

NORMAN R. WILLIAMS

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

WILLAMETTE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF LAW, Salem, OR 2001-present
Ken & Claudia Peterson Professor of Law, 2011-present
Director, Willamette University Center for Constitutional Government, 2007-present.

Courses Taught: Constitutional Law I & II, Election Law, U.S. Supreme Court (seminar), Administrative Law.

Service: Associate Dean for Academic Affairs, 2013-2020
University Curriculum Coordinating Workgroup (Member, 2018-2019)
University Law & Politics Workgroup (Member, 2018-2020)
University Healthcare Policy & Law Workgroup (Member, 2018-2020)
University Financial Operations Committee (Member, 2013-2020)
University Capital Planning and Space Use Advisory Committee (Member, 2013-2017)
University Law School Dean Search Committee (Chair, 2012-2013)
College of Law Academic Affairs Committee (2013-2020)
College of Law Faculty Appointments Committee (Chair, 2007-2008 & 2010-12; Member, 2002-2007)
College of Law Faculty Personnel Committee (Chair, 2009-2011; Member, 2008-2011, 2022-2023)
Faculty Adviser to *Willamette Law Review* (2001-2008, 2022-2023).

Awards: Robert Misner Award for Faculty Scholarship, 2005.

Prior Academic Positions: Professor of Law, 2009-2011
Associate Professor of Law (with tenure), 2006-2009
Assistant Professor of Law, 2001-2006

LEGAL EXPERIENCE

MAYER, BROWN & PLATT, New York, NY 1996-2001
Associate, United States Supreme Court and Appellate Litigation Practice Group

HON. PATRICK E. HIGGINBOTHAM, Dallas, TX 1995-1996
Law Clerk, United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

EDUCATION

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW

J.D., *summa cum laude*, 1995

Honors: *New York University Law Review*, Senior Articles Editor
Order of the Coif
Paul Kaufman Award for Best Note published in the *Law Review*
Leonard M. Henkin Prize for best note on the equal rights portion of the
Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution
Law Review Alumni Association Award for ranking second in the law school
class after five semesters (ultimately graduated first in class)
Orison S. Marden Moot Court Competition, Finalist and Recipient of the Award
for the Best Brief
Pi Alpha Lambda Award for graduating first in class

Activities: Latin American Law Student Association
Civil Rights/Civil Liberties Union

Post-Grad Fellowship: Temple Bar Fellow (1996)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

A.B., *magna cum laude*, Government, 1991

Senior Honors Thesis: Unenumerated Rights and the Ninth Amendment

Honors: John Harvard Scholarship for Highest Academic Achievement
Harvard College Scholarship for High Academic Achievement

Activities: Harvard-Radcliffe RAZA
Institute of Politics, Student Advisory Committee

PUBLICATIONS

Books, Chapters, and Contributions:

RACE, LAW & POLITICS: THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S PRESIDENTIAL
NOMINATION RULES, 1968-2024 (monograph forthcoming 2025).

CONSTRUCTING A DEMOCRACY: THE HISTORY, LAW & POLITICS OF
REDISTRICTING IN OREGON (OSU Press, 2023).

"State Sovereignty," in THE OXFORD INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF LEGAL HISTORY (Oxford University Press, Stanley N. Katz, ed., 2008).

"Nixon v. United States," in THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SUPREME COURT
OF THE UNITED STATES (Macmillan Gale, David S. Tanenhaus ed., 2008).

TEACHER’S MANUAL FOR BREYER, STEWART, SUNSTEIN, AND
VERMEULE, ADMINISTRATIVE LAW AND REGULATORY POLICY:
PROBLEMS, TEXTS AND CASES (6th ed. 2006).

Law Review Articles:

“One Person, One Vote and the National Party Conventions” (work in progress).

“Resurrecting Weighted Voting” (work in progress)

“Partisan Gerrymandering: The Promise and Limits of State Court Judicial Review,” 106 Marq. L. Rev. _ (2023).

