1 THE UNITED STATES SENTENCING COMMISSION 2 PUBLIC HEARING 3 4 5 Tuesday, October 20, 2009 6 7 The public hearing convened in the Mineral Room at the Hyatt Regency Denver at Colorado Convention 8 9 Center, 650 - 15th Street, Denver, Colorado, at 8:38 a.m., the Hon. Ricardo H. Hinojosa, Acting Chair, 10 11 presiding. 12 13 COMMISSIONERS PRESENT: 14 Acting Chair: Judge Ricardo H. Hinojosa Vice Chair: 15 William B. Carr, Jr. Judge Ruben Castillo 16 Judge William K. Sessions III 17 Commissioners: Dabney Friedrich Beryl A. Howell Jonathan J. Wroblewski 18 19 STAFF PRESENT: 20 21 Judith W. Sheon, Staff Director 22 Brent Newton, Deputy Staff Director 23 24 25

1INDEX2Page3OPENING REMARKS Honorable Ricardo H. Hinojosa3435VIEW FROM THE APPELLATE BENCH Honorable Deanell Reece Tacha Honorable James B. Loken15 24 306VIEW FROM THE DISTRICT COURT BENCH Honorable John L. Kane62 6910VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE Ronald Schweer96 100 1012Kevin Lowry Ronald Schweer96 100	
3       OPENING REMARKS Honorable Ricardo H. Hinojosa       3         4       3         5       VIEW FROM THE APPELLATE BENCH Honorable Deanell Reece Tacha       15         6       Honorable Deanell Reece Tacha       15         6       Honorable Harris Hartz       24         Honorable James B. Loken       30         7       3         8       VIEW FROM THE DISTRICT COURT BENCH Honorable John Thomas Marten       62         9       Honorable John L. Kane       69         10       VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE       96         11       Kevin Lowry Ronald Schweer       96	
Honorable Ricardo H. Hinojosa345VIEW FROM THE APPELLATE BENCH Honorable Deanell Reece Tacha Honorable Harris Hartz Honorable James B. Loken156Honorable Harris Hartz Honorable James B. Loken3078VIEW FROM THE DISTRICT COURT BENCH Honorable John Thomas Marten Honorable John L. Kane629VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE6210VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE9611Kevin Lowry Ronald Schweer96	
4         5       VIEW FROM THE APPELLATE BENCH Honorable Deanell Reece Tacha         6       Honorable Deanell Reece Tacha         6       Honorable Harris Hartz         16       Honorable James B. Loken         7       30         7       7         8       VIEW FROM THE DISTRICT COURT BENCH Honorable John Thomas Marten       62         9       Honorable John L. Kane       69         10       VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE       69         11       Kevin Lowry Ronald Schweer       96	
Honorable Deanell Reece Tacha15Honorable Harris Hartz24Honorable James B. Loken307308VIEW FROM THE DISTRICT COURT BENCH Honorable John Thomas Marten629Honorable John L. Kane6910VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE6911Kevin Lowry Ronald Schweer96	
6       Honorable Harris Hartz       24         Honorable James B. Loken       30         7       30         8       VIEW FROM THE DISTRICT COURT BENCH         Honorable John Thomas Marten       62         9       Honorable John L. Kane         10       VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE         11       Kevin Lowry         9       Ronald Schweer	
<ul> <li>7</li> <li>8 VIEW FROM THE DISTRICT COURT BENCH Honorable John Thomas Marten</li> <li>9 Honorable John L. Kane</li> <li>69</li> <li>10 VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE</li> <li>11 Kevin Lowry</li> <li>96 Ronald Schweer</li> <li>110</li> </ul>	
Honorable John Thomas Marten 62 9 Honorable John L. Kane 69 10 VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE 11 Kevin Lowry 96 Ronald Schweer 110	
9 Honorable John L. Kane 69 10 VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE 11 Kevin Lowry 96 Ronald Schweer 110	
10 VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE 11 Kevin Lowry 96 Ronald Schweer 110	
VIEW FROM THE PROBATION OFFICE 11 Kevin Lowry 96 Ronald Schweer 110	
Ronald Schweer 110	
12	
13 VIEW FROM THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH B. Todd Jones 140	
14David M. Gaouette140159	
15	
COMMUNITY IMPACT 16 Diane Humetewa 190	
Ernie Allen 206 17 Paul Cassell 215	
18 October 21, 2009	
19RECONVENE AND OPENING REMARKS256	
20 VIEW FROM THE DISTRICT COURT BENCH	
21Honorable Robert W. Pratt257Honorable Fernando Gaitan, Jr.261	
AbilityAbilityAbilityAbility22Honorable Joan Ericksen267	
23	
VIEW FROM THE DEFENSE BAR 24 Raymond P. Moore 313	
Nick Drees32425Thomas Telthorst342	

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

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2 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Good morning. 3 This is a very special honor for me on behalf of the 4 United States Sentencing Commission to welcome you to 5 this public hearing, which is really the fifth in a 6 series of regional hearings that the Commission is 7 holding across the country on the 25th anniversary of 8 the passage of the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984. 9 These hearings have been conducted much in the same way as the initial Commission conducted 10 their hearings across the country as they were trying 11 12 to set up the initial set of guidelines. 13 I do want to thank, on behalf of the 14 Commission, all those individuals who have agreed to 15 serve on panels throughout the next -- today and tomorrow, for taking time out from their busy 16 17 schedules. We know each one of you has something else 18 that you need to be doing, but we appreciate the fact that you have taken time out from your schedules to be 19 20 here with us today and to share your thoughts on the 21 important work of the Commission and on the federal 22 sentencing in general. 23 As I just indicated, this is, obviously,

24 the 25th anniversary of the passage of the Sentencing 25 Reform Act of 1984. And when I refer to the Sentencing

1 Reform Act, I have often used the adjective in front of 2 it of bipartisan Sentencing Reform Act of 1984. I know 3 that sometimes today that's a hard thing to put in 4 front of legislation, a bipartisan piece of 5 legislation, but the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984 б truly was. It was obviously debated in Congress for 7 about ten years. When it was finally passed in 1984, it 8 had the support and the hard work behind it of Senator Kennedy, Senator Thurmond, Senator Hatch, Senator 9 Biden, and, actually, the support and it was the result 10 of the work of many individuals across the country who 11 12 felt that this system needed reform, this federal sentencing system was in need of reform. 13

Having been a judge at the time of the passage of the Sentencing Reform Act, I have to say that I felt the same way with regards to the system that we had at the time; and after 25 years, I have to say that I do feel that the system we have in place today is much better than the system we had before the passage of the Act.

It is clear that one of the things that the Act actually did was create the bipartisan United States Sentencing Commission, which, through the years, has promulgated guidelines, amended guidelines, and has not only worked just on the guidelines themselves, but

actually worked very hard with regards to the other
 responsibilities and duties that the Act sets for it.
 We have worked with regards to the collection of
 information, reports to Congress, training programs and
 all the other matters that the Commission does with
 regards to trying to fulfill its mission under the
 statutes.

8 One of the things that we have witnessed during the past 25 years is the changes that have 9 occurred with regards to federal sentencing in general 10 since 1987, not only with regards to the system itself 11 12 that was put in place by the Sentencing Reform Act, but certainly with regards to the size of the federal 13 14 docket, criminal docket itself. When it comes to felony sentences -- and, actually, we don't actually 15 see the number of misdemeanor cases being reported by 16 many, but, for example, in the Southern District of 17 Texas alone, there were 11,000 misdemeanor cases that 18 were handled last year. 19

The felony docket has doubled since The felony docket has doubled since 1987. The makeup of the defendants has changed dramatically since we had the passage of the Sentencing Reform Act. It is still true that 80 percent of the docket continues to be drugs, firearms, fraud, and immigration cases; however, the latest statistics for

the fiscal year of 2009 indicate that immigration cases have overtaken the drug cases as the number one number of felony cases being sentenced by about one or two percent, which is the first time that drug cases have ever become the second number of cases that are being sentenced on the felony side.

7 The ethnic and racial background of the defendants has changed. The fiscal year -- in fiscal 8 year 2008, 42 percent of the defendants were Hispanic. 9 So far this fiscal year that number is about 10 45 percent. The non-citizens for fiscal year 2008 was 11 12 about 40 percent. That has grown to about 42 or 43 percent this fiscal year. This is a very big change 13 14 from what it was during the passage of the Sentencing 15 Reform Act of 1984.

Some things have not changed. Obviously drug traffic and immigration continue to be a sizeable part of the docket. Men continue to represent the great majority of the defendants. The age makeup has not changed. The vast -- more than half of the federal defendants are between the ages of 21 and 35.

And I also want to indicate that part of the work of the Commission is to work on amendments, as well as new guidelines. The new guidelines obviously are in response to new congressional statutes as well

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as directives from Congress. And I also, with regards to the -- both the amending of the guidelines and creation of new guidelines, it is hard to appreciate how the Commission goes about its work with regards to complying with all of the factors that we as district judges in the courtroom have to comply with every time that we sentence somebody.

The Commission does this at a national 8 level, and the appreciation that I've acquired for the 9 Commission's work is much different than it might have 10 been before I became a member of the Commission, 11 12 because as I have seen the processes and works during this nine-month cycle that the Commission engages in 13 14 with regards to the creation of new guidelines and/or promulgating amendments -- promulgation of guidelines 15 16 and passage of amendments to the guidelines, in many 17 ways mirrors exactly what I do -- what we do as 18 district judges every time that we sentence someone. It requires input from prosecutors, defenders, the 19 20 public, obviously the executive branch speaks through 21 the prosecutors. At the same time, obviously, the legislative branch has a lot to say with regards to 22 23 either the passage of legislation itself or directives 24 to the Commission.

25 And then after all this is done, then

1 the Commission decides what the appropriate guidelines 2 should be, considering all of the Title 18 § 3 3553(a) factors taken as a whole. 4 I think the appreciation also has come 5 from judges across the country after the Booker 6 decision. I think judges have -- and I hear this as I 7 travel, as we all hear it as we travel with Sentencing 8 Commission work, that sometimes you hear judges indicate that they didn't know how much they 9 appreciated the guidelines until they became advisory, 10 and they have then realized the purpose of the 11 guidelines and how to proceed with regards to 12 13 considering the guidelines. 14 Part of the reason that we're having 15 these hearings is to hear from judges and practitioners what their views are with regards to the present status 16

18 guidelines but the system itself; and we look forward 19 to hearing from all of you who represent different 20 segments of the criminal justice community and 21 certainly will provide insight to the Commission that 22 is so important with regards to how we proceed. 23 It is safe to say that I -- that the

of the federal sentencing system, not just about the

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24 last three or four years have brought a lot of change 25 in federal sentencing, and I want to indicate that my

1 work on this Commission has been a wonderful experience 2 because of the members of this Commission. You could 3 not find a harder working group of individuals who are 4 more dedicated to fairness in the federal criminal 5 justice system than the members of this Commission, 6 whom I've had the pleasure of working with, and I would 7 like to introduce them at this point. 8 To my right is Chief Judge William Sessions. He serves as vice chair of the Commission 9 and has been on since 1999. He has been nominated as 10 the next chair and is awaiting senate confirmation. He 11 12 serves as a U.S. district judge for a border court in the District of Vermont. 13 14 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: You finally acknowledged that. 15 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: I finally have 16 17 said it. After all these years, he's finally gotten me to admit that he works on a border court, a part of the 18 border that is not as heavy with criminal cases as 19 another part of our border. He has served there since 20 21 1995 and is presently, as I indicated, the chief judge. 22 He has served as a professor at the Vermont Law School, and he received his BA degree from Middlebury College 23 24 and his JD from the George Washington School of Law. 25 To my left is Judge Ruben Castillo, who

is a U.S. district judge in Chicago. He has served as 1 2 vice chair of the Commission since 1999 and has been on the district bench since 1994. From 1991 to '94, he 3 4 was a partner with Kirkland & Ellis, and he has served 5 in the past as regional counsel for the Mexican 6 American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, which he 7 did from 1988 to '91. He also has served as an assistant U.S. attorney in his district, and he holds a 8 BA degree from Loyola and a JD degree from 9 10 Northwestern.

11 Also to my left is Vice Chair William Carr, who is one of the quietest members of the 12 13 Commission, and I say that, and I think he appreciates 14 my saying that. He is the most recent member of the Commission, coming on the Commission in the year 2008. 15 I've indicated in the past, and I will do so again 16 17 today, that every time that I run into somebody from 18 Pennsylvania, they want to know how Will Carr is doing and talk about his great work as an assistant U.S. 19 20 attorney in the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, which 21 gives him a lot of knowledge with regards to the working of the federal sentencing process. 22 23 He served as an assistant U.S. attorney

from 1981 until his retirement in 2004, and in 1987 he was actually designated as a Justice Department contact person for the U.S. Attorney's Office sentencing
 guidelines training program.

3 Commissioner Beryl Howell, who is also 4 to my left, has been a member of the Commission since 5 the year 2004. She was an executive managing editor б and general counsel to the Washington, D.C. offices of 7 Stroz Friedberg. Prior to that, she was the general 8 counsel for the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, serving under and working with Senator Patrick Leahy. 9 She has also served as an assistant U.S. attorney in 10 the Eastern District of New York, and she's a graduate 11 12 of Bryn Mawr and Columbia Law School.

13 Commissioner Dabney Friedrich to my 14 right here, has been a member of the Commission since the year 2006. She has previously served as an 15 associate counsel at the White House counsel's office 16 17 and she has been a counsel to Chairman Hatch on the 18 Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and she has also served as an assistant U.S. attorney for the Southern 19 District of California and the Eastern District of 20 21 Virginia. She's a graduate of Trinity University, as 22 well as Yale Law School.

Also to my right is the *ex-officio*member of the Commission, representing the Attorney
General, Commissioner Jonathan Wroblewski, who was

recently designated as an *ex-officio* member of the
 Commission. He represents the Attorney General,
 obviously, on the Commission, and he serves as the
 director of the Office of Policy and Legislation in the
 Criminal Division of the Department, and he received
 his JD degree from Stanford Law School.

7 At this point, I would again, on behalf 8 of the Commission, thank all of you who are 9 participating in the program and ask any commissioner 10 if he or she would like to say anything before we 11 proceed.

COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: Very briefly, 12 13 Judge. I want to first say how glad I am to be here 14 and to be part of these hearings. And I want to also bring the greetings from the Attorney General, from 15 Attorney General Holder, Assistant Attorney General 16 Lanny Breuer and from the thousands of men and women 17 across the country in U.S. Attorney's offices who 18 prosecute cases every day. 19

I think it's very fair to say that the issues that we're going to discuss today and tomorrow are critical to the Attorney General, to the assistant attorney general, and to all the prosecutors around the country.

As you may know, we in the Department of

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Justice have had a parallel set of hearings and inquiry 1 2 into federal sentencing policy since the beginning of 3 the new administration. We have learned a lot, we 4 still have a lot to learn, and we have many challenges, 5 and what we're going to discuss is going to, I think, 6 help us in those challenges. Everything from emerging 7 crime problems, violent and juvenile gangs, violence in 8 Mexico along the southwest border, cyber crime, drug abuse, all of that is touched on by the issues we're 9 going to talk about. So we thank you so much for being 10 here and we look forward to the next couple of days. 11 12 And thank you, Judge.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Anyone else?
VICE CHAIR CARR: I would just like to
point out that although Ricardo didn't mention it, like
everyone else up here, I also went to college and law
school.

VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Can I just also say I really appreciate everyone's participation. I mean, the three of you have incredible caseloads, and it's just very -- well, it's just wonderful that you are willing to put aside all of those responsibilities and come and help us explore these issues.

Judge Tacha, my favorite moment at theSentencing Commission is my first day, walking in and

seeing that I was at your desk, and to think 10 years
 later, here you are testifying. It's just great.
 Thanks.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: With that, we'll start with our first panel, which is a "View From the Appellate Bench." We have three distinguished members of the appellate bench who are giving up their time to share their thoughts with us.

9 First, we have Judge James B. Loken, who has served on the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals since 10 his confirmation in 1990, and he has served as chief 11 12 judge of that court since the year 2003. He was a law 13 clerk to Justice Byron White, as well as Judge J. 14 Edward Lumbard of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, 15 and he, like Will Carr, is a graduate of a college and a law school. He earned his BS degree from the 16 17 University of Wisconsin and his LLB from Harvard Law 18 School.

Judge Deanell Tacha has served on the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals since her confirmation in 1985 and previously served as the chief judge of that court from 2001 to 2007. She actually, as Judge Sessions has pointed out, served as a member of the Sentencing Commission from 1994 to 1998. Before her appointment to the federal bench, she had involvement

at the University of Kansas School of Law, where she 1 2 taught there from 1974 to 1985, as well as held other 3 administrative posts at that university. 4 And we'll see you at the Texas/Kansas 5 football and basketball games. б JUDGE TACHA: And perhaps at the final 7 four. 8 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Yes. Judge Tacha received her bachelor of arts degree from the 9 University of Kansas and her law degree from Michigan. 10 Judge Harris Hartz has served on the 11 12 Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals since his confirmation in 2001. Prior to that he served as a judge on the New 13 14 Mexico Court of Appeals from 1988 to '99. He also served on the New Mexico Governor's Organized Crime 15 Prevention Commission in several positions from 1976 16 17 through '79. Prior to his work on the Commission, he served as an assistant U.S. attorney for the District 18 of New Mexico from '72 through '75, and he earned both 19 his undergraduate and law degrees at Harvard. 20 21 Judge Loken, did you want to be first? JUDGE LOKEN: I think Judge Tacha is 22 23 going to go first. 24 JUDGE TACHA: Seniority. Seniority is

everything. First of all, I want to thank all of you

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for the work that you're doing. Perhaps no one 1 2 understands it as well as I do in this room, and I'm 3 grateful for the time that you spend and the thoughtful 4 consideration you give to these issues. So thank you. 5 And second, on behalf of Judge Hartz and б myself, we welcome you to the Tenth Circuit. We've 7 given you a couple of great days. We can't promise 8 tomorrow. But in any case, we're glad to have you 9 here.

I -- I don't know, I inherited the job of going first because I thought what I would do is do a brief retrospective because I think it informs where you are now, and so if you'll indulge me being what I think of myself as the matriarch of the tribe here.

15 A look back. As you heard, I was confirmed in 1985, so I grew up with the sentencing 16 17 guidelines. I had not been a district judge, came 18 directly to the court of appeals and began seeing sentencing at the very outset of the guidelines. Now, 19 I could give you my personal views, which will become 20 21 evident as I talk about those guidelines, but I want to tell you sort of how I see the organic whole and what I 22 23 think brought us to this date, even following Booker 24 and that line of cases; and it is to look back at what 25 the purpose of the Act was.

The purpose of the Act was to bring all three branches of government to the table together to try to reach a position that was appropriate for all three branches of government and to reflect what the country was worried about.

6 Now, I have to tell you that I believed 7 there was a very interesting intersection of cultural events at the time. You will recall -- if you don't, 8 some of you don't remember, but you will recall that 9 the sentencing quidelines came to the American table at 10 almost exactly the moment that CNN and USA today came 11 12 to the American table; so that what had once been pretty much local crime and pretty much local 13 14 understanding of the criminal milieu in a community, just almost overnight became a matter of national 15 concern. And I suspect I don't have to tell you it was 16 17 a carjacking in Florida that very rapidly propelled onto the national screen we are worried about crime 18 across this country. 19

Therefore, one of the concerns was are our criminal defendants being treated fairly across the country and, thus, came the words uniformity and proportionality. And sure enough, in totally anecdotal ways, the country became aware that some defendants somewhere were getting X sentence and some defendants Y

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place were getting quite a different sentence.

2 Now, what does that say? We Americans 3 have, at heart, a deep concern about equal justice 4 under the law. So underlying the entire guideline 5 system is some sort of basic and just internal б gyroscope that says we have to make sure that 7 sentencing reflects equal justice under the law. 8 Now, getting from that great and sort of lofty notion to a set of guidelines that could be used 9 around the country required that all three branches sit 10 down in a very, very thoughtful way, in a very careful 11 12 way, and in a way that took into account the interests of all three. And I say that to say that I don't think 13 anything has changed in that respect. Sentencing in 14 and of itself, as Judge Hinojosa has so well pointed 15 out, brings to the table all three branches of 16 17 government in appropriate ways. You probably don't remember, there was a 18 big hoo-ha about whether judges should be on the

19 big hoo-ha about whether judges should be on the 20 Sentencing Commission. I have always thought, and 21 thankfully have been confirmed in this, that judges are 22 an essential piece of the sentencing decision, and what 23 has transpired in these 25 years clearly confirms that. 24 I was disturbed at one point in history when there was 25 some concern about how many judges might be at the

1 table, but again, the view appropriately was that 2 everybody, all three branches, should come together. 3 Now, when all three branches come 4 together, there isn't any one right answer. Instead, 5 there are a host of considerations to come into play. 6 Thus, what came out of that original Commission -- and 7 you understand I came on in '94, so I was the second 8 generation, not the original Commission, but in a way it gave me a perspective -- or our Commission, a 9 perspective to look back and see what an enormously 10 11 effective job that original Commission did. In 12 compromising all of the issues, it's simplified. Now 13 every day I hear why can't they simplify the 14 quidelines.

15 Now, I ask you how much more simple can it get. You have across one line of the grid criminal 16 17 history and one line the offense. That's pretty much 18 our sentencing guideline system. Now, we've got tons of notes, and nobody knows like judges that you've got 19 to look at them, but I believe the original Commission 20 21 was brilliant in how it designed that grid and how it put together the original guidelines, because you can 22 23 do it. No matter who you are out there, you can do it; 24 and more important for your purposes, you can add 25 crimes, you can tweak criminal history, you can do all

of the things that have been required in these 25
 years.

3 It also provides a very objective way to 4 look at where things have gone slightly awry. Thus, 5 the safety valve. When things went a little awry at 6 the bottom end of the guidelines, though not easily 7 done in a compromised situation, it really had a 8 salutary effect to put the safety valve into position. 9 Now, there are others -- many, many examples like that, but what I hope for you to think 10 about as you go forward with -- I'm interested, Judge 11 12 Hinojosa, in your statistics, because as you go forward 13 and the defendants change a little, the crimes probably 14 will continue to change quite a bit. The 1985 impetus was largely guns and drugs, and that has, of course, 15 not gone away, but it will evolve; and I am very proud 16 17 that during my tenure we began to look at white collar 18 crime and, to the great credit of Commissioner Goldsmith, we looked at it before now. There are lots 19 20 of reasons that it was a very good thing to look at it 21 at that time. So I say that there was compromise. There was a fairly simple, basic outline. It brought 22 23 all three branches to the table together. But a fourth point, and this goes to the 24 25 role of the Commission, regardless of whether we're in

1 the *Blakely/Booker* era or whether we're in the

2 mandatory guidelines era, it is also a clear

3 testimonial to the role of a three-branch Commission in 4 providing great data, bringing a terrific staff to bear 5 on some very hard questions that inform judges, inform 6 the legislative branch, and inform the Department; and 7 it also brings a great group together to train in all 8 of these very difficult situations.

9 For those who think that sentencing is empirically based, I simply challenge them to talk to 10 any member of the Commission or any judge. Sentencing, 11 12 at its heart, brings together the policy considerations that all of you have on your plates and the various 13 14 issues that you bring to the Commission, but it also brings to bear what you see in an individual defendant, 15 16 what you see in an individual crime, what you see from 17 the bench. So there's never been a more important time 18 to understand that all the data is very helpful, it informs the process, but sentencing requires that you 19 20 use your best judgment; that every judge use his or her 21 best judgment; and that we bring to bear for the purpose of this equal justice under the law, the 22 23 national concerns with the individual concerns. 24 I believe that original Commission got 25 it right. I believe we have worked fairly well in the

1 interim. I will give you and close with just one 2 example, because I know, as sort of the poster child, 3 for the crack cocaine debate. You will no doubt know 4 that during my term on the Commission, we tried to 5 address the crack cocaine disparity. I think it is б fair to say, I know from my own personal standpoint and 7 from the standpoint of the Commission when I was there, 8 we all knew it needed some attention. We all knew it was not guite equal justice under the law, but our 9 determinations about what might be the right fix, if 10 you will, for the guidelines was quite different; and 11 12 it is -- with all due respect to the Commission at the time I was there, it is no secret, for, I think, the 13 14 first time in Commission history, a Commission recommendation went to the Hill with a dissent, which I 15 wrote, because the Commission on which I served 16 17 voted -- the majority voted, in a rather short meeting, 18 and all who were there I think would confirm that, to recommend to Congress to go to a one-to-one ratio. I 19 20 thought for a myriad of reasons it was wrong. 21 The one that's useful today is that it simply wasn't what Congress felt comfortable with on 22 23 either side of the aisle. I believe that's right. I

25 but Commissioner Budd and I had been over to the Hill,

will not speak for everybody in Congress, obviously,

24

spent a lot of time. We got a pretty good sense of
 where they were.

3 Now, I tell you that little story 4 because I think it's so important to a three-branch 5 Commission. No one branch can act without a very good 6 understanding of the other two, and it is not good for 7 the nation and it is not good for the individual issue. It has been, if I could, sort of a tragedy of the 8 tenure over which I've watched the sentencing 9 quidelines, that we haven't been able in a very 10 effective way to address -- in a way that brought 11 12 everybody to the table, to address this issue, that 13 still persists.

So I wrote that dissent. I have enormous respect for the other people on the Commission. I was joined by two other commissioners. And had we proceeded slightly differently at the time, instead of a divided Commission, I think we -- you might not have had it on your laps.

20 So I say that as sort of a history point 21 that the past is prologue, if you will, and I -- I 22 simply leave you with we have a, I think, even in --23 and, you know, advisory, now we know constitutionally, 24 guidelines period, the Commission has a powerful role 25 to play in data collection, in training and in bringing

1 the three branches together. So I thank you for your 2 work. 3 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, Judge 4 Tacha. Is it going to be Judge Loken next or Judge 5 Hartz? 6 JUDGE HARTZ: He has asked to go last, 7 so I think that means it's me. 8 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Okay, Judge 9 Hartz. 10 JUDGE HARTZ: Thank you very much for 11 the opportunity to appear before you, and I share Judge Tacha's view of the fine work of the Commission, which 12 13 we get to see far too often, I think, in our work. 14 I'm an advocate of sentencing guidelines, and I think they're a very good idea. My 15 impression is that that's a minority view in the 16 17 federal judiciary, even among appellate judges, who put 18 great store on the discretion of the sentencing judge 19 who can look at the individual defendants, see the 20 case, and mold an appropriate sentence. I can 21 appreciate that view. Certainly there are things that can't be captured in guidelines that you can see in a 22 23 courtroom. 24 The problem with that is that when

25 there's not enough constraint on sentencing, the

individual idiosyncrasies of judges play far too much a 1 2 role in sentencing. There's no -- as far as I can see, 3 there's no science about what the right sentence is. 4 It's very much personal whether there should be harsh 5 sentences or more lenient sentences, whether this crime 6 is more severe than others; and what I've seen in my 7 career as an appellate judge is the injustice, at least 8 in my view, that results from that.

9 I was on the state appellate court for 11 years. We did not review sentences, but you 10 couldn't help but see how people were being sentenced 11 12 around the state of New Mexico. And the case that 13 sticks in my mind was one in which a fellow got drunk 14 in Hobbs and knocked over five tombstones in a cemetery. Each tombstone was one misdemeanor. This 15 was not a racial or religious incident, and he was 16 17 sentenced to five consecutive one-year terms, and I'm 18 quite confident in Albuquerque that would have been a probation offense. 19

20 On the federal court, this is primarily 21 by looking at *habeas* cases, I've seen people sentenced 22 to death in one state who would be sentenced to a few 23 years incarceration in another. If you focus only on 24 the one court that's doing the sentencing, giving the 25 judge the discretion, it can make sense; but when you

look overall, these disparities to me result in
 injustice.

3 So as much as I don't care to spend a 4 high percentage of my time reviewing sentencing as a 5 federal appellate judge, I thought that was a very 6 useful role for the courts under the mandatory 7 guideline system. And I would disagree with sentences, 8 my general predilection is probably somewhat more lenient sentencing than the guidelines provide, but at 9 least I felt this was even-handed around the country 10 and it was justice. 11

I'd like to address my remarks now, and 12 13 I'll turn to my written comments about what should 14 happen now after Booker, just some suggestions. My 15 impression, and you certainly have the data that you can correct me if this is wrong, is that even under the 16 advisory guidelines, most judges, in most types of 17 cases, sentence within the guideline range so that 18 federal sentencing is in the main evenhanded, but there 19 20 are outliers. As a result, the sentences for some 21 defendants may vary greatly, depending on who the sentencing judge is. When the guidelines were 22 23 mandatory, appellate review was a useful and, by and 24 large, successful tool to obtain evenhandedness, but 25 that tool has disappeared; and now that appellate

courts review the length of the sentences only for 1 2 substantive reasonableness, appellate review will 3 rarely result in setting aside the sentence below. 4 And that's because district judges are 5 reasonable people, and they make reasonable decisions. 6 If you just look at reasonableness, I think it's going 7 to be very, very hard to say that a sentence imposed by 8 district judges is unreasonable. 9 So is there anything that could be done to enhance evenhandedness under the advisory regime? 10 I'm not sure, but I think so, and I'd like to make one 11 12 suggestion, and I do it with some trepidation because it would increase your workload. 13 14 What I would recommend for consideration is an expansion of the guidelines manual to include 15 16 additional commentary providing the rationale for 17 various provisions. The guidelines provide a thorough, 18 accessible compilation of the conclusions of the Sentencing Commission, and under a mandatory regime, 19 20 the sentencing judge, as well as the appellate 21 tribunal, needed little more than conclusions; but now 22 that the guidelines are only advisory, they must not 23 only be understandable, but also persuasive. A judge 24 who is unaware of why the Sentencing Commission 25 determined that a factor should be disfavored or why a

particular fact should significantly increase or decrease the offense level, I think will be more likely, it will be more likely that an informed judge -- I departed from my text and now my syntax is all wrong. But I think that an informed judge will be less likely to part from advisory guidelines.

7 Even if the sentencing judge disagrees 8 with the Commission and the Commission's rationale, the judge may well recognize that the rationale applies to 9 the particular case before the judge, and, in the 10 interest of evenhandedness, will impose a guidelines 11 12 sentence. I think judges appreciate the need to have evenhanded sentences and they will respond to the 13 14 rationales.

15 And certainly an appellate judge will be more likely to affirm a within-guidelines sentence if 16 17 that rationale applies to that case, and I realize that 18 almost no within-guidelines sentences are being set aside now anyway. Of course, if a judge understands 19 20 the rationale behind the guideline, he or she may be 21 more likely to vary from the guidelines in cases where 22 the rationale does not apply, but that's not a bad 23 thing. Such variances are quite proper and should even 24 be encouraged. Treating unlike cases the same is not 25 the sort of evenhandedness that we should be striving

1 for.

2 Let me give a couple examples. One, I 3 think a possible subject for a pilot project to see 4 whether implementing my suggestion would be a useful 5 effort would be §2L1.2(b)(1). I assume that the 6 offense-level enhancements in that provision are 7 justified primarily by concerns about the aliens repeating the prior offense rather than by the belief 8 that the reentry itself is more serious because the 9 alien had committed earlier offenses in this country. 10 And if this is so, then the judge's decision whether to 11 12 vary will likely depend on such matters as how old the prior conviction is and whether the alien can convince 13 14 the judge that the alien has been leading a law-abiding 15 life since that time.

The second section that I think would 16 17 benefit from further explanation is §5A1.1. There is a 18 list of specific offender characteristics that aren't supposed to be considered or disfavored and explaining 19 why would be useful. There's such a temptation that I 20 21 perceive district courts to give credit for charitable contributions and charitable work; and if that's not 22 23 going to be considered, or it shouldn't be considered 24 by judges, then I think further explanation of the 25 sentencing guidelines manual would be useful.

That's basically my remarks now. Thank
 you very much.

3 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, Judge4 Hartz. Judge Loken, I think you're next.

5 JUDGE LOKEN: Thank you. It's a б pleasure to be here to help the Commission commemorate 7 the 25th anniversary of the Sentencing Reform Act. In 8 addition to my almost 19 years as a circuit judge and six and a half years as a chief judge, I spent the six 9 years as a member of the Judicial Conference Criminal 10 Law Committee, and there I got to know a number of the 11 12 still-here commissioners and, more importantly, learned and observed firsthand the dedication and 13 14 professionalism of the individual commissioners and their staff; and for that reason, I wholly endorse 15 Judge Tacha's and Judge Hartz's general remarks. 16 17 Now, I didn't practice criminal law. I 18 was never a prosecutor, I was never a criminal defense lawyer, I was never a sentencing judge, and so while I 19 20 have views, I didn't think that my personal views on 21 the more controversial political issues surrounding

federal sentencing was really a place I should go this morning. I thought what I do -- what I do want to talk about briefly is the institutional impact of the guidelines on the United States courts of appeals as I

see it, and speaking individually. Because I think the 1 2 Sentencing Reform Act was sound conceptually, including 3 its inclusion of the courts of appeals in the 4 sentencing process to a far greater extent, but from my 5 perspective, the way the Reform Act has been 6 implemented has, from a cost benefit perspective, been 7 almost a disaster for the courts of appeals. And let me do this with a couple of numbers, a couple of 8 figures. 9

10 1986, the year before the guidelines 11 were effective, 2,133 appeals were filed in the Eighth Circuit; 318 were direct federal criminal appeals, 12 13 15 percent of our cases filed. I wasn't there, I dare 14 say no more than a handful had sentencing issues of any kind. 1991, my first year on the court, the fourth 15 full year of the guidelines, we were up to 2,791 16 appeals filed, about, what, a 30 percent increase; but 17 596 criminal appeals, almost double, 21 percent of our 18 19 filed cases.

20 Now let's go to last year. We're only 21 up to 3,118 cases, but 1,183 criminal appeals, a full 22 38 percent of our new case docket, and 1,051 of those 23 cases involves sentencing issues. That's 89 percent of 24 the criminal appeals. In other words, our criminal 25 caseload has more than tripled while our civil caseload

1 has grown about the same amount, as Congress has 2 expanded my court from ten to 11 active judges. 3 Now, my initial reaction to the 4 guidelines as a business litigator with no criminal 5 experience other than having been a law clerk, of б course, but so in 1991, I thought this is like the 7 Internal Revenue Code, and I thought lawyers were 8 reacting quite predictably to an array of legal issues in a manual that looked like a -- you know, something 9 like the tax code. They litigated everything, and now 10 most every issue was appealable. 11 12 And the appellate judges, lawyers 13 themselves, reacted predictably. They analyzed every

14 issue thoroughly, they drew fine lines that made the 15 regime even more complex and, of course, in the robing room my colleagues complained a lot about this. And I 16 thought it was, in large part, a self-inflicted wound 17 18 because we were overlawyering the overlawyering, if you will, as a reaction to the guidelines manual, which, as 19 Judge Tacha -- I agree with Judge Tacha was, in most 20 21 respects, a brilliant piece of work and a successful 22 one.

23 Well, I welcomed *Koon*. I thought that 24 might be some relief to this excessive, but it didn't 25 do any good. I'm just talking now the court of appeals

institution perspective, not the effectiveness of the 1 2 guidelines' impact on sentencing. And, of course, more work is not inherently bad, but I think one 3 4 institutionally looks at the possible benefit; and the 5 universal justification and the complexity of the 6 manual and the appellate jungle it was producing, is, 7 well, we have to eliminate unwarranted sentencing 8 disparity. But with all due respect, that is a fine objective, but one that's never going to be completely 9 realized. All you have to do is look at 5K1.1, which 10 was a political imperative, a necessity, but which to 11 the person on the street, I dare say, contributes to a 12 13 disparity in its day-to-day impact.

14 Curbing the extent to which judge's 15 sentencing philosophies, disparate philosophies, create sentencing disparity, that's, to me, the real objective 16 17 of the Reform Act and the guidelines, and that is an 18 absolutely proper, essential objective. But as an appellate judge, my reaction is you don't need 43 19 20 offense levels and 258 sentencing ranges to do as much 21 as realistically can be done to rein in what Judge Hartz referred to as the outliers. 22

23 So the guidelines resulted in a great 24 deal of appellate work for a very modest benefit. I'm 25 not one to say the courts of appeals can't handle the

1 work or that we're drowning or that we're not doing the 2 job. We'll do the work that Congress and the litigants 3 bring to us. But the task is less -- is less rewarding 4 and less satisfying when there isn't time to do it to 5 your personal satisfaction. Those of you who are 6 district judges or those of you in all walks of life 7 know that if you really have an intense desire to do a 8 good job to the best of your ability, when you're swamped, it's -- it's disquieting, to say the least. 9 And a great many important issues in the other parts of 10 our docket are not getting the attention they deserve 11 12 because, frankly, we're swamped with routine sentencing 13 appeals.

14 Now, I thought, therefore, Booker and Gall held out great promise to improve the situation 15 from the courts of appeals' perspective, and they may 16 17 still do that, but I think your help is needed. After 18 Gall, I urged my colleagues to accept the Supreme Court's invitation to opt out of sentencing, for the 19 most part, but they haven't. And the lawyers, I think 20 21 again predictably, continue to brief and argue advisory 22 guidelines issues as though nothing has changed. And I 23 cringe every week when I look at our stack of Eighth 24 Circuit slip opinions and see how many 6-, 8-, 10-, 25 12-page opinions we're filing dealing with fact-bound

1 issues like role in the offense and drug quantity and 2 the amount of fraud loss and criminal history category 3 that, for the most part, don't really matter to the 4 sentence that was imposed. I mean, they do to the 5 district judge in the formative process, but they don't 6 control -- didn't control the bottom line.

7 And so I think this is -- this is a really unfortunate waste of resources. And if you 8 think about the criminal appeal, the -- one of the 9 victims here is the federal taxpayer who is paying for 10 the prosecutor, the appointed defense lawyer, the 11 12 probation officer, the district judge and three circuit 13 judges and their staffs. And so I think a certain 14 amount of -- I think a cost benefit analysis is significant here, and I'm talking about one corner of 15 the process that you have to -- to monitor and 16 17 supervise or make recommendations.

18 And it's not the biggest thing on your plate, but I think you can do some things to help, and 19 20 I've come with two relatively modest ideas, which I 21 think if you took a position on would have an impact. 22 First, the concept of procedural error 23 created by the Supreme Court post-Booker is, at least 24 in the short term, being overlawyered beyond belief. 25 And it's no doubt because, as Judge Hartz says, few

1 sentences are unreasonable to appellate courts after 2 Gall, particularly my court which got its hand slapped in Gall itself. Gall was a very difficult case. I was 3 4 on the panel and there was an outlier look to the 5 sentence, particularly after 16 or 17 years of a б mandatory guidelines regime; and the Supreme Court 7 spent the first half of the opinion saying how to do 8 it, which is exactly the way we tried to do it, and the last half of the opinion saying how silly our answer 9 10 was.

11 So unreasonable is not a real attractive 12 appellate grounds, so the lawyers are, what are they doing, they're regurgitating their drug quantity briefs 13 and their roll in the offense briefs, pages and pages 14 and pages. What can be done? Well, I think the 15 Commission -- and, of course, the courts could do this 16 17 themselves, the courts of appeals, but they're not 18 quickly doing it, I don't think, and the Commission could more effectively craft a rigorous harmless error 19 20 standard addressing the issue of procedural error. 21 To me, if a district judge, and I think carefully doing the -- determining the advisory 22 23 guidelines sentencing range is a very important part of 24 the process, and district judges need to do it 25 carefully. But if a district judge says, I have this

fact-bound two-level issue that comes out on the cusp 1 2 as a matter of both -- arithmetic, so to speak, if it's 3 fraud loss or drug quantity and credibility of the 4 competing witnesses at sentencing, and, okay, I make a 5 call, I say X instead of Y, plus two or minus two 6 levels, but I have to tell you it doesn't affect the 7 sentence I'm imposing, I think that ought to be harmless error. And I think if the Commission said 8 that ought to be harmless error, it would have an 9 impact on the lawyers that are -- that are tempted, 10 because they know the sentence itself is not 11 12 unreasonable, to make a big deal, so to speak, on 13 appeal.

14 Second, I think -- and this might be harder for you to swallow, so to speak, I think the 15 Commission should declare its prior departure 16 17 methodology outside the realm of procedural error. To me, once the advisory guideline range has been properly 18 determined, determining the sentence should be --19 20 should take one additional step of merging the former 21 departure analysis into the 3553(a) variance decision; and obviously a district judge who related the variance 22 23 decision in terms of the prior departure methodology is 24 more -- that's a -- that adds credibility to the 25 exercise.

1 But the lawyers come up and say, oh, the 2 judge blew the departure analysis and that's procedural 3 error and you have to reverse. So we have a three-step 4 appellate process instead of a two-step process, I 5 think unnecessarily, and I think you could, again, with 6 some -- add some wisdom -- well, your wisdom would be 7 appreciated. It might or might not coincide with my 8 thoughts.

9 Of course, then third, I think it would be great if you simplified the whole manual, but I 10 think there I suspect I'm asking way too much, and 11 indeed you have enough on your plate that I doubt that 12 13 you're about to do that. But I think the two small 14 steps I urge you to think about because I think you could do those credibly and effectively and helpfully. 15 16 Thank you.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, Judge
Loken. And we'll open it up for questions. Judge
Sessions.

20 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Well, thank you 21 all for your keen observations, and let me begin with 22 the Tenth Circuit, because to some extent your -- I 23 follow logically what you both have said, there may be 24 an inconsistency, but there may be a consistency as 25 well.

Judge Tacha, obviously you've been on the Sentencing Commission, and when you talk about our function, it is not just to empirically analyze, which we do faithfully, the proposed guidelines, but also to balance the branches of government, and that's a very important approach.

7 Now, then I hear Judge Hartz say that we should add a section of the guidelines which should 8 describe the empirical analysis that we've done to 9 arrive at a particular guideline. And you know what 10 that could lead to, that could lead to a statement 11 12 that, well, we passed this guideline because we felt that Congress would not go as far as we wanted to go or 13 14 would not go as little as we wanted to go, and that the political considerations, which we have to do as a part 15 of the Sentencing Commission, could not be adequately 16 17 described in those kinds of addendum.

We are criticized by judges now in many opinions, which say that, well, this particular guideline was not empirically based. Well, you know, some guidelines were partly empirically based but also partly reflective of the political reality of the world.

I guess is there a conflict between a Commission that actually considers the politics and

1 then the necessity of actually describing empirically 2 how you arrived at a guideline amendment, or can those 3 two be meshed in such a way as to be honest?

4 JUDGE TACHA: Oh, yes, of course they 5 can, in my view. Now, far be it from me to put words 6 in Judge Hartz's mouth, but let me tell you what I 7 think I hear him saying, and he will no doubt correct 8 me. But I think I'm hearing both of my colleagues say that now on appellate review, what we're really looking 9 at is did the district judge look at the 3553(a) 10 factors. In -- and if you look at all this -- and I 11 12 totally agree with Judge Loken, all this plethora of decisions that's coming down, it pretty much boils down 13 14 to did they look at 3553(a) and do it right, because that's the statutory requirement. 15

I think I hear Judge Hartz saying that 16 17 if for the benefit of the district judge there were a 18 few more nuances, not the empirical ones -- I would differ with him on the empirical basis, but if there 19 were some nuances into the rationale of the Commission 20 21 that could be used by the district judge in articulating the 3553(a) factors, then it would bring 22 23 the guidelines together with the statute, it would 24 bring the appropriate role of the Commission together 25 with the role of the district judge and not require an

1 [empirical basis].

2 Now, again even defining what's 3 empirically based is a bit of a challenge, so I don't 4 want to overuse that word, and I don't think any of us 5 should.

6 I deviate a bit so let me simply say I 7 thought I heard him saying that looking at the rationale of the Commission -- and I don't know whether 8 I agree or disagree. We didn't share our remarks with 9 each other, so I haven't thought about all of this very 10 thoroughly. Sentencing -- and this is repetitive, but 11 12 sentencing is both political and personal, and in neither of those does empirical data operate very 13 14 effectively.

15 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Judge Hartz, I didn't hear you say it was -- talk about just empirical 16 basis. I thought I heard you say -- and correct me if 17 I'm wrong -- that we should discuss matters as a result 18 of a directive from Congress where Congress indicated 19 20 to us that they felt such and such about a 21 particular -- and directed the Commission to act in such a fashion with regards to certain guidelines 22 23 sections, or that as a result of comments from judges 24 or that as a result of statutory provisions, that the 25 Commission -- or empirical studies, that the Commission decided this should be the set of guidelines, that you
felt that that would be helpful to judges; that
sometimes district court judges may operate not knowing
where the Commission got this basis for certain
guideline amendments or guidelines themselves, and that
you felt a more detailed description as to where the
Commission came from.

8 What probably we as district judges don't know is that we have a lot of that with regards 9 to the black portion of the manual that we rarely open 10 as district judges, because that's supposed to be kind 11 12 of the history of where this comes from and the 13 amendments. And perhaps we should do a better job of 14 training people to go there and determine when a 15 guideline amendment came and as a result of what.

16 We also, when we promulgate the 17 guidelines, usually have commentary at the start that 18 indicates what the Commission's view was, and perhaps we haven't done as good enough a job of making sure 19 20 that people have access to that and understand that we 21 do put that out. And I appreciate your comments and why you made them, but I had not heard you say that it 22 23 should just be about empirical basis, but just a 24 general explanation as to how the Commission reads 25 these conclusions as far as a certain guideline or a

1 guideline amendment.

2 JUDGE HARTZ: I think you heard me 3 correctly, that's what I was trying to focus on, and 4 the rationale why -- why a four-level jump here, not on 5 an empirical basis why it should be four levels, but 6 why there's a distinction. And I don't know if this 7 will work, and you certainly know much better, but 8 that's why I suggested a pilot project. And the one that I would like to see most, perhaps, is one 9 explaining the disfavored factors, because there's a 10 lot of debate within our court on those issues. These 11 12 are not debates and opinions, but just in discussing 13 these matters. And it's the easiest way for a district 14 judge to vary from the guidelines, is to take and count the disfavored factors now. It seems to me that seems 15 to be happening more often than some of the other 16 17 changes.

VICE CHAIR CASTILLO: Last month in 18 Chicago, my circuit, Chief Judge Frank Easterbrook, 19 20 suggested as a way to address some of these concerns 21 that Judge Loken was talking about, expanding the 22 zones, perhaps getting congressional legislation to do 23 away with the 25 percent rule and perhaps having 24 overlapping sentencing ranges so that I think, from his 25 perspective, it would increase the chances of having a

harmless error analysis to some of these technical
 guideline application issues. What do you all think of
 that?

JUDGE LOKEN: Well, I think that's sound. We've already built overlap harmless error into our post-*Booker* jurisprudence, borrowing from case law and the mandatory regime. So if you expand the overlaps, you, by definition, I think, increase errors that everyone would agree were harmless procedural errors.

11 My suggestion was on the assumption that 12 you will have strong resistance from various quarters to doing what Chief Judge Easterbrook urged and, 13 14 therefore, going to blessing, if you will, district judges. And some of our district judges have started 15 to do this, who say I wrestled with this two-level 16 issue, and it didn't -- it doesn't -- there isn't an 17 18 overlap; but given my expanded discretion post-Booker, I can tell you right out, my sentence would have been 19 20 the same.

