Foreword:
After *Kiobel*—International Human Rights Litigation in State Courts and Under State Law

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Litigation in domestic courts is only one of many ways to promote and protect international human rights, but it has received much attention from lawyers, scholars, governments, and nongovernmental organizations.1 Attention has focused above all on litigation in the U.S. federal courts under the Alien Tort Statute (ATS),2 which provides that “[t]he district courts shall have original jurisdiction of any civil action by an alien for a tort only, committed in violation of the law of nations or a treaty of the United States.”3 Originally adopted by the U.S. Congress as part of the Judiciary Act of 1789,4 it was not until the Second Circuit’s

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3. Id.
landmark decision in *Filártiga v. Peña-Irala* in 1980 that the ATS became a basis for litigating human rights claims in the U.S. federal courts. According to one recent estimate, well over 100 human rights suits have been filed under the ATS since that decision.

However, plaintiffs face growing barriers to ATS human rights litigation in the U.S. federal courts. Some of these barriers are substantive. In its 2004 decision in *Sosa v. Alvarez-Machain*, the U.S. Supreme Court narrowed the range of international law violations for which the ATS could provide subject matter jurisdiction, holding that “federal courts should not recognize private claims under federal common law for violations of any international law norm with less definite content and acceptance among civilized nations than the historical paradigms familiar when [the ATS] was enacted,” namely, “violation of safe conducts, infringement of the rights of ambassadors, and piracy.” In addition, the Court observed, “the determination whether a norm is sufficiently definite to support a cause of action should (and, indeed, inevitably must) involve an element of judgment about the practical consequences of making that cause available to litigants in the federal courts.” After *Sosa*, some courts of appeal have dismissed prominent ATS claims for failure to show violations of specific and widely accepted rules of international law, including with respect to secondary liability.

Other barriers are procedural. For instance, some circuits have applied the forum non conveniens doctrine in ATS cases, including the Second Circuit in *Türedi v. Coca-Cola Co.*, a case involving Turkish citizens injured and imprisoned allegedly in violation of international law due to a labor dispute, and the Eleventh Circuit in *Aldana v. Del Monte Fresh Produce N.A., Inc.*, a case concerning a lawsuit by Guatemalan labor unionists against the owner of a Guatemalan banana plantation claiming that the defendant participated in torture and other human

5. *Filártiga v. Peña-Irala*, 630 F.2d 876 (1980); see also BETH STEPHENS ET AL., INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LITIGATION IN U.S. COURTS, at xxii (2d ed. 2008) (noting that the *Filártiga* case was “the first successful use of the [ATS] to enable victims of international human rights violations to sue in U.S. courts”).
9. *Id.* at 732.
10. *Id.* at 724.
11. *Id.* at 732–33.
rights violations. Some circuits are also requiring heightened pleading standards in ATS cases. In Sinaltrainal v. Coca-Cola Co., a case involving allegations of corporate collaboration with Colombian paramilitary forces to murder and torture trade union leaders and employees, the Eleventh Circuit relied on heightened plausibility pleading standards enunciated recently by the Supreme Court in Ashcroft v. Iqbal and Bell Atlantic Corp. v. Twombly to require ATS plaintiffs to plead a claim that is plausible on its face by showing that a defendant violated a specific international law norm. Some courts have also suggested that plaintiffs must exhaust local remedies before proceeding with their claims in the U.S. federal courts. Accordingly, plaintiffs will not only face significant hurdles in pleading their claims but may also lose access to the tools of discovery for obtaining evidence of wrongdoing. Moreover, when matters of foreign policy are implicated—as is often said to be the case in ATS cases—the court may dismiss a suit on the basis of the political question doctrine, the act of state doctrine, or international comity.

In addition, because the doctrines of foreign state immunity, head of state immunity, and foreign official immunity limit the range of defendants against whom plaintiffs may bring ATS suits, plaintiffs often sue corporate defendants instead. However, the Second Circuit in Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum Co., an ATS lawsuit by Nigerian plaintiffs against an oil company for allegedly aiding and abetting human rights violations by the Nigerian government, held that corporations are not subject to suit under the ATS because corporate liability has

18. See Flomo v. Firestone Natural Rubber Co., 643 F.3d 1013, 1025 (7th Cir. 2011) (suggesting that “a U.S. court might, as a matter of international comity, stay an Alien Tort suit that had been filed in the U.S. court, in order to give the courts of the nation in which the violation had occurred a chance to remedy it, provided that the nation seemed willing and able to do that”).
20. See STEPHENS ET AL., supra note 5, at 365–84 (providing an overview of immunities defenses to ATS suits).
21. Estimates of the number of ATS suits filed against corporations vary. Compare Beth Stephens, Judicial Deference and the Unreasonable Views of the Bush Administration, 33 BROOK. J. INT’L L. 773, 814 (2008) (estimating that there have been approximately eighty-five ATS suits filed against corporations from 1960 through the article’s publication), with Jonathan C. Drimmer & Sarah R. Lamoree, Think Globally, Sue Locally: Trends and Out-of-Court Tactics in Transnational Tort Actions, 29 BERKELEY J. INT’L L. 456, 460 (2011) (estimating that there have been approximately 155 such suits).
not been established specifically as part of international law. Because other
circuits reached a different conclusion, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review
the *Kiobel* case and heard arguments in 2012.

