Think Globally, Sue Locally: Trends and Out-of-Court Tactics in Transnational Tort Actions*

By
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INTRODUCTION

For nearly thirty years, thousands of claimants from Nicaragua have been filing lawsuits in both the United States and Nicaragua against multi-national companies relating to alleged injuries suffered through exposure to the pesticide Dibromochloropropane ("DBCP").1 Called among “the most wide-ranging efforts at forum shopping in our legal history,” 2 United States’ courts largely have dismissed DBCP cases from Nicaragua and elsewhere on forum non conveniens grounds.3 In recent years, the litigation has been impacted by a Nicaraguan law designed to compel corporate defendants to accept jurisdiction in the United States, along with a wide range of out-of-court tactics employed by plaintiffs and their advocates to advance their cause. In addition, judicial findings of impropriety and corruption have marked this litigation. One judge detailed a “broad[] conspiracy of fraud” involving the falsification of plaintiff

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2. Rojas v. Dement, 137 F.R.D. 30, 32 (S.D. Fla. 1991) (“In Cabalceta, Judge Atkins wrote that the actions were ‘one of the most wide-ranging efforts at forum shopping in legal history,’” and taking judicial notice of the decision.) (quoting Barrantes Cabalceta v. Standard Fruit Co., 667 F. Supp. 833, 837 (S.D. Fla. 1987), aff’d in relevant part, 883 F.2d 1553 (11th Cir. 1989)).
3. See Armin Rosencranz et al., Doling Out Environmental Justice to Nicaraguan Banana Workers: The Jose Adolfo Tellez v. Dole Food Company Litigation in the U.S. Courts, 3 GOLDEN GATE U. ENVTL. L.J. 161, 166-67 (2009). Under the forum non conveniens doctrine, a court may refuse to take jurisdiction if it determines that another forum is more appropriate to hear the dispute.
Injuries, while another found that the plaintiffs' lawyers proffered a "persistent use of known falsehoods," and a third concluded that Nicaraguan law does not "even come close" to "basic fairness."

In a similar vein, beginning with a 1993 lawsuit under the Alien Tort Statute ("ATS"), a law that enables foreign citizens to bring suits in the United States for violations of certain international laws, claimants have filed multiple cases in the United States and Ecuador seeking recovery from Texaco for alleged environmental contamination and related personal injuries in Ecuador's Lago Agrio region. In these actions, too, plaintiffs' attorneys have engaged in a broad set of out-of-court tactics. As with the DBCP litigation, United States' courts have rebuked certain plaintiffs' attorneys, and there has been concerning evidence regarding the fairness of the local proceedings in Ecuador.

In February 2010, Guatemalan labor activists filed lawsuit in New York state court against Coca-Cola on the basis of allegations of union-related violence against workers at a Guatemalan bottling facility. The plaintiffs timed the filing to coincide with the release of a documentary, "The Coca-Cola Case," that featured the plaintiffs' lawyers who brought the Guatemalan action. It was the sixth such case the plaintiffs' attorneys brought against Coca-Cola. Courts had dismissed the previous five ATS actions, arising from Turkey and Colombia.

These transnational tort cases are part of a larger trend of litigation against multi-national defendants that has arisen over the past fifteen years involving

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6. Sanchez Osorio v. Dole Food Co., 665 F. Supp. 2d 1307, 1345 (S.D. Fla. 2009). To date, courts overseeing DBCP-related cases arising from other countries have not made findings regarding similar conspiracies.
8. Now Chevron, after a merger between Texaco and a subsidiary of Chevron.
10. The corporate defendant in this case has pursued its own set of out-of-court tactics in defending itself.
allegations of corporate misconduct overseas. In connection with those cases, plaintiffs, defendants, and their advocates are increasingly employing certain out-of-court tactics in part to advance or defend their legal positions and tout larger sets of causes. Although defendants and interested third parties may pursue such tactics, this Article focuses on those tactics pursued by plaintiffs, discussing their implications for corporate defendants, and identifying certain rule of law concerns given the cases to date and the nature of transnational tort litigation.

Part I provides a legal background, discussing the ATS and the growing frequency of transnational tort lawsuits filed in the United States and abroad. Part II discusses the results of a study the authors conducted of twenty-five of transnational tort matters, identifying the patterns of the plaintiffs' use of media, community-organizing, investment and political efforts. Part III discusses those tactics in three case studies, the Nicaraguan DBCP, Texaco-Ecuador, and Coca-Cola litigations. This part also notes, based on judicial findings in the Nicaraguan DBCP and Ecuador matters, transnational court cases' potential susceptibility to litigation improprieties and rule of law concerns generally, to which out-of-court tactics may contribute. Part IV suggests some approaches that companies, courts, and legislators might consider given the implications and concerns that arise from the increasing number of transnational tort cases and their accompanying tactics. This Article does not argue in favor of specific normative changes, or that out-of-court tactics are per se improper. However, the Article concludes that given the rise of transnational tort cases and out-of-court tactics, it is important that all direct and indirect participants in the legal system, including courts, plaintiffs, defendants, interested third parties, and legislators, be cognizant of the nature of the tactics and the problems that have arisen as a result. In the long run, that cognizance will help ensure that litigation proceeds fairly and that legal judgments are rendered equitably.

I. LEGAL BACKGROUND

Over the past fifteen years, with the growth of the global economy, the number of transnational tort cases has grown substantially. Plaintiffs bring


17. See Matt A. Vega, Balancing Judicial Cognizance and Caution: Whether Transnational
these cases in the United States, under the ATS and common law tort theories, as well as in foreign courts. After discussing the ATS and the patterns of cases filed under the law, this section addresses lawsuits filed in the United States under other theories and lawsuits filed abroad.

A. The Alien Tort Statute

The ATS, enacted as part of the first United States' Judiciary Act in 1789,\(^\text{18}\) provides that the "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."\(^\text{19}\) Courts have construed the key relevant substantive term of the ATS - "violations of the law of nations" - to cover a limited class of alleged harms that are interpreted according to international law principles.\(^\text{20}\) Those principles include torture, extrajudicial killing, genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, forced labor, slave labor, child labor, human trafficking, forced disappearances, prolonged arbitrary detention or arrest, forced exile, rights of association (in the labor context), systematic racial discrimination and cruel, and inhuman or degrading treatment.\(^\text{21}\)

For nearly 200 years, the law remained essentially unused.\(^\text{22}\) However, it was revived in 1980, in *Filartiga v. Pena-Irala*, a case in which Paraguayan citizens filed suit in New York against a Paraguayan police official for acts of torture and murder of a relative in Paraguay.\(^\text{23}\) The lawsuit thus had no link to the United States. The plaintiffs filed the claim to vindicate foreign human rights abuses committed abroad by a non-United States citizen against a non-United

\(^{18}\) Act of Sept. 24, 1789, ch. 20, § 9, 1 Stat. 77. The ATS also has been referred to as the "Alien Tort Claims Act," or "ATCA."


States citizen. When the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit allowed the lawsuit to proceed, dozens of others quickly followed.24

Initially, cases brought under the ATS followed the pattern of Filartiga, often seeking redress for unpunished international human rights abuses against government officials or oppressive regimes.25 Plaintiffs brought these actions, often unopposed,26 in large part to document and validate human rights abuses with the imprimatur of a judicial finding. Although the cases led to hefty damage awards regularly in excess of ten million, and sometimes even 100 million, dollars,27 they presented little meaningful prospect of recovery.28 Instead, these awards would represent a form of intangible justice.

The mid-1990s brought a new trend, however, as corporate defendants regularly began to be targeted in multi-million dollar actions.29 To date, plaintiffs have filed more than 155 ATS cases against corporations, with approximately 80 percent of all actions, arising in the past fifteen years.30 Plaintiffs now file the majority of ATS cases against corporate defendants, and since 1994 they are filing on average six to ten corporate ATS cases annually.31 One study, noting the dozens of corporate ATS cases against some of the most well known companies in the world, estimated the potential aggregate ATS

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25. Kalayoglu, supra note 23, at 1045-46


28. See Kalayoglu, supra note 23, at 1045-46; Charles Curlett, International Law Weekend Proceedings, Introductory Remarks—Alien Tort Claims Act, 6 ILSA J. INT'L & COMP. L.Q. 273, 274 (2000) ("Although [ATS litigation has] generated two billion dollars in damage awards, none has been collected."); see also Shirin Sinnar, Book Note, Torture as Tort: Comparative Perspectives on the Development of Transnational Human Rights Litigation, 38 STAN. J. INT'L L. 331, 332 (2002) (noting, on the subject of ATS law suits, that while "obtaining redress from perpetrators is often cited as an objective of transnational human rights cases, few claimants actually receive compensation even after a favorable judgment").


31. See id.
Corporate liability to exceed 200 billion dollars if all the cases succeeded.\(^\text{32}\)

**B. ATS Litigation Trends**

1. **Where They Are Filed, Against Whom and Why**

The ATS cases involve several clearly definable groups.\(^\text{33}\) Excluding class actions involving multiple companies, some two-dozen industries in total have been the subject of one or more ATS lawsuits.\(^\text{34}\) Companies in the extractive sector, mining, oil, gas, and energy, such as Texaco, are the most frequent targets of ATS lawsuits, serving as defendants in approximately 22 percent of cases filed.\(^\text{35}\) Approximately 15 percent have been filed against the financial services industry, most of which were directed against banks.\(^\text{36}\) Companies in

\(^{32}\) See Arthur Fergensen & John Merrigan, "There They Go Again": The Trial Bar's Quest for the Next Litigation Bonanza, National Legal Center for the Public Interest, January 2007, at 17 n. 68; Gary HuBauer & Nicholas Mitrokostas, International Implications of the Alien Tort Statute, 7 J. INT'L ECON. LAW 246 (2004). The reasons plaintiffs bring these cases in United States' courts are several. Among them are: (1) a broad ability to obtain personal jurisdiction over defendants; (2) the unique nature of the ATS as a law that permits the filing of tort actions premised on customary international law; (3) the availability of the class action, contingency fee and pre-trial discovery mechanisms in the United States; and (4) the widespread belief that damage awards are higher in United States' courts, which includes the potential for punitive damages. See, e.g., Elizabeth T. Lear, National Interests, Foreign Injuries, and Federal Forum Non Conveniens, 41 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 559, 577-78 (2007); E.E. Daschbach, Where There's A Will, There's A Way: The Cause for A Cure and Remedial Prescriptions for Forum Non Conveniens As Applied in Latin American Plaintiffs' Actions Against U.S. Multinationals, 13 L. & Bus. Rev. Am. 11, 28-39 (2007); Manuel A. Gomez, Like Migratory Birds: Latin American Claimants in U.S. Courts and the Ford-Firestone Rollover Litigation, 11 SW. J. L. & TRADE AM. 281, 295-96 (2005).

\(^{33}\) The demographics and calculations contained in this section derive from a collection of ATS cases collected by the authors. The cases are identified, along with some of the characteristics contained herein, in the table that accompanies Michael Goldhaber, The Life and Death of the Corporate Alien Tort, AM. LAW., Oct. 12, 2010. While some 155 corporate ATS cases have been lodged, a significant percentage do not facially involve cognizable harms under the ATS. That is particularly true for cases filed before the Sosa decision clarified the meaning of the "law of nations" for these purposes. Such cases include commercial or employment disputes, lawsuits premised on securities laws, actions involving negligence-based injuries aboard vessels or airlines and other similar suits, and most have been dismissed rapidly. To conduct a meaningful analysis of ATS trends, the authors made the subjective determination to exclude those cases, and the following statistical analyses focus on the roughly 120 "core" ATS cases that plausibly fall under the statute.

\(^{34}\) These include the following industries: agriculture/food, auction, banking, accounting, chemical, pharmaceutical, media and communications, extractive, hospitality, engineering, medical (hospital), housing, insurance, manufacturing, prison, school, suppliers, technology, transportation, construction and a talent agency. See Goldhaber, supra note 33, accompanying table at: http://amlawdaily.typepad.com/ATS%20Cases.pdf.

\(^{35}\) See, e.g., Mujica v. Occidental Petroleum Corp., 564 F.3d 1190 (9th Cir. 2009); Bowoto v. Chevron, 557 F. Supp. 2d 1080 (N.D. Cal. 2008); Presbyterian Church of Sudan v. Talisman Energy, Inc., 453 F. Supp. 2d 633 (S.D.N.Y. 2006); Romero v. Drummond Co., 552 F.3d 1303 (11th Cir. 2008); Sarei v. Río Tinto, PLC, 550 F.3d 822 (9th Cir. 2008); Aguinda v. Texaco, Inc., 303 F.3d 470 (2d Cir. 2002).

\(^{36}\) See, e.g., Alperin v. Vatican Bank, 2008 WL 509300 (N.D. Cal. Feb. 21, 2008); Almog v.
the food and beverage industries, such as Coca-Cola, also are frequent corporate defendants in ATS cases, appearing in roughly 15 percent of cases.\textsuperscript{37} Cases against transportation\textsuperscript{38} or manufacturing\textsuperscript{39} companies also are relatively common, especially recently, and there have been several cases against communications and technology firms.\textsuperscript{40} Defendants are not limited to companies based in the United States, as plaintiffs have sued foreign companies with a presence in the United States,\textsuperscript{41} and courts have not deemed parent


\textsuperscript{41} See, e.g., Wiwa v. Royal Dutch Petroleum Co., 226 F.3d 88 (2d Cir. 2000) (underlying acts allegedly committed by a foreign subsidiary imputed up to the foreign parent, and parents’ ties to its United States subsidiary are permitted United States jurisdiction); Presbyterian Church of Sudan v. Talisman Energy, Inc., 244 F. Supp. 2d 289 (S.D.N.Y. 2003) (jurisdiction found where a foreign defendant was listed on the New York Stock Exchange). Under United States law, litigation can proceed against a corporate defendant only where it maintains certain “minimum contacts with the forum such that the maintenance of the suit does not offend traditional conceptions of fair play and substantial justice.” International Shoe Co. v. Washington, 326 U.S. 310, 316 (1945). The logic is that where parties intentionally engage in activities within a state, availing themselves of the state’s laws, it is deemed reasonable to require that the defendants “submit to the burdens of litigation in that forum as well.” Burger King v. Rudzewicz, 471 U.S. 462, 475-76 (1985). Applying this ‘minimum contacts’ test, a court may gain general or specific jurisdiction over a foreign defendant. If the foreign defendant’s activities are substantial, continuous, and systematic, the defendant is subject to lawsuits on matters unrelated to the contacts with the forum. If the foreign defendant has less significant contacts with the forum, but those contacts give rise to the cause of action, jurisdiction also can be upheld. See Hanson v. Denkia, 357 U.S. 235, 250-53 (1958); Perkins v. Bengued Consolidated Mining Co., 342 U.S. 437, 446 (1952). In contrast, where a foreign defendant maintains no direct business tie to the United States, and does not maintain an agency relationship with a United States subsidiary or the subsidiary is the alter ego of the parent – such as where corporate formalities are maintained, there is no direct control by the parent over the subsidiary, and the parent would not necessarily maintain the same activity if the subsidiary did not exist – or where the subsidiary is not the alter ego of the parent company, courts have found jurisdiction against the parent company not to exist. See Bauman v. DaimlerChrysler Corp., 2009 WL 2634795 (9th Cir. 2009) vacated, 603 F.3d 1141 (9th Cir. 2010); Unocal, 248 F.3d at 962-931; \textit{In re} S. African Apartheid Litig., 2009 WL 1841056 (S.D.N.Y. 2009).
The acts alleged under the ATS against these companies have been varied and diverse. They range from cases involving Chinese dissidents to those involving the use of forced labor to manufacture soccer balls to cases involving alleged terrorist financing. Most commonly, however, these cases involve (1) alleged acts by a security force (25 percent), generally a foreign police, military, or paramilitary unit; (2) labor-related issues (20 percent), such as those in the Coca-Cola actions; (3) environmental claims akin to those in the Ecuador matters; or (4) claims seeking redress for historical wrongs.

Plaintiffs also
commonly file cases against companies that allegedly provide support, goods, or services to disfavored or repressive political regimes. 48

These cases have arisen from roughly sixty different countries. Most common, however, are cases from the Middle East (23 percent), often involving events related to Iraq, and cases from South America (23 percent). 49 Cases from Asia (18 percent) 50 and Africa (13 percent) 51 are also present. Plaintiffs have filed ATS cases against corporations in numerous judicial districts, more than twenty-five in total. However, the cases have been clustered in a few locales. Plaintiffs have filed roughly twenty-five percent in federal district courts in New York, with most filed in the Southern District of New York. 52 Just under twenty percent of the ATS cases have been filed in California district courts, with more than one-half of such cases filed in the Central District of California. 53 The District of Columbia and the Southern District of Florida are also popular venues, with over ten percent of ATS cases filed in each. 54


52. In Filartiga, the ATS was essentially “rediscovered” in the Southern District of New York, and the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit permitted the case to proceed. The Southern District of New York is also a popular forum because foreign companies’ presence on a United States stock exchange and involvement in related investment activities can provide bases for jurisdiction. See, e.g., Presbyterian Church of Sudan v. Talisman Energy, Inc., 244 F. Supp. 2d 289 (S.D.N.Y. 2003).

53. Unocal, the first major corporate ATS case to survive motions to dismiss, was filed in California, perhaps contributing to the number of actions filed in California.

54. Many of the Florida actions arise from South America, perhaps explaining that choice of forum. The reason for the cluster of cases filed in the District of Columbia is less clear. Of the remaining jurisdictions, plaintiffs have filed approximately 8% of ATS in the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, with most being filed in the Eastern District of Virginia. They filed the remaining cases in the Fifth Circuit (4%), Third Circuit (4%), Seventh Circuit (2%), and Sixth Circuit (2%).
2. The Results in ATS Cases

For years, federal courts regularly dismissed corporate ATS cases. Recently, however, plaintiffs have gained victories. Since 2007, four corporate ATS cases have proceeded to trial, resulting in one verdict for plaintiffs on ATS grounds. In addition, several corporate ATS cases have settled for well over ten million dollars. In 2008, two courts entered judgments against corporate ATS defendants, for 7.7 million dollars and eighty million dollars respectively. In short, over the past few years, ATS cases appear to be achieving greater successes than before.

3. Continued Confusion about the Development of the Law

The legal landscape from which these ATS cases arise remains in substantial flux. Since Filartiga, courts have struggled with the concept of the "law of nations," grappling to decipher the scope of the ATS, and the types of cases that they should allow to proceed.

55. See Goldhaber, supra note 33, and accompanying table.
57. See A Milestone for Human Rights, BUS. WK., Jan. 24, 2005 (reporting that Unocal was said to have settled its action for $30 million); Jad Mouawad, Shell to Pay $15.5 Million to Settle Nigerian Case, N.Y. TIMES, June 9, 2009; Jenny Strasburg, Saipan Lawsuit Terms OK'd: Garment Workers to Get $20 Million, S.F. CHRON., Apr. 25, 2003, at B1. See also Sue Reisinger, "Pfizer Settles Lawsuits over Drug Trials on Children in Nigeria," Law.com, Feb. 23, 2011 (stating that Pfizer agreed to pay up to $175,000 per child able to prove death or permanent disability from the use of the drug Trovan).
58. See Aguilar v. Imperial Nurseries, 2008 WL 2572250 (D. Conn. 2008).
60. Various factors may explain that result. Given the body of law that now exists to guide claimants, corporate ATS lawsuits tend to be sounder in nature. In addition, complaints now regularly rely on both ATS and non-ATS based claims; in some instances, courts may not dismiss ATS claims when discovery on the same basic facts will proceed nonetheless. Third, the judiciary seems increasingly comfortable with ATS cases, and in cases involving egregious allegations of human rights abuses, the judiciary has become less willing to issue dismissals on perceived technical grounds. See Jonathan Drimmer & Laura Ardito, "Emerging Issue Analysis," Abdullahi v. Pfizer, Inc. 2009 U.S. App. LEXIS 1768 (2d Cir. 2009), LEXISNEXIS (April 2009); Sarei v. Rio Tinto, PLC, 550 F.3d 822 (9th Cir. 2008) (en banc) (plurality holding that whether an exhaustion doctrine analysis should be applied depends in part on the gravity of the underlying allegations).
61. See Chimene I. Keimer, Conceptualizing Complicity in Alien Tort Cases, 60 HASTINGS L.J. 61, 62 (2008) ("Judges and scholars have reached, and continue to reach, divergent conclusions about how to identify the applicable standards in ATS cases, leading to confusion in the lower courts and persistent uncertainty for litigants.")
62. Philip A. Scarborough, Rules of Decision for Issues Arising Under the Alien Tort Statute, 107 COLUM. L. REV. 457, 457-458 (2007). That struggle can be attributed to several factors. They include a relative lack of familiarity with the intricacies of international law by many United States
In 2004, the Supreme Court stepped in to try to provide some of that missing guidance. In *Sosa v. Alvarez-Machain*, a Mexican doctor sued other Mexican nationals under the ATS, claiming that they had conspired with the United States Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) to abduct him and bring him to the United States to stand trial for his alleged role in torturing and killing a DEA agent. After he was found not guilty of criminal charges, he filed a successful ATS lawsuit alleging arbitrary detention. In overturning that decision, the Supreme Court urged judges to exercise restraint in recognizing new ATS claims, admonishing them to engage in "vigilant doorkeeping" in these extraterritorial cases. Though the Court did not limit the Act to violations accepted in 1789, it declared that the ATS would apply to "a narrow set" of international norms that are obligatory, universally accepted and defined with specificity. The Court ruled that arbitrary detention for a short period of time was not such a norm.