And it occurs to me that it should take something like the threshold showing that you need to get a Franks hearing when you accuse a law enforcement officer of lying to a warrant-issuing magistrate to overcome the inherent credibility of a district judge

1 who says that. It seems to me you can work out -- your 2 Commission, with the time and experience, could do 3 some -- you know, could do something along those lines. 4 And I don't know -- one problem, is it a 5 policy statement or is it an application note? And I 6 like the black manual. I always go to the black manual 7 to get the explanation right out of the box for 8 something that's come up years later, and then I don't have to worry about how binding it is. I just -- it's 9 like legislative history. 10 JUDGE TACHA: The only thing I'd add to 11 12 that is, this is your Sentencing Commission hat, and 13 this so runs into the policy question and it's hard for 14 me to shed my Sentencing Commission hat, and the 25 percent rule was just pretty sacrosanct with an 15 awful lot of policymakers; so that if there's a way to 16 do it that doesn't run into the 25 percent rule, it 17 seems to me, again, apropos my remarks, that that makes 18 a lot of sense. 19 20 JUDGE HARTZ: May I comment on that? 21 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Yes. 22 JUDGE HARTZ: I was very interested to 23 hear Judge Loken's remarks about this, the sheer 24 quantity of appeals we're getting. And the question 25 is, why if they're not helping -- maybe you get a

1 remand and end up with the same sentence, but

2 ultimately it's not helping the defendant, and that's 3 usually who is appealing. Why are the appeals being 4 made on this ground?

5 Now, under the Armed Career Criminal б Act, and there's some comparable provisions in the 7 guidelines, defendants are having some success. And I 8 really hope Congress will pay attention to Justice [Scalia's] concurring opinion about a year ago 9 suggesting that that be revised so we don't have so 10 much litigation regarding whether something is a 11 12 violent felony or not. But I wonder why these appeals are being brought and you are having public defenders 13 14 appear before you, and it might be interesting to hear 15 from them.

16 One thing that occurs to me is you don't 17 want to submit an Anders brief, so what are you going 18 to appeal on. And maybe in the old days there was a 19 hearsay question that would be raised, and now it's a 20 sentencing guideline issue instead, so it's not so much 21 the guidelines. That's just the easiest way to pursue 22 an appeal.

And, well, with respect to substantive reasonableness, for example, I, in my opinions, try not to write more than a paragraph about it, and I hope

that will send a signal to counsel on both sides don't 1 2 bring these appeals on substantive reasonableness. 3 Unless it's extraordinary, you're going to lose. And 4 we're getting 20-page briefs on this thing explaining 5 all the circumstances of this fellow and why this is 6 unfair, and nothing truly extraordinary. And it would 7 just be very interesting to hear the explanation of why 8 so many of these appeals are being brought. They're not frivolous, but they don't help the client that 9 they're being raised for. 10

11 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: I just want to 12 thank all of you, and echo the thanks of my fellow 13 commissioners for being here and taking your time to 14 bring your perspectives on the Commission -- on the 15 guidelines to us and sort of the criminal justice 16 system as a whole.

Judge Tacha, I particularly wanted to ask you about one issue that the guidelines are regularly criticized for, and that is the linkage between the drug table and mandatory minimums, particularly given your experience in the mid-'90s in the crack powder arena, which I think set back that debate for at least a decade.

And understanding -- and I think youalso talked about the empirically-based criticism of

the guidelines, which is particularly lodged at that 1 2 linkage that the original Commission put between the 3 mandatory minimums and the guideline table, the drug 4 table. In part because the Commission doesn't just 5 look at empirical data, it also looks at the policy 6 decisions, some people call it politics, I call it the 7 policy decisions by Congress as to what's necessary to protect public safety, and this Commission has to pay 8 attention to those policy decisions by Congress. 9

10 And so we are going to hear even witnesses today or tomorrow bring up again that 11 12 criticism of the linkage, and I am interested in your perspective on that linkage and the risk that you might 13 14 perceive, having lived through the mid-'90s, should this Commission adopt a delinkage position, which is 15 not one we opted to do when we reduced -- with our 16 17 crack guideline reduction amendment, and just hear your 18 perspective on that, given your history, your work in the trenches of sentencing policy. 19

JUDGE TACHA: Thank you for this opportunity because I was afraid I was going to take everybody -- too much time because the linkage between mandatory minimums and the guidelines is, obviously, if you will, of the sentencing guidelines perceived the great compromise. And I, of course, wasn't there at 1 the time that compromise was made, but did run headlong 2 into it in the crack cocaine debate. I have talked 3 with, I think, every member of the original Commission 4 about that decision, and it is absolutely a perfect 5 example of what I was talking about.

6 At that time in history, now I want 7 to -- I want to bracket that because at that time in 8 history, the concern about guns and drugs and safety in 9 the streets and all of the issues that were so high on 10 the public's minds, simply, I think, mandated that 11 mandatory minimum compromise.

I was told by members of that original 12 13 Commission -- and this is pure hearsay, but it's pretty 14 reliable -- that it may have been one of the linchpins to acceptance of the guidelines. You know, it's all 15 about what's possible as a political, as a sort of an 16 17 ongoing pragmatic determination. So I believe it was 18 both political and pragmatic and that that original Commission thought it was the way to put together the 19 guidelines in a way that all three branches could feel 20 comfortable at the time. 21

Now, let me fast forward a bit. In the crack cocaine debate, I actually raised this question with several influential people on the Hill in the mid-'90s, and here is a direct quote from a very 1 influential staffer on the Hill at the time: "Deanell, 2 mandatory minimums are a button on my computer." That 3 told you -- told me how engrained it was in the minds 4 of the elected branch of government that there was a 5 point below which they did not want to go.

6 Now, I was greatly relieved when the 7 safety valve was adopted because that took care of a 8 little piece of that issue, not of the crack cocaine 9 issue, but of the linkage issue.

10 Now, this is pure speculation, and I have no empirical data to support it except what I hear 11 12 around the nation, which is there may be, even in the public's eye, a little dilution of whether that 13 14 mandatory minimum amount is absolutely necessary. And I think it may -- again, this is speculation, but it 15 16 may be, for some of the reasons Judge Loken pointed 17 out, that the financial imperatives and economic 18 considerations may be so high on the public's mind. Again, total speculation. But this is where you are so 19 20 important, getting to the Hill, getting to the 21 Department, getting to where the policymakers are. 22 Because, of course, judges -- the 23 judicial conference has been on record, for as long as 24 I was there, against mandatory minimums. The judicial 25 branch has been four square against them for quite a

long time. So in my judge role, I have no problem 1 2 telling you the Judicial Conference of the United 3 States is against mandatory minimums, thus would be 4 against the linkage. But that is not where the issue 5 resides, and it seems to me that is maybe front and б center of the policy issues on your plates, is to 7 figure out how we bring together these concerns. 8 I mean, I don't have to tell any of you, if we -- if there's even a dilution of the commitment 9 to mandatory minimums, then the public may get scared 10 again. I don't know the answer to that one. I simply 11 12 don't know. But in the crack cocaine debate, it was very much an issue. I tested the waters personally and 13 14 found no receptivity. 15 JUDGE LOKEN: Let me just add, maybe I don't understand where the question is coming from, but 16 17 it seems to me that Booker and Gall have -- should have 18 taken some of the heat off the linkage issue, because -- well, the linkage is -- analytically it's 19 20 hard not to link your guidelines ranges to what 21 Congress has decreed, so some linkage, it seems to me, is -- well, you can divorce and under an advisory 22 23 system, I guess you could more -- you could more 24 credibly divorce from an advisory. 25 But to the extent that linked guidelines

1 produce a sentencing range completely above the

2 mandatory minimum, which I do see happen a fair amount, 3 it seems to me district judges now just go -- if they 4 don't have a 3553(e) motion or a tenable safety valve 5 issue, they just go to the mandatory minimum, and so 6 your -- the harshness of the linkage-produced higher 7 range is now easy to ameliorate.

VICE CHAIR CARR: Judge Loken, one of 8 the places that this question comes from, and what I 9 10 got in your written testimony and from what you said today, Judge Hartz, was that it's ever more important 11 12 now that the guidelines not only be understandable, but be persuasive. And particularly from some district 13 14 court judges in our prior hearings, we've heard a suggestion that we want to look to your guidelines, 15 your guidelines are helpful, but we need for them to be 16 17 credible. And one of the things that to some of us --18 this is the district court judges speaking -- is not credible is when you just tie your guidelines to the 19 20 statutory mandatory minimums. And we've had some 21 judges suggest just publish the guidelines that you 22 think would be appropriate for particular drug 23 quantities, regardless of what Congress has done. Yes, 24 there will be those defendants who suffer those cliffs 25 because they go one gram too high in drug quantity, but 1 that's where some of these issues have been coming 2 from.

JUDGE LOKEN: I think it's a legitimate position, and you've got to wrestle with it and with all of its political ramifications, because I also think it's credible to keep the guidelines linked to what Congress has decreed.

8 COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: Judge Tacha, 9 one of the things the Commission is closely tracking in 10 this advisory guideline world is whether the degree of 11 unwarranted disparities are creeping back into the 12 system, and we're tracking that very carefully.

13 What defenders of the existing system 14 say to us repeatedly in these hearings is not to worry, the appellate review is working, there will be a body 15 of -- common law body of sentencing that will guide the 16 17 district court judges and rein in the outliers and give 18 them guidance in applying advisory guidelines. And what we're seeing, from reading the opinions, is both 19 20 courts are struggling with coming up with a principle 21 basis on which to apply substantive reasonableness. 22 The courts routinely say it's the rare, 23 unusual case. Judge Hartz, you've said that on 24 substantive reasonableness, you don't write more than a 25 paragraph. Do you think your goal, that we all share,

which is evenhanded application, equal justice under the law, is that something that can be achieved in this existing system? Do we need statutory reform to continue to further the goals of the Sentencing Reform Act?

б JUDGE TACHA: I very much believe it can 7 occur in this regime. I actually kind of like the 8 suggestion about you doing something about harmless error. I think that would go a long way. As my 9 understanding -- and I didn't look at these disparity 10 statistics this morning before we started. My 11 12 understanding is it is creeping in a little bit more 13 than we would like to see it, but that's not 14 surprising. You go from a totally bridled system to a slightly less bridled system, and I suspect it's not 15 16 surprising.

17 Now, there's where the Commission can 18 play a very important role, in watching this, as you obviously are, very carefully. But if you look at the 19 opinions -- now, my district judge colleagues may tell 20 21 me I'm -- in the Tenth Circuit, it's just crazy. But if you look at the opinions, the appellate courts, like 22 23 the district courts, are still using as rationale, guidelines rationale, still looking at -- I think 24 25 that's why Judge Hartz is talking about this what

should be considered issue -- still looking at all 1 2 those things. So I can't imagine the disparity is 3 going to get as large that it would become a statutory 4 change problem. I just can't quite see that happening. 5 COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: Even though б district court judges now clearly have the authority to 7 disagree with policy decisions the Commission's made, 8 and those are routinely affirmed on appeal? 9 JUDGE TACHA: Well, you know, I think, at least the case to which you refer, is, in my view, 10 an outlier because of the subject matter. There's just 11 12 such a concern about that particular problem. I don't think district judges, and I don't think appellate 13 14 judges, will ignore the policy guidelines very often. They'll look at them very carefully. In fact, what I 15 hear Judge Hartz saying is they'd like to look at them 16 17 more. So I'm forever the optimist, but it seems to me that we will find, if not a comfortable range, a pretty 18 acceptable range of disparity, and then it won't go 19 beyond that. But that's my prediction. 20 21 JUDGE LOKEN: I have one that I think

you should watch from this standpoint, and that's child pornography, because the cases -- I've got two or three of them in the next -- the rest of this week, and you've got three or four or five or six enhancements,

and the resulting sentences are horrendous. And I
 think reasonable judges can differ dramatically on
 whether -- on whether for some of these crimes that's
 good or bad.

5 So I think if Gall has thrown rational 6 review of substantive reasonableness out the window, 7 and it's very hard -- as Judge Tacha says, we're 8 struggling after Gall with how do we do this, how do we define and rein in the, quote, outliers. I think child 9 pornography is one where you've got judges who don't 10 think you've got enough enhancements on there and 11 12 judges who think what you put on, and are mostly 13 Congress's directive, I believe, are terribly 14 unfortunate.

15 JUDGE HARTZ: May I speak on that issue, 16 because I don't see it quite the way of my colleagues. 17 I have a fair amount of communication with the district 18 judges in New Mexico, and I think, for the most part, they would like to be consistent with the guidelines, 19 20 and they appreciate the value of someone coming in 21 their court and knowing I'll get about the same 22 sentence as if another judge was sentencing. But there 23 are outliers, and I don't think that the mass 24 statistics -- I think that the quantity of statistics 25 will mask this, because you might have 90, 95 percent

1 of the judges agreeing on the sentences for this type 2 of case, and you'll have some outliers. And at least 3 in our circuit, I don't think there's going to be a 4 significant control through substantive reasonableness. 5 We have our call me crazy case, which you may be 6 familiar with, and that's about the only time I think 7 we've found a sentence substantively unreasonable. 8 There's some control you can provide through procedural reasonableness, and I meant to say 9 this in my opening remarks, but if the guideline manual 10 says charitable contributions should not be a 11 12 consideration for these reasons and the sentencing 13 judge doesn't explain why that judge is giving 14 consideration to that factor, despite what is said in 15 the manual, that might be an issue for procedural reasonableness review and can also have some -- can 16 17 result in some peer pressure, perhaps, on that judge. 18 But I'm not -- I think if you have a few judges in a few different types of cases being 19 20 significantly outside the mainstream, even though 21 you're still getting 95 percent compliance, I think that's a serious problem, and I'm not sure it's 22 23 solvable right now. 24 JUDGE TACHA: Could I just add on a

couple of topics. And it's the child pornography that

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1 prompted me. Again, I'm wearing my old matriarch hat, 2 but the public right now just doesn't understand all 3 this cyber crime stuff, and there's such a generational 4 gap, even in whether we know what we're talking about, 5 that I think it is terribly important for the 6 Commission and all those with whom you work to begin to 7 look at that, because it will become -- that kind of thing will become the kind of thing that guns and drugs 8 were in the mid-'80s, we're just so scared of it that 9 we've got to sort of push the statutes. 10

11 The other place I'm concerned is in gain 12 and loss, and I was part of the guidelines on gain and loss, and district judges are somewhat constrained at 13 14 what they look at in the gain slash loss area. And in these days of immense public concern about economic 15 crime, I think it may -- and I favored what we did 16 17 whenever it was we did that, but now I think it may 18 behoove us to say, you know, gain and loss, maybe the district judge ought to just kind of look at what's 19 taken into account, what's the most effective 20 21 deterrent, punishment. COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: Judge Hartz, I 22

just have a quick question. You mentioned the Armed Career Criminal Act, and we've heard over and over again, I hear in the Department, we've heard during

1 these hearings, about the application problem

2 associated with the definition of crime of violence, 3 aggravated felony, not just in the Armed Career 4 Criminal Act, but in the guidelines and elsewhere. One 5 idea that we're kicking around, we're taking up Justice 6 Scalia on his dissent, but where we've gone so far is a 7 longer list. Right now Armed Career Criminal Act says 8 robbery, extortion, and then a catch-all.

9 Do you think it's just simply as simple 10 as expanding that list to explicitly describe, whether 11 it's residential burglary, whether it's aggravated 12 assault, is that the road we go down? Do we get rid of 13 the category of goal approach. Have you and your 14 colleagues thought about this at all?

15 JUDGE HARTZ: I can't speak for my 16 colleagues, I've given some thought to it. The problem 17 is more than just listing things because then is that 18 generic robbery; is this statute in California; does it have some different elements of robbery or kidnapping 19 or -- I don't remember the precise terminology on the 20 21 sexual offenses, but whether that fits. If there's going to be a list, it would be helpful to have the 22 23 elements of the offenses listed. That may get totally 24 out of hand. I'm not sure I have a solution, but I'm 25 so pleased to hear that somebody is working on it.

1 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: Thank you. 2 JUDGE LOKEN: I've spent a lot of time 3 with that, and my two new least favorite words in the 4 English language are otherwise involved. I think 5 Taylor adopted the categorical approach for very 6 understandable reasons, but I'm leaning toward the 7 dissenters who say it needs to be rethought because it hasn't worked. 8 9 JUDGE TACHA: Added work. JUDGE LOKEN: Well, and then the laundry 10 list, as the problem of all laundry lists, the ones 11 12 that go in that people think shouldn't have gone in and 13 the ones that aren't there that should have been. 14 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: Our alternative is to watch the Supreme Court year after 15 year take up one case after another. Last year it's 16 [escape], this year it's --17 18 JUDGE LOKEN: What if the failure to report is not violent, but what about walking away from 19 a camp. I've got this next week. 20 21 JUDGE TACHA: Stay tuned. 22 JUDGE HARTZ: We all have that case. 23 JUDGE LOKEN: It's terrible. I don't 24 know what Congress should do, but I wish they'd fix it. 25 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: If you come up

1 with any ideas, let us know.

2 JUDGE LOKEN: Keep working. I'm glad to 3 hear that. 4 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Well, on that 5 note, we want to thank you again for taking your time 6 from your busy schedules to share your thoughts. 7 They've been very informative and very helpful. Thank you all very much, and we'll take a short break before 8 we hear from some district judges. 9 10 (A break was taken from 10:05 a.m. to 10:26 a.m.) 11 12 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: We're very 13 fortunate to have two distinguished district court 14 judges give us a view from the district court bench. 15 We have Judge John Thomas Marten, who has served as a district judge in the District of Kansas since 1996. 16 Before he took the bench, Judge Marten practiced 17 privately in McPherson, Kansas; Minneapolis and also in 18 19 Omaha, Nebraska. Following law school, he served as a clerk for Justice Tom Clark, and Judge Marten earned 20 21 both his BA and JD from Washburn University. We also have Judge John L. Kane, who has 22 23 served as a district judge in the District of Colorado 24 since 1977. He did take senior status in 1988. He 25 also has served as an adjunct professor of law at

Colorado School of Law since 1996. Prior to his 1 2 nomination, Judge Kane worked in private practice in 3 Denver, as well as he also served on the Peace Corps 4 with his missions in India and Turkey. Judge Kane 5 received his BA from the University of Colorado and his 6 JD degree from the University of Denver College of Law. 7 Judge Marten, are you going first or 8 Judge Kane? 9 JUDGE KANE: Judge Marten. JUDGE MARTEN: We hadn't discussed it, 10 but I'll defer to my senior judge's deference in this 11 12 case. I appreciate very much the opportunity to be here. I'm actually here in lieu of our Chief Judge 13 14 Kathryn Vratil, who asked me to come in her stead. I came at this from, I think, a completely different 15 perspective than a lot of folks did, because although I 16 17 practiced with a large firm for about three and a half 18 or four years, when I started, I ended up in a community of 12,000 in Kansas, where we did about every 19 20 kind of work that came in the door. We were a 21 six-person firm, and I ended up doing the lion's share of the litigation, and at that time had actually done 22 23 trial work in our firm; and we did a lot of court-appointed work, as well as retained criminal 24 25 work, so probably 25 percent of my practice was

1 criminal defense work.

2 We didn't have a guidelines system in 3 Kansas. Although I handled a couple of federal 4 criminal appointments when I was practicing in Omaha, 5 Nebraska, I had no federal practice on the criminal 6 side during my years in Kansas; so when I came to the 7 federal bench, although I was familiar with the 8 criminal justice system certainly, I had no experience with the guidelines. And as I've mentioned in my 9 materials, I heard from a lot of lawyers and judges 10 about the guidelines, and there were two major 11 12 complaints.

13 One was that they were just entirely too 14 severe, and the second was the lack of discretion on the part of the judges. And, frankly, I was one of the 15 people -- my predecessor, Patrick F. Kelly, declared 16 17 the guidelines unconstitutional. He was a very vocal opponent of the guidelines. I, frankly, was pretty 18 happy to have them, because to me it gave us a starting 19 point. You had an offense level, you had a criminal 20 21 history, and that took you to a point on the grid. Where I had problems with was what happened at that 22 23 point. I thought that ought to be the starting point 24 rather than the ending point on sentencing decisions. 25 And all of the factors that I had argued as a defense

1 lawyer in the state court were disfavored factors under 2 the guidelines, and I never really came to understand, 3 and don't to this day, and this is one of the things I 4 think that Judge Hartz was talking about in the prior 5 session, I don't understand why all of these things 6 that differentiate one person from another are 7 disfavored factors for purposes of sentencing.

8 Tom Robbins, a novelist who's not a legal scholar, not even a lawyer, but who has some 9 fairly cogent observations about things, wrote in one 10 of his books that equality is not in treating different 11 12 things similarly; equality is in treating different 13 things differently. And to me that captures what a lot 14 of the problem was with the guidelines, from my perspective. We were trying to take people who had 15 very, very different experiences, maybe their criminal 16 histories were fairly similar, maybe their offense 17 18 conduct was fairly similar here, but we were trying to say that they ought to be treated in the same way and 19 ignoring what's probably 98 percent of the rest of 20 21 their life out there that is going to set them apart from the person that they're being compared with, or 22 23 the great body of people that they're being compared 24 with.

Another lesson that I learned early was

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1 from Justice Clark, when I was visiting with him about 2 a case and said this is controlling, it's square on all 3 four corners; and he smiled and said, every case is 4 distinguishable on the facts. And, of course, that's 5 absolutely true, and that is what I felt we were 6 missing as judges.

7 Nonetheless, I think most of us made 8 every effort where we felt that, in good conscience, we could, and, in compliance with the law, stuck with 9 guidelines sentences, and it was not in that many 10 instances that we departed. If we did depart, we 11 12 didn't depart much. And this ignores, of course, the 5K1 motions and that kind of thing; or where there was 13 a plea agreement, for example, that Rule 11(c)(1)(C)14 plea agreement, where the parties were recommending a 15 16 particular sentence that was a departure or variance 17 from the guidelines.

18 Where we did, I'm not sure we departed much. Once in a blue moon there was that occasional 19 20 exceptional case where we felt that the guidelines so 21 completely missed the boat that we went, in my case it 22 was usually below the guidelines -- I can't think of a 23 case where I've ever departed upwards, frankly -- and 24 felt it was imperative in the case of this particular 25 defendant to give a sentence that was very, very

1 different from what the guidelines called for.

2 Now, in the wake of Booker, I think most 3 of us still feel constrained. We feel the 4 congressional pressure not to vary or depart to the 5 extent that we would under different conditions, 6 because none of us wants to be the trigger that causes 7 Congress to come back into the picture and to start looking at an overhaul of sentencing again. And I 8 think we all understand that the way the politics 9 works is there can be a hot-button issue that comes 10 up, one case somewhere that gets enough publicity and 11 12 there's enough public outrage, that Congress comes to the rescue, passes an Act, puts maximum sentences, 13 14 maybe a minimum with it as well, and that may be the only case that that's applicable to, but it's out there 15 muddying up the waters in so many different areas. 16 17 I was telling Judge Kane beforehand if I 18 had a law clerk who came to work at 11 o'clock, went to lunch and then went home at 1:30, I've got a couple of 19 choices. I can either deal with the law clerk or I can 20 21 make everybody punch a time clock every day; and nobody needs to punch a time clock but that one employee. 22 23 Chances are it's not going to have any impact on that 24 employee anyway. You just need to find another way to 25 deal with it.

1 But congressional responses to so many 2 issues that come up in the sentencing context, I 3 believe are not particularly well thought out. It's 4 one of the things that I admire the Sentencing 5 Commission for so much, is that you generally are able 6 to take on congressional responses to get them settled 7 down a little bit, to take a look at the much larger 8 picture and to get some perspective on where that particular case fits in the context of everything else. 9 Is it really that big a deal; does it really need this 10 11 kind of action?

There are a couple of other things that 12 13 have happened as well. Obviously plea bargains have 14 significantly affected sentencing. 11(c)(1)(C) plea 15 agreements -- and my friend and colleague Judge Kane doesn't accept them. I sit in Las Cruces a few weeks a 16 year to help out down there, and 11(c)(1)(C) agreements 17 18 are pretty common down there. They're very helpful down there. They've taken to using them in Kansas in 19 certain instances. They're certainly not right 20 21 everywhere, but at times they serve a purpose. And appellate waivers pretty much take care of sentencing 22 23 issues, as long as you're within the guideline range or 24 the parties have, as part of their agreement if the 25 sentence is within this or that, that there will not be

an appeal. So I think plea agreements have been very
 important.

3 The other thing is -- and this also is a 4 political matter, but I think there has been a real 5 shift in focus from the prior administration to this 6 administration in terms of what sentences are appealed 7 and what are not. And you can see that, I think, just 8 in the attitudes that a number of the prosecutors are taking as they come to court in terms of what sentences 9 they vigorously resist, those that they don't. And I 10 think that the direction that they're getting from the 11 12 government -- and I have no way of knowing this, it's 13 pure conjecture on my part, but it seems to me that 14 they are not nearly as concerned in this Justice 15 Department with strict adherence to a guidelines sentence as what the prior administration was, and I 16 17 think that that's going to have some impact as well on 18 sentencing in the years ahead.

19 The last thing that I want to say in 20 terms of opening is I've been affirmed and I have been 21 reversed on a number of sentencing cases over the 22 years. I've actually had the unique experience of 23 having been reversed and given directions to give a 24 guidelines sentence, which I did, it was appealed 25 again, that was reversed and sent back for resentencing

1 post-Booker. So I actually had the same case three 2 times for sentencing. He ended up the third time with 3 the same sentence that he got initially. So you just 4 never know what's going to happen. 5 Again, it's a pleasure to be with you б here today, and I'll be happy to answer any questions 7 at the appropriate time. Thank you. 8 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, Judge 9 Marten. Judge Kane. JUDGE KANE: Well, first of all, thank 10 you for inviting me. I don't get out much and, as my 11 12 former chief judge said, he kept a short leash on me. I'm glad to be here and, of course, I don't speak for 13 14 the District of Colorado. I have five points I wish to 15 make and one overall observation. 16 The decisions from Booker, Gall, 17 Kimbrough, so forth, that have made the guidelines 18 advisory have left, in their wake, a labor force of judges, probation officers and prosecutors and defense 19 20 attorneys, most of whom had never sentenced without the 21 guidelines and they had no experience sentencing under what was, in effect, the criteria of 3553. They just 22 23 simply followed the guidelines. And the presentence 24 reports are the same. Now that they are advisory, 25 there are certain changes that have to be made, and I

would suggest, respectfully, to this Commission that 1 2 providing that kind of insight is something that the Commission could do, rather than trying to adhere 3 4 strictly to guidelines to look at the various criteria. 5 Let me give you now the points that I б want to make. Approximately 98 percent of criminal 7 cases are resolved by plea agreement. Jurisdictions' 8 policies differ greatly and render much of the sentencing guidelines inoperative. For instance, some 9 jurisdictions do not allow for any reduction for 10 acceptance of responsibility if a defendant has filed 11 12 pretrial motions. Some prohibit requests for downward 13 departure and require a defendant to waive his or her 14 right to appeal. There's nothing in the law that says that. That's what they do. The differences between 15 16 jurisdictions and sentencing practices produce results 17 that are the antithesis of the congressional purpose 18 for the guidelines.

19 The next point I want to make is a 20 little bit, again, somewhat tangentially, you will all 21 recall the recommendations and observations of the 9/11 22 Commission after the World Towers were -- and the 23 Pentagon were attacked and destroyed. And the 24 principal -- or one of the principal criticisms that 25 the 9/11 Commission waged -- or asserted, rather, was

1 that while information regarding terrorists was known 2 to the CIA and other information was known to the FBI 3 and other information was known to the National 4 Security Administration, they were all like ships 5 passing in the night and they didn't exchange 6 information and they didn't cooperate; and some 7 scholars have said in the 9/11 reports, commentaries on 8 them, that all of the information was available ahead of time to prevent the 9/11 disaster had that exchange 9 of information taken place. 10

I submit to you that the same kind of 11 12 lack of contact and communication exists today between and among the Sentencing Commission, the Justice 13 14 Department, the United States courts and, pretty clearly, the Defense Department and the Veterans 15 Administration. And let me expand upon that for a 16 17 moment, because as a judge here in Colorado, I am 18 definitely on the front lines in this situation.

19 The Rand Corporation estimates that more 20 than 320,000 veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan have 21 experienced brain injury while deployed. Traumatic 22 brain injury -- TBI is an acronym for traumatic brain 23 injury, and it is called, and I quote, the signature 24 injury of the Iraq war. As of August 1, 2008, the 25 official Pentagon figures listed more than 78,000

service members as wounded, injured and ill. Three-1 2 hundred and twenty-four thousand Iraq and Afghanistan veterans had already visited a VA facility to receive 3 healthcare for their injuries, and over 300,000, more 4 5 than 30 percent of eligible veterans, had filed for 6 disability. The numbers have increased and with respect 7 to them the waiting lists for award of benefits, 8 evaluation for treatment and then waiting for treatment once evaluated continues to lengthen. 9

10 In localities, such as in Colorado, 11 surrounding military installations receiving returning 12 veterans, criminal cases of murder, family violence, 13 suicide and drug use and sales have increased, and such 14 increases are attributable to the behavioral and 15 psychological problems suffered by returning military 16 personnel.

17 Not all such brain injuries, both 18 physical and psychological, are caused by direct hits or combat. Many are caused by prolonged exposure to 19 high temperatures and dehydration. Many of these 20 21 injuries do not manifest until two or three years following service. In addition, because of the 22 23 voluntary military force that we have, repeated combat 24 tours have an exponential effect upon the rate of 25 injury so that one person having to do two, three or

four tours has a significantly higher chance of developing one of these kinds of brain injuries. Many are caused by prolonged exposure to high temperatures and dehydration. Only 10 percent of Iraq and Afghanistan vets with TBI had severe and penetrating wounds to the head.

7 In April 2007, military doctors issued a
8 report showing that 18 percent of soldiers deployed to
9 Afghanistan and Iraq from Ft. Carson, Colorado,
10 exhibited at least one of the following symptoms:
11 headaches, memory loss, irritability, sleep disorders
12 and balance problems.

13 The state of Colorado, in El Paso 14 County, where Ft. Carson is principally located, has a 15 state district judge who is a former major general in the Army, and he has established for the state courts a 16 17 veterans court to try and deal with many of these problems. The Sentencing Commission has not addressed 18 this, nor have the courts. I presently have cases 19 20 involving veterans and I have to ask myself, somewhat 21 emotionally, is this the way we treat our heroes. Are these decisions to prosecute, are these decisions to 22 23 sentence and what kind of criteria to be applied, are 24 they taken into consideration by anyone. At the 25 present time I suggest it's only on an ad hoc basis,

and I strongly recommend that the Commission and its
 staff devote considerable attention to this growing
 problem. It isn't going to go away.

4 The third point I want to raise is one 5 that you've heard before by other people, and I will 6 try not to dwell on it, but it deals with child 7 pornography. I've written an opinion, a sentencing 8 memorandum is what it is, that I will leave with you if you care to look at it, and explaining the problems of 9 trying to follow the guidelines and what happens with 10 this particular individual. 11

One of the difficulties is one that 12 13 Judge Marten mentioned, and that is that we do not see 14 producers of these films. We don't see the parents who 15 sell their children or the step-fathers who captured them and attacked them in film and the actual 16 17 perpetrators. What we see are people like in this 18 particular opinion, a man who is on dialysis, confined to a wheelchair and spends all of his time confined 19 20 already, and there's no economic analysis that was ever 21 done about how much it would cost for the Bureau of 22 Prisons to keep this man in prison. None. The 23 Department of Justice sent out three people from the 24 Justice Department demanding that he receive the 25 maximum sentence. That's the same sentence for, as I

1 said, the person who is actually profiting from these 2 films, selling them and dealing with them. The 3 criteria that the sentencing guidelines have now, that 4 the use of a computer is an aggravating factor is 5 anachronistic. Of course the computer is going to be 6 used. There's no other way that it's going to be by 7 most of these people.

I sentenced in Grand Junction, Colorado, 8 another child pornography case, and the man is a 9 10 quadriplegic, and the only thing he could do with a computer was to have a stick with a mouthpiece attached 11 12 to the stick to turn it on by using his head; and he was left alone during the day and, according to his own 13 14 testimony, accidentally tripped upon a child pornography site, started looking at it and, thus, was 15 traced and found and caught. Now, this is someone 16 that, according to the guidelines, according to the 17 18 criteria, is supposed to get ten years in prison. What in the world are we going to do with him? It would 19 20 cost over \$150,000 a year just to house him and the 21 Bureau of Prisons would not let him have his electric 22 wheelchair in the process.

23 So it's, again, something that I think 24 that you really need to look at, is that all -- I had a 25 law professor once who said all Indians walk in single

file, at least the one I saw did. And that's the
 problem that you have trying to treat all of these
 things the same.

4 The third -- or the fourth, rather, 5 comment I have deals with felons in possession of б weapons. When the Sentencing Commission was first 7 organized and the staff began its study of these 8 issues, it was considered that the kind of weapon involved would be included within the criteria, but 9 that was abandoned, and so now I have, as an example, a 10 felon in possession of a weapon. The weapon was a 11 12 single-shot Derringer .22 short ammunition, no ammunition with it, and it was found under the back 13 14 seat of an SUV. At the same time I have a case in which on the driver's side, between the console and the 15 right side of the -- the right hand of the driver, was 16 17 a fully-loaded .45 automatic with one in the chamber. 18 Now, according to the guidelines, that's the same thing. That doesn't make any sense. And if you want 19 20 to know why I will not follow the guidelines in those 21 circumstances, it's because I think it's a far more serious offense, and I have already notified counsel 22 23 that I'm going up. It's a higher sentence because of 24 that. So I think that that kind of a distinction has 25 to be made.

1 Now, the last one is a little bit more 2 difficult to -- a little bit more abstract, but my last 3 point is this: That while the concept of 4 rehabilitation was minimalized by the guidelines, the 5 correlative data on recidivism rates being affected by 6 the length of the sentence has not been undertaken. 7 This study would answer the question of 8 proportionality; that is, what amount of time under attendant circumstances yields the lowest rate of 9 recidivism. In any given case, concerning the crime 10 committed and the offender characteristics, is an 11 12 appropriate sentence 12 to 18 months? Is it 24 to 36? Is it 48 to 60? I suggest that recidivism rates in 13 14 those strata would answer the question. 15 While sentencing, I frequently ask the 16 prosecution, the defense attorney and the probation 17 department why a certain sentence is recommended. The 18 usual pro forma answer is because the guidelines say so. That's like the child asking his mother or father 19 something, because I say so. It is not a matter of 20 21 logic. It's not a matter of reason. Because I say so. Well, none of them could answer the 22 23 following question, and that's why do the guidelines 24 recommend this particular range. Because the 25 guidelines are now advisory, I suggest that greater

transparency is needed. If, as a sentencing judge, I 1 2 am to consider the advice of the guidelines and follow 3 it, then the reasons for those guidelines must be 4 clearly presented. Otherwise, I am abusing my 5 discretion, contrary to law, by following a statement 6 without an articulated basis for it. 7 Sometimes a reasoned argument can change a judge's mind, but otherwise, what we have frequently 8 is an ideological food fight. Thank you. 9 10 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, Judge Kane. Commissioner Howell. 11 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: I think this is 12 13 one of the themes we've been hearing through our 14 hearings, which is in terms of how the Sentencing Commissions' role may be changing a little bit under an 15 advisory system, and I talk specifically to what you 16 just mentioned, Judge Kane, which is the explanation 17 18 for our specific guidelines. 19 You know, I think Judge Marten, you've 20 referenced, both in your written testimony and orally, 21 various -- you know, Plato, Tom Robbins, you know, all sorts of great writers, and I'm not sure that this 22 23 Commission or any other Commission can sort of live up 24 to that kind of writing skill, but as we -- I mean, I 25 think for each amendment that we issue and in the

1 various reports that we do -- and we are issuing 2 reports soon on child pornography that should be released, I think, fairly shortly, the child 3 4 pornography guidelines -- we feel as if we do explain 5 why we're amending the guidelines in a particular way, 6 both when Congress has directed us to do so and the 7 various factors that we've considered that sometimes 8 Congress has directed us to do or not.

9 I mean, the identity -- we got a 10 directive from Congress regarding identity theft last 11 year, and we did change some guidelines in response to 12 that directive, and other factors that Congress told us 13 to consider we decided didn't warrant any change in the 14 guidelines and we sort of explained that in our 15 explanation.

16 So as we hear this repeatedly, not just 17 from you two, but you heard in the panel before from 18 circuit court judges, that additional explanations would be helpful, we're trying to figure out how can we 19 20 better serve the people who are looking to the 21 guidelines for guidance and making fuller explanations. 22 Some have suggested that we should, in fact, more 23 precisely detail how we have considered each of the 24 3553(a) factors when we're looking at the amendment. 25 Some have said -- you know, and we do do empirical

research for every single amendment in terms of looking
 at the data, how many people would it affect and so on,
 we should make more of that public.

There are -- so I'm actually curious from you, district court judges who also think we should have fuller explanations, what would you actually find more helpful in our explanations for our amendments and for specific guidelines. What kind of information?

JUDGE KANE: Well, I've suggested one. 10 I think that an empirical study needs to be done to 11 12 show with the sentences that have been imposed for a certain crime and use the offender characteristics as 13 14 well, and do a study to show after they have served their sentence how many of them have come back, what 15 kind of a break in recidivism. There is a certain 16 amount of time that is condign, and there's -- if it's 17 too little, it's a waste of time; and if it's too much, 18 it's a waste of money, as well as being cruel in most 19 instances. So I think that the ideal sentence is one 20 21 that a judge struggles with, irrespective of any guideline. 22

23 That's what we used to do when we
24 sentenced before the guidelines, was try to figure out
25 how much is necessary to keep this from happening

1 again, at least with this person. Now, there's a lot 2 of data out there about deterrence, and I haven't seen 3 any that comes to any conclusion to say that deterrence 4 is really effective as it relates to others. But we do 5 know that there are people who you sentence and they 6 just -- they write back and they come back and they say 7 I've had enough, no more, I'm through with this life, 8 I'm through with this kind of thing. How much does it take to get that. 9

10 Another aspect is that there have to be qualitative considerations that are raised about these 11 12 people. The majority of people that we district judges sentence did not graduate from high school. The 13 14 majority of the ones I know that I've sentenced haven't held a job for more than three or four weeks at any 15 16 given time. What's necessary there to keep that kind 17 of criminal activity from happening again. And I think that studies need to be done on that basis. 18

19 If you'll forgive me, I want to be a 20 little bit theoretical. The sentencing guidelines are 21 harnessed at the present time, and have been from their 22 inception, to a utilitarian calculus. It looks like 23 Jeremy Bentham wrote them, that's the way in which 24 they're measured, and all of the thinking is done the 25 same way; and yet, the sentencing function itself is a

1 matter of the philosopher Manuel Kant's categorical 2 imperative. And you have to look at it in those terms, 3 of what is it that we're trying to do; and in order to 4 do that, what is imperative. What is imperative to 5 maintain human dignity for the victim as well as the 6 offender. That's usually the critical question that we 7 have, and the guidelines don't help. 8 So I think that that's -- I think that this Gall, Kimbrough, Booker opens up a great enormous 9 area for the Sentencing Commission to do research and 10 to look at, but it has to -- it has to be something 11 that, as I pointed out in this opinion which I'll leave 12 with you on the child pornography --13 14 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: Is that the Rausch 15 opinion? JUDGE KANE: Yeah, Rausch. 16 There's 17 nothing -- there's no basis to sentence that man that 18 was given in the sentencing guidelines. 19 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: I think there's some reference made to that opinion by the U.S. 20 21 attorney who's going to be testifying later. JUDGE KANE: I'll leave it for you. 22 23 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Judge Kane, you 24 and I have been long enough on the bench that we 25 actually did sentencing without the guidelines, and

obviously we did it during the mandatory system and 1 2 under the post-Booker system. And my question is, during the mandatory system, did you find anything in 3 4 Chapter 5K2.0 that would help you with regards to your 5 two felon in possession cases? 6 JUDGE KANE: Well, I have to make a 7 confession, due to an entirely coincidental matter 8 regarding my health, I became a senior judge at the time the guidelines came out, and I never sentenced 9 under the mandatory guidelines. 10 11 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Are you doing 12 sentencing -- well, you're obviously doing sentencing 13 now. 14 JUDGE KANE: I'm doing sentencings now, 15 but it's advisory. ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Did you find 16 anything in Chapter 5K2.0, §5K2.0 that would 17 18 help you some with regards to these two felon in 19 possession weapons cases? 20 JUDGE KANE: No, I haven't. 21 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Because, you know, 5K2.0(a)(3) addresses, I think, the point that 22 23 you're making, which says, "departures based on 24 circumstances present to a degree not adequately taken 25 into consideration." It says, "a departure may be

warranted in [an] exceptional case, even though the 1 2 circumstance that forms the basis for the departure is 3 taken into consideration in determining the guideline 4 range if the court determines that such circumstance [is] 5 present in the offense to a degree substantially in 6 excess [of] or substantially below that which ordinarily 7 is involved in that kind of offense." Which is the 8 point that you were making. 9 JUDGE KANE: The point I'm making is but it's not an exceptional thing. We have to look at the 10 weapons in each and every case. It's not an exception. 11 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: But the cases 12 you pointed out are not necessarily the ordinary case, 13 14 and I think that was your point. And I think, you know, when the guidelines were written, even under the 15 mandatory system, Congress anticipated that there would 16 be departures, and, you know, the guidelines themselves 17 18 have discussions about departures. 19 JUDGE KANE: Well, the Congress anticipated it and the courts of appeals discouraged 20 21 it. 22 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Do you think that's true of all courts of appeals? 23 24 JUDGE KANE: It certainly is the Tenth. 25 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: I have just a

1 couple of questions. Judge Kane, I found a lot of what 2 you said interesting and a lot of what you said 3 troubling, and I don't know if you would be prepared at 4 some point to perhaps shoot us a letter with the names 5 of these cases, especially the two cases with the 6 wheelchair-bound defendants.

JUDGE KANE: One of them is right here
I'll give to you. The other one I will be happy to
give you that information.

10 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: Also, if you 11 could, also include a couple sentences about the 12 situation with veterans and the experience that you've 13 had there, and I think we need to look into those.

JUDGE KANE: I'm writing a sentencing opinion on that even as we speak, and I'll be happy to send that detailed opinion to you.

17 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: I would 18 appreciate it. One thing to both of you, I heard what I think was somewhat contradictory statements about 19 20 plea bargaining, and I'm not sure I got it right, so I 21 want to ask you for your comments. Judge Marten, you 22 said that recently you've seen a lot more flexibility 23 from the prosecutors in the plea bargaining process, 24 and you seemed to speak favorably about that. And, 25 Judge Kane, you talked about the fact that 98 percent

of the cases are resolved by plea, that there are a lot
 of differences, and you called that an antithesis or
 opposite what the Sentencing Reform Act really calls
 for.

5 JUDGE KANE: Yes.

6 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: Are those 7 contradictory statements and could you comment on that? Because we are struggling -- just so you know, we are 8 struggling in the new administration with coming up 9 with a policy for prosecutors. Should there be more 10 guidance to prosecutors so that they act similarly one 11 12 district to the next, one case to the next, or should there be more flexibility with prosecutors. And, 13 14 frankly, we've heard on all sides on this, both -within the Department of Justice, we've heard 15 prosecutors say, no, there should be more guidance and 16 17 more uniformity, and other prosecutors saying there 18 shouldn't. We've heard from defense attorneys saying that existing disparity, to the extent it exists that's 19 20 unwarranted, is the fault of the prosecutor. We've 21 heard from other prosecutors saying there should be more flexibility, we should get rid of what was called 22 23 the Ashcroft Memorandum, and charging the most serious, 24 readily provable offense.

25

So it seems like not just on this panel,

but generally we're hearing contradictory things, and
 I'm curious if you could comment on it.

JUDGE MARTEN: Well, I'd be happy to talk about my experience in Kansas and also my limited experience the few weeks a year in New Mexico. Because I started sitting in New Mexico probably six or seven years ago, just to help out with the border crunch in Las Cruces. And, Judge Sessions, I think you may have done that too.

10 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: I did. And it was 11 one of the most memorable experiences that I've had on 12 the bench, frankly.

JUDGE MARTEN: Well, I've heard that there are judges going there thinking they're going down to take a little vacation and, of course, it's anything but that. It was unlike anything I've ever seen and it's an eye opener.

18 But I started that during the Bush administration and then, of course, had an experience 19 this summer with the U.S. Attorney's Office under the 20 21 Obama administration. And I -- my sense is in New 22 Mexico, very limited experience there, but in Kansas, 23 is that the U.S. Attorney's Office feels much less 24 restricted in terms of its ability to make decisions 25 that it thinks are appropriate in terms of plea

agreements than what they could under the prior 1 2 administration. And I think that's a very good thing. 3 So much of it is probably going to depend -- or depend 4 on the people who are in the office. I have a huge 5 amount of respect for the people who are in the U.S. б Attorney's Office in the District of Kansas, just as I 7 do the people who are in the federal defender's office 8 there and, frankly, our CJA panel and our criminal defense bar. They're very good lawyers. And I think 9 to the extent that they were hand-strung and shackled 10 by Justice Department policy in terms of doing what 11 12 they felt was really appropriate in the case, that made 13 everybody's lives more difficult. 14 I am seeing now what I think are far more reasonable plea agreements which result in far 15 more reasonable sentences. Some things are not 16

binding. Obviously there are recommendations that are made to the court that certain matters, the parties agree, will not be considered for purposes of determining an offense level. I think that's all to the good, frankly.

22 One of my major complaints about the 23 guidelines from the beginning is that in virtually 24 every instance, except for simple possession of certain 25 drugs, the guidelines sentences were, I think,

unbelievably harsh, and there were just so few places 1 2 to go with them. And so much of it is prosecutorial driven as well. If you charge somebody with 27 crimes, 3 4 they may plead out to one; but if you can consider the 5 conduct of the other 26 in determining the offense 6 level, what's the benefit of that plea bargain. And so 7 I think that a number of things that are now being 8 incorporated into plea agreements are helpful to the court, and I think it serves the system well. 9 10 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Judge Marten, you gave me a couple of great things to think about. In 11 12 your written submission, I really appreciate the 13 comments that you made about Justice Clark saying that 14 our court is not the lower court. 15 JUDGE MARTEN: It always sounds a little self-serving when a district court judge says that, but 16 it's something that I've believed since he told me 17 18 that. 19 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: There are two questions that I have. The first is your observation 20 21 that judges -- district court judges think about the possibility of offending Congress when they impose 22 23 sentence. It opens up the broader question about how

25 consequences of what they do, and that's obviously from

judges in the real world think about the political

24

the Commission's perspective, but judges in general.
 And I'm interested to know how prevalent you think that
 is, that judges are very concerned about triggering
 some congressional response.

5 And the second thing is that you talked б about discouraged factors, and you can't understand how 7 they arrived in the guidelines system. Frankly, they 8 arrived in response -- most of them, arrived in responses to congressional directives. But I guess 9 today, in this world, is it that important to remove 10 discouraged factors? Because essentially some of those 11 12 discouraged factors may not play a significant role when you apply 3553(a). I mean, is it something that 13 14 we should really focus in upon or is it of limited 15 value?

