

**David C. Williams**  
Vita January 1, 2023

6301 Bent Pine Drive  
Bloomington, IN 47408  
(812) 339-4106

Indiana University  
School of Law  
Bloomington, IN 47405  
(812) 855-6793

**Employment:**

Executive Director, Center for Constitutional Democracy, 2008—present.

Director, Center for Constitutional Democracy in Plural Societies, 2004—2008.

Indiana University School of Law, John S. Hastings Professor of Law, 2001--present.

Indiana University School of Law, Professor of Law, 1993--2001.

Indiana University School of Law, Visiting Associate Professor, 1992--1993.

Cornell Law School, Associate Professor, 1989--1993.  
Assistant Professor 1986--1989.

Judicial Clerk for Hon. Ruth Bader Ginsburg, U.S. Court of Appeals for District of Columbia, 1985--1986.

U.S. Attorney's Office for Massachusetts, Special Investigation Unit (Political Corruption), 1984.

## Education:

Harvard Law School, J.D. magna cum laude 1985.

Harvard Law Review, Board of Editors 1983-1985.

Sarah C. Sears Prize 1983, for finishing first year of law school with highest cumulative average in class.

Haverford College, B.A. magna cum laude 1982, with high honors in major field of study (English Literature).

## Publications:

*Sometimes Guns Are the Answer: The Path to Autonomy in Tibet, Burma, and South Sudan*, in **Regional Autonomy, Cultural Diversity, and Differentiated Territorial Government: The Case of Tibet—Chinese and Comparative Perspectives** (Law, Development, and Globalization)(ed. Roberto Toniatti and Jens Woelk)Routledge)(2017).

*A Second Panglong Conference: Burmese Federalism for the Twenty-First Century*, in **Constitutionalism and Legal Change in Myanmar** (ed. Andrew Harding)(Hart Publishing 2017).

*What's So Bad About Burma's 2008 Constitution? A Guide for the Perplexed*, in **Law, Society and Transition in Myanmar** (ed. Melissa Crouch)(Hart Publishing 2017).

*The Fate of Armed Resistance Groups After Peace*, | **Indiana Journal of Constitutional Design**, Article 3 (2016).

*Asymmetrical Federalism in Burma*, in **Social Difference and Constitutionalism in Pan-Asia** (ed. Susan Williams)(Cambridge University Press 2014).

*Revolutions and Institutions: Political Violence and Sri Lanka's 1972 Constitution*, in **The Sri Lankan Republic at 40: Reflections on**

**Constitutional History, Theory and Practice** (ed. A. Welikala)(Centre for Policy Alternatives 2012).

*Changing Burma From Without: Political Activism Among the Burmese Diaspora*, 19 **Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies** 121 (2011).

*Cracks in the Firmament of Burma's Military Government: From Unity Through Coercion to Buying Support*, 32 **Third World Quarterly**, Issue 7 (2011) 1199.

*Ethnicity, Elections, and Reform in Burma*, **Georgetown Journal of International Relations** (Winter/Spring 2010) 99.

*Book Review, Fighting for Freedom: Comparative Studies of the Legal Complex and Political Liberalism*, *Perspectives on Politics* (2010), 8: 911.

**Liberian Constitutional Law: A Treatise** 2010 (with Jallah Barbu) (published electronically).

*Constitutionalism Before Constitutions: Burma's Struggle to Build a New Order*, 87 **Texas L.J.** 1657 (2009).

*Voter IDs, Indiana Politics, and the Constitution*, **Indiana Magazine of History**, December 2008 issue.

*Death to Tyrants: District of Columbia v. Heller and the Uses of Guns*, 69 **Ohio State L.J.** 641 (2008).

*In Praise of Guilt: How the Yearning for Moral Purity Blocks Reparations for Native Americans*, in **Reparations for Indigenous Peoples: International and Comparative Perspectives** (ed. F. Lenzerini)(Oxford University Press 2008).

*Don't Worry, Be Guilty*, **Cultural Survival Quarterly** 31.3 (Fall 2007).

