

# THE TOLL OF AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM ON AMERICAN JUSTICE

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## *I. American Exceptionalism as an Impediment to Morality in Law*

Early in his presidency, Barak Obama observed that “the fact that I am very proud of my country and I think that we’ve got a whole lot to offer the world does not lessen my interest in recognizing the value and wonderful qualities of other countries, or recognizing that we’re not always going to be right, or that other people may have good ideas.”<sup>1</sup> The American exceptionalism police were quick to charge him with heresy. Then Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal lamented, for example, that “[t]his is a president who won’t proudly proclaim American exceptionalism, maybe the first president ever who truly doesn’t believe in that.”<sup>2</sup>

The presumption that whatever America does or creates is invariably right and better has hardened into a pervasive ideology. Naturally, it includes our system of justice. And so we are able to conclude with little or no familiarity with the more popular inquisitorial model, that our adversarial model is superior in garnering

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Farley, *Obama and ‘American Exceptionalism’*, FACTCHECK.ORG (Feb. 12, 2015), <https://www.factcheck.org/2015/02/obama-and-american-exceptionalism/> (citing Edward Luce, *THE FINANCIAL TIMES* (April 4, 2009)).

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

truth, protecting the rights of the accused, and meting out justice.

The result of this, however, is not harmless error. It ultimately renders any assessment of our present system unnecessary, blinds us to the potential insights of a comparative perspective on the various models of justice, ultimately stands in the way of reforming aspects of our own system, and impedes the wholesale infusion of morality into our nation's law and legal procedure.<sup>3</sup>

And as if to buttress this thread of American exceptionalism and ensure a set of handy talking points to slap down any seditious talk about the merits of continental justice, a variety of misconceptions about the latter model have, over time, evolved and hardened into standard retorts.

## *II. Misconceptions about Inquisitorial Justice that Feed American Exceptionalism*

Myths like American exceptionalism feed on misconceptions, and American exceptionalism with respect to our adversarial model of justice is no exception. Professor John Henry Merryman, for example, has observed that, as “[A]mericans have sought to prove that our system is fairer . . . the debate is clouded by ignorance of the law and practice in civil law nations and by preconceptions that are difficult to dispel.”<sup>4</sup> Three of the central misconceptions are outlined below.

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<sup>3</sup> Law professors don't get a gold watch upon retirement. Typically, they get something much less expensive and much more valuable: a tribute in the form of warm remembrances of their colleagues published in their school's law review. Retiring Professor John Makdisi's request that, in lieu of the personal tributes, the scholarly publication of the Intercultural Human Rights Program he helped establish address the topic of the importance of morals to law represents the ultimate tribute to his character and love of knowledge.

<sup>4</sup> JOHN HENRY MERRYMAN, *THE CIVIL LAW TRADITION: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LEGAL SYSTEMS OF WESTERN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA* 129 (1985).

*Misconception #1: The Absence of the Presumption of Innocence in  
Other Western Democracies*

*[A] misapprehension[] about criminal procedure in the civil world . . . [is] that there is no presumption of innocence.<sup>5</sup>*

There is a widespread belief among much of the public—and even a number of commentators—that the presumption of innocence is uniquely a feature of Anglo-American justice and that, as one observer informed us, “[i]n the inquisitorial system . . . there is no presumption of innocence.”<sup>6</sup> Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. For example, in European legal regimes—as the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights reflects, “[e]veryone charged with a criminal offence shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty.”<sup>7</sup>

The misconception may well have roots in a basic, unappreciated difference between the adversarial and inquisitorial models. What we in the Anglo-American system think of as the trial is, in effect, divided into two stages in the typical inquisitorial proceeding: the “examining” stage followed by the trial stage.<sup>8</sup> In the examining, phase, the tribunal seeks to piece together an actual factual account of the alleged criminal episode, as in the evidentiary phase of our adversarial trials. It is at this point that weak cases or those with

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<sup>5</sup> *Id.*

<sup>6</sup> Susan Sullivan Lagon, *The Role of the Independent Judiciary*, <https://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/gov/freedpap4.htm> (last visited March 28, 2019) (stating that, “[b]ecause the French system is inquisitorial rather than adversarial, there is no presumption of innocence in court.”); *Contrast Between Common And Continental Legal Systems*, LAWTEACHER (Feb. 2, 2018), <https://www.lawteacher.net/free-law-essays/constitutional-law/contrast-between-common-and-continental-legal-systems-constitutional-law-essay.php> (“There is a trend in common law countries to think that continental law or inquisitorial systems do not possess the so-called ‘presumption of innocence’”).

<sup>7</sup> European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, art. 6(2), Nov. 4, 1950, 213 U.N.T.S. 220.