16 JUDGE MARTEN: Judge Sessions, first of 17 all, the question regarding how many judges have in the 18 back of their minds, or maybe even in the forefront of their thinking, what impact the sentence might have in 19 20 terms of triggering congressional action, I think it's 21 extremely widespread. And I think anytime -- and I know I have been accused of being much less sensitive 22 23 to that than what perhaps I ought to be from time to 24 time, but I can tell you that every sentence that I 25 pronounce, I have thought through all of the factors

that one is supposed to think through. And if I have decided to depart or to vary, I've thought to myself what degree do I really, at a gut level, having considered all of these things, think is appropriate, and, to a lesser degree, how is that going to look in terms of trying to maintain some sense of equilibrium and not get into the disparity issues.

If somebody wanted to send this -- and 8 one of my sentences ended up in Attorney General 9 Gonzales's speech that he gave to victims of crime at 10 one point, you know, how is that going to play if it's 11 12 brought to the attention of Congress. It's not a determinative factor, but it's something that's always 13 14 there, and it tends to, I think, from time to time, cause you to put on the brakes a little bit from going 15 16 to the place one thinks might be the truly appropriate 17 sentence as opposed to one that's better than it might 18 have been but not still where one would like to go. I think that's a fairly widespread attitude. 19

With respect to the second question about the disfavored factors and how important they are in the post-*Booker* era and with the 3553(a) factors, they're probably not as important, but I think as long as they are suggested as being disfavored or not considerations that one ought to use in a typical situation, we are doing a disservice to the persons who
 are appearing before us in sentencing.

I think that just saying that they are disfavored is going to eliminate them from consideration by some judges, when, in fact, they ought to be looking at those as well.

7 As you're probably aware, I have a 102-year-old colleague, Wesley E. Brown, who still 8 comes to court every day, still tries cases and he 9 still does sentencings. And Judge Brown said when the 10 guidelines came in, it made my job easier than it ever 11 12 had been. And he stays pretty close to those guidelines at his age, but even now and then, once in a 13 14 while -- and he's probably got a better track record than any judge in our district in terms of complying 15 with them, but even Judge Brown every once in a while 16 17 will see his way clear to move away and say, you know, I just don't get it. 18

19 I think what Judge Hartz said about the 20 reasons for some of these things and what he said about 21 because I said so, doesn't meet the test that Judge 22 Hartz was talking about, and which I agree with, is 23 that if we had some persuasive explanation, not just 24 empirical data, but actually something that if we 25 listened to it and we said, you know, that really makes

sense not only at a logical level, but it makes sense
 at an emotional level too, because I think fairness
 incorporates both of those concepts.

4 VICE CHAIR CARR: Judge Marten, could 5 you be a little more precise in what you described as 6 more reasonable approaches by the prosectors in their 7 plea bargains. Are they lowering drug amounts? Are 8 they not filing 851s? Are they avoiding statutory 9 mandatories? And does the probation office ever say, 10 hey, they're bargaining away facts.

JUDGE MARTEN: Once in a while the probation office will point out bargaining away facts. And, by the way, we have a phenomenal probation office in Kansas, and you'll be hearing from our chief probation officer in the next session, Ron Schweer, and they are extraordinary.

17 But when I'm talking about them being 18 more reasonable, I'm talking about typically the charges they are allowing the persons to plead to. 19 20 It's not always the most serious of the charges. I'm 21 talking about in terms of the provisions in the agreement, the government is frequently -- more 22 23 frequently now agreeing to recommend the low end of the 24 guidelines; and while it might oppose a departure, it's 25 not taking away as part of the agreement the defendants

1 ability to argue for a departure or from a variance. 2 And even at the time of sentencing, when the government 3 states its position, if you indicate that you're 4 inclined to vary or to depart, you don't get anywhere 5 near the kind of argument from the Justice 6 Department -- or from the U.S. Attorney's Office that 7 we did a year ago or two years ago. 8 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Does anybody have any other questions? If not, we thank you all 9 very much and we realize that you took time out from 10 your busy schedules to share your thoughts with us, and 11 12 they're very much appreciated. 13 JUDGE MARTEN: Thank you for having us. 14 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: We'll have a 15 short break at this point. (A break was taken from 11:18 a.m. to 16 17 11:40 a.m.) 18 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Although our next panel isn't scheduled until 11:45, my experience 19 20 in the courtroom is that the probation officers are 21 always there first, so this is no exception, and we'll go ahead and get started. We are very fortunate to 22 23 have two distinguished probation officers with us today 24 to share their view from the probation office with 25 regards to the federal sentencing system.

1 We have Mr. Kevin Lowry, who currently 2 serves as the chief U.S. probation officer for the 3 District of Minnesota. Prior to that he was a 4 probation officer for the District of Nevada for 12 5 years, and he also has experience working with both 6 juveniles and adults in both correctional institutions 7 and community-based settings. Mr. Lowry earned his 8 B.S. in criminal justice and psychology from the University of Nebraska Kearney and an MA in criminal 9 justice from the University of Nevada Las Vegas. 10 11 We also have Ronald Schweer, who has 12 been the chief U.S. probation officer for the District of Kansas since January 2009. He has previously served 13 14 as the deputy chief in the Eastern District of Missouri and the supervising U.S. probation officer for the 15 District of Kansas. He also is a safety consultant for 16 17 the American Probation and Parole Association, the National Institute of Corrections, the Sam Houston 18 State University in Texas, and he has been with the 19 20 Community Corrections Institute.

And we appreciate both of you being present and taking your time from your schedules and your offices to be with us today. Is there a preference as to who goes first? Mr. Lowry, did you want to go first?

1MR. LOWRY: Yes, Your Honor, I think we2agreed. He wanted to be the clean-up man to finish3off, so we decided to go in this order.4ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: We'll get

5 started with you then.

6 MR. LOWRY: I'd like to start by 7 thanking the Sentencing Commission. I think it's a 8 great honor and opportunity to provide testimony on 9 behalf of the District of Minnesota Probation Office 10 regarding sentencing, policies, practices in the 11 federal judiciary on the 25th anniversary of the 12 Sentencing Reform Act.

13 My testimony was derived from the input 14 of the district probation officers who work daily in the sentencing process. I acknowledge that these are 15 not new topics. These issues have been previously 16 addressed in the actions of the Commission and in 17 18 regional hearings by other members of the court family. 19 The following is testimony and 20 recommendations from the probation office perspective. 21 First, it is recommended that the Sentencing Commission continue its pursuit of elimination of disparity 22 23 between powder cocaine and cocaine base, crack, within 24 the sentencing guidelines drug table quantity -- or 25 excuse me, Drug Quantity Table.

1 From an officer's perspective, great 2 strides have been made to begin the elimination with 3 the two-point reduction and we're very pleased with that. 4 We hope that that movement will continue to both reduce 5 the disparity in sentencing and the excessive sentences 6 for crack cocaine. This issue is of two concerns or 7 twofold for a probation officer considering both the 8 length of sentence and the attempts to transition and habilitate offenders into the community by assisting 9 them in developing successful law-abiding lifestyles 10 after their term of incarceration. 11 12 Officers continue to observe that 13 offenders sentenced for cocaine base offenses receive 14 harsher sentences than similarly situated offenders sentenced for cocaine powder and other drugs. Their 15 observation also continues to be that, with rare 16 17 exception, the offenders sentenced for cocaine base are 18 African American. Currently we see offenders return to our communities that have been severely 19 20 institutionalized from lengthy terms of incarceration 21 resulting in major culture shock that overwhelms even the hardest of offenders in their return to the 22 23 community. 24

24 Many of these offenders are more often 25 than not from low socioeconomic backgrounds with

limited life skills to start with. The vast majority 1 2 of these offenders reside in high drug trafficking 3 areas, are often involved due to family ties, receiving 4 minimal gains, and live from a hand-to-hand existence. 5 This is not to say that drug trafficking is not a 6 serious offense and warrants proportionate punishment, 7 but rather it's to say that those with smaller roles in 8 the distribution process who reap only modest proceeds should not bear the full burden with those with 9 10 aggravating roles benefiting the most.

11 Oftentimes members of conspiracies who 12 have mitigating roles suffer with addiction and are involved to support their personal habit. These 13 14 offenders are often lumped in with major offenders in a conspiracy and fall prey to sentences for significant 15 16 quantities and mandatory minimums. More often than not 17 the low-level offenders never have enough information 18 to cooperate with the government or to be eligible for a downward departure. A bad day from the perspective 19 20 of a probation officer is to see an offender with a 21 minor role in a case receive a lengthy sentence. Sentences could be more effective if the factors about 22 23 the offender and the offense were considered that 24 appropriately punish, deter, protect and consider what 25 would be necessary for the offender to develop a

1 successful law-abiding lifestyle.

2 We are truly grateful for the progress 3 that has been made by the Commission in the arena 4 surrounding the disparity around cocaine base and 5 support the Commission's continued efforts in that 6 area. 7 Secondly, it is recommended that the 8 Sentencing Commission continue to pursue the elimination of mandatory minimums to remove the 9 conflict that exists between the statutory goals of 10 sentencing contained in 18 [U.S.C. §] 3553 and the mandatory 11 12 minimum sentences that exclude the consideration of any 13 of the many offense and offender characteristics. 14 Title 18, [§] 3553(a) directs the court 15 impose a sentence sufficient but not greater than necessary to satisfy the goals of sentencing. 16 17 Statutory mandatory minimums often drown out and extinguish relevant offense and offender 18 characteristics. Mandatory minimums tie the hands of 19 20 the court and contradict the need for appropriately 21 tailored punishment that will deter, protect and provide corrective treatment. 22 23 Defendants who are unable to provide 24 substantial assistance and are not safety valve 25 eligible are often confronted with significant terms of

1 imprisonment. Presentence officers often investigate 2 defendants who never served more than one year in 3 custody on a single case but now face the mandatory 4 minimum typically of 60 to 120 months. While those 5 officers concede that the previous sentences of 6 probation, state custodial sentences and/or limited 7 jail time have not deterred or promoted a new respect 8 for the law, the mandatory minimum defeats any ability to fashion a reasonable sentence and a graduated 9 10 sanction.

As a representative of my officers, I'm 11 12 here to echo the concerns of the Commission and many in the field regarding the complications and conflict by 13 14 mandatory minimums. Substantial assistance motions under 3553(e) provide the judicial discretion to go 15 16 below the mandatory minimum, but that discretion is 17 limited to those considerations for only assistance-related factors. 18

As for the safety valve, while it opens the door for those with no criminal history, it also permits those with criminal history to hold the score to reap the benefits, yet the safety valve excludes defendants with a more recent criminal history but limited to only minor criminal history, history that is occasionally dissimilar from the instant federal

1 offense.

2 Even in the absence of drug mandatory 3 minimums, for example, statutes such as [21 U.S.C. §] 851 4 could prove as a mechanism which by to enhance sentences 5 for drug offenders with previous drug convictions. The 6 Commission could amend the safety valve to capture a 7 larger category of offenders which would then permit 8 the court to exercise judicial discretion weighing relevant factors to appropriately tailor the ultimate 9 sentence. However, the fact remains that in order to 10 mandate -- or remains that in order for the mandate of 11 12 3553(a) to be fully recognized, Congress must either simply eliminate mandatory minimums or broaden the 13 14 court's limited authority to impose sentences below statutory minimums. Absent that discretion, the court 15 will have no option but to uphold the law and continue 16 17 to impose sentences that are greater than necessary.

18 My third point is that it's recommended that the Sentencing Commission go further to lower the 19 20 specific offense characteristic levels for nonviolent 21 aggravating felonies in illegal reentry cases due to lengthy prison sentences that currently often surpass 22 23 sentences for a violent offense such as bank robbery. 24 These illegal reentry enhanced sentences overcrowd our 25 justice systems and prisons and fail to deter illegal

1 reentry with great expense to the public.

2 The immigration guideline at 2L1.2 has 3 gone through many iterations since the guideline took 4 place in 1987. Over the years, the Commission has 5 heard concerns of the many stakeholders, and in 2001 6 implemented a major overhaul of the guideline to 7 provide more graduated enhancements for illegal 8 reentrants deported after criminal conviction. This major change went a long way toward improving the 9 application of the quideline imparity in sentencing, 10 but it is believed that more can be done. 11 It is recommended that the staff of the 12 13 Commission undertake a comparison of sentences imposed 14 for illegal reentrants convicted of nonviolent aggravating felonies to those sentences imposed for 15 other defendants convicted of violent felonies. 16 The 17 field frequently sees quite lengthy advisory guideline 18 ranges for nonviolent illegal reentrants who may have been previously deported for an aggravated felony and 19 20 lower advisory guideline ranges for defendants 21 convicted of crimes of violence such as bank robbery. The guidelines should be simplified to 22 23 provide clarifying definitions of certain crimes such 24 as those considered crimes of violence in Chapter Four of 25 the manual, which are not considered crimes of violence

1 in the immigration guidelines. Current circuit 2 conflicts should also be addressed in any amendments 3 made. Such clarification would assist the field in 4 making correct and consistent guideline applications. 5 The discrepancy sometimes seen in the б guideline definitions compared to the statutory 7 definitions should also be addressed. Currently there 8 appears to be an inconsistency between certain guideline definitions of a crime of violence and the 9 statutory definitions for aggravated felony. For 10 instance, there is a crime of violence definition at 11 12 2L1.2, which leads to a 16-level increase and, within the statutory definition of an aggravated felony, a 13 14 separate definition of crime of violence, which would lead to an 8-level enhancement. Any merging of those 15 definitions would go a long way toward simplifying 16 17 guideline application and avoiding inevitable circuit 18 conflicts.

19 Finally, we urge the Commission to lobby 20 the Department of Justice to expand that early 21 disposition program at 5K3.1 to all districts. 22 Currently the District of Minnesota border case does 23 not have such a program. Our judges are hampered in 24 imposing a sentence consistent with other districts 25 which have the benefit of that option.

1 Fourth, it is recommended that the 2 Sentencing Commission more narrowly define what 3 constitutes a crime of violence as it applies to career 4 offenders and make a recommendation to Congress to 5 similarly redefine violent felony definition for the 6 purposes of armed career criminal determinations. 7 Pursuant to [28 U.S.C. §] 944(h), Congress 8 directed that the Sentencing Commission assure that certain categories of offenders, career offenders, be 9 sentenced to near the authorized maximum imprisonment 10 term. Ultimately, after some modification of the 11 12 statutory definition, the Commission developed 4B1.1, career offender. Most recently, a great deal of time and 13 effort has been spent by officers, attorneys, judges 14 trying to identify and define those predicate crimes of 15 violence that the career offender guideline should 16 17 capture but are not specifically listed in the 18 guideline name or the offense elements. Instead, the determination turned to whether the offense otherwise 19 20 involves conduct that presents a serious risk to the 21 physical harm of another. In Taylor v. the United States, 22 23 1990, the Supreme Court adopted the categorical 24 approach focusing on the generic elements of the 25 offense, not the underlying facts; then in Shepard

v. the United States in 2005, announced modified 1 2 categorical approach. Over the years, there have been 3 a gradual flow of offenses found to present the 4 necessary potential risk, including commercial 5 burglaries, theft from a person, motor vehicle theft, 6 all escapes, possession of a sawed-off shotgun, 7 reckless discharge of a firearm, fleeing police in a 8 motor vehicle and felony driving under the influence. 9 The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals determined that the definitions for crime of violence 10 and violent felony were similar; therefore, these 11 predicate offenses impacted application of both career 12 13 offender and the armed career criminal. Often 14 defendants learned through their presentence reports that they now face significant imprisonment terms that 15 they did not contemplate under their plea agreements. 16 In April of 2008, the Supreme Court 17 18 decided Begay and clarified the otherwise clauses of the respective definitions were not intended to capture 19 20 every crime that presented such a potential risk; 21 consequently, some of the previously mentioned offenses found to be predicate offenses and violence for violent 22 23 felonies no longer qualified as such. Under Begay, 24 officers took a more in-depth and complex analysis. 25 Officers reviewed state statutory language and

definitions and were able to obtain charging documents and plea transcripts to determine whether the potential predicate offense involves conduct that presents a serious potential risk of physical injury to another and whether it typically involves purposeful, violent and aggressive conduct.

7 Although this two-prong approach was a 8 step forward, a more universal narrow definition, it has not simplified the process in identifying career 9 offenders and armed career criminals. Adding further 10 confusion to this issue is the fact that the term 11 "crime of violence" is defined differently within the 12 immigration [] guideline of 2L1.2, and the 13 14 Commission is now analyzing statutory and guideline definitions of crime of violence, violent felony and, 15 given recent case law, is urged to put forth amendments 16 17 and recommendations to Congress that will simplify and 18 make more consistent guideline applications in these 19 areas.

And last, I just want to touch on the probation officer's perspective on post-*Booker* sentencing. That is sentencing guidelines are a good systematic structure that identifies similar offenses committed by similar offenders. It is believed that the guidelines being advisory allow the court to appropriately weigh other factors and characteristics
 for imposition of a just sentence tailored specifically
 to fit the characteristics of the offense and the
 offender.

5 Overall, probation officers have 6 responded favorably to post-Booker era and are more 7 confident that offenders are now being treated as individuals by considering the totality of 8 circumstances as they relate both to the offense and 9 the offender when considering an appropriate sentence. 10 11 Pre-Booker, officers expressed that they 12 often felt that considering only severity calculations, criminal history and limited departures due to criteria 13 14 was very limiting. Now officers believe they have been revitalized by the value placed on their comprehensive 15 16 investigations regarding offender characteristics, 17 knowing that they can again have greater impact on just 18 sentencing of offenders. Being able to identify significant reasons for a variance and providing the 19 20 court with sentencing options have been positive steps 21 for probation officers and the effectiveness of the judiciary as a whole as we believe it to be. 22 23 As one U.S. district judge passed along 24 to us, your probation officer truly made me a better

25 judge today in this case by the information and

1 guidance that was provided. I am confident that I've
2 arrived at the best possible sentence, given all of the
3 circumstances of the case.

4 As previously testified before the 5 Commission by Chief Probation Officer Chris Hansen of 6 the District of Nevada, the United States currently 7 incarcerates a higher percentage of its population than any other country in the world. This is evident of the 8 continued reliance on the prison systems to solve our 9 social ills, and when that individual strategy failed, 10 sentences were increased. It is clear that we have a 11 12 nation that abandoned the treatment of offenders and lost track of multi-dimensional purposes of sentencing. 13 14 In the early 1990s, it was strongly publicized that nothing worked in the field of 15 corrections. This was a difficult hit for the 16 17 profession of probation officers and the correctional 18 field as a whole. Since Booker, there has been renewed hope from probation officers that sentencing practices 19 20 are starting to evolve from a philosophy that longer 21 punishment is more effective and that warehousing our social ills is an acceptable solution. The return to 22

fair and just sentences appropriately tailored to the offense and successful correctional intervention for the offender is great progress in our field.

1 With regard to successful correctional 2 interventions, bringing further renewed hope to 3 probation officers is the movement of evidence-based 4 practices, known as EBP. Evidence-based practices are 5 correctional practices that have shown by empirical 6 research to reduce recidivism. A number of these 7 specific practices were previously discussed before the 8 Commission in detail by Chief Probation Officer Greg Forest from the District of North Carolina, so I will 9 not take the Commission's time to further elaborate on 10 them. 11

12 The opportunity to combine tailored 13 sentencing and the implementation of evidence-based 14 practices, to better facilitate interventions for 15 offenders to reduce criminal lifestyles have resulted 16 in many officers believing there has never been a 17 better time to be in our profession.

On behalf of the District of Minnesota 18 Probation Office, we thank the Commission for taking 19 20 the time to consider our input and recommendations from 21 the view of the probation office. We truly appreciate 22 the continued diligence and progress the Commission has 23 made with the continued adjustments and redefining the 24 guidelines and your work with Congress to redefine 25 sentencing legislations to best serve just sentencing.

1 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you,

2 Mr. Lowry. Mr. Schweer.

MR. SCHWEER: Your Honor, members of the 3 4 Commission, if you don't mind, I'll probably paraphrase 5 some of the things that I have here. Because of all 6 the things that have been presented, all the issues 7 that have been presented by my colleagues up to this point, this being the fifth of seven hearings, it's 8 going to run together, I'm sure, for you by that 9 seventh hearing you have. 10

11 First of all, I'd like to thank you very 12 much for the opportunity to be here and thank you on 13 behalf of my staff. This was a terrific learning 14 opportunity for me and my staff to actually have an opportunity to give you information that they see on a 15 daily basis. And also, I'll compliment your staff in 16 17 that we just recently completed some training in the Western District of Missouri that we were invited to. 18 Chief Lyon over there sponsored that training and we 19 sent several members of our staff; and each time I 20 21 attend one of those trainings, I go back and I pull out 22 my guideline manual, which typically is not too far 23 from me, and review what we are learning on a daily 24 basis and in many of the hearings and in the 25 dispositions that are imposed by our courts, and it's

really, how shall I say, inspiring to see the staff asking questions about how to do that job and can the Commission assist us in various ways to lend guidance to the recommendations that we make to our courts. So thank you very much. I don't know if you get thanked much, but sincerely the District of Kansas appreciates everything you and your staff does for us.

8 As noted in my third paragraph, you've heard a number of my colleagues, not the least of which 9 is my colleague to the right, Chief Lowry, comment on a 10 number of specific issues, and one of those specific 11 12 issues that was given to me by my staff in discussions right prior to preparing the testimony had to do with 13 14 definitions. And the definition specifically is addressed by the second question in Topic Number 4 on 15 the list of questions that we were provided, and it 16 17 relates to crime of violence.

18 Now, I imagine as many times as you've evaluated this very issue, it has come up that it's 19 getting, to me and my staff, more convoluted, and 20 21 that's my terminology, to reflect a passion and then to a sense of frustration of the things that we're seeing 22 23 now in relation to the categorical approach, which I 24 believe was mentioned by one of the commissioners 25 earlier, and the modified categorical approach, as to

1 what that really means.

2 We're spending a great deal of time 3 analyzing specific cases and analyzing specific state 4 statutes as to how to apply the categorical approach 5 and the modified categorical approach when we provide 6 information to our courts. And as you can imagine, 7 which was mentioned early, the word remand is not a 8 popular word when it comes to trying to do the job the best we can and provide information to our courts to 9 impose sentences. 10

11 And I cite in the first full paragraph on page 2 a number of cases that are Tenth Circuit and 12 Supreme Court that point to the issue of defining crime 13 14 of violence. And there in the last paragraph, I note, first of all, some minutes from the Probation Officers 15 Advisory Group, which we fondly call POAG, and they, in 16 17 their minutes for January 24th, recommended to the Commission that you revisit the definition of a crime 18 of violence, specifically relating to U.S.S.G. 2L1.2 19 20 and 4B1.2.

And so when I was going in, preparing for this testimony and this appearance today, I went to the website, I reviewed the testimony, and then I reviewed the POAG minutes from their meetings, and I see that this isn't a new issue. As a matter of fact,

1 pulling out the guideline manual and looking at the 2 definitions myself, I see it's not all that dissimilar 3 to when I was actually writing presentences a number of 4 years ago, and it's obviously still there, that we are 5 recommending that we get more specific with the crime 6 of violence versus the general definitions. And I hope 7 you can understand that from our perspective as 8 officers, we're always looking at specifics, you know, give me something that I can then convey to my judge to 9 hang our hat on in making the recommendation that we 10 would for any given case. 11

And then further, I went back a little hit more on how long it's been since this came up, and I cited minutes from August 15, 2005, that POAG had again visited, even a number of years ago, the issue of crime of violence and the definitions for crime of violence and making recommendations that that be revisited.

And then finally, in the meeting that POAG just conducted on July 14th and 15th in Washington, D.C., they are, and I quote this, "members expressed a desire for the Commission to address the priority identified in number 6," which is relating to a study of the statutory guideline definitions of crime of violence, and then they cite other definitions that 1 they'd like to have you revisit.

2 So when I'm looking at this one issue 3 alone, and I asked my staff what is the most 4 significant issue that you can convey or that I can 5 convey for you to the Commission, it comes back to the 6 definitions that are contained in the application notes 7 in the guideline manual.

8 There's one other thing that's not in my testimony as well, and with your permission, Your 9 Honor, I'd like to mention it, and that has to do --10 and this may be an appropriate segue from definitions, 11 12 and that has to do with the variances, and that word 13 has been used here just a couple of times this morning, 14 and heaven knows how many times up to this in your previous hearings. But when you look at the 5K, at the 15 departure issues, the definitions and clarifications 16 that are very nicely set forth there, just the issue of 17 18 variances now coming up is starting to cause questions from staff of certainly our judges are looking at 19 variances, conveying to us, hey, is there something 20 21 else out there that may be outside the scope of the definitions of the departures set forth in 5K that we 22 23 can utilize in any given case, or a case-specific is 24 usually when we get the question.

25

And a recommendation that staff had as

recently as last week, which was following my written testimony being presented to staff, it was recommended that we also bring up the issue of variances and would it be possible that the Commission visit specific elements of defining or clarifications on what are the variances that have been utilized to this point for us to look at.

8 Obviously time's an issue. We certainly 9 follow the cases out of the Tenth Circuit, our home 10 circuit, and other circuits, certainly Supreme Court 11 cases as well, but we're very interested, and our staff 12 is very interested, in what are the variances out there 13 that are being looked at by the other district courts 14 and the other circuits in imposing sentences.

15 So albeit that that's not mentioned or 16 written in my testimony, I'd hoped that it be 17 memorialized here in this hearing that we are quite 18 interested in looking at the issue of variance and is there something that the Commission can do to help 19 guide our officers and staff, not to mention the other 20 21 districts, in what is an appropriate or what is perhaps 22 an inappropriate variance that a court might look at. 23 That said, I'll summarize certainly that 24 my terminology of a convoluted mess when it comes to 25 the issue of looking at the categorical and the other

definition of the modified categorical approach, is
certainly causing us some, perhaps, issues -- I'll use
the term issues -- of really what does that mean, what
statutes do we have to look at, what elements do we
need to be looking at, and any kind of guidance offered
by the Commission would certainly be appreciated.

7 I can tell you that it's not often that 8 we have an opportunity to comment on very specific 9 issues, and that's why some of the generalities of 10 history you'll not hear in my testimony because it's 11 already been presented. I'm going more towards 12 specific elements related to definitions, and the 13 variances of providing some guidance to us.

Bottom line is if there's guidance provided by the 5K factors that warrant departure that are set forth in the guidelines manual, why not start looking at variances for some information that would help guide us in imposing -- or recommending sentences to our courts and the courts imposing those sentences. Thank you very much.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you very much. And I guess I'll have the first question. You all brought up 2L1.2 and the definition of crime of violence that is contained in that guideline section. So my question is if you could make this clear or 1 different, what is it that you would do?

2 MR. SCHWEER: Generally speaking, when 3 you're looking at the statutes, the statutes, as you 4 know, state law, counties, et cetera, when we're 5 looking at the criminal conduct, past criminal conduct 6 and convictions, the titles of those offenses vary 7 widely, and then when you start doing --8 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: That would be the enumerated offenses. 9 10 MR. SCHWEER: Yes. ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: As opposed to 11 the definition of any other offense under federal, 12 state law, which is taken strictly out of the statute. 13 14 MR. SCHWEER: Yes. 15 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: So your concern with the enumerated offense where you have 51 16 jurisdictions and 50 states, and then we have Puerto 17 Rico and we also have the United States, that that 18 causes issues with regards to determining the elements 19 that would be one of these enumerated offenses. 20 21 MR. SCHWEER: Surely. And that's why, right to the point, Your Honor, I couldn't say it 22 23 better, is that we're looking at the specific elements 24 of what is a crime of violence versus the general 25 guidances provided to us, so we feel, in the guidelines

1 in those definitions.

2 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: And then the 3 other portion of that definition comes strictly from 4 the statute. You would have to change the statute in 5 order to define what crime of violence means under 6 § 16(a), Title 18 § 16(a). But your concern is 7 with the enumerated offenses and how that leads to a whole discussion as to the elements of those offenses, 8 and is that the generic term of burglary of dwelling as 9 opposed to what they might be defined as the elements 10 in a particular state. 11 MR. SCHWEER: Exactly, that's the point. 12 13 MR. LOWRY: And I agree with both of 14 those characterizations, yours and Mr. Schweer's. 15 That's the same thing that we were looking at, we were experiencing with all these different variations, not 16 only 50 states, but then counties and other 17 jurisdictions within that that have different 18 definitions of things and also looking at and finding 19 20 records to compile just generic language from charges 21 to also, you know, what they were pled to or convicted of, and there's a number of different caveats that 22 23 could be rolled into that, that make this --24 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Do you think 25 there's anything else? Those that are listed offenses,

enumerated offenses, I think most people would agree 1 2 that they're very serious offenses. So the question 3 is, is there anything else that could be put in the 4 definition? You know, some circuits have a modified or 5 somewhat of a common sense approach to this. The Fifth 6 Circuit has that, for example, with regards to if it 7 seems like it is, it must be type thing. Do you have 8 any suggestions as to whether that could be put into the application notes here? 9

10 MR. LOWRY: I would just suggest, yeah, I think that's looking in the right direction of a good 11 12 fix, because I don't think we're ever going to get everybody all together on all of these different 13 14 definitions, obviously, we have so many jurisdictions involved, but to maybe set out some sort of generic 15 statement that would categorize that and allow for that 16 17 discretion. And, you know, you probably had a number 18 of examples put before the Commission where simply you look at a firearms offense where somebody was firing a 19 firearm off on New Year's Eve, they were intoxicated, 20 21 there were other circumstances surrounding it, where it necessarily wasn't a crime, and then all of a sudden 22 23 that becomes more serious based on certain definitions 24 or, you know, is complicated with the inability to 25 determine those factors, you know, just one of many

1 that jumps out there. So I agree with that.

2 VICE CHAIR CARR: In your districts, are 3 your officers who are writing presentence reports 4 writing them any differently to take into account 5 3553(a) factors? 6 MR. LOWRY: I think where we're covering 7 those is in our variances. We also do, besides the 8 recommendation, we do a section on the variance where we will compare and do a comparison between the 9 guidelines and 3553 and present information to the 10 court based on that analysis. 11 VICE CHAIR CARR: So you do a departure 12 13 section and a variance section? 14 MR. LOWRY: Yes. 15 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: What information do you think there would be for 3553(a) variance 16 17 factors that wasn't already in the presentence 18 investigation report for a judge to use if he or she wanted to? Other than an analysis of I feel that 19 somehow this sentence should be different, what --20 21 either family situation or prior history or employment or education or whatever, what was not included in the 22 23 information that was given to us by probation officers 24 that you would say needs to be included now? Other 25 than the personal opinion of the probation officer that

1 this is a case where there should be something 2 different.

3 MR. SCHWEER: There's a few cases that 4 we have that extend over a long period of time on 5 pretrial supervision, for example. And one case comes 6 to mind, a person has been in our supervision for four 7 years. It's a rather complex multi-defendants 8 conspiracy case and it just keeps going and going. This person has pre, not post, release programs they've 9 gone through, et cetera, that the court may consider. 10 11 Also illness, there's been some illness issues that 12 have come up, family death issues that have come up. 13 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Wouldn't that 14 already be in the family section? 15 MR. SCHWEER: Yes, you would have that in there, Your Honor, but, actually, when you're 16 17 starting to look at comparing the departure, things 18 that qualify and things that don't qualify for departures, and you're aware of those things that don't 19 20 qualify for departure, but there may be some, how shall 21 I say, gray area information in there that's not specific --22 23 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: So it's more of

24 an opinion as opposed to something in the body of 25 what's already been presented as far as information.

1 MR. SCHWEER: Sure. 2 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: It's just 3 pointing it out to the court. 4 MR. SCHWEER: Yes. And given all the 5 cases that have been cited to this point of what the 6 judges are looking for in working with individuals, how 7 shall I say -- maybe that's not an appropriate term, 8 working with individuals, but when these individuals are sentenced, the difference between 10 years and 48 9 months, for example, and the post-supervision programs 10 that this person may have started prior to 11 12 incarceration, which you're starting to see a lot of districts developing programs that are 13 14 preincarceration, carries through incarceration and then follows with post-incarceration programs is 15 providing some basis by which the court can look at 16 17 those issues. And I speak beyond actually Kansas when 18 I say there's districts looking at all of those elements for the courts; and that's where a lot of that 19 information is appearing, is in that section for 20 21 variances. VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Mr. Lowry, you 22 23 talked about mandatory minimums, and obviously the 24 safety valve was designed to at least address some of 25 the concerns. What do you think about various changes

in the safety valve either come by way of 1 2 recommendation to Congress, if there's a direct impact 3 on safety valve or perhaps even indirect, and I'm 4 thinking of ways of expanding the safety valve, that 5 is, expanding the zone, the Criminal History Category II, 6 as an example; expanding the safety valve to beyond 7 drug offenses, is another example; and an indirect impact on the safety valve would be to change the 8 various factors within the criminal history score. For 9 instance, the status of points or recency of points or 10 the age of the convictions, which might be modified in 11 12 some way to thereby restrict the criminal history so 13 that you might fit into the safety valve. Have you 14 thought about those? Do you have a sense of whether 15 that would be a wise thing for us to look at? MR. LOWRY: No. I think all three of 16 17 those areas that you brought up would be good areas 18 that we continually see problems with. The drug offenses or the criminal history category may need to 19 be changed or the individual criminal convictions to be 20 21 looked at on a specific basis, would all be good 22 avenues. 23 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Would you have

24 concerns if we recommended the expansion of the safety 25 valve to Criminal History Category II, for example?

MR. LOWRY: You know, I guess it would 1 2 be a step in the right direction. I would say that I 3 wouldn't take that away. But I guess overall, I think 4 the mandatory minimums themselves are a real obstacle, 5 and I think, you know, taking away discretion that, you б know, the court and all the players involved need to 7 fashion a good and appropriate sentence is not a good thing, and I think most of the court family colleagues 8 believe the same thing. And so, you know, I guess it 9 would go back to, you know, is that enough. I think it 10 would be a definite step in the right direction, but 11 12 then on the other hand, is that enough when we see some 13 of the tragedies that occur with mandatory minimums. 14 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: What do you think about taking criminal history points and reducing the 15 age for the assessment of points, it's now 10 to 15 16 17 years, reducing that in some way, or changing the 18 status of recency points, you know, two points for being on probation, and that, thereby, impact the 19 application of the safety valve. Would you have strong 20 21 feelings about that one way or another? MR. LOWRY: You know, I think that it's 22 23 something that could help. I mean, all of the things 24 that you suggested are, I think, good steps that could 25 go further to maybe lessen the might of the mandatory

minimums and some of the negative outcomes of those 1 2 minimums. But, you know, ultimately I think that there 3 has to be some sort of mechanism built in that goes 4 beyond maybe some numbers. You know, I mean, whether 5 there's -- you know, we have a system for departures 6 with the guidelines, maybe there should be a better 7 system and more lengthy, and all the suggestions that 8 you've made today could be probably compiled into something that would be maybe a whole arena of things 9 10 in which there could be a reason to depart from a mandatory minimum. 11 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Two ways of 12 13 skinning the cat; isn't that the expression? 14 MR. LOWRY: Yes. 15 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: We have that in 16 Vermont. MR. LOWRY: I don't talk like that. My 17 wife's a cat lover, and we have a couple cats, so I've 18 pretty much eradicated that from my terminology; so if 19 I get in the habit here of saying it, I get home, I'm 20 21 going to be in big trouble. COMMISSIONER HOWELL: I just wanted to 22 23 follow up on one area dealing with departures and 24 variances and then talk to you about an area that 25 neither one of you brought up and is of particular

interest to the Commission, and that involves 1 2 alternatives to incarceration. So let me talk about 3 first the departures and variances. I think, 4 Mr. Schweer, you talked specifically about how we can 5 make it easier for probation officers and judges to 6 sort of look at what variances are being used in other 7 courts. And we have on our priority to look at the 8 Chapter Five departure language now, in part to take what's in our source book, which lists all the 9 different variances that courts are relying on and, you 10 know, from -- in terms of, you know, ones that are 11 12 cited a lot, all the way down to ones that are not cited that often, and how we can bring those variances 13 14 back into the relevancy of the departure language in 15 Chapter Five.

16 So part of that may be taking the 17 factors in the departure language that are not 18 ordinarily considered relevant and putting that in, perhaps, a more positive spin in terms of giving more 19 20 guidance as to, you know, how age should be considered 21 and why. Do you have any, you know, particular 22 information you can share with us as to how we might be 23 able to incorporate those variances into a rewrite or 24 an updating of our departure language in Chapter Five? 25 MR. SCHWEER: I think what you mentioned

is very appropriate, instead of creating a new section, 1 2 to take what we have in the way of the existing 3 departure language and then maybe clarify what that 4 means in the departure, the 5K, Chapter Five, instead of 5 creating something totally new. One of the thoughts 6 that we were discussing last week with staff was take 7 your main categories of your 5K departure issues and 8 then break them down what is, what isn't. 9 To help save some problems that maybe relate to an officer misinterpreting what a 10 departure -- especially our new officers coming out, 11 12 which I think you can imagine there's been several new officers added over the years, and we try to train them 13 14 very well before they're actually making those recommendations to the courts in the presentences; but 15 anything we can have to provide additional guidance, be 16 17 it part of an existing guideline application or a new section on variances. It would not matter to me if 18 it's new or not, but since there is one, that being 5K, 19 20 look at those specific elements and incorporate it 21 there, perhaps, like you suggest. 22 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: Thank you. 23 Mr. Lowry, do you want to comment on that? 24 MR. LOWRY: You know, I agree with what 25 he says, and I think it's a good idea. I think that

1 there's probably those that obviously wouldn't agree 2 with the structuring of a variance because oftentimes I 3 think that it's felt that the -- or believed that the 4 variance is a way to accommodate a situation that has 5 not been able to be captured or numerically graded, and 6 there are probably those that would be further 7 concerned with creating a chapter to do just that, just 8 like with the departures. I'm not saying that I would oppose it. That's just one issue that would probably 9 come up in that area, as most of you would probably 10 guess would be the obvious thing. 11

12 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: Then on 13 alternatives, in your work do you see that there are 14 some cases, or does it happen frequently or not, that because of where the offender's offense level falls 15 16 within certain zones, that they are precluded from 17 perhaps a nonincarcerative term; and that if we're 18 considering how the guidelines can help promote, in appropriate cases, consideration of alternatives to 19 20 incarceration, whether you think that there are zones 21 that should be merged, eliminated, expanded. And also 22 could you address whether you think that alternatives 23 to incarceration are considered sufficiently when it 24 comes to supervised release revocations.

25 MR. SCHWEER: Let me first address the

1 issue of specific cases that are basically in between 2 incarceration/nonincarceration zones, is that there are 3 a number of financial cases that are handled in our 4 district and not that -- I can think right off the top 5 of my head a few cases where because the amounts 6 exceeded -- or went over a limit, that now calls for 7 incarceration that nonincarceration, because of the 8 specific amount, may come to play when a person may not have ever been in trouble before, may be the sole 9 provider of family, whatever the other elements that 10 may apply, that is a kind of case, a type of case, 11 12 where we run across that occasionally. 13 Also, when it comes to the matter of --14 and maybe I should ask you to clarify what you mean by alternative programs or sentences that a court might 15 16 impose. Can you restate that, please. 17 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: Well, just in 18 terms of sort of strict prison-only terms, home confinement terms, community confinement, or home 19 detention or just straight probation. 20 21 MR. SCHWEER: To speak to home 22 confinement cases, we have a very significant 23 compliance rate with home confinement, finishing the 24 term of home confinement, et cetera. There are a few 25 cases, certainly, that causes issues with that when it

comes to monitoring, they end up coming back for those
 violation actions that you touched upon.

3 Our courts, I think in general, based on 4 being a new chief coming back to a district that I had 5 left for some years, the big element that I noticed, 6 that the courts want opportunities to sentence 7 individuals to appropriate sentences that allow them an 8 opportunity to become part of the program upon 9 release -- programs upon release, not the least of which is employment programs, which Your Honor talked 10 about earlier, and a myriad of other programs that are 11 12 now being made available through probation, and pretrial services offices, actually, to where the 13 14 courts want to try those programs on these individuals. 15 Instead of imposing those mandatory minimums of 10 years, 15 years, want to go down to a more reasonable 16 17 sentence and the person go out and be able to 18 participate in those programs.

So I see courts, or judges in particular, kind of torn between, okay, how do I get there, how do I get to that sentence. And that's where you start, pardon the expression, tap dancing on gray areas, where is the government going to appeal it; and if the government appeals, are they going to remand it, based on going down too far, perhaps.

So some of this additional guidance that 1 2 I recommend in clarification of the definitions might 3 help us certainly get to a point and, thereby, the 4 courts get to a point where they can fashion a sentence 5 that they would like to see, bottom line. Now, is that 6 a long way around answering your question? 7 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: That's okay. 8 COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: As you all may be aware, Judge Cassell is going to testify later 9 today, and he's recommending in his testimony a number 10 of reforms, both to the guidelines and to statutes, to 11 12 further incorporate -- integrate victims into the sentencing process. I know in the past probation has 13 14 expressed concerns with similar recommendations, but I would like your view on two that he's proposed that I 15 think are somewhat different than prior proposals. 16 17 The first is to require probation officers to solicit information from the victim 18 directly, not just include, as Federal Rule of Criminal 19 20 Procedure Rule 35 provides, that you have to include 21 victim information but to actually seek it from the victim directly. And in support he provides a case in 22 23 which he thought that the judge was disadvantaged in 24 not having information regarding the degree of bodily 25 injury directly from the victim.

1 The second is a proposal that would 2 provide statutory change, of course, but would provide 3 that prosecutors would be required to provide portions 4 of the presentence report on request by victims but 5 could redact those to take care of confidential 6 sensitive information.

7 I know in the past probation has 8 expressed concern about the burden on probation about 9 the sensitive information. I'm just curious what your 10 reaction is to those proposals, because some of the 11 concerns I've heard raised in the past don't seem to be 12 quite in play.

13 MR. LOWRY: To start with, I guess --14 and I've read some of the other testimony and some of the proposed stuff on the rendering or giving 15 16 information out of a presentence report to victims, and 17 a number of those issues have already been reiterated, 18 and those are simply that much of the information that we put in the report in different sections of the 19 20 report come to us from sources where they're not 21 allowed for secondary dissemination, and that creates 22 complications for us in the way in which we gather our 23 information; and should that be compromised and then publicized on top of it, it could probably shut some 24 25 doors for us and disallow us to continue to get a lot

1 of different types of information.

2 I -- you know, I guess I should say personally, but, you know, I could see and understand 3 4 why the victims would want portions of the report and 5 understand why that they want that information. 6 COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: Particularly 7 the calculations, I think, he's focusing on, the way in 8 which you reach your recommendation; perhaps not as much of the text as the guideline calculations. 9 10 MR. LOWRY: Right. And criminal history without the details and those things. I guess I never 11 12 spent a lot of time considering that particular angle, but I think that's, you know, a possibility, and that's 13 14 something that could work out, maybe, to satisfy some 15 folks. COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: What about 16 direct contact with the victim? 17 MR. LOWRY: You know, I think that's a 18 good policy. I encourage all my officers the best that 19 20 they can to have direct contact with the victims, 21 because I think that really to identify the impact of the offense on the public and the victim as a whole, 22 23 you have to have that. 24 At times I think that there are 25 roadblocks with that, and the roadblocks come from

sometimes victims that are afraid to be involved or 1 2 victims that can't carry out the process of being 3 interviewed and that it's so traumatic that they're not 4 cooperating with us. So there's caveats like that that 5 make it difficult to deal with an across-the-board 6 mandate of in every case you shall interview and get 7 input from the victim. Which I think is very important, like I said, to determine the case's, you 8 know, impact on the victim, but in every case it's not 9 always possible. 10

11 MR. SCHWEER: If I might, several years 12 ago I personally did a presentence report on a 13 financial fraud scheme that was an insurance fraud 14 scheme where the court specifically wanted the victims identified, contacted, comments back, forms even 15 submitted by the victims specifying losses, et cetera, 16 17 and impact on their lives. It had to do with insurance 18 coverage for high school athletic programs, and there were a number of paraplegic, quadriplegic victims that 19 had sustained injury in that case. And our staff 20 21 continues to do that, works very closely with getting information from the victims, the victim witness 22 23 coordinator, the U.S. Attorney's Office, to identify 24 who the victims are and go about contacting them to 25 find out specifically financial loss, you know, impact

on their lives, things like that. So I don't know that 1 2 we've gotten away from that. Again, pardon my 3 returning to Kansas from being gone, but I haven't 4 asked officers specifically is that an issue. 5 Now, we are also working in what's б called a victim information notification system with 7 the U.S. Attorney's Office and being able to identify 8 victims as they continue through the process, even post-sentencing, post-release of payments that are 9 coming in from the offenders, during the course of 10 supervision, getting out to the victims and such. And 11 12 the clerk's office is now becoming involved in that process as well. So I think we're working as 13 14 diligently as we can.

15 Now, you talk about resources. Anytime 16 you add another duty on to us that equates to time, resources, effort, et cetera, it then lengthens -- and 17 18 can potentially definitely lengthen the amount of time between the plea or the conviction and the sentencing 19 date. And currently we operate on 11 weeks from the 20 21 conviction, either plea or trial results, to sentencing. And generally we have about a 35-day 22 23 period to do that report, when you start backing into 24 it all the disclosure times and objection time frames 25 that counsel for both the government and defendant

1 have. So right now we're already working with a very 2 finite period of time. Even in our modified 3 presentence cases, that's down in our district to 39 4 days to get those cases processed from start to finish. 5 So yes, I mean, anything that you would б add obviously is going to be a workload, a time load, 7 and perhaps a financial burden on our districts to 8 complete the process, and I don't know that anyone -- I certainly am not aware of anyone that has done a 9 financial impact review or survey of what that actually 10 means in the way of resources. But, yeah, adding any 11 additional duty at this point in time could very 12 definitely lengthen the time frame that we would have 13 14 to get our work done.

15 MR. LOWRY: And just after further reflection after we first started talking about it, I 16 17 think something like that would have to include some 18 language that would make it where it's practical and possible. Because an example is we just recently had a 19 20 substantial fraud case where there were numerous 21 victims, 5,000-plus victims, being notified by mail and 22 allowed to send their victim impact statements back in. 23 For that case to go forward, if there was a mandate 24 that strictly said you have to interview every victim 25 and it couldn't be written or there were parameters

1 that wouldn't allow for such freedom of movement to 2 accommodate such a big case, it could be a real 3 obstacle, not to mention the time factor that Chief 4 Schweer brought up.

5 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Mr. Lowry, you б mentioned the issue of minor players or minimal players 7 in drug trafficking cases. Do you all have an issue 8 with regards to judges considering the mitigating role adjustment with regards to defendants in drug cases? 9 Because if you do, then that obviously is going to 10 drastically change the sentence for that individual 11 12 based on the mitigating role cap, as well as the 13 subtraction of whatever number of points you use for 14 the mitigating role itself.