*Book Review, Robert Williams, Like a Loaded Weapon*, in **4 Perspectives on Politics** 604 (2006).

*La Situation juridique des Amerindiens des Etats-Unis*, in **Les collectivites francaises d.Amerique au carrefour des Institutions** (La Documentation Francaise (2006).

*Foreword, Notes on Burmese Constitutionalism I, Notes on Burmese Constitutionalism II*, in **Designing Federalism for Burma** (National Reconciliation Program 2005).

*Federalism and Dissent*, Poynter Center for the Study of Ethics and American Institutions Monograph (2005).

*Escape From Difference through Escape from Government: American Constitutional Fantasies*, **12 Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies** 415 (2005).

*Civic Constitutionalism, the Second Amendment, and the Right of Revolution*, **79 Indiana Law Journal** 379 (2004).

**The Mythic Meanings of the Second Amendment: Taming Political Violence in a Constitutional Republic** (Yale University Press 2003).

*Violence and the American Legal Landscape*, in Indiana University School of Law Bill of Particulars (Spring 2002) at 3.

Ed., with Fred H. Cate and Dennis H. Long, **The Court Martial of George Armstrong Custer** (Indiana University 2001).

*Introduction-Trying Custer*, in **The Court-Martial of George Armstrong Custer** (Indiana University 2001).

*The Sentence*, in **The Court-Martial of George Armstrong Custer** (Indiana University 2001).

*Tales of Constitutional Violence: Populists, Outgroups, and the Multicultural Landscape of the Second Amendment*, 74 **Tulane L.Rev.** 387 (1999).

Entries for “The Right of Revolution” and “Radical Populist Constitutional Interpretation” in **The Encyclopedia of the American Constitution, Supplement II** (Leonard w. Levy, Kenneth L. Karst and Adam Winkler eds. 2000).

*The Unitary Second Amendment*, 73 **NYU L.Rev.** 822 (1998).

Ed., with Fred H. Cate, **The Trial of Richard III** (Indiana University, 1997).

*The Constitutional Right to ‘Conservative’ Revolution*, 32 **Harvard Civil Rights--Civil Liberties L.Rev.** 413 (1997).

*A Feminist Theory of Malebashing*, 4 **Michigan Journal of Gender and Law** 35 (1997) (with Susan Hoffman Williams).

*Civil Society, Metaphysics, and Tolerance*, 72 **Indiana Law Journal** 463 (1997).

*The Militia Movement and Second Amendment Revolution: Conjuring with the People*, 81 **Cornell L.Rev.**, 879 (1996).

*Militia Claims Baseless*, *The National Law Journal* (May 13, 1996) at A13 (with Morris Dees).

*To Keep and Bear Arms: An Exchange*, (with Sanford Levinson, Glenn Harlan Reynolds, John K. Lattimer, and Gary Wills), **The New York Review of Books** (Nov. 16, 1995).

*Review of Blue Clark, Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: Federal Indian Law at the End of the Nineteenth Century*, **Ethnohistory** (1995).

*European and American Perspectives on Civic Republicanism*, 2

**Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies** 17 (1994).

*Pragmatism and Faith*, 19 **Law and Social Inquiry** 775 (1994).

*Legitimation and Statutory Interpretation: Conquest, Consent, and Community in Federal Indian Law*, 80 **Va. L.Rev.** 403 (1994).

*Review of Richard Sinopoli, The Foundations of American Citizenship*, 50 **William and Mary Quarterly** 191 (1993).

*Civic Republicanism and the Citizen Militia: The Terrifying Second Amendment*, 101 **Yale L.J.** 551 (1991)

"*Sometimes Suspect*": A Reply to Professor Goldberg-Ambrose, 39 **UCLA L.Rev.** 191 (1991)

*The Borders of the Equal Protection Clause: Indians as Peoples*, 38 **UCLA L.Rev.** 759 (1991)

*Volitionalism and Religious Liberty*, 76 **Cornell L.Rev.** 769 (1991)(with Susan H. Williams)

*Personal Authority and Individual Power*, **Inquiry** 5 (Spring 1987).