“Legislative Redistricting in the Time of COVID,” 25 Lewis & Clark L. Rev. 953 (2021).

“Why the National Popular Vote Compact is Unconstitutional,” 2012 B.Y.U. L. Rev. 1523 (2013).

“Reforming the Electoral College: Federalism, Majoritarianism, and the Perils of Sub-Constitutional Change,” 100 Georgetown L. J. 173 (2011).

Book Review, “*Gibbons v. Ogden*, Law, Society in the Early Republic,” 51 American Journal of Legal History 384 (2011).

“The ‘New Protectionism’ and the American Common Market,” 85 Notre Dame L. Rev. 247 (2009) (co-authored with Brannon Denning).

“Direct Democracy, The Guaranty Clause, and the Politics of the Political Question Doctrine: Revisiting *Pacific Telephone*,” 87 Oregon L. Rev. 979 (2009).

"The Foundations of the American Common Market," 84 Notre Dame L. Rev. 409 (2008).

"Taking Care of Ourselves: State Citizenship, the Market, and the State," 69 Ohio St. L.J. 469 (2008).

“The Commerce Clause and the Myth of Dual Federalism,” 54 UCLA L. Rev. 1847 (2007).

“Executive Review in the Fragmented Executive: State Constitutionalism and Same-Sex Marriage,” 154 U. Penn. L. Rev. 565 (2006).

“Why Congress May Not ‘Overrule’ the Dormant Commerce Clause,” 53 UCLA L. Rev. 153 (2005).

“The Dormant Commerce Clause: Why *Gibbons v. Ogden* Should Be Restored to the Canon,” 49 St. Louis Univ. L. J. 817 (2005).

“The People’s Constitution,” 57 Stanford L. Rev. 257 (2004).

“*Gibbons*,” 79 N.Y.U. L. Rev. 1398 (2004).

“The Failings of Originalism: The Federal Courts and the Power of Precedent,” 37 U.C. Davis L. Rev. 761 (2004).

“Suburbanization and Market Failure: An Analysis of Government Policies Promoting Suburban Growth and Ethnic Assimilation,” 27 Fordham Urb. L.J. 197 (Oct. 1999) (co-authored with William E. Nelson).

“Rising Above Factionalism: A Madisonian Theory of Judicial Review,” 69 N.Y.U. L. Rev. 963 (Oct.-Nov. 1994).

Other Writings:

“The NPVC: A Dangerous Reform,” *Harvard Law Review Blog* (Mar. 2019).

“Legislative Redistricting in Oregon: A Primer,” 71 Or. St. Bar Bulletin 26 (Feb./Mar. 2011).

“Healthcare Reform and the Constitution,” Op-ed, *Oregonian*, February 15, 2011.

“Taking the Foxes out of the Legislative Henhouse,” Op-ed, *Oregonian*, January 28, 2011.

“The Immigration Debate: One (Mexican) American’s View,” Op-ed, *Oregonian*, May 15, 2006.

“Special Trial Judges after *Ballard*: A Call for Reform,” *Tax Notes*, May 23, 2005, p. 1033.

“The U.S. Tax Court: A Return to Fair and Transparent Proceedings,” *For the District of Oregon* (a quarterly newsletter of the Oregon chapter of the Federal Bar Association), Summer 2005.

“People’s Law,” Op-ed, *Oregonian*, March 17, 2004.

PRESENTATIONS AND CONFERENCES

“Partisan Gerrymandering and State Court Judicial Review,” *presented at* Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting (Apr. 15, 2023).

“Revisiting Reynolds v. Sims and its Aftermath,” *presented at* Legal History Colloquium, New York University School of Law (Mar. 8, 2023).

“Constructing a Democracy: The Law & Politics of Redistricting in Oregon,” *presented at* Legal History Colloquium, New York University School of Law (Nov. 9 & 23, 2021).

“COVID Vaccine Mandates: Is Jacobson Still Good Law,” Organizer & Moderator, Willamette University (Nov. 1, 2021).