15 MR. LOWRY: And I guess just as an example, I'd say there's the possibility of the 16 17 mitigating role not technically fitting definition that 18 it's a mitigating role. If somebody is involved and, in reality, say a family member -- and I've seen cases 19 20 where maybe -- and I can just think of one example 21 where a mother of a number of children in their 20s 22 were all dealing substantial quantities of drugs. 23 She's in the house, the phone is there, and she takes 24 phone calls and messages and certain things and 25 received a substantial amount of time. And really,

because of the number of activities and quantity and everything that had taken place, there was really no way to get to maybe a fair sentence, and it was a very lengthy and extensive sentence for what could have been a lot less sentence based on --

6 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Was there some 7 other member of the family that was also involved, or 8 what was the issue?

9 MR. LOWRY: It was mother and children, and the children were the ones trafficking, and the 10 mother got involved on the periphery, but it continued, 11 12 coordination, as the phone was at the home and that was their base and they lived there, and the numbers went 13 14 up so much because of the quantity that had changed hands and the number of phone calls and certain other 15 things that took place, that it was a very lengthy 16 17 sentence.

And when we talk about what Commissioner 18 Howell had talked about of getting to the right 19 20 sentence and the right zone, sometimes in a situation 21 like that you can't get to a sentence that would be 22 necessary where you see somebody getting ten or more 23 years, and five would have simply sufficed in this case, 24 that's the kind of situation that we would be talking 25 about, where, you know, by definition and the things

that transpired were -- you know, there's times when 1 2 you just can't get to that situation where the sentence 3 would be a lower level without reasons for a downward 4 departure that oftentimes don't exist. 5 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Well, we thank б you all very much and we appreciate your time and your 7 work. Thank you. 8 (A lunch break was taken from 12:43 p.m. to 2:10 p.m.) 9 10 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: We'll go ahead and get started. We appreciate the U.S. attorneys 11 12 acting like U.S. attorneys, waiting for the judges and 13 the members of the Commission to show up and being very 14 patient about it. I know you all have good training on 15 that. 16 We have two distinguished U.S. attorneys 17 with us today to share their thoughts, and we certainly 18 appreciate their taking time from their busy schedules to share their views with us. We have Mr. David M. 19 Gaouette. Do I have that correct? 20 21 MR. GAOUETTE: Yes, sir, very good. It took me years to get to that level. 22 23 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Who is the U.S. 24 Attorney for the District of Colorado. He previously 25 served here as the first assistant U.S. attorney, and,

prior to joining the U.S. Attorney's Office, he was a police officer with the Lakewood Police Department. He also received his undergraduate degree from Florida State University -- some day their football program will get back to where it belongs, I guess -- and his law degree from the University of Denver.

7 We also are very pleased to have Mr. B. 8 Todd Jones, who is the U.S. Attorney for the District of Minnesota. He has been appointed by Attorney 9 General Holder to chair the Attorney General's Advisory 10 Committee of U.S. Attorneys. In 2002 to 2003, he 11 12 chaired the U.S. Sentencing Commission's Advisory Group on Organizational Sentencing Guidelines, and he 13 14 received his BA from Macalester College and his JD from the University of Minnesota Law School. 15 16 We certainly appreciate your presence, 17 and does one of you want to go first? 18 MR. JONES: I'll do the reverse of Judge Loken, so I'll go first. Thank you very much, 19 Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, for the 20 21 opportunity to appear here today and provide you with information about the impact of Booker and its progeny 22 23 on the prosecution of federal cases in the District of 24 Minnesota. I've had an opportunity 60 days on the job,

25 we were a part of the first batch of new presidential

U.S. attorneys, along with Tris Coffin in Vermont and 1 2 several others, to be in place in part as a 3 presidentially-nominated senate-confirmed United States 4 attorney, so I am 60 days into the job. A fair amount 5 of that time has been getting reacquainted because of 6 my prior service as the United States Attorney with the 7 office. So to a certain degree, I'm feeling a bit like 8 Rip Van Winkle, particularly when it comes to the guidelines and what's happening after several months of 9 observation in our office and what I was used to the 10 last time I was in the office, as both the U.S. 11 12 Attorney and an assistant United States attorney, which 13 was pre-Booker.

14 Let me begin by telling you a little bit about the District of Minnesota, which is not a unique 15 district, but it is a single district in the Eighth 16 17 Circuit. It does have the whole spectrum of federal 18 criminal issues that we deal with, given that we have non-PL 280 Indian reservations that we have exclusive 19 responsibility for. We have a major metropolitan area 20 21 with all of the attendant fraud, financial issues. There are a number of Fortune 100 companies that are 22 23 headquartered in Minneapolis. We have a border, a 24 northern border, with Canada, with all of those 25 attendant issues, an international seaport in Duluth,

1 and the whole spectrum of Bureau of Prison issues,

2 federal lands from public parks, so we deal with all 3 kinds of crimes at the federal level.

4 It is a large district. We have a 5 700-mile border. We host a major airline hub. There 6 are several interstates that cut through our state and, 7 in fact, Interstate 35, Judge, as you probably know, it 8 starts in Laredo and ends in Duluth, Minnesota, so as a result of that we have our fair share of issues 9 involved with drug trafficking and Mexican drug 10 11 cartels.

Over five million people live in the 12 state, more than 500 communities. We've got 87 different 13 14 counties there that each have their own elected county attorney and elected sheriff. We have a history and a 15 tradition of working very collaboratively with state 16 17 and local law enforcement and we have a growing and 18 diverse population. We have the largest Somali community outside of the Horn of Africa. We have a 19 very large Hmong community, second only to California; 20 21 and we have an increasing number of Latinos that live 22 in our state that are on a par with our African 23 American population.

I'm briefing you about the state'sborder and travel, the demographics, the quality of

life to shed some light on what is to follow on why Minnesota handles the kind of cases it does, ranging from terrorism, healthcare fraud, mortgage fraud to firearms, trafficking and civil rights abuses. You know, we have provided you with some written testimony. I know that we're going to have a

7 chance to do some Q and A, but let me briefly highlight 8 some of the things that are in my written testimony 9 that I think might provide you with some jumping-off 10 points for other things.

11 You know, 60 days into this and being 12 very much aware of the Department of Justice speaks with one voice, a lot of the information that I am 13 14 sharing with you are statistically based, based on experience that I gleaned in talking to assistant U.S. 15 attorneys in our office and just getting a reassessment 16 17 and reacquainted with the sentencing guidelines again 18 as a prosecutor. Because for the last eight years, I've been a defense attorney, and what you see depends 19 on where you sit; and forgive me if I'm still in that 20 21 transition mode, so I'll just stick with the hard data, much of which is generated by the Sentencing 22 23 Commission, which I think is an invaluable service in 24 terms of what we have to do within the Department of 25 Justice as prosecutors.

1 You all know the history and the genesis 2 of the sentencing guidelines, which were created in 3 part to minimize sentencing disparities amongst 4 similarly-situated defendants who appear before 5 different judges in different districts for similar б conduct. In addition, they were developed to address 7 the inappropriately high percentage of offenders given minimal sentences in certain economic crime cases or 8 white collar crime, including fraud and taxes. 9 10 The Booker decision, in which the U.S. Supreme Court held that district court judges are not 11 12 bound by the guidelines but only must take them into consideration when determining a sentence, has prompted 13 14 you all as the Sentencing Commission to revisit a number of earlier issues. Our view of your data, the 15 Commission's own data, indicates that that visit is 16 17 warranted. As of the end of June 2009, about 43 percent of federal sentences imposed nationwide 18

19 during the first three quarters of the fiscal year 2009 20 were outside the guideline range, up 38 percent -- up 21 from 38 percent in 2006. Moreover,

22 outside-the-guideline-range sentences were found in far 23 more than white collar cases.

24 By failing to adhere to the guidelines 25 in close to half of all sentences, some have suggested 1 that the courts may unintentionally be jeopardizing the 2 principle of equal justice under the law. They argue 3 that similarly-situated defendants may be, in fact, 4 receiving dissimilar sentences, which ultimately could 5 weaken the federal justice system. After all, victims, 6 witnesses, jurors, defendants and the public at large 7 must see the system as consistent in its treatment. 8 Otherwise, it loses its respect and its credibility. 9 Furthermore, the federal system, the

10 federal criminal justice system, has long been viewed 11 as the forum for addressing the most egregious crimes. 12 I know that's true in the District of Minnesota. With 13 stiff and certain sentences and no parole, the federal 14 system historically has been feared by potential 15 offenders and has acted as a pretty effective deterrent 16 in most circumstances.

17 That deterrent effect has never been 18 more important now that while we struggle through some 19 serious economic turmoil brought on by misconduct of 20 those who play fast and loose with things such as 21 federal securities laws, it's doubly important that we 22 continue to hold ourselves out as a primary deterrent 23 for criminal misconduct.

A return to outside-of-the-rangesentences, particularly in the economic crime area,

could weaken the deterrent effect, in addition to
 sending a pretty devastating message to the general
 public. That's especially true if the sentences
 imposed regularly fall below guideline ranges, which is
 the case, according to the Commission's own data.

6 Again, according to that data, over the 7 past several years, 96 to 98 percent of all sentences 8 imposed outside the guideline ranges have fallen below guideline minimums. Granted, judges alone are not 9 responsible for the below-quideline sentences. 10 In fiscal year 2007, for example, 25.6 percent of all 11 12 sentences were government-sponsored, below-range impositions, while only 12 percent were imposed by the 13 14 courts over the government's objections.

15 However, a shift is occurring. During fiscal year 2008 and the first three quarters of 2009, 16 17 the percentage of below-range sentences imposed by the 18 courts over the objections of the government, which, you know, outside of the bounds of a plea agreement or 19 20 some discussions beforehand, climbed to 15.7 percent of 21 all sentences. That's a 3.7 percentage increase in 22 just 21 months. The trend can be seen in far more than 23 just economic crime cases.

Specifically between October 1, 2008,and June 30, 2009, the government sponsored and the

1 courts have approved 838 below-range fraud sentences, 2 866 below-range firearms sentences, and 172 below-range 3 pornography/prostitution sentences, among others. But, 4 during that time period, and over the objections of the 5 government, judges imposed an additional 989 6 below-range fraud sentences, 1,135 below-range firearms 7 sentences, and 546 below-range pornography/prostitution 8 sentences. As a result of those actions and similar actions in other crime categories that contested -- and 9 I use contested in quotes -- below-range sentencing 10 rate jumped five percentage points over that nine-month 11 12 period.

13 The contested below-range sentences 14 imposed during that time were significantly below guideline minimums in many subject areas. For example, 15 16 in fraud cases, the average contested below-range sentence was 5.2 months, an average decrease of 9 1/217 18 months from the guideline minimums. In firearms cases, the average contested below-range sentence was 35 19 20 months, an average decrease of 13 1/2 months from the 21 guideline minimums. And in pornography, particularly 22 child pornography cases, the average contested 23 below-range sentence was 59 months, an average decrease 24 of 26.8 months from the guideline minimums.

Now, that's all based on the

25

1 Commission's own national sentencing data. And let me 2 spend the last part of my testimony here before 3 questions and answers on the impact of Booker at the 4 district level in the District of Minnesota. 5 As of June 30, 2009, our district б possessed a comparatively high rate of contested 7 below-range sentences at 34.6 percent of all sentences 8 imposed during the first nine months of fiscal year 2009. That's based on Commission data. As stated, the 9 national average was 15.7 percent on that day. At the 10 end of fiscal year 2008, the District's rate was 22.4 11 12 percent, compared to the country as a whole at 13 13.4 percent. Thus, while the national rate has risen 14 not quite 2 1/2 percentage points over the last nine months, in the District of Minnesota we've seen a spike 15 of over 12 percentage points of sentences imposed 16 17 outside of the guidelines that were contested. 18 Now, no one knows for sure why we post a higher than average rate of contested below-range 19 20 sentences. Maybe our judges are being spoken to by 21 Chief Judge Loken on the Eighth Circuit. And I apologize for throwing all these figures out at you, 22 23 but it is important as you figure out from the 24 prosecutor's perspective what's happening in terms of

25 judges in the District of Minnesota, probably

reflective, from what I've seen of other United States 1 2 attorney's testimony who have appeared before you, are 3 not necessarily an anomaly. They're going beyond. 4 They're flexing their muscles. And some of the things 5 that Judge Loken spoke about this morning as to what 6 they're seeing on appeal and some of the things I've 7 seen in the short time since I've been back in the 8 office, clearly indicate that they have taken to heart Gall in our district, the judges, and they've taken to 9 heart the advisory nature of the quidelines. 10 11 The significant jump in the rate between October 2008 and June of 2009 is likely the result of a 12 growing comfort level among our district court judges 13 14 relative to imposing outside-the-range sentences. Again, that comfort is undoubtedly due in large part to 15 the Eighth Circuit becoming increasingly more 16 17 supportive of the district court's autonomy and sentencing after being reversed by the United States 18

Supreme Court in Gall. 20 Let me give you some examples 21 specifically from the District of Minnesota. About six months after the Booker decision, we had a case 22 23 involving the owner and operator of a company in the 24 district that pled guilty to cheating on his taxes by 25 logging personal withdrawals from the company as raw

1 material expenses and subcontractor expenses. He also 2 involved his bookkeeper and coerced her into making 3 false entries in the company books. In pleading 4 guilty, the defendant in that case, Mr. Ture, admitted 5 that he mischaracterized the withdrawals, totaling 6 about \$645,000 over three years, resulting in a tax 7 loss of close to a quarter million dollars. The 8 guideline range was 12 to 18 months, but the defendant received no prison time. Instead, he received a 9 sentence of probation and was required to complete 300 10 hours of community service. We appealed that case in 11 12 the district, the prosecutors appealed that case, and the Eighth Circuit reversed and remanded with a strict 13 14 injunction to the judge that the sentence include incarceration. The judge, however, waited nearly a 15 16 year to schedule the resentencing and then in April of 17 2008 imposed the exact same sentence. That's a 18 reported case, United States v. Ture. 19 Shortly after the remand in the Ture 20 case, but before the resentencing, the same district 21 court judge heard another tax case. This time

21 court judge heard another tax case. This time 22 involving the operator of a home building company who 23 failed to pay the government approximately \$600,000 in 24 income, Social Security and Medicaid taxes withheld 25 from his employees. The guidelines called for a sentence of between 18 and 24 months but the defendant
 was given probation.

Our office appealed, the prosecutors appealed, the Eighth Circuit reversed, citing *Ture*, and remanded with strict instructions to impose some term of imprisonment. Prior to the sentencing, however, *Gall* was decided. It emboldened the judge, who imposed a very minimal sentence, three months of work release. That's the case reported *United States v. Carlson*.

10 Disparity in sentencing has also been an issue on occasion in Minnesota due to Booker and its 11 12 progeny. For example, in early 2008, we had a case where a male teller was prosecuted for -- a bank teller 13 14 was prosecuted for stealing a quarter million dollars from his employer bank. He was sentenced to 21 months. 15 And the case is cited in the written testimony, United 16 States v. Del LeClair. 17

In late 2008, a female bank officer was 18 prosecuted for stealing a similar amount of money from 19 20 a different bank, but was sentenced to just three 21 months by the same judge, United States v. 22 Justesen. Even though the female bank officer's scheme 23 spanned a longer period of time and was arguably more 24 complex, she received a sentence far below 24 to 30 25 months sought by our office. According to the judge,

the reason for the variance was the bank officer had
 children, which would have been a questionable
 departure in the days of guidelines adherence but not
 so now.

5 The local trend in below-range 6 sentencing and the impact of Booker and its progeny is 7 probably felt most keenly in child pornography cases. This is something that I've become quickly acquainted 8 with in my return back to the office. When I left, 9 Project Safe Childhood was in its embryonic stage and 10 has been going full bore, and that is a top priority 11 12 with the Department of Justice. A number of cases have 13 come through the office and, as I recall, from hearing 14 earlier testimony, and you've heard from other United States attorneys, that particular area and sentencing 15 16 is problematic.

For example, in a 2008 case where the 17 defendant in the case had more than 23,000 pornographic 18 images he shared through a peer-to-peer online 19 20 network, the court ordered him to serve 24 months, even 21 though the guideline range was 78 to 97 months. In imposing this sentence the judge repeatedly discounted 22 23 the serious nature of the crime of possession of child 24 pornography, characterizing it as mere viewing. And 25 that's United States v. Kahmann.

1 In another recent child pornography case 2 involving possession, the sentencing judge cited 3 Kimbrough in ordering the defendant to serve 48 months, 4 even though the guidelines indicated a sentence of 120 5 months would be more appropriate. Again, the judge, a 6 different judge than the first case I cited -- that I 7 previously cited, said he disagreed with the severity 8 of the guidelines in, quote, unquote, mere possession cases. And that's the United States v. 9

10 Kennedy-Hippchen.

11 In response to these sentencing 12 practices, there are some things that currently within our district we've altered in the way we do business. 13 14 For example, assistant United States attorneys now have become greater sentencing experts and much more 15 conversant in § 3553(a) factors and have become 16 17 sentencing advocates. While we have not yet seen a 18 more exhaustive sentencing hearing move in the District of Minnesota, as is already occurring in other 19 districts due to Booker, we fully expect the sentencing 20 21 stage of federal criminal prosecutions to morph into what I commonly participated in as a judge advocate 22 23 right out of law school, and that's the sentencing 24 phase under the manuals of court martial, where during 25 my time as a criminal defense lawyer, a judge advocate

1 in the Marine Corps, most of the work that I did as a 2 defense lawyer in that venue was on what was the ENM 3 stage, where we spent all of our time preparing 4 extenuating and mitigating circumstances and engaged in 5 very vigorous advocacy with judge advocates who were 6 prosecutors on that stage, much less so than guilt or 7 innocence in a number of circumstances.

8 That evidence-based time -- that was 9 very time consuming, it was evidence based and it was 10 an important part of the court martial process, and I 11 see, in the short time I've been back, our AUSAs 12 spending a significant amount of time getting ready for 13 sentencing hearings, much more than before *Booker* and 14 *Gall*.

15 At the present, in the District of Minnesota, we also employ closer supervisory review of 16 17 plea agreements drafted by our AUSAs, but we have not, 18 in our district, initiated use of binding plea agreements under Rule 11, as some districts have done. 19 20 Those agreements, with their departure and variance 21 waivers, are not readily accepted by the federal bench 22 in Minnesota. That's maybe different in other 23 districts, but our benches made it clear that they 24 don't like those. Moreover, since Booker, we do not 25 encounter many defendants who wish to enter into

binding plea agreements, as there's little motivation
for them to do so.

In addition, particularly in some 3 4 particular kinds of cases, we look at our charging 5 alternatives, where below-range sentences are otherwise б likely. For example, in firearms cases, we normally 7 charge the defendant as an armed career criminal when 8 possible based on the evidence because of the certainty of the sentence under the statute. If we have the 9 evidence, those are the kind of cases that we look at 10 federally in the District of Minnesota. 11

Same with child pornography cases with only possession, which carries no mandatory minimum, we work through our PSE program and our prosecutor program, encourage AUSAs to work with the investigative agents to establish grounds for receipt, if warranted by the evidence, because that offense has a mandatory minimum.

19 Finally, we have, in the District of 20 Minnesota, decreased the number of cases we appeal on 21 sentencing grounds. I was here this morning for Judge 22 Loken. He cited the numbers from the Eighth Circuit, 23 and I can guarantee you that a lot of those numbers 24 aren't being driven by federal prosectors appealing 25 sentencing cases out of the District of Minnesota. The

Eighth Circuit has made it clear, through its rulings 1 2 post-Gall, that it supports the judicial independence 3 practice by our district court judges when imposing 4 sentences, and we made the very practical decision not 5 to challenge those sentences to the Eighth Circuit. 6 While we are working to and anticipate 7 and address the imposition of unsponsored 8 below-the-range sentences in our district, we must note that the autonomy demonstrated by our judges is not 9 always unwelcome. As a new United States attorney, I'd 10 like to believe that the government seeks below-range 11 12 sentences in all warranted cases, but I realize that in 13 some instances substantive fairness is achieved only 14 because the sentencing judge may sentence below the 15 guidelines. Furthermore, I cannot help but wonder if 16

17 the rate of government-sponsored below-range sentences 18 and the increasing rate of contested below-range sentences imposed by the court in some instances are 19 20 signals that perhaps the present guidelines should be 21 reevaluated. It's true we want the federal system tough enough to be a deterrent to crime and feared, but 22 23 it must also be fair. We have not lost sight of that. 24 Now, on the flip side, regular 25 deviations from the guidelines by the government and

1 the courts, may cause Congress to legislate more 2 mandatory minimums. As a defense counsel, within the 3 last two years, I was on the public defender's panel, I 4 had the opportunity to defend a young man 19 years old 5 who got caught up in a conspiracy case involving 6 identity theft, and he was subject to 18 U.S.C. § 1028, 7 aggravated identity theft, and I was dealing as a 8 defense counsel with the young man with no criminal history as an adult. He had some challenges as a 9 juvenile, but no Criminal History Category I, and he 10 11 was looking at a two-year minimum mandatory because he 12 was charged with aggravated identity theft.

And there is a concern, I think it's a legitimate one, that we have to be very careful about the effort to legislate more mandatory minimum sentences. After all, Congress does react to constituent groups.

I heard the earlier testimony from the 18 judges on the Tenth Circuit. I remember as a line 19 20 assistant when the carjacking statute was passed, the 21 child porn statutes, Adam Walsh Act, the aggravated 22 identify theft. Congress is very good at reacting to 23 constituencies and the need to mandate sentences to be 24 tough on crime, and that's something that everyone 25 within the system needs to be alert to, because they do 1 react to constituent groups who often lobby for 2 enhancements of the criminal code following a horrific 3 act, particularly if that act is not redressed with 4 stiff, consistent penalties. In an effort to address 5 those concerns, as well as those constituents who are 6 often grieving or angry, Congress may enact extremely 7 harsh and unforgiving mandatory minimums that as 8 prosecutors we live with.

9 As a result, we -- when I say we, I mean federal prosecutors in the courts -- must try harder to 10 achieve sentences within the guidelines ranges, thereby 11 12 sending a clear message across the country and 13 throughout all of the districts that the federal system 14 is tough, is fair, and is consistent. By doing so, I believe we will see fewer sentencing enactments by 15 16 Congress.

In addition, I applaud the Commission 17 18 for taking steps to evaluate the current use of the guidelines post-Booker and am supportive of a review of 19 the guidelines themselves to determine if there's some 20 21 need for them to be adjusted for justice sake. 22 With these steps, I believe we can 23 further our primary sentencing objective as judges and 24 as federal prosecutors and as defenders in court, and

25 that's equal justice under the law. Thank you.

1 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you,

2 Mr. Jones. Mr. Gaouette.

3 MR. GAOUETTE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, 4 members of the sentencing committee. Let me first 5 thank you as well for the opportunity to speak to you 6 today about the federal sentencing policies and the 7 state of the federal sentencing guidelines, 8 specifically here as it relates to the District of 9 Colorado.

It appears that the District of Colorado 10 is very similar to the District of Minnesota. We are a 11 little bit further south and we don't have a seaport, 12 but we do encompass the entire state of Colorado. And 13 14 in addition to the entire state of Colorado, we do have a different interstate that runs north/south, 15 Interstate 25, that runs from El Paso, Texas, further 16 17 north. Then we have an east/west interstate that 18 runs -- I-70, Interstate 70, runs from California eastbound. We have in the past been a transmission 19 20 point for a lot of drugs, a lot of illegal aliens, and 21 our ski resorts and other tourist attractions employ a lot of undocumented aliens that come to our state. So 22 23 we have truly a cross-mix of crime in this district. 24 We have rural populations, we have urban 25 centers as well. The Front Range, from Fort Collins

1 all the way down to Colorado Springs and now even into 2 Pueblo, is our major population area. We also have 3 quite a bit of federally-owned lands, and a lot of our 4 docket in the branch offices in Grand Junction, 5 Colorado, and Durango, work with violations with the 6 Forest Service and BLM, Bureau of Land Management, 7 because two-thirds of the Western Slope is federally 8 maintained and owned property.

9 We also have the distinction, I guess, of hosting five Bureau of Prison facilities, including 10 the administrative maximum facility, ADX, or sometimes 11 12 called Super Max, in Florence, Colorado, which, of course, as the Commission knows, houses the worst of 13 14 the worst convicts here in the federal prison system. And then there's a lot of litigation that springs from 15 that facility down in Florence as well. 16

17 And like Minnesota, we also have within 18 our district two Indian tribes that also contribute a lot to the violent crime, unfortunately, in the docket 19 here in the District of Colorado. As a result of the 20 21 statewide responsibility we have, our federal law enforcement agencies have teamed up with their state 22 23 and local colleagues, and a number of joint task forces 24 throughout the state to better address and further spread our resources through the entire state. Some of 25

1 the most effective task forces include the Metro Gang 2 Task Force. We do have a burgeoning gang problem here 3 in the District of Colorado, and not just in Denver, 4 but it's being seen in other parts of the state as well 5 as the Western Slope, and touching upon our Native 6 Americans on the reservations as well.

7 Safe Streets Task Force deals with mainly bank robberies and other violent crimes, as well 8 as numerous drug task forces. As I mentioned, we are 9 sort a trans-shipment place for drugs to come through, 10 but also we're finding over the last, perhaps, five or 11 ten years that this is a distribution center as well. 12 The District of Colorado has become that as well. And 13 14 the Front Range Task Force, which is a HIDA-sponsored drug task force. And that's just to mention a few that 15 we work with these state and local folks. 16

17 Now, dealing with the Supreme Court 18 decision in Booker, that has changed the way we in Colorado approach our sentencing hearings. Our AUSAs 19 now must focus, obviously, their advocacy on the 20 21 factors that are outlined in § 3355(a), and despite such advocacy, the advisory nature of the 22 guidelines post-Booker has resulted in greater 23 24 inconsistencies and sentences among our judges here in 25 the District of Colorado.

1 Of the six federal judges, it's hard to 2 really assess how they view the guidelines. We have 3 some that follow the guidelines and consider the 4 guidelines in their sentencing and usually sentence 5 within those guidelines, we have some that sometimes do 6 that, and we have some that don't use the guidelines 7 and have even stated in court that the sentencing 8 guidelines are arbitrary and they would not be followed in the courtroom. 9

10 Now, it's certainly my belief, and I'm 11 sure that of many others, that the criminal and 12 sentencing laws must be tough, they must be predictable 13 and they must be fair and not result in unwarranted 14 disparities. Such a system not only protects the 15 public, but it's fair to both victims and defendants 16 alike.

17 Without such certainty in sentencing, 18 our office's participation in many of the task forces that I just mentioned would be minimized. Our 19 partnership, among other reasons, is based on -- with 20 21 these various task forces flourish, at least in part, due to the existence of tough and predictable federal 22 23 sentences associated with the sentencing guidelines. 24 It is important to note, and I can say with certainty, 25 because not too long ago I was actually doing real work

1 as a AUSA in the Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement 2 Task Force, the OCDETF task force, and I heard from 3 many of the would-be criminals and the people that were 4 charged during debriefings that they were fearful of 5 the strict sentencing guidelines used by, as they call 6 it, the feds.

7 These drug dealers or gang members did 8 not want to end up on the federal side of the court 9 system because they knew that they were going to jail, 10 rather than their state colleagues, fellow defendants, 11 who most likely would, for the very same conduct, and 12 because of a number of factors, receive a very lenient 13 sentence or even probation.

14 These debriefings also showed me that some of these defendants admitted that they consciously 15 decided not to, for instance, bring a gun to a drug 16 17 deal because they knew that there would be a mandatory minimum and there would be a stiff sentence that would 18 result from the federal sentencing enhancements. 19 20 Now, I should note that some of the 21 judges are making it clear what they believe an appropriate sentence should be with little or no 22 consideration of the advisory guideline range. 23 24 Child pornography, as Mr. Jones

25 mentioned, and as I think this Commission has heard

1 from many of our colleagues across the country, is one 2 of the cases that is especially becoming troublesome in 3 this district, and I know that the Commission has heard 4 from a judge this morning from our district talking 5 upon the very same case that I'm going to talk about б now. And that was the case that the defendant was 7 convicted of child pornography, and he possessed a very extensive collection of such pornography, and the 8 advisory guideline range was calculated between 97 and 9 121 months. The individual was sentenced to one day 10 imprisonment and credit for that time served and a 11 12 lifetime of supervision. Now, cases like this, although there were circumstances and medical issues 13 14 involved, but certainly cases like this and others suggest the current state of the federal sentencing 15 system increasingly favors judicial discretion over 16 uniformity, consistency and certainty. 17

18 Recent appellate cases suggest that there is little meaningful appellate review of 19 sentences. For example, in a recent concurring opinion 20 21 in the Tenth Circuit, the judge opined that the court's 22 present approach appears to be that a sentence that is 23 substantively reasonable -- is substantively reasonable 24 if the sentencing judge provides reasons for the length 25 of the sentence.

Now, the result, the circuit judge 1 2 continued, will be a great inequity in sentencing 3 because, as the judge said in his opinion, that 4 reasonable people -- district courts are reasonable 5 people, but, however, they can differ as to how lenient 6 or harsh a sentence should be, both in general and for 7 a particular crime and particular type of offenders. 8 Now, the resulting inequalities will have the imprimatur of the courts if this continues, and under 9 such an approach, the court may go through the motions 10 of a substantive reasonableness review, but it will be 11 12 an empty gesture. 13 The same judge suggests a different 14 approach, which would not only require sentencing

judges to consider all of the factors set forth in 15 § 3553(a), but to focus on two factors in 16 17 particular. These two factors are, 1, the sentencing range in the guidelines; and 2, the need to avoid 18 unwarranted sentencing disparities among the defendants 19 20 with similar records found guilty of similar conduct. 21 This approach would allow an appellate court to find a 22 particular sentence unreasonable if solely based on 23 the judge's idiosyncratic view of the seriousness of 24 the offense, the significance of the defendant's 25 criminal history and personal qualities, or the role of

1 incarceration in the criminal justice system.

2 As it stands now, the government has 3 little chance -- and I agree with Mr. Jones that our 4 office as well has greatly reduced the number of 5 appeals that we bring to the Tenth Circuit, because we 6 believe that we have little chance of being successful 7 in appealing a sentence, unless the judge fails to make any record of a 3553(a) analysis or uses prohibited 8 reasons, such as race or gender, as the basis of the 9 sentence, and we just don't see that. 10 11 While it's not a productive wish to 12 return to a presumptive sentencing guideline system, 13 that system did incorporate many of the goals of a fair 14 and predictable sentencing system. We should take it as our goal to try to achieve as fair and as equitable 15 a sentencing system as possible. And I recognize that 16 17 fashioning a post-Booker sentencing system is a difficult task and does not lend itself to an easy 18 solution, and that's why I commend this Commission and 19 20 you, Mr. Chairman, for the willingness to take on such 21 a task and inviting me to speak with you today. Thank 22 you. 23 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you very 24 much, sir. And I'll open it up for questions.

25 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: I have one

1 question for Mr. Jones and one question for 2 Mr. Gaouette on two totally different subjects. I'll 3 start with Mr. Gaouette and the child porn situation. 4 I think that below-guideline-range sentences in the 5 child porn arena are among the highest of any offense 6 type, and it is something that the Sentencing 7 Commission in our sort of dynamic examination of 8 statistics to figure out whether steps should be taken are paying close attention to what's going on with 9 compliance or lack of compliance with the child 10 pornography guidelines. 11

And I think it's fair to say we're 12 13 taking sort of a twofold approach. One is addressing 14 it with additional educational tools. We're likely are going to be issuing shortly a paper about child 15 pornography guidelines. And another approach is we're 16 17 taking a look at the specific child pornography 18 guidelines to see if there should be more refinements that make more sense to sentencing judges to encourage 19 more compliance or persuade them to comply with the 20 21 guidelines more.

You know, as -- and they're not easy cases, necessarily, and I think the *Rausch* case, which is the one that Judge Kane talked about this morning and the one that you had mentioned in your testimony,

1 is one of those situations that it's difficult when you 2 look at the facts of that case where Judge Kane was faced with a defendant who, you know, had -- based on 3 4 our excellent staff summary of the case, you know, he 5 had had -- he was on a donor list for a kidney 6 transplant, he had renal failure. Sentencing him to 7 prison might have likely been a death sentence. He was 8 a Bureau of Prisons guard, so he, Judge Kane, heard professional opinions of psychiatric and psychological 9 experts that said he was at high risk of being 10 vulnerable to victimization in prison. So between the 11 12 medical care issues, his vulnerability, the fact that he had been in home confinement successfully without 13 14 violating conditions of that home confinement, and so on, Judge Kane reached -- you know, varied quite 15 16 dramatically from the guideline range, as you point 17 out.

18 And I just wonder whether you can site that opinion as an extraordinary example of an 19 20 extraordinary downward departure; but on the other 21 hand, is your criticism of that sentence that no variance was warranted or -- and if that -- if that's 22 23 not the situation and you think that a variance might 24 have been, in fact, warranted in that case, then is 25 your criticism of the decision that the variance was

too great? And if so, what was the appropriate 1 2 sentence that you think should have been given in the 3 case? MR. GAOUETTE: Well, the sentence -- I 4 5 guess you asked a lot of questions and, hopefully, I'll 6 give you a lot of answers. 7 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: I think my point 8 is that these cases are -- with one line in your written testimony, you sort of -- it's eyebrow raising, 9 the sentence is eyebrow raising, given the departure 10 from the range; but when you actually look at the facts 11 and what the judge had to struggle with, it's a little 12 13 bit more complicated than that. 14 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Just to interrupt for a second, do you think it was grounds for 15 16 departure and a variance? 17 MR. GAOUETTE: Probably a variance would 18 be more appropriate. 19 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: You don't think there could be departure grounds? 20 21 MR. GAOUETTE: There could be, certainly, but I think in the individual situation, a 22 23 variance would probably be more appropriate. And all 24 the things that you mentioned, the medical conditions 25 and the previous employment of prison guards, those can

be addressed by the Bureau of Prisons. And I'm just 1 2 wondering, and I don't know, whether the same dramatic 3 issue, call it a departure from the advisory 4 guidelines, would be taken for another type of crime. 5 Because throughout -- and I've been with б the Department of Justice for 25 years. There have 7 been many situations the personal characteristics of a 8 defendant have come before a sentencing judge; and whether they would be medical, whether they would be 9 employment, such as you mentioned, it seems that in the 10 past then those may have been grounds for a departure, 11 12 they may have been grounds for a variance, but they were not -- I mean, Bureau of Prisons has medical 13 14 facilities, as you know. They take all sorts of medical conditions and can deal with operations or to 15 16 contract those out, and so I think that they're able to 17 deal with medical conditions and also informants, 18 previous police or prison guards. And so I guess it strikes me that -- that there are ways that a criminal 19 20 defendant, when facing such a large advisory guideline 21 range, would -- for those reasons which have been 22 addressed in the past by the Bureau of Prisons and 23 other institutions, would go from a potential of 121 24 months down to essentially nothing.

25 And I think -- to answer your question,

1 I think that an appropriate range or appropriate 2 sentence would be some incarceration for those other 3 factors that I don't believe the judge either weighed 4 as heavily or took to heart. Because what you don't 5 want is such a large -- such a huge inconsistency 6 because of a medical condition that others may have 7 found themselves in Bureau of Prison custody that may 8 have similar or even worse medical conditions or similar or worse situations as being an informant or 9 being a previous prison guard. 10

11 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: Thank you. So, 12 Mr. Jones, I wanted you to put on your hat for when you were in charge of our organizational advisory panel, 13 14 and you did a great job in that role. And one of the areas that, you know, I think that the Commission has 15 been complimented on a lot is in the organizational 16 17 guidelines chapter that some people have said sort of 18 generated an entire industry of compliance officers. I think when we in our -- in §8B2.1 where we 19 provide the outline of the seven or eight minimal 20 21 requirements for having an effective compliance 22 program, the seventh one has to do with remediation. 23 If criminal conduct occurs, what an organization should 24 do under its effective compliance program to address 25 that and remedy that situation.

What we don't say, and this is where we 1 2 fall short, in fact, even by comparison to what the 3 Justice Department guidelines look at in terms of 4 organizations that have engaged in criminal conduct, is 5 whether as part of their remediation of the criminal 6 conduct they've tried to identify any victims and make 7 restitution to those victims. 8 Do you think that that's something that

9 the Commission should think about adding expressly to 10 the minimal requirements for having an effective 11 compliance program as part of that remediation step, 12 that an organization takes steps to identify any 13 victims of the criminal conduct and takes steps to make 14 restitution to them?

15 MR. JONES: Well, that experience was invaluable to me, and I find myself more often than not 16 thinking about that in terms of my view of the 17 18 guidelines. I think everyone understands an organization as a criminal defendant is kind of in a 19 unique situation. The other thing from that 20 21 several-year experience is that Chapter Eight is not used a whole heck of a lot because a lot of organizations 22 23 resolve their issues with the government if they're in 24 that criminal arena before there ever is an indictment 25 or information filed; and if there is one, then it's

1 usually done in conjunction with some prearranged, 2 pre-indictment package that's been put together. 3 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: And it is, in 4 fact, when the government is looking at whether or not 5 to charge or resolve the investigation of the 6 organization in an alternative way that the government 7 actually looks to see what the organization has done in terms of making restitution. 8 9 MR. JONES: And I think that's primarily driven whether or not what you suggest should be done. 10 I -- you know, I don't -- I don't -- you mentioned that 11 12 there's been a whole industry that's come out of that. 13 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: Compliance 14 officer. MR. JONES: The compliance officers, the 15 ethics officers. You're bringing back all of these 16 17 recollections from that experience. But I do think you 18 have to take Chapter Eight and sort of put it in a unique category in terms of it being both driven to a 19 particular kind of criminal defendant and also the uses 20 21 of the guidelines in terms of them being more proactive and not reactive, in that people are looking at those 22 23 things, like the seven steps and seven factors on an 24 effective compliance program up front. I mean, there 25 are companies I know from personal experience,

1 companies that look at that in terms of the basics for
2 their compliance program, even though they've never
3 been in trouble with the law and even though they hope
4 that they never have to deal with Chapter Eight, either
5 with a sentencing judge or a probation officer.

6 So that chapter is a little bit unique 7 in that it does outline and give a lot of guidance as 8 to what could happen to you at the back end, where most 9 of its use is at the front end so that you never get to 10 Chapter Eight, which kind of makes it a unique chapter in 11 the guidelines.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Do you think that that's something that could be looked at from the standpoint of the front end in individual sentencings as opposed to organizational sentencings with regards to the theory of this step being taken before sentencing or sort of a restorative justice type of action?

19 MR. JONES: Let me put on my DOJ hat and 20 let you know, if you don't already know, that the whole 21 panoply of federal criminal justice issues is under 22 review currently.

23 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: I think we've24 been through that.

25 MR. JONES: There are numerous working

1 groups, and I've talked with Jonathan beforehand, and 2 as chair of the AGAC, you know, even though it's 60 3 days into this, I know that there are numerous issues 4 being looked at, both on the restorative justice front, 5 the reintegration front in terms of reintegrating 6 people being released from the custody of the Bureau of 7 Prisons, which is something that I don't know if you've 8 heard is going to be quite a challenge for probation officers, just the sheer volume of people that are 9 coming out of federal prisons; and, of course, what 10 happens in between, through the criminal charging 11 12 decisions, sentencing advocacy, particular issues like crack powder disparity. I mean, that's all part eight 13 14 months, nine months into this administration, that people are very busily looking at under some pretty 15 tight time constraints, and in addition to dealing with 16 17 issues like Guantanamo.

18 So the Department of Justice is working very hard to come up with some best practices. We're 19 20 talking to a lot of people, as I'm sure Jonathan has 21 let you all know, as an ex officio member, a lot of constituencies, academics, federal defenders, all kinds 22 23 of groups, and we fully anticipate that there will be 24 meat on that bone here within the next six months. 25 VICE CHAIR CASTILLO: I want to get to a

point that I have found disconcerting about this 1 2 particular set of hearings, which is our fifth set of 3 hearings, and that is consistently hearing about judges 4 who are just starting out by flat out rejecting the 5 advisory sentencing guidelines. It seems to me that 6 even the Supreme Court that got us all in this boat of 7 an advisory guideline system has consistently said in 8 all of their opinions -- Booker, Kimbrough, Gall, Rita -- that you need to start out every sentencing 9 proceeding by at least applying the advisory sentencing 10 guidelines before looking to whether or not there 11 12 should be a variance from the sentencing guidelines. But I don't know if judges have been emboldened by Gall 13 14 or if this is just something unique to this area of the country, and we've been in several difficult areas, not 15 the least of which is the northeast quadrant of the 16 17 country where I'm going to next, but I've yet to hear 18 of judges just coming right out on the bench and saying it's not going to be a guideline sentence, let's talk 19 about what it could be or what it should be. 20 21 Do you want to comment on that? Am I 22 misinterpreting what you're saying here, or are judges 23 just rejecting the advisory guidelines?

24 MR. JONES: You know, in my observation,25 again, several months in as a prosecutor, as the chief

prosecutor in the District of Minnesota, but with seven 1 2 years of observation as a defense lawyer and on the 3 defender panel, is that the judges, in my view, are 4 just testing the boundaries. They all have their own 5 personal sense of justice. They're not sort of 6 throwing the guidelines back in anyone's faces. 7 They're working within the case law, both the Supreme 8 Court case law and the Eighth Circuit case law. But my personal view is that they're testing the boundaries. 9 They're testing the boundaries in terms of how far they 10 can go in particular areas. 11

12 You know, you mentioned the child 13 pornography area, and this is still a work in progress. 14 And again, that's a particular area where back in the position I'm in now, I have a greater clarity about the 15 seriousness of those offenses. There's lots of 16 17 discussion, both with law enforcement and in the 18 prosecutor ranks, about making sure that people's own 19 well-being is taken care of when they do a lot of those 20 cases. And, you know, quite frankly, I don't know 21 whether some of the judges that are looking at this mere possession factor in this area and getting all 22 23 mixed up with what people do in the privacy of their 24 homes or First Amendment issues or whatever it is. I 25 can tell you this, we've started to make available to

judges the images themselves, and that's made a difference to the judges, when they see some of this child pornography that's out there. And I think that that will work its way out just as part of the sentencing advocacy, irrespective of the case here in Colorado, the personal and physical situation of the defendant.

Because I do think that in those 8 circumstances, that sometimes the judges lose sight of 9 the deterrent -- again, it's my personal opinion, the 10 deterrent impact in certain kinds of cases and the 11 12 message that's sent and get locked in on the individual circumstances, as sad as it may be. What kind of 13 14 message are you sending to the general public about this when you have someone who's got a very sad 15 personal situation but is engaged in this kind of 16 17 behavior and engaged in this kind of a crime, and they 18 get a light touch.

MR. GAOUETTE: And to answer for the District of Colorado, whether it's testing the boundaries or what have you, I believe we do have some sentencing hearings that it is clear that the judges, not all the time, but do not want to follow the guidelines and will not follow the guidelines; and whether that's a -- because based on any number of

1 factors that apparently only a judge knows, and the 2 judges have -- at least one has said that he's not 3 going to follow the guidelines. And there are 4 instances that depend upon the case. Some of our 5 judges do not follow the guidelines and they have a 6 preconceived -- what I consider, and again, this is my 7 personal opinion, a preconceived notion as to what an 8 appropriate sentence would be, and that is not anything to do with -- it's not the starting place, as you 9 mentioned, sir, of their determination or their 10 11 decision. ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: If a judge makes 12 13 that statement on the record, do you think that is any 14 different than saying I'm just not going to consider 15 3553(a)(2) at all? MR. GAOUETTE: Oh, I think so. 16 That's 17 tantamount to the same thing. ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: So it isn't so 18 much saying that on the record, it's just obvious to 19 20 you based on what's going on; is that right?

21 MR. GAOUETTE: Correct. And there are 22 some things that are off the record as well, with 23 negotiations that have occurred where it's clear that 24 the judge has a sentence in mind, and he's working --25 he or she is working towards that sentence.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: The judge is 1 2 engaged in the plea bargain discussion? 3 MR. GAOUETTE: No, sir, not plea 4 bargain. Sentencing. 5 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Mr. Jones, you 6 talked about the difficulty and balance here between a 7 firm system and one that results in fair sentences, and I have a couple of questions. First is with regard to 8 mandatory minimums and the safety valve. I know the 9 Department is thinking about this, but do you see 10 any -- and this is for both of you. Do you see any 11 12 reason why the safety valve should not be expanded, 13 either to Criminal History Category II or expanded to 14 other offenses or use indirect ways of expanding the 15 safety valve, that's first. And second, I've heard General Holder on 16 17 three occasions now speak about alternatives for low-level drug defendants. And, of course, you have 18 the ability to create diversion programs within your 19 20 systems. 21 I wonder if, first of all, there are low-level drug defendants within your system. Do they 22 23 come in? Are there low-level people at the end of the 24 conspiracies? And second, have you thought about those

25 kind of alternative proposals?

1 MR. JONES: Let me choose my words 2 carefully, because --3 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: I don't want to 4 put you on the spot. 5 MR. JONES: Thank you, Judge. A number б of issues again are being looked at from a policy 7 standpoint, and I think several factors will drive that. One of them, of course, is being fiscally 8 responsible about what's realistic and what's not. You 9 know, the other is our comity with our colleagues in 10

state system in terms of what we take federally, which 11 loops back into charging decisions and sort of intake 12 as a matter of principal when you're talking about --13 14 at least in the District of Minnesota, and I will hone in on that. For drug defendants, we have for a number 15 of years worked collaboratively with task forces and 16 17 with our state prosecutors -- and in Minnesota it's 87 different county attorneys -- in terms of determining 18 where people should rightfully go, in large part driven 19 20 by the repercussions of ending up in either federal or 21 state court.

The long and the short of it is, hopefully we're not seeing a lot of the low-hanging fruit and minimal involvement drug dealers that are coming into the federal system in the first place.

1 Now, there are circumstances in conspiracy cases where 2 you do sort of work it in the textbook way, where you 3 get people to come in and testify and sort of use 4 things for leverage, but I think that we've resisted 5 the temptation to drive numbers by bringing a lot of 6 people in to the federal system in the drug arena, and 7 that's been a lesson that's learned -- a very difficult 8 circumstance over the last 20 years in federal prosecution in the drug arena. Not getting any better, 9 but getting a little smarter. 10

11 Your other question about the safety 12 valve isn't really, quite frankly, one I've given a lot of thought to. I'm sure that there is a working group 13 14 that part of their review and examination in terms of suggested statutory fixes or things that the Department 15 might want to advocate as a department in its overall 16 17 review, but I'm really not in a position where I can 18 comfortably either provide you with a personal opinion or inappropriately provide you with any kind of policy 19 statement on behalf of the Department of Justice. 20 21 MR. GAOUETTE: And I would like to concur with Mr. Jones. We, in the District of 22 23 Colorado, in the drug task force, in our drug cases, we 24 don't have the low-level or the low-hanging fruit, as 25 Mr. Jones said. And we too work with the state and

local side, as I mentioned, on many task forces, and 1 2 with the district attorney's offices, and sometimes 3 we're accused of giving, you know, the lower level 4 cases to the state, which we do. Because we try to 5 keep the conspiracies to the conspirators and sentence 6 those people as part of the conspiracy. So if they're 7 low-level, merely possessing and whatnot, those are the 8 type of cases, as Mr. Jones said, that go to the state 9 prosecutors.

10 As far as the safety valve, I know that we use that in order to take into account individuals 11 12 who are part of a conspiracy, for instance, in a drug case, but don't have the criminal history that would 13 14 warrant a sentence that is somewhat for a higher criminal history category; and so I think that is a 15 tool that is used to try to balance out criminal 16 17 histories and conduct.

COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: One quick 18 question. First, before I do, thank you both for being 19 20 here and participating in all of this. It's 21 tremendously helpful, both for the Commission and Department of Justice, so thank you. 22 23 My question has to do with crimes on 24 native lands. There's been concern in the media, 25 there's been concern in Congress about crime on native

1 lands. There's legislation now pending, and the 2 criticisms have ranged both in terms of the federal 3 government doing too much and also the federal 4 government doing too little. Do you have any thoughts 5 about that and specifically about sentencing policy on 6 native lands?

7 MR. GAOUETTE: Well as I mentioned, we have two Native American reservations in the District 8 of Colorado, and it's interesting that they are very 9 much different. One tribe has really done a lot to 10 form a criminal justice system with police, with 11 12 judges, with correctional facilities and whatnot; so they're fine. And so to answer your question, they 13 14 probably don't need help from the federal government, or as much help as their brother tribe that has not 15 16 done any of that and is always looking for more 17 assistance from the federal government. And so there's 18 really that dichotomy here in the District of Colorado. 19 As I touched upon in my testimony, the branch office that handles the Native American tribes 20 21 is in Durango, and they have a terribly violent crime 22 docket. I mean, the crimes that occur on those Indian

23 reservation are horrific, and they're very difficult to 24 prosecute, they're very difficult to follow through and 25 investigate and whatnot, especially when you have one tribe that really doesn't have any resources dedicated to the investigation, and so the FBI does what it can. The FBI does more than they really should have to do, but I think if you -- depending upon who you talk to, for instance, in this district, one tribe will say the federal government involvement is fine, the other will say that they really need more.

8 MR. JONES: You know, I -- there's been a concerted effort to really review federal law 9 enforcement, both responsibilities and the current 10 state of things in Indian country culminating next week 11 12 in a big listening conference, national listening conference in Minneapolis, and we've been involved both 13 14 on the AGAC front and in planning for that. And Minnesota is somewhat unique in that it's a PL 280 15 state, which means that out of the 11 Indian 16 17 reservations that are in Minnesota, we only work with 18 two bands of Chippewa, which, for their own various reasons, are not -- are exclusively federal. 19 20 And for our office the work that's done on that 21 reservation is some of most difficult and some of the most satisfying that we do because we are, in essence, 22 23 the county attorney or the local DA for them. 24 With respect to your role, I would 25 strongly suggest that as part of this overall review in

Indian country, that you look pretty closely at the 1 2 quidelines for violent crimes or things that we know if 3 you look at certain provisions of the guidelines that 4 are going to have the greatest impact in Indian country 5 because -- you know, whether it's a sexual assault or 6 whether it's a traditional violent crime, homicide, 7 bodily assaults, other than happening in Indian country, if it's not in a federal prison or on federal 8 lands, that's not something that the U.S. Attorney's 9 offices are dealing with or the guidelines are going to 10 11 impact.

I think it would be real important as 12 part of this full-spectrum review of how the federal 13 14 government interacts with tribal nations in terms of public safety in Indian country, that that include the 15 Sentencing Commission looking at and tweaking, if you 16 17 need to, certain provisions of the sentencing guidelines, advisory guidelines when they impact or 18 have the most impact in Indian country. Because that 19 20 is a very, very difficult issue and it's one that I 21 know the Department is taking a full-spectrum review 22 of. 23 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: It would be, I

24 think, extremely helpful in this last listening
25 session, and also if there's been information from the

1 previous listening sessions that directly impact the 2 issue of sentencing, if we can figure out a way to 3 provide that to the Commission.

4 MR. JONES: Well, the other thing that 5 I'll say after becoming really immersed in this, very б quickly, is that to the extent that the federal 7 judiciary generally has an interest -- and I know that 8 the Eighth Circuit has an advisory panel, Judge Schreier -- and I may be digressing from the Sentencing 9 Commission, but there are judges up here that, you 10 know, their relationships with tribal courts, I think, 11 12 is something that would be really important in terms of providing mentoring and training to the extent that 13 they can. And I understand from Judge Schreier in South 14 Dakota that the Eighth Circuit -- and I'm not sure if 15 the Tenth Circuit -- has an analogue with some kind of 16 17 committee that does work with the tribal court system 18 in the Eighth Circuit, which is primarily North and South Dakota and Minnesota in terms of Indian country. 19 But I know the Tenth Circuit and the Ninth Circuit may 20 21 want to look at that because tribal justice systems need a lot of help. And the federal judiciary 22 23 generally may be a good place that can help enhance the 24 court system.

25

That is separate and apart from law

enforcement challenges with the BIA or tribal police 1 2 departments, which, from our perspective as 3 prosecutors, is probably the most difficult issue; 4 because if we don't have the evidence and it's not 5 collected right, we can't do the prosecutions. 6 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you all 7 very much. I do want to clarify something. Mr. Jones, you mentioned the 12 percent, the 15.7 percent 8 departure variance rate. I just want to clarify that 9 what the *Sourcebook* identifies that as is not 10 government sponsored. There may be another place in 11 12 the Sourcebook, and our staff would certainly work 13 with you, that actually indicates those may include 14 cases where there was no objection from the government, 15 and they may not have objected to those departures or variances, and there is another place in the Sourcebook 16 where that is reported, and our staff would be 17 18 glad to help clarify that with regards -- I don't want to leave you with the impression that the Sourcebook 19 20 indicates that those were all contested hearings or 21 objected to.

But thank you all very much, and it's been extremely helpful. And we know you are busy and that you took time out today from your busy schedule to be with us. Thank you all very much. And we'll take a 1 short break before the last panel of the day.

2 (A break was taken from 3:18 p.m. to 3 3:34 p.m.)

4 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: We do want to 5 welcome or next panel, our most patient panel. We do 6 have three distinguished representatives of different 7 groups who will speak to us on community impact. We 8 have Ms. Diane Humetewa, who is a principal of the law firm -- and I hope I've done okay with the name. About 9 as well as sometimes people do with my name, I guess. 10 With the law firm of Squire, Sanders & Dempsey in 11 12 Phoenix, Arizona, where she specializes in Native American law, government relations and public efficacy, 13 14 natural resources and litigation. She previously served as a U.S. attorney for the District of Arizona 15 from December 2007 through August of 2009. She also 16 served as a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission's 17 18 Native American Ad Hoc Advisory Group, and previously she served as counsel to the U.S. Senate Committee on 19 20 Indian Affairs and counsel to the deputy attorney 21 general, and she has her BA and JD from Arizona State 22 University.

23 We also have Mr. Ernie Allen, who is 24 president and chief executive officer of the National 25 Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the

International Center for Missing and Exploited
 Children. An attorney in his native Kentucky,
 Mr. Allen came to NCMEC after serving as chief
 administrative officer of Jefferson County, director of
 public health and safety for the City of Louisville and
 the director of the Louisville Jefferson County Crime
 Commission.

We also have a former U.S. district 8 judge, Mr. Paul Cassell, who currently serves as a 9 professor of criminal law with the University of Utah, 10 a position he also had previously held from 1992 to 11 2002. He did serve as a U.S. district judge for the 12 District of Utah from 2002 to 2007, and during that 13 14 period of time he also chaired the Criminal Law Committee of the Judicial Conference. He previously 15 served both as an assistant U.S. attorney and an 16 17 associate deputy attorney general for the U.S. Department of Justice and he holds his BA and JD from 18 19 Stanford.

And we will start with -- so I won't mess this up, with Diane. I know she has to also catch a flight, so if any of us have any questions after she finishes, it would probably be appropriate to do it before we call on the other two.

25 MS. HUMETEWA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Hinojosa and members of the Commission, I 1 2 thank you for giving me this opportunity to appear 3 before you to provide my views on the state of the 4 Sentencing Guidelines and the 20 years of impact they 5 have had on the federal justice system. I speak to you б from my experiences as a former federal prosecutor, who 7 every day applied the sentencing guidelines to a myriad 8 of cases, including homicides, child sex cases, white collar offenses and cultural resource crimes. 9

I also appear before you, as mentioned, 10 as a former member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission's 11 12 ad hoc advisory committee on Native American issues and a former United States attorney for the District of 13 14 Arizona, a district with one of the largest criminal caseloads in the nation. And so my testimony will 15 touch on issues that I've personally confronted in 16 17 working with the sentencing guidelines and my general 18 observations related to the policy implications associated by changes to the guidelines. I speak today 19 only for myself and from my experiences. 20

I entered service with the Arizona United States Attorney's Office at about the same time that the federal sentencing guidelines were in the infancy stages of implementation. Twenty years later, generally speaking, the goals of the Congress were

achieved because the sentencing guidelines evolved into
 a sentencing system that introduced predictability in
 what was previously a fairly unpredictable national
 federal sentencing scheme.

5 However, over the last 20 years, the б uniformity goals that the Congress had in mind when it 7 passed the Sentencing Reform Act evolved, in some 8 circumstances, into a rigid sentencing scheme that provided almost pinpoint predictability in sentencing 9 outcomes such that all parties who walked into a 10 courtroom knew precisely what the sentencing outcome 11 12 would be. The need for impassioned argument at 13 sentencing by both parties in some cases may have 14 diminished. Federal prosecutors began using the guidelines calculation to shape their plea deals and 15 determine whether or not to proceed to trial or whether 16 17 to introduce witness testimony at sentencing.

18 It's important for this Commission to understand the profound impact that it has had over the 19 20 last 20 years for our nation's federal criminal justice 21 system. The question now before the Commission is this: Where do we go from here? Post-United States 22 23 v. Booker, my observations are that federal judges 24 and the defense bar are only just beginning to test the limits of discretion in sentencing. I refer only to 25

1 the defense and the bench because historically federal 2 prosecutors have had to adhere to and apply strict 3 policy directives from the Department of Justice in 4 prosecuting cases. Consequently, post-Booker, federal 5 prosecutors may be the only parties who depend on the 6 strict calculation of the guidelines. As mentioned, 7 we've already witnessed this in the area of child 8 pornography cases where trial courts have handed down probation sentences with dramatic departures from the 9 guidelines and appellate courts have upheld these 10 sentences as reasonable. The question here is whether 11 12 the appellate standard of review ultimately will eviscerate the uniformity in sentencing that was the 13 14 original goal of the Sentencing Reform Act.

15 The challenge for the Commission is to determine how to react to the fact that under the new 16 post-Booker sentencing scheme, actual sentences 17 18 increasingly may depart from the previous uniform guidelines. Can a balanced sentencing approach be 19 20 achieved between a sentence that is wholly outside the 21 guidelines, yet determined judicially to be reasonable 22 and a sentence that is at the same time sanctioned by 23 the Commission.

24 These tensions will continue to arise25 between all parties; therefore, we need to consider who

should take the lead in moving forward to reconcile the
 Sentencing Reform Act and the results of *Booker*.
 Should it be the defense bar, the federal prosecutors,
 the Justice Department, or the Commission. Those are
 questions that I leave for you to ponder.

6 I do wish to turn now to the impact that 7 this Commission and the sentencing guidelines have had 8 on Indians and Indian Country. As a federal prosecutor, I prosecuted a large caseload of Indian 9 Country crimes under the Major Crimes Act. The 10 District of Arizona includes 22 Indian nations, among 11 12 them two of the largest in the nation, the Navajo Nation and the Tohono O'odham Nation. Like county 13 14 prosecutors, these offices are responsible for prosecuting violations of specific federal offenses 15 committed in Indian Country for over half of the 564 16 17 federally recognized tribes in the nation. The Major Crimes Act was enacted in 1885 and the Indian Country 18 Crimes Act was enacted shortly thereafter. Neither 19 20 statute has dramatically changed since enactment, but 21 what has changed is the Congress's desire to increase 22 federal penalties, including those applied to Indian 23 Country through the Major Crimes Act, which, roughly, 24 specifies 17 specific federal offenses to apply to 25 Indian Country.

In so doing, Congress usually does not 1 2 consider the potential disparity that may occur to 3 Indians in Indian Country. When the Congress acts, the 4 Commission must act. The Commission's changes, 5 therefore, have the potential for creating 6 unintentional disparity to Indians; therefore, I urge 7 the Commission to create an institutional mechanism 8 within it for Indian tribal government consultation when considering changes to the sentencing guidelines 9 that involve Indian Country crimes. I make this 10 recommendation based on my experience with the 11 12 quidelines, my work with Indian tribes and Indian 13 Country crime victims who are often removed from the 14 federal justice system but greatly impacted by it. 15 As you know, the U.S. Sentencing Commission's Ad Hoc Advisory Committee on Native 16 17 American Issues was established in 2001, and we delivered our findings to the Commission in 2003. 18 We were asked to consider -- quote, consider any viable 19 methods to improve the operation of the federal 20 21 sentencing guidelines in their application to Native 22 Americans under the Major Crimes Acts. We analyzed the 23 impact of the sentencing guidelines on Indians, seeking 24 particularly to address whether there was a 25 disproportionately harsher impact on Indians as

1 compared to non-Indians generally. The general 2 perception was that the guidelines treated Indians in 3 Indian Country more harshly than those adjudicated in 4 the state system, regardless of Indian status. The 5 dearth of state sentencing data made it very difficult 6 for the committee to confirm this belief; however, the 7 committee was able to confirm this in specific areas 8 where data was available. For example, with regard to drunk driving homicides and sex offenses. 9

10 The Commission gave serious 11 consideration to our findings, and we, the members of 12 the committee, do appreciate that. The Commission 13 increased the guidelines for drunk driving homicides, 14 and today it brought those types of cases in line with 15 national state sentences for the same act. Indian 16 Country deserves no less.

17 However, one roadblock to accomplishing 18 this guideline fix is the Major Crimes Act and its interplay with the federal statutes referred therein. 19 20 So, for example, one delay to increasing the 21 manslaughter guidelines was the maximum statutory penalty of the manslaughter statute and its relation to 22 23 the maximum statutory penalty for other homicide 24 statutes. Modification of the manslaughter sentencing 25 guideline could not be achieved without increasing the

statutory maximum penalty for manslaughter and the 1 2 sentencing guidelines for other homicide statutes. 3 This result is a consequence of a 4 general unawareness of the practical impact that 5 changes to the federal sentencing scheme and the 6 federal statutes have on Indians in Indian Country. 7 This realization points out the need to establish, I 8 believe, a permanent mechanism to gather and keep sentencing data related to Indian Country and to 9 examine it on an ongoing basis. You know, the overall 10 implications that may arise from these changes, however 11 12 slight, can, and often does, have great impact to 13 Indian Country crime victims, defendants and 14 communities.

15 While the ad hoc committee did not find 16 racially-biased sentencing between states and federal 17 courts generally, we did note that the Major Crimes Act 18 jurisdictional scheme that applies the Chapter 109A offenses in Indian Country promote sentencing 19 20 disparity. We noted that the federal sentence for 21 non-Indians are more severe than state sentences 22 because the data on hand revealed that the Chapter 109 23 offenses are more likely to be charged in Indian 24 Country than any other federal enclave.

25 For example, between 2002 and 2005 the

1 Bureau of Indian Affairs responded to 2,593 child abuse 2 cases. That figure does not include the referrals to the FBI or to local tribal law enforcement. We found 3 4 that the perception that Indians are sentenced more 5 severely than non-Indians in this area is accurate; and 6 because our report was made in 2003, we weren't able to 7 examine the newly enacted PROTECT Act of 2003, which 8 imposed increased sentences for specific sex offenses. The committee observed generally that the existing 9 average federal sex offense penalties would 10 dramatically increase under the PROTECT Act, resulting 11 12 in disparity between federal and state sentences for 13 these offenses.

14 The committee's observations were soon realized and continue to be in play in U.S. Attorney's 15 offices within Indian Country -- I'm sorry, with Indian 16 17 Country crime jurisdiction. For example, in Arizona, 18 the immediate reaction of defendants charged with a Chapter 109A offense was not to work to resolve the 19 20 case by plea, but rather to go to trial because the new 21 sentencing guidelines restricted any benefit that would occur from admitting guilt. Under the amended 22 aggravated sexual abuse statute, once the defendant is 23 24 charged, he's bound to a 30-year minimum mandatory 25 sentence. Therefore, we experienced a surge of

defendants going to trial. Relatively no consideration was given to the potential that instituting severe sentences, including mandatory minimums, would have on limiting a prosecutor's ability to resolve these sex cases.

6 To illustrate this disparity, I wanted 7 to point out that in North Dakota, I found a case where a defendant received a 12-year sentence. He received 8 four years on each of three counts for fondling a 9 10-year-old child. He faced a maximum sentence of 20 10 years. Compare that to a federal case in North Dakota 11 12 where a 20-year-old pled guilty to one count of attempted sexual abuse of a 10-year-old with very 13 14 comparable facts, and that defendant received a 30-year sentence. This challenging set of circumstances is not 15 occurring nationwide but rather primarily occurring in 16 17 Indian Country and to Indian defendants and Indian victims. Had there been an institutional mechanism for 18 such consultation, it may have prevented this problem 19 from arising. In moving forward, I believe this 20 21 Commission would greatly benefit from 22 institutionalizing a mechanism for permanent tribal 23 consultation. 24

I did want to turn just briefly to the area of immigration. I know that you know in March of 2008, I testified to you in my capacity as the United
 States Attorney for Arizona. I testified that illegal
 immigration comprised approximately 58 percent of
 Arizona's federal criminal docket; and in 2007, each
 federal district court judge in Arizona sentenced about
 250 felony defendants, compared to the national average
 of approximately 75.

8 I don't want to reiterate my testimony here, but I do want to encourage, as I did then in 9 2008, this Commission to continue working on the 10 sentencing guideline that impacts those districts so 11 12 greatly that have borders on it to develop some 13 streamline mechanism to deal with what falls under the 14 category of an aggravated sentence and is very important for those districts, and I think it will go a 15 long way to addressing the virtual backlog of cases 16 17 that we experienced in Arizona.

Finally, I wish to comment on the stark absence of crime victim participation in the sentencing guideline scheme and the nation's federal sentencing system. I will only briefly state my experiences because Professor Paul Cassell has provided in-depth analysis on this issue.

You may not know that my first positionin the U.S. Department of Justice with the Arizona U.S.

1 Attorney's Office was as a crime victim advocate. At 2 that time in the mid-'80s, United States Attorney's 3 offices were beginning to implement President Ronald 4 Reagan's recommendation to implement procedures and 5 policies to bring crime victims into the federal 6 justice system. Since then great policy and statutory 7 changes have occurred, yet these advances provide only 8 minimal participatory rights, often left to the discretion of the particular judge. In 2004 the Crime 9 Victims Rights Act sent a clear congressional message 10 to the federal bench that these rights had yet to be 11 12 fully realized. The CVRA provided several important mechanisms to permit victims to have standing to claim 13 14 a violation of their rights, including the right to be heard at sentencing. While the right to be heard at 15 16 sentencing is an important benchmark, it does not include a victim's right to affect a defendant's 17 18 sentence calculation.

Compounding this void, the 18 U.S.C. S 3553 factors do not expressly call for the sentencing court to consider crime victim impact; therefore, while we have made great strides in bringing crime victims into the federal criminal justice system, victims have yet to be fully integrated into the federal sentencing scheme. So I thank the Commission for recently creating a committee to examine the impact of federal
 sentencing on crime victims.

3 I want to thank each of you for 4 permitting me to share my views and experiences. I've 5 spent the majority of my career working with these 6 issues, and I know that this Commission takes its 7 responsibilities seriously. I've witnessed the 8 deliberate care it has taken in amending the sentencing guidelines in the wake of congressional and court 9 decisions, and I thank you for your time-honored 10 service. 11

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you,Ms. Humetewa. Are there questions before she has toleave?

15 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: I have two 16 questions. First, on the consultation with Indian 17 Country, Todd Jones testified in the panel before. He 18 referenced some listening sessions that the Department of Justice has been undertaking recently. I don't know 19 if you're familiar with those. Is that mechanism one 20 21 that you think is a good mechanism to get consultation? Do you think the working group mechanism is the best 22 23 way? Obviously Indian Country represents an awful lot 24 of tribes and an awful lot of people. So if you could 25 talk to that.

And secondly, before you were leaving -before you left the U.S. Attorney's Office, can you -could you gauge how much the assistant U.S. attorneys there felt that *Booker* had a significant impact and their hunger for reform? Was it a lot, a little, hard to tell?

7 MS. HUMETEWA: Let me take your last question first. I will say it was a lot. I grew up, 8 in federal prosecution, relying on the sentencing 9 guidelines. And I think U.S. Attorney Jones may have 10 touched on it when he was relating to his past 11 12 experience as an advocate in the military, that he sort of reflected that now AUSAs are going into court with a 13 14 little bit more of an aggressive arsenal in terms of sentencing. And I think what happened, as I alluded to 15 in my statement, is that we became so confined and we 16 17 depended on the predictability of the sentencing guidelines. It drove all of our decisions, I 18 believe -- or let me couch that and say it drove a 19 20 majority of our decisions on how to resolve cases. 21 And so when you have situations where in 22 the Justice Department you have policies and 23 procedures, such as child safe neighborhood policies, 24 that are being driven out to take an aggressive stance, for example, on child pornography and then in the Ninth 25

1 Circuit you see a 41-level downward departure in a 2 child pornography case where the parties agreed in a 3 plea agreement that the confines of guidelines were 4 such that everyone had an understanding that that was 5 what the sentencing outcome would be and you have this 6 very large departure, it can send a chilling effect on 7 to the line of systems in that you may want to throw 8 your hands up and say where do we go from here, how aggressively should I charge this next case, should I 9 work to resolve this case, and how do I resolve it in 10 the wake of these decisions. 11

12 So I think there is a hunger for 13 bringing back some level of certainty; but as I 14 mentioned, I think it is also now the case where we do 15 see district court judges exercising discretion, and so 16 there we are.

17 With respect to the Justice Department's 18 listening sessions, I just came from the National Congress of American Indians, where a number of tribes 19 voiced a concern that they've identified the issues 20 21 they want to move quickly toward action, and I think 22 that action is being played out in the recent Tribal 23 Law and Order bill that was introduced by Senator 24 Dorgan and signed by some 17 co-sponsors, to give 25 greater, I think, flexibility for Indian tribal

governments to administer justice and in some cases
 take over, in some areas, criminal jurisdiction for
 particular offenses, expanding their authority -- their
 sentencing authority.

5 So there is a real desire by the tribal б government community to take control of these areas, 7 and I think one of the -- one of the issues that I've tried to point out, and I have done my level best as an 8 assistant U.S. attorney, as a senior litigation 9 counsel, as a U.S. attorney is this: That our system, 10 the Major Crimes Act, the operation of the United 11 12 States attorneys and their prosecution role in Indian Country has been so far removed from the local tribal 13 14 communities that oftentimes the information is not 15 being trickled down to those communities.

16 So in my experience, when I prosecuted a 17 homicide or a child sex crime on the Navajo nation, the 18 court proceedings are taking place in Phoenix or Prescott, hundreds of miles away from the local 19 20 community, which is greatly impacted by this. So 21 oftentimes you have communities who have no idea what occurred, only the immediate family members may know 22 23 that an individual disappeared from the community for a 24 lengthy period of time, but they don't know that he's 25 gone to federal prison, and so there is a disconnect

between the tribes and their understanding of how 1 2 justice for these very serious offenses is being meted 3 out, and one of those components is federal sentencing. 4 And so I think we generally need to do a 5 better job of bringing that information to those tribal 6 communities. And again, I pointed out to the fact that 7 the Major Crimes Act that we're operating under today is an 1885 law, but it still has a tremendous 8 implication for Indian Country going forward. I hope I 9 answered your question. 10 11 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Does anybody 12 else have any other questions? Thank you very much. 13 MS. HUMETEWA: Well, thank you. And I 14 apologize for having to leave so early, but I do appreciate the opportunity to testify before you, and I 15 was honored to sit on the ad hoc committee, and I look 16 17 forward to the Commission's work going forward. I know 18 you have a lot of work to do and a lot of work to 19 contemplate, and I again thank you for your service. 20 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: And thank you 21 for the help you've given the Commission in the past, both through testimony and your service on the ad hoc 22 23 committee. Mr. Allen. 24 MR. ALLEN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, 25 members of the Commission. I have submitted extensive

written testimony. With your permission, I'd just like to briefly summarize it. I appreciate the opportunity to testify, and my focus will be far more narrow than other witnesses from whom you've heard. I'd like to talk about the guidelines for child pornography offenses.

7 I know for the past nine months this Commission has heard testimony from many arguing for 8 changes in the guidelines for child pornography based 9 on their presumed excessiveness or that they're too 10 severe. Post-Booker, we're also very concerned about 11 12 the increasing number of downward departures and in some instances what we believe are token sentences that 13 14 trivialize and minimize what we believe to be a very serious crime. 15

16 I come before you today to make a simple 17 point: Child pornography is a serious crime. It 18 merits serious penalties. The guidelines are not the problem. The problem is the lack of understanding and 19 20 awareness about the true nature and severity of this 21 crime and the harm caused by these offenders to child 22 victims. The National Center for Missing and Exploited 23 Children, we're a nonprofit organization. We've worked 24 for the past quarter century in partnership with the 25 United States Department of Justice, and we've been

battling this problem of child pornography for a
 quarter century.

3 In 1985, we created the first national 4 child pornography tip line. In 1998, at the request of 5 Congress, we created the cyber tip line, an online 6 reporting mechanism, and have handled 744,000 reports 7 from Internet service providers and from the general 8 public about child pornography. In the aftermath of the Supreme Court's decision, Ashcroft v. the Free 9 Speech Coalition, in 2002, we created what we call a 10 child victim identification program, in which our 11 12 analysts review images and videos of child pornography every day in an effort to locate, identify and rescue 13 14 the child victims. Since 2003, we've reviewed 28 million child pornography images and videos and are 15 currently receiving and reviewing 250,000 images per 16 17 week.

In our view, the fundamental problem is 18 that child pornography is misnamed and misunderstood. 19 It is not pornography. It is not protected speech. It 20 21 is not victimless crime. These are crime scene photos, images of the sexual abuse of a child. They are 22 23 contraband, direct evidence of the sexual victimization 24 of a child. The circulation of these images among 25 offenders not only revictimizes the child, but it

1 drives the market for the production of new images.

2 Some have said, well, child pornography, 3 isn't that really just adult pornography, 20-year-olds 4 in pigtails made to look like they're 14. Well, not 5 exactly. From the millions of images we have reviewed б and the thousands of children we have identified, we 7 have learned that the vast majority of the victims are 8 prepubescent and that there's a growing number of infants and toddlers. Many of these children are 9 abused violently in images depicting bondage, sadism 10 torture, vaginal, anal and oral penetration, bestiality 11 12 and sexual humiliation. These are not pictures of 13 babies on the bath net.

Most offenders have not innocently or mistakenly downloaded a single image or even a handful of images. We find offenders who build libraries of images, collected and viewed for the offender's personal sexual gratification and more commonly traded, shared and/or sold online.

The Supreme Court of the United States has long recognized the harm. In *New York v. Ferber*, the Court wrote, pornography poses even a greater threat to the child victim than does sexual abuse. Because the child's actions are reduced to a recording, the pornography may haunt him in future years, long after the original misdeed took place. A child who has
 posed for a camera must go through life knowing that
 the recording is circulating within the mass
 distribution system for child pornography. And that
 was 1982, before the birth of the Internet.

6 In Osborne v. Ohio the Court wrote, the 7 victimization of children does not end when the camera 8 is put away. The pornography's continued existence causes the child victims continuing harm. In U.S. v. 9 Norris the Court said, the sheer number of instances in 10 which a child's pornographic image may be possessed and 11 12 distributed in the indelible context of the Internet is incalculable. Even after a single offender is 13 prosecuted, the images they traded, sold or posted online 14 continue to circulate to ever-widening circles of 15 offenders. Each viewing, each possession, each 16 17 distribution of an image revictimizes that child anew. 18 I am deeply troubled by the growing use of the term in courts across the United States "mere 19 20 possession." In a victim impact statement cited in 21 U.S. v. Ward the victim said, quote, "When I was told 22 how many people have viewed these images [and videos], 23 I thought my pulse would stop. Thinking about all those 24 viewing my body being ravaged and hurt like that makes 25 me feel like I was raped by each and every one of them."

1 Like any other contraband, child 2 pornography images are an illegal commodity that must 3 be combated both at the point of production and at the 4 point of distribution and possession. In Ferber the 5 Court said, "The distribution network for child 6 pornography must be closed if the production of 7 material which requires the sexual exploitation of 8 children is to be effectively controlled." 9 In Osborne the Court said, "It is surely reasonable for the state to conclude that it will 10 decrease the production of child pornography if it 11 penalizes those who possess and view the product, 12 thereby decreasing demand." 13 14 Some have argued that the sentences for many of these offenders are excessive because they, 15 quote, just look at the pictures. Mere possession. We 16 are deeply skeptical. In a 2009 article in the Journal 17 18 of Family Violence, two researchers at the Federal Bureau of Prisons reported on a study comparing two 19 20 groups of child pornography offenders. The first group 21 included men convicted of child pornography possession, 22 receipt or distribution but no hands-on sexual abuse. 23 The second included men convicted of similar offenses, 24 but with documented histories of hands-on crimes 25 against children. The researchers' analysis found that

the Internet offenders in their sample were, quote, 1 2 significantly more likely than not to have sexually 3 abused a child via a hands-on act, and that these 4 offenders tended to have multiple victims. 5 They found that upon being discovered, б these offenders tend to minimize their behavior. They 7 accept responsibility, but only for those behaviors known to law enforcement. They hide contact sexual 8 crimes to avoid prosecution and to avoid shame and 9 humiliation. The researchers also found that online 10 criminal investigations, while targeting so-called 11 12 Internet sex offenders, are resulting in the apprehension of child molesters who just happened to be 13 14 using the Internet to access the content. 15 Now, we can't tell you with certainty

what the number of child pornography offenders are who are mere possessors. We can't tell you how many are actual contact offenders, whether it's 40 percent, 60 percent, 80 percent or up, as was suggested by the Bureau of Prisons study. However, we know that a large share of the population is not merely looking at the pictures.

23 We also know that the number is far 24 greater than recognized because few of the victims tell 25 anybody. We are very pleased with the progress, and

1 the leading scholars and researchers now tell us that 2 one in three child abuse victims in this country report their abuse. However, what we're seeing today from --3 4 and admittedly anecdotal, this is not empirical 5 research, but it's 28 million anecdotes. What we're 6 seeing from our review of these images is that when 7 there is a photo or a video that memorializes the sexual abuse of a child, the reporting drops 8 precipitously. These children don't tell. They don't 9 tell because they're ashamed or embarrassed or they've 10 been threatened or manipulated. They don't tell mom, 11 12 they don't tell dad, they don't tell anybody. And even if the offender cannot be proven to have victimized a 13 14 real child, he's revictimizing the child in that photo 15 or video.

Victims of online child pornography must deal with the permanency and circulation of the images of their sexual abuse. Once an image is on the Internet, it can never be removed and it becomes a permanent record of that abuse.

21 Researchers tell us that child victims 22 experience depression, withdrawal, anger, other 23 psychological disorders that continue well into 24 adulthood. They frequently experience feelings of 25 quilt and responsibility for their abuse, as well as 1 feelings of betrayal, powerlessness, low self-esteem.
2 For children whose images are circulated online, their
3 abuse is repeated with each new viewing. In the Adam
4 Walsh Act of 2006, Congress noted, quote, that "every
5 instance of viewing images of child pornography
6 represents a renewed violation of the privacy of the
7 victims and a repetition of their abuse."

8 We're concerned about the increasing numbers of downward departures in the aftermath of 9 Booker. We're concerned about the increasing numbers 10 of token sentences given to offenders, simply because 11 12 it cannot be proven that they've committed the contact offenses. Congress did not base its enactment of these 13 14 laws on the assumption that all offenders have to be physical abusers. The goal of these laws is to address 15 this growing and deplorable form of child sexual 16 17 exploitation and to stop it.

18 As you consider refining the guidelines, which Ms. Howell mentioned in the earlier panel, which 19 20 we welcome, consider that these current base -- that 21 the current base offense level for these crimes is modest. The entry level is a base 18. It's only 22 23 enhanced by what these offenders actually do, if they 24 have large collections, if they are violent or sadistic 25 images, if the children in those images are

particularly young, if they're distributing them for 1 2 profit or other purposes. In our view, weakening the 3 guidelines and this continuing pattern of downward 4 departures and token sentences is doing, and will 5 continue to do, irreparable damage to the goal of 6 stopping child pornography and will actually put 7 countless real children at risk. It will also dilute the objective of deterrence at a time when technology 8 is emboldening these offenders. 9

10 We urge the Commission to resist the 11 clamor for change and to help us wake up the nation, 12 including its judges, about the true nature and impact 13 of this crime. The National Center for Missing and 14 Exploited Children is committed to doing everything in its power to eradicate child pornography and is deeply 15 grateful for your leadership on this issue and for the 16 17 opportunity to share our views with you. Thank you, 18 Mr. Chairman.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you,
 Mr. Allen. Judge Cassell.

JUDGE CASSELL: Thank you, Chairman Hinojosa and members of the Commission. It's nice to be back here as an academic, but hopefully not as just a pointy-headed Ivy tower academic. I want to report that I've been doing some litigation the last couple of years on crime victims' rights, and I want to share with you some of the things I've learned about how crime victims are being treated under the current federal sentencing guidelines and to continue a discussion with the Commission about what the proper role of crime victims ought to be in the sentencing process.

7 I think that discussion has to begin with one overarching fact. I know there's been a lot 8 of discussion about the extent to which judges are 9 varying or departing from the guidelines, but the fact 10 is 57 percent of the sentences, according to the 11 Commission's data, are still within the guidelines. I 12 13 think we can conclude from that that the sentencing 14 guideline calculation then is the most important determinant of a federal sentence today. Now, should 15 it be higher, should more steps be taken to solidify 16 the guidelines, we can talk about. 17

18 But given that overarching fact that 57 percent of the sentences are still determined by the 19 guidelines, how should we treat crime victims within a 20 21 system that looks at guideline calculations? And here 22 I think Congress has spoken to some extent. The Crime 23 Victims' Rights Act passed in 2004 gave crime victims 24 important rights in that process. It gave victims the 25 right to be reasonably heard at sentencing, the right

 $1 \quad$  to restitution, and the right to be treated with

2 fairness throughout the process.

3 Now, the drafters of that legislation 4 were quite clear about what Congress intended. Senator 5 Feinstein, a Democrat from California, and Senator Kyl, 6 a Republican from Arizona, explained that these changes 7 were designed to provide due process for crime victims 8 throughout the criminal justice system. They were designed to provide meaningful participation in the 9 process and to make crime victims independent 10 participants in the process, not beholden to 11 12 prosecutors or others for information about how the 13 system was working.

And more generally, these changes were designed to change the very culture of the federal criminal justice system that had too often ignored crime victims, treating them as mere witnesses in the process rather than as persons with legitimate interests in the outcome.

20 Now, against that backdrop of the Crime 21 Victims' Rights Act, let's look at what the Commission 22 has done to implement the congressional command to 23 provide meaningful participation for crime victims. To 24 its credit, in 2006, the Commission did adopt a policy 25 statement addressing crime victims' rights,

§6A1.5. Unfortunately, however, as I predicted in 1 2 testimony to the Commission in 2006, I think that 3 policy statement has proven to be essentially 4 meaningless. It does nothing more than direct judges 5 to follow the law without clarifying what the law is. 6 Proof of the ineffectiveness of the Commission's policy 7 statement, or at least its lack of impact, is shown by 8 the fact that in the last three years, it is yet to be cited in even a single published court opinion. 9

Now, speaking frankly, perhaps it was 10 the Commission's intent to do little in this area and 11 let others take the lead. I think there's a problem 12 for the Commission with this do nothing approach. The 13 14 first problem is it's simply inconsistent with the Commission's statutory charge. 28 U.S.C. § 994(a)(2) 15 directs the Commission to promulgate policy statements 16 17 on any aspect of sentencing that would further the 18 purposes of sentencing. Giving victims the right to be meaningfully heard in the sentencing process clearly 19 20 furthers the purposes of sentencing. 3553 directs 21 courts to consider the seriousness of the offense when 22 announcing a sentence; and, of course, who better than 23 a crime victim to explain the seriousness of an 24 offense.

Similarly, 3553 refers to restitution as

25

1 one of the things that a judge must consider when

2 imposing a sentence, and here again, victims rights are 3 important as part of that calculation. 4 The second problem with the Commission's 5 do nothing approach is that unfortunately for crime 6 victims, the Commission has already done something. It 7 has adopted policy statements that appear to exclude 8 victims from participating in the sentencing process. Let me give you a specific example. 9 Section 6A1.3, Resolution of Disputed 10 Factors. The policy statement there says whenever 11 12 there is a reasonable dispute about a factor, quote, 13 "the parties shall be given an adequate opportunity" to 14 be heard on that matter. The implication, of course, is that someone who's a nonparty, like a victim, shall 15 not be heard. 16 17 Let me give you a specific example of a 18 problem -- that is, a specific example of a case demonstrating these problems. This is the case of In 19 re Brock, out of the District of Maryland last year, in 20 21 which, in my view, the victim was denied a fair opportunity to be heard at sentencing. 22 23 I've given all the details in my 24 testimony, so I'll just boil it down to this: The 25 defendants pled guilty to assaulting Mr. Brock by

beating and kicking him, acts that left him unconscious 1 2 and required his quick transport to a hospital. So the 3 defendants plead guilty to that charge, and then both 4 the prosecution and the defense agreed that the 5 aggravated assault guideline should govern the 6 sentencing. The only question being an enhancement for 7 serious bodily injury. On the day of sentencing, 8 however, the district court sua sponte ruled that the crime was not an aggravated assault, but rather was a 9 mere minor assault. The basis for this conclusion was 10 said to be a portion of Mr. Brock's medical records 11 12 that the judge had read that morning. The prosecutor 13 then asked for a continuance because there had been no 14 notice that this was going to be an issue and didn't have an opportunity to present evidence showing that 15 16 there was indeed aggravated assault. The court denied 17 the prosecutor's motion for a continuance.

18 At this point, the victim in the matter, Mr. Brock, asked to be heard through counsel on the 19 subject of what were, after all, the nature of his 20 21 injuries. Mr. Brock's counsel cited then this 22 Commission's policy statement, saying that judges 23 should afford victims their rights. However, that was 24 to no avail. The district court summarily denied 25 Mr. Brock's motion and calculated the guidelines based

1 on a minor assault calculation.

2 Now, I should note this was the second 3 indignity inflicted on Mr. Brock that day. The first 4 indignity was that the district court had summarily 5 denied his access for motion to relevant parts of the 6 presentence report dealing with the guideline 7 calculation. So having denied all these motions from 8 Mr. Brock and the prosecutor, only at this point did the district court allow Mr. Brock to allocute 9 something of a meaningless exercise, at least in terms 10 of dictating or providing information about a sentence, 11 12 since the sentencing range had already been calculated. And indeed the judge ultimately gave guidelines 13 14 sentences to the two defendants.

15 Now, I recount these facts in further detail in my testimony because I don't want to be 16 accused of coming up with some sort of academic 17 18 hyperbole here, but the truth is that in federal courts today, crime victims are denied the right to be heard 19 20 on the issue of whether they themselves have been 21 seriously injured. As a matter of policy this make absolutely no sense whatsoever. District courts should 22 23 be open to hear from crime victims on the extent of 24 their injuries and on other factors that are important 25 to the sentencing of defendants. They may be able to

1 shed light on the proper calculation of the sentencing 2 quideline. I'm not here to argue that Mr. Brock would 3 necessarily have proven it was an aggravated assault, 4 but I am here to argue it would have been a fair 5 process to at least give him that opportunity. 6 Now, the Commission should, therefore, 7 adopt policy statements to ensure that victims are 8 given a meaningful voice in the sentencing process, and in my prepared testimony I give some specific 9 suggestions along those lines. 10 11 I just want to briefly draw your 12 attention to the second part of my testimony on restitution. I know that this is a subject where you 13 14 would be making recommendations to Congress rather than actual changes, but I just wanted to highlight for you 15 the fact that the judicial conference has recommended 16 17 to Congress changes in the restitution statutes, and I urge the Sentencing Commission to add its voice to the 18 judicial conference on this subject. 19 20 Just quickly, here's the problem, the 21 restitution statutes have narrow categories of restitution that are allowed: lost income, property 22 23 offense, medical expenses, funeral expenses. A 24 victim's loss has to fall into one of those categories 25 or no restitution can be awarded.

1 Let me give you an illustration of the 2 problem, a case that I handled, U.S. v. Gulla, an 3 identity theft case in which the defendant had taken 4 \$50,000 in bogus credit card charges. Now, many 5 victims had to spend considerable amounts of time. 6 They ultimately were able to clear up the credit card 7 charges, so they didn't lose any money. They didn't 8 suffer property loss in terms of the restitution statute, but some of them had to spend a week of time 9 working with the banks and others to try to resolve 10 that problem. 11

12 It seems to me that we should look at 13 what the goal of restitution is, which is to put the 14 victims back into the position they would have been in if no crime had been committed, so we should provide 15 compensation for their lost time. But that is not 16 17 possible under the current restitution statutes, and 18 there are many other illustrations of where victims have losses or have suffered harm that the district 19 20 judge would like to provide some restitution for but 21 simply is not empowered to do so because of this 22 problem of the narrow pigeon holes that restitution has 23 to fit into.

24 The solution here is to give district25 judges discretion to award restitution that is just and

proper to help restore the victim to the position the victim would have been in had no crime been committed. That's the kind of change the judicial conference has recommended at the behest of the Criminal Law Committee, and I would urge the Commission to support that recommendation as well.

7 I would be glad to answer any questions
8 that you might have about the role of crime victims or
9 other issues under the sentencing guidelines.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, sir. 10 11 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: Thank you both so 12 much for your very helpful testimony as we consider a number of issues that both of you have touched on. 13 14 Mr. Allen, I wanted to talk to you about two different things in the child pornography arena. One is we've 15 heard testimony from other witnesses at another 16 17 hearing, and I have to say I can't remember exactly who 18 it was, but it was very interesting testimony, and I wondered whether you could also comment to this. 19 20 We were told that there are changes that

you're noticing in the types of child pornography images, that because of the -- you know, in order -the urge or the desire from people who look at this stuff for new images all the time, it's fueling this market for new types of images, and that the trends

1 that people who prosecute these kinds of cases are 2 seeing is that the children are getting younger and 3 younger, and the types of activities in which they're 4 depicted engaging in are getting more and more violent. 5 And I just wondered, one, whether you б could comment on whether that is -- that is a trend 7 that you're seeing. Because this is somebody who was 8 talking about the images they were seeing in his or her own particular district, and I wondered whether you 9 could give us more of a national or international 10 perspective on this kind of trend and the types of 11 12 images.

13 MR. ALLEN: That's absolutely the case, 14 we are seeing younger and younger children being used. We're seeing more extreme, more violent, more graphic 15 type images. It's not scientific, but our analysis of 16 17 that is that there's a phenomenon that's taking place 18 in which for the first time people can access this kind of content in the privacy of their own homes with 19 20 virtual anonymity, with little risk; and what happens 21 is there's a continuing quest for something new. Yesterday's images are not going to satisfy the 22 23 collector today. So there's demand for new content all 24 the time.

25 What we're seeing in terms of these

1 groups, for example, one of the things we've done, I 2 mentioned in my written testimony, is we've tried to 3 attack the commercial side of this, because what we 4 were seeing was not only people accessing this stuff 5 and paying for it, but they were using their credit 6 cards.

7 A Texas case in which we worked with the Dallas police, and when the site was shut down, the 8 operators had 70,000 customers paying 29.95 a month and 9 using their credit cards, and so we brought together 31 10 companies, financial companies, Internet companies to 11 12 try to follow the money. This is a legal use of the payment system. There are more of these offenders than 13 14 law enforcement can possibly prosecute and bring to justice, so we're trying to use other means to attack 15 16 the demand side.

But as it's moved from commercial to noncommercial, what we're seeing is these online groups in which one of the criteria for membership in the group is that prospective new members have to provide new content that nobody has ever seen before, and so our concern is that at some point for these offenders, looking at the picture is not enough.

And the other analysis we've done on the thousands of children we've identified, is that

1 70 percent of the perpetrators are people close to 2 them, 27, 28 percent are their own parent, 10 percent 3 are other family members, 30 percent are neighbors, 4 friends, babysitters, coaches. So the concern is that 5 a kind of contagion develops, and part of the -- of the 6 ability in this era of digital technology for providing 7 new content for membership in these sites simply to 8 create your own. So what your other witness testified to is exactly what we're seeing, and we're really 9 disturbed about it. 10

11 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: Let me ask one 12 other question on this area, and it's something that we 13 had a discussion about with the U.S. Attorney in 14 Chicago, at our last hearing in Chicago, where he talked about something that we on the Commission also 15 have felt that we needed to do, is more education of 16 17 the judges about the nature of this crime, and we're 18 going to be issuing, you know, fairly shortly, one of the beginning papers on that. And I was really 19 interested to hear what -- what kind of educational 20 21 efforts you think that we should be undertaking as a 22 Commission, given our fairly small purview in this 23 arena.

24 MR. ALLEN: Well, first, I'm25 enthusiastic. I heard that in the previous panel, your

1 suggestion about doing education for judges. It's 2 enormously important. I was also gratified to hear 3 from, I think, Judge Castillo that more of the judges 4 are now actually looking at the evidence. 5 One of the -- perhaps the greatest б barrier we have to overcome is that people don't 7 understand what this content is, what it really is, and we can't show it to the public. And so that's why we 8 hear these things about 20-year-olds in pigtails in 9

11 That's not what the problem is. And what the problem 12 is is very serious.

cheerleader outfits made to look like they're 15.

10

13 I don't know how you effectively educate 14 without exposing whomever you're educating to the 15 content, so I think it's important to reiterate these points, that this has nothing to do with free speech 16 17 and actually is not pornography. These are images of 18 sexual abuse. And so the more that people at all levels -- not just judges, I think the American people 19 don't understand that, I think most policymakers don't 20 21 understand that, so we are enthusiastic about any effort to educate judges about it and educate others 22 23 about it and, obviously, would be willing to advise or 24 assist or help in any way we can.

