

JUDGE DOUGLAS H. GINSBURG

NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

1986 – Present	Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit United States Courthouse 333 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001
2001 – 2008	Chief Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit
1985 - 1986	Assistant Attorney General Antitrust Division U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC
1984 - 1985	Administrator for Information and Regulatory Affairs Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, Washington, DC
1983 - 1984	Deputy Assistant Attorney General for Regulatory Affairs, Antitrust Division U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC
1974 - 1975	Law Clerk to Justice Thurgood Marshall U.S. Supreme Court, Washington, DC
1973 - 1974	Law Clerk to Judge Carl McGowan U.S. Court of Appeals, Washington, DC
1965 - 1968	Vice President, Marketing “Operation Match” computer dating service, Compatibility Research, Inc., Cambridge, MA

FULL TIME TEACHING

2013-	George Mason University School of Law Professor of Law and Chairman, Global Antitrust Institute, International Advisory Board
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2011-2013	New York University School of Law Distinguished Professor of Law
1975 - 1985	Professor of Law Harvard University, Cambridge, MA Teaching Responsibilities: Antitrust, Economic Regulation of Business, Banking Law, Regulation of Broadcasting, Labor Law, Theories of Corporations (on leave 1983-85)

PART TIME TEACHING

2005-	University College London, Faculty of Laws Visiting Professor
2009-2011	Columbia University Lecturer on Law
1990-2001	University of Chicago Law School Visiting Senior Lecturer
1988-2010	George Mason University School of Law Distinguished Adjunct Professor of Law
2006-2009	New York University Law School Distinguished Visiting Scholar
1988-1989	Harvard University Lecturer on Law
1987-1988	Columbia University Visiting Professor of Law

EDUCATION

1973	J.D., UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LAW SCHOOL Articles Editor, The University of Chicago Law Review; Order of the Coif; Russell Floyd Mecham Prize Scholarship; Casper Platt Award, 1973
1970	B.S., CORNELL UNIVERSITY, N.Y. School of Industrial and Labor Relations; Irving M. Ives Award, 1970

1976	Economics Institute for Law Professors Law & Economics Center, University of Miami Law School
1992	Basic Science and Public Health, Advanced Course for Federal Judges, Law and Economics Center, George Mason University School of Law

BOARDS OF DIRECTORS

Foundation for Research in Economics and the Environment, 1991-2005

Rappahannock County Conservation Alliance, 1998-2004

Rappahannock Association for Arts and the Community, 1997-1999

ADVISORY BOARDS

Chairman, International Advisory Board, Global Antitrust Institute,
Antonin Scalia Law School

Non-Governmental Advisor to the International Competition Network

Jevons Institute for Competition Law and Economics, and Center for Law,
Economics and Society, University College London, Faculty of Laws

Law and Economics Center, George Mason University School of Law

Competition Policy International

Journal of Competition Law and Economics

Journal of Law, Economics & Policy

Supreme Court Economic Review

University of Chicago Law Review

Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy

MISCELLANEOUS COMMITTEES

Judicial Conference of the United States, 2001-2008

Budget Committee, 1997-2001

Committee on Judicial Resources, 1987-1996

American Bar Association, Antitrust Section, Council, 1985-1986 (ex officio),
2000-2003 and 2009-2012 (judicial liaison)

Boston University School of Law, Visiting Committee, 1994-1997

University of Chicago Law School, Visiting Committee, 1985-1988

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Bar Association

American Economic Association

American Law and Economics Association

Mont Pelerin Society

Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi

BAR ADMISSIONS

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit

Supreme Court of Illinois

Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts

AWARDS

2022 The Freedom of the City of London

2020 John Sherman Award, Antitrust Division of the
U.S. Department of Justice

2014	Global Competition Review, Article of the Year and Lifetime Achievement Award
2011	Lifetime Service Award, Federalist Society, Georgetown University Law Center
2001	Thomas Jefferson Award Association for Private Enterprise Education
1986	Edmund J. Randolph Award U.S. Department of Justice

Books and Monographs

The Global Antitrust Institute Report on the Digital Economy available at gaidigitalreport.com (ed., with Joshua D. Wright) (2020); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3733650#

