundness of Ultrasound Requirements**, (Dec. 16, 2013) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2013/12/11710/>

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Michael Stokes Paulsen, **How to Avoid an Unconstitutional War: A Beginner's Guide for Presidents and Congresses** (Sept. 9, 2013) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2013/09/10877/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **With Malice Toward Some** (July 30, 2013) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2013/07/10665/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Abortion and the Constitution in Another Forty Years: A Right to Life for 2053** (*Public Discourse*)
<http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2013/01/7685/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **War on Women** (Jan. 22, 2013) (*Weekly Standard*)
<http://www.weeklystandard.com/author/michael-stokes-paulsen#>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Right to Life and the Irrelevance of Rape** (Sept. 11, 2012) (*Public Discourse*)
<http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2012/09/6229>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Power to Destroy** (August 8, 2012) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2012/08/6096>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Casey: Enduring, Entrenched, Intentionally Evil Egregious Error** (June 29, 2012) (*Public Discourse*)
<http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2012/06/5774>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Planned Parenthood v. Casey at Twenty: The Worst Constitutional Decision of All Time** (June 28, 2012) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2012/06/5772>

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Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Unprecedented, Extraordinary, Anti-democratic, Activist Power of Judicial Review** (April 23, 2012) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2012/04/5246>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Vanderbilt's Right to Despise Christianity** (March 14, 2012) (*Public Discourse*)
<http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2012/03/4930>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Obama's Contraception Cram-down: The Pork Precedent** (February 21, 2012) (*Public Discourse*)
<http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2012/02/4777>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Uselessness of Constitutional Law** (January 31, 2012) (*Liberty Fund Online Library of Law and Liberty*)
<http://libertylawsite.org/liberty-forum/the-uselessness-of-constitutional-law/>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Unbearable Wrongness of Roe** (January 23, 2012) (*Public Discourse*)
<http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2012/01/4577>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Hosanna in the Highest!** (January 13, 2012) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2012/01/4541>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Most Important Religious Liberty Case of the Past Thirty Years** (December 8, 2011) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2011/12/4413>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **It's a Girl** (October 24, 2011) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2011/10/4149>

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Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Where in the Constitution is "Separation of Church and State"?** (October 28, 2010) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2010/10/1920>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Exporting Death to Kenya** (April 16, 2010) (*Public Discourse*) <http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2010/04/1243>

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **Obama's Injustice Department: The Irresponsible Office of Professional Responsibility**, The Weekly Standard (May 25, 2009)

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Legal Consequences of the Freedom of Choice Act** (www.moral.accountability.com) January, 2009

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Minnesota Recount Was Unconstitutional**, The Wall Street Journal (January 15, 2009)

Michael Stokes Paulsen & Richard Garnett, **What Would Lincoln Do? A Test for the Roberts Court**, The Weekly Standard (Oct. 16, 2006)

Michael Stokes Paulsen & John Yoo, **Make Miers Pass a "Litmus Test"**, The Los Angeles Times, October 18, 2005

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **The Case for a Constitutional Convention**, The Wall Street Journal (May 3, 1995) A15.

Michael Stokes Paulsen, **27th Amendment Ratifies that the Constitution Works**, Star Tribune (May 19, 1992) 11A.

Michael Stokes Paulsen & Rodney K. Smith, "A Luxury . . . We Cannot Afford": **Religious Freedom After the Peyote Case**, 11 Christian Legal Society Quarterly No. 2 (Summer 1990) 18.

Michael A. Paulsen, **The First Amendment Religion Clauses: Two Sides of the Same Coin**, 8 Christian Legal Society Quarterly No. 2 (Spring 1987) 13.

Michael A. Paulsen, Book Review, 8 Christian Legal Society Quarterly No. 3 (Summer 1987) 30.

Selected Lectures and Symposia

George Washington University School of Law, *The Pernicious Doctrine of Stare Decisis: An Enthusiastic Dissent from a Ridiculous Idea* (September 28, 2020) (GWU Law School Federalist Society) (debating Professor Larry Solum of University of Virginia).

University of North Carolina School of Law, *Originalism in Fifteen Minutes* (October 16, 2020) (UNC Law School Federalist Society)

University of Chicago Law School, *The Most Dangerous Branch: The President's Power of Constitutional Interpretation* (January 13, 2021) (debating Professor Will Baude)

University of Pennsylvania School of Law, *The Power to Impeach a Former President* (February 24, 2021) (Penn Law School Federalist Society)

Stanford Law School, *Executive Orders: The Constitutional Issues* (April 7, 2021) (Stanford Constitutional Law Center) (with Professor David Strauss).

Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law, Fourth Annual Abraham Lincoln Lecture on Constitutional Law, "*Lincoln Was Wrong – or We Are: The Great Emancipator versus Judicial Supremacy*" (October 2, 2019).