25 VICE CHAIR CASTILLO: I do agree,

1 Mr. Allen, that education has to be a key part of this 2 for judges. I am disturbed by the number of my fellow 3 judges who are downwardly departing in this area, and I 4 think not only do we need to educate judges, but I 5 would like to see some kind of education out there for б the general public. Most of these offenders don't even 7 have a clue that Congress has enacted penalties that 8 are along the lines that they face, and one of the first things that happens when these cases end up in 9 federal court is that defense attorneys, rightfully 10 representing these offenders, try and focus on the 11 12 pathetic nature of some of these offenders, either because of their physical condition, mental condition. 13 14 A lot of them will go out and get psychological reports first thing because they feel that there is an issue 15 there, and a lot of times, frankly, there is, because 16 17 these psychological reports come back to the judge 18 showing some type of problem. 19 So I think a big education effort is

20 really called for, and I think your testimony to us is 21 helpful in that regard, so I would look forward to some 22 type of future joint work together in this area. 23 MR. ALLEN: We would be honored to do 24 that. And one additional thought that we see all the 25 time is there's sort of two ends of the defendant

spectrum here. One is sort of the sad-sack who has no 1 2 other options in life. The other, and even more 3 difficult, is the pillar of the community, because the 4 reality is what we're learning here is that these 5 defendants do not match society's stereotype; and 6 invariably these are defendants without prior criminal 7 history, people who have families, who are married with 8 children, who are gainfully employed, who are doing prominent things, and we get asked all the time why do 9 you want to ruin this person's life. And I think what 10 we argue for is perspective. 11

12 You know, it bothers me the recent case 13 of a school teacher with thousands of images on a 14 computer who, because there was no evidence of physical 15 offense, was sentenced to one day in jail, well below the threshold in your guidelines. So, you know, our --16 17 our message is not that they need to be locked away for 18 the rest of their lives. Our message is that the penalties need to be serious and need to convey the 19 seriousness of the crime, because if they're not, what 20 21 we do is make it worse. What we do is feed the market, the growing market for this kind of stuff. So, Judge, 22 23 we would be honored to assist in any way we can. 24 COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: Judge Cassell, 25 I appreciate your testimony on enhancing the role of

victims at sentencing. I wanted to ask you a broader
 question regarding sort of the future of federal
 sentencing in this advisory guideline regime we're
 functioning under now.

5 Following *Blakely* and then again б following Booker, you authored a number of decisions 7 that really gave guidance to your colleagues across the 8 country. You were one of the first judges interpreting those decisions and you accurately predicted, following 9 Blakely, that the federal quidelines would be declared 10 unconstitutional. You didn't, just like about anyone 11 12 else, didn't predict the remedial opinion. But following Booker, you engaged in a number of decisions 13 14 and debates with Judge Adelman regarding the proper weight to give guidelines. And, correct me if I'm 15 wrong, but my recollection is your view was that the 16 17 guidelines should be given considerable weight. You 18 gave some strong compelling reasons, I thought, on why factors such as socioeconomic conditions of an offender 19 should not be considered, consistent with Congress' 20 21 directive in 3553(a) to the Commission. Since you've left the bench, however, 22

23 the Supreme Court has issued a number of more decisions 24 further defining what it meant by advisory guideline 25 regime and reasonableness review, and now we're in a situation where, I think, that the case law is evolving much more like Judge Adelman's view, and the guidelines are just a factor.

I know you expressed in some of your decisions right after *Booker* the view that Congress shouldn't take any action, that the system could function, but you also expressed the view that the way to avoid unwarranted disparity was to give great weight to the guidelines, and in some courts across the country that's not occurring.

11 You mentioned the 57 percent statistics 12 and that, of course, is a national average. The fact 13 remains, though, that in certain regions of the country 14 that statistic is much lower. So I'm interested, given the fact that you haven't been on the bench since Gall 15 16 and *Kimbrough*, what your perspective is now, what you see as the Commission's role moving forward in trying 17 18 to achieve the goals of the Sentencing Reform Act. 19 JUDGE CASSELL: I think we could be 20 getting pretty close to a tipping point where the 21 sentencing guideline scheme somewhat collapses. I suppose when the number drops from 57 percent to 49 22 23 percent, then we would have to say that, well, did we 24 really have a guideline system at that point.

I mean, I understand that there are

25

additional add-ons. I understand that there are, you know, government-sponsored departures and so forth, so maybe that would be academic hyperbole to say we would just be at 49 percent. But I don't think anyone can deny the fact that we're seeing more and more judges around the country departing from the guidelines for what appear to be their own personal reasons.

8 Now, typically those are gussied up in a way that is very difficult for an appellate court to 9 reverse or review. There is acknowledgment, a bow made 10 to the guidelines, but I think we all have to concede 11 12 that what's going on in many of these cases is the judge just has a personal sentencing philosophy that's 13 14 at variance with -- variance is maybe a term of art -at odds with what the sentencing guidelines' drafters 15 believe and what other judges around the country, if 16 17 they're following the guidelines, believe.

18 Child pornography may be an illustration of that. There seems to be differing opinions around 19 20 the country as to how serious the offense is. 21 Mr. Allen has articulated, I think, a pretty strong case in defense of the current regime that the 22 23 Sentencing Commission has laid out, but I think there 24 are some judges who don't buy into that and are now 25 starting to vary or depart in ways that are,

essentially, unreviewable on appeal. I know as a practical matter they can be reviewed, but the reasonableness standard now is becoming, I think, so lax that it's very difficult if somebody knows what they're doing, and the federal district court judges do know what they're doing on this subject, it's very difficult to come up with any kind of a reversal.

8 So where do we go from here. I don't know, that's the difficult question. One is I guess we 9 can just muddle along, but I think we all know what's 10 going to happen if we muddle along, somebody is going 11 12 to run an academic study to show that the system is now going back to the problems that produced the sentencing 13 14 guidelines to begin with. We're going to start seeing racial disparities, geographic disparities, 15

16 judge-to-judge disparities, which was the whole reason 17 for the system to start with.

So what can we do to solve this. 18 The grand bargain might be to see if we could somehow relax 19 20 the mandatory minimums and make the guidelines a bit 21 more binding. We live in the weirdest of worlds where if you're charged with a mandatory minimum offense, the 22 23 judge has zero discretion; but if you're charged with 24 anything else, the judge essentially has close to 25 unlimited discretion. It seems to me there ought to be

1 some way to meet in the middle on that.

2 The other way to get there might be strengthen appellate review. I understand what the 3 4 Supreme Court has done interpreting the statutes as 5 they're currently drafted, but I do think that might be 6 the kind of change that everyone could perhaps come to 7 the table and agree with, that whatever we think about 8 judicial discretion, it may not be best, ultimately, part at the district court level where it's essentially 9 unreviewable and individual philosophies can drive the 10 system. So that's one academic perspective on all 11 12 this.

13 VICE CHAIR CARR: Judge Cassell, I spent 14 a couple dozen years as an assistant U.S. attorney, and 15 one of the things that I think a lot of line criminal prosecutors just weren't thrilled about was complying 16 17 with the victim side of the Victim Witness Protection 18 Act. It was sort of up there with doing the additional investigation necessary to draft a forfeiture account 19 20 or to bringing the IRS into a nontax case. One thing 21 that we're hearing anecdotally right now is that in order to get the sentences they were getting when the 22 23 guidelines were mandatory, it's actually helpful if 24 they make sure that they introduce the victim and the 25 victim's side of the story to the judge. Do you think

it would also be useful if the judges should be 1 2 schooled in the fact that I should be hearing from the 3 victim and letting the probation office know I have to 4 hear from the victim in order for me to do my job? 5 JUDGE CASSELL: Absolutely. I think б that raises a couple of good points. One is I think 7 that the sentencing process itself should be folding victims in automatically. One of the changes that I've 8 recommended the Commission make in its policy 9 statements is a requirement that victim impact evidence 10 be included in the victim impact statement and that the 11 12 probation officers affirmatively seek out victims and determine whether or not they want to provide victim 13 14 impact information.

Should judges be hearing from victims 15 more often? I think they should, although I would 16 17 phrase it just slightly differently than the way you did. I don't think that this should be some sort of a 18 ploy for prosecutors to get longer sentences. It's 19 20 true that in many cases crime victims are asking for a 21 longer sentence, but in many other cases they're not. 22 Many other cases they want maybe restitution and that 23 may involve putting the defendant on some kind of work 24 release program or something like that.

25 Other times they simply want to be heard

1 about whether their injuries were serious or not and 2 then let the judge make the appropriate determination 3 of what to do in an aggravated assault case, having 4 heard about the details of the injury. 5 So what I do think we need is to figure 6 out ways to get courts hearing from victims more often, 7 because that's, after all, the overarching factor, I think in 3553, is what is the seriousness of the 8 offense. Nobody in the world knows that better than 9 the victim of a crime. 10

11 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Judge Cassell, 12 don't you think the present statute provides that opportunity from the standpoint of a probation officer 13 14 is supposed to contact the victim? And I know in our district, when I sentence somebody, I have received a 15 signed copy of all sorts of descriptions from the 16 17 victim as to how they feel about this. They can 18 attach, you know, financial losses. They can attach medical losses. There's questions that talk about 19 injuries that are other than physical. And I insist on 20 21 making sure the probation officer complies with that because I find it helpful with regards to the 22 23 sentencing.

Isn't this more of a problem of lack of education on the part of some courts knowing that this is required as opposed to more of any other type of
 problem that is created by this? I mean, it's more of
 a lack of knowledge about the act itself.

4 JUDGE CASSELL: I think you're on to 5 something. I think there certainly are educational 6 issues, but I guess the one thing I would caution 7 against is it seems like every time the crime victims 8 community goes somewhere, we're told, hey, you're parking yourself at the wrong door. We went to the 9 advisory committee on rules of criminal procedures, as 10 Commissioner Wroblewski knows, and we were told, well, 11 12 this is an issue for the courts to work out. So the 13 courts work out -- you know, start dealing with this, 14 and they say, well, we're just following the Sentencing 15 Commission guidelines. And then we come to the Sentencing Commission, and we're told it's an 16 17 educational issue.

18 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: One thing the Commission could do is when we talk about what we have 19 20 put in there is basically provide training on the 21 statute itself, and certainly the Criminal Law Committee can insist that the probation officers get 22 23 good training about what their responsibility is. You 24 know, it's hard for us to -- you know what the jurisdictional issues are there. But nevertheless, I 25

1 think it's a point well taken about there is a lack of 2 education on the part of some courts as to what is 3 required by the statute itself.

4 JUDGE CASSELL: I think there are 5 educational issues, but I do think you have policy б statements right now that envision a world in which 7 crime victims don't participate in the sentencing 8 process, and I've given some specific examples in my testimony. I think if you're going to say, well, we're 9 going to at least wash our hands of this or stay out of 10 it, then you ought to write those policy statements in 11 a neutral fashion that does not bar crime victims from 12 13 arguing that they have the opportunity to be heard.

14 I'd urge you to go even further and say, well, wait a minute, there's nothing wrong with hearing 15 16 from victims on these guideline issues, let's bring 17 them on in; let's listen to them. The truth is, it's 18 not going to happen all that often. I mean, you know how many times crime victims come to your court to 19 provide, you know, victim impact evidence and so forth. 20 21 I don't know what the statistics would be.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Well, the vast majority, as you know, of federal cases don't have individual victims. It's society as a whole that's a victim when it comes to immigration, when it comes to

drug trafficking. And that's something that we as 1 2 judges have -- we have to remind ourselves that there 3 are victims. It's society as a whole. 4 JUDGE CASSELL: Right. 5 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: I really б appreciate your comments about the broader picture, 7 this balancing, perhaps, a more structured guideline 8 system with the reduction or elimination of mandatory minimums, and, of course, the prerequisite -- or the 9 given has to be that Congress gets involved in the 10 discussion about the elimination of mandatory minimums; 11 12 and if you can figure out how that can be done, please 13 share that with us. 14 My question is, your recommendation in regard to release of information in presentence reports 15 to victims, obviously, that's a very significant change 16 17 from the way things work at this point. 18 Confidentiality is just one of the problems, but more than that, it obviously is going to -- would require 19 20 probation officers to be able to pick and choose what 21 should be released, et cetera. If, in fact, you're 22 just releasing how they make calculations in regard to 23 drug quantities or loss amounts or enhancements, those, 24 of course, are obviously subject to review from a judge 25 and may very well be changed.

How do you do that? I mean, how do you actually in -- I mean, from a judge's perspective, and you certainly can testify to that, how could we change the system so that, in fact, information that would be of value to a victim can be shared from a presentence report?

7 JUDGE CASSELL: Obviously there are 8 questions of how far do you want to go, and I 9 understand they're competing concerns. The victim's 10 movement, I don't think, would say, look, we want to 11 know whether the defendant has been sexually abused as 12 a child, so there are some boundaries here.

13 But let's start with what I think is the 14 easy case. There's typically a single page in every presentence report that has the guideline calculation, 15 the base level of 18, a couple of extra images, 16 whatever it may be. I don't see any legitimate 17 18 confidentiality concerns about turning over that particular page to the crime victim so the crime victim 19 20 could say, hey, wait a minute, you're a calling this a 21 minor assault, it was a serious assault, let me explain 22 to you why. So it seems to me that would be the 23 starting point.

I think related to that should be the offense conduct, because those calculations are

typically driven by the description of the offense 1 2 which is found in another part of the presentence report. I think that's, frankly, what the victim's 3 4 movement would like to see turned over to crime 5 victims. Because then they could say, well, wait a 6 minute, this sentencing guideline range is too low, we 7 think it should be higher, we think it's about right, 8 we want to argue for it within the guideline range and we want to argue for a below guideline range sentence. 9 10 Right now, though, we live in a world where crime victims are denied the one piece of 11 12 information that everybody else in the room has, which is the single most important information about 13 14 sentencing, what the guideline range is. Congress has demanded that crime victims be given a right to 15 16 meaningful participation in the process. They cannot 17 meaningfully participate without that core information 18 of what the sentencing guideline range is and how it was calculated. 19

20 COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: Judge Cassell, 21 are the guideline calculations, is that page sufficient 22 or do you really need that offense conduct? I asked 23 probation officers earlier about your recommendation, 24 and one of them expressed the concern that some of the 25 information that relates to the offense conduct -- or

statement, not the offense, comes from sources that 1 2 they don't want revealed, and that's a concern, that 3 that not be revealed inadvertently by a prosecutor 4 who's responding to a request from a victim, and will 5 individuals be less willing to help probation and speak 6 to probation in their investigation. So I guess my 7 question is would you be content with simply the 8 guideline calculations or do you need that added more difficult information? 9

JUDGE CASSELL: Well, I think the 10 victims' movement needs both pieces of information 11 12 because otherwise it's just a black box. It's an offense level of 18. Oh, really? Why? Well, don't 13 14 tell us because there might be confidential information. It seems to me that the better approach 15 would be to say, okay, it's an offense level of 18, 16 here's how we got there, and then let the government 17 18 file a motion in the very, very rare case where there's confidential information. 19

I guess my experience has not been that, at least in victims' cases we've been talking about, that there is a lot of confidential information. As Chairman Hinojosa was talking about, yeah, there are a lot of cases out there, drug cases, you know, national security cases, other cases like that where you're going to have confidential information, but the victim's cases aren't like that. Those are fraud cases, they're assault cases, you know, personal injury type of cases where there isn't likely to be a concern about confidential information in the ordinary situation.

7 So I would say the default rule would be 8 victims get access to that and then let somebody make a motion if there's a problem. Remember that information 9 is already going over to the defense attorney and the 10 defendant, who typically would be the one person in the 11 12 world who's most likely to go out and intimidate witnesses or do what the other problems are. So if 13 14 we've figured out how to deal with giving that information to defendants, I think we can give it to 15 16 victims also.

17 COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: How do you deal 18 with the practicalities of the fraud case in which 19 there's 5,000 victims?

JUDGE CASSELL: Just put it up on a website. That's what the Justice Department has been doing in some of the large fraud cases now, and I think is very successful.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: How do yourespond to people who say this would philosophically

1 change the way we have viewed our criminal justice 2 system, that the style of the case is the People of the 3 United States versus the defendant, it's not the victim 4 versus the defendant, and Congress or a state 5 legislature has made a decision that a particular б action -- act by a particular individual is a crime 7 that's -- is a crime viewed by society as a crime, and 8 that society as a whole is prosecuting that particular defendant, and that you've got the United States, for 9 example, in federal court being represented by the U.S. 10 Attorney, and then you've got the defense attorney, and 11 12 then you also have the avenues provided by the Victim Protection Act and the different pieces of legislation 13 14 that have indicated how the victim brings input into the system. And that this would totally change --15 16 although a victim has a right to bring a civil case, 17 for example, with regards to certain matters as to how 18 they've been individually hurt, and that this would totally change the philosophical viewpoint that we've 19 20 had in this country; that this is an action on the part 21 of society as a whole versus a defendant; and that a 22 victim is in some ways a part of the system that has 23 had input, because you've made the report, officers 24 have investigated this, have put it in all the forms, 25 all this is available to the court with regards to what

happened in this case. There's an opportunity to go 1 2 ahead and respond with regards to any information that 3 is sent by the probation officer and requested, and 4 that that's the input that the victim has had, but that 5 this is a prosecution by the people as a whole, not the 6 victim versus a defendant, and there's people who 7 question wouldn't this change the whole view that we've 8 had in this country about what this prosecution is. 9 JUDGE CASSELL: Yes, and I think that's a good thing. Call me a liberal on this, but I 10 think times have changed. 11 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: I don't know 12 13 that it's liberal or conservative. There are some who 14 argue this would be a totally different system that 15 would be set up. JUDGE CASSELL: I think that's exactly 16 17 right. I think what those people are saying is we liked the world before 2004, but in 2004 Congress said, 18 doggone it, the world is changing. There are competing 19 points of view on this, and we're agreeing with the 20 21 crime victims' community that crime victims are now going to have a radically changed role in the criminal 22 23 justice process. 24 If you look at the legislative history,

if you look at the statute, it's quite clear that the

1 kinds of things that you were describing are

2 inconsistent with what Congress wanted when it passed 3 the Crime Victims' Rights Act. They wanted meaningful 4 participation for crime victims in the sentencing 5 process, and indeed in every part of the criminal 6 justice process, but I'm talking about sentencing today 7 because that's your mandate.

8 Let me make one other point, though. Maybe you say, look, I don't want to change the world, 9 I'm kind of a conservative, we're a conservative 10 institution here, we want to take it one step at a 11 12 time. I'm really not arguing for all that much. Let's 13 look at the Brock case that I talked about. Everybody 14 figured out the sentencing guidelines, and then when they'd done the real work, they turned to Mr. Brock and 15 said, do you want to be heard. It doesn't take any 16 more time to say to Mr. Brock, well, we'll hear you at 17 18 the start of the process; and if you've got a few points to make about the sentencing guidelines, go 19 ahead. 20

That really doesn't change the world all that much, but it does in this sense: It gives Mr. Brock a real fair opportunity to be involved in the process and a real fair opportunity to perhaps make a substantive difference in the sentence that's

1 ultimately imposed in that case. It wouldn't have 2 taken the judge any more time to hear from him first instead of hear from him last, and I think it would 3 4 have been better for all concerned if that's what would 5 have been done in that case, and I urge the Commission 6 to draft some policy statements to make sure that 7 that's the routine practice around the country rather 8 than leaving it up to judge to judge to figure out what are they going to do to hear from crime victims. 9 10 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Can I just follow up on that just for a second. Take the Brock case, you 11 12 just said, well, have Mr. Brock testify at the very beginning and his testimony would be relevant to 13 14 both -- well, to the guidelines factors. To what extent would the defendant then have the right to 15 cross-examine Mr. Brock because his testimony is being 16 17 used against him to increase his penalties? 18 JUDGE CASSELL: Right. And there are procedural due process issues whenever victims are 19 20 providing factual information that goes to the heart of 21 the sentence, and the victims' community is prepared to give, obviously, due process. We would urge the 22 23 Commission to provide due process.

Now, that gets to be a prettycomplicated question, does due process require

1 cross-examination of Mr. Brock? Maybe, maybe not.

You'd have to look at the circumstances in the case. I would be prepared to argue that it does not necessarily involve cross-examination of Mr. Brock, but it might in some cases, so potentially there is going to be that -you know, some sort of need to accommodate the defendant's due process interests.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: I would like to 8 say that I've had witnesses testify and nobody has 9 ever -- that are victims and they've been 10 cross-examined. It never dawned on me that there would 11 12 be no cross-examination and nobody seemed to object to it, and it worked quite well and it was certainly 13 14 before I made the determination on the guidelines. It wasn't that they had access to what the guideline 15 determinations were, but they wanted to be heard, they 16 17 wanted to present evidence with regards to what their losses were and how they felt about it, but they were 18 cross-examined and it didn't seem to work poorly. 19

JUDGE CASSELL: Right. I mean, I guess it would depend on what they're saying. If they're saying my medical records show I suffered a broken arm or something and the defense wants to dispute that, that's fine. If Mr. Brock wants to go on to say and I think this guy should get ten years in prison or 1 something, cross-examination on that seems to me to be 2 inappropriate because that's the allocution phase of 3 the victim impact statement. Just as the government, 4 you know, doesn't get to cross-examine a defendant, or 5 something like that.

6 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Traditionally the 7 victims are participating in the allocution part at the 8 very end, and the reason that you object to this is 9 that the testimony of the victim has no bearing upon 10 the offense levels.

11 JUDGE CASSELL: Right.

12 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: In our court, 13 victims always will stand up and make a statement, and 14 only if they have something to say which would impact 15 the offense level would there be a right of

16 cross-examination.

JUDGE CASSELL: Well, it may be a 17 18 question here of sort of administering things. Maybe if the judge waits to calculate the guideline until the 19 20 victim allocution is completed or makes a provisional 21 calculation. I mean, there are different ways of dealing with this. The problem is when something 22 23 happens like what happened in the Brock case, the 24 victim says, wait, no, I want to be heard, I was 25 injured; and the judge says, doggone it, no, I'm not

going to listen to you. That's the problem that we 1 2 have, and I think the Sentencing Commission should make 3 clear that's not the right way to do it. 4 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Did the judge 5 say that or did the judge say I already have the 6 medical information? The judge just bluntly said I 7 don't want to hear from you and I'm not interested in 8 whether you were seriously injured? 9 JUDGE CASSELL: Yeah. I mean, I want to be fair to the judge, it wasn't a one-sentence, I'm not 10 going to listen to you. There was more involved. 11 12 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: There was an 13 explanation as to what he had already looked at, I 14 guess. 15 JUDGE CASSELL: The explanation was --16 and again, I'm summarizing here, and to be fair to the 17 judge, you should look at the whole transcript, but I 18 think a fair summary is this: A victim impact statement had been filed in written form that morning, 19 and the judge said, well, I've read that. But the 20 21 attorney for the victim had some specific reasons for 22 wanting to be heard on the aggravated assault issue, 23 including reasons for believing that the hospital 24 records -- the judge had pulled a piece of the hospital 25 record out that said the victim's report of pain was

moderate or something. So, well, it's only moderate pain, it's not aggravated assault. The victim wanted to be heard on why that piece of the record was being taken out of context, talking about a later point in the hospital admission rather than the earlier part; and the judge said, I'm just not going to listen to you.

8 Also remember, the Department of Justice wanted to be heard. They wanted a continuance to try 9 10 to get some of the hospital information there, but they were denied that opportunity as well. So then maybe 11 12 you chalk this up to just, well, bad judge, bad result. Again, maybe I'm being unfair to the judge here, that 13 14 might be a conclusion that some people draw, but I think there's a larger issue lurking here in that the 15 16 judge is just following the standard operating 17 procedure in this country, which is to figure out what 18 the sentencing guidelines are and then bring the victim in at the last minute as kind of window dressing, and 19 20 that's not the way we should be doing things.

21 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: Isn't the best 22 process the one that Judge Hinojosa mentioned earlier, 23 which is that the probation officer, as part of the 24 presentence investigation, reaches out to the victim 25 and reaches out to the defendant, reaches out to all

the people involved, collects the information, it's put 1 2 in the preliminary presentence report, there's an opportunity for both sides, for both parties, to object 3 4 to it. In your vision, there would also be an 5 opportunity for the victim to object to it. There's б notice of -- everybody has process that way. If 7 there's continued dispute, then there may have to be evidence brought in, but that would be the normal and, 8 I think, the better process, wouldn't it? 9 10 JUDGE CASSELL: I think it would. Ιt actually would be -- maybe I could get some of the 11 defense attorneys in the crowd here today to endorse 12 some of this because it provides additional notice to 13 everyone. Now, the one footnote to that is I think, 14 you know, in the Brock case the victim was represented 15 by counsel. I think we have to recognize the fact that 16 17 the vast majority of crime victims cannot afford legal counsel, at least until we have a Gideon v. 18 Wainwright moment for crime victims in this country. 19 20 So I think the Commission's guidelines 21 have to understand that the Brock case is atypical in 22 one sense, he was represented by a very able attorney, 23 Russell Butler, who is in the Maryland Crime Victims' 24 [Resource Center] that knows how the Crime Victims' 25 Rights Act works. If victims are getting thrown out on

victim impact statements because they didn't follow some procedural requirement that they're unaware of, I think there has to be accommodation for them, just as we accommodate pro se litigants in other aspects of our justice system. б ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: I don't think we have any more questions, and thanks again for sharing your thoughts and for taking time from your schedules to be here, and it's nice to see you all. ... The hearing was adjourned at 4:58 p.m. 

1 THE UNITED STATES SENTENCING COMMISSION 2 PUBLIC HEARING 3 4 5 Wednesday, October 21, 2009 б 7 The public hearing reconvened in the Mineral 8 Room at the Hyatt Regency Denver at Colorado Convention 9 Center, 650 - 15th Street, Denver, Colorado, at 9:08 a.m., the Hon. Ricardo H. Hinojosa, Acting Chair, 10 11 presiding. 12 13 COMMISSIONERS PRESENT: 14 Acting Chair: Judge Ricardo H. Hinojosa 15 Vice Chair: William B. Carr, Jr. Judge Ruben Castillo 16 Judge William K. Sessions III 17 Commissioners: Dabney Friedrich Beryl A. Howell 18 Jonathan J. Wroblewski 19 STAFF PRESENT: 20 21 Judith W. Sheon, Staff Director 22 Brent Newton, Deputy Staff Director 23 24 25

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ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Good morning. This is the second day of our public hearings here in Denver. On behalf of the Commission, again, I would like to thank all of the participants who have taken time from their busy schedules to be here and share their thoughts with us.

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8 This morning we are very fortunate with our first panel to have three district court judges to 9 share their thoughts with us with regards to the status 10 of federal sentencing in the United States. We have 11 12 first Judge Robert W. Pratt, who has served as a district judge in the Southern District of Iowa since 13 14 his confirmation in 1997 and as chief judge of the District of Iowa since in 2006. Prior to his 15 16 appointment, Judge Pratt was in private practice. He 17 also earned his BA from Lawrence College in 1969 -well, I didn't have to say the year, right -- and his 18 JD from Creighton University. 19

20 We also have Judge Fernando Gaitan, Jr., 21 who has served as a federal district judge on the 22 Western District of Missouri since his confirmation in 23 1991 and has served as chief judge of the district 24 since 2007. He previously served as a judge on the 25 Missouri Court of Appeals and the 16th Judicial Circuit

Court of Missouri. Chief Judge Gaitan holds a 1 2 bachelor's from Pittsburgh State University and law 3 degree from the University of Missouri Kansas City. 4 We also have Judge Joan Ericksen, who 5 has served as a federal district judge in the District б of Minnesota since her confirmation in 2002. She 7 previously served as an associate justice of the 8 Minnesota Supreme Court and as a judge in Minnesota's Fourth Judicial District Court, and she has also served 9 as an assistant U.S. attorney for the District of 10 Minnesota in the past, and she received her BA from 11 St. Olaf College in 1977 and her JD degree from the 12 13 University of Minnesota Law School. 14 For some reason they decided to put your years in this particular panel, which they didn't do 15

16 with regards to the other panel, so I'm sorry if I read 17 some of these years. Is there a particular order that 18 you all want to start in? Judge Pratt, did you want to 19 go first?

JUDGE PRATT: That would be fine. Judge Hinojosa and the rest of the commissioners, thank you for asking me to be here. Anytime anybody has to listen to me, I am grateful, and this is such an important subject that all three branches of government recognize, that any input I can have in it, I'm 1 grateful for, so I tried to prepare my written

testimony in response to the questions that Ms. Grilli sent me. And it's such a broad topic, that I guess focusing on what I think is, quote, most important is difficult at best.

б The broad question about how federal 7 sentencing can be improved is, to me, the most 8 important. And the Commission, I know, has little to do with this, but it is a broad question about how we 9 can improve it, and the stickler for me in all this, I 10 think I agree with almost everyone who thinks that the 11 12 guidelines are better now post-Booker. Having said 13 that, instances of incredible injustice continue to 14 arise, at least in my court from my personal 15 experience, almost all of them related to either 16 mandatory minimum sentences or even, more importantly, 17 sentencing enhancements where I'm not in charge of this 18 sentence.

While I think all of the work that's gone into, I think it was Justice Scalia that said you junior legislators, all of the work that has gone into your work is really frustrated, in my view, by the Congress intervening and doing away with the advisory guideline system in effect by mandating sentences. The best I can do is, you know, come down to people who 1 appear in front of me.

2 And I quess timing is important here. 3 Let me give you an example, because that's -- that's, 4 to me, the most important part of sentencing is, you 5 know, the individual assessment that we know that б defendants are entitled to. We had a young man 7 profiled in my paper, the Des Moines Register, on Sunday, Reed Prior. He was the son of a successful 8 high school football coach and educated at Roosevelt 9 High School in Des Moines, Grinnell College, University 10 of Iowa, a school teacher from a family of educators. 11 He got into the drug addiction in college, had a drug 12 felony, quote, unquote, in Iowa, one in Arizona, never 13 14 spent a day in jail. Arrested in Iowa 1995, before I 15 was on the bench. Our Senior Judge Longstaff gave him a mandated life sentence. Last December President Bush 16 17 commuted the sentence.

The story which I consider compelling, 18 Fred Fielding, counsel, was quoted in the article as 19 saying the system failed this man. He spent the last 20 21 23 years of his life in Greenville Prison educating 22 prisoners, you know, GED, et cetera, et cetera. I've 23 had numerous Reed Priors that have appeared in front of 24 me where the government is in charge of the sentence, 25 and I'm very frustrated when that happens. What I

tried to say in my presentation was I think we're now at the point where, for the first time, the United States Attorney, the charging authority who has this broad discretion that we all know about, now has to answer the question that Justice Sutherland posed in *Berger*, what's just.

7 In our previous two sentencing regimes, 8 that of where the judge could give any sentence from nothing to the maximum, the U.S. Attorney played no 9 part in [it]. In the second regime, mandatory guidelines, 10 the U.S. attorney was responsible for proving 11 12 sentencing facts in the law. We now have a sentence where I think the U.S. Attorney has to ask themselves, 13 14 at the end, is this a substantively just sentence. And I think if the Congress can do away with these 15 mandatory minimums and we can get back to trusting 16 17 judges, with the input of the Sentencing Commission, I 18 think we're going to have a much better system. 19 So if I could concentrate, as I think I 20 must, on a couple of areas, mandatory minimums and 21 sentencing enhancements are the most important part of, 22 quote, sentencing reform that I think can make our system better. Thank you. 23 24 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, Judge

25 Pratt. Judge Gaitan.

1 JUDGE GAITAN: Mr. Chair, members of the 2 Commission, their staff, my fellow judges and guests, I 3 come to you this morning not from Kansas City, which is 4 where I sit most of the time, but from New York City. I was there participating in an ERISA panel for which, 5 б as many of you may know, is a very esoteric area of the 7 law, which required a lot of preparation for me, and I 8 wasn't sure why they asked me to be there, except they found a half a dozen cases that I decided they found 9 intriguing, and so they wanted to talk to me about 10 that. But when I got the invitation to come here, I 11 12 just could not pass this opportunity off; and so with the help of staff, I was able to schedule it so I could 13 14 do them both.

I didn't submit a written opening statement because I, quite frankly, didn't have the time, but between New York and Kansas City -- excuse me, and Denver, I put something together, and I'd like to just read from it briefly.

First, the reason why I couldn't pass is the work that we do in sentencing as district judges probably ranks among the most important functions that we are required to do. It's gut-wrenching, and, sure, we face hardened criminals almost daily in sentencing -- well, pretty much daily in sentencing

1 responsibilities. We also face citizens who made bad 2 choices, not necessarily because they're bad people. 3 As stated, I began my career as a United 4 States district judge in 1991, having served both on 5 the state trial and appellate court for nearly 11 б years. In contemplating my transition to the federal 7 court, I knew it would be a challenge, especially when 8 I knew I was coming from a situation where the trial judges in state court were operating without the 9 benefit, or lack thereof, of sentencing guidelines, 10 where we had more discretion to exercise and more 11 12 flexibility to exercise in our sentencing decision, 13 where we could base our decisions on the unique 14 features of the individual and the crime. Probation officers provided us with the history that we needed, 15 and then we had to sit down and make those tough 16 17 decisions. At the end of the day, I was able to look 18 myself in the mirror and say my decision was reasoned 19 and fair.

I was not sure how that was going to work in the federal system, and it indeed did change. The sentencing guidelines did not allow me that independence. They were complex and difficult to comprehend. In some cases unreasonable in their calculation of sentencing ranges as applied to certain

1 defendants. There were too many times, especially in 2 drug cases, when I was compelled to sentence young 3 defendants to punishment that was extremely difficult 4 for me to comprehend and dispense, yet I had to look 5 these defendants in the face and pretend the punishment б was just, when I did not believe it to be so. 7 While the guidelines provide some 8 flexibility in the form of departures and variances, these variances were only possible when I could place 9 the defendant or the facts outside the heartland of 10 cases as defined by the guidelines in many of those 11 12 cases. These opportunities proved difficult for 13 various reasons. The guidelines were seen by the 14 attorney general, the assistant United States attorney general and the appellate courts as sentencing bibles 15 with few exceptions, and only where extraordinary 16 17 circumstances existed as judged by some appellate 18 courts.

Hence, as a judge, I felt like a small or nonplayer in the critical sentencing decisions. I relied upon the probation office to compute the appropriate guideline range. Thereafter, defense counsel would argue for some perceived crack in the guideline wall to give their -- to argue either for a downward departure or a variance. The assistant United 1 States attorneys would usually argue for the high end 2 of the range, unless they felt some compassion for a 3 particular defendant. Unless there was a particularly 4 heinous crime, I would exercise what little discretion 5 I had to sentence the defendant at the low end of the 6 guideline range.

7 In other cases, if the defendant 8 cooperated at a level acceptable by the U.S. Attorney's Office, the AUSA would file a 5K1.1 motion, giving the 9 court the opportunity to sentence below the quideline 10 11 range. That sentence, however, must be based upon a 12 degree of cooperation as assessed by the AUSA. The 13 appellate courts usually favored the government's 14 assessment of that cooperation when an appeal was 15 taken. However, it did provide me an opportunity to 16 pronounce a sentence, a fair sentence, if I could state 17 the degree of cooperation to support that variance. 18 However, that's a very difficult task for me unless that cooperation was shown by that individual 19 20 testifying in that case in front of me; otherwise, I 21 had to rely again upon the presentence report, and 22 oftentimes these presentence reports are the product of 23 the probation officer talking to the U.S. attorney. 24 This all changed after Booker, Rita and 25 Gall. Now I am again a major participant in the

1 sentencing process. The sentencing guidelines are an 2 invaluable starting point, they always have been, but 3 now I am free to consider the very important factors 4 raised by 18 U.S. Code § 3553(a), which mandate 5 the imposition of a sentence sufficient, but not 6 greater than necessary.

7 This is clearly more work than 8 sentencing under the guidelines required, but now I'm pleased to be able to pronounce a sentence which is 9 reasonable and unique to the defendant before me, and 10 not one that is designed to fit a hypothetical 11 12 defendant. It is a great feeling to know that my nearly 28 years of experience as a trial and appellate 13 14 judge can be put back into play in this very important 15 judicial procedure.

16 On this 25th anniversary of the 17 Sentencing Reform Act, it is time to be reflective. My 18 comments are not meant to demean the accomplishments of the Commission, rather they are to point out there is 19 still work to be done. I was not part of the federal 20 21 system before the Reform Act was adopted. I've read of 22 the disparity in sentencing by some judges. The 23 Sentencing Reform Act, however, created disparity too 24 by shifting power from the judges to the prosecutors. We have seen that they too cannot resist the urge in 25

1 some cases to abuse their power.

For instance, the prosecutors can, and some do, use their power to leverage a plea agreement with defendants, oftentimes threatening to impose statutory minimums if they fail to cooperate. At least the judges played a neutral role in the sentencing process.

8 The current system post-*Booker* provides 9 that needed balance. It requires the court to consider 10 the guideline applications to the defendant as a 11 starting point; however, it gives the court flexibility 12 in considering relevant 3553(a) factors.

13 Lastly, statutory minimums in some cases 14 continue to result in sentences greater than necessary and fail to meet the statutory mandates of sentencing. 15 As far as I can tell, there's no rhyme or reason for 16 17 their existence, except possibly as through political 18 exercise. They can create very unjust results, which cause the public to disrespect our system of justice. 19 20 I can recall some years back I was 21 compelled to sentence a 21-year-old to more than 25 22 years in prison as a ringleader in a drug conspiracy. 23 In a telephone conversation that was wire tapped by law 24 enforcement, he boasted of his leadership role to a 25 confidential informant. However, it was doubtful to

all that he was a true leader; however, the government was not willing to accept another view because the defendant did not cooperate. He did have a criminal history, but not one deserving of that kind of sentence.

б The Commission must use its considerable 7 influence with Congress to eliminate such injustices. I won't ramble on, but I did travel from New York City 8 to attend this hearing because I believe your outreach 9 is an indication of your sincerity to embrace the 10 post-Booker mandate of sentencing, to think outside the 11 12 box, to look at alternative sentencing which may 13 include less incarceration and more treatment. 14 As the Commission gathers new data reflecting post-Gall sentencing, I believe our 15 sentencing judges will benefit from other experiences 16 17 in interpreting those 3553 factors. I do want to thank the Commission for giving me this opportunity to share 18 my observations as a sentencing judge. 19 20 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, 21 Judge. Judge Ericksen. JUDGE ERICKSEN: Thank you very much. I 22 23 appreciate the opportunity to be here today. I did

24 leave Minneapolis at 4:00 a.m. because I thought it was 25 so important to be here and take this opportunity to speak to you at what is not only the 25th anniversary of the sentencing guidelines but the precipice of a whole new way of looking at one of the most important functions that our court system performs, which is the punishment of offenders.

6 The first chief justice of our country 7 observed something that is still true today, which is 8 that the courts derive their power from the trust and confidence that the public gives to the courts. We 9 have no military power. We have no other way to impose 10 our will other than by persuading the people over whose 11 12 lives we have so much power that we are doing what is 13 fair and what's just, and that's what they look to us 14 for.

15 There are two basic approaches to 16 fairness, as you know. One is a rule-bound perhaps 17 mechanical approach that minimizes disparities among 18 people. That has the advantage of taking the decision-making away from individuals and making the 19 results more predictable, and in that way it is 20 21 sometimes perceived as fair. Another approach to fairness is highly 22

23 individualized and depends on the wisdom of an
24 individual decision-maker. That has the obvious
25 advantage of enabling people to feel that they have

received individual justice. It has the obvious 1 2 disadvantage of creating not only disparities, but of 3 opening up, and in this case, sentences to what the 4 Eighth Circuit has referred to as capricious, 5 ire-driven, I forget the rest of the words. So these б are problems. The beauty of the common law and the 7 beauty of our system of justice is that it provides an 8 opportunity to balance those two views of fairness and to obtain correction when we go too far in one 9 direction or the other. 10

11 The guideline Commission, in my view, is 12 now faced with a question about what you are going to 13 do now with 3553(a) factors. I hope that I can give 14 you some observations that supplement what you've already heard from other judges. I trust that you've 15 heard the standard the guidelines are too high with 16 17 drug offenses; you've heard that the child pornography 18 guidelines are irrational; you've heard about the 19 mandatory minimums; you've heard these things.

Let me tell you the approach that I think we are in danger of getting to if there's not some change in approach. I go out to sentence a defendant. Defense counsel always says now, yes, these are the guidelines, but you have to look at the 3553(a) factors, as if the guidelines don't have anything to do

with those factors. Now, I have before me a copy of 1 2 3553. I have also in front of me a copy of the 3 guidelines. They overlap. And we are in danger of 4 allowing people to say judges don't have to pay any 5 attention to the guidelines anymore because now there's 6 3553, as if 3553 doesn't take any account of the 7 seriousness of the offense, the history and characteristics of the defendant, the educational 8 opportunities and needs of the person, the desire to 9 decrease recidivism. 10

11 Because the guidelines were mandatory 12 for so long, there was less focus on the reason given 13 for the guidelines, and people thought, well, the 14 guidelines are the guidelines because somebody has done -- put it all in a machine and the machine has 15 spit out what is the average, and so we're trying to 16 eliminate racial disparity, eliminate cross-region 17 18 disparity and kind of make these things all the same; and that doesn't strike people as being fair enough, 19 20 and it doesn't strike people as taking enough account 21 of things like the way different states approach 22 particular crimes.

As a parenthetical, I'll tell you in Minnesota, it is a crapshoot whether you go to prison and lose your dog, your house, your wife, your

1 educational opportunities or whether you go to drug 2 court and basically get a thank you letter for your 3 good efforts. And people think, well, this is 4 ridiculous. They can't really tell the difference 5 between state court, federal court, tax court, б administrative law judges. All they know is it's 7 utterly random, so they think it depends on what a good 8 lawyer you can hire what your result is. Well, obviously that's not fair. 9 10 So you look at the factors. I have 11 tried to take a look at where these fit in the 12 guideline grid, and you've got a two-dimensional grid, you've got a three-dimensional person; so if I were on 13 14 the Commission, I would say to myself do I want the 15 guidelines to venture into the third dimension. Number 1 of 3553(a), the nature and 16 circumstances of the offense, that's basically your Y 17 18 axis, your vertical axis. And history and characteristics of the defendant, that's basically your 19 X axis, but this is very imperfect. Let's take a look 20 21 at some of the problems with the Y axis. Back to drugs, the drug quantity is too 22 23 much of a driver in some cases. It doesn't really get 24 offset when you subtract for role in the offense. So 25 what, if you start with an offense level that puts you

up, let's say take a 34, you know, 151 to 188, you're a 1 2 first-time offender. You've got a reduction for your role in the offense. You're still 97 to 121. Even if 3 4 you didn't have any idea how many drugs were involved 5 in the total conspiracy, you get as many points knocked 6 off, but it still really doesn't get you down to 7 something that's meaningful, because you still lose 8 your dog, your wife, your house, your cat, and everything else. 9

10 And we have cases where prosecutors are 11 trying to root out a drug organization, but it's still 12 a pretty artificial group because there are tentacles 13 that go out. A drug organization isn't necessarily 14 something that's very self-contained. So you get these 15 people who are looped in, and if they were in state court, they get absolutely nothing; and then because 16 they're in federal court, they get these really 17 18 outrageous sentences.

Now, that's not to say there aren't some drug offenders who deserve to get really long sentences, and the challenge, of course, is to figure out which ones deserve to have the hammer come down on them and really are a danger to public safety and which ones are not.

25 When I was a state court judge, we

figured that there were about ten people in Minneapolis who were causing most of the crime, and if you could quit coming down on the other thousand and come down really hard on those other ten, it would have a great impact on crime in the city.

б Okay, in the Eighth Circuit we have a 7 particular issue, which you've probably heard about 8 from the probation department, if not you will, 2K2.1(b)(6), this any firearm that -- it's not just the 9 firearm involved in the offense of conviction, it's any 10 firearm at all involved in any previous felony 11 conviction. I think the Eighth Circuit might be a 12 little bit different in its application of that. One 13 14 of our judges recently issued an opinion on that and kind of said this is ridiculous, and I hope it gets 15 reversed, and in *Mosby* it got affirmed, so that was 16 17 probably more trouble than -- than -- anyway, that was 18 probably a bad risk.

So, child pornography, that's a tough one. It's a tough one. One of my colleagues said to me yesterday, you know what, Joan, if I went home tonight and I looked at child pornography on my computer, I would get more time than if I went home and abused a child. You go home and abuse a child, you're in state court and you get whatever you're going to 1 get, which is a lot less than if you look at the 2 pictures.

3 Now, I don't think a lot of judges 4 actually look at the pictures, and so it's easy to say, 5 well, it's just an exercise of your First Amendment, or 6 whatever it is. Nobody's saying this isn't a serious 7 crime, but that's an area that perhaps should be open 8 for more individualized sentences.

9 Okay, so there we have it. On the X axis, the only thing that goes into the guidelines 10 right now is your criminal history. So what about the 11 12 end characteristics of the defendant? There's no room 13 for that. There's no guidance for that whatsoever. 14 You're completely out there on your own. You're back to this opposite -- one of the extremes of justice, 15 which is to say just do the best you can. And we have 16 17 a guidelines Commission to guide us, and we have no 18 guidance whatsoever on that. So far you're supposed to not pay any attention to the things that now 3553(a) 19 says you're supposed to. The education, the family 20 21 circumstances, all these things that are specifically prohibited under the guidelines have to be taken into 22 23 account by us, and so they're going to have a big, big, 24 big impact on what the actual sentence is.

25

And I don't think judges want to be

completely without guidance. Judges, same with 1 2 everybody, will try to find some sort of quidance. Ιt will be informal, and the Commission can either 3 4 participate in that, the guidance that will develop 5 with respect to how to handle some of these б individualized characteristics, or you can abdicate 7 that and say, look, we're going to do our limited part 8 and we're going to leave it to you to figure out how to do the human overlay to the guidelines. 9 10 And I realize that in saying the human 11 overlay, that would be -- that sounds somewhat 12 disrespectful of the work of the Commission, which has 13 been outstanding in terms of -- I mean, as a document, 14 there is hardly anything you can think of that isn't 15 somehow taken into consideration. I mean, even let's take the criminal 16 17 history, how unfair it is that you get two points if 18 you're on a prior criminal justice -- you know, if you're on probation or something. You can be on 19 20 probation for some absolutely miniscule nothing state 21 crime, but we have, courtesy of the sentencing guidelines Commission, the actual opportunity to say, 22 23 no, your criminal history is overstated. It doesn't 24 help you on safety valve. It's kind of a wonderful 25 document, but it is perceived as mechanical, because

1 the bottom line is you go to the back page and you take 2 a human being and you say you are on this grid, and 3 nobody likes to be there. It's sort of like if you 4 were to call up 1-800 Give Me Justice, and all you got 5 was press one for first offense, press two if you -- you б know, enter the amount, how frustrating that would be, 7 because you think this is my life, I want to talk to a 8 human being. And now after Booker, you get to say give me an operator; and the operator, we want to have some 9 connection to the guidelines, to the grid, not be off 10 all on the operator's own, but yet give that human 11 12 interaction that I think people deserve and they 13 expect.

14 So that's my -- that's my general observation, is that you can either say, all right, we 15 are going to be limited to the policy objectives -- or 16 17 to the place where 3553(a) relegates us to, which is 18 one factor, or we can try to work with the statutory factors, so that when lawyers come in and say you've 19 20 got the sentencing guidelines on the one hand and 21 you've got the statutory factors on the other and they don't have anything to do with each other, we can work 22 23 with that. I think that would be a realistic goal for 24 the Commission, and it would be very helpful for those 25 of us who have to actually sentence people every day.

