

Juliana v. United States, 947 F.3d 1159 (9th Cir. 2020)

OPINION

HURWITZ, CIRCUIT JUDGE

In the mid-1960s, a popular song warned that we were "on the eve of destruction."^[1] The plaintiffs in this case have presented compelling evidence that climate change has brought that eve nearer. A substantial evidentiary record documents that the federal government has long promoted fossil fuel use despite knowing that it can cause catastrophic climate change, and that failure to change existing policy may hasten an environmental apocalypse.

The plaintiffs claim that the government has violated their constitutional rights, including a claimed right under the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment to a "climate system capable of sustaining human life." The central issue before us is whether, even assuming such a broad constitutional right exists, an Article III court can provide the plaintiffs the redress they seek—an order requiring the government to develop a plan to "phase out fossil fuel emissions and draw down excess atmospheric CO₂." Reluctantly, we conclude that such relief is beyond our constitutional power. Rather, the plaintiffs' impressive case for redress must be presented to the political branches of government.

I. Procedural Background

The plaintiffs are twenty-one young citizens, an environmental organization, and a "representative of future generations." Their original complaint named as defendants the President, the United States, and federal agencies (collectively, "the government"). The operative complaint accuses the government of continuing to "permit, authorize, and subsidize" fossil fuel use despite long being aware of its risks, thereby causing various climate-change related injuries to the plaintiffs. Some plaintiffs claim psychological harm, others impairment to recreational interests, others exacerbated medical conditions, and others damage to property. The complaint asserts violations of: (1) the plaintiffs' substantive rights under the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment; (2) the plaintiffs' rights under the Fifth Amendment to equal protection of the law; (3) the plaintiffs' rights under the Ninth Amendment; and (4) the public trust doctrine. The plaintiffs seek declaratory relief and an injunction ordering the government to implement a plan to "phase out fossil fuel emissions and draw down excess atmospheric [carbon dioxide]."^[2]

The district court denied the government's motion to dismiss, concluding that the plaintiffs had standing to sue, raised justiciable questions, and stated a claim for infringement of a Fifth Amendment due process right to a "climate system capable of sustaining human life." The court defined that right as one to be free from catastrophic climate change that "will cause human deaths, shorten human lifespans, result in widespread damage to property, threaten human food sources, and dramatically alter the planet's ecosystem." The court also concluded that the plaintiffs had stated a viable "danger-creation due process claim" arising from the government's failure to regulate third-party emissions. Finally, the court held that the plaintiffs had stated a public trust claim grounded in the Fifth and the Ninth Amendments.

The government unsuccessfully sought a writ of mandamus. *In re United States*, 884 F.3d 830, 837-38 (9th Cir. 2018). Shortly thereafter, the Supreme Court denied the government's motion for a stay of proceedings. *United States v. U.S. Dist. Court for Dist. of Or.*, 139 S.Ct. 1 (2018). Although finding the stay request "premature," the Court noted that the "breadth of respondents' claims is striking . . . and the justiciability of those claims presents substantial grounds for difference of opinion." *Id.*

The government then moved for summary judgment and judgment on the pleadings. The district court granted summary judgment on the Ninth Amendment claim, dismissed the President as a defendant, and dismissed the equal protection claim in part.[3] But the court otherwise denied the government's motions, again holding that the plaintiffs had standing to sue and finding that they had presented sufficient evidence to survive summary judgment. The court also rejected the government's argument that the plaintiffs' exclusive remedy was under the Administrative Procedure Act ("APA"), 5 U.S.C. § 702 et seq.

The district court initially declined the government's request to certify those orders for interlocutory appeal. But, while considering a second mandamus petition from the government, we invited the district court to revisit certification, noting the Supreme Court's justiciability concerns. *United States v. U.S. Dist. Court for the Dist. of Or.*, No. 18-73014, Dkt. 3; see *In re United States*, 139 S.Ct. 452, 453 (2018) (reiterating justiciability concerns in denying a subsequent stay application from the government). The district court then reluctantly certified the orders denying the motions for interlocutory appeal under 28 U.S.C. § 1292(b) and stayed the proceedings, while "stand[ing] by its prior rulings . . . as well as its belief that this case would be better served by further factual development at trial." *Juliana v. United States*, No. 6:15-cv-01517-AA, 2018 WL 6303774, at *3 (D. Or. Nov. 21, 2018). We granted the government's petition for permission to appeal.

II. The record on climate change

The plaintiffs have compiled an extensive record, which at this stage in the litigation we take in the light most favorable to their claims. See *Plumhoff v. Rickard*, 572 U.S. 765, 768 (2014). The record leaves little basis for denying that climate change is occurring at an increasingly rapid pace. It documents that since the dawn of the Industrial Age, atmospheric carbon dioxide has skyrocketed to levels not seen for almost three million years. For hundreds of thousands of years, average carbon concentration fluctuated between 180 and 280 parts per million. Today, it is over 410 parts per million and climbing. Although carbon levels rose gradually after the last Ice Age, the most recent surge has occurred more than 100 times faster; half of that increase has come in the last forty years.

