





















Congress has all but abandoned its constitutional role in helping to shape the Court’s agenda. We may never agree on how to best strike the balance between congressional engagement with the Court and judicial independence (although my book offers some specific suggestions), but it seems clear, if nothing else, that the consequences of Court dockets left entirely to the justices’ own devices are worth at least discussing.

**MCFADDEN:** Other than disagreeing with the merits of certain decisions and calling for the Court to elaborate on its orders, I don’t understand what changes Professor Vladeck would suggest to the emergency docket. Surely he doesn’t propose doing away with it altogether. That would virtually guarantee that future administrations would be governed by forum-shopped lower courts on an array of sensitive and urgent political matters. Lower court litigation can and frequently does outlast administrations, stymieing presidential initiatives.

Nor do I agree with suggestions that the Court is acting in a partisan manner. Professor Vladeck has elsewhere

noted the Biden administration has had a “remarkably” positive record in requests for emergency relief. Given the number of lower court orders with sweeping political implications, solicitors general of both parties are likely to remain the primary beneficiaries of the emergency docket. Perhaps that is fitting for an officer often described as the “tenth justice.”



**TREVOR N. MCFADDEN** is a U.S. district judge for the District of Columbia. He previously held prosecutorial and leadership positions within the U.S. Department of Justice and was a partner at a major law firm.



**STEPHEN VLADECK** is a professor of law at the Georgetown University Law Center; author of *The Shadow Docket: How the Supreme Court Uses Stealth Rulings to Amass Power and Undermine the Republic*; and editor of the weekly Supreme Court newsletter *One First*.

<sup>28</sup> See BRYAN A. GARNER ET AL., *THE LAW OF JUDICIAL PRECEDENT* 214–15 (2016).  
<sup>29</sup> See *id.* at 46, 217–18.  
<sup>30</sup> *Indiana State Police Pension Tr. v. Chrysler LLC*, 556 U.S. 960, 960 (2009) (per curiam).  
<sup>31</sup> *S. Bay United Pentecostal Church v. Newsom*, 141 S. Ct. 716 (2021) (“South Bay II”).  
<sup>32</sup> See, e.g., *Gish v. Newsom*, 141 S. Ct. 1290 (2021).  
<sup>33</sup> *Gateway City Church v. Newsom*, 141 S. Ct. 1460, 1460 (2021).  
<sup>34</sup> See *Tandom v. Newsom*, 593 U.S. 61, 64 (2021) (per curiam) (referring to principles established by the Court’s prior “decisions” in the unsigned, unexplained orders cited in the last three end-notes).  
<sup>35</sup> See *Ardoyn v. Robinson*, 142 S. Ct. 2892 (2022). For the lower court rulings, see *Robinson v. Ardoyn*, 605 F. Supp. 3d 759 (M.D. La.), *stay denied*, 37 F.4th 208 (5th Cir. 2022).  
<sup>36</sup> *South Bay II*, 141 S. Ct. at 717–20.  
<sup>37</sup> *Id.* at 717.  
<sup>38</sup> *Marks v. United States*, 430 U.S. 188, 193 (1977).  
<sup>39</sup> *Dep’t of Homeland Security v. Texas*, No. 23A607, 2024 WL 222180 (Jan. 22, 2024).

<sup>40</sup> See *Labrador v. Poe*, No. 23A763, slip op. at 11–12 (Apr. 15, 2024) (Kavanaugh, J., concurring in the grant of stay) (discussing the “lock-in effect” of “[a] written opinion by this Court assessing likelihood of success on the merits at a preliminary stage”). A supermajority of the Court seems to agree that the rise in emergency docket relief is not ideal. See *Labrador v. Poe*, No. 23A763, slip op. at 10–13 (Apr. 15, 2024) (Gorsuch, J., concurring in the grant of stay); *id.*, at 12–13 (Kavanaugh, J., concurring in the grant of stay); *id.* at 7–8 (Jackson, J., dissenting from grant of stay).  
<sup>41</sup> See, e.g., *Does 1–3 v. Mills*, 142 S. Ct. 17, 17–18 (2021) (Barrett, J., concurring in the denial of application for injunctive relief).  
<sup>42</sup> See generally Stephen I. Vladeck, *The Solicitor General and the Shadow Docket*, 133 HARV. L. REV. 123 (2019); see also *id.* at 161–63 (collecting data through 2019).  
<sup>43</sup> E.g., *Whole Woman’s Health v. Jackson*, 142 S. Ct. 415, 415–16 (2021).