VOICES OF OUR REPUBLIC: EXPLORING THE CONSTITUTION WITH RUTH BADER GINSBURG, ALAN DERSHOWITZ, SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR, RON CHERNOW, AND MANY MORE, (Skyhorse, 2020); <https://www.amazon.com/Voices-our-Republic-Constitution-Dershowitz/dp/1510751572>

GLOBAL ANTITRUST ECONOMICS - CURRENT ISSUES IN ANTITRUST AND LAW AND ECONOMICS (with Joshua D. Wright; Institute of Competition Law March 21, 2016);

REGULATION OF THE ELECTRONIC MASS MEDIA: LAW AND POLICY FOR RADIO, TELEVISION, CABLE AND THE NEW VIDEO TECHNOLOGIES, SECOND EDITION (with M. Botein and M. Director; West, 1991);

1983 SUPPLEMENT TO REGULATION OF BROADCASTING: LAW AND POLICY TOWARDS RADIO, TELEVISION AND CABLE COMMUNICATIONS (with M. Director; West, 1983);

INTERSTATE BANKING, 9 HOFSTRA LAW REV. 1133-1371 (Special Issue 1981);

GOVERNMENT, TECHNOLOGY, AND THE FUTURE OF THE AUTOMOBILE (editor, with W. Abernathy; McGraw-Hill, 1980);

ANTITRUST, UNCERTAINTY, AND TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION (National Academy of Engineering/National Research Council, 1980), reprinted at 24 ANTITRUST BULL. 635 (1980);

REGULATION OF BROADCASTING: LAW AND POLICY TOWARDS RADIO, TELEVISION AND CABLE COMMUNICATIONS (West, 1979);

Articles and Book Chapters

Dynamic Competition and Antitrust: Quick-Look Inferences From the Analysis of Big Tech's R&D Expenditure Ratios, forthcoming in the Antitrust Law Journal (2024) (with Jorge Padilla and Koren W. Wong-Ervin);

Reimagining Antitrust Institutions: A (Modest?) Proposal, Review of Law & Economics, forthcoming in the Review of Law and Economics (2024); George Mason Law & Economics Research Paper No. 23-22 (November 21, 2023) (with Joshua G. Wright);

Criminal Sanctions: An Overview of US, EU, and National Case Law, e-Competitions Special Issue (Concurrences, Dec. 2022) (with James R. Conde);

"The Administrative State Before the Supreme Court, Perspectives on the Nondelegation Doctrine", Peter J. Wallison and John Yoo, eds. (AEI Press, 2022);

GAI Report on the Digital Economy: Introduction & Executive Summary Book Chapter (2020)

GAI Report on the Digital Economy: Specialized Tribunals Book Chapter

GAI Report on the Digital Economy: Conclusion Book Chapter (2020)

A Tale of Two Systems: Mergers Reviewed in China and the U.S., 2018-2020, in Anti Monopoly Law-A Memoir of 12 Years' Enforcement (CITIC Press, 2021, Li Qing ed.) (with Joanna Tsai);

Challenging Consummated Mergers Under Section 2, Comp. Policy Int'l, May 2020 (with Koren Wong-Ervin);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3590703

AmEx: Beyond Transaction Platforms and Section 1, Comp. Pol'y Int'l (May 14, 2020) (with Koren Wong-Ervin);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3601790

Common Ownership: Solutions in Search of a Problem, Frederic Jenny Liber Amicorum: An Antitrust Tribute (Nicolas Charbit ed., Vol II, 2021)

(with Keith Klovers);

https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3279612

The Decline in U.S. Criminal Antitrust Cases: ACPERA and Leniency in an International Context, Albert A. Foer, *Liber Amicorum* (Nicolas Charbit ed., 2020) (with Cecilia (Yixi) Cheng);

https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3460091

Effects-Based Analysis: Where Do We Stand on Both Sides of the Atlantic?, Competition Policy International (March 2019) (with Robin Jacob and Francois Bellis); <https://gai.gmu.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/27/2019/04/CPI-Bellis-Ginsburg-Jacob.pdf>