Copious expert evidence establishes that this unprecedented rise stems from fossil fuel combustion and will wreak havoc on the Earth's climate if unchecked. Temperatures have already risen 0.9 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels and may rise more than 6 degrees Celsius by the end of the century. The hottest years on record all fall within this decade, and each year since 1997 has been hotter than the previous average. This extreme heat is melting polar ice caps and may cause sea levels to rise 15 to 30 feet by 2100. The problem is approaching "the

point of no return." Absent some action, the destabilizing climate will bury cities, spawn life-threatening natural disasters, and jeopardize critical food and water supplies.

The record also conclusively establishes that the federal government has long understood the risks of fossil fuel use and increasing carbon dioxide emissions. As early as 1965, the Johnson Administration cautioned that fossil fuel emissions threatened significant changes to climate, global temperatures, sea levels, and other stratospheric properties. In 1983, an Environmental Protection Agency ("EPA") report projected an increase of 2 degrees Celsius by 2040, warning that a "wait and see" carbon emissions policy was extremely risky. And, in the 1990s, the EPA implored the government to act before it was too late. Nonetheless, by 2014, U.S. fossil fuel emissions had climbed to 5.4 billion metric tons, up substantially from 1965. This growth shows no signs of abating. From 2008 to 2017, domestic petroleum and natural gas production increased by nearly 60%, and the country is now expanding oil and gas extraction four times faster than any other nation.

The record also establishes that the government's contribution to climate change is not simply a result of inaction. The government affirmatively promotes fossil fuel use in a host of ways, including beneficial tax provisions, permits for imports and exports, subsidies for domestic and overseas projects, and leases for fuel extraction on federal land .[4]

A. The Government's APA defense

The government by and large has not disputed the factual premises of the plaintiffs' claims. But it first argues that those claims must proceed, if at all, under the APA.

Why does the APA defense fail?

We reject that argument. The plaintiffs do not claim that any individual agency action exceeds statutory authorization or, taken alone, is arbitrary and capricious. See 5 U.S.C. § 706(2)(A), (C). Rather, they contend that the totality of various government actions contributes to the deprivation of constitutionally protected rights.

Why is the APA inappropriate for addressing constitutional claims?

Because the APA only allows challenges to discrete agency decisions, see *Lujan v. Nat'l Wildlife Fed'n*, 497 U.S. 871, 890-91 (1990), the plaintiffs cannot effectively pursue their constitutional claims -what ever their merits-under that statute.

Could Congress limit constitutional challenges to APA limits?

The defendants argue that the APA's "comprehensive remedial scheme" for challenging the constitutionality of agency actions implicitly bars the plaintiffs' freestanding constitutional claims. But, even if some constitutional challenges to agency action must proceed through the APA, forcing all constitutional claims to follow its strictures would bar plaintiffs from challenging violations of constitutional rights in the absence of a discrete agency action that caused the violation. See *Sierra Club v. Trump*, 929 F.3d 670, 694, 696 (9th Cir. 2019) (stating that plaintiffs could "bring their challenge through an equitable action to enjoin unconstitutional

official conduct, or under the judicial review provisions of the [APA]"); *Navajo Nation v. Dep't of the Interior*, 876 F.3d 1144, 1172 (9th Cir. 2017) (holding "that the second sentence of § 702 waives sovereign immunity broadly for all causes of action that meet its terms, while § 704's 'final agency action' limitation applies only to APA claims"). Because denying "any judicial forum for a colorable constitutional claim" presents a "serious constitutional question," Congress's intent through a statute to do so must be clear. See *Webster v. Doe*, 486 U.S. 592, 603 (1988) (quoting *Bowen v. Mich. Acad. of Family Physicians*, 476 U.S. 667, 681 n.12 (1986)); see also *Allen v. Milas*, 896 F.3d 1094, 1108 (9th Cir. 2018) ("After *Webster*, we have assumed that the courts will be open to review of constitutional claims, even if they are closed to other claims."). Nothing in the APA evinces such an intent.[5] Whatever the merits of the plaintiffs' claims, they may proceed independently of the review procedures mandated by the APA. See *Sierra Club*, 929 F.3d at 698-99 ("Any constitutional challenge that Plaintiffs may advance under the APA would exist regardless of whether they could also assert an APA claim [C]laims challenging agency actions-particularly constitutional claims-may exist wholly apart from the APA."); *Navajo Nation*, 876 F.3d at 1170 (explaining that certain constitutional challenges to agency action are "not grounded in the APA").

B. Standing

The government also argues that the plaintiffs lack Article III standing to pursue their constitutional claims. To have standing under Article III, a plaintiff must have (1) a concrete and particularized injury that (2) is caused by the challenged conduct and (3) is likely redressable by a favorable judicial decision. See *Friends of the Earth, Inc. v. Laidlaw Env'tl. Servs. (TOC), Inc.*, 528 U.S. 167, 180-81 (2000); *Jewel v. NSA*, 673 F.3d 902, 908 (9th Cir. 2011). A plaintiff need only establish a genuine dispute as to these requirements to survive summary judgment. See *Cent. Delta Water Agency v. United States*, 306 F.3d 938, 947 (9th Cir. 2002).

