1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
2	x
3	ALLEN RYAN ALLEYNE, :
4	Petitioner : No. 11-9335
5	v. :
6	UNITED STATES :
7	x
8	Washington, D.C.
9	Monday, January 14, 2013
10	
11	The above-entitled matter came on for oral
12	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States
13	at 10:02 a.m.
14	APPEARANCES:
15	MARY E. MAGUIRE, ESQ., Assistant Federal Public
16	Defender, Richmond, Virginia; on behalf of
17	Petitioner.
18	MICHAEL R. DREEBEN, ESQ., Deputy Solicitor General,
19	Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
20	Respondent.
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1 PROCEEDINGS 2 (10:02 a.m.) 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We'll hear argument 4 first this morning in Case 11-9335, Alleyne v. United 5 States. Ms. Maguire? 6 7 ORAL ARGUMENT OF MARY E. MAGUIRE 8 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER 9 MS. MAGUIRE: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it 10 please the Court: 11 This case is about who gets to decide the 12 facts that trigger a mandatory minimum sentence. Any 13 fact that entitles a prosecution by law to a sentence 14 more severe than a judge could otherwise impose must be 15 found by the jury beyond a reasonable doubt. 16 Under Harris, the government is entitled --17 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Counsel, could you 18 address an issue that's very important to me, the one of 19 stare decisis. And so that -- hone in on that. 20 MS. MAGUIRE: Yes, Justice Sotomayor. I do 21 not believe that stare decisis poses a problem for the Court in this case because Harris was a plurality 22 23 opinion. And while four of the Justices found that --24 I'm sorry, five of the Justices voted to uphold 25 McMillan, only four of the Justices found that McMillan

1 was consistent with Apprendi.

2 And so we have a plurality opinion, and, for 3 our constitutional position, we do not believe that 4 Harris --

5 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, the problem is, 6 whether you're right or wrong -- and you're absolutely 7 right, it was a plurality opinion -- your adversary says 8 States have passed laws relying on it, the Federal 9 system is now structured around it, why isn't the damage 10 as great as they claim -- potential damage, I should 11 say.

MS. MAGUIRE: Well, first of all, I would just note that, even though McMillan was decided in 14 1986, there is nothing in the legislative history that 15 indicates that Congress referred on McMillan when it 16 passed 924(c).

17 In addition, 924(c) is silent as to who 18 should be the fact-finder that triggers the mandatory 19 minimum. And, finally, in the McMillan case, that was 20 not really a Sixth Amendment case --

21 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Address, please, the 22 practical consequences.

23 MS. MAGUIRE: Certainly.

JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: How many -- how many
 Federal courts are you aware are already charging the

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1 924(c) facts to a jury, notwithstanding the -- the fact 2 that it's not required? MS. MAGUIRE: Yes, I -- I would say that 3 4 there is little to no practical effect, if the Court is 5 to adopt a rule, because the majority of the Federal courts are already -- and Federal prosecutors are 6 7 already -- alleging these facts in the indictment and proving them to a jury beyond a reasonable doubt. And I 8 think that this case is the exact example of that. 9 10 It was alleged in the indictment. It went 11 to the jury, the jury got a special verdict form, so 12 there is no difficulty in implementing this rule --13 JUSTICE ALITO: But isn't your position that 14 a decision of this Court is not entitled to stare 15 decisis protection, if there isn't a majority opinion in 16 that case? 17 MS. MAGUIRE: Yes, Your Honor. I do not 18 believe that Harris has precedential value because it is 19 a plurality opinion. In our --20 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, I can think of some 21 pretty important decisions of this Court that were not 22 the result of a majority opinion. Do you want us to 23 adopt that as a blanket rule? MS. MAGUIRE: No, Your Honor, but I would 24

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note that, in constitutional questions like this one,

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1 stare decisis is at its weakness -- weakest. I would 2 also --3 JUSTICE ALITO: All right. Constitutional 4 decisions of this Court not decided with the majority opinion, no stare decisis effect. That's your argument? 5 MS. MAGUIRE: Well, and also, Your Honor, 6 7 what I think is significant in this case, in terms of 8 the issue of stare decisis, is that McMillan was not a Sixth Amendment case. McMillan was decided more on due 9 10 process grounds. And the only discussion of the Sixth 11 Amendment in McMillan comes in the last paragraph, when 12 it talks to the fact that the defendant has no right to 13 jury sentencing. 14 And so, for those reasons, we do not believe that stare decisis poses a problem. 15 16 JUSTICE SCALIA: You haven't distinguished 17 McMillan. You've distinguished Harris. How do you 18 distinguish McMillan? Your -- your only grounds for 19 distinguishing that is it was not a Sixth Amendment case, even though the opinion refers to 20 21 the Sixth Amendment? 22 MS. MAGUIRE: Well, Your Honor, it does, in

MS. MAGUIRE: Well, Your Honor, It does, In fact, refer to the Sixth Amendment in the very last paragraph. But what McMillan was mostly concerned about was a due process claim --