University of Pennsylvania School of Law, *Does the Constitution Prescribe Rules for Its Own Interpretation?* (October 17, 2019) (Penn Law School Federalist Society)

Yale Law School, Inaugural Rosenkranz Originalism Conference (October 25, 2019) (featured speaker / "crossfire" interview subject).

Yale Law School, *The Constitutional Power of Lower Court Judges to Disregard Supreme Court Precedent* (October 24, 2019) (Yale Law School Federalist Society).

University of Notre Dame School of Law, *The Pernicious Doctrine of Stare Decisis: An Enthusiastic Dissent from a Ridiculous Idea* (October 31, 2019) (Notre Dame Law School Federalist Society).

Federalist Society National Lawyers' Convention, Featured Speaker, "Showcase Panel IV: Originalism and Precedent" (November 16, 2019), available at <https://poddtoppen.se/podcast/207414471/fedsoc-events/showcase-panel-iv-originalism-and-precedent>.

Pepperdine University School of Law (Works-in-Progress summer lunch session with faculty), *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment* (July 2018).

Drake Law School, *The Constitutional Power of Lower Court Judges to Disregard Supreme Court Precedent* (November 1, 2018) (presentation to Drake Law School faculty).

Drake Law School, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress's Ultimate "Trump"* (November 1, 2018) (Drake Constitutional Law Center, Annual Endowed Lecture).

University of Pennsylvania School of Law, *The Pernicious Doctrine of Stare Decisis: An Enthusiastic Dissent from a Ridiculous Idea* (November 8, 2018) (Penn Law School Federalist Society).

Temple University School of Law, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress's Ultimate "Trump"* (November 8, 2018) (Temple Federalist Society).

Northern Illinois University Law School, *Captain James T. Kirk and the Enterprise of Constitutional Interpretation* (November 15, 2018) (NIU Federalist Society)

Northwestern University School of Law, *It's a Girl! The (Debatable) Constitutionality of Banning Sex-Selection Abortion* (February 1, 2019).

George Mason University Scalia School of Law, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment* (law faculty workshop presentation) (February 14, 2019).

University of San Diego School of Law, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment* (February 22, 2019) (faculty colloquium presentation).

University of San Diego School of Law, Center for Originalism, 10th Annual Conference (February 22-23, 2019) (participant and designated commenter on paper).

Congressional Written Testimony (Opinion Letter) for House Subcommittee on the Constitution, House Judiciary Committee: *Testimony Concerning Equal Rights Amendment and Article V of the Constitution*, (April 29, 2019).

Warren Burger Inn of Court (Minneapolis), *The President, the Courts, and Executive Privilege: A Tale of (at least) Three Presidents* (May 15, 2019).

University of Chicago Law School, *The Constitutional Power of Lower Court Judges to Disregard Supreme Court Precedent*, Guest Seminar Instructor for seminar on “Precedent” (May 20, 2019).

University of Illinois College of Law, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress’s Ultimate Trump* (February 12, 2018) (Dean Vik Amar commenting).

Seton Hall University School of Law, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress’s Ultimate Trump* (February 13, 2018).

Harvard Law School, *It’s a Girl!: The (Debatable) Constitutionality of Banning Sex-Selection Abortion* (February 14, 2018) (Harvard Federalist Society & Harvard Students for Life)

Villanova Law School, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress’s Ultimate Trump* (February 19, 2018) (Professor Michael Moreland commenting).

National Constitution Center / CSPAN *Landmark Cases* program (two-hour televised live interview and discussion with Jeff Rosen and Professor Akhil Amar) <https://www.c-span.org/video/?440444-1/landmark-cases-ii-series-launch> (February 19, 2018).

New York University Law School, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress’s Ultimate Trump* (March 2, 2018) (NYU Law School Federalist Society).

Columbia Law School, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress’s Ultimate Trump* (March 5, 2018) (Columbia Law School Federalist Society).

Princeton University, James Madison Program (Undergraduate Fellows Dinner): *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress’s Ultimate Trump* (March 8, 2018).

University of Pennsylvania Law School, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress's Ultimate Trump* (April 11, 2018).

Fordham University School of Law, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress's Ultimate Trump* (April 18, 2018).

Princeton University, James Madison Program (Graduate and Faculty Fellows Works-in-Progress Presentation): *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress's Ultimate Trump* (April 23, 2018).

Northern Illinois University Law School, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress's Ultimate Trump* (April 30, 2018).

Princeton University, *Four Objections to Freedom: Restoring the Radicalism of Religious Liberty* (May 18, 2018) (Annual Robert J. Giuffra '82 Conference) (Symposium Presentation).

American University Washington College of Law, *The Constitutional Power of Lower Court Judges to Disregard Supreme Court Precedent* (January 25, 2017) (American University Federalist Society).