1. Injury

What are plaintiffs' individual injuries?

The district court correctly found the injury requirement met. At least some plaintiffs claim concrete and particularized injuries. Jaime B., for example, claims that she was forced to leave her home because of water scarcity, separating her from relatives on the Navajo Reservation. See *Trump v. Hawaii*, 138 S.Ct. 2392, 2416 (2018) (finding separation from relatives to be a concrete injury). Levi D. had to evacuate his coastal home multiple times because of flooding. See *Maya v. Centex Corp.*, 658 F.3d 1060, 1070-71 (9th Cir. 2011) (finding diminution in home property value to be a concrete injury). These injuries are not simply "'conjectural' or 'hypothetical;'" at least some of the plaintiffs have presented evidence that climate change is affecting them now in concrete ways and will continue to do so unless checked. *Lujan v. Defs. of Wildlife*, 504 U.S. 555, 560 (1992) (quoting *Whitmore v. Arkansas*, 495 U.S. 149, 155 (1990)); cf. *Ctr. for Biological Diversity v. U.S. Dep't of Interior*, 563 F.3d 466, 478 (D.C. Cir. 2009) (finding no standing because plaintiffs could "only aver that any significant adverse effects of climate change 'may' occur at some point in the future").

Are the injuries particularized?

The government argues that the plaintiffs' alleged injuries are not particularized because climate change affects everyone. But, "it does not matter how many persons have been injured" if the plaintiffs' injuries are "concrete and personal." *Massachusetts v. EPA*, 549 U.S. 497, 517 (2007) (quoting *Lujan*, 504 U.S. at 581 (Kennedy, J., concurring)); see also *Novak v. United States*, 795 F.3d 1012, 1018 (9th Cir. 2015) ("[T]he fact that a harm is widely shared does not necessarily render it a generalized grievance.") (alteration in original) (quoting *Jewel*, 673 F.3d at 909).

How many plaintiffs must have standing in an injunction proceeding?

And, the Article III injury requirement is met if only one plaintiff has suffered concrete harm. See *Hawaii*, 138 S.Ct. at 2416; *Town of Chester, N.Y. v. Laroe Estates, Inc.*, 137 S.Ct. 1645, 1651 (2017) ("At least one plaintiff must have standing to seek each form of relief requested in the complaint. . . . For all relief sought, there must be a litigant with standing."). The district court also correctly found the Article III causation requirement satisfied for purposes of summary judgment. Causation can be established "even if there are multiple links in the chain," *Mendia v. Garcia*, 768 F.3d 1009, 1012 (9th Cir. 2014), as long as the chain is not "hypothetical or tenuous," *Maya*, 658 F.3d at 1070 (quoting *Nat'l Audubon Soc'y, Inc. v. Davis*, 307 F.3d 835, 849 (9th Cir. 2002), amended on denial of reh'g, 312 F.3d 416 (9th Cir. 2002)). The causal chain here is sufficiently established.

2. Causation

What causes plaintiff's injuries?

The plaintiffs' alleged injuries are caused by carbon emissions from fossil fuel production, extraction, and transportation. A significant portion of those emissions occur in this country; the United States accounted for over 25% of worldwide emissions from 1850 to 2012, and currently accounts for about 15%. See *Massachusetts*, 549 U.S. at 524-25 (finding that emissions amounting to about 6% of the worldwide total showed cause of alleged injury "by any standard").

What is the role of the government?

And, the plaintiffs' evidence shows that federal subsidies and leases have increased those emissions. About 25% of fossil fuels extracted in the United States come from federal waters and lands, an activity that requires authorization from the federal government. See 30 U.S.C. §§ 181-196 (establishing legal framework governing the disposition of fossil fuels on federal land), § 201 (authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to lease land for coal mining).

What is the Bellon argument against causation?

Relying on *Washington Environmental Council v. Bellon*, 732 F.3d 1131, 1141-46 (9th Cir. 2013), the government argues that the causal chain is too attenuated because it depends in part on the independent actions of third parties. *Bellon* held that the causal chain between local agencies' failure to regulate five oil refineries and the plaintiffs' climate-change related injuries was "too tenuous to support standing" because the refineries had a "scientifically indiscernible" impact on climate change. *Id.* at 1143-44.

How does the court distinguish plaintiff's claims from those in Bellon?

But the plaintiffs here do not contend that their injuries were caused by a few isolated agency decisions. Rather, they blame a host of federal policies, from subsidies to drilling permits, spanning "over 50 years," and direct actions by the government. There is at least a genuine factual dispute as to whether those policies were a "substantial factor" in causing the plaintiffs' injuries. *Mendia*, 768 F.3d at 1013 (quoting *Tozzi v. U.S. Dep't of Health & Human Servs.*, 271 F.3d 301, 308 (D.C. Cir. 2001)).