I have a personal issue about the 1 2 approach on revocations of supervisory release, and I 3 know that there's -- the basic divide is do you punish 4 people for the crime that they commit while they're on 5 supervised release or do you punish them for the breach б of trust. Right now it's a punishment for breach of 7 trust. I think post-Booker it might make sense to take 8 another look at that because under [§ 3553](a)(2)(D), the court is to look at providing the defendant with needed 9 educational and vocational training, medical care, 10 11 other correctional treatment in the most effective 12 manner. 13 Well, as you know, we have absolutely

14 none, none, none -- I mean, no, no, no power when it comes to the Bureau of Prisons, so we don't have the 15 ability to say to the Bureau of Prisons you have to 16 17 educate the person, you have to do any particular thing 18 with them. So what we can do is say that is part of the supervised release; and if a person violates 19 20 supervised release, then you get some pretty nothing 21 sanctions. I mean, those guidelines are really low. 22 So -- and as is appropriate, if you're not really 23 intending to punish them for the crime. 24 But here's kind of my point: You get 25 these people at the front end, and they say look at me

as an individual, I need education, I need an 1 2 opportunity to be a father to my children, I need an 3 opportunity to make good on my promise to myself to be 4 a better person, or whatever it is. If you're going to 5 take a chance on a person like that, and there is a lot б of move toward alternative sentences and this kind of 7 thing, then you kind of need a sanction to be hanging over their head for if it doesn't work; or if we're 8 wrong, if we decide to take a chance on somebody 9 because we believe them and it turns out they're not 10 believable, we need to go back and do something about 11 12 that; and under the current structure, we don't. 13 I had a fellow not long ago who I 14 sentenced for assault, and I put him on supervised release, stop having contact with your wife and don't 15 assault her and don't threaten her or anything, and 16 17 then he got out and he threatened to kill her. Well, 18 the guidelines were four to eight months, or something, for that. You're probably sitting there thinking, oh, 19 no, it was probably six to twelve. Anyway, whatever it 20 21 was, it wasn't enough to cover a threat to kill. And so then you're left to the tribal 22 23 authorities, I guess, to deal with that, or maybe the 24 U.S. Attorney's Office is going to bring another

charge. But I got out the transcript from when I had

1 sentenced that person, and I said, I will not take any 2 excuses. If you get out and you have any contact with 3 her, I will not listen to you telling me that you had 4 to or you had to see your kids or any of this. I will 5 send you back to prison. So then he comes back and 6 boy, oh, boy, I gave him that six months like nobody's 7 business.

8 So it involves a stepping back, I think, and a rethinking of the mission and goal of sentencing 9 guidelines. There's a very important goal. I think we 10 need them. I think in the old days, when I was a 11 12 prosecutor, we had no guidelines and it was sometimes frustrating to hear people come in and say I've had a 13 14 religious conversion, and, you know, they'd pick a judge and they'd just say that all the time to that 15 judge; and you just sit there and go, oh, please, you 16 17 know, I'm going to have a religious conversion myself 18 if I hear that one more time.

19 So you don't want to go back to those 20 days. And, you know, we're all fallible. I know, 21 because I spent some time, I suppose, as a juvenile 22 court judge, I'd get a lot of I see the light, I need 23 to now go be a father to my eight children who I've 24 never seen. And I got less of that after I said, okay, 25 well, that's good, let's start by having you pay your 1 child support arrearages out of your prison wages.

2 But it's a process and we want to be 3 able to take people's individual circumstances into 4 account and we're duty bound to do so, and we want to 5 do it in a responsible way; and we would like to be б able to use the guidelines in a positive way, not just 7 rail against them the way the judges did -- I was there 8 when they came into effect, and after Mistretta there was much gnashing of teeth and rending of garments and 9 the sky was falling. And people got adjusted to that, 10 11 and now I think that we're in danger of a swing over 12 to, well, we don't have to pay any attention to the 13 guidelines, we'll just do whatever we want, and I think 14 the dangers of that are obvious. 15 So that's about all I have to say. I 16 will be happy to answer any questions. 17 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, 18 Judge. We're open for questions. 19 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: I'd be glad to 20 start. You're from Minnesota and you must know that 21 Judge Murphy, who was chair of this Commission, 22 actually declared the guidelines unconstitutional. 23 JUDGE ERICKSEN: I know. We all thought 24 that was pretty good of her to take the job as chair of 25 the guidelines Commission after having done that.

VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Absolutely. Well, 1 2 you suggest that we provide guidance about personal 3 characteristics, which should play a part of the 4 ultimate sentence; and, of course, some people would 5 say those personal characteristics are so б individualized, they are hard to compartmentalize. And 7 yet what you're also saying is that judges want some 8 form of advice or guidance in how you factor those in to the offense characteristics. My question is how do 9 you do that? 10

JUDGE ERICKSEN: I think it would be 11 12 more on the order of advice and guidance and information than putting it into a number form. 13 14 Because we now look to the guidelines for guidance. We're more interested in what's the empirical research, 15 what do the people who study this have to say about it. 16 17 Why is 46 months an appropriate sentence. How 18 believable is it that somebody can make a change after two convictions, three convictions. What's the real 19 20 difference, historically and psychologically and from a 21 penological point of view, between somebody who's got one conviction and two or three. You know, what --22 23 it's more an information-providing service than 24 factoring it into the two-dimensional grid.

25 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Aren't we talking

1 apples and oranges there, though? You're again talking 2 about why did we select 48 months as opposed to some 3 other number, and what you're suggesting is that we 4 need some additional information; but I'm talking about 5 those human characteristics, such as family ties, б community ties, various other human characteristics. 7 Those are not something that can be compartmentalized 8 into -- into numbers.

9 What you, I think, are suggesting is 10 that we do studies about how judges should consider 11 such things as family ties and connections. Is that --12 is that what you're asking for? Or is there some other 13 way in which family ties and connections could be 14 actually considered into the ultimate weighing of 15 numbers?

JUDGE ERICKSEN: I don't know that the 16 17 Commission has the ability to do actual research, but I 18 think that you have the ability to collect research that's out there and make it available to judges; and 19 20 perhaps the Commission would be a good clearinghouse or 21 source of that sort of information; because if it's not done, we're out there to just make it up on a 22 case-by-case basis. So I agree that it is a very 23 24 different task than coming up with the 46 to whatever. 25 And it might be that it is so at odds

1 with the approach that has been traditionally taken by 2 the Commission, which is to come up with something 3 that's a numbers range, that it wouldn't work. But, 4 you know, we have to come up with a number and somehow 5 or other a number has got to be arrived at, and it's a б softer analysis, and the information would be presented 7 in a different way, but that's not to say that it wouldn't be helpful. 8 9 But it would be hard to then make a 10 color-coded chart and show whether judges were or were not in compliance with the recommendations in that 11 12 regard, so I'm not suggesting that it be made to fit 13 into something where it wouldn't fit. 14 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: What responsibility do you think that we as judges, when 15 somebody throws 3553(a) at us, which we all look at --16 and, frankly, you know, I did five years without 17 18 guidelines in the mandatory system and then now. When I looked at 3553(a) after Booker, which is when I 19 really opened the book up, I really felt comfortable 20 21 that all those factors were issues that I considered 22 under all three systems. You know, the first system 23 I'm bridled by my own decision, being concerned that 24 maybe somebody was going to get a different sentence because it was me as opposed to somebody else. 25

1 But when you read the 3553(a) factors 2 written by Congress, they also then wrote the 3 Commission statute which talks about some of those 4 factors and what weight, if any, should be given to 5 some of those factors. What responsibility do you б think that we as judges should have with regards to 7 looking at that statute and the factors that are listed 8 there as to what, if any, weight should be given to those when we make decisions and then going ahead and 9 factoring that in as Congress wrote it? 10 11 JUDGE ERICKSEN: Well, I don't think we 12 have any choice but to try to follow the statute. And I'm glad you said about waiting until after Booker to 13 14 really dissect the statute. I mean, I think that's not 15 at all uncommon. I think a lot of us went, whoa. ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: I will have to 16 17 say I was not uncomfortable when I did it because it's 18 common sense. I mean, two of the seven are the guidelines in the policy statements; then is 19 20 restitution, which we have to consider by statute; 21 consider the sentence available, which we were all doing; unwarranted disparity, we were all trying to 22 23 avoid; and, you know, consider the sentences available, 24 well, we certainly knew what the lowest and highest 25 was; and then the (a)(2) factors, three of which are

protection of the public and the fourth is the one that you read. And then sufficient but not greater than necessary, I don't know any judge who thinks that they have imposed a sentence greater than necessary. Certainly you want to make it sufficient, but sometimes you wonder if it was sufficient.

7 And, you know, so you're left with these 8 common-sense statements that are made as to what we normally would consider with regards to a sentence. 9 But Congress wrote those and they also, at the same 10 time that they wrote those, told the Commission some of 11 12 these issues about somebody's prior history and 13 background and said some of these you cannot consider 14 at all and some for some reasons you might and others you might not. And do you think we also, in addition 15 16 to 3553(a), as judges should also open that part of the 17 statute book and try to determine when somebody says consider these factors, to see did Congress give me 18 some quidance here? 19

JUDGE ERICKSEN: Well, yes, I do. ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Because it's not in 3553, but it was passed at the same time by Congress when they established the Commission and told them in coming up with these guidelines, which should consider 3553(a) factors, there are some things you shouldn't

1 consider at all and there are some that you might or 2 might not. And so do you think we should read those 3 together and try to determine what that means? 4 Sometimes I get judges who tell me, no, 5 that was just for the Commission, as opposed to some of б them might feel, well, you can't really read 3553(a) 7 without having actually read what Congress was telling 8 the Commission, because they felt the Commission had to consider 3553(a) factors, and they were giving them 9 some guidance, and is that really guidance to me now 10 11 also as a sentencing judge? JUDGE ERICKSEN: Well, I think it is, 12 13 unless you're going to run afoul of the admonition not 14 to presume the guidelines to be reasonable. And so I 15 think that judges should do that and should be encouraged to do that, I guess, and then you could make 16 17 the decision about whether it was a factor adequately 18 taken into consideration by the Commission. But that's an analysis that I don't see a lot of judges actually 19 20 making, or an argument that very many lawyers are 21 making to us. I mean, it really is more here's the 22 23 guidelines, do with them what you will, but now look at 24 my guy and make a decision ab initio about the 25 seriousness and how to prevent recidivism and all these

1 other things. So it should be tied to the Commission, 2 and because it's changed now, it might be helpful to 3 have an explanation from the Commission about how the 4 guidelines are meant to cover some of these, these 5 issues. As I said before --6 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Or not cover 7 some of them because the statute says you're not 8 supposed to. 9 JUDGE ERICKSEN: Right, right. 10 VICE CHAIR CASTILLO: If I could just follow up on one thing, because I think you're hitting 11 12 the nail on one critical part, and that is the 13 characteristics of the defendants. There, I think, is 14 a disconnect. You're saying on the one hand we should be providing information on the characteristics of the 15 defendant, that is, either our own research or 16 17 compiling the research and making it available. 18 Are you saying that we should do that in the manual every year? When we issue the manual, are 19 20 you saying we should be posting that on the website, 21 making it available to judges so that it's available 22 for sentencing proceedings? How do you envision that 23 playing out? 24 JUDGE ERICKSEN: I guess I see it more 25 as a website option, because I don't see how it would

1 fit into the guidelines manual.

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2 VICE CHAIR CASTILLO: Okay. 3 JUDGE ERICKSEN: Unless you take here's 4 the book and then there's going to be like a rubber 5 overlay that has all this other stuff. 6 VICE CHAIR CASTILLO: Right, exactly. 7 But then I want to throw up a question not only to you, 8 Judge Eriksen, but your fellow panelists, can't let them off the hook that easily. It seems to me that 9 there is a big disconnect right now in the post-Booker 10 world, if you look at Chapter Five of the sentencing 11 12 guidelines and you look at what it says about the 13 individual personal characteristics of the defendants, 14 we're losing a lot of judges just when they look at Chapter Five, and it says that age is normally not to be 15 considered, but yet the 3553 factors direct you to the 16 17 personal characteristics of the defendant. So if you have a defendant in front of you who's 65, depending on 18 the offense, age could be very relevant. 19 20 And so would you all -- here's the 21 question. Do you all agree that if you were sitting on this side of the aisle, you would take a red pen to 22 23 Chapter Five and start rewriting it? That's the 24 question. So, Bob, I'm sure you've thought about this.

JUDGE PRATT: Yeah, I have. Well, to

288

concentrate, Judge Castillo, on the age issue for just 1 2 a minute, you know, personal experience brought me to brain maturity. Why do kids that are 25 and are 3 4 kids -- I mean, this is how individual judging is, and 5 if you'll permit me, my son -- one of my sons б graduated from Marquette University in May of '04. One 7 of his best friends was killed in January of '05, the same time Booker came down. It was such a compelling 8 tragic snowstorm in Milwaukee, wasn't wearing a seat 9 belt. It got me surfing, you know, why don't kids 10 buckle up. I apologize for this stream of 11 12 consciousness. 13 Well, Brian Michael Gall came to me four

14 months later, and I had been reading about brain maturity. You know, when you have more than one kid in 15 an automobile, the chances of a fatality -- this is NIH 16 17 studies, the chances of a fatality increase 18 exponentially. So, you know, I got to reading about brains don't fully develop until they're 25 years old. 19 I thought this might have something to do with the 20 21 offense conduct. So, you know, I think sentencing is so 22

fact driven, Ruben, as you know. I mean, that's what the federal tradition is. But here's what I think the Commission can do, along with what Joan was saying. When you get these common law fact situations that are unique to us, I think if the Commission took this factor relating to the history and characteristics of a defendant and said, you know, what does this -- what -how does this impact empirically on how a person behaves, acts, et cetera, you know, I think that could be very helpful.

8 Vocational factors, you know, the parents, the socioeconomic background, all of those 9 factors, you know, to me, the kind of community input 10 that the defendant has before they come to us, personal 11 12 characteristics, has this person cared about his or her 13 community before violating the law. I mean, that's 14 particularly true in white collar and in child porn cases, you know, do we give them any credit for having 15 positive impact on us before they get to us. 16 The quidelines don't do that now. I think they should. 17

I apologize for my rambling, but I think it's so fact driven that each case that we get, you know, opens up an area for the Commission to study and to give us help about, you know, how we can better do our jobs.

23 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: Can I just follow
24 up on Ruben's question, because that is one of the key
25 questions that we've been trying to explore at these

hearings, and it is on our priority list that we want to pay close attention to on our next amendment cycle, is reviewing the departures in Chapter Five and seeing if they need to be updated, totally gutted, rewritten, and so on, in order to bring what judges are looking at as variances now back into the guidelines framework in one manual.

8 So, I mean, you know, there are -- the rest of you haven't really answered that question, 9 which is there are some people who think that that is 10 just a waste of time, you know, the cow's out of the 11 12 barn, whatever that expression is, and so don't bother; and then there are others who think it is worth our 13 14 attention, not just preparing research papers that we post on our web and literature reviews, but actually 15 making the effort to make the guidelines manual 16 17 relevant to a 3553(a) factor analysis, looking at offender characteristics. 18

JUDGE PRATT: I think a judge who does that ignores the instruction of the Supreme Court. Departures are an integral part of the guideline. You can't get the correct advisory guideline, which is the command of the Supreme Court, unless you take into account these departures. I think lawyers who come to me on departures and say, you know, this is a departure 1 area, you know, 5K2 Diminished Capacity, whatever, or 2 if you can't consider it there, please consider it in a 3 variance, but I think that we should keep the departure 4 analysis, Ruben's circuit notwithstanding, that I think 5 it's a healthy way for us to analyze.

6 And after all, until you tell us or the 7 Congress tells us differently, that's part of what must 8 go into our analysis. If we don't, I think that's at 9 least some kind of procedural or maybe substantive 10 error.

COMMISSIONER HOWELL: Do the other 11 12 judges agree, waste of time or worth our effort? 13 JUDGE GAITAN: Well, if I may say a few 14 things. I'm not as willing as perhaps my colleagues are to give up my new-found discretion, but I certainly 15 agree to the extent that it has been spoken to, that we 16 should look to the guidelines first. And I personally 17 18 see the value of any modifications to the guidelines, or I hadn't thought about this web site to the judges, 19 20 as providing us with the big picture of what's going on 21 in the world. Although I think we still have to be focused on the narrow picture in terms of what's going 22 23 on in front of us with the particular defendant. 24 And the review, which came up last 25 evening, about how do the appellate courts look at

this, I may be wrong, but I think the analogy ought to be similar to a Social Security appeal review. I mean, unless there's no facts to support the decision of the judge, then the decision of the judge ought to be upheld. And that's going to vary a lot, depending upon the explanation.

7 When I have these types of sentencings where there -- I tell lawyers at the plea, if they 8 believe that they're going to want to argue a variance 9 from the guidelines, then I want a sentencing 10 11 memorandum. I want to have them think this thing 12 through and present it to me in the posture where 13 they've looked at the guidelines and the guideline 14 applications and why they believe the guidelines don't apply or some variance from the guidelines should be 15 appropriate, both the defense and the government. So I 16 17 have a chance to study these things in advance of the sentencing so that when they make their arguments at 18 sentencing hearing, it can be a more complete 19 20 discussion about the potential for a variance.

To the extent that I disagree, I think that I ought to still be able to make that decision based upon the facts in this case, having considered the guidelines.

25 Again, I think the guidelines have been

293

very, very important. They provide the needed balance 1 2 that maybe didn't exist before, but I still think the 3 fundamental task rests with me; and I'm afraid if we do 4 too much tinkering with this issue in the guidelines, 5 then the appellate courts will start using their б substantive and procedural review to start tinkering 7 with pre-Gall decision-making, looking at 8 proportionality as a variance, how much we vary from the guidelines based upon some considerations that have 9 taken into account in review of Chapter Five that, you 10 know, may not be appropriate in my case. 11 12 COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: Judge Pratt, 13 among the offender characteristics that you recommended 14 the Commission should reconsider including in the guidelines is socioeconomic status of an offender. And 15 16 as you know, that was one of the forbidden factors that 17 Congress directed the Commission not to consider, and 18 the reason was at the time supporters of the Sentencing Reform Act felt very strongly that the rich and the 19 poor should be treated alike. And one could certainly 20 21 make the argument with respect to socioeconomic status 22 that sort of high-status offenders should be sentenced more leniently because of the reputational harm they 23 24 suffer. On the other hand, you can argue that the poor

and disadvantaged should be sentenced more leniently

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294

because they haven't had the advantages, they haven't had the education, they don't have the support systems as other offenders, so it cuts both ways. And we know from census data that there is a direct correlation, unfortunately, between race and socioeconomic status.

б So the question I pose is if we inject 7 those sorts of considerations that Congress forbid or 8 even those like education and family circumstances and other things that could be used as proxies for race or 9 socioeconomic status, aren't we going to get into a 10 situation where unwarranted racial disparities creep 11 12 into the system? And shouldn't that be something the Commission should be very concerned about doing? 13

14 JUDGE PRATT: No question about it. And I think the biggest driver of this are the mandatory 15 16 minimum sentences where the government -- where the 17 prosecutor's in charge of the sentence. Two weeks ago 18 I gave a woman, lost her father at nine, dropped out of high school in tenth grade, rural Iowa, a, quote, drug 19 20 felony. She was so serious that the judge gave her 180 21 days probation, 1999. The second drug felony, 2003, they arrest her. She pled guilty to another judge. I 22 subsequently let her withdraw the plea. They come in 23 24 with an 11(c)(1)(C), 30 years. No history of violence, 25 never a chance in life. We should have reserved a

prison cell for her when she started. No chance. Thirty
 years I've got to give her or she can go to trial and
 get life.

4 So, you know, the prosecutor, why 5 doesn't the prosecutor look at that and say, you know б what, is she a threat? All these 3553(a) factors, you 7 know -- I've got to veer over to Judge Hinojosa for a 8 moment. I don't know of any judge that I've ever 9 talked to who hasn't given a sentence that is greater than necessary due to the mandatory minimum sentences. 10 And, you know, I think these socioeconomic background, 11 12 you know, here's my institutional view, Commissioner, 13 after people get out of prison, before they start 14 supervised release, and I tell them at sentencing supervised release is at least as important as this 15 incarceration, I want you to come and visit me. 16 17 Because I talk to people when they get out of prison. 18 When I take a young person of color who's had no chance in life and I throw them into prison in their 20s, I'm 19 20 going to make a better criminal out of them because 21 they're going to learn all kinds of bad stuff from, you 22 know, the people they associate with. So socioeconomic 23 background to me is important when I think about I'm 24 putting them -- I'm taking them from having had no 25 chance, terrible socioeconomic circumstances, I'm now

1 going to place them with professional criminals.

2 COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: But from a 3 guidelines perspective, not the prosecutor's, I guess 4 I'm confused about what we can do. We have to be very 5 careful. In fact, we can't, I don't think, б statutorily. We've been forbidden from considering it, 7 and I think for good reason. 8 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: The question then becomes what does that mean for us as judges, if 9 Congress told us not to consider race, sex, national 10 origin, creed and socioeconomic status? 11 JUDGE PRATT: I didn't know that 12 13 Congress told us that. 14 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Well, they 15 certainly told the Commission. And I think we all can certainly agree that race, sex, national origin and 16 17 creed should not have anything to do, and they also added to that list socioeconomic status. 18 19 JUDGE PRATT: Right. But I think the 20 opposite has happened with the guidelines. The 21 incarceration of minorities has tripled since 1987. I mean, I don't consider -- I mean, the unfortunate 22 23 demographics of our country are people of color have a 24 very difficult time succeeding economically. The fact 25 that they come from poor socioeconomic backgrounds and

1 get longer prison sentences is the reality of the 2 quidelines, and it would be the reality with or without 3 the guidelines. I think the guidelines are good here 4 because they give me a, quote, starting point, as 5 Justice Stevens said, and I pay attention to them, but б I also take into account the fact that they may not 7 have had the best advantages in life starting out. I 8 don't think that's an error to do that. You know, because you use reason to get there, it doesn't mean 9 that it happens to be wrong. I think that's logical, 10 that you give somebody a break because they had no 11 12 chance in life.

13 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Well, on the 14 race issue, frankly, at this point we're at 45 percent Hispanic, but that's due to the fact that immigration 15 cases have become the highest number of cases that are 16 being prosecuted. Actually, the numbers of Whites and 17 18 African Americans has gone down as far as the percentage from 1987, in all likelihood because of the 19 fact this fiscal year 2009, we're actually at about 20 21 45 percent Hispanic, and so the racial makeup there is driven by the fact that about 30 percent of the cases 22 23 are now immigration cases.

JUDGE PRATT: Right. And 80 percent ofour docket in my district is guns, drugs or

298

immigration, and, you know, 60 percent of the docket 1 2 are minorities. So, you know -- but I think the guideline is good and helpful, but I don't think it's 3 4 an error to take into account their poor economic 5 social background. Is that what you're suggesting? COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: But at the same б 7 time you take the approach that you take with respect 8 to socioeconomic background, at the same time some of your colleagues will take the approach that this 9 high-status offender who comes from a great family, 10 they're all sitting in the courtroom, has a great 11 12 education, has a lot of potential, has suffered great 13 reputational harm, that defendant should get a break. 14 So there's no evenhanded approach to this, and it's a policy decision that Congress has made that should not 15 be considered because of the impact it has with regard 16 17 to race.

18 JUDGE PRATT: Let me get back to something that was said last evening. All three 19 20 branches of government have an input into the 21 sentencing, the sentence that is ultimately arrived at. The fact is that we district court judges who sentence 22 23 people are products of U.S. senators. I don't expect 24 that a person who was a legal aid lawyer like myself 25 would look at a defendant with the same lights that

somebody who practiced at a white shoe law firm would.
I'm different. That person is different. The idea
that we're going to see the facts through the same lens
and, therefore, arrive at the same sentence, is to do
away with the humanness that each one of us have. You
wouldn't need a judge if we're all going to arrive at
the same sentence.

JUDGE ERICKSEN: Well, I do think that 8 gets back to the importance of having guidelines and 9 quidelines that are credible, because otherwise you 10 will have sentences all over the map that are 11 12 excessively based on those individual characteristics. And so part of what I was trying to say before is that 13 14 it would be helpful for the credibility of the guidelines and, therefore, the diminution of the 15 possibility that there will be absolute lack of 16 consistency for similar crimes, if we can understand 17 18 why the guideline prevents -- why it protects the public, you know, what empirical research. Not just an 19 20 average of other sentences, why does this basic range 21 of sentences protect the public; why does this give adequate deterrence; how does this reflect the 22 seriousness, rather than just here's a number and 23 24 people don't really understand how it was arrived at. 25 So my plea, in part, is for actions that

will enhance the credibility and the usefulness, the 1 2 extent of which the guidelines are used and relied on 3 because of just exactly what you're pointing out. 4 You're going to have people who have one background who 5 are going to say I don't care how many chances you б have, I'm going to give you this one last chance, and 7 I'm going to give you a big speech and you're going to 8 listen to this speech, and I'm personally going to have an impact on your future; and other people are going to 9 say I gave you a chance and now it's over. And so 10 that's part of what goes into that. 11 12 And on the credibility of the 13 guidelines, I think it's not useful to say, look, you 14 can't take these things into consideration, when we are supposed to take them into consideration. It's fair 15 enough to say this is outside the range of what the 16 17 guidelines contemplate, but I don't see how you can take into account -- and right away for them, you know, 18 we've got the brown 2008 book. I don't know how you 19 20 can put into the 2009 or 2010 book already what to do 21 with somebody who's got fetal alcohol syndrome. Fetal 22 alcohol syndrome is rampant in the prison population. 23 What are you supposed to do with people 24 who worked their way up through the juvenile 25 delinquency system, and then -- you know, first they

started as children in need of protection and services, 1 2 then they were delinquents, then they're this. How are 3 you going to factor that in? I don't think you can do 4 it, and I think that any attempt to quick rewrite 5 5H1. -- 5H, I guess, would be -- would be able to б really do justice to it. But I also think that to say, 7 look, we're going to pretend that we can still tell you 8 that you're not allowed to take these things into consideration, when that's not really true, isn't 9 useful either. 10

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: But what we as 11 12 judges, I don't think, have done, is that you have 5H but you also have 5K2.0, including 5K2.0(a)(4) that 13 14 tells you that there may be a discussion about 15 ordinarily this is not relevant, but you may have a case where you have what you just pointed out and, 16 17 therefore, the quideline advice is in those cases our advice doesn't fit with regards to 5H and you can use 18 5K2.0(a)(4) to find a way to come up with what you 19 20 think is the appropriate sentence.

21 Because I think it was understood by 22 Congress when they wrote the statute that there would 23 be departures. In fact, they provide for them. But 24 this one about socioeconomic is, to me, one that 25 Congress has included with race, sex, national origin

and creed. And for whatever policy reason, they write 1 2 the laws, and as judges we uphold the law. And we may 3 have a personal view that this is a tough situation for 4 us to do, like with mandatory minimums, but other than 5 safety valve, we are stuck at the mandatory minimum б with regards to a sentence because we uphold the law; 7 and, you know, these are issues that, frankly, that's 8 why I asked the original question, and I think -- did you have a question? 9

10 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: I know we're 11 running out of time, and I find this discussion very 12 interesting and enlightening and your testimony, so I 13 have a series of questions, and, frankly, it's to all 14 of you, and I'll try to make it short and, hopefully, 15 the answers can be short and we can move on.

16 There was a judge who testified at one 17 of our earlier hearings that the vast majority of the 18 concerns around the guidelines really has to do with severity. If you took all the severity levels and 19 divided them by three, that most of the people who are 20 21 advocating for advisory guidelines would be advocating for mandatory guidelines and vice versa. Do you agree 22 23 that severity is the biggest problem?

24 Secondly, Judge Gaitan and Judge Pratt,25 you both talked about prosecutorial discretion. In a

1 world where prosecutors' decisions do have an impact on 2 the sentence, should there be a policy -- a consistent 3 policy from the Attorney General as to how to exercise 4 sentencing discretion; and if so, what should that be? 5 Third, data collection in our world of б advisory guidelines, are you comfortable with a much 7 more robust data collection system along the lines that 8 Judge Nancy Gertner has suggested where it wouldn't just be getting data from districts, but it would be 9 getting data perhaps from -- that are tied to 10 individual prosecutors, individual judges, individual 11 12 defendants, much more real time, we'd have a much 13 better sense of recidivism and all the rest. 14 And then finally, if you were given two choices, the current system, which has advisory 15 guidelines and mandatory minimums, a sort of bifurcated 16 17 system, or a simpler guideline system that's mandatory, 18 lower severity with wider ranges, but allowed also for some departures like we used to have, which of those 19 choices would you take? 20 JUDGE PRATT: Well, I think the three 21 primary criticisms of the guidelines are harsh, 22 rigidity, too much prosecutorial power, so take your 23 24 pick. I think perhaps severity is the biggest 25 complaint. I guess that was your first question.

Second question, DOJ policy, should 1 2 there be something consistent, yes. Unlike the -- you 3 know, I guess the policy during the last administration 4 was always seek the highest sentence possible. I think 5 that's at odds with the role of the Department of б Justice. But I think --7 COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: I think more 8 fairly it was seek a guideline sentence and charge the most serious readily proveable offense. 9 10 JUDGE GAITAN: They always recommend the highest, that's the problem. 11 JUDGE PRATT: I agree with you on that. 12 13 With the collection of data, I was on the IT Committee 14 with Nancy. She pushed that for years. I don't see --I think it would be used for the wrong purposes, and I 15 don't see what it would gain. Maybe I don't understand 16 17 it; and she's an incredibly bright, articulate judge, 18 so perhaps there are underlying reasons I don't 19 understand. 20 There's one study on this that's not yet 21 published by the Indiana Law Review, in fact, they used the District of Massachusetts as their model, that may 22 23 have some of that data. 24 The fourth question about the current 25 system versus one where you have -- the way I

305

understood your question, Mr. Commissioner, was the 1 2 alternatives were the current system versus a system of 3 mandatory guidelines with robust departure practice. 4 I'd take the current system. 5 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: I think what he б was suggesting is broader guideline ranges, many fewer 7 offense levels, so that judges have overlapping discretion between zones. And the thing that he left 8 out is that in return for that kind of structure, there 9 might be a reduction in the number of mandatory 10 11 minimums. JUDGE PRATT: And how do we get around 12 13 the Sixth Amendment problem? COMMISSIONER WROBLEWSKI: I'm assuming 14 15 that the government would be required to prove the aggravating factors. If there were a simpler system 16 based for drug cases, drug quantity, fraud loss [or] 17 loss, other cases and other aggravating factors that 18 19 would be proved to the jury. JUDGE PRATT: I'd still take the current 20 21 system. JUDGE GAITAN: I'm going to go with the 22 23 last first. I agree, I'm not ready to scrap this 24 system yet. I think it's going to work and it's going 25 to work fine. We just need more time, more

experiences. With the collection of data, as I said 1 2 earlier, I'm a little hesitant about that if it's used 3 for other than advising the judges, you know, what's 4 going on in the country. I think it otherwise might be 5 used for purposes that would be contrary to the б advancement of the system we have now, which I do like. 7 Going to prosecutorial discretion, under 8 the current system, I don't care. They can come in and make their argument, just like the defense comes in and 9 makes their argument, and then I make the decision. I 10 don't like the situation where they come in, they have 11 12 all the marbles in their hand, and I have none. Severity is an issue for me. 13 14 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: On behalf of the Commission I want to thank you all, and each one of you 15 has given this a lot of thought. And, Judge Ericksen, 16 17 I hope you don't think this in any way is 18 disrespectful, because I certainly appreciate what you have said today, and you came in, you got up at 19 four o'clock in the morning, but, you know, you mentioned 20 21 a minor participant in a drug case at 151 to 188 months, and Judge Castillo and Judge Sessions were 22 23 actually on the Commission when they came up with the 24 mitigating role cap. And if this was somebody who was 25 truly a Category I and qualified for safety valve, as

well as minimal participation and then the reduction based on the mitigating role cap and acceptance, they probably would end up at 46 to 57 months, which you might still think is a lot, but it would be different than the calculation.

6 But I have to say that each one of you 7 has given this a lot of thought. It's clear by the 8 work that you have done and certainly by the sacrifice 9 that you made by being here today. Did you have a 10 question?

11 VICE CHAIR CARR: Judge Eriksen, did you
12 want a shot at Commissioner Wroblewski's quartet of
13 questions?

JUDGE ERICKSEN: Well, thank you very much for the opportunity. There's something to be said for broader guideline ranges and less precision, because we only have limited resources, and so you don't want to take all the resources and put them on something that's not going to be actually determinative of the sentence.

If I could just say one thing that was at the very top of my list of things that I wanted to say and I didn't have a chance to say it, one of the big heartburns for us is 4B1.2(a)(2) on career offender, where you look to the elements of the

underlying offense. It's not fair, it's not just, and 1 2 perhaps if the government had to prove up, at least 3 they'd prove up what the underlying offense was. But 4 this is an area where if you have a good lawyer in 5 state court and they can get you pled to bank larceny б instead of bank robbery, you have got a huge leg up on 7 the poor sucker who had a bad lawyer in state court. 8 So it leads, in my view, to a lot of disparities and there's not much that we can do about it, but I think 9 10 that focus on the elements is hugely problematic.

11 And on the safety valve, as I mentioned 12 before, the guidelines are in many ways a wonder. I had to work through the Minnesota state guidelines, and 13 14 [there was], I think, maybe a 20 percent compliance rate with those because you just couldn't work with them. 15 And safety valve is certainly useful. The problem with 16 17 safety valve, again, is you run into sometimes with the state court -- I mean, it's the interaction between the 18 federal and the state that sometimes gives rise to some 19 of the issues. But I appreciate the comment and the 20 21 opportunity to speak.

JUDGE GAITAN: May I ask a question? JUDGE GAITAN: May I ask a question? When you look at disparity of sentencing, are we looking at disparity of sentencing throughout the federal system or are we looking at it in comparison and contrasting it with the state system as well? ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Well, the mandate in our system of government is that Congress passes laws for the federal system, and that they were -- in the Sentencing Reform Act, one would assume they were talking about disparity within the federal system.

8 JUDGE GAITAN: I ask that because I 9 heard a comment last night that referenced the state 10 system, and I was wondering if that was something that 11 you looked at remotely maybe.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: And in Texas 12 13 that would be difficult because, depending on what part 14 of the state you live in, there may be a different way of looking at things; just like Judge Eriksen pointed 15 out, in certain parts of Minnesota your sentencing 16 17 might be different than in other parts. So the 18 Sentencing Reform Act was taken to mean disparity within the federal system. That would be my answer. 19 20 JUDGE PRATT: Judge Hinojosa, with the 21 disparity, I'm wondering is the Commission's view that, 22 you know, the statute says persons that have been 23 convicted of similar conduct, I think, you know, 24 mandatory -- I had a principal of a Catholic school 25 solicit a police officer in eastern Iowa, ten-year

1 mandatory minimum. In state court they would have 2 gotten eight months. When we look at disparity, is it 3 the Commission's view that we should be looking at 4 federal disparity between defendants, or when the 5 statute references conduct, are we to look at what б happened -- what would have happened had that case been 7 prosecuted in state court? Are we to look at that or 8 not?

9 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: In your case you had a mandatory minimum. There's nothing that you 10 could do about that, and that was congressional 11 12 decision by law. There was nothing that involved the 13 guideline determination there other than by law you had 14 to give that defendant -- impose a sentence of ten years, even though you felt that in the state system it 15 would be a different one. 16

JUDGE PRATT: Let's take a nonmandatory minimum. I have a lot of cases where the -- you know, they get a year in state court, and they get a ton of time in federal court.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Right, but this is a federal system, and in some other state court they might get a lot more time than ten years; and so the issue becomes the question that Judge Gaitan asked, is this disparity within just the federal system or are

you going to start looking at different states and how 1 2 different parts of different states sentence 3 individuals. 4 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: And if you're 5 looking at proportionality under the 3553(a), it б clearly is within the federal system as opposed to the 7 state. 8 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you all very much. I hope we haven't held you too long. 9 We'll take a short break here. 10 11 (A break was taken from 10:26 a.m. to 10:42 a.m.) 12 13 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Next we have a 14 view from the Defense Bar, and we're very fortunate this morning to have Mr. Raymond P. Moore, who is the 15 federal public defender for the Districts of Colorado 16 17 and Wyoming. He previously served as an assistant federal public defender for the District of Colorado, 18 19 and he also has served as an assistant U.S. attorney 20 for the District of Colorado in the past, and he 21 received his bachelor's degree from Yale College and his law degree from Yale Law School. 22 23 We have Mr. Nick Drees, who has been the 24 federal public defender for the Northern and Southern 25 Districts of Iowa since 1999. Prior to doing that,

prior to having taken this job, he was an assistant 1 2 federal public defender in the Southern District of 3 Iowa and an assistant public defender in Polk County, 4 Iowa. He has his degree from Harvard College and his 5 JD from the University of Chicago. б Then we have Mr. Thomas Telthorst, who 7 started his solo practice as a criminal defense 8 attorney here in 1997. He currently practices a split between CJA cases and state cases, and he also has 9 served as assistant district attorney in his county. 10 And he holds his B.S. from West Point and he also 11 served as an armed cavalry officer until 1992, and he 12 earned a JD from the University of Kansas. 13 14 Do we have a particular order that you all wanted to go in? 15 MR. MOORE: We decided to begin with me 16 and go to my left, if that's fine. 17 18 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Yes, sir, it is. 19 MR. MOORE: First I want to thank the 20 Commission for providing me an opportunity to address 21 these issues. As I sat through much of this hearing, 22 and I can't say that I've been at every speaker, but 23 I've tried to take in as much as I could, I've heard 24 some things about perhaps where we've been, and I've heard some consideration given to where we may go or 25

what may transpire next. I want to focus my attention,
 if you would, not on those issues, but on where we are,
 because we are in an advisory guideline system.

4 And it hardly comes as a surprise that 5 my position is that we are in a better system, and we б much prefer the advisory guideline system to the one 7 that came before it. It enables the courts to consider 8 all of the factors regarding an individual and his circumstances, the offense and its circumstances, and 9 to craft a sentence that is sufficient but not greater 10 than necessary in an individualized case. 11

12 As I tried to process what's gone on 13 over these last two days, I suppose I came to this 14 conclusion: The guidelines, up to now, have been created, assembled, drafted, with an eye towards the 15 system that was relevant at the time, and that was a 16 17 mandatory system. And much of its pronouncements have 18 been, in fact, consistent with that background. You shall; you shall not. This is relevant; that is not. 19 20 We're not in that era anymore. And perhaps the 21 simplest way of saying it is in the older days, the currency of sentencing was familiarity with the 22 23 commandments of the guidelines. Today the currency of 24 sentencing is persuasion. And I think that, at least I 25 urge you, to consider bringing the guidelines from the

1 currency of commandment to the currency of persuasion. 2 I don't see it as an accident that many 3 of the people who have spoken to you today have asked 4 for more information, because information is the tool 5 by which the currency of persuasion can be applied. б And we may, as different people from different 7 perspectives, have different concepts of what shape that information should be; but I'm not hearing, 8 whether I listen to district court judges or circuit 9 judges or even U.S. attorneys, anyone that doesn't want 10 more data, more information. We may disagree about 11 12 what that data means, what form it should take. 13 Certainly I would like to see more 14 empirical data, what is a particular guideline based on, are there studies that say this is, in fact, a 15 harm. Is it based on the need to protect the public in 16 17 a particular instance. If there's not empirical data 18 to support the guideline and the choice as to why this is an appropriate sentence, then say so. If it's a 19 policy determination, then say so. If it's driven by 20 21 congressional directive, then say so, and say whether 22 you agree or disagree. 23 This type of information enables judges

and the participants, the advocates in a particular sentencing case, to answer some of the questions that come up as to, well, how does the guidelines -- or should the guidelines be followed in this case, should we have a variance, should we have a departure. You get a better understanding.

5 It's hardly a surprise to me that the б areas in which there seems to be the most disagreement 7 is the area in which people have difficulty 8 understanding: Child pornography. Why is it that whether you're a first offender or a Category VI 9 offender, everybody seemingly ends up 97 to 121, even 10 after acceptance. It doesn't matter if you go to 11 12 trial; it doesn't matter if you plead guilty; it doesn't matter if you've got a criminal history. It 13 14 seems difficult to understand, as Judge Hartz had difficulty understanding, the theory of the 2L 15 guideline, which clearly you can tell from my written 16 17 statement I think is too harsh.

But I ask for more information than 18 that. I think it would benefit the judges to go back 19 and have information about the bell curve of 20 21 sentencing. We talk about it. We talk about whether 22 the judges are within whatever word you want to choose, 23 the norm, the bell curve. And the Commission does 24 great reports. They come out periodically. I yearn, 25 as you can tell from my introduction, for a return to

1 the old days where data was given to the judges at the 2 moment of sentencing that was pertinent to their 3 sentencing. I don't have access to and have not -- and 4 don't pretend to have access to the IT capabilities 5 that the Commission has, but I believe that if we had б an immigration case and the judges could, whether it 7 was included in the presentence report or on a website 8 or immediately accessible, get the data that pertains to that particular case, and the more information that 9 could be given, the better, that that would be useful 10 in the currency of persuasion. 11

12 I looked at the appellate issues and, in fact, I find that the process, in my opinion, is 13 working. Judges are being asked to explain and give 14 their reasons and their rationales under the procedural 15 arm, and information would certainly benefit that. 16 17 Judges are being asked, at least in the 18 Tenth Circuit -- or perhaps a better way of saying it is we've seen in the Tenth Circuit a couple of cases 19 20 where sentences have been reversed on substantive 21 unreasonableness, one where the sentence went up and 22 one where the sentence went down. And in both cases what I find interesting is that the author and judge, 23 24 Judge Murphy in one case and Judge Holmes in another,

25 went in search of information, looking at the

background, the career offender or the ad hoc group 1 2 that studied matters pertinent to American Indians and 3 those offenses, what the history of the guideline was. 4 It was not simply we disagree. It was not simply we 5 don't understand and won't follow. It was, again, б looking for information. At each step, at each stage 7 that seems to be pertinent. Better information, better guidelines, and I firmly believe that and urge the 8 Commission to move in that direction. 9

10 Beyond that -- and I'm just going to 11 touch on other matters. I've been told that I can 12 prattle on forever, and I've never been able to come up 13 with a defense to that claim. But in either event, I 14 touch on the subject of departures because it's been discussed here. My recommendation, my request, is that 15 you scrap it. And [re-approach] it from a different 16 17 perspective.

18 Again, if the issue is persuasion, you lose the battle before it even begins by dictating thou 19 20 shalt not, when everybody does and everybody must. 21 Defense lawyers, in my opinion, are not going to go down the road of departures as they're presently 22 23 formulated because it's a task of avoidance getting 24 around the thou shalt nots. Even, with all due 25 respect, to comments that Judge Hinojosa has made with

regard to 5K2.0, what I might think the heartland is is 1 2 one thing. What my particular judge might think the 3 heartland is is a second thing. And I tend to have 4 found that the circuit tended to view the heartland as 5 a broader geographic area than we did; and so even with б the best of intentions or approaches, you're still 7 constantly trying to get around or look at case law. 8 I compare it to trying to get to the top of the Empire State Building. Why would I take the 9 stairs when there's an elevator? Ultimately, when I 10 say get rid of it, what I'm referring to are these 11 12 restrictive, prohibitive types of statements. Embrace the concept of information and say, for example, this 13

14 may be a grounds for departure; and say when, why, 15 explain.

Some things obviously we've encouraged, 16 17 or I've encouraged. Role in the offense -- you don't 18 have to put numbers on everything. Role in the offense should be an encouraged departure. I recognize that 19 there is some, shall we say, touchiness to the subject 20 21 of perhaps my suggestion that those raised on American Indian reservations, that should be listed as something 22 23 that could be a grounds for departure, and I stand by 24 that. I am no bleeding heart. I am, however, despite 25 my pedigree, one who was raised in the projects of the

East Coast and knows firsthand poverty; and what can occur on reservations, not even close. And to say that that doesn't affect matters is, in my opinion, simply difficult and not true.

5 I urge the Commission to speak 6 affirmatively with respect to equalizing matters in the 7 area of immigration, which is, as you know from looking 8 at the statistics, a big issue in this district, even 9 though there is no border.

Finally, I want to thank the Commission for the work that it's done with regard to crack. I hope that if we as a nation are successful in moving forward with statutes or other improvements or cures for the problems of the past, that the Commission would make those retroactive.

Additionally, I would hope that it could 16 17 speak to its experience, and I recognize that this is a 18 personal request of mine or quirk of mine, to look at what's happened with regard to how the crack amendment 19 20 litigation was handled and whether there is a preferred 21 way or a nonpreferred way of going forward, whether it 22 should be consolidated, whether it be with a defender office or with a small group or proceed as it did here 23 24 on an ad hoc basis, the court made its ruling -- or its 25 decision with regard to that. I stand -- I accept

that, but it is very difficult trying to make sure 1 2 people in institutions on the one hand who believe or 3 perhaps have a cellmate who's telling them, don't worry 4 about it, the defender office is taking care of it or 5 your CJA lawyer is taking care of it, and get the word б out, well, in this district you have to apply pro se before anything can happen. That was a difficult 7 8 effort to, if you would, herd the cats.

9 Very quickly, very briefly, three additional matters that are not the topic of my 10 statement. One, you brought up the Rausch case. 11 I will 12 tell you that I've invited to lunch, and she's seated in the back, the woman who -- Virginia Brady, who was 13 14 counsel for Mr. Roush. And so if there is some concern about that case, she will be at the lunch and able to 15 answer any and all questions. I do think, though, that 16 17 that was not a poster for matters getting out of hand. Evidence was submitted, stacks of it, affidavits, 18 Bureau of Prison policy statements, statements from 19 20 people who suffered from kidney disease and failure in 21 the Bureau of Prisons and what was being done. Those 22 decisions -- that decision was based on an analysis of evidence in a contested hearing. It was not simply 23 24 just brushing the guidelines aside, in no way, in no 25 shape, in no form. And two matters, the government,

not once at the imposition of the sentence objected to
 the procedure or to the sentence, and at no time did
 they file an appeal.

4 Second, with regard to Mr. Gaouette's 5 comments about the split, if you would, in the roster б of our judges, I would say a couple of things. First, 7 I have the utmost respect for Mr. Gaouette, for the 8 difficult job that U.S. attorneys do and for the U.S Attorney's Office in this district. Over the years our 9 relationship has been governed by a mutual respect and 10 collegiality, and I do nothing by my statement now to 11 12 suggest anything to the contrary. I think sometimes 13 people on different sides of the aisle have different 14 perceptions of things. I can guarantee you that there 15 have been times when my staff has felt that they had a compelling 3553 argument, got a guideline sentence and 16 17 said, all that matters is the guidelines. And I can 18 also guarantee you that there are U.S. attorneys who think that they have a mind-run guideline case, they 19 20 get a variance and say, all they care about is 3553 and 21 not the guidelines. We have different perceptions. There is not judges gone wild in the 22 23 District of Colorado. It simply is not what's 24 happening. There are judges who have been put in one 25 camp, the guideline camp, if you would, who have done

1 things like set hearings on the child pornography

guideline because that judge can't understand what that guideline is trying to accomplish. Another in the camp of guidelines has recently concluded that one-to-one is the appropriate ratio in crack cocaine cases.

б The judges who have been referenced as 7 perhaps being more less guideline, is perhaps a polite 8 way of saying it, give guideline sentences often. We have a difference of perspective, and that's all it is; 9 but I can assure you if judges were simply saying the 10 guidelines don't matter at all, it's a simple appeal. 11 It's a very simple appeal, and it would be reversed in 12 this circuit. I have no doubt of that. 13

14 Finally, Judge Hartz put a question to you to put to me, for you to put to us, and I will 15 briefly answer it. I will also tell you that I talked 16 17 for a little while with Judge Hartz in the hallway afterwards. I don't think he knew I was here. I don't 18 know that that would -- in fact, I do know that would 19 not have changed his question at all, I don't suspect. 20 21 Why do we file these substantive 22 appeals, substantive reasonableness appeals? First, 23 and I don't mean to be snide, but simple answer, our 24 clients have the constitutional right to appeal; and

25 when they choose to exercise that right, we can, do and

1 will ad

will advance that right as vigorously as we can.