The Court's attempt to clarify the law has been partially successful. Certainly, *Sosa* indicates, and lower courts have generally concluded, that the norms recognized under the ATS are the most serious crimes under international law. The framework the Supreme Court provided for analyzing ATS claims also has brought a greater degree of consistency than previously existed. The ATS's precise scope, however, remains elusive. As one court noted, "[t]he *Sosa* opinion provides little guidance concerning which acts give rise to a claim." Another stated that *Sosa* has "invite[d] the kind of judicial creativity that has caused the disparity of results and differences of opinion that preceded the decision." As a result, while *Sosa* did provide needed clarity on important aspects of the ATS, and provided a framework of analysis, there remains a confused body of lower court decisions.

A particular area of confusion for the courts has been determining the scope of the "law of nations." Furthermore, courts have been unclear about the attorneys and courts. They also include a seeming unease among courts with identifying potential causes of action in the first instance— a task in the United States that is typically left to legislative bodies— particularly given the lack of a concrete framework for how claims under the "law of nations" should be determined.

64. 542 U.S. 692 (2004).
65. *Id.* at 729.
66. *Id.* at 729, 732.
67. *Id.* at 738.
70. For instance, in cases involving multi-national corporations, lower courts have squabbled
required elements of actionable violations. For instance, diverging constructions of the state action element, a required component of most ATS claims, have led to much confusion. The pertinent standards associated with accessory


72. Because the reach of international criminal law has traditionally been restricted to misconduct by states or by state officials, all but a few cognizable causes of action contain a “color of law” requirement. Accordingly, outside of cases premised on theories of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and a few others that do not require state action, to satisfy the ATS, the underlying acts must be committed either by (a) government agents acting on behalf of the company, or (b) the company or its employees if vested with the imprimatur of government power. See Jonathan Drimmer, Human Rights and the Extractive Industries: Litigation and Compliance Trends, 3 J. WORLD ENERGY L. & BUS. 121, 130 (2010); see also Philip A. Scarborough, Rules of Decision for Issues Arising Under the Alien Tort Statute, 107 COLUM. L. REV. 457, 475 (2007) (discussing the general requirement of state action in ATS cases). For example, in cases involving events in Colombia, alleged conduct by a state security force acting on behalf of a petroleum company was deemed to satisfy the “color of law” requirement, but attacks against labor leaders in connection with their activities at a coal mine without proof of participation by state actors did not. Compare Mujica v. Occidental Petroleum Corp., 381 F. Supp. 2d 1164, 1194 (C.D. Cal. 2005), with Romero v. Drummond Company, Inc., 552 F.3d 1303 (11th Cir. 2008); see also Aldana, 416 F.3d at 1248 (attacks by licensed private security firm, without more, fails to satisfy state action).

73. Most federal courts, relying on pre-Sosa precedent, have looked to domestic definitions based on the civil rights jurisprudence of 42 U.S.C. § 1983. See, e.g., Aldana, 416 F.3d at 1247-48 (citing Kadic v. Karadzic, 70 F.3d 232, 245 (2d Cir. 1995)). Following Sosa, several courts and commentators have argued that, in fact, the proper principles should derive from international law. See Doe v. Exxon Mobil Corp., 393 F. Supp. 2d 20 (D.D.C. 2005); Jessica Priselac, The Requirement of State Action in Alien Tort Statute Claims: Does Sosa Matter? 21 EMORY INT’L L. REV. 789 (2007). That conclusion plainly seems to be the right one, since courts construe the causes of action that comprise the “law of nations” under international law, and state action is a mandatory element for those international claims. See Jessica Priselac, The Requirement of State Action in Alien Tort Statute Claims: Does Sosa Matter?, 21 EMORY INT’L L. REV. 789 (2007). However, even among courts that look to international law on state action, some have determined that international law on state action is not defined with specificity, as Sosa requires, while others have clearly struggled with the appropriate doctrinal approach, particularly given the long history of judicial reliance on § 1983 in this context. Compare Bowoto v. Chevron Corp., 2006 WL 2455752, *5 (N.D. Cal. 2006), with Bowoto v. Chevron Corp., 2007 WL 2349341, *2-7 (N.D. Cal. 2007); see generally Jessica Priselac, The Requirement of State Action in Alien Tort Statute Claims: Does Sosa Matter?,
liability are also unclear. This is especially germane as most plaintiffs in corporate ATS cases seek to attribute liability to the company based on agency, joint venture, conspiracy, ratification, aiding and abetting, and other related theories. Those theories have been met with mixed success in United States' courts, which have recognized, rejected, or offered competing and sometimes widely differing interpretations of theories of secondary liability. Most


75. See Curtis A. Bradley, et al., Sosa, Customary International Law, and the Continuing Relevance of Erie, 120 HARV. L. REV. 869, 925-26 (2007) ("most of the ATS claims brought against corporations have alleged that they were indirectly liable for human rights abuses committed by foreign government actors as a result of their acts of aiding and abetting, such as providing the perpetrators with financial support or materials").

76. Aiding and abetting liability is a prime example. See generally Jonathan Drimmer, Is Second Circuit Ruling a “Talisman” Against Alien Tort Statute Suits?, Legal Backgrounder, Washington Legal Foundation, Feb. 12, 2010; Michael Garvey, Corporate Aiding and Abetting Liability Under the Alien Tort Statute: A Legislative Prerogative, 29 B.C. THIRD WORLD L.J. 381, 383 (2009). Some courts, relying on Central Bank of Denver v. First Interstate Bank of Denver, 511 U.S. 164, 181-82 (1994), which held that aiding and abetting liability should be permitted in civil cases only where Congress expressly authorizes it, have concluded that corporate defendants cannot be liable under an aiding and abetting theory. See, e.g., Doe v. Exxon Mobil Corp., 393 F. Supp. 2d 20, 24 (D.D.C. 2005); see also Lucien J. Dhooge, Accessorial Liability of Transnational Corporations Pursuant to the Alien Tort Statute: The South African Apartheid Litigation and the Lessons of Central Bank, 18 TRANSNAT’L L. & CONTEMP. PROBS. 247, 273-93 (2009) (arguing that Central Bank should be applied in the ATS context). Most courts, however, have permitted secondary theories of liability to be pursued. See, e.g., Almog v. Arab Bank, PLC, 471 F. Supp. 2d 257, 287 (E.D.N.Y. 2007); Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum Co., 456 F. Supp. 2d 457 (S.D.N.Y. 2006); Presbyterian Church of Sudan v. Talisman Energy, Inc., 453 F. Supp. 2d 633, 668 (S.D.N.Y. 2006), aff’d, 582 F.3d 244 (2d Cir. 2009); Bowoto v. Chevron Corp., No. C 99-02506, 2006 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 63209 (N.D. Cal. Aug. 22, 2006); In re “Agent Orange” Prod. Liab. Litig., 373 F. Supp. 2d 7, 52-54 (E.D.N.Y. 2005). Among those courts, however, some judges defined the applicable standard by looking to interpretations provided by international legal sources, such as the International Criminal Court, or decisions of the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. These judges might define the theory broadly to include an actus reus of assistance or encouragement to a wrongdoer and a mens rea of knowledge or even recklessness, in which the aider and abettor need not even know the precise crime that the principal intends to commit. See, e.g., Doe v. Unocal Corp., 395 F.3d 932, 950-51 (9th Cir. 2002), vacated 403 F.3d 708 (9th Cir. 2005) (quoting Prosecutor v. Furundzija, IT-95-17/1 T (Dec. 10, 1998), reprinted in 38 I.L.M. 317 (1999)); Khulumani v. Barclay Nat’l Bank Ltd., 504 F.3d 254, 277 (2d Cir. 2007) (Katzmann, J., concurring); Khulumani v. Barclay Nat’l Bank Ltd., 504 F.3d 254, 333 (2d Cir. 2007) (Korman, J., concurring in part and dissenting in part); Almog v. Arab Bank PLC, 471 F. Supp. 2d 257, 285 (E.D.N.Y. 2007) (“practical assistance, encouragement, or moral support which has a substantial effect on the perpetration of the crime,” though assistance need not be indispensable) (internal quotations omitted); In re “Agent Orange” Prod. Liab. Litig., 373 F. Supp. 2d at 54;
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significantly, there is a heated ongoing dispute over whether corporations can even be liable under the ATS.\textsuperscript{77}

\section*{C. Non-ATS Litigation}

In addition to ATS cases, a much larger pool of non-ATS transnational tort cases have been brought in United States federal and state courts over the past decade.\textsuperscript{78} Plaintiffs base some of those cases, like the most recent Coca-Cola case, on human and environmental rights claims against companies with some tie to the United States. They thus closely resemble ATS cases in their underlying factual allegations.\textsuperscript{79} Many others, like the DBCP Nicaraguan matters, are based on traditional commercial and personal injury tort theories against companies over whom personal jurisdiction can be obtained. As with ATS cases, this larger pool of transnational tort cases continues to grow.

Like the ATS cases, these non-ATS suits span a wide range of industries and conduct. The spectrum of legal theories upon which these cases rely are similarly broad. Much like the ATS cases, frequent defendants include extractive companies, food and beverage companies, apparel companies, and financial companies. Several of these cases arose from circumstances of environmental degradation,\textsuperscript{80} harsh labor conditions,\textsuperscript{81} or claims for damages

Cabello Barrueto v. Fernandez Larios, 205 F. Supp. 2d 1325, 1333 (S.D. Fla. 2002), aff'd, 402 F.3d 1148 (11th Cir. 2005). Or they might define the theory narrowly, to include a \textit{mens rea} of intent, in which the aider and abettor must purposefully facilitate the underlying crime. Presbyterian Church of Sudan v. Talisman Energy, Inc., 582 F.3d 244, 259 (2d Cir. 2009). Other jurists have looked to domestic definitions, which has an \textit{actus reus} similar to international law -- assistance or encouragement of a wrongdoer -- and a \textit{mens rea} that requires the alleged aider and abettor know that the assistance is facilitating an underlying harm. Doe v. Unocal, 395 F.3d at 965 (Reinhardt, J., concurring); Khulumani v. Barclay Nat'l Bank Ltd., 504 F.3d 254, 286 (2d Cir. 2007) (Hall, J, concurring). Still others have not indicated whether the international or domestic definition may be applicable. See, e.g., Burnett v. Al Baraka Inv. & Dev. Co., 274 F. Supp. 2d 86, 100 (D.D.C. 2003); Bodner v. Banque Paribas, 114 F. Supp. 2d 117, 128 (E.D.N.Y. 2000).


\textsuperscript{78} See, e.g., Lear, supra note 32, at 590, 598 (discussing transportation disaster cases); see also Debra Lyn Bassett, \textit{U.S. Class Actions Go Global: Transnational Class Actions and Personal Jurisdiction}, 72 FORDHAM L. REV. 41 (2003) (discussing global plaintiff classes).

\textsuperscript{79} See, e.g., Perez v. Dole Food Co., Los Angeles Superior Court, April 28, 2009, http://www.iradvocates.org/4.27.09%20Dole%20Complaint%20FINAL.pdf. There may be differing reasons why plaintiffs in these cases choose not to invoke the ATS. Some plaintiffs may prefer to litigate in state court because of the jury pool, state procedural rules, or other reasons. Others who may wish to litigate in federal court may feel that the ATS is unnecessary to obtain federal jurisdiction.

based on activities performed decades before. Many arose from transportation related injuries including airplane, helicopter, train, and automobile accidents that occurred in Latin America, Europe, Asia, and elsewhere. Others have involved injuries allegedly caused by a range of pharmaceutical and other health-related products.

Plaintiffs have filed these cases in numerous jurisdictions, and a few have resulted in plaintiffs’ verdicts and settlements. However, most have been dismissed on forum non conveniens grounds. In light of that hurdle, plaintiffs


84. See, e.g., In re Factor VIII or IX Concentrate Blood Prods. Liab. Litig., 2008 WL 4866431 (N.D. Ill. June 4, 2008) (suits brought by hemophiliacs who claim to have been infected with HIV and/or the Hepatitis C Virus through the use of concentrate blood products manufactured by pharmaceutical companies); In re Rezulin Prods. Liab. Litig., 214 F. Supp. 2d 396 (S.D.N.Y. 2002); In re Vioxx Litig., No. 619, 2006 WL 2950622 (N.J. Super. Oct. 2, 2006).


86. That outcome is not surprising. Foreign plaintiffs electing to file actions outside of the jurisdiction where the alleged injury occurred receive substantially less deference in their choice of
have increasingly filed actions in specific state courts where they perhaps believe a *forum non conveniens* dismissal is less likely.\textsuperscript{87}

1. The Frequency of Forum Non-Conveniens Dismissals

Perhaps because the ATS is contained in an express federal statute, it appears that courts dismiss non-ATS claims on *forum non conveniens* grounds more frequently than in ATS cases, although courts often still dismiss ATS cases on *forum non conveniens* grounds. Regardless of the ATS or non-ATS nature of the suit, it has become increasingly common for courts to place conditions on defendants, such as agreements to accept the jurisdiction of a foreign tribunal or to abide by the alternative forum’s final judgment, before granting a motion to dismiss based on *forum non conveniens*.\textsuperscript{88}

Even with such agreements, however, multiple surveys confirm that plaintiffs refile a very small percentage of cases abroad after dismissals from United States’ courts.\textsuperscript{89} However, in the relatively few cases that plaintiffs do refile in foreign jurisdictions, and as discussed in detail in the context of the Ecuadorian environmental litigation against Texaco, companies may end up facing litigation in unpredictable legal systems subject to political and other external influences.\textsuperscript{90} Indeed, no doubt with such concerns in mind, Pfizer, after prevailing on a *forum non conveniens* argument in the District of Connecticut in an ATS case involving alleged involuntary medical experimentation in Nigeria,

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\textsuperscript{87} Delgado v. Shell Oil Co., 231 F.3d 165, 169 (5th Cir. 2000). See also Tonah v. Dow Chem. Co., 561 F.3d 945, 949 (9th Cir. 2009) (copycat cases based on plaintiffs’ alleged exposure to DBCP, filed with just under one hundred class members, thereby avoiding the one hundred class member threshold that would permit the defendants to invoke the Class Action Fairness Act (28 U.S.C. § 1332(d)(11)(B)(i)) and remove the case to federal court).

\textsuperscript{88} See Daschbach, supra note 32, at 25-26.


\textsuperscript{90} See Section IV, infra.
changed its mind and conceded the forum non conveniens point on appeal. Corporate defendants thus must be careful what they ask for, as prevailing on a forum non conveniens argument can lead to litigation in far more difficult locations.

D. Foreign Litigation

Although the large majority of transnational tort cases involving companies with a presence in the United States have been brought in the United States, similar matters also are being raised abroad. Some, as in the DBCP context, discussed infra, involve efforts to obtain judgments from local courts to be exported to the United States for attempted enforcement. Others involve cases filed in foreign domestic courts where a judgment can be enforced locally. Still others have sought favorable decisions from international or regional tribunals. While such tribunal-related cases may not involve monetary damage awards, and usually involve the state as the putative real party in interest, they can provide plaintiffs with a finding that permits them to assert the merit of their cause and achieve some of their desired results. Indeed, several such cases

91. See Abdullahi v. Pfizer, Inc., 562 F.3d 163, 189 (2d Cir. 2009).


93. There exists a patchwork of international bodies and quasi-adjudicative tribunals with varying degrees of powers of enforcement over companies. They include U.N. committees that investigate and seek remedies through the pertinent states parties in connection with certain U.N. Conventions, like the Torture Convention, the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. They also include regional agreements and conventions, such as: The Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which is enforced by the European Court of Human Rights, see http://www.echr.coe.int/echr; the American Convention on Human Rights, implementation of which is maintained by the Inter-American Commission, see http://www.cidh.org/DefaultE.htm; and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, implementation of which is maintained by the African Commission, see http://www.achpr.org. Plaintiffs have pursued relatively few actions against companies in these venues, although several have been considered against states themselves in connection with private corporate interests.

have resulted in multi-million dollar settlements.  

II. PATTERNS OF OUT-OF-COURT TACTICS

In these transnational tort cases, parties frequently employ out-of-court tactics in part to publicly advance their cause, pressure their opponents, or initiate corporate change. While defendants, plaintiffs, and third parties may employ such tactics, this Article focuses on those pursued by plaintiffs.

A. Methodology

In analyzing those tactics, the authors reviewed public information, including court records, judicial decisions, publications and reports, transcripts, press releases, public emails and correspondence, news articles, documentaries, mini-documentaries, television programs, video clips, webpages, web-logs ("blogs"), and other internet media, associated with some twenty-five recent transnational tort matters. The cases were not selected at random. The authors intentionally chose cases with diverse characteristics. The cases involve: individual and class actions; companies that operate in a variety of sectors, including chemicals, agriculture, oil and gas, mining, manufacturing, pharmaceuticals, finance, and the Internet; underlying conduct arising from countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Europe; companies that are well known to the public, and less well known; and many different alleged acts, including chemical exposure, environmental harms, working conditions, child labor, attacks on union leaders, violence caused by state security forces or paramilitary units, non-consensual medical experimentations, and involvement

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95. For instance, in July 2005, a group of Colombian farmers sought £15 million in damages from the English High Court against BP Exploration Company (Colombia), alleging environmental degradation and security force abuses from an oil pipeline constructed by a BP-led consortium. The parties reached an undisclosed settlement in July 2006, which likely included a payment of several million pounds. Another similar matter was instituted in 2008 and remains pending. See Pedro Emiro Florez Arroyo v. BP Petroleum (Colombia) Ltd., Particulars of Claim, Claim No. HQ08X00328 (High Court of Justice Dec. 1, 2008); Robert Verkaik, BP pays out millions to Colombian Farmers, INDEPENDENT, July 22, 2006; Leigh Day return to Colombia to meet more farmers, March 18, 2008, http://www.leighday.co.uk/news/news-archive/leigh-day-return-to-colombia-to-meet-more-farmers. See also Clara Nwachukwu, Shell Appeals N15.4bn Oil Spill Penalty, VANGUARD, July 8, 2010 (Nigerian Federal High Court ordered Shell Petroleum Development Company to pay $100 million related to an oil spill); Adam Nossiter, Payments in Ivory Coast Dumping At Risk, Lawyer Says, N.Y. TIMES, Nov. 4, 2009; Waste Victims Waiting for Compensation, AFP, Nov 21, 2009 (Settlement of $49 million in London High Court Action against petroleum trader Trafigura arising from alleged dumping of toxic waste off Cote d'Ivoire in 2006).