3. Redressability

The more difficult question is whether the plaintiffs' claimed injuries are redressable by an Article III court. In analyzing that question, we start by stressing what the plaintiffs do and do not assert. They do not claim that the government has violated a statute or a regulation. They do not assert the denial of a procedural right. Nor do they seek damages under the Federal Tort Claims Act, 28 U.S.C. § 2671 et seq.

What is plaintiff's sole claim?

Rather, their sole claim is that the government has deprived them of a substantive constitutional right to a "climate system capable of sustaining human life," and they seek remedial declaratory and injunctive relief.

Is this a well-established constitutional right?

Reasonable jurists can disagree about whether the asserted constitutional right exists. Compare *Clean Air Council v. United States*, 362 F.Supp.3d 237, 250-53 (E.D. Pa. 2019) (finding no constitutional right), with *Juliana*, 217 F.Supp.3d at 1248-50; see also *In re United States*, 139 S.Ct. at 453 (reiterating "that the 'striking' breadth of plaintiffs' below claims 'presents substantial grounds for difference of opinion'").

Does the court have to decide if the right exists?

In analyzing redressability, however, we assume its existence. See *M.S. v. Brown*, 902 F.3d 1076, 1083 (9th Cir. 2018). But that merely begins our analysis, because "not all meritorious legal claims are redressable in federal court." *Id.*

What do plaintiffs have to establish to show standing?

To establish Article III redressability, the plaintiffs must show that the relief they seek is both (1) substantially likely to redress their injuries; and (2) within the district court's power to award. *Id.* Redress need not be guaranteed, but it must be more than "merely speculative." *Id.* (quoting *Lujan*, 504 U.S. at 561).

Is stating a constitutional claim enough?

The plaintiffs first seek a declaration that the government is violating the Constitution. But that relief alone is not substantially likely to mitigate the plaintiffs' asserted concrete injuries. A declaration, although undoubtedly likely to benefit the plaintiffs psychologically, is unlikely by itself to remediate their alleged injuries absent further court action. See *Clean Air Council*, 362 F.Supp.3d at 246, 249; *Steel Co. v. Citizens for a Better Env't*, 523 U.S. 83, 107 (1998) ("By the

mere bringing of his suit, every plaintiff demonstrates his belief that a favorable judgment will make him happier. But although a suitor may derive great comfort and joy from the fact that the United States Treasury is not cheated, that a wrongdoer gets his just deserts, or that the Nation's laws are faithfully enforced, that psychic satisfaction is not an acceptable Article III remedy because it does not redress a cognizable Article III injury."); see also *Friends of the Earth*, 528 U.S. at 185 ("[A] plaintiff must demonstrate standing separately for each form of relief sought.").

What do the plaintiffs want to force the government to do?

The crux of the plaintiffs' requested remedy is an injunction requiring the government not only to cease permitting, authorizing, and subsidizing fossil fuel use, but also to prepare a plan subject to judicial approval to draw down harmful emissions. The plaintiffs thus seek not only to enjoin the Executive from exercising discretionary authority expressly granted by Congress, see, e.g., 30 U.S.C. § 201 (authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to lease land for coal mining), but also to enjoin Congress from exercising power expressly granted by the Constitution over public lands, see U.S. Const. art. IV, § 3, cl. 2 ("The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States.").

Will stopping what the government is currently doing be enough?

As an initial matter, we note that although the plaintiffs contended at oral argument that they challenge only affirmative activities by the government, an order simply enjoining those activities will not, according to their own experts' opinions, suffice to stop catastrophic climate change or even ameliorate their injuries.[6]

What affirmative government actions do plaintiffs want stopped?

The plaintiffs' experts opine that the federal government's leases and subsidies have contributed to global carbon emissions. But they do not show that even the total elimination of the challenged programs would halt the growth of carbon dioxide levels in the atmosphere, let alone decrease that growth. Nor does any expert contend that elimination of the challenged pro-carbon fuels programs would by itself prevent further injury to the plaintiffs. Rather, the record shows that many of the emissions causing climate change happened decades ago or come from foreign and non-governmental sources.

What do plaintiff's experts say is necessary?

Indeed, the plaintiffs' experts make plain that reducing the global consequences of climate change demands much more than cessation of the government's promotion of fossil fuels. Rather, these experts opine that such a result calls for no less than a fundamental transformation of this country's energy system, if not that of the industrialized world.

Do the experts agree on what is necessary?

One expert opines that atmospheric carbon reductions must come "largely via reforestation," and include rapid and immediate decreases in emissions from many sources. "[L]eisurely reductions of one of two percent per year," he explains, "will not suffice." Another expert has opined that although the required emissions reductions are "technically feasible," they can be achieved only

through a comprehensive plan for "nearly complete decarbonization" that includes both an "unprecedentedly rapid build out" of renewable energy and a "sustained commitment to infrastructure transformation over decades." And, that commitment, another expert emphasizes, must include everything from energy efficient lighting to improved public transportation to hydrogen-powered aircraft.