<sup>8</sup> JOHN HENRY MERRYMAN, *supra* note 4.

procedural improprieties can get dismissed,<sup>9</sup> and that the initial presumption of innocence can—as in a sufficiently strong case in an adversarial proceeding—buckle under the weight of the evidence. The presumption of innocence in inquisitorial proceedings is thus as robust as it is in our own.

*B. Misconception #2: The Universal Applicability of Trial by Jury*

Our country was born out of the tyrannical exercise of concentrated authority. The Founders ensured, at every turn, that the checks and balances they'd built into the Constitution would block the replication of life under the thumb of George III. An accused's right to be judged by a jury of his or her peers was a vital check on the judiciary, which might otherwise base outcomes on a political agenda or, if law enforcement brings strong cases over time, an implicit presumption of guilt. We are, quite appropriately, avid fans of the right to trial by jury.<sup>10</sup>

Yet, at the same time, we can carry the applicability of the right too far, universalizing its necessity in a fair system of criminal proceedings, as Thomas Jefferson did, in observing: "I consider trial by jury as the only anchor ever yet imagined by man, by which a government can be held to the principles of its constitution."<sup>11</sup>

Indeed, our reflexive projection of the need in all foreign systems for jury trials and Anglo-American procedure in general reflects an exceptionalist chauvinism that ignores the organic relationship of culture and history to law and procedure. The right to trial by jury, so central to our own system and responsive to our history, simply isn't a good fit for all nations.

Countries with mostly or large numbers of small or modest-

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<sup>9</sup> *Id.*

<sup>10</sup> Timothy A. Rowe, *Jury Trial: The Heart and Lungs of Liberty*, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR JUSTICE, <https://www.justice.org/republican-trial-lawyers-caucus-newsletter-winter-2018-%E2%80%94-trial-jury-heart-and-lungs-liberty> (last visited March 28, 2019).

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*

sized nomadic<sup>12</sup> or tribal communities are a good example. Imagine the people you must work with day in and day out and have smooth working relationships with for the organization to function effectively. Now imagine them having to serve as jurors in the trials of co-workers. It wouldn't be long—whatever verdicts result—before distrust and resentment undermined the goodwill necessary for the organization to thrive. Mimicking our right to a jury trial would, in that setting, have devastating results.

Changing the venue of a trial so that members of a different community would sit in judgment of the accused would be no solution either. The area between tribal communities is often impassable and the distance between nomadic communities—which are typically spread across vast expanses of inarable land—make the use of juries from other venues unfeasible.

Quite aside from the fact that trial by jury is not a necessary condition of all legitimate systems of justice, our hubris with regard to our own right to a jury is a first-class contradiction. If it were true that, as John Adams put it, trial by jury represents “the lungs of liberty,”<sup>13</sup> then the practice of resolving more than 95 percent of the prosecutions in the United States via plea bargaining<sup>14</sup> would make us hypocrites and negate the exceptionalist view that our system is the most just in the world.

The counterargument to the claim that the prevalence of plea bargains takes the wind out of the sails of American exceptionalism, at least with respect to jury trials, is that it is the ability to exercise the right, which one hundred percent of those facing much of a sentence possess, that gives it value and makes it an appropriate source of pride, rather than the number of times defendants rely on a jury to do justice.

And here is another example of the Holmesian notion that experience trumps logic.<sup>15</sup> It is not defendants' confidence in plea

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<sup>12</sup> For Mongolia as an example, see *Diplomacy in Action*, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, (April 8, 2022), <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/eap/154394.htm>.

<sup>13</sup> Rowe, *supra* note 10.

<sup>14</sup> BUREAU OF JUSTICE STATISTICS, <https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=tp&tid=23> (last visited March 28, 2019).

<sup>15</sup> OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., *THE COMMON LAW* (1881).

bargaining that prompts most to forgo jury trials, or their confidence in the judge that inspires others to opt for a non-jury trial. To the contrary, it's the well-founded fear of the unspoken surcharge of years of incarceration that judges routinely add to the prison sentences of defendants convicted by a jury.<sup>16</sup>

Why, one might wonder, does such a surcharge exist? After all, the convicted defendant who chose to have a non-jury trial showed the court no more remorse than the convicted defendant who opted for a jury.

The answer is one that, by comparison, makes sausage making look appetizing. With judges' dockets overflowing and our criminal court systems underfunded, judicial performance, remuneration, and advancement are measured more by the speed with which his or her honor can race through a docket than the quantum of justice they produce.<sup>17</sup> Pleas can be handled en masse in a matter of minutes, and non-jury trials—free of voir dire, extensive judicial instruction, and waiting around for verdicts—typically take a fraction of the time that a jury-trial consumes.<sup>18</sup> Hence, much like the cab driver turning the meter on the moment a fare enters the cab, judges provide a sliding scale of punishment depending on the time it takes for the defendant to reach his or her judicial destination. With the curtain pulled back, American criminal justice begins to look exceptional in a rather unflattering way.