Although the Supreme Court initially granted certiorari in *Kiobel* to decide the
issue of corporate civil tort liability under the ATS, it subsequently ordered
reargument on the broader question of “whether and under what circumstances
the [ATS] allows courts to recognize a cause of action for violations of the law of
nations occurring within the territory of a sovereign other than the United
States.” In addition, comments by the justices in the *Kiobel* oral arguments raise
the possibility that the Court may require exhaustion of local remedies in ATS
litigation. At the time this issue of the *UC Irvine Law Review* went to press, the
Supreme Court had yet to announce its decision in *Kiobel*. However, it is likely that
the Court will limit ATS litigation—perhaps substantially.

All of this raises an important question: What will human rights litigation
look like after *Kiobel*? Put differently, “if the federal courthouse doors that were
opened by the Second Circuit’s *Filártiga* decision are now being closed, what other
windows remain open for human-rights activists and plaintiffs?” The *Kiobel*
decision is unlikely to end ATS litigation in the federal courts, but it is likely that
many post-*Kiobel* human rights claimants will consider alternative strategies.

However, alternative approaches in federal courts appear to be quite limited.
Relatively few federal statutes provide express private causes of action for
international human rights violations. The most prominent of these, the Torture
Victim Protection Act, applies only to torture and extrajudicial killing, and the
Supreme Court recently limited it (in accordance with its text) to individual

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23. *Sarei v. Rio Tinto, PLC*, 671 F.3d 736, 748 (9th Cir. 2011) (en banc); *Flomo*, 643 F.3d at 1025; *Doe VIII v. Exxon Mobil Corp.*, 654 F.3d 11, 37 (D.C. Cir. 2011).


27. *Childress*, *supra* note 7, at 739.

28. See Paul Hoffman & Beth Stephens, *International Human Rights Cases Under State Law and in State Courts*, 3 *UC Irvine L. Rev.* 9, 10 (2013) (arguing that “even under the most restrictive outcome of the *Kiobel* decision, human rights cases will continue in both federal and state courts”).

defendants, rather than corporations and other entities. The Court generally has been reluctant to find an implied right of action where none is expressed, and indeed some federal legislation in the area, such as the Genocide Convention Implementation Act, specifically forecloses private claims. Further, the Court has sharply limited the extraterritorial effect of generally worded federal statutes through a strict presumption against extraterritoriality, making them difficult to apply to human rights violations abroad. Finally, federal courts have been reluctant to find common law rights of action for international law violations under jurisdictional statutes other than the ATS, such as the statute providing for federal question jurisdiction. As a result, international human rights litigation under U.S. federal law apart from the ATS may be viable only in a few specific areas.

Another alternative is human rights litigation in state courts or under state law. This is not a new strategy. Indeed, if substantive and procedural barriers to human rights litigation under U.S. federal law in the U.S. federal courts continue to grow, plaintiffs alleging human rights violations are increasingly likely to consider pursuing their claims in state courts or under state law. This may be part of the next wave of transnational litigation.

Among the potential attractions of state courts and state law, human rights claimants might be able to avoid application of the federal forum non conveniens doctrine and strict federal pleading standards, and in some cases they may find a more sympathetic judge or jury. Since “[t]he same conduct that constitutes a

34. See, e.g., McKesson Corp. v. Islamic Republic of Iran, 672 F.3d 1066, 1076 (D.C. Cir. 2012) (holding that international law claims are not cognizable under the commercial activity exception to the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act); Serra v. Lappin, 600 F.3d 1191, 1197 n.7 (9th Cir. 2010) (holding that international law claims are not cognizable under the statute granting federal question jurisdiction).
35. For example, in addition to the Torture Victim Protection Act, the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act (FSIA), 28 U.S.C. § 1605A (Supp. II 2008), provides an express cause of action for some acts of terrorism, and, arguably, the FSIA’s expropriation exception, 28 U.S.C. § 1605(a)(3) (2006), supports international law causes of action for expropriation. For an assessment of non-ATS options for human rights litigation in the federal courts, see STEPHENS ET AL., supra note 5, at 75–128.
37. Childress, supra note 7, at 757.
38. See STEPHENS ET AL., supra note 5, at 121 (noting that “[t]o date, state litigation has generally been a course of last resort,” but that “litigation in state court may be a reasonable option in some cases, if litigants and their lawyers are more familiar with state procedure or predict a more sympathetic judge or jury in the state system”).
violation of international human rights norms usually also violates the law of the place where it occurred and the law of the forum state,” plaintiffs might be able to avoid Sosa’s limitations on the types of international law violations over which the ATS provides jurisdiction by pleading their claims under state or foreign law. Moreover, by pleading human rights claims as domestic tort claims rather than violations of international law—for example, assault and battery or intentional infliction of emotional harm rather than torture, or wrongful death instead of extrajudicial execution—plaintiffs might be able to avoid limits on corporate liability for international law violations such as those imposed by the Second Circuit (and perhaps eventually by the Supreme Court) in Kiobel.