Booknote, *Indian Country*, 98 **Harv. L.Rev.** 1104 (1985).

Case Comment, *Right Against Self-incrimination--"Public Safety" Exception* in Note, *Supreme Court--1984 Term*, 98 **Harv. L.Rev.** 140 (1984).

Note, *Toward a Reform of the Six-Year Bar to Discharge in Bankruptcy*, 97 **Harv. L.Rev.** 759 (1984).

### **Selected Other Professional Writings:**

Testimony Regarding Burmese Constitutional Reform Before the Senate

Foreign Relations Subcommittee for South-East Asia, September 30, 2009.

Commentary on the Meaning of the Liberian Constitution for Judges and Lawyers, in progress, solicited by the President and Supreme Court of Liberia for use as a standard reference work.

Translation (with others), First Draft Constitution of the Kachin State Constitution Drafting Committee, 2007.

Suggested Revisions on the Second Draft Constitution for Kawthoolei (2007).

Suggested Revisions on the Fourth Chinland Constitution (2007).

Suggested Revisions on the First Draft Constitution of the Federal Constitution Drafting and Co-ordinating Committee of the Ethnic Nationalities Council (2006).

Translation (with others), First Draft Constitution of the Federal Constitution Drafting and Co-ordinating Committee of the Ethnic Nationalities Council (2005).

Testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs concerning the Constitutionality of amendments to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, October 12, 1989.

### **Selected Public Addresses and Conferences:**

“Changing Burma from Without: Political Activism Among the Burmese Diaspora,” Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies Conference, April 2011.

“Ethnic Differences and Asymmetrical Federalism in Burma,” Indiana University Pan-Asia Institute Inaugural Conference, March 2011.

“From Protection Pacts to Systematized Bribery in Burma,” Open Society Institute, February 2011.

“Multivalent Constitutional Reform in Liberia,” Sagamore Institute, October 2010.

“The Prospects for Civilian Rule in Burma,” Human Rights Watch and the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies, Washington, DC, October 20, 2010.

“Human Rights Abuses Against Burma’s Ethnic Minorities,” International Bar Association Human Rights Institute, New York City, July 14, 2010.

“The Status of Burma’s Ethnic Minorities under the 2008 Constitution,” Pledge2Protect Conference, Washington DC, November 7, 2009.

“Military Power under Burma’s 2008 Constitution,” Pledge2Protect Conference, Washington, DC, November 7, 2009.

“Burma’s Constitutional Future,” Briefing for Congressional Staff, US Capitol Building, Washington, DC, May 13, 2009.

“Constitutionalism before Constitutions,” University of Texas School of Law, February 2009.

“Burmese Constitutional Story-Telling,” Indiana University Center for Constitutional Democracy in Plural Societies Conference on Constitutional Story-telling, September 2007.

“La Situation juridique des Amerindiens des Etats-Unis,” presented in my absence by Jacques Ziller, colloque de Cayenne, December 2005.

“Political Violence and Constitutionalism in Liberia,” University of Liberia, December 2005.

“Exporting the American Constitution,” Indiana University Constitutional Commemoration Day, September 2005.

“Escape from Difference Through Escape from Government: American Constitutional Fantasies,” University of Trento, June 2004.

“Native Americans and American Sovereignty,” University of Siena, May 2004.

“The Second Amendment and American Culture,” University of Cambridge, March 2004.

“Civic Constitutionalism, the Second Amendment and the Right of Revolution,” Indiana University Distinguished Faculty Research Lecture for 2002-2003, April 23, 2003.

“Legal Cultures, Violence, and September 11,” Indiana University School of Law Alumni Association, October 2001.

“In Praise of Field and Stream: The Symbolic Function of Gun Control Legislation,” Chicago-Kent School of Law, March 2000.

Appearance on episode of Pro and Con, “Guns in American Culture,” filmed October 1999, airing throughout the winter of 1999-2000.