University of St. Thomas School of Law, *The Constitution of the United States (in One Easy Lesson)* (Lecture / Class Session for Foreign LLM Students, January 27, 2017).

Loyola University Law School, *The Constitutional Power of Lower Court Judges to Disregard Supreme Court Precedent* (Feb. 1, 2017) (Loyola University Federalist Society).

Northern Illinois University Law School, *The Constitutional Power of Lower Court Judges to Disregard Supreme Court Precedent* (Feb. 2, 2017) (NIU Law School Federalist Society).

University of St. Thomas School of Law, *The Most Dangerous Branch: The Constitutional Position and Powers of the Presidency* (Feb. 21, 2017) (University of St. Thomas American Constitution Society).

University of St. Thomas School of Law, *Re-arguing Roe* (Feb. 28, 2017) (University of St. Thomas *Lex Vitae*) (with Professor Teresa Collett).

Columbia University Law School, *The Primacy of Religious Liberty (A Declaration of War on "Peaceful Coexistence")* (March 4, 2017) (Federalist Society National Student Conference).

University of St. Thomas School of Law, *The President and the Myth of Judicial Supremacy* (April 6, 2017) (University of St. Thomas Law Review symposium presentation and debate) (with Dean Vikram Amar).

Yale Law School, *Four Objections to Religious Liberty* (draft paper presentation) (April 21, 2017) (Yale Law School Federalist Society and discussants).

Yale Law School, *The Most Dangerous Branch: Executive Power to Say What the Law Is* (April 21, 2017) (presentation and discussion with interested students based on students' study of law review article of the same title).

Quinnipiac University School of Law, *Five Provocative, Principled, Promising Pro-Life Proposals* (April 22, 2017) (Quinnipiac Law Review symposium presentation and discussion).

Stanford Law School, *A Friendly Amendment* (May 12, 2017) (comment) (Stanford Constitution Center Conference on "A Big Fix: Should We Amend the Constitution?")

Stanford Law School, *A "Rules of Construction" Amendment: Abolishing Judicial Activism by Statute – or by Amendment* (May 12, 2017) (Stanford Constitution Center Conference on "A Big Fix: Should We Amend the Constitution?")

University of Chicago School of Law, *The President and the Myth of Judicial Supremacy* (May 18, 2017) (University of Chicago School of Law Federalist Society) (debate with Professor Will Baude).

Family Research Council, Washington DC (July 21, 2017) (Invited Lecture), *Four Objections to Religious Liberty (and Some Possible Answers)*.

Guest, New Hampshire Public Radio (September 8, 2017) ("The Commander in Chief Power").

Northwestern University School of Law, *The Constitutional Power of Impeachment: Congress's Ultimate Trump* (October 6, 2017) (Northwestern University Federalist Society, with Professor Robert Bennett commenting).

University of St. Thomas School of Law, *The Constitution of the United States (in One Easy Lesson)* (Lecture / Class Session for Foreign LLM Students, November 3, 2017).

University of St. Thomas School of Law, *The Plausibility of Personhood* (November 7, 2017) (University of St. Thomas *Lex Vitae*).

The Federalist Society National Lawyers Conference, *The Interpretive Force of Constitutional and Statutory “Legislative History”* (November 17, 2016) (panel presentation).

Stanford Law School Federalist Society, *The Constitutionally Indefensible Myth of Judicial Supremacy* (November 10, 2016).

Northwestern University School of Law Federalist Society, *The Constitutional Power of Lower Court Judges to Disregard Supreme Court Precedent* (October 21, 2016).

Georgetown University School of Law (October 4, 2016) (Guest Lecturer in class seminar devoted to discussion and analysis of co-authored book, ***The Constitution: An Introduction***).

Federalist Society State Justices Conference, *Correct Originalist Methodology (in Fifteen Minutes)* (May 26, 2017).

Northwestern University School of Law, *Freedom For Religion? Competing Constitutional Conceptions of Religious Liberty* (May 17, 2016) (Conference on *The U.S. Constitution and Comparative Constitutional Law*).

Northwestern University School of Law, *Substantive Equal Protection* (May 17, 2016) (Conference on *The U.S. Constitution and Comparative Constitutional Law*).

Princeton University, *The Pernicious Myth of Judicial Supremacy: Separation of Powers and the Shared Enterprise of Constitutional Interpretation* (The Herbert W. Vaughan Lecture on America’s Founding Principles, James Madison Program, Princeton University), April 20, 2016.

University of Northwestern (St. Paul, MN), “*Everything You Need To Know About Constitutional Interpretation (in about Thirty Minutes!)*” (April 12, 2016) (invited public lecture).

University of St. Thomas School of Law, *Forum on the Constitutional Legacy of Justice Antonin Scalia* (March 2016)

Universidad de los Andes (Santiago, Chile), *The Constitution of the United States (in One Easy Lesson!)* (guest lecturer for Chilean constitutional law students), March 7, 2016.