2 Second, substantive unreasonableness is 3 the law, and so whether a guideline sentence -- where a 4 guideline sentence can be viewed as substantively 5 unreasonable in our opinion, we will advance that as б well. We do our job and there are those in our 7 appellate unit who I know would have other reasons, additional reasons, but I think that suffices. 8 9 I've taken too much of your time. I concede the floor to Mr. Drees. 10 11 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, 12 Mr. Moore. Mr. Drees. 13 MR. DREES: Thank you for inviting me 14 today to talk with you. It's an honor to be here. In fact, it's such an honor that I've been bragging about 15 it for the last couple of weeks; and sadly, my three 16 17 teenaged children haven't been as impressed by it as I 18 thought they might be. But I've also mentioned it to our CJA panels. My office administers four CJA panels 19 20 around the state of Iowa, and we try to have 21 once-a-month lunch meetings with continuing legal education components to it. And so during the most 22 23 recent of those two meetings, I asked the panel, if you 24 had ten minutes to talk with the U.S. Sentencing 25 Commission, what would you tell them. And their

answers were remarkably consistent, both between the
 panels and consistent with the types of things you've
 been hearing here for the last day and a half.

4 They asked me to ask you to please 5 continue to do whatever you can to eliminate mandatory б minimum sentences. They asked you to amend the drug 7 guidelines. They asked you to reduce the penalties in 8 child pornography cases, and they also wanted you to know that in their view the advisory guideline system 9 is working. It's an improvement. It has increased the 10 fairness and honesty of federal criminal sentencing. 11 12 So I pass that message on to you from the CJA panels in 13 Iowa.

14 You've heard previous testimony, both today and in other regional hearings, particularly from 15 16 U.S. attorneys, saying that the advisory guideline system, contrary to working better, is actually 17 18 fostering increased disparity around the country. For example, in Chicago, Mr. Fitzgerald acknowledged that 19 20 there have been benefits to the advisory guidelines 21 system, but he also, he and others, have claimed that sentencing disparities have grown under this system, 22 23 and they blame it in part on the idiosyncrasies of the 24 judges or on the personal sentencing philosophies of 25 the judges. And Mr. Fitzgerald said that variances

have, in fact, increased in what he called contested 1 2 sentencings, that is, a sentencing to which the government objected. And then yesterday Mr. Jones, the 3 4 U.S. Attorney from Minnesota, also said the same thing, 5 that disparities have increased because they are up in б these contested sentencings. The data, however, don't 7 support this claim regarding contested sentencings. 8 First off, and most importantly, as Judge Hinojosa said in Chicago at the end of the U.S. 9 Attorney's session, the U.S. Sentencing Commission's 10

11 data on which the U.S. attorneys were relying for 12 making this claim don't have a category for contested 13 sentencings. And second, probably the closest category 14 from the United States Sentencing Commission's data 15 from which you might extrapolate this group of 16 contested sentencings is the nongovernment-sponsored 17 below-range sentences.

18 And I apologize in advance for bogging us down in some statistics to come, but this is an 19 20 important point that I think we need to address. The 21 third quarter preliminary report on sentences says that 22 there were 9,110 nongovernment-sponsored below-range sentences. And so you might assume that the government 23 24 objected in all of those 9,110 nongovernment-sponsored 25 below-range sentences and, therefore, those are

1 contested sentences, but that assumption would be
2 incorrect.

3 Table 6 of the report talks about the 4 attribution of the sentences, the variances; and those 5 are based upon the statement of reasons that the judges б submit after imposing sentence. And of those cases in 7 Table 1 that are classed as nongovernment-sponsored 8 below-range sentences, the government did not object to the defense motion for a downward variance in 1,738 of 9 the 4,137 instances reported there. That is, the 10 government did not object in 42 percent of those cases, 11 12 instances, where the defense filed a motion for a 13 downward variance.

14 Another category in Table 6 includes 2,368 cases in which the court checked no boxes in the 15 statement of reasons. In other words, in over a 16 17 quarter of those nongovernment-sponsored 18 below-guidelines cases, we don't know the source of the variance or the source might even have been the 19 government in those cases. We simply don't know. But 20 21 since 68 percent of the 21,213 cases in which the 22 attribution box was checked or identified as government 23 sponsored, again, 68 percent of the cases were 24 government sponsored, and the government didn't object 25 in that 42 percent in which the defense filed the

motions, it's reasonable to assume at least, that some part of that 2,368 cases for which there's no checkmark was sponsored by the government, or at least the government didn't object. And so I wanted to address that issue.

б And another part of the data that --7 another part of the cases that the data don't catch are 8 the Rule 35 motions that come later where the sentence is below the guideline range, and another, still 9 another, but, granted, a much smaller set of cases, 10 would be those, and I assume that we have all seen 11 12 them, where the assistant U.S. attorney comes into court for the sentencing and, based upon a 13 14 recommendation from someone higher up in his or her office, the assistant U.S. attorney dutifully says I 15 16 object to this downward variance; but everyone in the 17 court can tell that the assistant really doesn't 18 object, his or her heart isn't in it, but he or she is responding to directions from up above. 19 20 We said, and I said in our written 21 testimony that we submitted, that I don't believe that the current Department of Justice under Attorney 22 General Holder would purposely mischaracterize 23

25 because in Chicago, Mr. Fitzgerald, when alerted to

statistics, but I have to begin to question that

this issue, said that he would see that it gets corrected; and then yesterday Mr. Jones brought up the same data, and Mr. Hofer indicates that the data on which Mr. Jones was relying were seriously flawed. And so we'll follow up on this with a letter to the Commission and also a letter to the Attorney General on what these contested sentencing issues mean.

8 My own experience in my preparation for this hearing leads me to believe that the advisory 9 quidelines do not cause unwarranted disparities. In 10 fact, in my view, they often prevent unwarranted 11 12 disparities. In my experience, the most pronounced and unfair disparities are caused by first, prosecutors 13 14 exercising their discretion, particularly in cases where there's a mandatory minimum involved. And 15 second, the failure of some of the guidelines to 16 17 recommend a fair and rational sentence.

18 After Booker, of course, judges can reduce these disparities to some extent. And not all 19 20 disparities should be avoided, because after all, the 21 Sentencing Reform Act said that disparities that are based upon the purposes of sentencing are not only 22 23 inevitable but they are desirable. The Sentencing 24 Reform Act also directed the Commission to reduce 25 unwarranted disparities but said the Commission should maintain sufficient flexibility so that there can be
 individualized sentencings.

3 So there has always been differences 4 among districts and there always will be. Some 5 interdistrict disparity is warranted, some is not. As б I mentioned, my office administers four CJA panels and 7 we cover two districts. We cover the Southern District 8 of Iowa, where my home office in Des Moines is, and we also cover the Northern District of Iowa, and the 9 districts are basically split by Interstate 80 that 10 runs east and west across the state of Iowa. And for 11 12 the most part, the two districts have similar 13 demographics, similar rates of crime and similar types 14 of crimes; but in the past ten years as federal defenders, in comparing the two districts, I've 15 concluded that the prosecutors in the Northern District 16 17 of Iowa create unwarranted disparities, and they do 18 this in a number of ways: first by overcharging; second, by seeking unduly severe sentences; and third, 19 20 by manipulating some of the rules to their advantage. 21 And in the written testimony I've given some examples of how this happens in the Northern District, but I'd 22 23 like to point out just a couple of them.

24 Sometimes this happens in relation to 25 mandatory minimums and it occurs when the mandatory

1 minimums require an absurd result that is beyond the 2 ability of the court to repair it. Dane Yirkovsky, for 3 example, was living with his girlfriend, and instead of 4 paying rent, he decided he would help her remodel the 5 house that they were living in. And one day he was б pulling up some carpet and he discovered a bullet under 7 the carpet. He didn't think anything of it and he put 8 it in a box and left it there, and that's where the police later found it. So he was charged with being a 9 felon in possession of a bullet in the Northern 10 District of Iowa. He had on his record a couple of 11 12 prior burglaries and an attempted burglary, which qualified him as an armed career criminal, and the 13 14 district court sentenced him to the 15 years in prison that that statute requires for possessing a single 15 16 bullet. He appealed, naturally, and the Eighth Circuit affirmed the sentence, and the Eighth Circuit said we 17 18 recognize that this is an extreme penalty under the circumstances of this offense, but our hands are tied 19 by the mandatory minimum sentence that the Congress has 20 21 imposed in this case.

Another instance where I think the U.S. Attorney's Office in the Northern District of Iowa creates unwarranted disparities is in their selection of charges. As you all know, the safety valve has a

list of statutes to which it applies, and in small town 1 2 Iowa and even in some of the smaller cities in Iowa, 3 you don't have to walk far or drive far before you get 4 to a playground or to a school or to a library, so 5 you're within easy distance of one of those protected б zones under 21 United States Code § 860, so the 7 prosecutors in the Northern District of Iowa add that 8 charge when they can to the drug indictments; and if they get a conviction on that charge, it disqualifies 9 someone who might otherwise be eligible for the safety 10 valve, and so that is a manipulation of the rules that 11 12 I believe is unfair.

13 You've also heard in previous hearings 14 about §1B1.8 of the guidelines, the provision that provides for immunity when a defendant gives 15 information to the government; and you've heard that in 16 some districts of the country, that immunity attaches 17 shortly after arrest, and it goes back to when the 18 person was arrested, if they start cooperating then. 19 In other districts, for example in the Southern 20 21 District of Iowa, where I practice most often, that immunity attaches after you have a formal written 22 23 proffer agreement with the government. 24 In the Northern District of Iowa, it's a

25 different and, in my view, a worse system because they

don't use §1B1.8. People who cooperate with the 1 2 government in the Northern District of Iowa in the proffer agreements, it says anything you say is going 3 4 to be used against you, including at your sentencing. 5 So people sometimes decide to proffer, although as you б might imagine this policy is a big disincentive on 7 proffering. And when they do proffer, the information they implicate themselves on sometimes boosts the 8 sentence up above where they might otherwise have been. 9 10 Back in 2001, we raised this issue as a 11 ground for a departure in U.S. v. Buckendahl, and 12 Judge Bennett agreed that that should be a basis for a 13 departure because it created this interdistrict 14 disparity; and the testimony from our experts and from 15 others included that the Northern District of Iowa rarely, rarely uses 1B1.8, and that it is maybe one of 16 17 three or four other districts in the country that refuse to use §1B1.8. 18

19 So Judge Bennett ruled in our favor, the 20 government appealed, and the Eighth Circuit reversed 21 and said that no, this type of interdistrict disparity 22 is not a basis for a departure, the Commission took 23 this into account, and so it's not a basis for a 24 departure.

25 After Booker the issue was raised again

as a basis for a variance. Judge Bennett ruled in our 1 2 favor again, it went to the Eighth Circuit, and the 3 Eighth Circuit again reversed and said, no, it's not a 4 basis for a variance either, this type of interdistrict 5 disparity. And so that's where it sits now, the U.S. б Attorney's Office in the Northern District still does 7 not grant 1B1.8 protection, and it is not a basis for a 8 departure or a variance, but we will most likely continue to raise that issue. 9

10 Finally, the U.S. Attorney's Office in the Northern District of Iowa withholds the 11 12 § 3553(e) motion in some cases in order to reduce the judge's discretion to give a reduction for substantial 13 14 assistance. I cited the Moeller case in the testimony. And there Mr. Moeller had been involved in drug 15 trafficking, and his sentencing range was 78 to 97 16 17 months, and he had cooperated early on in the case. He 18 gave information that lead to a search warrant of a codefendant's house, he gave three proffer statements 19 20 and he also testified at a codefendant's sentencing; 21 and when it came time for his sentencing, again, he was looking at that 78- to 97-month range, the government 22 23 filed a 5K1 motion and recommended a 20 percent 24 reduction, which would have taken him from 78 months 25 down to 62 months, just two months above the five-year

1 mandatory minimum. And the government refused to file 2 the 3553(e) motion that would have let the court go 3 below the mandatory minimum. Judge Bennett, again, 4 asked the government many questions about why they were 5 doing this, and in the end he ordered that they file б the motion. They did. He sentenced the defendant to 7 50 months. The government appealed. He was reversed 8 again because you can't compel the government to file that motion unless there's some showing of bad faith on 9 their part. So that, again, is the status of the 10 situation in the Northern District. 11 The Northern District also will file a 12 13 3553(e) motion on some counts in an indictment and not on other counts, again to control the judge's 14 discretion to go below a mandatory minimum. 15 And I've heard it asked at the hearing 16 17 yesterday, and I've seen it in other transcripts of 18 regional hearings, whether we see low-level offenders coming through the system and going to prison, and the 19 20 answer is that yes, we do. 21 There are a lot of methamphetamine cases 22 in Iowa and so we see people who have been serving as 23 couriers or mules. We see people, sometimes 24 girlfriends of men, who are involved in methamphetamine

25 transactions who get pulled in to maybe make a delivery

or to make some phone calls. They get pulled in and
 are subject to the mandatory minimum sentences.

3 We also, as far as low-level offenders 4 go, last year in May had nearly 300 low-level offenders 5 sentenced to incarceration in Postville, Iowa. The б folks who were working at the meat packing plant there, 7 who were trying to earn a living for their families, 8 were threatened with aggravated identity theft charges and the two-year mandatory minimum that that entails 9 unless they agreed to an 11(c)(1)(C) plea to five 10 months in jail, and virtually all of them agreed to 11 12 that deal. They had no choice. Unfortunately, earlier this year -- well, fortunately from the defense 13 14 perspective but unfortunately for those defendants, the United States Supreme Court eliminated the basis for 15 the threat that the prosecutors used in the 16 17 Flores-Figueroa case, where the Supreme Court said that 18 the government has to prove that the defendant knew he was using an ID that belonged to another real person, 19 20 but those 300 defendants went to jail. 21 And to add insult to injury, and to just

digress a little bit here for a moment, some of them were held by the government as material witnesses, and they were released before the trial, but the government wanted them to be material witnesses for Sholom

1 Rubashkin, who was the owner of the Agriprocessors 2 meatpacking plant, and that trial is going on right 3 now. It was transferred to Sioux Falls, South Dakota, 4 about 300 miles or so from Postville. The added 5 indignity of the situation is that these people have б been staying in the United States. Many of them, when 7 I spoke with them, wanted to just go back to Guatemala. 8 But they've been staying here to be material witnesses, and recently I learned that they have to go to Sioux 9 Falls to be witnesses in this trial, but under the 10 statute, the government cannot pay for a hotel room for 11 12 them because they are in the United States illegally. 13 So the government is trying to find homeless shelters 14 and other places to put these material witnesses up. That's the most recent thing I've heard, the most 15 recent bit of indignity forced upon these people. 16 17 Getting back to methamphetamine cases 18 briefly, another group of people are the folks who do "smurfing," and smurfing is when you go to the local 19 20 convenience store, you go to the drugstore and you buy 21 some pseudoephedrine for the person who's going to 22 manufacture the methamphetamine and you make that delivery. And there are a number of those cases 23 24 pending right now in the Northern District of Iowa

where people have been out smurfing and they are facing

1 sentences for that conduct.

2 The guidelines for actual 3 methamphetamine were increased some time ago when 4 Congress increased those mandatory minimums, and then 5 when the pseudoephedrine issue came on the scene, the б penalties for pseudoephedrine were linked to the 7 quidelines for actual methamphetamine. It's a one-to-two ratio. So some of these low-level offenders 8 who were just involved in smurfing are getting 9 10 sentenced at levels similar to those who are actually 11 doing the production of the methamphetamine. So that brings me finally to guideline 12 13 changes that we would request. And the first is to 14 remove the link between mandatory minimums and the drug guidelines. That link creates the type of injustice 15 that I've just mentioned. And we also ask that you at 16 17 least cut two levels off of the current drug guidelines because, as with the crack cocaine guidelines, those 18 guidelines are above the mandatory minimum levels. And 19 20 if you believe that you can't amend the drug guidelines 21 at this point and to delink them from the mandatory minimums, we ask that you at least publish a report 22 23 with an alternative guideline proposal in order to 24 educate Congress and to continue educating Congress on 25 the seriousness of this issue.

We ask also that you expand the safety valve to cover all mandatory minimums and to at least cover people in Criminal History Category II to avoid the imposition of mandatory minimums on people who sometimes still have relatively minimal criminal records.

7 In Iowa you get an DWI, driving while 8 intoxicated offense, and then you lose your license, and if you then get a license under suspension 9 conviction and get sent to jail for 30 days, that's two 10 criminal history points, and then you don't qualify for 11 12 the safety valve. And making this change would also help avoid that manipulation of including a charge 13 14 under 21 U.S.C. § 860 for conducting drug activities in a protected zone. 15 I ask also that you amend the guidelines 16 17 that are prone to manipulation. For example, amend 18 §1B1.8 to say, at least in the commentary, that the Commission does not have a policy of approving 19 20 unwarranted disparities that are created by the disuse 21 of that guideline. Just a commentary would go a long 22 way toward correcting the Eighth Circuit's 23 interpretation of what the prosecutors in the Northern 24 District of Iowa do.

25 And then reduce the child pornography

1 penalties. Judge Easterbrook and many other judges 2 have talked about how severe those sentences are. In the Iowa districts, as in most districts, these 3 4 defendants who are charged with possession of child 5 pornography or receipt of child pornography have little б criminal history, in my experience, and usually have no 7 contact defenses, and the studies have shown that they 8 rarely recidivate; so when judges are sentencing these people below the child pornography guideline level, 9 they are merely following the empirical data and the 10 purposes of sentences, as they are supposed to. 11

12 In fact yesterday, Mr. Jones testified 13 and he submitted written testimony. That testimony 14 said, quote, "I cannot help but wonder if the rate of government-sponsored below-range sentences [and] the 15 increasing rate of contested below-range sentences 16 17 imposed by the court, in some instances, are signals 18 that perhaps, the present guidelines should be reevaluated." And that's precisely what we ask you to 19 do, is to reevaluate the child pornography guideline in 20 21 light of what the judges are doing. 22 And Judge Loken, sitting here yesterday, 23 said that in his experience, you get a child

24 pornography case and the three and four enhancements,

25 the sentences are, and he said, horrendous. And Judge

Loken also said that the Eighth Circuit had looked at 1 2 the Gall decision, the decision issued by Judge Pratt, 3 who was on the previous panel. And Judge Loken said 4 yesterday that they thought that case was an outlier, 5 but Judge Pratt in that that case calculated the б guidelines, he applied the 3553(a) factors, and he 7 decided that probation in that case would have provided sufficient punishment. And the Supreme Court agreed 8 that probation is punishment. And Mr. Fitzgerald in 9 Chicago said that the instances of straight probation 10 that have been imposed have increased since Booker and 11 that has reduced certainty of sentences, certainty of 12 punishment, but the data doesn't support him. We've 13 14 provided that data on page 16 of my testimony. 15 In fact, probation for all offenses, as

well as probation for fraud offenses, has been reduced 16 from 2003, reduced again to 2008, and reduced to 2009. 17 18 And so we ask the Commission to provide guidance on probation and on other alternatives to imprisonment, 19 20 and we ask you to continue to correct the 21 misimpressions that often arise on these issues. 22 And thank you again for having me come 23 today. 24 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, 25 Mr. Drees. Mr. Telthorst.

1 MR. TELTHORST: Thank you again for 2 inviting me to Denver. I am humbled to speak at this 3 venue. Whenever I take on a guideline case, or really 4 any case, for that matter, I'm always interested in the 5 big picture story behind the case beyond just б understanding the evidence against my client, the 7 crimes that he might have committed, and try to look at 8 the root causes of what caused him now to be sitting in the federal jail across from me, across from the glass 9 wall; and over the years I've distilled out some pretty 10 common denominators that tend to bring my clients under 11 12 the purview of the guidelines; and as I share these 13 issues with you, I know that none of them is going to surprise you. We don't have to be sociologists or 14 psychologists to figure these out. They're pretty 15 common. They're issues like poverty, sexual abuse, 16 17 including fetal alcohol and drug abuse, sexual 18 exploitation, greed, absent fathers, addictions, low self-esteem, just generally dysfunctional families. 19 20 And when I come to understand my clients 21 more as human beings and not just as people who have maybe broken the law, I usually find that I'm more 22 23 successful in sentencing if I can speak to the court on 24 a human level and, of course, under the advisory 25 quidelines that's easier to do now, or at least my

words have more relevance to the court than I think
 they used to. And I wonder if perhaps the guidelines
 might be modified in a way to address some of these
 root causes.

5 My thinking is that ultimately all of us б are going to be accountable for the sentences that are 7 imposed against criminal defendants. That includes the 8 judge, the prosecutor, the defense counsel, the community at large, everyone is going to be 9 accountable, because in five years, ten years, twenty 10 years, at some point in the future these people are going 11 12 to be released back into our communities. And even if they're deported, my experience is a lot of times 13 14 they'll be back in our communities; and all of us, if for no other reason than we're taxpayers, we're going 15 to be accountable for what we did back at that original 16 17 sentencing hearing. We're going to be accountable for 18 what efforts we provided these people for rehabilitation, what sort of meaningful programs we 19 afforded them in prison, how well we tailored the 20 21 length of their sentence to be proportional to the 22 seriousness of their crime. I think we're going to be 23 accountable for what we did to address the problems of 24 the families that are left behind.

25 Just this year I've had the wife of a

client come in with, I think, probably three children 1 2 under the age of three, two or three, and she had maybe 3 one on the way, and she was trying to understand why her 4 husband couldn't be released on bond in the federal 5 system, and she was asking me how she was supposed to б buy diapers and pay for food, and how we could maybe 7 help her out. And I think these sorts of issues, although they don't directly come under the purview of 8 the guidelines, I think they're relevant to the 9 guidelines and, again, I think they're issues that 10 we're all going to have to address. 11 12 I'm just coming to a point in my 13 practice where I've been around long enough to start to 14 see the second generation of some of my client's families come into court, and that troubles me, and I 15 think it should trouble the Commission as well. 16 17 I don't want to come across as a liberal 18 ideologue here to suggest that sentencing should all be about rehabilitating people and helping their families, 19 20 but these are relevant concerns. When I think of ways 21 that we might address these issues, I think of some of the issues that I mentioned in my written testimony. 22 23 For example, broadening the sentencing zones in the 24 guidelines would be a pretty simple means of giving 25 judges the power to recognize that individual

1 defendants are human beings and not just the

2 intersection of an offense level and a criminal history 3 category score.

4 I wonder if the Commission might be able 5 to suggest a broader range of programs in prison, along б the lines of RDAP. RDAP can be great but pretty 7 restrictive in terms of the people for whom it's 8 available. How is it that an illegal alien is not entitled to the same break for drug counseling as 9 somebody who's a United States citizen. I'm not sure I 10 understand why an alien should be treated differently 11 12 in terms of that, and I wonder if there might be other programs that could give incentives for prisoners to 13 14 reform themselves, to take their own initiative, to make themselves better people. Again, in five years, ten 15 16 years, 15 years, these people are going to be living in 17 my community, and I want them, just from a completely 18 selfish perspective, the community in which I want my children to grow up, I want it to be safe. I want 19 prisoners to come out of the system who have been 20 21 reformed and who are going to have productive lives, and I don't want their children to have turned into 22 23 criminals while they've been away; but, of course, as 24 we all know, that's typically the cycle that we see. 25 Another big step, I think, toward

1 addressing these long-term view issues would be 2 eliminating mandatory minimum sentences. As I 3 mentioned in my written testimony, mandatory minimums 4 are blunt instruments. They can't distinguish well 5 between the mule or the girlfriend of the drug dealer б or the wife of the drug dealer, and I've had all these 7 kinds of cases, suddenly somebody is subject to a 8 mandatory ten-year sentence or a mandatory 20-year sentence, and it's hard for me to explain to those 9 persons why that is. And oftentimes those low-level 10 participants, say the girlfriend, she's in the worst 11 12 position to earn a 5K because she really doesn't know 13 very much in terms of a proffer. She can't help 14 herself and dig herself out of that mandatory minimum 15 as easily as maybe the head guy of the conspiracy can. Other than bringing up this long-range 16 17 view of the guidelines, I don't have a whole lot more to say. I think I'll conclude here. I came to Denver 18 not just to speak to you, but to listen to you and 19 hopefully to understand better some of your concerns 20 21 about the guidelines. Again, I thank you. 22 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you, sir. 23 VICE CHAIR CASTILLO: I was trying to 24 think of an analogy, Mr. Moore, when you say why should 25 you take the stairs to the top of the Empire State

Building, but I don't even think I want to touch that. 1 2 Instead, what I want to do is kind of reconcile your 3 written testimony with your oral testimony. Your oral 4 testimony is just get rid of departures. On the other 5 hand, your written testimony, at page 19, which would б have my support, is to really make some good changes to 7 the departure language. So how do you reconcile those 8 two things? And, before I give you the opportunity to respond, why do you think that we're going to put in 9 thou shall not language in new departure language, when 10 I don't think I've heard anyone suggest that. 11

12 MR. MOORE: Okay. First, perhaps I 13 spoke too quickly. I did and do recall saying that 14 they should be replaced with open-ended things, such as role in the offense and more positive or permissive 15 types of departures. So I don't see a reconciliation 16 17 other than perhaps in the interest of trying to stay within the bounds of the allotted time. I may have 18 clipped where I should have watered. 19

In terms of why do I see, I don't see anything. I'm not suggesting that I have the ability to suggest that the Commission, in its consideration of departure issues, is leaning more in one direction than another. I'm not suggesting that you've signaled it. I'm simply suggesting that the current structure was a

much better fit for the older system, and I would hope 1 2 that there is enough recognition of the current system 3 being a different system with a different currency that 4 we could move not just a little bit, but firmly, 5 solidly and aggressively towards open-ended departures, б encouraging departures and explaining the philosophy of 7 those items in detail, rather than just, you know, 8 saying we think this may or may not be. 9 If there's -- many of these things that we can talk about, almost all of them, have been the 10 subject of study by someone or another, and that 11 12 information hasn't really been anything that anybody got any comph out of. You can pull this together. And 13 14 at least if there is a clear understanding of the Commission's view on, you pick it, role in the offense, 15 16 the disparity between fast-track programs in districts 17 that have them and districts that don't, or any of a 18 number of other things. It may be that, in fact, defense attorneys will find that maybe there is some 19 20 value in taking the stairs every now and then. There 21 is some exercise, if you would. It would certainly 22 line up more with current law. It would certainly give 23 the Commission more persuasive authority, and I think 24 it would help the system as a whole. And I hope I've 25 answered your question.

VICE CHAIR CASTILLO: You have. Thank
 you.

COMMISSIONER HOWELL: I want to thank 3 4 you all for testifying. All of your testimony was 5 enormously helpful, and again, I mean, we've heard from б public defenders around the country and, once again, I 7 have to say that your written testimony was excellent and provided a lot of food for thought, as all the 8 testimony we've received has in all of our hearings. 9 So I want to thank you in particular for the amount of 10 work and the great analysis that you all have provided 11 12 and provocative food for thought.

I also want to thank you for helping to make more complete the record on the *Rausch* case. I think the eyebrow-raising statement in the U.S. Attorney's testimony about the extraordinary downward departure in that case or variance in that case did prompt, you know -- or did invite elaboration on what that record was, and I appreciate that.

I want to turn to a question and call upon your persuasive arguments or discussion of a law enforcement issue that when taking your testimony as a whole, all three of you, what you would really like is to have no mandatory minimums and elimination of the mandatory minimums and under an advisory system. The

1 concern that law enforcement would have is if you have 2 an advisory system, no mandatory minimums, how are you 3 going to persuade defendants or offenders to cooperate 4 and cooperate promptly. And that was part of the --5 you know, to sort of echo or take on sort of a twist on б Jonathan's question about which would you prefer, 7 current system or a mandatory advisory system with no 8 mandatory minimums, part of the thrust of the second option is to continue to address significant law 9 enforcement concerns about being able to follow a chain 10 in a conspiracy to actually get people to cooperate and 11 12 find, you know, higher level individuals or a full -all the culprits in a particular offense conduct. 13 14 So my question to you is, what's the response? If the Commission adopts your recommendation 15 and tells Congress let's eliminate mandatory minimums 16 17 and, by the way, everybody is really happy with just an 18 advisory system, what should the Commission do when asked by policymakers about the significant law 19 20 enforcement concern? 21 MR. DREES: Well, if I could, I'll begin 22 just with a note on deterrence because I'd seen it at

23 one of the earlier hearings, where a witness said that 24 these types of high mandatory minimum sentences really 25 deter crime, and that's contrary to my experience in meeting with clients who are facing these types of sentences. If I go in and I meet with them and I explain the guidelines to them, particularly in a drug case where the guidelines are so high, their reaction is shock and disbelief, and they say to me, you must be mistaken and I want to get a real lawyer instead of a public pretender representing me in this case.

8 And so in my view, in my experience, there is not that kind of deterrence from the severity 9 of the sentences; and I think the studies bear that out 10 too, that it's not the length of the sentence that 11 12 matters, it's the certainty of punishment, whether that's probation or a jail sentence. And so I don't 13 14 think it's solely the mandatory minimums that create that incentive for people to cooperate once they've 15 heard about the federal sentencing system. 16

17 COMMISSIONER HOWELL: I would grant you 18 that, but then under an advisory system, not only do 19 you not have the mandatory minimums, but you don't have 20 a definite certain sentence of what you're going to 21 get.

22 MR. DREES: You don't. But in an 23 advisory system, you could still have that incentive to 24 cooperate, that you're going to get a reduction in 25 sentence if the government moves for the reduction or you've provided substantial assistance. You'd still have that incentive, or the defendants would still have the incentive in an advisory system to give assistance in order to reduce their sentence down, even without mandatory minimums.

6 MR. TELTHORST: May I add to that? I 7 think your question assumes that mandatory minimum 8 sentences should be available to law enforcement as 9 tools of leverage against defendants to compel their 10 cooperation, and I don't know that that's necessarily a 11 good assumption.

But I echo Mr. Drees's position that if 12 you take away all the mandatory minimums -- and let's 13 14 say we have a big drug case and the guideline sentence is going to be 25 years, and the prosecutor comes to me 15 and says, well, I'm going to file this 851 and we're 16 17 going to start the discussion at mandatory life, and if 18 you want to cooperate, you can come. And the evidence is overwhelming against my client, she sold drugs to 19 20 undercover police officers for six months, whatever the 21 case might may be, my hands are pretty well tied. I 22 don't have a whole lot of choices, it's mandatory life 23 or cooperate and come down from that. And I think the 24 thought process in a defendant's mind is going to be 25 the same with or without that mandatory minimum

1 sentence. Whether we're talking about 25 years or
2 life, we're talking about a really, really long time
3 away from someone's family, and I think there will be
4 more than enough motivation for defendants to continue
5 to come forward and cooperate and try, at least, to
6 reduce that heavy sentence.

7 MR. MOORE: And my position echoes those 8 of my colleagues. Make no mistake, I question whether 9 or not the linkage between law enforcement purpose and the purpose of sentencing has perhaps been 10 11 over-emphasized through the course of the years, but 12 what I would suggest is simply this: That the advisory system can work, and there is fear, there is doubt, and 13 14 I suppose I embrace the comments of Judge Tacha in 15 saying give it time, it will work.

16 To the extent that people want reduction 17 in time, I don't know that I have defendants who would 18 say are you -- you know, faced with the government is going to recommend a lesser sentence for you, that they 19 20 would balk at that and somehow respond to that less 21 than if there was a mandatory minimum there. They might say, well, can you argue. Yes. But to say that 22 23 they would change their behavior solely on the basis of 24 the presence or absence of whether there was a 25 mandatory minimum, I'm not sure that I believe that.

People don't want to go to prison. People look at
 defense lawyers as not being the ones carrying the
 power stick in sentencing. They look to the government
 as being the ones who can make a difference in their
 recommendations.

6 Now, whether any of that is right or 7 wrong, I don't share your fear that eliminating 8 mandatory minimums would leave law enforcement 9 powerless. I simply don't believe it, and I think 10 that -- that the advisory system can work.

11 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: I have a couple 12 questions for you -- just, actually, one question 13 Mr. Drees, but before I say that, I should tell you 14 that my wife was raised in Des Moines and she turned 15 out okay, so from that I assume you're just fine.

You raised some criticisms of our 16 17 statistics. Two criticisms in particular, the first is 18 that we don't capture the wink and the nod that prosecutors give, and I assume that that's probably 19 with good cause. The fact is, if all of a sudden the 20 21 judge tried to make the assessment that that prosecutor really is agreeing that you'd find fewer winks and nods 22 23 and, you know, that would be quite counterproductive. 24 But the real concern that I have is that 25 your -- your dealing -- your description of how we

captured the 300 individuals, illegal aliens, that were 1 2 arrested in northern Iowa. And, you know, I have trouble understanding exactly how you described what 3 4 offenses they were convicted of, but it appeared that 5 they were assessed in our statistics in totally б inconsistent ways. And is that true and is that -- is 7 it raising some questions about our quality control in regard to these kinds of sentences? 8 9 MR. DREES: No, I don't think so. But to get back to the wink and nod issue, that wasn't 10 11 intended as a criticism of your statistics. It was 12 just to try to be thorough in explaining the data, that 13 there are these other, granted small, groups that you 14 can't capture that, I agree. 15 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Well, you're not suggesting that we change the SOR to reflect the fact 16 17 that the prosecutor has either winked or nodded or is 18 silent? 19 MR. DREES: No. 20 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: You don't want 21 that? MR. DREES: No, I'm not suggesting that. 22 23 I just wanted to state as completely as I could the 24 possible cases that were involved. 25 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: So in regard to

1 those 300 individuals, I really didn't understand that 2 paragraph that you had.

3 MR. DREES: The point there was that 4 most of these 300 people were offered this five-month 5 deal to plead either to a Social Security fraud charge б or to a fraudulent visa charge or to use of false 7 information on their I-9 form. But the data -- and I don't know how it arose, the data reflected this 8 inordinately large number of immigration cases out of 9 the Northern District of Iowa. We do have a good 10 number of immigration cases, but it wouldn't be the 11 12 292, or however many were reflected in that data. And 13 so I don't know how that issue arose, but those were 14 categorized as immigration cases, and I think they were also categorized as below the guideline immigration --15 well, no, only one percent below the guideline 16 immigration cases, and it gave the appearance that 17 18 immigration cases in the Northern District of Iowa have this median sentence of about seven months, which isn't 19 20 the case. We get a good number of the 16-level bumps 21 for prior aggravated felonies.

VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: You also said the average sentence was like 16 months, or that we said that in our statistics, and of course it was five months, so I couldn't figure out how in the world we arrived at that. Are you suggesting that there was
 some quality control issue in regard to collecting that
 data?

4 MR. DREES: I don't know whether it was 5 from the Commission or whether it was in the 6 hurly-burly of that whole one-week-long processing of 7 all of these defendants who came through that maybe the 8 statement of reasons had some box checked for 9 immigration cases when, in fact, they weren't.

10 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Fraudulent 11 documents with regards to immigration status is an 12 immigration case. There would be no other way to call 13 that other than an immigration case. They were being 14 charged with fraudulent documents with regards to their 15 immigration status, which is an immigration case. They 16 weren't crossing at that point illegally, but the case 17 is an immigration case. That's what the whole 18 prosecution was about. And so you can also break down what we call immigration cases by guideline. They 19 20 would not be under 2L1.2, but they would be under 21 whatever guideline applies with regards to the 22 fraudulent document with regards to your immigration 23 status. It isn't that they've been classified 24 incorrectly, because they are immigration cases. 25 That's what this is all about.

VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: But I thought that 1 2 in your draft, in your letter, you said that not all 3 292 got immigration. There was some immigration, there 4 was some Social Security, there was some Y, X and Z, 5 and they all had different sentences, and it didn't б seem to jive with what you had said happened. 7 MR. DREES: That's right. There were 8 some Social Security fraud cases. 9 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: But it's all related with regards to the charge under fraudulent 10 documents with regards to immigration status. 11 MR. DREES: Even though it was 42 U.S. 12 13 Code § 408, or whatever it was for the Social 14 Security charge? 15 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: I have not seen 16 the charges. I'm just saying that however they came, 17 they would be put into that particular document. It isn't like somebody at the Commission would have 18 automatically called them immigration cases unless they 19 came from an immigration guideline. 20 21 Now that we're talking about examples, you spoke about the one bullet case. And I guess just 22 23 to clarify the thinking of what got into the 24 prosecution, how did they get into the home in the 25 first place? Were they looking for something else?

Did they have a search warrant with regards to some other potential violation of the law that brought them into the home where they found the matchbox with the one bullet?

5 MR. DREES: I think Mr. Yirkovsky's 6 relationship with his girlfriend went bad and they had 7 a falling out of some sort. And I believe it was a 8 dispute over some property issue between them, and 9 that's what brought the police in and got them 10 searching.

11 COMMISSIONER FRIEDRICH: Mr. Moore, I 12 have a couple questions for you. You've expressed 13 disagreement with the illegal reentry guideline and say 14 that's something we should focus on. And as you know, in the past we've struggled with this, how to change. 15 We get a lot of comments from all sides that there's 16 problems with that guideline. So my first question is, 17 18 I'm very interested in how you would recommend that we do change. Should we continue to focus on the severity 19 20 of the prior record? Should we be looking at other 21 things like how many times an individual has been in the United States illegally? What would your specific 22 23 suggestions be in that regard? Go ahead. MR. MOORE: Okay. First decide what 24

24 MR. MOORE: Okay. First decide what
 25 purpose of sentencing you're trying to advance. Is it

simply punishment? Is it recidivism? Is it how
 frequently people return to the United States? Is it

3 promote respect for the law? Whichever one of those or 4 combinations of those outcomes you choose will probably 5 influence which way you go with specific offense 6 characteristics.

7 But if I were being critical in a broader sense it would be this: One of the things 8 that's always troubled me about that guideline is that 9 it seems to be just divorced from the whole concept of 10 the rest of the guidelines. You hear, and you hear 11 12 often, about offense conduct. It's all about offense 13 conduct, sentence for real behavior. And you look at 14 this and, frankly, the behavior, the conduct of 15 reentering the United States, is the same. It's the same whether I've got an aggravated felony or I have no 16 17 felony. It is the same. It is essentially coming over 18 by boat, by land, I suppose by air, and breathing. 19

So we're not really, in the current guideline, in my opinion, punishing anything that has to do with offense behavior. I think what we're doing is that we're looking at bogeymen. We're saying years ago you did this and, therefore, you're scary; and, therefore, we want to give you more time to give you an incentive to not come back because we believe that 1 you're going to do it again.

Now, what's curious about that, is that when you look at these types of things on the criminal history category, which is really kind of projecting along that same vein, recidivism, how much time does the person need, when is his sentence relevant or not relevant, there are time cut-offs; but over in the illegal reentry, there are none.

9 I think what you should look at is any number of things. I think you should look at, perhaps, 10 how long ago, I think, that they were deported and when 11 12 they came back. How many times? Perhaps what are they 13 doing while they're here. Are they reentering the 14 United States and working or are they reentering the United States and fulfilling the bogeyman fear? There 15 are any number of things, but I suggest that they be 16 17 things that's tied to the conduct and what purpose it 18 is you are trying to achieve.

And right now, all I can do is guess at it. My guess is similar to Judge Hartz's, that it's some kind of a projection about what's going to go on in the future, and I don't think that we as a country have ever really embraced this kind of punish you for what you might do over punish you for what you've done. ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Mr. Moore, I

think what's unfair about that statement is that the 1 2 statute itself is worded that way. It used to be when 3 I came on the bench, the most you could get for that 4 offense was two years. Congress amended that statute 5 to read two years, up to ten years if you have been б convicted of a felony before you were deported, removed 7 or whatever that list is; and it's up to 20 years if 8 you were deported or removed after a conviction for an aggravated felony, and then there's a definition in the 9 statute of an aggravated felony. So this isn't 10 something that just came out of nowhere. It's in the 11 12 law itself.

13 MR. MOORE: Sir, I don't suggest that it 14 came out of nowhere. I do suggest that what Congress decided to do and the bases upon which it decided to 15 increase the statutory maximum, does not necessarily 16 17 mean that that is something that the Commission must 18 embrace in determining what is the appropriate sentence. Because just as those statutory maximums at 19 20 one end are two or tens or 20s, in each instance, even 21 when it went from two to ten to 20, it also was zero. And 22 so for those who are persons who have committed an 23 aggravated felony, it is zero to 20 and, therefore, in 24 that range there must be brought to bear some way of 25 distinguishing these people other than by saying this

offense constitutes that on the -- and just arbitrarily
 putting a number on.

3 I don't know what the basis is for the 4 16-level enhancement. I know that when the guideline 5 was originally created, it was an offense level 6 and б that now for some defendants, for reasons that I don't 7 know, and it may be my ignorance, the severity has 8 increased by 400 percent. I just don't think that this linkage to Congress set the maximum means that we must 9 move our sentencing policy in the exact same direction 10 if there is a philosophy that suggests going in a 11 different direction. 12

13 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Congress itself 14 went from two to 20 years. What percent is that? Is 15 that 1,000 percent or what percent is that? So there was a policy decision made by Congress with regards to 16 17 that particular violation of the law. And I say from 18 experience, because I was on the bench when it was two years was the maximum. And so let's say I was in a 19 20 totally discretionary system, no guidelines, am I to 21 ignore the fact that Congress has told me that this person with this particular kind of conviction before 22 23 they were deported or removed, I should treat them the 24 same?

25

MR. MOORE: No, sir, but their bad math

must not be your bad math either. I just simple say 1 2 that purposes of sentencing is more than simply 3 Congress setting maximums. This is why I ask for more 4 information. This is why others ask for more 5 information. This is why information in the form of б empirical data, something other than simply Congress 7 raised the number, would enable defense attorneys, 8 prosecutors, district court judges and appellate judges to better understand, appreciate and respect the 9 quidelines; and if our opinions on that matter are 10 11 different, then we just simply share different 12 opinions. 13 MR. DREES: And if I might just follow 14 up briefly, it's in those situations where the 15 Sentencing Commission has followed congressional directives, the Supreme Court has said that your 16 determination is --17 18 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: This isn't a 19 directive, it's the maximum. It's the law. It's been 20 changed. It's not a directive. This is a change in 21 the law with regards to what the maximum was from two to 20 years. 22 23 MR. DREES: And you have interpreted

24 that as a directive that you must, in turn, increase 25 the guidelines.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Well, do you 1 2 just pretend like it wasn't changed? 3 MR. DREES: I'm not saying that you have 4 to just ignore it. 5 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: That's the б question here. Let's say we didn't have guidelines and 7 I'm just the judge looking at what I need to do. One of the 3553(a) factors is consider the sentences 8 available. And for certain people that's two years, 9 for other people it's up to ten years, for other people 10 it's up to 20 years. And do I pretend like that's a 11 12 factor that I don't consider? 13 MR. DREES: No. I'm saying you don't 14 ignore what Congress has said, but one of the 15 functions, as I understand it, of the Sentencing Commission, is to educate Congress and to educate the 16 17 lawyers and the judges and the public on the purposes 18 of sentencing, and that's the type of empirical information that I believe Mr. Moore was seeking, is 19 20 what is the purpose of the sentence in these 21 immigration cases. Why do we impose a 16-level increase on these people? Does it serve some purpose 22 23 of retribution or deterrence or rehabilitation or 24 simple incapacitation. But it is the Sentencing 25 Commission's function, I believe, to educate us on that

and do that by performing your own studies or looking
 at studies performed by others.

3 VICE CHAIR SESSIONS: Well, not to look 4 at history, but when I was on the -- when Ruben and I 5 were on the Commission at the very beginning, when б those changes were made, they were all getting 16. 7 Everyone was getting a 16-level increase. And what 8 actually that guideline did was substantially reduce the penalties for all of the persons who received less 9 than the 16-level bump, historically. 10

11 Now, your point about the empirical 12 study is -- remains the same, there's some question as 13 to whether judgment of commissioners also becomes a 14 relevant factor in that regard, but historically, the 15 fact is, the way we got there is because of a dramatic 16 reduction in penalties, not an increase.

MR. MOORE: And I recognize that. I
appreciate that and I respect that. By the same token,
the rate of departures really isn't changing -- the
departures below-guideline sentences, really isn't
changing, and that signal means something.

ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: What is changing about that particular guideline, to answer some of the questions, is if I'm not mistaken, that's one of the guidelines that has the least departure variance rate

1 that is not government sponsored. When you compare it 2 to some of the other guidelines and the 3 nongovernment-sponsored departure variance rate, that 4 one shows up, when you look at immigration cases, at a 5 lower percentage. 6 You know, I'm not disagreeing with your 7 views or how you're classifying the punishment here. 8 I'm just saying that when you look at departure variance rates in immigration cases. I do believe that 9 it's different than it is in other cases. 10 MR. MOORE: Well, I think that there are 11 12 hiccups in the system that may account for that. I 13 mean, obviously --14 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: There may be 15 some, and it will certainly be something that we all should look at. 16 17 MR. MOORE: There are states that have massive contributions to the statistics relative to 18 others, and so if those are fast-track states, then you 19 would, of course, see the numbers sliding in the 20 21 direction to which you've just referred. And so I hear you. I agree with you. I don't have it all broken 22 23 down in my head. 24 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: It's not just 25 the government sponsored. I do believe also that the

within-guideline sentences are at a higher percentage in those type of cases than they are in the others, without including the government-sponsored departure variances. And I may be wrong, because obviously I deal with immigration cases, as well as with a bunch of other cases in my court, but it is something that I've looked at.

8 MR. DREES: And we'll certainly accept 9 your invitation to look further into it and submit 10 something further on that issue.

11 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: As we will 12 continue to do. Does anybody else have any other questions? Thank you all very much, and I do have to 13 14 say that it's always good to hear from federal defenders and prosecutors because we obviously, as 15 district judges, rely on them in the courtroom. And on 16 behalf of the Commission, I want to thank all of the 17 18 participants who, for the last day and a half, have participated in this public hearing. I also want to, 19 20 on behalf of the Commission, thank the entire staff, 21 Judy Sheon, the staff director, as well as all the members of the staff, for their hard work with regards 22 23 to this particular regional public hearing, which went 24 off as well as all the other four have gone.

25 We know it's not easy and we know it's

difficult to get it all set up and to put all of us in 1 2 place, and so we certainly appreciate it very much, and certainly each one of the members of each one of the 3 4 panels thanks you for your time and all of the thoughts 5 that you have shared. And I hope that everyone takes б the fact that if we do ask questions or make comments, 7 that it's all part of our job with regards to how we 8 try to arrive at guideline amendments and guideline 9 promulgations that satisfy the 3553(a) factors and the 10 statutory requirements that the Commission has, as well 11 as conduct all the other work we do, which is data collection, training, research, reports to Congress; 12 13 and the fact that you all are here make our job easier. 14 MR. MOORE: All that I would say is that 15 we take no offense and appreciate the opportunity to engage in discussion. 16 17 ACTING CHAIR HINOJOSA: Thank you all very much. 18 19 ... The hearing was adjourned at 20 12:02 p.m. 21 22 23 24 25