Why can't plaintiffs rely on the standing arguments from *Mass v. EPA*?

The plaintiffs concede that their requested relief will not alone solve global climate change, but they assert that their "injuries would be to some extent ameliorated." Relying on *Massachusetts v. EPA*, the district court apparently found the redressability requirement satisfied because the requested relief would likely slow or reduce emissions. See 549 U.S. at 525-26. That case, however, involved a procedural right that the State of Massachusetts was allowed to assert "without meeting all the normal standards for redressability;" in that context, the Court found redressability because "there [was] some possibility that the requested relief [would] prompt the injury-causing party to reconsider the decision that allegedly harmed the litigant." *Id.* at 517-18, 525-26 (quoting *Lujan*, 504 U.S. at 572 n.7). The plaintiffs here do not assert a procedural right, but rather a substantive due process claim.[7]

Is the court confident that plaintiffs requested remedy would ameliorate their problems?

We are therefore skeptical that the first redressability prong is satisfied. But even assuming that it is, the plaintiffs do not surmount the remaining hurdle-establishing that the specific relief they seek is within the power of an Article III court. There is much to recommend the adoption of a comprehensive scheme to decrease fossil fuel emissions and combat climate change, both as a policy matter in general and a matter of national survival in particular.

Even if the remedy is sufficient, can a court order it?

But it is beyond the power of an Article III court to order, design, supervise, or implement the plaintiffs' requested remedial plan.

Which branches of government are charged with making policy choices?

As the opinions of their experts make plain, any effective plan would necessarily require a host of complex policy decisions entrusted, for better or worse, to the wisdom and discretion of the executive and legislative branches. See *Brown*, 902 F.3d at 1086 (finding the plaintiff's requested declaration requiring the government to issue driver cards "incompatible with democratic principles embedded in the structure of the Constitution").

What might these policy choices include?

These decisions range, for example, from determining how much to invest in public transit to how quickly to transition to renewable energy, and plainly require consideration of "competing social, political, and economic forces," which must be made by the People's "elected representatives, rather than by federal judges interpreting the basic charter of Government for the entire country." *Collins v. City of Harker Heights*, 503 U.S. 115, 128-29 (1992); see *Lujan*, 504

U.S. at 559-60 ("[S]eparation of powers depends largely upon common understanding of what activities are appropriate to legislatures, to executives, and to courts.").

What do the plaintiffs say the court can do?

The plaintiffs argue that the district court need not itself make policy decisions, because if their general request for a remedial plan is granted, the political branches can decide what policies will best "phase out fossil fuel emissions and draw down excess atmospheric CO₂." To be sure, in some circumstances, courts may order broad injunctive relief while leaving the "details of implementation" to the government's discretion. *Brown v. Plata*, 563 U.S. 493, 537-38 (2011).

Will this avoid the court having to make policy decisions?

But, even under such a scenario, the plaintiffs' request for a remedial plan would subsequently require the judiciary to pass judgment on the sufficiency of the government's response to the order, which necessarily would entail a broad range of policymaking.

Can climate change be fixed by executive action only?

Can the court order Congress to pass a statute?

And inevitably, this kind of plan will demand action not only by the Executive, but also by Congress. Absent court intervention, the political branches might conclude—however inappropriately in the plaintiffs' view—that economic or defense considerations called for continuation of the very programs challenged in this suit, or a less robust approach to addressing climate change than the plaintiffs believe is necessary. "But we cannot substitute our own assessment for the Executive's [or Legislature's] predictive judgments on such matters, all of which 'are delicate, complex, and involve large elements of prophecy.'" *Hawaii*, 138 S.Ct. at 2421 (quoting *Chi. & S. Air Lines, Inc. v. Waterman S.S. Corp.*, 333 U.S. 103, 111 (1948)). And, given the complexity and long-lasting nature of global climate change, the court would be required to supervise the government's compliance with any suggested plan for many decades. See *Nat. Res. Def. Council, Inc. v. EPA*, 966 F.2d 1292, 1300 (9th Cir. 1992) ("Injunctive relief could involve extraordinary supervision by this court. . . . [and] may be inappropriate where it requires constant supervision.").^[8]

Is there a clear constitutional guideline the court can use to evaluate whether the government response to climate change is adequate?

As the Supreme Court recently explained, "a constitutional directive or legal standards" must guide the courts' exercise of equitable power. *Rucho v. Common Cause*, 139 S.Ct. 2484, 2508 (2019). *Rucho* found partisan gerrymandering claims presented political questions beyond the reach of Article III courts. *Id.* at 2506-07. The Court did not deny extreme partisan gerrymandering can violate the Constitution. See *id.* at 2506; *id.* at 2514-15 (Kagan, J., dissenting). But, it concluded that there was no "limited and precise" standard discernible in the Constitution for redressing the asserted violation. *Id.* at 2500. The Court rejected the plaintiffs' proposed standard because unlike the one-person, one-vote rule in vote dilution cases, it was not "relatively easy to administer as a matter of math." *Id.* at 2501.