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1	JUSTICE SCALIA: I don't care about
2	"mostly." The issue is whether McMillan was a
3	Sixth Amendment case, in part or in whole. And I don't
4	know how you can say it wasn't. We we don't decide
5	cases on on what a case mostly says. We decide on
6	what it says.
7	MS. MAGUIRE: That's absolutely
8	JUSTICE GINSBURG: Ms. Maguire, you don't
9	you don't have to take the position that there's no
10	stare decisis effect. In a unanimous a recent
11	unanimous decision of this Court, obviously, would carry
12	more weight than one that has a plurality opinion, so
13	you don't have to say it isn't a question of yes or
14	no, it's a question of the degree of respect that we
15	would give to our former decision.
16	MS. MAGUIRE: I think that that is exactly
17	right, Justice Ginsburg. And, in fact, the other
18	factors that the Court considers when looking at stare
19	decisis is what were the margins of vote on the previous
20	cases, and McMillan was decided on a 5-4 decision,
21	whereas Harris, as we've noted, was a plurality
22	decision.
23	Both opinions were found over spirited
24	dissents. They have been criticized by this Court and
25	the lower courts, and, in all of those instances, we

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1 believe that stare decisis is at its weakest --2 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, I think it's important for this Court to have a consistent doctrine of stare 3 4 The doctrine can't be, "We will overrule decisis. 5 decisions that we don't like, but we will stick with decisions that the majority does like." So I'm still 6 7 looking for your understanding of what stare decisis means in constitutional cases. 8 9 Now, with the suggestion of 10 Justice Ginsburg, I gather that your position is, if 11 it's a narrow decision, then it's -- stare decisis has less weight; is that it? Now, what other factors? 12 So 13 it has less weight. Why isn't it controlling, though? 14 Why does it have insufficient weight here? 15 MS. MAGUIRE: Because, Justice Alito, 16 another thing that you look -- look to, when you are 17 considering stare decisis, is whether or not the rule is 18 workable, whether or not the prior decision was badly 19 reasoned, and those are other factors that the Court can 20 consider. 21 And, if you look at this Court's Sixth 22 Amendment jurisprudence, as it has developed since 23 Apprendi, then in Booker, then in Blakely, then in Cunningham, what we are asking for today is a logical --24 25 JUSTICE KAGAN: But why is this not

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1 workable? I mean, you can -- you can argue about 2 whether it was right or wrong. You can argue about 3 whether it has created some incongruity in the system. 4 But haven't the last number of years 5 suggested that it's perfectly workable? Everybody knows what they are supposed to do; everybody does it. Why -б 7 why is this not workable? MS. MAGUIRE: Well, the Harris rule is not 8 9 workable on a practical level because what happens under 10 the Harris rule is the government is entitled to a fact 11 that drives a more severe punishment that never goes to 12 the jury. If -- if -- and what we are asking here is 13 that the court find that, where there is a fact that 14 triggers a mandatory minimum, that that fact be found by 15 the jury. 16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Now I understand --17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: That sounds like --18 that sounds like an argument that it's wrong, and that 19 is, of course, the first step in -- in the stare decisis 20 analysis. It doesn't sound, to me, responsive to 21 Justice Kagan's question is, in what sense is it 2.2 unworkable? 23 MS. MAGUIRE: Well, I think it becomes 24 unworkable in the drug cases, Your Honor, and in the 25 9841 statute because what you have there is you have, in

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some circuits, people alleging drug weight, but, in other circuits, you have they called this mixing and matching. And, as long as the statutory maximum does not exceed 20 years, the prosecutors are not alleging the drug weights in the indictment.

6 And that becomes unworkable and quite 7 confusing to the courts. And the lower courts have 8 criticized the Harris rule, primarily in cases like 9 Krieger and others that we -- are cited in our amicus 10 brief, that the rule is somewhat unworkable.

JUSTICE SCALIA: Why wouldn't that be a problem if -- if the question had to be decided by the jury? Why does -- why does requiring it to be decided by the jury eliminate that -- that problem of the -- of the mixing or not mixing?

MS. MAGUIRE: Well, asking it to be found by a jury solves the problem because it -- it allows the fact to go to the jury, the jury finds it. And we have a long history in this country that jury verdicts drive punishment. And so the idea is that the punishment that somebody is open to should be driven by the jury verdict.

JUSTICE GINSBURG: You mentioned drug weight. Let's -- so you're making -- your argument would mean that drug weight also has to be found by the

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jury because that can -- the length of the sentence can
 depend on the -- the drug weight.

MS. MAGUIRE: If the drug weight is going to trigger a mandatory minimum, Your Honor, yes, we would say that, under our rule, that that would have to be alleged in the indictment and proved to the jury beyond a reasonable doubt, which, as our amicus briefs point out, is being done already in the majority of circuits throughout the country.

And so this is not going to put -- put any additional burden on the prosecutors to be doing this. And, fundamentally, what it does is that it levels the playing field because what it does in trial situations is it allows a defendant to know exactly what it is that the government is going to prove.