96. Some of these cases are related, and courts consolidated some. This Article treats related and consolidated cases as one case; based on individual filings, the number of cases studied exceeds 40 in total.
with repressive governmental regimes. In addition, the authors selected cases in which plaintiffs prevailed, in which defendants prevailed, which settled, and which are ongoing. While nearly all involve grave claims of wrongdoing that, if true, are deeply disturbing, we did not assess the underlying legal or factual merits of any of the cases studied.

Instead, for each of these cases, we attempted to identify out-of-court tactics plaintiffs or their advocates employed. We did not attempt to identify every tactic plaintiffs used on those cases, but selected twenty-four tactics that we previously observed in individual transnational tort actions to determine whether they appeared in other cases. To be clear, this Article does not suggest that any of these twenty-four tactics are per se proper or improper, though as indicated by some of the case studies there are instances in which the tactics may have influenced foreign legal determinations or been launched in conjunction with questionable claims. In addition, it is possible that a study focusing on defense tactics in these same cases may identify similar tactics, although we did not observe defendants using these tactics with the same degree of frequency.

The twenty-four tactics we studied fall into four general categories: media tactics, community organizing tactics, investment tactics, and political tactics. The patterns we observed for each of these categories are set forth below, followed by three case studies.

B. Media Tactics

In all twenty-five of the cases reviewed, plaintiffs used media-related approaches. These methods most commonly took the form of Internet campaigns, news articles, radio and television programs, films, and documentaries.

1. Internet Campaigns

Because of its unique features, the Internet is a very popular communications device in litigation. The Internet is in many respects the perfect messaging medium, as websites are inexpensive and easy to maintain, and information can be fully controlled with little oversight or censorship. A site can host stories that appear to be legitimate news, but contain arguments or party positions. Indeed, websites are now often treated as mainstream news sources. The Internet also has a remarkably broad reach because it operates on a worldwide basis and can host multi-media sources. An individual or entity can

97. The tactics are below and appear in Table 1. Certain additional tactics were present in several cases reviewed during the study; while these additional tactics do not appear in the Table, some may be noted within the text.

98. That likely is due to the fact that, as a general proposition, the plaintiffs in these cases have a greater interest in increasing publicity surrounding the suit or in seeking change.
also establish multiple interrelated sites to maximize readership.

The study found the use of Internet campaigns in most cases, 21 out of 25. They generally operate as public relations, advocacy, and community organizing vehicles. Plaintiffs' organizations and plaintiffs' advocates house most of the web campaigns.99

Case related Internet campaigns commonly consist of various elements. They include 'fact' sheets, which outline the core case details from the plaintiffs' perspectives;100 summaries of the legal proceedings and legal documents;101 press kits, composed of media backgrounders, key documents, press releases, and other case details for members of the media interested in providing coverage;102 a collection of the press releases that have been issued by the plaintiffs' attorneys or third parties;103 reports of various types;104 favorable articles;105 campaign posters and postcards to express support for the effort;106 photographs; YouTube videos of plaintiffs, attorneys and others; trial coverage, where applicable; and blogs in which participants, typically pro-plaintiff, can discuss their views of the case.107


107. See, e.g., Labor is Not a Commodity blog, a collaboration of NGOs, covering labor rights issues, including information about Wal-Mart, http://laborrightsblog.typepad.com/international_
These Internet campaigns frequently also involve calls-to-action. Those often include: appeals for letter-writing campaigns to company executives, board members and defendant supporters, along with form letters;\textsuperscript{108} student activism kits, which may describe how students can become educated about the issues and then educate others on campus through forums and rallies;\textsuperscript{109} calls for protests\textsuperscript{110} as well as boycotts of the defendants' products, and explanations for how the public citizenry can seek the same;\textsuperscript{111} and calls for others to write op-eds or letters to the editor, attend trials or hearings, host video screenings of documentaries, and engage in other forms of activism.\textsuperscript{112} Many of the Internet campaigns also include connections to the social media sites Facebook and Twitter, where part of the campaign is lodged for supporters.\textsuperscript{113}

2. News Articles

Websites also often feature news articles.\textsuperscript{114} Though, focusing on print media, the study identified articles in newspapers, journals, and magazines, both in print and online, in all twenty-five cases.\textsuperscript{115} The study tracked print media

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\textsuperscript{112} For instance, the Stop Firestone campaign, related to Flomo v. Bridgestone, a case alleging forced and child labor on a Liberia plantation, includes, among other things, letter writing, protests, urging city councils to adopt resolutions, student toolkits, and an online action campaign to tell the NFL to stop supporting Bridgestone/Firestone. See, e.g., NFL-related campaign, INTERNATIONAL LABOR RIGHTS FORUM, http://www.unionvoice.org/campaigns/NFL09 (last visited June 2010); Student Action Kit, INTERNATIONAL LABOR RIGHTS FORUM, http://www.laborrights.org/files/StudentActionKit.pdf. In response to the suit, Firestone argues that its employees, including the plaintiffs, are free to leave their jobs at any time. See Defendant's Reply Memorandum in Support of Motion to Dismiss Plaintiffs' Complaint, No. CV 05-8168 (C.D. Cal. Apr. 3, 2006).

\textsuperscript{113} See, e.g., www.wiwavshell.org; www.stopfirestone.org (maintained by a coalition, including plaintiffs, of Flomo v. Bridgestone Americas Holding (involving allegations of forced and child labor) lawsuit supporters).

\textsuperscript{114} See, e.g., INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS ADVOCATES, supra note 105, JUSTICE IN NIGERIA NOW, supra note 105.

\textsuperscript{115} Given that the cases often involved high profile lawsuits, that result is not wholly surprising.
generally and articles in which the plaintiffs or their attorneys appeared specifically. News articles include traditional news pieces and opinion pieces, such as op-eds and blog posts.

Although some articles originated organically, many seem to result from press releases that plaintiffs’ attorneys and organizations issued. The study identified such press releases in twenty of the cases.\textsuperscript{116}

Print media and press releases are simple, effective, and inexpensive means to broadcast messages, and they tend to spike in frequency around major events in the lawsuit, such as the filing of a complaint and important rulings. Articles based on press releases also increase around the time of plaintiff activism events, such as protests and shareholder actions. The articles often include strong language by plaintiffs’ attorneys about the underlying merits of the case,\textsuperscript{117} and may include pieces plaintiffs or their advocates authored.\textsuperscript{118} Following their publication, the press releases, like other articles, may be maintained on the Internet, which increases and prolongs their impact.

3. Television/Radio Broadcasts

In addition to print media, radio and television covered seventeen of the cases, a number that is likely underrepresented because of the lack of publicly available materials for review. Only a minority of the cases had national television or radio coverage, as most of the radio and television appearances were in local media.

As with other forms of media, some of the television and radio broadcasts may have developed organically; these programs, however, often contain what seem to be a pro-plaintiff slant, or at a minimum repeat the graphic allegations in the case. Like other materials, these television and radio broadcasts often appear on plaintiffs’ attorneys’ websites, thus expanding the broadcasts’ circulation and duration.\textsuperscript{119} As with all media coverage, television and radio

\textsuperscript{116} The press releases were issued by various different firms and NGOs. Defendants in several cases issued press releases at key points, such as when they obtained dismissals.

\textsuperscript{117} See, e.g., Chavez & Gertler Announces Lawsuit Filed Against DaimlerChrysler Over “Dirty War” Human..., BUS. WIRE, January 14, 2004, at http://www.allbusiness.com/government/government-bodies-offices/5212466-1.html (DaimlerChrysler “wanted to get rid of the union leaders,” and “[m]anagers of that Mercedes plant knew they could get away with this”); Exxon ‘helped torture in Indonesia’, BBC NEWS, June 22, 2001, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/1401733.stm (related to alleged abuses by Indonesian security forces at an Exxon facility, “Exxon knew from the beginning about the security forces’ reputation of brutality”); Peter Vermaas, Apartheid Victims Want Western Companies To Cough Up, NRC HANDELSBLAD, October 2, 2009 (changed October 5, 2009), http://www.nrc.nl/international/article2376593.ece/Apartheid_victims_want_Western_companies_to_cough_up (“Our case is not only about the apartheid past, but also about how companies behave in general in countries where human rights are violated”).


\textsuperscript{119} Of the media sources that retain publicly searchable materials, a review of archived public
appearances increase in number at the filing of a lawsuit or commencement of a trial, after any important court rulings, and around events planned by plaintiffs' organizations.  

4. Films, Documentaries and Mini-Documentaries

Though less frequent than television or radio appearances, thirteen of the studied cases featured films, documentaries, and mini-documentaries, a substantial number given the effort and expense involved in creating these visual media. In some instances, it is unclear whether plaintiffs directly funded or participated in directing these films and documentaries. In most instances, however, plaintiffs or their attorneys participated in the production of the film; sometimes they are even featured in the film itself. Regardless of their participation, most of the films sympathize with the plaintiffs, who often place movie clips on their websites or plan activism events around them. For example, plaintiff websites create both Internet toolkits for students and others to watch the documentaries and press kits to help shape media coverage.

A fairly recent creation is the "mini-documentary," akin to a political campaign video, made by plaintiffs or their attorneys. These typically run for roughly ten minutes, emphasize key arguments and evidence, and can carry the visual message of the plaintiffs in a powerful manner. The documentaries' materials found that the Voice of America service, Democracy Now! (a daily television/radio news program) and public radio syndicates provided the most frequent coverage of the plaintiffs' cases. See, e.g., NPR Marketplace (American Public Media Broadcast), transcript available at http://lighrts.igc.org/press/ChildLabor/cocoa/fairtrade/cocoa_marketplace_020606.htm; Democracy Now!, Occidental Petroleum Sued for Role in Civilian Massacre in Colombia (May 2, 2003), http://www.democracynow.org/2003/5/2/occidental_petroleum_sued_for_role_in#; Saro-Wiwa's Memory Kept Alive: CNN's Christian Purefoy reports on what the Ogonis feel about the trial of Nigerian activist Ken Saro-Wiwa vs. Shell, CNN.com (added on June 9, 2009), http://www.cnn.com/video/#/video/world/2009/06/09/purefoy.nigeria.shell.court.cnn.

120. Although as a general matter we observed less use of the media by corporate defendants, we did observe several instances in which corporate defendants issued short statements at key points in the cases.

121. Though not a focus of the study, we observed few instances in which corporate defendants created films, documentaries, or mini-documentaries.

122. For instance, Plaintiffs' counsel played a pivotal role in the documentary Litigating Disaster, which was based on Bano v. Union Carbide Corp., the dismissed action arising from the Bhopal gas leak. See Icarus Films, Litigating Disaster: A film by Ilan Ziv, http://icarusfilms.com/new2004/lit.html. The makers constructed the film around a judicial theme; it shows the plaintiffs' attorney presenting his case to a fictitious jury, the documents secured in discovery, the evidence against the company, and includes interviews with former company employees. See also, Nigerian Delta Force, JOURNEYMAN PICTURES (April 18, 1995), http://www.journeyman.tv/?lid=59032 (chronicling the life of Ken Saro-Wiwa, the deceased plaintiff from Wiwa v. Royal Dutch Petroleum, and Shell's activities in Nigeria); Drilling and Killing, Democracy Now! (July 11, 2003), transcript available at http://www.democracynow.org/2003/7/11/transcript_of_drilling_and_killing_documentary (about Bowoto v. Chevron Corp.); Total Denial, http://www.totaldenialfilm.com (a documentary about Doe v. Unocal Corp.); Poison Fire The Movie, www.poisonfire.org (about the environmental practices that underlay the protests leading to Wiwa v. Royal Dutch Petroleum).
brevity and the fact that they are typically posted on YouTube or plaintiffs’ websites render them readily accessible to the public. Tens of thousands of viewers often see these mini-documentaries, as anyone with an internet connection can access them.\footnote{123}

5. Other Media Publicity: Press Conferences, Reports and Seminars

The study identified a number of other media efforts by plaintiffs and their attorneys. For instance, they may hold press conferences to coincide with the filing of lawsuits and other events.\footnote{124} Another tactic is the publication of detailed subject matter reports, whether prepared by plaintiffs’ organizations themselves or by outside consultants, on the issues surrounding the lawsuits.\footnote{125} Plaintiffs’ attorneys also sometimes speak on university campuses and in other fora to publicize their cases and encourage activism.\footnote{126}

C. Community Organizing Tactics

While media tactics were most commonly used by plaintiffs in the cases studied, community organizing tactics, including partnering with other organizations, boycotts, and protests, also appeared frequently.


\footnotetext{124}{For example, the plaintiff, his attorney, and a former state senator participated in a press conference surrounding the filing of the Mujica lawsuit against Occidental Petroleum, involving alleged abuses in Colombia. See Joint Press Release, Global Exchange/Amazon Watch, Occidental Petroleum Sued in U.S. Courts For Role in Civilian Massacre in Colombia Role in Civilian Massacre in Colombia, Global Exchange, Apr. 24, 2003, http://www.globalexchange.org/countries/americas/colombia/663.html. Occidental Petroleum denies any responsibility for any injuries to the plaintiffs. See Combined Answering Brief on Appeal and Opening Brief on Cross-Appeal of Defendant, Mujica v. Occidental Petroleum Corp., 564 F.3d 1190 (9th Cir. 2009) (Nos. 05-56056, 05-56175, 05-56178).}

\footnotetext{125}{See, e.g., Firestone and Violations of Core Labor Rights in Liberia, INTERNATIONAL LABOR RIGHTS FORUM, http://www.laborrights.org/stop-child-labor/stop-firestone/resources/12060 (last visited April 5, 2011).}

\footnotetext{126}{For example, an attorney from the Bano case claims to have spoken at a variety of universities, including Princeton, New York University, University of Chicago, and the New England School of Law. H. Rajan Sharma Biography, SHARMA & DEYOUNG LLP, http://sharmadeyoung.com/sharma.html. See also Terry Collingsworth, Beyond Reports and Promises: Enforcing Universally Accepted Human Rights Standards in the Global Economy (Seminar #3), THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL, February 6, 2003, http://www.cceia.org/resources/articles_papers_reports/874.html.}
1. Partnering with Like-Minded Organizations

In most of the cases studied, one or more of the plaintiffs' attorneys were from nonprofit legal organizations or public interest firms. In fifteen of the cases, there were joint efforts between those attorneys and like-minded human and labor rights organizations.127 In several cases, plaintiffs' organizations formed new coalitions to support a legal action.128 Of particular note, in the cases reviewed, labor unions were a frequent partner for the plaintiffs' organizations, appearing, quite logically, in nearly all cases involving allegations of labor violations and of the killing of labor unionists.129

In at least two cases, plaintiffs' attorneys filed the lawsuit in part on behalf of institutional plaintiffs.130 In numerous other cases, plaintiffs' organizations

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129. For instance, a United Steelworkers Union ("USW") counsel is an attorney of record in Bauman v. DaimlerChrysler, see Bauman v. DaimlerChrysler Corp., No. 04 Civ. 00194 (N.D. Cal. Jan. 14, 2004) and Drummond; in Drummond, the USW also provided Congressional testimony and wrote letters to the Secretary of State about the action. See, e.g., Complaint, Estate of Rodriguez v. Drummond Co., Inc., No. 02-CV-0665 (N.D. Ala. Mar. 14, 2002); Protection and Money: U.S. Companies, Their Employees, and Violence In Colombia: A Joint Hearing Before the Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight and the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere of the House Comm. on Foreign Affairs and the Subcomm. on Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions and the Subcomm. on Workforce Protections of the Committee on Education and Labor, 110th Cong. (June 28, 2007); Letter from USW to Hillary R. Clinton (Sept. 17, 2009), http://assets.usw.org/News/GeneralNews/09-17-09seycлитtonltrondrummond.pdf; see also James Parks, AFL-CIO Solidarity Center Honors Liberian Rubber Workers, AFL-CIO NOW BLOG, June 27, 2008, http://blog.aflcio.org/2008/06/27/afl-cio solidarity-center-honors-liberian-rubber-workers/ (regarding the Bridgestone case, the AFL-CIO awarded the plaintiffs' workers' union, the Firestone Agricultural Workers Union of Liberia with an award).
130. In Doe v. Nestle, involving labor practices in Cote d'Ivoire, Global Exchange — a "membership-based international human rights organization" that focuses on fair trade, labor rights and environmental practices — is a plaintiff in the lawsuit. Cases: Nestle, Archer Daniels Midland, and Cargill, INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS ADVOCATES, http://www.iradvocates.org/bfcase.html (last visited on Feb. 7, 2011). Global Exchange helps coordinate activism surrounding the action through organizing protests, letter-writing campaigns, and other means. The defendants deny the allegations in the complaint, arguing that, if anything, the conduct at issue sought to prevent improper labor practices. See Notice of Motion and Motion to Dismiss Plaintiffs' Amended Complaint, Doe v. Nestle, CV-05-5133-SVW (C.D. Cal. July 20, 2009), see also Kelly Hearne, For Peru's Indians, Lawsuit Against Big Oil Reflects a New Era: Outsiders and High-Tech Tools Help Document Firms'
have worked or partnered with like-minded groups on certain activism events, internet campaigns, or media publicity.\textsuperscript{131}

2. Protests & Boycotts

Eighteen of the cases studied involved organized protests. Plaintiffs and their advocates often organized protests near the defendants' corporate headquarters or to coincide with an event involving a corporate defendant. As with other tactics, protests can be an inexpensive and effective way to advance a message.\textsuperscript{132} In the same vein, boycotts were quite common, appearing in seventeen of the cases reviewed.\textsuperscript{133}

D. Investment Related Tactics

Much like media and community-activism tactics, the study identified numerous instances of investment-related tactics by plaintiffs and their supporters; eighteen cases in all. While plaintiffs and their advocates use media

\textit{Impact, THE WASHINGTON POST} (Jan. 31, 2008), http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/story/2008/01/31/ST2008013100037.html. In other cases, organizations plan events to bring attention to the lawsuits, but it is unclear whether the interests of these organizations in the actions developed organically and separate from the plaintiffs and their advocates, or whether the organizations work in partnership with plaintiffs. \textit{See STOP THE TRAFFIK}, http://www.stopthetraffik.org/about/who/coalition.aspx (last visited Feb. 7, 2011) (related to \textit{Doe v. Nestle}).


132. \textit{See generally} Holzmeyer, supra note 15, at 291 (discussing protests related to \textit{Unocal}). For instance, in connection with the \textit{Carijano} lawsuit, the plaintiff joined other supporters and activists in demonstrating outside Occidental Petroleum's headquarters. In connection with the \textit{Mujica} case, a protest organized by the USW was held outside Occidental Petroleum's headquarters to coincide with a public hearing against the company by the People's Permanent Tribunal in Colombia, a citizens group that considered alleged "crimes" against Occidental Petroleum and others accused of participating in attacks on union leaders. \textit{Media Advisory, United Steelworkers, Occidental Petroleum on Trial in Colombia Tribunal: Steelworkers Demand Justice, UNITED STEELWORKERS}, July 18, 2008, http://www.usw.org/media_center/releases_advisories?id=0047.

133. For example, SAMFU, part of the Stop Firestone campaign, has called for a boycott of the company's products until it addresses the coalition's concerns about working conditions. \textit{Poor Conditions in Liberia's Rubber Plantations, TRÓCAIRE'S}, May 23, 2006, http://www.trocaire.org/news/2006/05/23/poor-conditions-liberias-rubber-plantations. Royal Dutch Shell, in which the NGO Essential Action (a group whose stated mission is to encourage citizens to become socially active) demanded the boycott – while it is unclear whether that organization was related to the plaintiffs, the boycott was in response to the events of the \textit{Wiwa} lawsuit. \textit{Boycott Shell, ESSENTIAL ACTION}, http://www.essentialaction.org/shell/index.html (last visited on Feb. 13, 2011); \textit{Shell in Nigeria: What are the issues?}, \textit{ESSENTIAL ACTION}, http://www.essentialaction.org/shell/issues.html (last visited on Feb. 13, 2011).
tactics and community organizing techniques to place public pressures on corporate defendants, the investment strategies directly target corporate stock prices, executives, and shareholders. The tactics include appearances at annual shareholder meetings, introducing resolutions, and divestment campaigns.