A Bargaining Model v. Reality in FTC v. Qualcomm: A Reply to Kattan & Muris, Competition Policy International (May 2019) (with Joshua D. Wright);

https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3389476

Balancing Unquantified Harms and Benefits in Antitrust Cases under the Consumer Welfare Standard, *Colum. Bus. L. Rev.* (2019);

https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3844831

Section 2 Mangled: FTC v Qualcomm on the Duty to Deal, Price Squeezes, and Exclusive Dealing; *J. of Antitrust Enforcement*, Volume 8, Issue 2, July 2020, Pages 335-353 (December 3, 2019) (with Lindsey M. Edwards and Joshua D. Wright);

https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3433564

Antitrust and Intellectual Property in the United States and the European Union in The Interplay Between Competition Law and Intellectual Property -- An International Perspective 99 (Gabriella Muscolo and Marina Tavassi eds., 2019) (with Damien Geradin and Keith Klovers);

https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3237788

Judge Douglas Ginsburg Interviews Makan Delrahim on Intellectual Property and Antitrust, *CPI Antitrust Chronical*, Vol. 1, No. 3, June 2018 (June 19, 2018);

https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3211335

Posner on Antitrust Remedies: The Good, the Bad, and the Very Ugly, 18 *Antitrust Source* (Oct. 2018);

https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3844865

Antitrust Analysis Involving Intellectual Property and Standards: Implications from Economics 33 *Harv. J. L. & Tech.* 1 (2019) (with J.

Padilla and K. Wong-Ervin);

https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3119034

Common Sense About Common Ownership, Concurrences Review No. 2-2018, and George Mason Law & Economics Research Paper No. 18-09 (April 27, 2018) (with Keith Klovors);

https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3169847

FRAND in India, in COMPLICATIONS AND QUANDARIES IN THE ICT SECTOR: STANDARD ESSENTIAL PATENTS AND COMPETITION ISSUES

(Ashish Bharadwaj et al. eds., 2018) (with Joshua D. Wright, Bruce H. Kobayashi, and Koren W. Wong-Ervin);

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The Enduring Vitality of Comity in a Globalized World, George Mason Law Review 24 (2017) (with John Taladay);

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https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3073635

The Economic Analysis of Antitrust Consents, in Tribute to Henry Manne, 2017 European Journal of Law and Economics (with Joshua Wright);

https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3140736

Extraterritoriality and Intra-Territoriality in US Antitrust Law, 2017 COMP. POL'Y INT'L., Sept. 28., 2017 (with Josh Hazan);

https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3042670

A Comparative and Economic Analysis Of The U.S. FTC's Complaint And The Korea FTC's Decision Against Qualcomm, 1 Antitrust Chronicle, Spring 2017 (with Koren Wong-Ervin, Anne Layne-Farrar et al.);

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https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2885012

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The Costs and Benefits of Antitrust Consents, OECD COMPETITION COMM. DAF/COMP/WD 81 (2016) (with Joshua D. Wright), available at: [https://one.oecd.org/document/DAF/COMP/WD\(2016\)81/en/pdf](https://one.oecd.org/document/DAF/COMP/WD(2016)81/en/pdf);
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Goals of Antitrust: Welfare Trumps Choice, reprinted in CHOICE - A NEW STANDARD FOR COMPETITION LAW ANALYSIS? (P. Hihoul, N. Charbit, & E. Ramundo, eds., 2016);
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'Excessive Royalty' Prohibitions and the Dangers of Punishing Vigorous Competition and Harming Incentives to Innovate, CPI ANTITRUST CHRONICLE, Vol. 4, No. 3, (2016) (with Joshua D. Wright, Bruce Kobayashi, and Koren W. Wong-Ervin);
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Reverse Settlements in the European Union and the United States, in COMPETITION AND PATENT LAW IN THE PHARMACEUTICAL SECTOR: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE 125 (Giovanni Pitruzzella & Gabriella Muscolo eds., 2016) (with Damien Geradin and Graham Saffy);
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Product Hopping and the Limits of Antitrust: The Danger of Micromanaging Innovation, *Competition Policy International*, ANTITRUST BULLETIN, DECEMBER (2015) (with Joshua D. Wright and Koren W. Wong-Ervin);
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The Troubling Use of Antitrust to Regulate FRAND Licensing, CPI ANTITRUST CHRONICLE, VOL. 10, NO.1 PP.2-8, (2015) (with Joshua D. Wright and Koren W. Wong-Ervin);
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DOJ Has the Power to Crush Price-Fixers: Column, USA TODAY WEEKEND, MAY 29-31, (2015) (with Albert Foer);
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Actavis and Multiple ANDA Entrants: Beyond the Temporary Duopoly, 29, ANTITRUST 89 (2015), NO. 2, SPRING (2015) (with Bruce Kobayashi, Joshua D. Wright and Joanna Tsai);
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Bork's "Legislative Intent" and the Courts, 79 ANTITRUST L. J. 3 (2015);
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Due Process in Competition Proceedings, Competition Law International (2015) (with Taylor M. Owings);
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https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2515949