“The Roots of Hatred in Legal Culture,” Conference on Responding to Hate, Bloomington, IN, October 1999.

“The Second Amendment as a Structural Provision,” Continuing Legal Education Session, Bloomington, IN, September 1999.

“The Right to Revolution in the Late Twentieth Century,” The Federalist Society, Bloomington, Indiana, November 1997.

“The Militia Movement and Second Amendment Revolution,” The Poynter Center for the Study of Ethics and American Institutions, October 2, 1996.

"The Constitutional Right to 'Conservative Revolution'," American Political Science Association Conference, September 1996.

"Civil Society and Cultural Tolerance," Indiana Law School Conference on Law and Civil Society, March 29, 1996.

"A Feminist Theory of Malebashing," Chicago-Kent School of Law, September 1995.

"Federalism and the Second Amendment," The Federalist Society, Bloomington, Indiana, February 1995.

"The Second Amendment and the Politics of Gun Control," Faculty Seminar at Indiana University School of Law, December 4, 1994.

"Gun Control and the Second Amendment: Beyond the Present Impasse," at the Tenth Circuit Judicial Conference, August 12, 1994.

"European and American Perspectives on Civic Republicanism," at the Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies Symposium on Global Migration and the Future of the Nation-State, April 1994.

"Mediating Cultural Difference through the Interpretation of Federal Indian Law," at the AALS Convention, January 1994.

"Federal Land Development and American Indian Religious Expression," at the Law and Society Conference, May 1993.

"Gun Control and the Left," at the Critical Legal Studies Conference, April 1992.

"Bill of Rights Populism," at Indiana University Law School, February 1992.

Participation in the Georgetown Law Center Conference on Postmodern

Constitutional Law, November 1991.

"Reflections on the Second Amendment," at the Institute for American Values, October 1991.

Cornell Law School Commencement Speech, Spring of 1990.

Sermon at Sage Chapel, Cornell University, Spring of 1988.

Also, numerous radio and newspaper interviews.

### **Prizes, Awards, and Fellowships:**

2009 Leon H. Wallace Teacher of the Year Award, Indiana University School of Law.

2007 Elected first Faculty Lunch-time Commencement Speaker by Indiana University School of Law Graduating Class.

2006 Leonard D. Fromm Public Interest Faculty Award.

2004 Senior Fellow, European University Institute, Fiesole, Italy.

2004 Admission to the Law Faculty, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK.

2004 Senior Fellow, Wolfson College, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK.

2003-2004 Fellow of the Poynter Center for the Study of Ethics and American Institutions.

2002-2003 Indiana University Distinguished Faculty Research Lecturer.

1999-2000 Louis F. Niezer Faculty Fellow, Indiana University School of Law.

1998-1999 Charles Whistler Faculty Fellow, Indiana University School of Law.

1997-1998 Charles Whistler Faculty Fellow, Indiana University School of Law.

1996-1997 TERA award for excellence in teaching, Indiana University.

1996-97 Harry T. Ice Faculty Fellow, Indiana University School of Law.

1996 Leon H. Wallace Teacher of the Year Award, Indiana University School of Law.

1994-95 Ira C. Batman Faculty Fellow, Indiana University School of Law.

1990 Elected Commencement Speaker by Cornell Law School Graduating Class.

### **Teaching Abroad:**

Courses in Constitutional Law, University of Paris II, December to January 2003-2004, December to January 2006-2007.

### **Major Grants:**

United States Institute for Peace, "From Conflict to Constitutionalism in Liberia," \$72,790.

### **Major Institutional Service:**

1995-2003: Faculty Advisor, Indiana Law Journal.

1995-1999: Chair, Research and Development Committee, Indiana University School of Law.

**Consultancies and Boards:**

Advisor, Shan State Army—South, 2009 to present.

Consultant, Democratic Party of Vietnam, 2009 to present.

Consultant, Liberian Constitutional Reform Commission, 2009 to present.

Consultant, Liberian Governance Reform Commission, 2008 to present.

Consultant, National Council of the Union of Burma, 2008 to present.