Universidad del Desarrollo School of Law (Santiago, Chile), *The Pernicious Myth of Judicial Supremacy* (March 8, 2016) (invited academic lecture).

Universidad de los Andes (Santiago, Chile), *Demolishing the “Political Question” Doctrine* (March 9, 2016).

Stanford Law School Federalist Society, *The Constitutional Power of Lower Court Judges to Disregard Supreme Court Precedent* (February 25, 2016).

Boston University Law School Federalist Society, *The Constitutional Power of Lower Court Judges to Disregard Supreme Court Precedent* (February 22, 2016).

Case Western Reserve University School of Law Federalist Society, *Abolishing Judicial Activism by Statute: a “Rules of Decision Act” for Federal Questions* (February 8, 2016).

University of Minnesota Law School Federalist Society, *Correct Constitutional Interpretive Methodology (in Twenty-seven-and-one-half Minutes!)*, January 21, 2106.

University of Tulsa School of Law Federalist Society, *The President’s (Highly Debatable) Power Not to Execute the Laws* (January 20, 2016).

University of Oklahoma Law School Federalist Society, *“It’s a Girl!” – The (Debatable) Constitutionality of Banning Sex-Selection Abortion* (January 19, 2016)

Oklahoma City University School of Law, *Correct Constitutional Interpretive Methodology (in Twenty-seven-and-one-half Minutes!)* (invited lecture with faculty panel commentary), January 19, 2016.

Federalist Society National Lawyers’ Convention, *What’s “Conservative” about the Roberts Court?* (Panel on “Ten Years of the Roberts Court”), Washington, DC, November 12, 2015.

Yale Law School, *Abolishing Judicial Activism by Statute: A “Rules of Decision Act” for Federal Questions* (Yale Federalist Society, with Jack Balkin), October 1, 2015.

The National Archives, Washington, DC, *“All This Has Happened Before”: The Supreme Court’s 2015 ‘Landmark’ Cases in Historical Perspective* (invited public lecture), September 30, 2015.

Stanford Law School, “*All This Has Happened Before*”: *The Supreme Court’s 2015 ‘Landmark’ Cases in Historical Perspective* (invited “Constitution Day” Lecture for Stanford University), September 17, 2015.

Utah Valley University, *The President and the Myth of Judicial Supremacy* (invited lecture), September 16, 2015.

Utah Valley University, *The President’s Authorization and Powers to Wage War Against ISIS* (invited lecture), September 16, 2015.

University of St. Thomas School of Law, “*All This Has Happened Before*” (University of St. Thomas Law School and Minneapolis-St. Paul Lawyers’ Chapter of the Federalist Society) (review of Supreme Court term in historical perspective), September 10, 2015.

Universidad de los Andes (Santiago, Chile), *The Problematic Nature of Judicial Authority in the United States*, January 2015

Universidad de los Andes (Santiago, Chile), *Religious Freedom in the United States Constitution: A Theoretical and Comparative Perspective*, January 2015

Universidad de los Andes (Santiago, Chile), *Written Constitutionalism, Constitutional Stability, and Constitutional Change*, January 2015 (Special Lecture to Program for International Students in Latin America: students from sixteen different countries)

First Things Lecture, *Lincoln and the Constitution: The Great Emancipator as Great Interpreter* (May 12, 2015)

National Constitution Center, “*Constitution 101*” (Presentation with Luke Paulsen on new book, *The Constitution: An Introduction* (June 11, 2015)

Northwestern University Law School, *The President’s (Highly Debatable) Power Not to Execute the Laws* (Northwestern University School of Law Federalist Society), November 2014.

Stanford Law School, *The President’s (Highly Debatable) Power Not to Execute the Laws* (Stanford Law School Federalist Society), September 2014.

Columbia University Law School, *Same-Sex Mirages and Article III: Thoughts on Windsor and Hollingsworth* (Columbia Law School Federalist Society), September 2013.

Yale Law School, *It's a Girl! The (Debatable) Constitutionality of Banning Sex-Selection Abortion* (Yale Law School Federalist Society), September 2013.

Fordham Law School, *With Malice Toward Some: Lincoln's Order of Retaliation* (Law Review Conference on National Security and Citizenship), September 2013.

University of St. Thomas, *Kermit Gosnell and Uncle Tom's Cabin* (University of St. Thomas Journal of Law and Public Policy symposium), November 2013.

University of Virginia Law School, *With Malice Toward Some: Lincoln's Order of Retaliation* (U. Va. Law School Federalist Society), November 2013.

Washington & Lee School of Law, *The Insistent Analogy to Slavery* (Law Review Conference Keynote Address), November 2013.