### *C. Misconception #3: The Devaluation of Human Life in Other Systems*

A misconception many Americans share about continental justice is that its penalties show little regard for the sanctity of human

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<sup>16</sup> Nancy J. King & Rosevelt L. Noble, *Jury Sentencing in Noncapital Cases: Comparing Severity and Variance with Judicial Sentences in Two States*, J. EMPIRICAL LEG. STUDIES (2005) (reflecting that “jury sentences after jury trial were . . . more severe than sentences selected by judges after bench trial”).

<sup>17</sup> Terence Roth, *The Rocket Docket* 22 LIT. 48, 51 (1996).

<sup>18</sup> *Id.* (“Most criminal justice . . . is dispensed in less than an afternoon, with speed, not fairness, taking precedence . . . When speed becomes the most important value in a [court] system, it works a real unfairness to most criminal defendants”).

life and thus fail to serve as sufficient deterrents. A clear example is the general moral outrage in this country when, back in 2011, a 21-year prison sentence was handed down to Andres Breivik, the remorseless, far-right Norwegian nationalist who gunned down 77 children at a summer camp near Oslo.<sup>19</sup>

For such an unthinkable atrocity, we naturally assume that the perpetrator must receive either a life sentence or the death penalty, depending on one's particular view of capital punishment. And so we conclude that a sentence of 21 years—which is the maximum permitted under Norwegian law and works out to under four months for each murdered child—reflects a deeply disturbing undervaluation of human life. Twitter reflected the general American sentiment with countless statements, including, “How many children do you have to kill to get a life sentence [in Norway]?” “21 years for Breivik is cruel and unusual to the victims and their families,” and “Hardly a punishment for his hideous crimes,” among many others.<sup>20</sup> We are wrong with regard to the devaluation of life outside our system, and our misinformed conclusion hardens into a major misconception about other legal systems, as we learn over time of other such sentences. Experts in Norwegian criminal justice, for example, tell us that Breivik will ultimately fare no differently than he would in our system, and is virtually certain to spend all of his remaining days in prison. In Norway, with an atrocious crime, one's release from prison is denied unless strong evidence exists that the inmate no longer poses a threat, a conclusion—Norwegian experts assure us—that will not be reached in Breivik's case.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Amanda Devlin & Gemma Mullin, *Massacre Monster: Who is Anders Behring Breivik? Mass murderer who carried out the 2011 Norway attacks in Oslo and Utoya*, THE SUN (Oct. 15, 2018), <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2577646/anders-behring-breivik-2011-norway-attacks-oslo-utoya/>.

<sup>20</sup> Olga Khazan, *Was Breivik's 21-year-sentence enough?*, THE WASHINGTON POST (Aug. 24, 2012), [https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/blogpost/post/is-breiviks-21-year-sentence-enough/2012/08/24/6fd383f0-edfe-11e1-afd6-f55f84bc0c41\\_blog.html?utm\\_term=.ceb2c4bcf892](https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/blogpost/post/is-breiviks-21-year-sentence-enough/2012/08/24/6fd383f0-edfe-11e1-afd6-f55f84bc0c41_blog.html?utm_term=.ceb2c4bcf892).

<sup>21</sup> Helge Kåre Fauskanger, *Is there any chance that Anders Breivik will ever be released?*, QUORA (June 8, 2017), <https://www.quora.com/Is-there-any-chance-that-Anders-Breivik-will-ever-be-released>.

*III. Conclusion*

American exceptionalism has been described as the “[b]elief that the U.S. follows a path of history different from the laws or norms that govern other countries”<sup>22</sup> and, more specifically, that it “[i]s the bearer of freedom and liberty, and morally superior to something called ‘Europe.’”<sup>23</sup> Put simply, it represents the irrebuttable presumption that, if it is American, it is better. In turn, our misconceptions about continental justice serve as the lifeblood of the notion that the American system is, among all other things American, exceptional and, whether or not the system is optimal, there’s nothing to be gained by examining other models.

Those who understand the structure and realities of both the adversarial and inquisitorial systems of criminal justice, however, develop insights into the particular strengths and weaknesses of each system.<sup>24</sup> The prerequisite to any such insights, moreover, is the shedding of widespread misconceptions about the inquisitorial model and the hubris that stands in the way of a critical look at our own process, as well as an appreciation of the interwoven nature of history, heritage, and culture with law and legal process. The failure to abandon these misconceptions ultimately thwarts the development of an optimal system of adversarial justice.