1. Plaintiffs’ Attendance at Annual and Shareholder Meetings

When plaintiffs attend and speak at annual shareholder meetings, as they did in eight cases studied, they can communicate directly with stockholders, technically the owners of the company, and company executives. Plaintiffs often generate media attention in the process. Coupled with the relative ease and lack of expense, shareholder meeting participation is a popular tactic. Of the tactics studied, it is perhaps among the most likely to be underrepresented, since participation at a shareholders meeting may not generate the type of publicly retrievable documentation primarily used in this review.

2. Introducing Resolutions at Shareholder Meetings

The study found that introducing resolutions is the most frequent investment tactic. This was present in seventeen cases. Typically, the resolutions seek reviews of and reports on the companies’ practices at issue in the lawsuit, and attempt to improve company compliance with human rights standards. Plaintiffs and their advocates typically pursue such resolutions because even if the resolutions do not pass, which they rarely do, they still raise the plaintiffs’ concerns in a visible manner to the company’s board of directors, management, employees, and shareholders. Institutional funds in New York have been particularly active in these efforts. In some of the cases reviewed,
the plaintiffs’ involvement in introducing resolutions was clear. In others, because of lack of involvement or methodological limitations, it was not. However, the pattern of resolutions introduced bearing a correlation with the facts at issue in the underlying litigation raise the possibility of plaintiff involvement.

3. Pressuring Shareholders to Divest Stock in Defendant Companies

In a related vein, the study identified several instances of pressures to divest stock holdings; seven cases in all. Divestiture can, if successful, drive down stock prices, bring along other investors, and create negative media attention.138 However, in the cases studied as part of the review, there was no evidence that divestiture efforts impacted corporate stock prices. Nor were there clear causal links between divestiture efforts and the plaintiffs in the cases studied, whether because the plaintiffs were not involved or because of methodological limits.

In seven instances that we observed, however, divestiture did cause investment firms who make decisions based on social criteria to give negative ratings to some defendant companies, citing the then-outstanding litigation as their reason for doing so.139 Among those who divested in the cases studied were universities140 and pension funds, particularly TIAA-CREF, a retirement fund, which provides retirement plans for educational, religious, and nonprofit organizations.141

shares in Wal-Mart, also had a shareholder resolution introduced on their behalves at one of Wal-Mart’s shareholder meeting. Rev. Rhett Baird, Minister at the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Fayetteville, Ark., Speech on behalf of the New York City Comptroller and the New York City pension systems at the annual shareholders meeting of Wal-Mart in Fayetteville, Ark. (June/Sept. 2002), http://www.uujec.org/bbr/walmartshareholderaction.pdf.


140. See Mark Thomsen, Students Push University of Virginia Out of Unocal, SOCIALFUND’S SUSTAINABILITY INVESTMENT NEWS, Oct. 23, 2001, http://www.socialfunds.com/news/article.cgi693.html (University of Virginia divested 50,000 shares of Unocal in response to student protests that the company was complicit in human rights violations perpetuated by the Burmese military).

E. Political Tactics

Of the categories of tactics studied, plaintiffs employed political tactics the least frequently, only fourteen times in all. The primary tactics the study identified were testimony at congressional hearings by plaintiffs or their advocates, alignment with politicians and well-known leaders to garner support and publicity, and pressure for resolutions on local levels.\footnote{In several of the cases reviewed, defendants likewise appeared to have used certain political efforts.}

1. Congressional Hearings

In ten of the cases reviewed, the plaintiffs or their supporters testified at friendly congressional hearings.\footnote{See, e.g., Protection and Money: U.S. Companies, Their Employees, and Violence In Colombia, a joint hearing before the Subcomm. on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight and the Subcomm. on the Western Hemisphere of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Subcomm. on Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions and the Subcomm. on Workforce Protections of the Committee on Education and Labor, 110th Cong. at 27 (2007) (testimony by counsel for plaintiffs in Drummond, Sinaltrainal, and Occidental cases); Wal-Mart's 2008 Shareholder Resolutions: Human Rights Committee, WAL-MART WATCH, May 13, 2008, http://walmartwatch.com/blog/archives/wal-marts_2008_shareholder_resolutions_human_rights_co

142. In 2006 and 2007, in perhaps the most well-known Congressional hearings among the cases reviewed, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs called upon Yahoo! executives to testify. See Yahoo! Inc.'s Provision of False Information to Congress, Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 110th Cong. (Nov. 6, 2007). In 2006, company officials told the Committee that they had been unaware of the nature of an investigation by the Chinese government against a dissident at the same time the Chinese government sought, and received, from Yahoo! online information about the dissident -- the facts underlying Xiaoning v. Yahoo! Inc. In the suit, Yahoo! argued that its subsidiary acted lawfully under Chinese laws, obeyed requests of the Chinese government and the lawsuit sought to hold the company liable for the acts of the Chinese government. See Defendant Yahoo! Inc.'s Motion to Dismiss Plaintiffs' Second Amended Complaint, No. 4:07-cv-02151-CW (N.D. Cal. Aug. 27, 2007) (“Yahoo! has no control over the sovereign government of the People’s Republic of China (“PRC”), the laws it passes, and the manner in which it enforces its laws.”). However, when evidence in the Xiaoning case suggested that perhaps Yahoo! knew more than it had told Congress, the committee called the company to testify again. See The Internet in China: A Tool for Freedom or Suppression? J. Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Africa, Global Human Rights, and Int’l Operations and the Subcomm. on Asia and the Pacific of the H. Comm. on Int’l Relations , 109th Cong. 55-57 (2006); Yahoo! Inc.’s Provision of False Information to Congress, Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 110th Cong. (Nov. 6, 2007). In a high profile and testy session, with family members of the plaintiff in the audience, House members grilled Yahoo! executives on the issue. The case settled immediately thereafter. Families of Shi Tao and Wang Xiaoning (Yahoo! Inc.), WORLD ORGANIZATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS USA, http://www.humanrightsusa.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=}

\footnote{Yahoo! Inc.'s Provision of False Information to Congress, Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 110th Cong. (Nov. 6, 2007). In a high profile and testy session, with family members of the plaintiff in the audience, House members grilled Yahoo! executives on the issue. The case settled immediately thereafter. Families of Shi Tao and Wang Xiaoning (Yahoo! Inc.), WORLD ORGANIZATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS USA, http://www.humanrightsusa.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=}
hearings were scheduled to coincide with upcoming high-profile trials.145 Whether the timing of those hearings was coincidental, or whether the plaintiffs played a role in the timing, was not clearly discernable from the information reviewed.

2. Other Political Pressure

Other political tactics, including the participation of politicians in public campaigns, appeared in ten of the cases reviewed. Seeking supportive letters from political figures seems common.146 Plaintiffs also sometimes contacted public officials to request investigations.147 In a few instances, foreign

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145. In April 2009, in a joint hearing, the United States House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs and Committee on Education and Labor heard testimony focusing on oil production in Nigeria. The hearing discussed the Wiwa case and included testimony regarding Ken Saro-Wiwa's environmental and human rights concerns. Environmental and Human Rights Concerns Surrounding Oil Production in the Niger Delta Before the H. Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, 111th Cong. (2009) (testimony of Stephen M. Kretzmann, Executive Director, Oil Change International); Congressional Commission Hears Testimony on Shell's Environmental Abuses in the Niger Delta, EARTHRIGHTS INTERNATIONAL (Apr. 28, 2009), http://www.earthrights.org/legal/congressional-commission-hears-testimony-shell-s-environmental-abuses-niger-delta. The hearing occurred roughly one month before the trial in Wiwa was set to begin. In a similar vein, in September 2008, one month before the Bowoto trial was to start, the United States Senate's Subcommittee on Human Rights and the Law held a hearing titled, Extracting Natural Resources: Corporate Responsibility and the Rule of Law, 110th Cong. (Sept. 24, 2008). The hearing, which featured testimony from plaintiff organizations involved in several of the studied cases, discussed the facts underlying Bowoto as well as Unocal, and Exxon. See id. at 18, 19, 23-24, 30, 32, 33.

146. For instance, in connection with the lawsuit against Drummond, Representative Bill Delahunt from Massachusetts, the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs' Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight, drafted a letter to the President of Colombia urging protection for two jailed witnesses. Notably, the letter was sent just days before a plaintiffs' attorney in Drummond testified to Rep. Delahunt's subcommittee. See Frank Bajak, Drummond Union: Govt Muffles Key Witness, FORBES/ASSOCIATED PRESS, July 24, 2007, http://www.democraticunderground.com/discuss/duboard.php?az=view_all&address=102x2928336.

147. For example, one of the plaintiffs' attorneys in the Drummond litigation wrote a public letter to United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, requesting that the United States State Department pressure the Government of Colombia to investigate and prosecute the killings of trade union leaders, order Drummond to increase safety conditions, and to not permit Drummond to engage in retaliatory firings. The President of Colombia, as well as several United States Members of Congress were copied on the letter. See Letter from Leo W. Gerard, Int'l President, United Steelworkers, to U.S. Sec'y of State, regarding "Continued Repression of Drummond Union and Workers in Colombia" (Sept. 17, 2009), http://assets.usw.org/News/GeneralNews/09-17-09secychristondrummond.pdf; see also Congressman Dennis J. Kucinich, Foreign Affairs Policy
governments submitted letters to courts. On a local level, of the cases reviewed, there was at least one instance of a city passing a resolution supportive of the plaintiffs. Other political efforts observed include politicians participating in press conferences, submitting supporting briefs to courts in favor of plaintiffs, and visiting affected plaintiffs on fact-finding missions and then releasing plaintiff-friendly reports.

F. General Trends Associated with the Tactics

1. Timing Considerations

In addition to the specific tactics identified, several other general trends are noteworthy. From a timing standpoint, the number and variety of tactics continues to grow. The cases studied range from the mid-1990s until 2009. From those, it appears that plaintiffs use more tactics more frequently today than in prior years. More recently, it appears that plaintiffs are learning new tactics on Colombia, http://kucinich.house.gov/Issues/Issue/?IssueID=1563#Colombia (last visited Mar. 2, 2011).


149. The Stop Firestone Coalition ran a campaign encouraging people to press their city governments to pass resolutions supporting the plaintiffs in Flomo. In December 2007, Berkeley, California, became the first United States city to do so, passing a resolution expressing solidarity with the plaintiffs. The resolution stated that Berkeley residents “do not wish their city to be a profit center for Bridgestone/Firestone.” See City Resolutions, Stop Firestone Coalition, http://www.stopfirestone.org/action/city-resolutions (last visited Mar. 18, 2011).


151. See, e.g., Press Release, Eleven Members of Congress File Amicus Brief in Support of Bhopal Victims’ Lawsuit (Apr. 4, 2006), http://www.house.gov/list/press/nj06_pallonel_pr_apr4_india.html. In 2006, United States Representative Frank Pallone, Jr. (D-NJ), founder of the Congressional Caucus on India and Indian Americans, filed, along with 11 Members of Congress, an amicus brief in the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit for the plaintiffs in the Union Carbide case. Representative Pallone had also filed an amicus brief on behalf of the plaintiffs in 2003. Dismissal of the case was ultimately upheld by the Second Circuit.

152. For example, Kasky v. Nike, Int’l, 45 P.3d 243 (2002), filed in April 1998 and settled in 2002, was a high profile matter involving corporate statements about alleged sweatshop working conditions in China, Vietnam, and elsewhere. Yet relatively little of the press focus appears to be attributable to any concerted effort by the plaintiff-activist who initiated the lawsuit. The case was premised on allegedly false public statements by the company; Nike strenuously denied the allegations, legally and factually. See Respondents’ Brief on the Merits, Kasky v. Nike, Inc., No. S087859, 2000 WL 1508256 (Cal. Sept. 21, 2000). Similarly, the execution by the Nigerian government of environmental activist Ken Saro-Wiwa in the mid-1990s generated international attention before the filing of an ATS lawsuit against Royal Dutch Petroleum. As Wiwa v. Royal
from each other.

2. Case Variances

In addition to timing considerations, while one or more of the tactics studied appeared in every case, substantial variances in the number and types of tactics exist between cases. In some cases, such as Doe v. Unocal Corp., a well-known matter involving allegations of misconduct by a foreign security force, the study observed numerous tactics by plaintiffs and others. In different cases, such as Bauman v. DaimlerChrysler Corp., involving alleged corporate misconduct during Argentina’s “Dirty War,” the study identified only four tactics. In some instances, such as the Apartheid litigation, in which the court ordered that the parties not make public statements about the case, or Flores v. Southern Peru Copper Corp., which involved a less well-known corporate defendant and relatively rapid dismissal by the courts related to environmental claims in Peru, the relative paucity of tactics is explicable. For others, the reasons are not readily evident.

*Dutch Petroleum* moved closer to a scheduled 2009 trial, the plaintiffs began to increase the number of tactics, including the mini-documentary and Internet efforts discussed above. The same is true of other cases, such as Bowoto v. Chevron Corp., also related to alleged violence by Nigerian authorities after the plaintiffs overtook a Chevron oil platform, which was filed in the late 1990s and resulted in a jury verdict for Chevron in late 2008. In *Wiwa*, Royal Dutch Shell asserted that any misconduct was committed by, and attributable to, the Nigerian government, not the company. See generally *Wiwa* v. Royal Dutch Petroleum Co., No. 96 Civ. 8386, 2002 WL 31988 (S.D.N.Y. Feb. 28, 2002). In *Bowoto*, Chevron argued that Nigerian authorities were called because the plaintiffs assumed control over a company oil platform, took employees hostage, and attacked the authorities themselves. See, e.g., *Bowoto* v. Chevron Corp., No. 99-02506, 2008 WL 4822251 at *1 (N.D. Cal. Nov. 5, 2008); Corrected Joint Pretrial Conference Statement, *Bowoto* v. Chevron Corp., No. 99-02506, 2008 WL 4524503 (N.D. Cal. Sept. 26, 2008). The jury found for Chevron. See *Bowoto* v. Chevron Corp., 2009 WL 593872, at *1 (Mar. 4, 2009).

153. 963 F. Supp. 880, 883-84 (C.D. Cal. 1997), vacated 403 F.3d 708 (9th Cir. 2005). *Unocal* is a settled case involving alleged misconduct by Burmese security forces in connection with the construction of a pipeline. Unocal asserted that it did not contribute to any wrongful act and bore no responsibility for any harmful conduct allegedly committed by the military forces of a sovereign country. See Defendants/Appellees Consolidated Answering Brief, Doe v. Unocal Corp., Nos. 00-56603 & 00-56628, 2001 WL 34093599 (9th Cir. July 3, 2001).

154. 579 F.3d 1088, 1091 (9th Cir. 2009), vacated, 603 F.3d 1141 (9th Cir. 2010).

155. 414 F.3d 233, 256 (2d Cir. 2003).


157. In addition, of the tactics identified, in many instances, the documentation directly connects those efforts to plaintiffs and their attorneys. In other instances, public information does not include such a connection between the activities being conducted by sympathizers and the plaintiffs or their representatives.
3. Litigation as a Tactic and Larger Campaigns

As a final general observation, it is worth noting the existence of larger campaigns for corporate change, and the use of litigation itself as a tactic. For several of the cases studied, there were extant coordinated efforts against corporations related to the lawsuits themselves. In several other cases, plaintiffs’ attorneys, shortly after having had cases dismissed, filed lawsuits that largely repeated the underlying allegations in the cases just rejected. For example, the Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit upheld a jury verdict in favor of Drummond in multiple consolidated cases involving murders of union representatives allegedly killed by paramilitary units retained by Drummond at its Columbian coal mine. After the Circuit Court’s ruling, the plaintiffs’ attorneys filed a substantially similar matter on behalf of the children of the deceased union representatives. The district court dismissed this action, though the Circuit Court has reversed that ruling.

In these subsequently filed actions, it is possible that a likelihood of success on the merits is not the attorneys’ primary consideration. Instead, the filing of the litigation may serve as a means of advancing a larger goal of drawing attention to the broader advocacy campaign. As one ATS plaintiff’s lawyer stated, “[t]he weakness of most campaigns is that they lack teeth . . . . Using litigation in tandem with a campaign could provide this necessary element.” Indeed, there is some evidence that, in deciding whether to pursue transnational tort cases, the ability to launch an effective campaign now seems to be a consideration.

158. For instance, for the past few years, a labor-related campaign involving protests, boycotts, and other measures against Wal-Mart has gained major press attention. Incidental to that campaign, a lawsuit dismissed by the courts was filed in California in 2005 against Wal-Mart based in part on labor practices at the company’s suppliers. See Doe v. Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., 573 F.3d 677 (9th Cir. 2009). Wal-Mart sharply disputes the allegations, arguing that the lawsuit well exceeds United States law, that it had no authority to police its suppliers, and that the complaint otherwise is unfounded. See Notice of Motion and Motion to Dismiss Plaintiffs’ First Amended Complaint, Doe I v. Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., No. 05-7307 (C.D. Cal. Feb. 13, 2006). In other corporate campaigns, however, the results differed. For instance, in the labor-oriented campaign Stop Firestone (http://www.stopfirestone.org), tactics could be connected to the attorneys involved in the related ATS case Flomo v. Bridgestone Americas Holding, Inc., 492 F. Supp. 2d 988 (7th Cir. 2009) (pending case involving labor conditions on a Liberian rubber plantation). The evidence is unclear as to the reasons for the different approaches in Wal-Mart and Flomo, since the same plaintiffs’ attorneys brought both lawsuits.


162. Holzmeyer, supra note 15, at 291 (internal quotation omitted) (discussing NGOs who litigate ATS cases).

163. Id.
THINK GLOBALLY, SUE LOCALLY

III.

DBCP, CHEVRON IN ECUADOR, AND COCA COLA

Three sets of cases exemplify the use of these tactics: the DBCP litigation arising from Nicaragua, ATS and environmental cases against Texaco-Chevron from Ecuador, and the ATS and non-ATS lawsuits against Coca-Cola from Colombia, Turkey, Guatemala and elsewhere. Each features a multinational litigation strategy by plaintiffs that includes a wide span of out-of-court efforts. In addition, as raised by the DBCP and Ecuador matters, the tactics may contribute to an extant concern about adherence to the rule of law in transnational tort cases given particular judicial susceptibilities to influence in such matters.

A. DBCP in Nicaragua

This section first provides a background on the use of DBCP in Nicaragua and litigation in the United States. It then discusses the enactment of a Nicaraguan statute designed to deter dismissals from United States courts, and the range of media, political and other out-of-court tactics employed in Nicaragua and the United States. Finally, it addressed the ensuing findings of misconduct by courts in the United States in direct and judgment enforcement actions.

1. Background on DBCP in Nicaragua

For years, planters used DBCP to combat pests that damage the roots of various crops, including bananas, grapes, tomatoes and pineapples. That use continued in the United States until 1977, when the Environmental Protection Agency deregistered DBCP for all crop uses except pineapples.

In 1984, the first round of DBCP litigation premised on overseas use began. Attorneys brought cases in Florida, California, Texas, and elsewhere on behalf of tens of thousands of foreign plaintiffs claiming sterility and other

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164. While this section focuses on DBCP litigation from Nicaragua, there is also litigation in the United States over the use of DBCP in the Ivory Coast, Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, and Guatemala. To date, the problems associated with the Nicaraguan DBCP litigation have not been found in DBCP litigation elsewhere, and this Article should not be construed to suggest otherwise.


injuries. Though a few cases resulted in settlements, in large part, courts ruled that the cases were inappropriate attempts to seek justice in the United States, dismissing them on forum non conveniens grounds.

2. Nicaraguan Special Law 364

In Nicaragua, in late 2000, in response to these results, plaintiffs' lawyers and the Asociacion de Trabajadores y Ex Trabajadores Afectados por Nemagon-Fumazone (ASOTRAEXDAN, or the Association of Workers and Former Workers Affected by Nemagon) successfully lobbied the Nicaraguan legislature to pass Special Law 364. The law is retroactive in nature.