Consultant, Ethnic Nationalities Council, 2007 to present.

Advisor, Chin National Front, 2007 to present.

Member, Advisory Board, Burma Lawyers' Council, 2005 to present.

Consultant, Arakan National Council, 2005 to present.

Member, Technical Advisory Team, Burmese Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordinating Committee, 2005 to 2007.

Consultant, Burma Lawyers' Council, 2003 to present.

Consultant and Advisor, The Chin Forum, 2003 to present.

Consultant, Karen State Constitution Drafting Committee, 2006 to present.

Consultant, Karen National Union, 2006 to present.

Consultant, Karenni State Constitution Drafting Committee, 2006 to present.

Consultant, Shan State Constitution Drafting Committee, 2006 to present.

Consultant, 5th Brigade Karen National Liberation Army, 2007 to present.

Consultant, Kachin State Constitution Drafting Committee, 2006 to present.

Consultant, Mon State Constitution Drafting Committee, 2007 to present.

Consultant, State Constitutions Drafting Committee (for Burma) and State Constitution Supporting Committee, 2003 to present.

**Presentations on Constitutional Reform Abroad:**

Seminar for the Chin National Front, December 2008.

Seminar for the National Council of the Union of Burma, July 2008.

Seminar for the Karen National Union, July 2008.

Seminar for the New Mon State Party, June 2008.

Seminar for the Karenni National Progressive Party, June 2008.

Seminar for the Shan State Drafting Committee, June 2008.

Seminar for the Kachin State Drafting Committee, June 2008.

Seminar for the Chin National Committee, June 2008.

Consultation, Liberian Governance Reform Commission, May 2008.

Seminar on Constitutional Reform in Burma, United Nations, March 2008.

Seminar on Constitutional Reform in Liberia, US Department of State, July 2008.

Seminar for the Fifth Brigade of the Karen National Liberation Army, July 2007.

Seminar for State Constitutions Supporting Committee of the Ethnic Nationalities Council, Chiang Mai, Thailand, July 2007.

Seminar for the Mon State Constitution Drafting Committee, Chiang Mai, Thailand, July 2007.

Seminar for the Rakhine State Constitution Drafting Committee, Chiang Mai, Thailand, July 2007.

Seminar for the Chin State Constitution Drafting Committee, Chiang Mai, Thailand, July 2007.

Seminar for the Kachin State Constitution Drafting Committee, Chiang Mai, Thailand, July 2007.

Seminar for the Karen State Constitution Drafting Committee, Chiang Mai, Thailand, July 2007.

Seminar for the Karenni State Constitution Drafting Committee, Chiang Mai, Thailand, July 2007.

Seminar for the Shan State Constitution Drafting Committee, Chiang Mai, Thailand, July 2007.

Workshop for the Federal Constitution Drafting and Co-ordinating Committee of the Ethnic Nationalities Council, Bloomington,

Indiana, October 2006.

Seminar for the Karen National Union on Constitution-drafting, Mae Sot, Thailand, July 2006.

Seminar for the Karenni National People's Party on Constitution-drafting, Mae Hong Son, July 2006.

Seminar for the Shan State Constitution Drafting Committee on Constitution-drafting, Chiang Mai, Thailand, July 2006.

Participation in week long seminar on the future constitution of the Federal Union of Burma, as Technical Advisory Team member for the Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordinating Committee, Chiang Mai, Thailand, December 2005.

Two week program on constitutional design for participants in the Burma Lawyers' Council program for Burmese democratic activists in Mae Sot, Thailand, December 2004.

"Notes on Burmese Constitutionalism II," three day seminar for the State Constitution Support Committee (for Burma), Chiang Mai, Thailand, August 2004; also for leaders of the Burmese refugee community in Delhi, India, August 2004.

"Notes on Burmese Constitutionalism I," three day seminar for the State Constitution Support Committee (for Burma), Chiang Mai, Thailand, November 2003.

Advising Session for the Chin Forum on the current draft of their state constitution, June 2003; results were published by the United Nations National Reconciliation Program.