Patent Assertion Entities and Antitrust: A Competition Cure for a Litigation Disease, 79 ANTITRUST L. J. 501 (2014) (with Joshua D. Wright);
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Resolving Conflicts between Competition and Other Values: The Roles of Courts and Other Institutions in the U.S. and the E.U., in EUROPEAN COMPETITION LAW ANNUAL 2012: PUBLIC POLICIES, REGULATION AND ECONOMIC DISTRESS (Philip Lowe & Mel Marquis eds., 2014) (with Daniel E. Haar);
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Bork's "Legislative Intent" and the Courts, 79 ANTITRUST L.J. 941 (2014);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2518600

Whither Symmetry? Antitrust Analysis of Intellectual Property Rights at the FTC and DOJ, 9 COMP. POL'Y INT'L., No. 2, at 41 (2013) (with Joshua D. Wright);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2365577

Antitrust Settlements: The Culture of Consent, CONCURRENCES, No. 2–2013, at 56 (with Joshua D. Wright);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2225894

Antitrust Courts: Specialists versus Generalists, 36 FORDHAM INT'L. L.J. 788 (2013) (with Joshua D. Wright);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2289488

Dynamic Economics in Antitrust Analysis, 78 ANTITRUST L.J. 1 (2012) (with Joshua D. Wright); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2084355

Behavioral Law and Economics: Its Origins, Fatal Flaws, and Implications for Liberty, 106 NW. U. L. REV. 1033 (2012) (with Joshua D. Wright); reprinted in LAW AND ECONOMICS: PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES AND FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS (Aristides N. Hatzis & Nicholas Mercurio eds., 2015);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2147940

The Role of Economic Analysis in Competition Law, in GETTING THE BALANCE RIGHT: INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY, COMPETITION LAW, AND ECONOMICS IN ASIA (Ian McEwin ed., 2011) (with Eric M. Fraser);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1610189

Originalism and Economic Analysis: Two Case Studies of Consistency and Coherence in Supreme Court Decision Making, 33 HARV. J. OF L. & PUBLIC POL'Y 217 (2010); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3845594

Antitrust Sanctions, 6 COMP. POL'Y INT'L, No. 2, at 3 (2010) (with Joshua D. Wright);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1705701

The Future of Behavioral Economics in Antitrust Jurisprudence, 6 COMP. POL'Y INT'L No. 1, at 89 (2010) (with Derek W. Moore);

Rethinking Cartel Sanctions, 6 COMP. POL'Y INT'L (2010) (with Joshua Wright);
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1705701

The Role of Economic Analysis in Competition Law, in GETTING THE BALANCE RIGHT: INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY, COMPETITION LAW, AND ECONOMICS IN ASIA (Ian McEwin ed., 2010) (with Eric M. Fraser);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1610189

Appellate Courts and Independent Experts, 60 CASE WESTERN L. REV. 303 (2010); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3845595

The Prosecutor and Post-Conviction Claims of Innocence: DNA and Beyond?, 7

OHIO STATE J. OF CRIM. L. 771 (2010) (with Hyland Hunt);
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3845596

The Future of Behavioral Economics in Antitrust Jurisprudence, 6 COMP. POL'Y INT'L 89 (2010) (with Derek W. Moore);

Nondelegation and the Unitary Executive, 12 U. PA. J. CONST. L. 251 (2010)
(with Steven Menashi);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1567819

The Costs and Benefits of Private and Public Antitrust Enforcement - An American Perspective, in COMPETITION LAW AND ECONOMICS: ADVANCES IN COMPETITION POLICY ENFORCEMENT IN THE EU AND NORTH AMERICA (Abel M. Mateus & Teresa Moreira. eds., 2010);

Antitrust Decisions of the Supreme Court, 1967-2007, 3 COMP. POL'Y INT'L., No. 2, at 3 (2007) (with Leah Brannon);
https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1075502