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With the court have to change the balance of governmental powers by interfering in executive and congressional action?

Is this the definition of a political question?

Rucho reaffirmed that redressability questions implicate the separation of powers, noting that federal courts "have no commission to allocate political power and influence" without standards to guide in the exercise of such authority. See *id.* at 2506-07, 2508. Absent those standards, federal judicial power could be "unlimited in scope and duration," and would inject "the unelected and politically unaccountable branch of the Federal Government [into] assuming such an extraordinary and unprecedented role." *Id.* at 2507; see also *Lexmark Int'l, Inc. v. Static Control Components, Inc.*, 572 U.S. 118, 125 (2014) (noting the "separation-of-powers principles underlying" standing doctrine); *Brown*, 902 F.3d at 1087 (stating that "in the context of Article III standing, . . . federal courts must respect their 'proper-and properly limited -role . . . in a democratic society'" (quoting *Gill v. Whitford*, 138 S.Ct. 1916, 1929 (2018))). Because "it is axiomatic that 'the Constitution contemplates that democracy is the appropriate process for change,'" *Brown*, 902 F.3d at 1087 (quoting *Obergefell v. Hodges*, 135 S.Ct. 2584, 2605 (2015)), some questions-even those existential in nature-are the province of the political branches. The Court found in *Rucho* that a proposed standard involving a mathematical comparison to a baseline election map is too difficult for the judiciary to manage. See 139 S.Ct. at 2500-02. It is impossible to reach a different conclusion here.

What might the court order the government to do?

The plaintiffs' experts opine that atmospheric carbon levels of 350 parts per million are necessary to stabilize the global climate. But, even accepting those opinions as valid, they do not suggest how an order from this Court can achieve that level, other than by ordering the government to develop a plan. Although the plaintiffs' invitation to get the ball rolling by simply ordering the promulgation of a plan is beguiling, it ignores that an Article III court will thereafter be required to determine whether the plan is sufficient to remediate the claimed constitutional violation of the plaintiffs' right to a "climate system capable of sustaining human life."

Could the court effectively assure that the government would carry out the plan?

We doubt that any such plan can be supervised or enforced by an Article III court. And, in the end, any plan is only as good as the court's power to enforce it.

C. Addressing the dissent's views

What fundamental constitutional rights does the dissent urge the court to adopt?

Our dissenting colleague quite correctly notes the gravity of the plaintiffs' evidence; we differ only as to whether an Article III court can provide their requested redress. In suggesting that we can, the dissent reframes the plaintiffs' claimed constitutional right variously as an entitlement to "the country's perpetuity," *Diss.* at 35-37, 39, or as one to freedom from "the amount of fossil-fuel emissions that will irreparably devastate our Nation," *id.* at 57.

Would there be standing to contest the willful dissolution of the Republic?

But if such broad constitutional rights exist, we doubt that the plaintiffs would have Article III standing to enforce them. Their alleged individual injuries do not flow from a violation of these claimed rights. Indeed, any injury from the dissolution of the Republic would be felt by all citizens equally, and thus would not constitute the kind of discrete and particularized injury necessary for Article III standing. See *Friends of the Earth*, 528 U.S. at 180-81. A suit for a violation of these reframed rights, like one for a violation of the Guarantee Clause, would also plainly be nonjusticiable. See, e.g., *Rucho*, 139 S.Ct. at 2506 ("This Court has several times concluded, however, that the Guarantee Clause does not provide the basis for a justiciable claim.") (citing *Pac. States Tel. & Tel. Co. v. Oregon*, 223 U.S. 118, 149 (1912)); *Luther v. Borden*, 48 U.S. 1, 36-37, 39 (1849).

Does the dissent provide a standard for judging how much climate change constitutes willful dissolution of the Republic?

More importantly, the dissent offers no metrics for judicial determination of the level of climate change that would cause "the willful dissolution of the Republic," *Diss.* at 40, nor for measuring a constitutionally acceptable "perceptible reduction in the advance of climate change," *id.* at 47. Contrary to the dissent, we cannot find Article III redressability requirements satisfied simply because a court order might "postpone[] the day when remedial measures become insufficiently effective." *Id.* at 46; see *Brown*, 902 F.3d at 1083 ("If, however, a favorable judicial decision would not require the defendant to redress the plaintiff's claimed injury, the plaintiff cannot demonstrate redressability[.]"). Indeed, as the dissent recognizes, a guarantee against government conduct that might threaten the Union-whether from political gerrymandering, nuclear proliferation, Executive misconduct, or climate change-has traditionally been viewed by Article III courts as "not separately enforceable." *Id.* at 39.

Is the perpetuity principle part of the Constitution?