Special Law 364 specifically addresses the claims of individuals allegedly exposed to and injured by DBCP on banana plantations. It is a “blocking statute” designed to counter forum non conveniens dismissals by including numerous provisions that openly aid claimants, thus compelling defendants to

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170. See, e.g., Sibaja v. Dow Chem. Co., 757 F.2d 1215, 1217 n.5 (11th Cir. 1985); Rojas v. Dement, 137 F.R.D. 30, 32 (S.D. Fla. 1991) ("In Cabalceta, Judge Atkins wrote that the actions were "one of the most wide-ranging efforts at forum shopping in legal history.") (quoting Barrantes Cabalceta v. Standard Fruit Co., 667 F. Supp. 833, 837 (S.D. Fla. 1987), aff'd in relevant part, 883 F.2d 1553 (11th Cir. 1989)). See also Do, supra note 168, at 412.


173. Do, supra note 168, at 415.


175. Osorio, 665 F. Supp. 2d at 1324 (“Special Law 364 may be properly viewed as a "blocking statute." In this context, a blocking statute is a law that closes the doors of a foreign country’s courts to prevent a United States court from finding that an alternative forum exists under the forum non conveniens doctrine.”). Nicaragua is not alone in passing a blocking statute. See, e.g., Dahl, supra note 174, at 22-23; Casey & Ristroph, supra note 172. For example, in Guatemala, the government passed a law that withdrew jurisdiction from local courts if a lawsuit had first been filed in any other jurisdiction. See Hal Scott, What to Do About Foreign Discriminatory Forum Non Conveniens Legislation, 49 HARV. INT’L L.J. ONLINE 95, 100 (2009). The theory was that, if a plaintiff from Guatemala filed a case in the United States, the law would make a forum non conveniens dismissal less likely, since the law forecloses Guatemalan courts as an adequate alternative, which is a key forum non conveniens consideration. Id.
choose between litigating in a forum where the law is stacked against them, or agreeing to litigate in the United States. Such provisions include: an irrefutable presumption of causation where the plaintiffs present medical test results as proof of injuries; the elimination of the statute of limitations for claims by plaintiffs; a requirement that defendants must post a bond of $300,000,000 NCD (approximately 14.6 million dollars) to appear in the case to ensure adequate means of satisfying a judgment; the adoption of the so-called “3-8-3” schedule in which the defendant has three days to answer the complaint, the parties have eight days for discovery, and the judge has three further days to issue a judgment; upon proof of liability, individual plaintiffs are entitled to at least $100,000 in damages; and highly curtailed appellate procedures, including no ability to appeal a decision to the Nicaraguan Supreme Court.

In addition, telling as to the law’s intent, Special Law 364 contains a clause allowing defendants to opt-out of the Nicaraguan litigation if they agree to submit to jurisdiction in the United States. Accordingly, Special Law 364 effectively creates a litigation system that pressures defendants to affirmatively agree to litigate in the United States, or face the prospect of likely judgments in Nicaragua that plaintiffs’ attorneys could then bring to the United States for attempted enforcement. To date, over 10,000 plaintiffs have brought claims under the law, and Nicaraguan judges have awarded over two billion dollars in damages for alleged harms related to sterility and other physical maladies.

176. See Osorio, 665 F. Supp. 2d at 1324 (calling Special Law 364’s terms “onerous”); Rosencranz et al., supra note 3, at 167; Casey & Ristroph, supra note 172, at 29; Do, supra note 168, at 410. As the court in Osorio found, however, even where defendants choose to opt-out by refusing to make a required deposit, plaintiffs nonetheless have brought actions in Nicaragua, and local courts will assume jurisdiction and issue a judgment. Defendants then are not permitted to challenge that judgment in Nicaragua, even on jurisdictional grounds, without consenting to participate in the case. 665 F. Supp. 2d at 1339.

177. Special Law 364 art. 9
178. Id. arts. 6, 14, 15.
179. Id. art. 8.
180. Id. arts. 6, 14, 15. See Do, supra note 168, at 415.
181. Special Law 364 art. 12.
182. Id. art. 14.
183. Id. art. 7.
184. See generally Paul Santoyo, Bananas of Wrath: How Nicaragua May Have Dealt Forum Non Conveniens a Fatal Blow Removing the Doctrine As an Obstacle to Achieving Corporate Accountability, 27 Hous. J. Int’l L. 703, 704 (2005). After Nicaragua passed Special Law 364, the country’s Attorney General lodged a protest, arguing that the statute was unfair; that included an argument that by its very terms, the law did not contemplate that a plaintiff could possibly lose a case. Osorio, 665 F. Supp. 2d at 1316. The Nicaraguan Supreme Court originally declared the law unconstitutional. After large-scale marches and protests, the Nicaraguan Supreme Court issued an advisory opinion stating that the law is in fact is constitutional, reasoning that Law 364 did not offend due process because the defendants may opt-out of the litigation if they submit to jurisdiction in the United States. Id. at 1317-18; see Casey & Ristroph, supra note 172, at 35.
3. Influx of Lawyers to Nicaragua and Out-Of-Court Tactics

After Nicaragua passed Special Law 364, United States attorneys and law firms quickly partnered with local attorneys and opened offices in Chinandega, Nicaragua, near the former banana farms. Juan Dominguez, a personal injury lawyer from Los Angeles, in particular, sought to capitalize on cases in Nicaragua, opening a law office aptly named the Oficinas Legales Para Los Bananeros, or “Law Office of the Ex-Banana Workers.”

These offices and others have represented thousands of plaintiffs primarily alleging sterility from DBCP. Dominguez and others have staged rallies and demonstrations against the use DBCP and the corporations that allegedly used it. Dominguez rented a football stadium in Nicaragua to hold one such rally. Dominguez also advertised on the radio and broadcast information about DBCP exposure and the potential for a substantial legal recovery.

There have been numerous similar efforts by plaintiffs’ lawyers and other sympathetic groups. ASOTRAEXDAN has organized yearly marches on the capital, and overseen other protests and community organizing events. Other groups have published articles and publicized legal updates related to DBCP in Nicaragua.

Another out-of-court effort was the professional documentary, BANANAS!* The film is a chronicle of Dominguez’s efforts in the DBCP cases: Juan “Accidentes” Dominguez is on his biggest case ever. On behalf of twelve Nicaraguan banana workers he is tackling Dole Food in a ground-breaking legal battle for their use of a banned pesticide that was known by the company to cause sterility. Can he beat the giant, or will the corporation get away with it? In the

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187. According to a 2006 public filing by Dole, there were 537 lawsuits against the company at various stages of litigation alleging injury from exposure to DBCP or seeking enforcement of judgments already rendered by Nicaraguan courts. See Dole Food Co. Inc., Quarterly Report (Form 10-Q), at 16 (Oct. 7, 2006).
189. Id.
suspenseful documentary BANANAS!*,, filmmaker Fredrik Gertten sheds new light on the global politics of food.192

In June 2009, BANANAS!* premiered at the Los Angeles Film Festival and has been screened in Europe, North America, South America and Asia.193 The makers of the documentary have also used other forms of social media, including a website and Twitter, to gain publicity for the film.194

Students at Bucknell University made another documentary, Missing Seeds, which focuses on the plight of those in a shantytown that has grown outside of the national legislature in Managua.195 People claiming to suffer the ill effects of DBCP exposure populate the shantytown, which is overseen by Asociacion de Obreros Afectedos por Nemagon (Association of the Working Class Affected by Nemagon), a grass-roots organization dedicated to supporting former banana workers.196 The documentary features Antonio Hernandez Ordenana, the Nicaraguan law partner of Juan Dominguez,197 and attributes at least 2500 deaths to DBCP in Nicaragua.198

Despite such publicity efforts and other tactics, the plaintiffs’ law firms identified relatively few ex-banana plantation workers in Nicaragua, and even fewer who are sterile.199 According to detailed judicial findings, to circumvent that hurdle, the American and Nicaraguan attorneys involved in the litigation

197. See Rosencranz et al., supra note 3, at 163 (discussing Dominguez and Ordenana).
198. The documentary also notes that, in addition to sterility, the shantytown residents complain of skin rashes, headaches, blindness, and birth defects; none of those physical conditions are suspected effects of DBCP exposure. Id.
engaged in a wide-scale conspiracy to knowingly present overtly false claims, which included teaching impoverished plaintiffs the facts of their "story," and colluding with Nicaraguan laboratories and at least one Nicaraguan judge to "fix" judgments. In the end, the cases brought by plaintiffs and their attorneys based on alleged exposure to DBCP in Nicaragua have not yielded recoveries, either as direct actions filed in the United States, or in seeking to enforce judgments in the United States that had been obtained in Nicaraguan courts.

4. The Tellez/Mejia Litigation in the United States and the Findings of Fraud

In 2004, plaintiffs' attorney Juan Dominguez filed three separate cases on behalf of multiple injured banana workers in Los Angeles County Superior Court: Mejia v. Dole Food Co., Rivera v. Dole Food Co., and Tellez v. Dole Food Co. Each sought damages as a result of alleged exposure to DBCP by Nicaraguan banana workers. In May 2007, the court designated the cases "complex cases" and assigned them to Judge Victoria Chaney. To identify and determine the relevant issues, she designated Tellez a test case and it proceeded to trial before the others.

At trial, the twelve plaintiffs alleged various injuries as a result of DBCP exposure, including sterility. In November 2007, the jury returned favorable verdicts for six of the twelve plaintiffs. For the six plaintiffs who prevailed, the jury awarded five million dollars in damages, including $2.5 million in punitive damages against Dole. Judge Chaney subsequently reduced the compensatory award to $1.58 million and eliminated the punitive damages.

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200. As relevant legal findings detail, to identify Nicaraguans who could serve as plaintiffs and train them in the details of their stories, the law firms used local "captains" to find potential plaintiffs, brought them to the law offices, provided them with false documents, took them to banana farms, and provided them with sufficient details about banana farm life to enable them to testify. Id. at 24-25, 27-33, 37-38. To help these plaintiffs, the captains created a system of false information. They distributed manuals depicting the life of a typical banana worker, including descriptions of alleged DBCP use and other workers on the farm. Id. As one plaintiff stated, "I don't feel good about this . . . I feel I was involved in foul play." Steve Stecklow, Fraud by Trial Lawyers Taints Wave of Pesticide Lawsuits, WALL ST. J., August 19, 2009, http://online.wsj.com/article/SB125061508138340501.html. To solidify the claims and satisfy the irrefutable presumption of the causation provision of Special Law 364, the plaintiffs' lawyers enlisted the aid of local Nicaraguan laboratories to generated false medical reports. Mejia Op., supra note 4, at 30, 37-38.


204. Mejia Op., supra note 4, at 5.

205. Id. at 5-6.

206. Id.

against Dole. While the plaintiffs’ judgment was on appeal, and Mejia and Rivera were proceeding toward trial, Dole discovered and notified the court of the misconduct in Nicaragua, and Judge Chaney stayed the litigation and ordered that fraud discovery proceed.

In April 2009, after a three-day hearing, Judge Chaney dismissed the plaintiffs’ claims. Although the plaintiffs premised their claims on the allegation that DBCP rendered them sterile at banana plantations, Judge Chaney found that many of the plaintiffs had never been employed at the plantations, and explained the recruitment scheme involving the local captains working in concert with Dominguez and others. Judge Chaney also issued detailed findings concerning the conspiracy among plaintiffs’ attorneys, medical labs and a judge in Nicaragua involved in DBCP litigation filed in that country. She found that Dominguez and his Nicaraguan law partner obstructed justice and abused the judicial process, including: suborning perjury, bribing and intimidating witnesses, intimidating defense investigators, and making false allegations of bribery against the defendants. Judge Chaney also found that there was a “broader conspiracy that permeates all DBCP litigation arising from Nicaragua,” naming other lawyers and firms not involved in Mejia, Rivera or Tellez as playing roles, and ruled that “no sanction other than dismissal of the Plaintiffs claims with prejudice would cure the harm here because the misconduct has been so widespread and pervasive such that this Court now questions the veracity of DBCP Plaintiffs coming from Nicaragua.” Judge Chaney finally noted, “I find by clear and convincing evidence, and, actually, if you want to say that, beyond a reasonable doubt, that each and every one of the


210. See generally id. ETHISPHERE MAGAZINE, a journal dedicated to business ethics, listed Dominguez first on its 2009 worldwide list of the “top ten individuals that have influenced business ethics through professional flubs.” 2009’s 100 Most Influential People in Business Ethics, ETHISPHERE, Dec. 16, 2009, available at http://ethisphere.com/2009s-100-most-influential-people-in-business-ethics/. Part of the article featured a segment called Learning from Others’ Mistakes: 2009’s Top 10 People We Won’t Miss, ETHISPHERE lists Dominguez ahead of the former anti-corruption chief of Indonesia, accused of murdering his lover’s lover, and the director of a Vietnamese real estate investment company, accused of hiring people to kill the whistleblower accusing him of corruption. Id.


212. Id. at 24-28, 38-39.

213. Id. at 41-50. Dole investigators reported receiving threats against their lives, “wanted” posters featuring a drawing of one investigator, and radio broadcasts warning citizens not to cooperate with the Dole investigators and threatening harm if they did. False criminal charges were also pressed against the Dole investigators. Id. at 46-50.

214. Id. at 1.

215. Id. at 2, 3, 24, 27-29.

216. Id. at 58.
plaintiffs in the Mejia and the Rivera cases have presented fraudulent documents and actively participated in a conspiracy to defraud this court, to extort money from the defendants, and to defraud the defendants.”  

In July 2009, the Second Appellate Division of the Court of Appeal of California remanded the Tellez case to the Superior Court, with an order for the plaintiffs to show cause why that case should not also be dismissed. After several hearings, Judge Chaney dismissed the Tellez case in July 2010, noting that the case was rife with “blatant fraud, witness tampering, and active manipulation.” Significantly for this Article, Judge Chaney also found that the Nicaraguan court system “is, at best, fragile in its ability to present consistent rule of law and outcomes” and that “while many Nicaraguans live in relative poverty and with limited economic opportunity, ‘[t]his lawsuit is not the appropriate vehicle to rectify this situation.’”

5. Rulings by United States Courts in Judgment Enforcement Actions

The efforts to enforce judgments issued in Nicaragua under Special Law 364 have had similar problems. In August 2007, a group of 150 alleged former Nicaraguan banana workers claiming DBCP exposure filed suit in Florida state court to enforce a ninety-seven million dollar Nicaraguan judgment. They obtained the judgment under Special Law 364. The same judge that Judge Chaney found participated in the conspiracy to “fix” Nicaraguan cases under Special Law 364 issued the judgment.

220. Id. Additionally, alluding to certain types of lawsuits considered “impact litigation,” the Judge further observed that “[c]ivil actions are sometimes brought to induce social change. This is neither the platform nor the time to discuss using the court system to bring about different policies that affect society in general.” Id.
222. See Rosencranz et al., supra note 3, at 176. During the proceedings, the trial court barred introduction of 151 birth certificates showing that the allegedly infertile plaintiffs had fathered children after their alleged exposure to DBCP. Crook, supra note 221, at 106; see also Do, supra note 168, at 416 (indicating that many United States-based corporate defendants “sued under Nicaraguan Special Law No. 364 did not participate in the litigation process,” most likely because “the Nicaraguan court refused to hear legal arguments or accept contrary proof,” with “none of the
After the defendants removed the case to the United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida in October 2009, in *Sanchez Osorio v. Dole Food Co.*, Judge Paul Huck issued an opinion refusing to enforce the Nicaraguan court judgment. In addition to finding that Nicaraguan courts lacked jurisdiction over the defendants, Judge Huck ruled that Special Law 364 denied defendants basic due process, citing among other things Special Law 364's "irrefutable presumption" that DBCP exposure caused plaintiffs' sterility, a presumption Judge Huck found was "the antithesis of basic fairness." That and other procedural failings led the court to hold that the Nicaraguan proceedings did "not even come close" to the "basic fairness" required by the "international concept of due process." Judge Huck also noted the "unanimous view among United States government organizations and officials (including United States ambassadors to Nicaragua), foreign governments, international organizations, and credible Nicaraguan authorities . . . is that the judicial branch in Nicaragua is dominated by political forces and, in general, does not dispense impartial justice." Indeed, he wrote that the underlying trial in Nicaragua was conducted in an "ad hoc, unpredictable, discriminatory, and confusing manner."

Another DBCP enforcement action, *Franco v. Dow Chemical Co.*, also revealed troubling findings of ethical breaches. *Franco* was an action filed in Los Angeles by United States lawyers to enforce a $489 million DBCP judgment obtained in Nicaragua. In October 2009, Senior Judge A. Wallace Tashima, appointed as Special Master by the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, issued an amended Report and Recommendation suggesting fines against the United States lawyers in amounts totaling nearly $400,000. He found that the "sanctions are justified in this case because Respondents' filings," claiming that the Nicaraguan court issued the judgment against an multinational defendants participated in this proof process.

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223. 665 F. Supp. 2d 1307 (S.D. Fla. 2009). For a discussion of Osorio, see Crook, supra note 221.
224. *Osorio*, 665 F. Supp. 2d at 1351-52. The also court granted motions to dismiss for lack of personal jurisdiction filed by Shell Oil and Occidental Petroleum due to their lack of contact with Nicaragua. *Id.* at 1311 n.1.
225. *Id.* at 1327-45.
226. *Id.* at 1335.
227. *Id.* at 1345 (internal cites omitted).
228. *Id.* at 1349.
229. *Id.* at 1343. Judge Huck's opinion did not consider the fraud issues raised in the proceedings before Judge Chaney. *Id.* at 1312, 1321 n.7. He instead bifurcated the fraud issue, stating that it would be addressed if the defendants fail to prevail on their other defenses. *Id.* at 1311 n.3.
232. *Id.* at 64-65.
entity not in the case, were “made in bad faith” and “recklessly and intentionally misled this Court.” Judge Tashima deemed the lawyers’ factual contentions so baseless as to “provide objective evidence of improper purpose.” The Report and Recommendation concluded that the lawyers’ “efforts went beyond the use of ‘questionable tactics’ – they crossed the line to include the persistent use of known falsehoods . . . .” The United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit formally reprimanded the lead attorneys, and suspected two lawyers for six months.

At this juncture, as Judge Chaney implied and others have stated, the tactics of the plaintiffs and their lawyers have now rendered all of the Nicaraguan DBCP cases suspect. It is possible, if not likely, that the substantial publicity efforts and other tactics instilled a hope for a monetary recovery in the plaintiffs’ that led them to participate in the scheme, and may have impacted a judiciary “that is, at best, fragile in its ability to present consistent rule of law and outcomes.” Certainly, the legislative and political efforts helped enact a law that is not likely to lead to enforceable judgments in the United States, as Osorio indicates. The actions in Franco only contributed to the suspicion of DBCP decisions from Nicaragua. In all, the tactics employed by plaintiffs’ attorneys in the Nicaraguan DBCP cases, coupled with other factors, appears to have caused the plaintiffs far more harm than good.