Princeton University, *The War Power* (Guest Lecture, Course in "Constitutional Interpretation"), December 2013

University of Pennsylvania Law School, *It's a Girl! The (Debatable) Constitutionality of Banning Sex-Selection Abortion* (Penn Law School Federalist Society), December 2013.

Stanford Law School, *Correct Originalist Methodology (in Fifteen Minutes)* (Stanford Center for Constitutional Law conference on "The Role of History in Constitutional Law"), February 2014.

University of Florida Law School, *Drone On* (Federalist Society National Student Conference), March 2014.

University of St. Thomas, *A (Short) Tale of Two Civil Rights Statute, Two Cases, and Two Constitutional Powers* (University of St. Thomas Law Review lecture commentary), March 2014.

Villanova University Law School, *It's a Girl! The (Debatable) Constitutionality of Banning Sex-Selection Abortion* (Villanova Law School Federalist Society), April 2014.

Columbia University Law School, *The Power to Destroy: A Post-Mortem on NFIB v. Sebelius and the Power to Tax* (sponsored by Columbia Law School Federalist Society), September 2012.

New York University Law School, *The Power to Destroy: A Post-Mortem on NFIB v. Sebelius and the Power to Tax* (debate with Richard Epstein, moderated by Michael McConnell), September 2012.

University of St. Thomas School of Law, *The Power to Destroy: A Post-Mortem on NFIB v. Sebelius and the Power to Tax* (Constitution Day panel presentation), September 2012.

St. John's University, *Freedom For Religion: The Religious Liberty Stakes in the 2012 Election* (sponsored by law school and variety of student groups), September 2012.

University of San Diego Law School, *Does the Constitution Prescribe Rules for Its Own Interpretation?* (sponsored by University of San Diego Federalist Society), October 2012.

University of San Diego Law School, Presentation and Commentary on Two papers at "Freedom of the Church" academic symposium / workshop. October 2012.

University of Minnesota Law School, *The Propriety (and Impropriety) of Not Defending DOMA* (debate, sponsored by University of Minnesota Law School Federalist Society), October 2012.

Seton Hall University Law School, *The Power to Destroy: A Post-Mortem on NFIB v. Sebelius and the Power to Tax* (sponsored by Seton Hall Federalist Society), October 2012.

University of California-Berkeley School of Law, *The Power to Destroy: A Post-Mortem on NFIB v. Sebelius and the Power to Tax* (debate with John Yoo, sponsored by several student groups), January 2013.

University of Arizona College of Law, *Does the Constitution Prescribe Rules for Its Own Interpretation?* (sponsored by Arizona Federalist Society), January 2013.

University of Arizona College of Law, *The Electoral College and "National Popular Vote": Confessions of a Conservative Skeptic* (sponsored by University of Arizona College of Law and Rehnquist Center), January 2013.

Florida International University School of Law Faculty Colloquium, *The Plausibility of Personhood*, January 2013.

Villanova University School of Law, *Checking Judges: The Constitutional Propriety of Ideological "Litmus Tests" for Judges* (sponsored by Villanova Law School Federalist Society), February 2013.

Temple University Law School, *How to Count to Thirty-four: The Constitutional Case for a Constitutional Convention* (sponsored by Temple Federalist Society), February 2013.

Stanford Law School, *Other Than That, Mrs. Lincoln: The Jurisprudential Significance of Roe v. Wade, Aside from Abortion* (Stanford Law School Symposium on “Roe v. Wade at 40”), March 2013.

Harvard Law School, *The Case Against Intellectual Diversity* (Harvard Law School symposium on intellectual diversity) April 2013.

Fordham University Law School: *Four Colossal Constitutional Questions About “Vouchers”* (sponsored by Fordham Law School Federalist Society), September 2011.

Northwestern University School of Law: *Captain James T. Kirk and the Enterprise of Constitutional Interpretation* (sponsored by Northwestern University Federalist Society), October 2011.

University of Chicago School of Law: *Captain James T. Kirk and the Enterprise of Constitutional Interpretation* (sponsored by the University of Chicago Law School Federalist Society), November 2011.

Princeton University: Guest Instructor, Professor Robert George’s course in “Constitutional Interpretation” (using the Paulsen, et al, casebook) December 2011.

Tulane University Law School: *How to Count to Thirty-four: The Constitutional Case for a Constitutional Convention* (sponsored by the Tulane Law School Federalist Society) January 2012.

University of San Diego Law School: *The Worst Constitutional Decision of All Time* (debate, sponsored by numerous student organizations), February 2012.

University of San Diego Law School: *Some Thoughts on Jamal Greene’s “Fourteenth Amendment Originalism”* (Symposium Conference, paper comment), February 2012.

Villanova University Law School: *Captain James T. Kirk and the Enterprise of Constitutional Interpretation* (sponsored by Villanova Law School Federalist Society), February 2012.