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<sup>22</sup> Ian Tyrell, *What, exactly, is ‘American exceptionalism’?*, THE WEEK (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://theweek.com/articles/654508/what-exactly-american-exceptionalism>.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.*

<sup>24</sup> See generally Christa Roodt, *A Historical Perspective on the Accusatory and Inquisitorial Systems*, 10 *FUNDAMINA* 137 (2004); M.K. Block, J.S. Parker, O. Vyborna, & L. Dusek, *An Experimental Comparison of Adversarial Versus Inquisitorial Procedural Regimes*, 2 *AM. L. & ECON. REV.* 170 (2000); Matthew King, *Security, Scale, Form, and Function: The Search for Truth and the Exclusion of Evidence in Adversarial and Inquisitorial Justice Systems*, 12 *INT’L LEG. PERSP.* 185 (2002); JOHN HENRY MERRYMAN, *supra* note 4.

## PROSECUTORIAL INDISCRETION

ALFRED R. LIGHT\*

In honor of John and June Mary Makdisi, this volume's general theme is about the importance of morality to law. They will be missed, having impacted students in a wide array of courses, stretching from Torts, Remedies, and Property to Evidence, Natural Law, and Family Law. Although my remarks strictly relate to my principal area of expertise and interest (i.e., environmental law), they are no less imbued with some of the moral concerns that have marked the academic lives of the Makdisis. As a professor working in the environmental field, moreover, considering the relationship of morality to law can be quite an interesting chore. In general, environmental law is an arena of strict—if not absolute—liability, and *mens rea* has little to do with liability except, occasionally, for criminal liability.<sup>1</sup> Even there, the Department of Justice has been successful in “watering down” knowledge requirements. A criminal defendant need only know *what* he was doing and not *that* his activity violated the law, in order to be liable.<sup>2</sup> So environmental lawyers generally think about science and engineering, not moral responsibility. We think about the law of nature, not natural law.<sup>3</sup> To the extent that we think about moral or ethical responsibility, it is about making our legal analysis reflect the realities of science, say, of climate change.<sup>4</sup>

It is well known that criminal prosecutors wield enormous

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<sup>1</sup> See generally J. Manly Parks, *The Public Welfare Rationale: Defining Mens Rea in RCRA*, 19 WM & MARY ENV'T L. & POL'Y REV. 219 (1993).

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., *United States v. Hoflin*, 880 F.2d 1033 (9th Cir. 1989), cert. denied 493 U.S. 1083 (1993).

<sup>3</sup> For the distinction, see generally BRIAN TIERNEY, *NATURAL LAW, LAWS OF NATURE, NATURAL RIGHTS* (2005).

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Keith Rizzardi, *Rising Tides, Receding Ethics: Why Real Estate Professionals Should Seek the Moral High Ground*, 6 WASH. & LEE J. ENERGY, CLIMATE & ENV'T 402 (2015).

power, with virtually unfettered discretion in deciding who to charge with a crime, what charges to file, when to drop them, whether or not to plea bargain, and how to allocate prosecutorial resources. In death penalty jurisdictions, the prosecutor literally decides who should live and who should die by virtue of the charging discretion.<sup>5</sup> This does make one uncomfortable. It can be dispositive in the immigration context as well. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (“ICE”) can influence an immigration judge to administratively close a case. Administrative closure means that ICE will stop prosecuting a case and will not attempt to deport an alien. ICE may still attempt to deport them in the future, but if they do, they must give them notice and the opportunity to challenge the deportation.<sup>6</sup>

### *The Jefferson Hypothetical*

My claim here, though, is that prosecutorial discretion, even if that term is not used, is very important outside the criminal and immigration contexts, including environmental law. Consider the “typical” early case under CERCLA, the Superfund cleanup statute.<sup>7</sup> The statute includes complicated and convoluted language defining potentially liable parties—past and present owners and operators of a facility, transporters of hazardous substances to a facility, and, significantly, anyone who “arranged for disposal” of such substances that ended up at a facility.<sup>8</sup> The nature of the liability is largely undefined, so the Department of Justice (“DOJ”) broadly demands that the standard be strict (absolute, really), joint and several, and retroactive.<sup>9</sup> Remarkably, courts have gone along with the DOJ’s

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<sup>5</sup> See generally Andrew L. Sonner, *Prosecutorial Discretion and the Death Penalty*, 18 MD. B. J. 6 (1985).

<sup>6</sup> United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement, *Memorandum on Exercising Prosecutorial Discretion Consistent with the Civil Immigration Enforcement Priorities of the Agency for the Apprehension, Detention, and Removal of Aliens*, at 2 (June 17, 2011), <https://www.ice.gov/doclib/secure-communities/pdf/prosecutorial-discretion-memo.pdf>.

<sup>7</sup> 42 U.S.C. § 9601-9675.