233. Id. at 5.
234. Id. at 49 (citations omitted).
235. Id. at 53.
236. Id. at 62-63.
237. In re Girardi, Nos. 08-80090, 03-57038, slip op. at 10011 (9th Cir. July 13, 2010). Although the judicial findings of misconduct, to date, have been limited to Nicaragua, there are hints of similar problems in cases arising from at least one other locale. Regarding a series of DBCP cases originating from the Ivory Coast, Dole received information from a plaintiffs’ coordinator -- similar to a Nicaraguan “captain” -- that the plaintiffs’ attorney had illegally collected sperm samples from over 2,000 potential litigants. Abagninin v. Amvac Chem. Corp. Inc., No. BC 359259 (L.A. Sup. Ct. May 18, 2009) (Dole Defendants Proposed Agenda of Issues for May 19, 2009 Status Conference and attached affidavit), available at http://amlawdaily.typepad.com/Agenda.pdf. In 2009, the lawyer withdrew as counsel of record, in part because he and his staff had become “potential witnesses to an alleged fraud and could not ethically continue to represent the plaintiffs without their expressed consent.” David Bario, Gibson Dunn Knocks Out African Pesticide Case For Dole, AMLAW LITIGATION DAILY, November 19, 2009, www.law.com/jsp/tal/digestTAL.jsp?id=1202435667127. The judge then dismissed the case when the plaintiffs, hundreds of peasants, failed to find new counsel or appear themselves. Id. In addition, in DBCP cases arising from non-Nicaraguan locations, the plaintiffs’ attorneys have filed a series of copycat cases, each with just under one hundred class members to avoid the one hundred class member threshold that would permit the defendants to invoke the Class Action Fairness Act (28 U.S.C. § 1332(d)(11)(B)(i)) and remove the case to federal court. Vanegas v. Dole Food Co., 2009 WL 690198 (C.D. Cal. Mar. 9, 2009); Tanoh v. AMVAC Chemical Corp., 2008 WL 4691004, at *5 (C.D. Cal. Oct. 21, 2008). See also Tenah v. Dow Chem. Co., 561 F.3d 945 (9th Cir. 2009). Defendants have settled, and offered to settle, other DBCP claims without admitting liability. See, e.g., Richard Clough, Doe Proposes New Settlements, L.A. DAILY BUS. J., May 31, 2010, http://labusinessjournal.com/news/2010/may/31/doe-proposes-new-settlements.
238. See Rosencranz et al., supra note 3, at 166-67.
B. Chevron in Ecuador

Although the underlying facts and case postures in the Nicaraguan DBCP cases differ widely from the series of matters surrounding the claims against Texaco in Ecuador, some of the same legal and non-legal patterns are present. These include some of the same out-of-court tactics, as well as troubling evidence and court findings of impropriety. This section first discusses the factual and legal background, then the litigation and out-of-court tactics in Ecuador, and a related case, *Gonzales v. Texaco*[^499], filed in the United States.

1. Background

In 1964, TexPet, a Texaco subsidiary, acquired the right to explore and drill for oil in Ecuador’s Oriente region. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, operating under an oil concession granted by the government of Ecuador, TexPet drilled in Ecuador as part of a consortium consisting of Texaco and Gulf Oil subsidiaries. Ecuador subsequently joined the consortium and granted its state oil company, CEPE (which later became Petroecuador), a 25 percent ownership interest. In 1976, Ecuador purchased Gulf’s interest in the consortium, thereby becoming the majority owner with 62.5 percent. At the time, TexPet held a 37.5 percent interest in the consortium. Although TexPet was a minority owner in the consortium, it largely served as the consortium’s operator until July 1990, when Ecuador’s state-run oil company, Petroecuador, became the operator. In 1992, TexPet relinquished its interests in the consortium and Petroecuador assumed sole ownership.

[^499]: The Plaintiffs’ advocates accuse Chevron of using some of the same tactics discussed below. See *Chevron’s Ten Biggest Lies About Ecuador*, AMAZON WATCH (Spring 2009), http://amazonwatch.org/documents/ecuador-press-kit/chevrons-top-ten-lies-long.pdf. Indeed, while this Article focuses on plaintiffs’ tactics and their implications for companies doing business overseas, Chevron has pursued sustained and visible efforts on the Internet, in the media, politically in the United States, and elsewhere in response the plaintiffs’ tactics and to substantiate their position that the legal system in Ecuador is strongly and unfairly tilted against them.


[^242]: See id.

[^245]: *Chevron Corp.*, supra note 242, at 2.

[^248]: Id.; see also In re Application of Chevron Corp., 2010 WL 1801526, at *1

As the oil concession was ending, TexPet, Petroecuador, and the government of Ecuador agreed to divide the responsibility for environmental remediation. Petroecuador allegedly declined to remediate its share of the operations' environmental impact while the government of Ecuador directed TexPet to remediate its portion and leave Petroecuador's portion for Petroecuador to complete at a later date. In 1998, TexPet completed a forty million dollar environmental remediation program conducted through independent contractors; representatives of Petroecuador and the Ecuadorian government certified the work. Also in 1998, TexPet and the government, and TexPet and Petroecuador, entered into separate releases with the government, and Petroecuador discharged TexPet from liability for environmental damage.

2. Series of Lawsuits

Plaintiffs in Ecuador have filed three primary lawsuits against Chevron/Texaco involving many of the same lawyers and issues. In short, the plaintiffs claim that TexPet engaged in improper byproduct disposal techniques, which contaminated nearby water sources and diffused the Oriente region with carcinogenic toxins. That set of allegations is at the core of each of the major legal actions.

249. See id.; see also Chevron Corp. v. Donziger, 2011 WL 778052, *5 (Mar. 7, 2011) (discussing the final release). According to Chevron, TexPet's remediation program included closing and remediating 161 well pits, closing 18 wells, closing and remediating 7 spills areas, and installing three systems for reinjecting the produced water from the drilling.
251. See Second Amended Complaint at 1, Gonzalez, No. C 06-02820 WHA.
252. See id. at 11. The plaintiffs allege that TexPet knew its practices were harmful. Id. at 14-15. Texaco's response to these lawsuits is that its practices complied with all applicable standards. The company states that any contamination is properly attributable to Petroecuador, which continues to pollute, and that water contamination and related illnesses are the product of bacteria unrelated to petroleum. See Chevron Asks, 'Show us the Evidence,' AMAZON POST, Apr. 29, 2010, http://theamazonpost.com/tag/petroecuador; Ecuador Lawsuit Myths, AMAZON POST, Oct. 23, 2009, http://theamazonpost.com/category/ecuador-lawsuit-myths.
253. The plaintiffs have not filed actions against Petroecuador, though Petroecuador was the majority partner in the consortium, has been solely responsible for oil production in the area since 1992, and has a dubious environmental record. The plaintiffs assert that they are not seeking relief against Petroecuador because "the systems put in place by Texaco allowed Petroecuador to go on polluting." See Simon Romero & Clifford Krauss, In Ecuador, Resentment of an Oil Company Oozes, N.Y. TIMES, May 14, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/15/business/global/15chevron.html?_r-1. Apparently, the plaintiffs promised the Government of Ecuador that they would not sue Petroecuador to win the Government's support in the lawsuits. See Paul M. Barrett, Amazon Crusader. Chevron Pest. Fraud?, BLOOMBERG BUS. WEEK, Mar. 9, 2011.
In 1993, public interest attorneys Cristobal Bonifaz and Steven Donziger, along with others, filed an ATS action, *Aguinda v. Texaco*, in the United States federal district court in Manhattan premised on Texaco’s activities in Ecuador.\(^{254}\) The Philadelphia-based plaintiffs’ firm Kohn, Swift & Graf PC financed the suit.\(^{255}\) In 1994, Bonifaz filed a similar action, *Ashanga Jota v. Texaco*,\(^{256}\) on behalf of indigenous peoples in Peru, alleging that Texaco’s practices in Ecuador polluted a river and thereby impacted the plaintiffs’ livelihood.

When Bonifaz filed *Aguinda*, the Frente de Defensa de la Amazonia ("Amazon Defense Front") was formed to support the action.\(^{257}\) The group purports to be “part of a regional, national and global struggle for environmental and collective rights in the Ecuadorian Amazon."\(^{258}\) Bonifaz represented the Amazon Defense Coalition until 2006.\(^{259}\)

In 1996, the court dismissed the *Aguinda* and *Jota* lawsuits on forum non conveniens grounds.\(^{260}\) In 2002, after trial and appellate court proceedings that required Texaco to stipulate to jurisdiction in Ecuador as part of a forum non

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258. See *Amazon Defense Coalition, Who We Are*, supra note 257.
After that dismissal, Bonifaz helped file two subsequent lawsuits, one in Ecuador involving alleged environmental harms, and one in the United States involving alleged personal injuries.

b. Lago Agrio Litigation

In 2003, with Bonifaz's assistance, Plaintiffs filed the Ecuador matter against Chevron in Lago Agrio. The Amazon Defense Coalition, represented by Bonifaz when the case was filed, is the named beneficiary of the lawsuit. As with the Aguinda case, Kohn, Swift & Graf PC financed the lawsuit.

Akin to the litigation under Special Law 364, the Lago Agrio Complaint is premised in part on Article 43 of an Ecuadorian law, the Environmental Management Act ("EMA"), that Bonifaz and other lawyers in the matter


262. In 2006, the Amazon Defense Coalition terminated Cristobal Bonifaz. A resolution regarding his termination cited that Bonifaz's actions were "unilaterally decided and personal" and violated the Coalition's "internal decision-making processes with respect to the legal process, which has created a feeling of distrust in the directors and the legal team members alike." Gonzales v. Texaco, Inc., No. C 06-02820 WHA, 2007 WL 3036093 *2 (N.D. Cal. Oct. 16, 2007).

263. In September 2009, Chevron and TexPet also filed a claim before the Permanent Court of Arbitration asserting that Ecuador's conduct in connection with the Lago Agrio litigation breached settlement and release agreements that were protected under the United States-Ecuador Bilateral Investment Treaty, and also violated provisions of the Treaty itself. In late 2009, Ecuador filed an action in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York to enjoin the arbitration from proceeding. See Petition to Stay Arbitration, Republic of Ecuador v. Chevron Corp., No. 09 Civ. 09958 (S.D.N.Y. Dec. 3, 2009). The court rejected the petition on March 11, 2010, allowing the arbitration to proceed. Republic of Ecuador v. Chevron Corp., No. 09 Civ. 09958, 2010 WL 1028349 (S.D.N.Y. March 11, 2010). That ruling is being appealed. In addition, in 2009, ChevronTexaco Corp. filed a claim against Ecuador before the Permanent Court of Arbitration, arising from seven lawsuits filed by Texaco against the government in the 1990s. The arbitrators found that the slow pace of the decisions in Ecuador entitles the company to $700 million in damages. See Ben Casselman, Ecuador to Pay Chevron Damages, WSJ ONLINE, Mar. 30, 2010.

264. On its website, the Amazon Defense Coalition describes itself as "a group of Amazonian grass roots organizations and communities who have joined to defend and sustain our peoples and environment through unification of our forces and the integration of the entire Ecuadorian Amazon." See Amazon Defense Coalition, Who We Are, supra note 257.

265. See Chevron Corp., 2011 WL 778052 at *17. As Mr. Kohn made clear in a documentary about Chevron-Ecuador, this matter "was not taken as a pro bono case, you know a lot of my motivation is, at the end of the day, is that it will be a lucrative case for the firm. And I think it put us in a position to do more of these kinds of cases." Chevron Corp., supra note 242, at 1. According to reports, Kohn Swift has ceased financing the action, noting their concern regarding recent actions by the plaintiffs' attorneys and findings by courts, discussed below. See Barrett, supra note 253.
“substantially drafted and ... procured.”266 Enacted in 1999, after TexPet completed its Ecuadorian operations and cleanup efforts, the law gave individuals the ability to sue in Ecuador for “environmental remediation of public land.”267 As a United States federal court recently found, the lawyers worked to enact the law because, in having to litigate in Ecuador, “which had no class actions and thus no vehicle for the sort of giant” litigation found in the United States, they “intended the EMA to provide a basis for suing in Ecuador to recover billions in damages in the absence of any other vehicle for doing so.”268

That vehicle led the plaintiffs to their desired result. Recently, a local Lago Agrio court awarded nearly $9 billion in damages against Chevron.269 The ruling included a punitive damages provision that, unless Chevron apologized publicly within fifteen days, the award would double.270 Chevron did not issue an apology,271 and the award now exceeds $18 billion. Chevron states that it will appeal the judgment, while the plaintiffs state that they will appeal to seek a higher award.272

Accompanying the Lago Agrio litigation, and perhaps contributing to the judgment, have been a variety of out-of-court tactics by the parties, including the plaintiffs in particular,273 “to pressure the company into settling.”274 In the United States, with the help of public relations personnel and lobbyists,275 the plaintiffs’ attorneys have testified at largely sympathetic congressional hearings,276 and obtained letters and other supportive statements from United

267. Chevron Corp., supra note 242; see Chevron Corp., 2011 Westlaw 778052, at *5-6. After the plaintiffs filed the lawsuit, Chevron moved to dismiss the case, arguing, among other things, that retroactive application of the 1999 EMA was unconstitutional and that the Settlement and Release executed between TexPet and the Government of Ecuador barred plaintiffs’ claims for public land remediation. Chevron Corp., supra note 242, at 4. The Ecuador Government did not take a position in the lawsuit at the time, and the court decided to wait on the pending motions until final resolution of the case on the merits. Id. at 5.
269. Id. at *22.
270. Id.
271. Id.
274. David Baker, Chevron Braces for Protests at Annual Meeting, S.F. CHRON., May 27, 2009 (discussing “coordinated campaign to pressure the company into settling a landmark lawsuit in Ecuador”).
276. Statement by Steven R. Donziger to the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission (Apr. 28,
States politicians. In addition, the Amazon Defense Coalition and its counterpart in the United States, Amazon Watch, run a substantive joint Internet campaign called ChevronToxico, The Campaign for Justice in Ecuador. It includes fact sheets, press kits, press releases, letter writing and other social organizing campaigns, news items, photos, videos, and plaintiffs’ court documents. Videos hosted on the website include mini-documentaries created by plaintiffs, such as a video message from affected Amazon communities to Chevron CEO John Watson and public service announcements, as well as television interviews with plaintiffs and their advocates. The website contains a link to the plaintiffs’ blog, Chevron in Ecuador, which houses opinion pieces and commentaries, news items, videos, and links back to ChevronToxico and other plaintiffs’ websites. It also includes mini-reports on different topics, such as health impacts, waste pits, and community mobilization in Ecuador. It also has called for boycotts and other organizing efforts, and encourages viewers to support and publicize the Internet campaign on social media.


281. A variety of other NGOs have expressed support or lent assistance in various capacities in
More recently, the 2009 documentary *Crude*, directed and produced by Joe Berlinger, has increased publicity for the case. In 2005, a Lago Agrio plaintiffs' lawyer approached Berlinger to make a film to "tell his clients' story," in effect to "create a documentary depicting the Lago Agrio Litigation from the perspective of his clients." The result was *Crude*, a film describing itself as focusing on "the human cost of our addiction to oil and the increasingly difficult task of holding a major corporation accountable for its past deeds." Though it intersperses occasional responses from Chevron personnel, the film primarily follows the plaintiffs' lawyers as they develop and implement litigation, media, tactical, and political strategies. The movie begins, for instance, with a plaintiffs' lawyer taking Lago Agrio residents to a Chevron shareholders meeting, scripting the speech they will deliver and helping them prepare their comments. Other scenes show the lawyer meeting with public relations personnel, and escorting Ecuador President Rafael Correa and Trudie Styler, wife of the musician Sting, to Lago Agrio. Berlinger also apparently removed at least one scene at the request of the plaintiffs' lawyers, which they deemed unhelpful to the case.


Chevron has, apparently, commissioned a documentary that describes the litigation from its standpoint. See *Chevron Corp. v. Berlinger*, 629 F.3d 297, 309 n.6 (2d Cir. 2011). That movie does not appear to have received the same level of publicity as *Crude*.

In re Application of Chevron Corp., 2010 WL 1801526, at *3 (S.D.N.Y. May 6, 2010) (quoting a declaration submitted by Berlinger). See also Chevron Corp., 629 F.3d at 300 (noting that changes were made to the film at the plaintiff's request).

Chevron has instituted an action to obtain unused footage from the filmmakers, for potential use in the case. See *NY Court to Hear Filmmaker Protest in Chevron Case,* ASSOCIATED PRESS, May 22, 2010.

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The scene shows the assistant of the supposed independent expert appearing jointly with plaintiffs' attorneys. See *Chevron Corp.*, 2010 WL 1801526, at *11 (stating that "[p]laintiffs' counsel indeed are on the screen throughout most of *Crude*"); see also *Chevron Corp.*, 629 F.3d at 309 n.5 (upholding district court's rejection of "self-serving testimony" of Berlinger that the movie would be a "human rights advocacy film") (internal quotations omitted).

The scene shows the assistant of the supposed independent expert appearing jointly with plaintiffs' attorneys. See *Chevron Corp. *, 2010 WL 1801526, at *4; see also *Chevron Corp.*, 629 F.3d at 309. The ChevronToxico internet campaign features a press kit on *Crude* and instructions on how to host a "CRUDE screening party." It also notes that "Amazon Watch has worked to promote the theatrical run of CRUDE with grassroots outreach in cities around the country . . . ." *Throw a CRUDE House Party!, CHEVRONTOXICO*, http://chevrontoxico.com/take-action/crude-house-party.html (last visited Feb. 6, 2011). Other plaintiffs' and plaintiff-friendly websites also advertise *Crude.*
litigation specifically, and Chevron's actions in Ecuador generally, that the plaintiffs and their advocates created. To appear in those documentaries and videos, and otherwise lend support, the plaintiffs have recruited celebrities and other high profile personalities, including Styler, Daryl Hannah, Cary Elwes, and Bianca Jagger.287

Plaintiffs and their advocates and supporters likewise have appeared multiple times on television and radio news channels to provide interviews or commentary on the Lago Agrio litigation.288 Perhaps most well-known was a 2009 episode on the news program 60 Minutes, which featured the plaintiffs’ attorneys, some responses from Chevron, and a purported study of the litigation.289 The Columbia Journalism Review sharply criticized the program; in a fact audit titled “How 60 Minutes Missed on Chevron,” the Review issued a report identifying various misimpressions left by the program regarding Texaco’s conduct. The Review accused the segment of unfairly downplaying the role of Petroecuador, and all but omitting any mention of Petroecuador’s poor environmental record. It called the segment “an exercise in innuendo,” concluding that, “even in these days of cutbacks to news operations, 60 Minutes could have—and should have—done better.”290 Frequent interviews, profiles, and opinion editorials also have appeared in print and online news media.291


288. Chevron representatives do not appear to have sought the same type of visual media exposure as have the plaintiffs, though they have issued press releases and statements that have been picked up by print media.


290. Martha Hamilton, How 60 Minutes Missed on Chevron, COLUM. JOURNALISM REV., Apr. 14, 2010. According to one website, after the 60 Minutes piece, ChevronToxico.com had an increase in internet traffic of 350%. See Phil Robibero, Chevron and the Amazon, MAKE MEDIA MATTER BLOG (June 5, 2009), http://www.ifc.com/makemediablog/blog/2009/06/chevron-and-amazon.php. The extent to which plaintiffs’ representatives and attorneys secured those appearances or influenced their content – as opposed to their arising organically – is not known.

The plaintiffs further have engaged in a variety of investment-related tactics. They seem to organize such efforts around shareholder meetings, including bringing Ecuador community activists to Chevron shareholder meetings, introducing shareholder resolutions, and targeting Chevron’s executives and board of directors with letter writing campaigns. Other efforts appear to include targeting institutional investors for divestment in order to question Chevron’s litigation approach, and introducing resolutions at Chevron shareholder meetings.

A number of tactics also have been visible in Ecuador that, like the DBCP-Nicaragua matters, are particularly troubling from a rule of law standpoint. The plaintiffs’ attorneys, according to judicial findings, “have orchestrated a campaign to intimidate the Ecuadorian judiciary.” On a political level, the plaintiffs solicited and obtained the support of the Correa Socialist

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295. See Chevron Corp., 2010 WL 4910248, at *4 (“There is evidence . . . that [a plaintiffs’ lawyer] and others associated with him have presented false evidence and engaged in other misconduct in Ecuador.”); Chevron Corp. v. Camp, 2010 WL 3418394, at *6 (W.D.N.C. Aug. 30, 2010) (“what has occurred in this matter would in fact be considered fraud by any court . . . . If such conduct does not amount to fraud in a particular country, then that country has larger problems than an oil spill.”). Chevron Corp., 2011 WL 778052, at *15-16.

government. Correa has called the plaintiffs "comrades" and heroes, and has announced his solidarity with their cause. He has publicly called Chevron's actions in Ecuador "a crime against humanity," met with the plaintiffs to discuss their case, toured the affected area of the rainforest, encouraged their efforts, and publicly campaigned for them. In a country whose judiciary is susceptible to political pressures and other influences, and is even perhaps in "severe institutional crisis" in which independence is lacking, such overt declarations raise obvious concerns about the ability of the courts to render a fair judgment. Indeed, plaintiffs' counsel themselves have opined that any judge who ruled against the plaintiffs would be "killed," and have acknowledged that the Ecuadorian judiciary is susceptible to influence. Equally concerning, at the plaintiffs' apparent encouragement, Correa persuaded the State Prosecutor to investigate, and ultimately file fraud charges against, Chevron personnel involved in obtaining the earlier releases of liability following the remediation programs. These allegations had been deemed meritless twice before in Ecuador.