Pepperdine University Law School: *How to Count to Thirty-four: The Constitutional Case for a Constitutional Convention* (sponsored by the Pepperdine Law School Federalist Society) February 2012.

Pepperdine University Law School: *The Priority of God (A Theory of Religious Liberty)*, Keynote Address for Annual Religious Freedom Conference (“Competing Claims of Religion and Law”), February 2012.

University of St. Thomas School of Law: *What Does the Bible Say About Abortion?* March 2012

Vanderbilt University School of Law: *The Priority of God (A Theory of Religious Liberty)* (presentation to student chapter of Christian Legal Society), March 2012.

Vanderbilt University School of Law: *Vanderbilt’s Constitutional Right to Despise Christianity* (Panel Presentation on “Threats to Religious Liberty on Campus and Beyond”), March 2012.

Columbia University Law School: *Is Public Education Unconstitutional?* (sponsored by the Columbia Federalist Society), April 2012.

St. John’s University School of Law: *Freedom for Religion v. Contraception Cram-down: Lessons from The Pork Precedent* (sponsored by St. John’s Law School Federalist Society), April 2012.

National Press Club, Washington D.C.: *The Worst Constitutional Decision of All Time* (sponsored by Americans United for Life), May 2012.

Princeton University: “Church, State, and Original Meaning” (book panel presentation discussing Donald Drakeman’s *Church, State, and Original Intention*, October 2010.

University of St. Thomas School of Law: “With Malice Toward Some: Lincoln’s Order of Retaliation” (UST Law Review fall symposium), October 2010.

Columbia University Law School: “Does the Constitution Prescribe Rules for Its Own Interpretation?” (sponsored by Columbia Federalist Society), October 2010.

Fordham University Law School: Debate / Discussion on Religious Freedom and Faith (co-sponsored by a number of Fordham Law School student organizations) (with Prof. Abner Greene), October 2010.

Washington University School of Law: “Does the Constitution Prescribe Rules for Its Own Interpretation” (sponsored by Wash. U. Federalist Society), November 2010

The Federalist Society National Lawyers Conference (Washington, D.C.): “How to Count to Thirty-four: The Constitutional Case for a Constitutional Convention” (November 2010).

University of San Diego Law School: “The Dormant Fourteenth Amendment” (Second Annual Faculty Conference on Originalist Scholarship), February 2011.

Villanova University Law School: “With Malice Toward None: Lincoln’s Order of Retaliation” (sponsored by Villanova University Federalist Society) February 2011.

University of St. Thomas: “*It’s a Girl*” (constitutionality of sex-selection abortion prohibition) (sponsored by UST Pro-Life Law Student organization), March 2011

Rutgers-Newark Law School: “Freedom *For Religion*: A Theory of Religious Liberty” (sponsored by Rutgers-Newark Federalist Society) April 2011.

Yale Law School: “The Reason for Religious Freedom”: Debate on Religious Liberty and French Burqa Ban (with Francois Briard) April 2011

Brown University: “The Reason for Religious Freedom”: Debate on Religious Liberty and French Burqa Ban (with Francois Briard) April 2011

Harvard Law School: “The Reason for Religious Freedom”: Debate on Religious Liberty and French Burqa Ban (with Francois Briard) April 2011

University of St. Thomas: “*Lochner* Unrehabilitated” (sponsored by UST Federalist Society, comment / debate on David Bernstein’s “*Lochner* Rehabilitated”) April 2011

Harvard Law School: “The Courtier’s Minuet: The Propriety and Impropriety of Not Defending DOMA” (Harvard Law Review Speaker’s Symposium) April 2011

Warren E. Burger Inn of Court (St. Paul, Minnesota): “The (Debatable) Constitutionality of ‘Obamacare’” April 2011

Columbia University Law School: “*It’s a Girl*” (Is there a constitutional right to sex-selection abortion?) November 2009, sponsored by Columbia Students for Life (presentation to students and faculty)

Fordham University Law School: “Is Public Education Unconstitutional?”, November 2009 (presentation to students and faculty)

Columbia University Law School, “Was *Dred Scott* Rightly Decided?: Slavery, Gay marriage, and Choice of Law,” November 2009 (presentation sponsored by Columbia Federalist Society)

New York University School of Law, “Was *Dred Scott* Rightly Decided?: Slavery, Gay marriage, and Choice of Law,” November 2009 (presentation sponsored by NYU Federalist Society).