<sup>8</sup> 42 U.S.C. §9607(a).

<sup>9</sup> *Superfund Liability*, EPA.Gov, <https://www.epa.gov/enforcement/superfun>

arguments that the Government need not show that the materials for which a defendant arranged for disposal are the materials that actually ended up at a problem site. They need only show that the substances connected to the defendant are chemically similar to substances found there.<sup>10</sup>

The net effect of its “embarrassment of riches,” in successfully advocating for broad liability under CERCLA (parent company liability, successor liability, etc.), is that, of many potential defendants (potentially responsible parties or PRPs in CERCLA-speak), the Government has virtually unlimited discretion to choose the few whom it wishes to pursue for all of its costs and damages, leaving it to the defendants to pursue, if they wish, others to share in the reimbursement.<sup>11</sup> In addition, the Government may settle with its favored and shift the remainder of the liability to those who resisted its settlement advances, using such factors as “cooperation” and “ability to pay” as part of the basis for the amount of settlement.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1980s, when I was in private practice and right as CERCLA was beginning to take effect, I wrote a hypothetical for an ABA meeting as a satire of the then rapidly developing caselaw. Imagine that the heirs of Thomas Jefferson hid their flatware as the Union army was about to arrive during the Civil War.<sup>13</sup> It was removed to another location, and after 1980 the Government sued to recover its costs of removal. I thought the hypothetical was good satire, but I didn’t realize how good until I got it published, and the Eastern District of Virginia began getting requests for the pleadings in the case. The publisher—the Environmental Law Institute—had to publish a note that the case was not “real.”<sup>14</sup>

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d-liability (last visited March 29, 2019).

<sup>10</sup> See *United States v. Monsanto*, 858 F.2d 160 (4th Cir. 1988).

<sup>11</sup> See generally Alfred R. Light, *Déjà Vu All Over Again? A Memoir of Superfund Past*, 10 NAT. RES. & ENV’T 29 (1995).

<sup>12</sup> Environmental Protection Agency, *Memorandum on Interim CERCLA Settlement Policy*, at 10 (Dec. 5, 1984), <https://www.epa.gov/sites/production/files/2013-10/documents/cerc-settlmnt-mem.pdf>.

<sup>13</sup> Alfred Light, *United States v. Thomas Jefferson IV et al. (A Superfund Story)*, 15 ENV’T L.F. 17 (1985).

<sup>14</sup> Light, *supra* note 11, at 29.

“Real” problems were bad enough themselves back then. For example, the firm for which I worked litigated one of the first CERCLA cases to be appealed in the Fourth Circuit. We represented four defendants, three fortune 500 companies, and one small company that had shipped one drum of hazardous substances to the facility which the Government had cleaned up. Or so we thought? After we lost the appeal, we petitioned the United States Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari.<sup>15</sup> In its opposing brief, the Solicitor General disclosed in a footnote for the first that it had settled with the “one drum” defendant—having contacted its CEO without informing us, its legal counsel for purposes of the litigation.<sup>16</sup> The Land and Natural Resources Division attorneys apparently felt emboldened to do this despite the normal ethical constraints on contacting represented parties directly.<sup>17</sup> Why? Perhaps they feared losing a precedent about “de minimis” contributors. After all, the Assistant Attorney General had testified that he did not believe the United States could impose joint and several liability for the entire amount on such a party.<sup>18</sup>

*A Tax, Not a Tort*

What does this have to do with the relationship between morality and the law? Because DOJ was so successful in its litigation campaign back then to destroy the normal constraints on civil, tort-like liability in the CERCLA context, the statutory liability regime largely lost its ethical moorings. Although the United States Supreme Court restored some limits to CERCLA liability in a few recent decisions, it remains the case that the CERCLA defendant is mostly at

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<sup>15</sup> This was *United States v. Monsanto*, 858 F.2d 160 (1988), referred to earlier.

<sup>16</sup> *Monsanto Co., et al v. United States of America*, No. 88-1404, Brief for the United States in Opposition, at 11 (n. 8) (1988) (referring to “the settlement with AquAir Corp., entered while this case was on appeal”).

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., RULES OF PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT r. 4.2 (D.C. BAR ASS’N 2019).

<sup>18</sup> I know that Henry Habicht, the Assistant Attorney General for Land & Natural Resources, testified to this effect before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. I was there. See *S. Hrg. 415—Superfund Improvement Act of 1985, Hearing on S.51 before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, June 7, 1985*, 99th Cong., 1st Sess.

the mercy of the Environmental Protection Agency (“EPA”)/DOJ’s prosecutorial discretion.<sup>19</sup> The EPA and DOJ acknowledge that they select defendants to sue or settle with on the basis of who is the “deep pocket,” rather than their involvement in the activity that led to the pollution. As one staffer in the Office of Management and Budget once put it, it’s more like a tax than a tort. However, I think it’s worse than a tax, where one can estimate liability based on income or sales. CERCLA liability is more uncertain because the extent of liability also depends on “prosecutorial discretion.”