297. Id. at *18.
304. Id. at *14-15, *17.
Other evidence also raises rule of law concerns about the political and judicial branches. For instance, in late 2009, three videos surfaced that appear to show the judge then presiding over the Lago Agrio litigation stating that he will rule against Chevron and hold the company liable for roughly twenty-seven billion dollars.\(^3\) In one of the videos, an individual claiming to be associated with Alianza PAIS, Ecuador’s ruling party, apparently tells two businessmen, with the judge in the room, that he will direct remediation contracts to them after the verdict is rendered, if they pay him three million dollars in bribes. He is recorded as saying that one million dollars would go to the judge, one million dollars would be for “the presidency,” and the other one million dollars would be directed to the plaintiffs.\(^3\) When the videos became public, the judge recused himself.\(^3\)

Troubling evidence also exists regarding judicial inspections, a process that led to the scope of the environmental harms and the allocation of responsibility.\(^3\) Originally, the court ordered a process in which each party would submit expert reports for the court to consider. The plaintiffs apparently filed reports under the expert’s name that, according to a United States federal court, the expert did not author. They instead were “entirely false and

\(\text{After issuing the indictments, the Attorney General then recused himself. Mercedes Alvaro, Ecuador: Prosecutor Recuses Himself In Chevron Case, DOW JONES (December 16, 2008), http://theamazonpost.com/web-of-influence/files/pesantez/03_pesantez_recusal.pdf.}\)
\(\text{See Texaco Petroleum, Ecuador and the Lawsuit against Chevron, supra note 306, at 7.}\)
Then, at the behest of the plaintiffs, and with the support of an amicus curiae brief filed by the campaign manager for President Correa, the court deviated from the original plan and appointed the plaintiffs’ choice of Richard Cabrera, a mining engineer, as the sole expert responsible for the assessment. According to a United States federal court, statements by the plaintiffs raise “at least serious questions” and even a “likelihood” that they pressured the Ecuadorian judge to deviate from the original expert process by withholding a complaint against him related to a “sex for jobs” scandal, selected Cabrera to serve as the expert, and paid him money “before he was appointed.” Indeed, though he was purportedly independent, it has become known that Cabrera previously served as a paid expert and prepared two reports in a different case that Bonifaz filed in the United States.

In the Lago Agrio matter, the United States federal court also found that the plaintiffs and their consultants secretly wrote much or all of Cabrera’s report. Those consultants made statements to the plaintiffs’ lawyers, captured on film, that seem to cast doubt on the merits of at least part of the plaintiffs’ case. Nonetheless, a plaintiffs’ lawyer discounted those statements because, in his view, the pressure on the court, not the legal and factual merits, would lead to victory. Cabrera’s report, whoever authored it, determined that Chevron has sole responsibility for damages, in the amount of twenty-seven billion dollars.

While the plaintiffs contend that Chevron has also engaged in improper
tactics, multiple United States federal courts have issued criticisms of the efforts of the plaintiffs' counsel that are reminiscent of those issued by Judge Chaney. One court noted that one lawyer "and others associated with him have presented false evidence and engaged in other misconduct in Ecuador." Another stated, "what has occurred in this matter would in fact be considered fraud by any court . . . If such conduct does not amount to fraud in a particular country, then that country has larger problems than an oil spill." Nor does a claim that a corporate defendant has engaged in improper tactics assuage the larger concern that the plaintiffs' out-of-court actions, coupled with the fragility of the Ecuadorian legal system, influenced the local court in issuing its massive nine billion dollar judgment – now doubled. Indeed, the circumstances surrounding the Lago Agrio litigation raise the very concrete question about the capacity of local courts in Ecuador to provide reliable decisions in corporate transnational tort matters, which may involve highly charged, high stakes lawsuits involving foreign companies. In a country where "the rule of law is not respected ... in cases that have become politicized," the use of out-of-court tactics by plaintiffs, defendants, or their supporters very well may end up impacting legal outcomes themselves.

c. Gonzales v. Texaco

The concerns of misconduct have not been limited to litigation in Ecuador, however. They likewise appeared in Gonzales v. Texaco, a personal injury action filed in 2006 by Bonifaz in San Francisco. The plaintiffs alleged that Texaco's byproduct disposal practices contaminated available water sources in Lago Agrio, leading to various physical maladies among local residents.

Defense counsel, when deposing plaintiffs in Ecuador, discovered that several of the claims made in the complaint were false. One plaintiff's son, alleged to have suffered from leukemia, did not have the disease. In her deposition, the plaintiff stated that the paralegal who interviewed her before the

321. See Chevron Corp., 2011 WL 778052, at *33-34 ("Chevron has raised substantial questions that present a fair ground for litigation as to whether the Ecuadorian judgment is a result of fraud practiced on the Ecuadorian tribunal").
322. Id. at *19-22, *32-33 ("Chevron thus is likely to prevail on its contention that the Ecuadorian judgment in this case was rendered under a system which does not provide impartial tribunals or procedures compatible with the requirements of due process of law, at least in cases of this sort.") (internal quotation omitted).
325. Second Amended Complaint at 12, 19, Gonzales v. Texaco, No. C 06-02820 WHA (N.D. Cal.).
lawsuit never asked if her son had cancer, and never told her that the firm would sue Texaco based on these claims. Another plaintiff told the paralegal that she had cancer but admitted during her deposition that this was false. Her husband, also a plaintiff, never completed a legal intake form, and never met with attorneys in the case prior to the deposition.

When the court learned of these problems, it dismissed the three plaintiffs, with statements that echoed the concerns raised by Judge Chaney. The court found that the plaintiffs did not understand or expect that a lawsuit would be brought in their names, concluding that counsel "relied on the unsophistication of plaintiffs." The court found that "[t]his is not the first evidence of possible misconduct by plaintiffs' counsel in this case." Alluding to Aguinda and the Lago Agrio litigation, the court further found that the litigation was a tactic itself, unrelated to a potential recovery: "[i]t is clear to the Court that this case was manufactured by plaintiffs' counsel for reasons other than to seek a recovery on these plaintiffs' behalf. This litigation is likely a smaller piece of some larger scheme against defendants." The court later granted Chevron's motion for summary judgment dismissing the remaining two plaintiffs, thereby ending the litigation.

C. The Coca-Cola Cases

The use of litigation as part of a larger campaign, noted in Gonzales, is perhaps even more visible in the series of cases that have been filed against Coca-Cola arising out of alleged violence by third parties toward union workers. The cases, premised on the ATS and common law theories, have garnered little legal success, but have been accompanied by a similar array of tactics to those seen in the DBCP and Ecuador matters, and other transnational tort cases. This section first discusses the cases that have been filed, and then addresses the tactics that have accompanied them and statements by plaintiffs' attorneys discussing the use of litigation as part of a larger campaign.

326. See Order Granting Motions for Summary Judgment and Terminating Sanctions, Gonzales v. Texaco, Inc., No. C 06-02820 WHA (N.D. Cal Aug. 3, 2007). According to the court, in seeking to obtain the plaintiffs' depositions, Bonifaz noted in a letter to a lawyer with whom he was working in Ecuador, "[i]t is possible that with this last action in court that I am planning we will give Chevron 'la copa de gracia,'" which is roughly translated to mean "we'll finally stick it to Chevron." See Gonzales v. Texaco, Inc., No. C 06-02820 WHA, 2007 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 56622, *10 (N.D. Cal. Aug. 3, 2007).


330. Id. at *9. Although the district court issued sanctions against the lawyers, the court of appeals ruled that the district court did not apply the correct legal standard and remanded the case so the district court could reconsider sanctions using the correct standard. Gonzales v. Texaco, Inc., 2009 WL 2494324 (9th Cir. 2009).
1. The Cases Filed

a. The Sinaltrainal Lawsuits

For decades, Colombia has been embroiled in a bloody civil war involving drug cartels, guerillas, and paramilitary forces. Throughout that conflict, Colombian unions have been targets of violence: over the past twenty-five years, thousands of union members have been killed.

One such victim was Isidro Segundo Gil, a local union leader allegedly murdered by paramilitary forces inside a Coca-Cola bottling facility, Bebidas y Alimentos de Urabá, S.A. ("Bebidas"). Gil’s estate and his former union, Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Industria de Alimentos ("Sinaltrainal"), akin to the institutional plaintiff in the Lago Agrio case, sued Bebidas, The Coca-Cola Company ("Coca-Cola USA"), and Coca-Cola de Colombia, S.A. ("Coca-Cola Colombia"). In three other complaints, Sinaltrainal sued the same defendants, as well as Panamco Colombia, S.A. ("Panamco"), claiming that paramilitaries and local police had also intimidated, kidnapped and tortured union leaders at Panamco Coca-Cola bottling facilities. All four complaints alleged that bottling facility managers conspired with the armed groups, and sought a recovery on the various defendants through secondary theories of liability.

In 2003, the district court dismissed the claims against Coca-Cola USA and Coca-Cola Colombia for lack of subject matter jurisdiction. The court found that the bottler’s agreements did not give these defendants control over the bottling facilities’ operations and labor policies. Without that control, the plaintiffs could not show that the Coca-Cola defendants had acted in concert with the paramilitaries and local police. The court later dismissed the

333. Id. at *2.
334. See Sinaltrainal v. Coca-Cola Co., 256 F. Supp. 2d 1345, 1348 (S.D. Fla. 2003). See also Eleventh Circuit Dismisses, supra note 331. Richard Kirby, the owner of Bebidas, also was named as a defendant. Coca-Cola asserted that while violence may have occurred against union members, the company was being targeted for the activities of unaffiliated third-parties. See Brief for Defendants-Appellees, Sinaltrainal v. Coca-Cola Co., No. 06-15851 (11th Cir. Jun. 30, 2008).
335. Sinaltrainal, 2009 WL 2431463, at *2. Panamerican Beverages Company, LLC and Panamco, LLC, the owners of Panamco Colombia, also were named as defendants. Id. See Eleventh Circuit Dismisses, supra note 331.
338. Id. at 1354.
339. Id. at 1355.
plaintiffs' remaining claims without prejudice. The United States Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit affirmed that decision.

b. The Turedi and Palacios Lawsuits

Within weeks of that affirmation, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit affirmed a dismissal in Turedi, a similar ATS action involving Coca-Cola and its Turkish subsidiary. A few months later, the plaintiffs filed a new complaint, Palacios, which was similar to Turedi and Sinaltrainal, in connection with Coca-Cola bottling operations in Guatemala.

Given the prior results in Turedi and Sinaltrainal, however, the likelihood of the case succeeding does not seem especially high. The plaintiffs' lawyers may know that fact. As one of the attorneys has stated,

[Litigation] ... served to focus a broader campaign seeking to persuade [Coca-Cola] to accept responsibility for violence in its bottling plants, wholly apart from any potential legal liability ... The campaign is using factual information developed from the investigations connected to the litigation, as well as traditional human rights reports, to support specific demands that Coca-Cola respond to the violence ... The campaign provides a promising model of cooperation to change corporate behavior that supports or tolerates human rights

342. Turedi v. Coca Cola Co., 2009 WL 1956206 (2d Cir. July 7, 2009). For a discussion of Turedi, see Jeffrey E. Baldwin, International Human Rights Plaintiffs and the Doctrine of Forum Non Conveniens, 40 CORNELL INT'L L.J. 749, 760-62 (2007). In Turedi, truck drivers and transport workers employed by Coca-Cola's facilities in Istanbul, Turkey, and family members, filed an action in New York under the ATS. The plaintiffs alleged that the Turkish "special branch" police (Cevik Kuvvet) used violence in response to a protest by workers who were fired for joining a labor union, and that the plaintiffs suffered additional injuries after they were arrested. The district court granted Coca-Cola's motion to dismiss the case on the grounds of forum non conveniens, noting that the "facts give rise to a strong inference that forum-shopping considerations served as a substantial motivation in Plaintiffs' venue choice." Turedi v. Coca Cola Co., 460 F. Supp. 2d 507, 522, 527 (S.D.N.Y. 2006).
343. Palacios v. Coca-Cola Co., 102514/2010 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. Feb. 25, 2010) (removed to federal court on April 13, 2010); see Press Release, Campaign to Stop Killer Coke, Coke Hit with New Charges of Murder, Rape, Torture (Mar. 1, 2010), http://www.killercoke.org/nl100301.htm. The complaint alleges that Palacios was subjected to death threats, an armed home invasion and was ultimately fired from his job because of his union membership. Palacios was forced to flee his home and ultimately to flee to the United States. Palacios v. Coca-Cola Co., 2010 WL 4720409, at *2 (S.D.N.Y. Nov. 19, 2010). Another plaintiff alleges that after he made complaints to the managers of the bottling operations, assailants with ties to the management shot and killed his son and nephew, and raped his daughter. Id. Palacios, though substantially similar to Turedi and Sinaltrainal, was filed in a state court in New York, and relied on common law tort theories. Coca-Cola removed the case to federal court, where it is pending. Id.
2. The Tactics in the Coca-Cola Cases

Part of the campaign to create corporate change was the release of the full-length documentary, “The Coca-Cola Case,” which coincided with the filing of Palacios. Co-produced with the National Film Board of Canada, the film follows the plaintiffs’ lawyers in the cases against Coca-Cola “as they attempt to hold the giant United States multinational beverage company accountable in [a] legal and human rights battle.” The movie documents the creation of the campaign against Coke, noting that the two plaintiffs’ attorneys sought a partnership with a well-known union activist and publicist to help publicize their cases. In the film, one of the lawyers explicitly states his goal to use successes in one ATS case to pressure defendants in other ATS cases. The documentary also shows the attorneys vowing, after settlement negotiations turned sour, to file more lawsuits against Coca-Cola to further pursue the company. The film has since been aired in theaters around the world, although during the film itself plaintiffs’ attorneys are seen relating the content of settlement discussions, and the judge overseeing those negotiations stated as part of his Final Settlement Order that the statements “directly violate . . . confidentiality requirements” that were “established by state and federal laws of the United States.”

The film has been highlighted in the Killer Coke Campaign, a website run by the plaintiffs in Sinaltrainal and the labor activist who appears in the film. Established in 2004, the site states that more than 1.7 million viewers have visited it. The Campaign’s stated mission is focused on raising awareness of alleged attacks on union leaders at Coca-Cola bottling facilities in Colombia.

345. See id. (describing the indirect effects and purposes of litigation concerning social issues).
346. See, e.g., The Coca-Cola Case (Trailer), NATIONAL FILM BOARD OF CANADA, http://www.nfb.ca/film/coca_cola_case_trailer (last visited March 8, 2011). The film was released in January 2010, a few weeks before the February Palacios filing date.
349. See The Coca-Cola Case, supra note 347.
This is done through the campaign website, which includes education, social and political activism, community organizing, and other matters. The campaign website includes a faux Coca-Cola ad with the tag line “Murder: It’s the Real Thing,” and a Coca-Cola can standing on a pool of blood. The website also has a section on the resolutions that have been passed by universities, unions, and city councils in support of the Killer Coke Campaign’s international boycott of Coca-Cola products. It maintains a “Campus Activism” section where people can read sample resolutions and tips on starting campus campaigns. The website has a similar “Labor Union Solidarity” section with news articles and press releases on union activism against Coca-Cola. The website also contains links to archived newsletters, a section on the alleged health effects of drinking Coca-Cola, YouTube videos and documentary clips, and downloadable protest flyers. Finally, it also has links to “The Coca Cola Case” official website, features news articles about the film, highlights the film’s opening, and permits the purchase of the film through the website.

The site, like the tactics in the DBCP and Lago Agrio matters, also contains various reports related to Coca-Cola, including a “corporate profile” of Coca-Cola by the Polaris Institute, a Canadian organization that advocates for
“social change in an age of corporate driven globalization.” The sixty-page report claims to describe various aspects of Coca-Cola’s alleged corporate harms to obtain profits. The report includes organizational, economic, political, and social sections, including Sinaltrainal and other human rights lawsuits against Coca-Cola. It also contains Stakeholder Profiles of Coca-Cola and specifically lists the company’s top ten institutional and mutual fund shareholders.

The out-of-court tactics against Coca-Cola have included other investment efforts. Plaintiffs, their attorneys, and union members have attended Coca-Cola shareholder meetings on multiple occasions, some of which were documented in “The Coca-Cola Case” film. Indeed, in the movie, activists tout the use of protests at shareholders meetings as an activism tactic and, in one scene from the film, an activist reads graphic allegations from a plaintiff’s complaint at a shareholders’ meeting. The investment related efforts include attempts to convince institutional investors to divest, as witnessed in other cases, as well.


364. Id.

365. See The Coca-Cola Case, supra note 347.


367. In 2005, New York City’s then-comptroller William Thompson issued a resolution on behalf of the city pension fund asking Coca-Cola to allow an independent investigation into alleged violence against unionists at its plants in Colombia in connection with the Sinaltrainal case. See Jill Gardiner, Thompson Targets Google, Yahoo Over China Policy, N.Y. SUN (Dec. 14, 2006), http://www.nysun.com/new-york/thompson-targets-google-yahoo-over-china-policy/45150; Press Release, Campaign to Stop Killer Coke, NYC Pension Funds Call For Investigation Into Alleged Human Rights Abuses At Coca-Cola (Jan. 26, 2006), http://www.killercoke.org/pr060126.htm. In connection with its introduction, Thompson stated, “The New York City Pension Funds are concerned about the allegations of alleged human rights abuses at Coca-Cola’s Colombian affiliate,” and that “[i]f failing to address this issue, Coca-Cola has fostered a negative image of itself and is now the subject of a boycott campaign, which poses a financial risk for its investors.” Id. The New York City Employees’ Retirement System, Teachers’ Retirement System for the City of New York, New York City Police Pension Fund, New York City Fire Department Pension Fund, and the New York City Board of Education Retirement System also sponsored the resolution. Id.; see also Bureau of Asset Management, Office of the Comptroller, City of New York, 2005 Proxy Initiatives of the New York City Pension Funds (December 2005), available at http://www comptroller.nyc.gov/bureaus/bam/corp_gover_pdf/2005-shareholder-report.pdf. Together, the funds held 6,475,918 shares of Coca-Cola, worth more than $267 million. Similarly, in 2006, TIAA-CREF sold 1.2 million shares of Coca-Cola stock, worth $52.4 million, after KLD Research and Analytics, a firm that seeks to make investments premised in part on social concerns, dropped Coca-Cola from its list of socially responsible companies. That occurred in part because of allegations regarding Coca-Cola’s actions in Colombia and elsewhere (the bases of the Sinaltrainal and Turedi lawsuits). Caroline Wilbert, Social responsibility of Coca-Cola questioned; Giant retirement fund decides to sell shares, ATLANTA-JOURNAL CONST. (Jul. 19, 2006), http://www.commercialexploitation.org/
Also as seen in many other cases, the efforts against Coca-Cola have included political tactics. They also have included boycotts, and have extended to school campuses and other academic settings. Indeed, according to one plaintiff's account, there are at least 150 colleges and universities around the world that are active in the Killer Coke Campaign targeting alleged misconduct by Coca-Cola against union leaders through education, calls to action, and other means. In addition, one of the attorneys featured in "The

news/cokesocialresponsibilityquestioned.htm.