Northwestern University School of Law: “The Pernicious Doctrine of Stare Decisis: Four Big Lies About Precedent,” October 2008 (presentation and debate)

University of St. Thomas School of Law: “A Lever and a PLACE to Stand: The Unbearable Wrongness of *Roe v. Wade*,” January 2009 (presentation; introduction of the Pro-Life Advocacy Center of the University of St. Thomas)

Seventh Circuit Bar Association Annual Conference (Chicago): “Lincoln and Presidential Power,” February 2009 (presentation)

Fordham University Law School: “The Unbearable Wrongness of *Roe v. Wade*,” February 2009 (presentation to students and faculty)

Yale Law School: “The War Power,” February 2009 (Federalist Society National Student Conference; presentation)

Georgetown University Law Center, “The Pernicious Doctrine of Stare Decisis: Four Big Lies About Precedent,” April 2009 (presentation and debate, Federalist Society, students and faculty)

Georgetown University Law Center, “Does the Constitution Prescribe Rules for Its Own Interpretation?” April 2009 (academic paper presentation and discussion, Georgetown Constitutional Law Colloquium)

Columbia University Law School, “The Legal Consequences of the Freedom of Choice Act,” April 2009 (presentation sponsored by Federalist Society and Columbia Students for Life)

Seton Hall University School of Law, “Freedom for Religion: A Theory of Religious Liberty,” April 2009 (presentation to students and faculty group; colloquium series)

University of Minnesota Law School, Law Alumni Distinguished Professor Chair Lecture, “Was Dred Scott Rightly Decided?” (February 6, 2007).

Harvard Law School (Debate), “The Doctrine of Stare Decisis in Constitutional Law” (February 1, 2007) (with Professor Richard Fallon).

Williams College, Department of Political Science, “The Emancipation Proclamation and the Commander in Chief Power: Lessons from the Lincoln Administration for the War on Terror” (February 2, 2007).

University of Minnesota Law School, “The Lawfulness of the Geneva Convention and ‘Torture’ Memos” (January 23, 2007) (semi-debate)

Pepperdine University School of Law, “The September 18, 2001 Declaration of War” (January 19, 2007).

Pepperdine University School of Law, “Four Big Lies About Stare Decisis” (January 18, 2007).

University of Minnesota Law School, “Presidential Power in the War on Terror” (September 11, 2006) (debate with University General Counsel Mark Rottenberg) (commemorating fifth anniversary of 9-11 attacks).

University of Minnesota Law School, “Hamdan” (September 2006) (“Constitution Day” Presentation).

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit Annual Judicial Conference: Supreme Court Year-in-Review (September 2006).

University of Minnesota Pro-Life Law Students, “It’s a Girl: Sex-Selection Abortion and the Constitution” (March 2006).

Princeton University, James Madison Program (Guest Lecture), “The Emancipation Proclamation and the Commander in Chief Power: Lessons from Lincoln for the War on Terror” (February 2006).

University of Michigan Law School, “The Constitutional Propriety of Ideological Litmus Tests for Judges” (November 2005).

University of St. Thomas School of Law, “War Powers: Congress versus the President,” Debate with Professor John Yoo (UC-Berkeley) (November 2005).

Harvard Law School, “The Lawfulness of the Geneva Convention and ‘Torture’ Memos” (March 2005) (debate with Professor Heyman).

New York University School of Law; Fordham Law School “The Lawfulness of the Geneva Convention and ‘Torture’ Memos” (March 2005)

Northwestern University School of Law, “The Irrepressible Myth of Marbury” February 2004.

University of Colorado School of Law, “The Worst Constitutional Decision of All Time” October 2003.

University of Michigan Law School, “The Irrepressible Myth of Marbury” February 2003 (Law Review Symposium).

Yale Law School, “What Roe v. Wade Should Have Said” (symposium) January 2003.

University of Colorado School of Law, “Activist Judicial Restraint,” (symposium) October 2001.

University of Minnesota Law School (Symposium), “Scouts, Families, and Schools: The Future of the Freedom of Expressive Association,” February 10, 2001.

“Talk of the Nation” Guest, December, 2000 (constitutional issues concerning 2000 presidential election, and *Bush v. Palm Beach County Canvassing Commission*).

“Talk of the Nation” Guest, July 5, 2000 (review of U.S. Supreme Court’s 1999-2000 Term)

University of Nebraska Law School (Lane Lecture), Clintongate and Legal Ethics: An Opinionated Scorecard, March 1, 1999

“Talk of the Nation” Guest, January 19, 1999 (constitutional issues surrounding impeachment trial of President Clinton)

University of Minnesota Law School (Symposium), "Nixon Now: The Presidency and the Judiciary After Twenty-Five Years," Oct. 24, 1998

American Public Philosophy Institute, "Abolishing Judicial Activism, By Statute," Oct. 2, 1998

Seton Hall Law School, "How Yale Law School Trivializes Religious Devotion," October 29, 1996

UC-Davis Law School, "Equal Access: The Next Generation" February 16, 1996.

Albany Law School, "Captain James T. Kirk and the Enterprise of Constitutional Interpretation" Nov. 14, 1994. (Also presented at University of Utah College of Law, October 1997).

"Firing Line" Debate Participant and Guest, Sept. 1994 (discussing issues of separation of church and state).