“Legislative Redistricting in Oregon: A Primer,” *presented to* the Oregon Senate Committee on Redistricting (Jan. 27, 2021).

“The History of Legislative Redistricting in Oregon,” *presented to* the Oregon House Special Committee on Redistricting (Jan. 26, 2021).

“The National Popular Vote Compact: A Conversation with Derek Muller,” *co-sponsored by* the American Constitution Society and Federalist Society, Willamette University College of Law (Oct. 28, 2019).

“The ACA and the Constitution,” *presented at* HeLPS Conference, Willamette University College of Law (Mar. 7, 2019).

“The United States Supreme Court: 2018 Term Preview,” *presented at* the 2018 Oregon Civics Conference, Oregon State Capitol (Dec. 7, 2018).

“The National Party Conventions and One Person, One Vote,” *presented at* Legal History Colloquium, New York University School of Law (Apr. 2, 2014).

“Campaign Finance Law after *Citizens United*,” *presented at* League of Women Voters Forum, Salem, Oregon (Apr. 24, 2013).

“Access to Justice and Escrow Agent Pooled Interest Accounts,” *at* Legislative Hearing before the Oregon House of Representatives Committee on Business and Labor (March 15, 2013).

“The Fiscal Impact of Voter Initiatives,” *at* Legislative Hearing before the Oregon House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary (March 6, 2013).

Symposium, “Campaign Finance Reform and the 2012 Elections,” Organizer and Moderator, Willamette University College of Law (Feb. 8, 2013).

“Why the National Popular Vote Compact is Unconstitutional,” *presented at* Faculty Seminar, Arizona State University School of Law (Nov. 29, 2012).

“Why the Affordable Care Act is Constitutional,” *presented at* Constitutional Law 2011 Conference, Oregon State Bar (December 2, 2011).

“Why the National Popular Vote Compact is Unconstitutional,” *presented at* Faculty Colloquium, University of Illinois School of Law (Nov. 14, 2011).

“The Individual Mandate and the Affordable Care Act,” *at* Linfield College (Sept. 27, 2011).

“The Fiscal Impact of Voter Initiatives,” *at* Legislative Hearing before the Oregon House of Representatives Committee on Rules (March 16, 2011).

“The National Popular Vote Compact: A Bad Idea,” *at* Legislative Hearing before the Oregon House of Representatives Committee on Rules (March 16, 2011).

Organizer and moderator, “Redistricting in Oregon: A Leadership Summit,” Willamette University College of Law (September 16, 2010).

“The Fiscal Impact of Voter Initiatives,” *at* Legislative Hearing before the Oregon House of Representatives Committee on Rules (February 24, 2010).

“Reforming the Electoral College: Federalism, Majoritarianism, and the Perils of Sub-Constitutional Change,” *presented at* Faculty Workshop, St. Johns School of Law (Dec. 1, 2009).

“Health Care Reform: A Debate with Doug Bandow,” *sponsored by* The Federalist Society, Willamette University College of Law (Nov. 17, 2009).

“Reforming the Electoral College: Federalism, Majoritarianism, and the Perils of Sub-Constitutional Change,” *presented at* Faculty Workshop, Pepperdine University School of Law (Oct. 29, 2009).

Organizer and moderator, Symposium, “A Supreme Sesquicentennial: The Oregon Supreme Court at 150 Years and Beyond,” Willamette University College of Law (Oct. 9, 2009).

“Supreme Court Preview,” *sponsored by* The Federalist Society, Lewis & Clark School of Law (Sept. 16, 2009).

“Reforming the Oregon System: A Leadership Summit,” Conference Organizer and Moderator, Willamette University College of Law (Mar. 12, 2009).

“The Oregon System: Direct Democracy and the Possibility of Reform,” *presented at* Symposium, 150 Years of Oregon Constitutional Law, University of Oregon School of Law (Feb. 13, 2009).

“A New Defense of Originalism: A Debate with Prof. John McGinnis,” *sponsored by* The Federalist Society, Willamette University College of Law (Feb. 5, 2009).