Let’s briefly survey in more detail this loss of ethical moorings in the CERCLA context and how one might seek to restore them. This is a pipedream, of course, since no one in academia (or in the practicing bar for that matter) would even perceive this topic as an issue to be addressed. But the application of common law tort principles to CERCLA, in essence the restoration of a relationship of the statute to morality and ethics is a worthy purpose in my view, even if it is only my idiosyncratic pipedream. I will discuss several related aspects: (1) retroactivity; (2) causation; (3) allocation (contribution); and (4) equity. Over the years, the Makdisis taught these principles in their courses in Torts and Remedies. At a minimum, I think they should get my take on how CERCLA has chosen to ignore them.

What made my 1985 Jefferson hypothetical effective satire, I think, was playing off its retroactive application to defendants who acted during the Civil War, more than 150 years ago. Could a statute enacted in 1980 create strict, joint and several liability for such acts? The courts rejected the notion that CERCLA provided a new remedy for acts for which defendants were already liable. Indeed, the statute’s *raison d’être* was the creation of expanded liability associated with the pre-enactment conduct over pre-existing law. Were liability standards the same, the statute would not have its intended effect. On the other hand, were the liability imposed criminal liability, the United States Constitution would flatly prohibit its imposition both as *ex post facto*

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<sup>19</sup> See generally Alfred R. Light, *Restatement for Arranger Liability under CERCLA: Implications of Burlington Northern for Superfund Jurisprudence*, 11 VT. J. ENV’T L. 371 (2009); Alfred R. Light, *Restatement for Joint and Several Liability Under CERCLA After ‘Burlington Northern’*, 39 ENV’T L. REP. NEWS & ANALYSIS 11058 (Nov. 2009).

and, possibly, under the Bill of Attainder clauses.<sup>20</sup> They do not “apply,” however, to CERCLA’s civil liability.<sup>21</sup> Until the Government’s (or other CERCLA plaintiff’s) response takes place, the statute of limitations on a CERCLA violation does not even begin to run.<sup>22</sup> So the activity upon which liability is based can conceivably stretch back to the “deluge.” In fact, one of my cases in practice dealt with pollution that resulted from the deposition of coal tar by a utility that burned coal to illuminate street lights in the 1890’s.<sup>23</sup>

The common law principle addressing *retroactivity* is that legislation is presumed to apply prospectively only, and retroactive application must be expressly authorized.<sup>24</sup> It also must be consistent with the standards of substantive due process (rational basis), and some members of the Supreme Court have thought that the imposition of retroactive liability can constitute a taking.<sup>25</sup> But no court has ever limited the application of CERCLA on these grounds.

First-year law students learn that strict liability regimes still incorporate principles of moral responsibility through *causation* doctrines such as foreseeability. As one leading remedies treatise puts it, “Events are not inherently or intrinsically foreseeable; events are deemed foreseeable or not because such a finding leads to legal results that are deemed to be socially, morally, and politically acceptable.”<sup>26</sup> The Government’s campaign in the 1980s for expansive recovery under CERCLA went after this incorporation of jurisprudential principles to eliminate applicability of notions of proximate cause, foreseeability, or indeed, causation-in-fact to CERCLA liability.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> U.S. CONST. art. I, § 9, cl. 1; U.S. CONST. art. I, § 9, cl. 3.

<sup>21</sup> See generally Jane Harris Aiken, *Ex Post Factor in the Civil Context: Unbridled Punishment*, 81 KENT. L. REV. 323 (1993-94).

<sup>22</sup> 42 U.S.C. §9613(g).

<sup>23</sup> This is the Pine Street Canal site. See EPA.GOV, <https://sems.pub.epa.gov/work/01/459623.pdf> (last visited March 29, 2019).

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., E. E. Smead, *The Rule Against Retroactive Legislation: A Basic Principle of Jurisprudence*, 20 MINN. L. REV. 775 (1936).

<sup>25</sup> Alfred R. Light, “Taking” CERCLA Seriously: *The Constitution Really Does Not Limit Retroactive Liability*, 13 TOXICS L. REP. 238 (1998).

<sup>26</sup> JAMES M. FISCHER, UNDERSTANDING REMEDIES 80 (3d ed. 2014).

<sup>27</sup> See generally Julie L Mendel, *CERCLA Section 107: An Examination of Causation*, 40 J. URB. & CONT. L. 83 (1991).