Montana Law School, James R. Browning Symposium on the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, Sept. 30, 1994 (principal presenter).

Wake Forest University School of Law Faculty Workshop, March 1994. (work-in-progress presentation).

University of Texas Law School Faculty Workshop, Nov. 1993 (work-in-progress presentation).

Cardozo Law School Symposium on "Executive Branch Interpretation of the Law" Nov. 15, 1992 (principal presenter).

Case Western Reserve University School of Law, Symposium on "Religion and the Public Schools After Lee v. Weisman", Nov. 13, 1992 (principal presenter).

Adjunct Instructor, Georgetown University College of Arts and Sciences, Spring 1991.

Speaker, Minnesota Federalist Society (February 1996).

Speaker, University of Minnesota Introduction to Law Program for Urban Youth (August 1994).

Panelist, Minnesota Association of Scholars, University of Minnesota Law School (October 1994).

Speaker, Minnesota Lawyers for Life (May 1994)

Speaker, Americans United for Life CLE seminar, Washington, D.C. (January 1994)

Speaker, Minnesota Family Council (May 1993)

Speaker, Yale Federalist Society (October 1993)

Awarded Young Lawyer's Distinguished Service Award, The Federalist Society, Washington, D.C. (September 1993)

Speaker or panelist for numerous student organizations, University of Minnesota Law School, University of St. Thomas School of Law

Taught dozens of Continuing Legal Education (CLE) courses in Constitutional Law and in Legal Ethics & Professional Responsibility

Public & Community Service

Selected pro bono publico litigation and legal advice:

Testimony (Written), Subcommittee on Administrative Oversight and the Courts of the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, "The Lawfulness of the Interrogation Memos" (May 13, 2009)

Legal Advisory Group for Chairman of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, January 1995-2001. (Numerous opinion letters on issues of constitutional law, legislation, procedure, ethics, and judicial appointments).

Testimony and Opinion Letter for Florida House of Representatives on constitutional power of state legislature to appoint electors for President of the United States (Dec. 5 & Dec. 11, 2000).

Testimony before U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee (October 1, 1997) on religious liberty and Congress' constitutional powers to enact religious liberty legislation.

Testimony before U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee (September 29, 1995) and U.S. House of Representatives Constitution Subcommittee (June 8, 1995) on religious liberty issues.

Testimony before Education Committee of Minnesota Senate, at request of Governor Arne H. Carlson on the constitutionality of the Governor's education voucher proposal (January 26, 1996 and April 7, 1995).

Axson-Flynn v. Johnson, 356 F.3d 1277 (10th Cir. 2004) (counsel for plaintiff-appellant).

Peter v. Wedl, 155 F.3d 992 (8th Cir. 1998) (counsel for plaintiffs and appellants); Westendorp v. ISD #273, 131 F. Supp. 2d 1121 (D.Minn. 2000); 35 F. Supp. 2d 1134 (D. Minn. 1998).

Agostini v. Felton, 117 S.Ct. 1997 (1997) (counsel for amici curiae)

Settle v. Dickson County School District, 53 F.3d 152 (6th Cir.), cert. denied, 116 S.Ct. 518 (1995) (Supreme Court counsel for petitioner Brittney Settle).

Ceniceros v. Board of Trustees of the San Diego Unified School District, 66 F.3d 1535 (9th Cir. 1995) (counsel for appellant Melanie Ceniceros)

Christians v. Crystal Evangelical Free Church, 82 F.3d 1407 (8th Cir. 1996) (counsel for amici curiae)

Garnett v. Renton School District No. 403, 987 F.2d 641 (9th Cir.), cert. denied, 114 S. Ct. 72 (1993) (counsel for appellants Richard Garnett, et al.)

Lamb's Chapel v. Center Moriches Union Free School District, 113 S. Ct. 2141 (1993) (co-counsel for amici curiae).

Zobrest v. Catalina Foothills School District, 113 S. Ct. 2462 (1993) (co-counsel for amici curiae)

Counsel for high school student group in equal access dispute with St. Louis Park School District. Successfully concluded without litigation (1993-94).

Provided legal opinion letter to University General Counsel on behalf of University of Minnesota Christian Legal Society and Graduate Student Fellowship, concerning equal access and nondiscrimination requirements (1994 and ongoing)

Numerous formal and informal opinion letters for Members of Congress and Minnesota state legislators.

Recipient, Paul M. Bator Award – teaching, scholarship, and service award (national Federalist Society, 1996)

Participant or principal author of innumerable *amicus curiae* briefs on constitutional issues.

Personal

Born April 24, 1959. Married (1987) to Kristen Stokes Paulsen. Father of Luke Douglas Paulsen (b. 4/9/92) and Caroline Margaret Paulsen (b. 4/30/98). Interests include bicycle touring and camping; running; cliff-diving; music.