Nor has the Supreme Court recognized "the perpetuity principle" as a basis for interjecting the judicial branch into the policy-making purview of the political branches. See *id.* at 42.

Does the majority accept the dissent's position that the court should have a remedy for every major problem?

Contrary to the dissent, we do not "throw up [our] hands" by concluding that the plaintiffs' claims are nonjusticiable. *Id.* at 33. Rather, we recognize that "Article III protects liberty not only through its role in implementing the separation of powers, but also by specifying the defining characteristics of Article III judges." *Stern v. Marshall*, 564 U.S. 462, 483 (2011). Not every problem posing a threat-even a clear and present danger-to the American Experiment can be solved by federal judges.

What did Judge Cardozo tell us?

As Judge Cardozo once aptly warned, a judicial commission does not confer the power of "a knight-errant, roaming at will in pursuit of his own ideal of beauty or of goodness;" rather, we

are bound "to exercise a discretion informed by tradition, methodized by analogy, disciplined by system." Benjamin N. Cardozo, *The Nature of the Judicial Process* 141 (1921).[9]

Is lack of action by the legislative and judicial branches enough to empower the courts?

The dissent correctly notes that the political branches of government have to date been largely deaf to the pleas of the plaintiffs and other similarly situated individuals. But, although inaction by the Executive and Congress may affect the form of judicial relief ordered when there is Article III standing, it cannot bring otherwise nonjusticiable claims within the province of federal courts. See *Rucho*, 139 S.Ct. at 2507-08; *Gill*, 138 S.Ct. at 1929 ("Failure of political will does not justify unconstitutional remedies.' . . . Our power as judges . . . rests not on the default of politically accountable officers, but is instead grounded in and limited by the necessity of resolving, according to legal principles, a plaintiff's particular claim of legal right." (quoting *Clinton v. City of New York*, 524 U.S. 417, 449 (1998) (Kennedy, J., concurring))); *Brown*, 902 F.3d at 1087 ("The absence of a law, however, has never been held to constitute a 'substantive result' subject to judicial review[.]").

The plaintiffs have made a compelling case that action is needed; it will be increasingly difficult in light of that record for the political branches to deny that climate change is occurring, that the government has had a role in causing it, and that our elected officials have a moral responsibility to seek solutions. We do not dispute that the broad judicial relief the plaintiffs seek could well goad the political branches into action. Diss. at 45-46, 49-50, 57-61.

Where it is the court say the plaintiffs must go to address their grievances?

We reluctantly conclude, however, that the plaintiffs' case must be made to the political branches or to the electorate at large, the latter of which can change the composition of the political branches through the ballot box. That the other branches may have abdicated their responsibility to remediate the problem does not confer on Article III courts, no matter how well-intentioned, the ability to step into their shoes.

III. Holding

For the reasons above, we reverse the certified orders of the district court and remand this case to the district court with instructions to dismiss for lack of Article III standing.[10]

REVERSED.

Dissent

STATON, District Judge, dissenting:

If an asteroid was bearing down on the earth, will the court have the power to stop it?

In these proceedings, the government accepts as fact that the United States has reached a tipping point crying out for a concerted response-yet presses ahead toward calamity. It is as if an asteroid were barreling toward Earth and the government decided to shut down our only

defenses. Seeking to quash this suit, the government bluntly insists that it has the absolute and unreviewable power to destroy the Nation.

...

What really worries the dissent?

What sets this harm apart from all others is not just its magnitude, but its irreversibility. The devastation might look and feel somewhat different if future generations could simply pick up the pieces and restore the Nation. But plaintiffs' experts speak of a certain level of global warming as "locking in" this catastrophic damage. Put more starkly by plaintiffs' expert, Dr. Harold R. Wanless, "[a]tmospheric warming will continue for some 30 years after we stop putting more greenhouse gasses into the atmosphere. But that warmed atmosphere will continue warming the ocean for centuries, and the accumulating heat in the oceans will persist for millennia" (emphasis added). Indeed, another of plaintiffs' experts echoes, "[t]he fact that GHGs dissipate very slowly from the atmosphere . . . and that the costs of taking CO₂ out of the atmosphere through non-biological carbon capture and storage are very high means that the consequences of GHG emissions should be viewed as effectively irreversible" (emphasis added). In other words, "[g]iven the self-reinforcing nature of climate change," the tipping point may well have arrived, and we may be rapidly approaching the point of no return.

What was the rosy prediction of the plaintiffs' expert that worried the dissenting judge?

Despite countless studies over the last half century warning of the catastrophic consequences of anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions, many of which the government conducted, the government not only failed to act but also "affirmatively promote[d] fossil fuel use in a host of ways." *Maj. Op.* at 15. According to plaintiffs' evidence, our nation is crumbling-at our government's own hand-into a wasteland. In short, the government has directly facilitated an existential crisis to the country's perpetuity.[3]

...

Where does the dissent find the perpetuity principle in the Constitution?