Though the statute refers to a kind of causation, that is the “release causes the incurrence of response costs,”<sup>28</sup> in the context of generator or arranger liability, the Government successfully argued that it need not trace substances at a site to a particular defendant or prove that the defendant sent, or proposed to send, substances to the polluted site. It was enough that the defendant arranged for disposal of substances chemically similar to substances found at the site.<sup>29</sup> And it need not prove that those substances were part of the problem that the plaintiff EPA responded to. So interpreted, the statute essentially has no causation requirement at all.

The general common law *allocation* principle is that a defendant is responsible for that part of the plaintiff’s aggregate injury that was caused by defendant’s misconduct. The general approach distinguishes between divisible and indivisible injuries attributable to defendant’s misconduct. When the injuries are indivisible, defendant’s liability for the total injury turns on causation. If defendant’s misconduct was a substantial factor in plaintiff’s aggregate injury, defendant is liable for the whole.<sup>30</sup> In the CERCLA context, though, the Government has argued for the application of entire liability in all cases. Having eliminated the causation requirement for any liability, it extended its victory by defeating defendants’ argument for a substantial factor requirement to establish joint and several liability. Except in the settlement context where the statute authorizes “cash-outs” for de minimis parties, the Government resists the notion that any defendant can limit its responsibility for entire liability for any “indivisible” harm. And, of course, the Government has never found a harm it could not characterize as indivisible.

Where the Government settles with a defendant in a situation where there are other non-settling defendants, there is another context where the parties must confront the relative responsibility of liable parties for harm. The general principle is that the amount that the

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<sup>28</sup> 42 U.S.C. §9607(a)(4).

<sup>29</sup> United States v. Monsanto, 858 U.S. 160 (1988).

<sup>30</sup> See generally David Montgomery Moore, *The Divisibility of Harm Defense to Joint and Several Liability under CERCLA*, 23 ENVTL L. REP. 10529 (1993).

plaintiff may recover against the non-settling parties is reduced by the settling parties' responsibility. The Government, however, argues, at times successfully, that the amount is only reduced by the amount of the settlement, whatever the settling party's relative responsibility. In this way, it again can avoid issues about the relatively culpability or responsibility for the harm.

The provision of the statute authorizing *contribution* by one defendant against another reads: "In resolving contribution claims, the court may allocate response costs among liable parties using such equitable factors as the court determines are appropriate."<sup>31</sup> At least in this context, one would assume that the Government would have to concede that determination of relative responsibility is relevant under the statute. But its position is that equity is not its problem so long as it is completely reimbursed. Equity, negligence, culpability, or responsibility is not my problem seems to be the view.

*Equity* derives from the ideal that a judgment should be based on the particulars of the person and the situation. By contrast, in law justice is seen as a generalized decision making by consistent application of rules.<sup>32</sup> This is sometimes called the distinction between standards (equity) and rules (law). One might see the Government's CERCLA position as the ultimate assertion of equity jurisdiction, but it is not the equitable jurisdiction of courts which must consider fairness to defendant as well as plaintiff. It is instead the plaintiff Government's equitable discretion which sets the liability of each defendant and the extent of the liability. Instead of the court's equitable discretion, it is the Government's prosecutorial discretion that largely determines the result.

In the context of CERCLA, this Government desire for prosecutorial discretion rather than judicial equitable discretion is most easily seen in its campaign to limit judicial inquiry into the documentation of costs in cost recovery cases. CERCLA limits judicial review in such actions to an administrative record prepared by EPA, the executive branch agency that incurs the costs.<sup>33</sup> The

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<sup>31</sup> 42 U.S.C. §9613(f).

<sup>32</sup> JAMES M. FISCHER, *supra* note 26, at 178.

<sup>33</sup> *See generally* Alfred R. Light & M. David McGee, *Preenforcement*,

Government always argues that this limitation on judicial review requires courts to accept its accounting and to reject discovery into cost overruns and waste alleged by defendants. Unlike most civil litigation, there can be little discovery in CERCLA cases in the Government's view. This position most directly exposes the central problem, which is that the Government had reserved for itself not only the determination of liability and the extent of liability but also the extent of the remedy it can recover.

*The Remedy to Prosecutorial Indiscretion*

Is there a way to curb the Government's prosecutorial indiscretion and reestablish some connection between CERCLA liability and actual moral responsibility for the pollution which the statute is supposed to be addressing? I view this problem as within the umbrella of excessive executive authority *vis-à-vis* the Congress and the courts, that is, as a separation of powers problem. This decision to prosecute a criminal defendant or to pursue a particular potentially responsible party under CERCLA is currently considered a decision exclusively for the executive branch.<sup>34</sup> The history of U.S. Environmental Law suggests some ways that this might be curbed.