But even if state courts and state law hold promise, they will not be a simple panacea for human rights claimants. Some limits, such as personal jurisdiction, foreign sovereign immunity, and the act of state doctrine, apply equally in state court. Further, defendants sued in state court for human rights violations may be able to remove the case to federal court and thus invoke the protections of federal procedural law. Even in suits that are not removed, states have their own versions of the forum non conveniens doctrine, and it remains to be seen whether state courts will use the doctrine more or less aggressively than federal

39. See id. at 120.
40. See Childress, supra note 7, at 740 (discussing this possibility).
43. Notably, the Supreme Court’s 2011 decision in Goodyear Dunlop Tires Operations, S.A. v. Brown, 131 S. Ct. 2846 (2011), limits the scope of general personal jurisdiction, potentially making it more difficult for plaintiffs to establish personal jurisdiction in human rights cases, especially over non-U.S. defendants in suits alleging human rights violations that occurred outside U.S. territory. See id. at 2851 (“A court may assert general jurisdiction over foreign (sister-state or foreign-country) corporations to hear any and all claims against them when their affiliations with the State are so ‘continuous and systematic’ as to render them essentially at home in the forum State.”); id. at 2853–54 (“[f]or an individual, the paradigm forum for the exercise of general jurisdiction is the individual’s domicile; for a corporation, it is an equivalent place, one in which the corporation is fairly regarded as at home,” such as its place of incorporation or principal place of business).
46. See Borchers, supra note 41, at 59 (discussing application of forum non conveniens doctrine in state human rights litigation); Martin Davies, Time to Change the Federal Forum Non Conveniens Analysis, 77 TUL. L. REV. 309, 315–16 (2002) (discussing state forum non conveniens doctrines).
courts to dismiss human rights suits. There are also difficult issues surrounding the application of international law in state courts.\textsuperscript{47} Moreover, state choice-of-law principles might point toward the application of foreign rather than state law, and although the U.S. Supreme Court has recently attempted to clarify the limits on the extraterritorial application of U.S. federal statutes,\textsuperscript{48} the limits on the extraterritorial application of state statutes and state common law are unsettled.\textsuperscript{49} Federal foreign affairs preemption and other constitutional limits on state involvement in international matters are yet further potential barriers to human rights litigation under state law.\textsuperscript{50} Many of these issues remain incompletely explored because the focus of litigation in this area has been on federal courts’ application of federal law, and in particular on the ATS—a focus that may now be shifting. We are, in short, only beginning to encounter and assess the diverse and difficult issues raised by international human rights litigation in state courts and under state law.

When assessing these issues, there are good reasons to take a comparative perspective. There are potentially valuable insights to be gained from an understanding of similar legal strategies in other contexts,\textsuperscript{51} as well as from strategies in jurisdictions outside the United States.\textsuperscript{52} Moreover, an overly U.S.-centric perspective risks missing the relationship between litigation trends inside and outside the United States and the possibility that the less open the United States becomes to human rights litigation, the more courts in other countries will

\textsuperscript{47} For discussions of some of these issues, see Hoffman & Stephens, supra note 28, at 20–22, and David Kaye, \\textit{State Execution of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights}, 3 U.C. IRVINE L. REV. 95 (2013).


\textsuperscript{51} See Parrish, supra note 42, at 35–39 (drawing insights about human rights litigation in state courts from similar strategies in environmental litigation and the state constitutionalism movement).

become forums for human rights litigation. We may be on the verge of a new world of transnational human rights litigation where U.S. state courts and courts outside the United States will increasingly overshadow U.S. federal courts as forums for the adjudication of human rights claims.

On March 2, 2012, some of the nation’s leading practitioners and scholars of human rights, international law, and conflict of laws came together at the UC Irvine School of Law for the symposium, Human Rights Litigation in State Courts and Under State Law, where they discussed these and other important and difficult questions raised by this alternative method of human rights promotion and protection—questions that heretofore have received little attention compared to those raised by human rights litigation in federal courts under the ATS. The contributions to this issue of the UC Irvine Law Review, written by participants in the symposium, provide a valuable resource for those who will be grappling with these questions in the years to come.

53. See id. (discussing human rights litigation in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Australia, and Canada); see also Marcus S. Quintanilla & Christopher A. Whytock, The New Multipolarity in Transnational Litigation: Foreign Courts, Foreign Judgments, and Foreign Law, 18 SW. J. INT’L L. 31, 32–35 (2011) (presenting evidence suggesting that at the same time U.S. courts are decreasingly open to transnational litigation, other countries’ courts are increasingly attracting it).