Of Hunches and Mere Hunches: Two Cheers For Terry, Journal of Law, Economics & Policy (2007);
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3845607

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Comparing Antitrust Enforcement in the United States and Europe, 1 J. COMP. L. & ECON. 427 (2005);

Determinants of Private Antitrust Enforcement in the United States, Vol. 1, No. 2 COMP. POL. INT'L 29 (2005) (with L. Brannon);
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3846391

Multinational Antitrust: Lessons From The U.S. Experience, Michigan Law Review (2004); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3847877

On Constitutionalism, CATO SUPREME COURT REVIEW 7 (2003);
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3847880

The Court En Banc: 1991-2002, 70 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 259 (2002) (with B. Boynton);
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3847882

International Antitrust: 2000 and Beyond, 68 ANTITRUST L.J. 571 (2000);
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3847887

Multinational Merger Review: Lessons From Our Federalism, 68 ANTITRUST L.J. 219 (2000) (with S. Angstreich);
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3847893

Genetics & Privacy, Texas Review of Law & Politics (1999);
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3847898

Foreword: "An Open Letter to Vice President Gore," in ENVIRONMENTAL GORE (J.A. Baden ed., 1995);

Legal Responses to Bounded Rationality in German Administration: Comment, 150 J. OF INSTITUTIONAL & THEORETICAL ECON. 163 (1994);

Blackmail: An Economic Analysis of the Law, 141 U. PA. L. REV. 1849 (1993) (with P. Shechtman); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3847903

Nonprice Competition, 38 ANTITRUST BULL. 83 (1993);
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3848873

Comments on Bernard H. Siegan's "Hayek and the United States Constitution," 23 Southwestern U. L. Rev.(1993);
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A Property Rights Analysis of the Inefficiency of Investment Decisions by Labor-Managed Firms: Comment, 148 J. OF INSTITUTIONAL AND THEORETICAL ECON. 45 (1992);

The Goals of Antitrust Revisited: Comment, 147 J. of Institutional & Theoretical Econ. 24 (1991);

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https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3847926

Vertical Restraints: De Facto Legality Under the Rule of Reason, 60 ANTITRUST L.J. 67 (1991); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3847938

The Court En Banc: 1981-1990, 59 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 1008 (1991) (with D. Falk);

Rationalizing Antitrust: A Rejoinder to Professor Armentano 35 ANTITRUST BULL. (1990), reprinted in 2 THE ANTITRUST IMPULSE 933 (Theodore P. Kovaleff, ed., 1994);

The Appropriate Role of the Antitrust Enforcement Agencies, 9 CARDOZO L. REV. 1277 (1988); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3847981

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Administration Efforts to Enhance the Opportunities for Self-Regulation, Labor Law Journal, Vol. 35, Iss. 12, (December 1, 1984); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3848655

Rights of Excess: Cable and the First Amendment, 6 COMMUNICATIONS AND THE LAW 71 (1984); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3848682

Regulating Television Violence, NAE workshop mimeo (1983);

Interstate Banking: A Preview of the Issues, ABA BANKING J. (1983);

The New Illinois Bank Holding Company Act, 99 BANK L. J. 598 (1982); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3848686

Making Automobile Regulation Work: Policy Options and a Proposal, in GOVERNMENT, TECHNOLOGY, AND THE FUTURE OF THE AUTOMOBILE, *supra*; reprinted in 2 Harv. J. L. & Pub. Pol'y 73 (1979);

Ernst Freund and the First Amendment Tradition: Afterword, 40 U. Chicago L. Rev. 235 (1973); https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3848691

Book Reviews

The Curse of Bigness, by Tim Wu, in Law360: Judging a Book (2018); https://privpapers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3296606

The Behavior of Federal Judges: A view from the D.C. Circuit, review of Lee Epstein, William Landes & Richard Posner, *The Behavioral of Federal Judges*, 97 *Judicature* (no. 2, 2013);

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Competition Rules for the 21st Century: Principles from America's Experience, by Ky P. Ewing, 103 *Mich. L. Rev.* (2004);

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Money for Nothing: Politicians, Rent Extraction, and Political Extortion, by Fred S. McChesney, 97 *Mich. L. Rev.* 6 (1999);

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