During the Reagan Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency dragged its feet with respect to its obligations to enforce the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA). This led to the Hazardous and Solid Waste Amendments of 1984, where a Democratic Congress imposed "hammers" in which EPA was given deadlines to promulgate regulations under the Act, or suffer the consequences of a very extreme alternative statutory alternative.<sup>35</sup> For example, in the absence of an EPA proposal of regulation of liquids in

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*Preimplementation, and Postcompletion Preclusion of Judicial Review Under CERCLA*, 22 ENV'T L. REP. 10397 (1992).

<sup>34</sup> *Gundy v. United States*, OYEZ, <https://www.oyez.org/cases/2018/17-6086> (last visited March 29, 2019) (argued Oct. 2, 2018).

<sup>35</sup> See William L. Rosbe & Robert L. Gulley, *The Hazardous and Solid Waste Amendments of 1984: A Dramatic Overhaul of the Way America Manages its Hazardous Waste*, 14 ENV'T L. REP. 10458 (1984).

landfills, the statute would drop the hammer of an absolute ban on land disposal, which obviously all of American industry would oppose.<sup>36</sup> The “hammers” essentially circumscribed the Agency’s regulatory discretion, then a desire not to regulate.

CERCLA already contains the seeds of a similar approach to addressing the prosecutorial indiscretion problem, at least in part. The statute contains a settlement incentives provision, the nonbinding preliminary allocation of responsibility, under which the Government is given authority to suggest an allocation of responsibility among potentially responsible parties.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, at the Government’s insistence, the provision, forced on it by Senators Domenici, Simpson, and Bentsen was made “discretionary,” not reviewable by courts, and it has never been implemented to my knowledge.<sup>38</sup> If the Government had the obligation to prepare such NPARs or NBARs, and if, after judicial review, they became binding in a CERCLA case, the Government could no longer maintain its position that it can avoid involvement in allocation because of the joint and several liability concept. A blunter, if infeasible, instrument, would be to abolish the application of joint and several liability altogether. A number of state courts have done this in negligence actions.<sup>39</sup>

There are other “solutions” that might be useful at the margins, at least symbolically. A statute of repose, imposing a flat ban on pursuing former site owners, generators, or transporters, who would otherwise be liable under the language of CERCLA, makes some sense.<sup>40</sup> At this point, 38 years after its original enactment, even the abolition of retroactivity, i.e. only allowing for the pursuit of parties who acted after the date of enactment in December 1980, would be

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<sup>36</sup> *Id.*

<sup>37</sup> 42 U.S.C. §9622(e)(3).

<sup>38</sup> EPA did promulgate guidelines for the process, as Congress required. 52 Fed. Reg. 19199 (May 28, 1987). It then ignored the “discretionary” process, as far as I can tell.

<sup>39</sup> See, e.g., Brian Crews, *Florida’s Abolition of Joint and Several Liability*, BRIANCREWS.COM (Nov. 7, 2017), <http://bryancrews.com/floridas-abolition-joint-several-liability/>.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. 42 U.S.C. §9658, discussed in *CTS v. Waldburger*, 134 S.Ct. 2175 (2014).

good. It's probably far too late, though, to expect the courts to apply the traditional norm, so setting an earlier symbolic effective date, perhaps December 7, 1941, might be better. Getting Congress to do either of these things (mandatory allocation or a statute of repose) seems unlikely in the current environment.

And that's the really tough part of this prosecutorial indiscretion problem. The tendency of the Congress in recent decades has been simply to delegate authority to the executive branch without adequate standards. An extreme case is currently before the Supreme Court, where Congress seems to have told the Attorney General to decide who is liable under the statute the Congress enacted.<sup>41</sup> CERCLA approaches this in its discretion to select whatever "deep pockets" it wishes to pursue at any particular Superfund site. How can we make Congress do its job? Presidential executive orders are no solution; they simply emphasize the extent of congressional default. We have a rule of lawyers (or politicians) rather than a rule of law.

On the other hand, it might be a good first step for EPA to change direction and try to reconnect moral responsibility to its enforcement actions. If the agency actually had a few billion dollars in the Superfund with which it could approach CERCLA defendants with offers of "mixed funding" in situations where the bad actors have gone bankrupt or are otherwise missing, this might even be feasible.<sup>42</sup> I am not holding my breath, though. The EPA doesn't want to know who the bad actors were (or are), and its managers have convinced themselves that they don't have to know.

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<sup>41</sup> *Gundy v. United States*, OYEZ, <https://www.oyez.org/cases/2018/17-6086> (last visited March 29, 2019) (argued Oct. 2, 2018).

<sup>42</sup> See, e.g., Environmental Protection Agency, *Memorandum on Evaluating Mixed Funding Settlements under CERCLA* (Jan. 28, 2000), <https://www.epa.gov/sites/production/files/2013-10/documents/mixfnd-cercla-mem.pdf>.