Organizer and moderator, Symposium, “Presidential Power in the 21st Century,” Willamette University College of Law (Sept. 12, 2008).

Co-organizer and moderator, “Kenneth O’Connell Conference: Judicial Independence, Popular Constitutionalism, and Judicial Elections,” University of Oregon School of Law (Sept. 5, 2008).

“The U.S. Common Market,” *presented at* Faculty Colloquium, University of Oregon School of Law (Feb. 5, 2008).

“The American Common Market,” *presented at* Faculty Colloquium, New York School of Law (Nov. 5, 2007).

“The American Common Market,” *presented at* Faculty Seminar, St. Louis University School of Law (Oct. 2, 2007).

“The Commerce Clauses and the Myth of Dual Federalism,” *presented at* UCLA Law Review Symposium, UCLA School of Law (Feb. 2, 2007).

“The American Common Market,” *presented at* Faculty Seminar, University of South Carolina School of Law (January 2007).

“The American Common Market,” *presented at* Faculty Seminar, Drexel University School of Law (January 2007).

“Due Process of Lawmaking: A Reprise,” *presented at* Symposium, “Unparalleled Justice: The Legacy of Hans Linde,” Willamette University College of Law (Oct. 27, 2006).

“The American Common Market,” *presented at* Faculty Seminar, University of Alabama School of Law (Sept. 13, 2006)

“The American Common Market,” *presented at* Faculty Seminar, Florida State University School of Law (Sept. 11, 2006).

“Executive Review in the Fragmented Executive,” *presented at* Faculty Seminar, Arizona State University School of Law (February 28, 2006).

“Executive Review in the Fragmented Executive,” *presented at* Faculty Colloquium, Southern Methodist University School of Law (October 2005).

“Congress and the Dormant Commerce Clause,” *presented at* Faculty Colloquium, Samford University, Cumberland School of Law (February 2005).

“Developing Trends in Federal Administrative Law,” *presented at* Delivering Justice in Administrative Decision-making in Oregon (Oct. 30, 2004) (sponsored by Oregon Association of Administrative Law Judges, Oregon State Bar Administrative Law Section, and Willamette University College of Law).

“*Gibbons v. Ogden* and John Marshall’s Hedge,” *presented at* Faculty Colloquium, Saint Louis University School of Law (November 2003).

“Judicial Developments in Federal Administrative Law,” *presented at* Administrative Justice in Oregon (Nov. 16, 2002) (sponsored by Oregon Association of Administrative Law Judges and Willamette Center for Law and Government).

PRESS APPEARANCES

Interview guest on the *Daily Show with Trevor Noah*.

Repeated guest on *EuroNews* (European satellite news channel), RTVI, and local TV news programs.

Repeated guest on *Think Out Loud*, Oregon Public Broadcasting Radio Program.

Regularly interviewed by international and national newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *The Economist* for stories involving issues of constitutional and administrative law.

PROFESSIONAL AND CHARITABLE ASSOCIATIONS

Oregon Council on Legal Education and Admission to the Bar (Participant, 2013-2020)

Oregon State Board of Bar Examiners, Advisory Committee on the Oregon Bar Exam (Member, 2016-2017)

Oregon State Bar, Task Force on Uniform Bar Examination (Member, 2014-2016)

Oregon State Bar, Task Force on Centralized Legal Notice (Member, 2013)

Oregon Law Foundation (President, 2012; Director, 2009-2012)

Campaign for Equal Justice (Director, 2012-2013)

Oregon State Bar, Administrative Law Section Executive Committee (2011-2014)

Oregon Law Commission, Judicial Selection Work Group (Legal Advisor, 2012)

Abiqua School, Board of Trustees (Chair, 2013-2018; Secretary, 2012-2013; Trustee, 2011-2019)

National Association of Administrative Law Judges, Education Committee (2002-2004)

American Bar Association

BAR MEMBERSHIP

Oregon; New York.