368. In June 2007, a joint committee hearing in the House of Representatives titled, "Protection and Money: U.S. Companies, Their Employees, and Violence in Colombia," focused on alleged payments by United States companies to military and paramilitary units in Colombia. The hearing included testimony from plaintiffs' counsel discussing Sinaltrainal, and other legal actions. Protection and Money: U.S. Companies, Their Employees, and Violence In Colombia: A Joint Hearing Before the Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight and the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere of the House Comm. on Foreign Affairs and the Subcomm. on Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions and the Subcomm. on Workforce Protections of the Committee on Education and Labor, 110th Cong. (June 28, 2007). Likewise, in 2008, a Boston City Councilman introduced a resolution to make Boston a Coke-free zone. The resolution recognized the boycott sought by the Sinaltrainal union in Colombia and the USW, and pressed the city administration "to not serve Coca-Cola products or stock them in any vending machines that are located on city property." It also "encourage[d] all businesses to immediately cease and desist from the stocking and selling of all Coca-Cola products until the international boycott has been resolved." The resolution did not pass. See Frank Neisser, City Councilors Demand 'Coca-Cola-free' Boston, WORKERS WORLD (Aug. 11, 2004), http://www.workers.org/2008/us/boston_0814.

369. The United Steel Workers and the Sinaltrainal union in Colombia also called for an international boycott of Coca-Cola. See Neisser, supra note 368. Those requests have been supported by other unions. See Resolutions, CAMPAIGN TO STOP KILLER COKE, http://www.killercoke.org/resolutions.htm (last visited Feb. 28, 2011). The Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU) resolved that "until the situation involving SINALTRAINAL is resolved and the safety and rights of workers in the Coca-Cola Colombian bottling plants are protected, OPSEU will continue the boycott and information campaign against Coca-Cola." OPSEU Resolution, CAMPAIGN TO STOP KILLER COKE, http://www.killercoke.org/opsuereolution.pdf (last visited Feb. 28, 2011). Local chapters of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) have passed resolutions as well, for example, to "support the worldwide call to boycott Coca-Cola and work to win AFL-CIO support for the campaign against Killer Coke" by ceasing to sell Coca-Cola or provide it at meetings. See 12,000 Member SEIU Local 2028 Bans Coke Products, Resolutions, CAMPAIGN TO STOP KILLER COKE, http://www.killercoke.org/resolutions.htm (last visited Feb. 28, 2011). The Executive Council of the Union of Clerical and Technical Workers of New York University, Oakville and District Labour Council, and Canadian Auto Workers Local 707 have also passed resolutions supporting the boycott. See Two Resolutions to Boycott Coca-Cola Products Adopted by the Executive Council of the Union of Clerical and Technical Workers of NYU (UCATS), Local 3882, American Federation of Teachers, NYSUT, AFL-CIO (Mar. 8, 2005), http://www.killercoke.org/af13882res.htm. The amicus curiae, ZOA, in the Bigio v. Coca-Cola lawsuit has also called for a boycott against the company. See Press Release, Zionist Organization of America, ZOA Protests Outside Coca-Cola’s Annual Shareholders’ Meeting In Wilmington, Delaware (April 22, 2008), http://www.zoa.org/sitedocuments/pressrelease_view.asp?pressreleaseID=391.

370. Evidence of The Coca Cola Company's Human Rights Abuses and Environmental Violations report, ST. JOSEPH UNIV. STUDENTS FOR WORKERS’ RIGHTS at 76, http://org.ntnu.no/attac/dokumenten/cocacola/cokeinfopacket.pdf (last visited Feb. 28, 2011). This includes Hofstra University in New York, which passed a resolution not to renew the university's exclusive contract with the company. Id. at 60.
Coca-Cola Case” has lectured at the Carnegie Institute. He expressly noted that that it was his organization’s “future objective[] . . . to couple each of its cases with a public campaign. The organization did this with its case against Coca-Cola, and intends to use this as a strategy to educate the public and raise people’s awareness of human rights violations engendered by corporate policy.”

He further noted, “his organization has also undertaken initiatives to work with lawyers in other countries so that they can bring cases against the same companies by exploiting their own domestic laws.” He concluded by saying, “We’re going to continue our efforts to bring these issues to the door of the corporations, and I certainly hope that the war on terror and these other rationales will not allow us to, in effect, sanction a different form of terrorism which is very real to the people who are working in the factories of the global economy.” Such statements, of course, identify the larger community-activism oriented motives behind some of the extra-legal tactics employed in the cases.

3. Final Thoughts on the DBCP, Ecuador, and Coca-Cola Cases

The underlying factual postures of the DBCP, Texaco-Ecuador and Coca-Cola cases differ substantially. The DBCP cases involved alleged personal injuries from chemical exposure on produce plantations, the cases against Texaco-Chevron primarily involved alleged direct and derivative environmental harms related to oil production, while the cases against Coca-Cola involved alleged third party attacks on workers and union leaders. They occurred in different countries, over different time periods, and involved different corporate defendants in different sectors. Yet all three sets of cases feature similar out-of-court tactics, including media, investment, political, and community organizing efforts, consistent with the larger trends identified in the study. In addition, in the DBCP and Ecuador matters, plaintiffs and their representatives advocated for the passage of retroactive foreign laws that provided opportunities for litigation to proceed. It appears that certain highly impoverished and “unsophisticated” plaintiffs may have been encouraged – perhaps in part by media tactics – to make dubious claims, there is concerning evidence related to local judiciaries with reputations for malleability, and there is evidence of impropriety by local laboratories and/or experts. While defendants of course


372. Collingsworth, supra note 371.

373. Id. Activists in the Bridgestone/Firestone case have also hosted seminars, see, e.g., Liberian Activists Back in D.C.: Wed (5/20) at 12:30pm (May 19, 2009), http://www.stopfirestone.org/2009/05/liberian-activists-back-in-dc-wed-520-at-1230pm.
also engaged in their own set of tactics in those and other transnational tort cases, and certainly not all or even most transnational tort cases may have such problems, the DBCP, Ecuador and other matters do give rise to a concern that the unique mix of factors in transnational tort cases may make them susceptible to manipulation, false claims, and other litigation improprieties by the parties and other interested participants.

IV. LOOKING FORWARD

Despite those concerns, this Article does not argue that out-of-court tactics are improper, or in favor of legislative or legal solutions to deter or halt out-of-court tactics in transnational tort litigation. Instead, the purpose of this Article is far more modest. It seeks to identify the patterns in which the tactics, as used by plaintiffs, have appeared, and certain implications arising from them. This section discusses the likely future use of the tactics discussed above, and potential steps that, in light of the presence of the tactics and their implications, companies, courts, and legislators may wish to consider in helping to ensure fairness and consistency in future legal determinations.

A. The Future of Transnational Tort Cases and Their Related Tactics

Looking forward, it seems logical that the out-of-court tactics in transnational tort cases would continue and even grow. With the successes in some of the cases, and the continuing prospect of recoveries and/or corporate change, transnational tort cases will likely remain on the rise. That includes cases like the Lago Agrio litigation, Osorio and Franco, which plaintiffs filed abroad for potential enforcement in the United States and elsewhere. It also includes cases filed in the United States in the first instance, like Gonzales, Tellez, and Sinaltrainal.

From the plaintiffs' standpoint, it also appears that they believe the tactics can help achieve their ultimate goals. This is seen in the increase in the number and variety of tactics. Just as the cases from the 2000s bore greater numbers of strategic efforts than cases from 1990s, the cases in the 2010s undoubtedly will see even further growth. Plaintiffs' attorneys are learning from the successive cases that they and others bring, and pursuing those extra-legal efforts they believe worthwhile. Those trends certainly suggest that plaintiffs' advocates believe that they work, or at least have little downside.

374. A study of defense tactics may yield additional considerations for plaintiffs and other participants in the legal process.

375. See generally Vega, supra note 17, at 402 (discussing ATS cases). That growth likely will cause defendants to increase their own tactics.

376. Perhaps from the defense standpoint, as well.

377. See generally Holzmeyer, supra note 15.
Indeed, in at least one case, *Presbyterian Church of Sudan v. Talisman Energy, Inc.* they may be right. Talisman, a Canadian energy company listed on the New York Stock Exchange, became invested in Sudan in 1998 when its subsidiary purchased a company that was part of a consortium with three state-owned oil companies. The consortium, which focused on petroleum development in Southern Sudan, operated through an entity called the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company Limited ("GNPOC"). GNPOC’s exploration and production activities occurred during a fierce civil war that had long engulfed Southern Sudan, with rebel groups fighting each other and the Sudanese Government. To protect its operation, GNPOC received security support from the government. GNPOC also provided logistical assistance to government units pursuant to a set of guidelines that limited the assistance to the government’s defense of the petroleum facilities, as opposed to government military operations against rebel groups. GNPOC also built certain infrastructure for itself, such as roads and airstrips, which the government also used. As part of its social activities, GNPOC and Talisman spent millions of dollars in local development programs. They also apparently aided efforts to bring peace to the civil war ravaged nation, acting as “a significant source of information on conditions in southern Sudan,” and playing a role “in assisting U.S. peace envoy John Danforth during the process that lead to the signing of the 2002 Machakos Peace Protocol ending the civil war in southern Sudan.” However, during the conflict, the Sudanese military committed widespread human rights violations, allegedly funded in part by royalties the consortium was obligated to pay to the government.

Based on that funding, in 2001, plaintiffs filed an ATS case against Talisman in federal court in New York, relying on secondary theories of liability. The plaintiffs alleged that Talisman assisted the government in its human rights violations. For a decade, the company prevailed in court, and the case has now been dismissed. Nonetheless, the litigation was accompanied by an array of tactics, including protests, a stock divestment campaign targeting institutional investors, and political pressures in the United States and Canada, headed by multiple NGOs working together. The plaintiffs likewise

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378. 582 F.3d 244 (2d Cir. 2009).
employed media tactics effectively.\textsuperscript{384} In the end, these combined efforts clearly had an impact. As one commentator noted, "[I]t is clear that Talisman's stock price fell despite the success of its oil operations in Sudan. It is reasonable to assume that the decline in valuation of the company reflected the negative publicity and pressure on investors to sell resulting from the efforts of the advocacy groups."\textsuperscript{385}

In 2003, Talisman succumbed to the multi-faceted pressures. It sold its interest to an Indian state-controlled oil and gas company, lacking the same commitment to local development and peace efforts, rather than continuing to operate.\textsuperscript{386} This was a result, as commentators have noted, that "can hardly be described as a positive development."\textsuperscript{387} The lawsuit against Talisman, however, continued.

As Talisman demonstrates, while the ultimate success of some or all of the efforts by plaintiffs and defendants may be debatable in any given case, they now are ingrained in many such matters. The tactics are growing in size and frequency, and with the escalation of transnational tort cases, certainly look like they are here to stay.

\section*{B. Impact of the Tactics}

\subsection*{1. Corporate Considerations}

For corporations, that fact has several tangible results. It should help to inform a company about whether and how to engage potential claimants threatening a transnational tort action. It should likewise inform companies that, if there are inquiries and efforts being made by multiple NGOs, it may not be a coincidence, but could be related to a larger campaign with an uncertain planned outcome. It should also help provide awareness of the tactics and concerns that are likely to accompany a lawsuit in the United States or abroad, which should provide companies with some advance warning about how to prepare for and position themselves for the multiple fronts that transnational tort litigation now brings.

From an economic standpoint, the threats posed by these lawsuits and corporate campaigns are difficult to wholly ignore. Certainly, well known multinational companies seeking to invest in or enter emerging markets must be conscious that a perceived failure to adhere to international norms, sometimes

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{384} Id.
\bibitem{385} Id. at 444.
\bibitem{387} Krishnamurthy, et. al, \textit{supra} note 381.
\end{thebibliography}
THINK GLOBALLY, SUE LOCALLY

regardless of local legal requirements, can lead to a high-profile lawsuit seeking a large damage award, and with it an accompanying set of aggressive tactics that can hurt the company’s image and reputation. At a minimum, due diligence and impact assessments in the relatively early phases of investment may make sense in some situations. In extreme cases, some companies likely will be deterred from pursuing certain overseas investments, or, like Talisman, in continuing certain overseas operations.

2. Compliance Solutions

For those companies that elect to pursue overseas investments, or to continue operations abroad, these threats also demand focused efforts designed to minimize potential problems through earnest compliance solutions. That entails more than corporate responsibility measures. It includes meaningful stakeholder engagement, training requirements for relevant personnel, relevant corporate policies and guidelines, means of reporting problems and immediate investigations, disciplinary actions against personnel who fail to adhere to policies, attention to third parties providing services for the company—including in due diligence, in contracts, and through audits—and an overall attention to human rights concerns. In short, management must make a dedicated effort to prevent problems from arising, and quickly address those problems that do arise.

C. The Vulnerabilities of Transnational Tort Litigation

As seems clear, and as Judge Chaney stated in Tellez and other commentators have noted, the synergy of issues in these cases, involving facts that can be difficult to verify, zealous advocates, frequently indigent plaintiffs susceptible to undue influence, the potential for substantial damages, and foreign systems particularly prone to manipulation, creates certain vulnerabilities to

388. See Holzmeyer, supra note 15, at 292.

389. Professor John Ruggie, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Business and Human Rights, is in the process of issuing guiding principles that will emphasize these steps and others for companies in seeking to protect and respect human rights. See DRAFT REPORT OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL ON THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND OTHER BUSINESS ENTERPRISES (November 22, 2010), available at http://www.reports-and-materi als.org/Ruggie-UN-draft-Guiding-Principles-22-Nov-2010.pdf.

fraudulent lawsuits and rule of law concerns. Such inherent problems with transnational tort cases, some have observed, "raise[] serious concerns about whether truth can be ascertained when foreigners bring cases to United States courts. Some countries . . . lack the institutional capacity to prevent conspiracy among lawyers, judges, and citizens, and to protect the integrity of the evidence." Without doubt, these vulnerabilities make it paramount for parties and the judiciary to closely scrutinize their own conduct in transnational tort cases and to pay particular attention to suspect circumstances.

1. Potential Legal Solutions in Direct Litigation

In practical terms, in direct litigation, although overseas discovery might be challenging for parties, they should pursue it vigorously. Foreign depositions should be sought and taken. The existence of documents located abroad should not deter parties from seeking their production. These efforts may require the cumbersome use of formal international evidence gathering methods, such as letters rogatory or reliance on the Hague Convention on Taking Evidence Abroad in Civil and Criminal Matters, but they nonetheless can be critical to uncovering the truth. Indeed, it is through exactly such processes that some of the problems in the transnational cases discussed above have been revealed. In addition, given the clear potential hazards faced by Western companies forced to litigate in some foreign courts, requests by defendants for dismissals on forum non conveniens, once a staple of transnational tort cases, should be fully thought through.

For the judiciary, the trends in transnational tort cases likewise may suggest actions. The bench perhaps may make certain accommodations, such as permitting a greater number of depositions than it might otherwise, assisting with granting orders for letters rogatory, or increasing the time for discovery to account for overseas fact gathering, in light of some of the unique concerns in transnational tort cases. Courts also might closely assess the propriety of proceeding when important overseas discovery, such as depositions of alleged tortfeasors or the joinder of indispensable parties, cannot be obtained. Given the proliferation of media tactics in the transnational tort cases, judges may also want to incorporate additional questions into voir dire for jury pools preceding transnational tort trials. And as did Judge Chaney, where questions of fraud

391. See Armin Rosencranz et al., Doling Out Environmental Justice to Nicaraguan Banana Workers: The Jose Adolfo Tellez v. Dole Food Company Litigation in the U.S. Courts, 3 GOLDEN GATE U. ENVTL. L.J. 161, 166-67 (2009). The article rhetorically asks, "Why should U.S. courts be open to cases brought by foreigners from countries where truth is difficult to come by?" Id. at 179.

392. Letters rogatory is a process where a court makes a formal request for judicial assistance to a foreign court.


arise, courts ought to carefully consider holding separate evidentiary hearings.

On a legislative basis, it may be appropriate, as some courts have done, to impose a heightened pleading standard in ATS cases, if not other types of transnational tort cases. One such court to follow that approach was the district court in *Sinaltrainal*. The court noted that, because the ATS requires that plaintiffs establish that a tort was committed in violation of international law, "the complaint must identify the specific international law that the defendant allegedly violated." That, the court noted, was a higher standard of pleading than is traditionally required under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. The court also noted the appropriateness of requiring "some heightened pleading standard when determining whether the complaints... sufficiently [pled] facts showing that Defendants violated the law of nations." The court explained that a higher standard may be warranted given the "risk that vague, conclusory, and attenuated allegations will allow individuals... to engage in unwarranted international 'fishing expeditions' against corporate entities and to abuse the judicial process in order to pursue political agendas." A higher pleading standard, as that court and others have noted, also helps to ensure courts proceed cautiously in recognizing new theories under the ATS, as *Sosa* mandates.

At present, under the Federal Rules of Evidence, only claims of fraud must be pled under a heightened standard. That higher burden exists because fraud claims may have a stigmatizing effect upon a defendant, and the elevated standard may "protect defendants from harm to their reputation and goodwill... prevent plaintiffs from filing baseless claims in an attempt to discover unknown wrongs." Given the similar concerns in transnational tort cases as expressed by the court in *Sinaltrainal*, and the inherent difficulties and expense associated with litigating such cases, formally importing a heightened pleading standard may be worth considering.


396. *In re Sinaltrainal*, 474 F. Supp. 2d at 1287.

397. Id. at 1275.


2. Potential Legal Solutions in Enforcement Actions

Litigants, courts and the legislature should also scrutinize foreign judgment enforcement actions. Corporate defendants should vigorously contest, as they no doubt will, attempts to enforce foreign judgments obtained under questionable circumstances.

As Osorio and Franco demonstrate, judges asked to enforce the increasing number of overseas transnational tort judgments being brought to the United States, whether they originated as ATS cases or otherwise, should pay close attention to rule of law concerns. This is true both in terms of the statutory framework under which the foreign action was litigated, as in the Special Law 364 context, and regarding the specific evidence and procedures in individual matters.

On a legislative level, federal amendments to permit a right of removal in transnational tort cases may be appropriate. At present, plaintiffs in any state court where jurisdiction may reside may bring foreign enforcement actions cases. Because of that, there is an inherent risk of forum shopping, either regarding particularly favorable state laws, or even to obtain a perceived sympathetic state court judge. Although many states have adopted a model law, the Uniform Foreign Money-Judgments Recognition Act, the terms of those state laws can vary, as can their interpretation by state courts. Providing a defendant with a right of removal in a foreign judgment enforcement action may help limit the risks of forum shopping and inconsistent interpretation and enforcement, and thus create greater consistency among decisions related to foreign judgments. Indeed, given the international component of a foreign judgment enforcement action, resolution by federal courts may be more appropriate doctrinally.

CONCLUSION

As the global economy expands, it certainly appears that the prospect of litigation in United States and foreign courts has expanded with it.
Transnational tort cases are on the rise, and now commonly feature tactics from plaintiffs, defendants, and interested third parties. For plaintiffs, the tactics frequently appear to include media, investment, political, and community organizing tactics. For corporate defendants operating overseas, those tactics underscore the importance of conducting due diligence, and seeking to institute meaningful compliance programs to identify and reduce potential negative human rights impacts.

In addition, given certain unique factors associated with transnational tort cases, including impoverished plaintiffs, foreign courts susceptible to influence, and the potential for substantial judgments, the prospect of false claims and tainted judgments—to the benefit of plaintiffs or defendants—is a substantial concern. Responsible parties obviously must seek to avoid unduly pressuring fragile foreign courts, or taking advantage of impoverished and “unsophisticated” plaintiffs. United States courts must be sure to avoid enforcing tainted judgments, ensuring that parties in direct litigation are able to conduct necessary discovery, and verifying that out-of-court tactics that parties may employ does not taint jurors. Legislators also may wish to consider measures, such as federal court jurisdiction in foreign enforcement actions or heightened pleading standards, to ensure that transnational tort cases proceed equitably and reliably. In short, as the world’s economy becomes increasingly intertwined, and the actions of foreign litigants and courts further impact legal determinations for United States companies at home and abroad, all participants in the process must work vigilantly to ensure that zealous advocacy outside the courtroom does not create unjust outcomes within it.