When the Articles of the Confederation proved ill-fitting to the task of safeguarding the Union, the framers formed the Constitutional Convention with "the great object" of "preserv[ing] and perpetuat[ing]" the Union, for they believed that "the prosperity of America depended on its Union." *The Federalist No. 2*, at 19 (John Jay) (E. H. Scott ed., 1898); see also Letter from James Madison to Thomas Jefferson (Oct. 24, 1787)[4] ("It appeared to be the sincere and unanimous wish of the Convention to cherish and preserve the Union of the States."). In pressing New York to ratify the Constitution, Alexander Hamilton spoke of the gravity of the occasion: "The subject speaks its own importance; comprehending in its consequences nothing less than the existence of the Union, the safety and welfare of the parts of which it is composed-the fate of an empire, in many respects the most interesting in the world." *The Federalist No. 1*, at 11 (Alexander Hamilton) (E. H. Scott ed., 1898). In light of this animating principle, it is fitting that the

Preamble declares that the Constitution is intended to secure "the Blessings of Liberty" not just for one generation, but for all future generations-our "Posterity."

The Constitution's structure reflects this perpetuity principle. See *Alden v. Maine*, 527 U.S. 706, 713 (1999) (examining how "[v]arious textual provisions of the Constitution assume" a structural principle). In taking the Presidential Oath, the Executive must vow to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," U.S. Const. art. II, § 1, cl. 8, and the Take Care Clause obliges the President to "take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed," U.S. Const. art. II, § 3. Likewise, though generally not separately enforceable, Article IV, Section 4 provides that the "United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and . . . against domestic Violence." U.S. Const. art. IV, § 4; see also *New York v. United States*, 505 U.S. 144, 184-85 (1992).

What did Lincoln say about it?

Less than a century after the country's founding, the perpetuity principle undergirding the Constitution met its greatest challenge. Faced with the South's secession, President Lincoln reaffirmed that the Constitution did not countenance its own destruction. "[T]he Union of these States is perpetual[.]" he reasoned in his First Inaugural Address, because "[p]erpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination." President Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address (Mar. 4, 1861). In justifying this constitutional principle, Lincoln drew from history, observing that "[t]he Union is much older than the Constitution." *Id.* He reminded his fellow citizens, "one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was 'to form a more perfect Union.'" *Id.* (emphasis added) (quoting U.S. Const. pmb.). While secession manifested the existential threat most apparently contemplated by the Founders-political dissolution of the Union-the underlying principle applies equally to its physical destruction.

Does ordinary pollution trigger the perpetuity principle?

This perpetuity principle does not amount to "a right to live in a contaminant-free, healthy environment." *Guertin v. Michigan*, 912 F.3d 907, 922 (6th Cir. 2019). To be sure, the stakes can be quite high in environmental disputes, as pollution causes tens of thousands of premature deaths each year, not to mention disability and diminished quality of life.[5] Many abhor living in a polluted environment, and some pay with their lives. But mine-run environmental concerns "involve a host of policy choices that must be made by . . . elected representatives, rather than by federal judges interpreting the basic charter of government[.]" *Collins v. City of Harker Heights*, 503 U.S. 115, 129 (1992).

Is it an environmental right?

The perpetuity principle is not an environmental right at all, and it does not task the courts with determining the optimal level of environmental regulation; rather, it prohibits only the willful dissolution of the Republic.[6]

...

Where do new rights come from?

Nor can the perpetuity principle be rejected simply because the Court has not yet had occasion to enforce it as a limitation on government conduct. Only over time, as the Nation confronts new challenges, are constitutional principles tested. For instance, courts did not recognize the anticommandeering doctrine until the 1970s because "[f]ederal commandeering of state governments [was] such a novel phenomenon." *Printz v. United States*, 521 U.S. 898, 925 (1997). And the Court did not recognize that cell-site data fell within the Fourth Amendment until 2018. In so holding, the Court rejected "a 'mechanical interpretation' of the Fourth Amendment" because "technology has enhanced the Government's capacity to encroach upon areas normally guarded from inquisitive eyes[.]" *Carpenter v. United States*, 138 S.Ct. 2206, 2214 (2018). Thus, it should come as no surprise that the Constitution's commitment to perpetuity only now faces judicial scrutiny, for never before has the United States confronted an existential threat that has not only gone unremedied but is actively backed by the government.

What if the voters do not care where climate change will reduce the earth to a smoking ruin?

The mere fact that we have alternative means to enforce a principle, such as voting, does not diminish its constitutional stature. Americans can vindicate federalism, separation of powers, equal protection, and voting rights through the ballot box as well, but that does not mean these constitutional guarantees are not independently enforceable. By its very nature, the Constitution "withdraw[s] certain subjects from the vicissitudes of political controversy, to place them beyond the reach of majorities and officials and to establish them as legal principles to be applied by the courts." *Barnette*, 319 U.S. at 638. When fundamental rights are at stake, individuals "need not await legislative action." *Obergefell*, 135 S.Ct. at 2605.

If you are interested, you can read the rest of the case in the linked full text.