The government then has to bring in those witnesses at the time of trial, so that they can be cross-examined on this fact that is going to trigger the mandatory minimum in their case. And so it helps level the playing field in that regard.

JUSTICE ALITO: Now, if you were defending a case involving drug weight and your client maintained that he or she had nothing to do with these drugs, how would you proceed? Your argument would be: They're not my drugs, but if they were my drugs, they weren't --

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1	they didn't weigh more than one kilo.
2	MS. MAGUIRE: Well, Justice Alito, those are
3	strategical questions that come up in every trial case
4	that we have. And you have to decide, as a trial
5	lawyer, what your theory of the defense is going to be.
6	It's simply going to be, I wasn't there; or you may
7	decide to challenge the drug weight.
8	But those those strategic decisions exist
9	whether or not the Court adopts this rule or doesn't
10	adopt the rule
11	JUSTICE KENNEDY: But the question was
12	what what strategic decision do you think the lawyer
13	should make?
14	MS. MAGUIRE: Well, any strategic decision a
15	lawyer makes is going to depend on the individual facts
16	of the case. For example
17	JUSTICE KENNEDY: So you but but
18	Justice Alito has a real problem. What don't you put
19	the defense in a very difficult position?
20	MS. MAGUIRE: You don't put the defense in a
21	very difficult position because, in fact, if you adopt
22	our rule, we believe that you are protecting the
23	defendant's Sixth Amendment right to a jury because this
24	is a fact that is going to be triggering a mandatory
25	minimum.

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1	And, if the government has to prove it, they
2	then have to bring in the witness to the trial, who is
3	then subject to cross-examination, which is a far
4	more
5	JUSTICE KENNEDY: But but isn't it
6	difficult for you to say he had nothing to do with the
7	drugs, plus the drugs didn't weigh more than a certain
8	amount?
9	MS. MAGUIRE: I don't believe that that is
10	difficult, and I believe that those are decisions that
11	you make in every case. For example, in the case in
12	this case in Mr. Alleyne's case, our theory
13	JUSTICE KENNEDY: I think that I am hearing
14	that, in every case, you are going to want witnesses
15	you are going to insist on a jury determination of the
16	amount. That's kind of what I'm hearing.
17	MS. MAGUIRE: That is the rule,
18	Justice Kennedy, that we are asking the Court to adopt,
19	that if there's a fact
20	JUSTICE KENNEDY: Justice Alito says why
21	doesn't that put defense counsel in a very difficult
22	position?
23	MS. MAGUIRE: Well, it doesn't put defense
24	counsel in a difficult position at all because those are
25	the same decisions that you make, whether or not you

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1	adopt this rule or you don't adopt this rule.
2	JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, we're not getting
3	far with this. But one answer you could say is that, in
4	order to preserve the constitutional right, you want us
5	to have a bifurcated trial. I thought you were might
6	say that.
7	MS. MAGUIRE: No, we are not we are not
8	asking for a bifurcated trial. We are just asking that
9	if there's one
10	JUSTICE KENNEDY: That's good because that's
11	an extra problem.
12	(Laughter.)
13	JUSTICE KAGAN: Ms. Maguire, could I take
14	you to a different kind of question?
15	MS. MAGUIRE: Certainly.
16	JUSTICE KAGAN: Let's assume that there were
17	a statute, and it said carrying a gun is an offense and
18	that the range is 5 to 10 years. I realize it goes up
19	further in the real word, but let's just say 5 to 10
20	years. And Congress said, in setting the penalty within
21	that range, the judge shall consider whether the
22	defendant brandished the gun and whether the defendant
23	discharged the gun. Now and that's all the statute
24	said.
25	That would be constitutional; is that not

1 right?

2 MS. MAGUIRE: Yes, Justice Kagan, that would 3 be constitutional because it doesn't have the mandatory 4 effect.

5 JUSTICE KAGAN: Okay. So it's 6 constitutional for the judge to say, seven years because 7 you brandished, nine years because you discharged.

8 So what makes it unconstitutional, what 9 makes it a violation of the Sixth Amendment, when, now, 10 Congress just provides something extra in the statute? 11 It says not just you shall consider brandishing and 12 discharging, but, if you find brandishing, you get 7; if 13 you find discharging, you get 9.

14 Okay. What makes that MS. MAGUIRE: 15 unconstitutional is because you are stripping the judge 16 of all authority, and, by operation of law, you are 17 telling that judge that you must impose this sentence. 18 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, that seems right as a 19 definitional matter, as a descriptive matter. But I 20 quess the question I'm having difficulty with is why 21 does that matter for purposes of the Sixth Amendment? 22 The jury is doing the exact same thing, which is the 23 jury isn't doing anything in either of my examples. 24 So the only difference between example 25 number one, which you said was constitutional, and

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example number two is that, now, Congress is giving
further instruction to the judge, but nothing more is
being taken away from the jury; is it?

4 Well, yes, it is because, in MS. MAGUIRE: 5 your second hypothetical, where it is the mandatory minimum, which is exactly what we have in this case, б 7 this notion that somehow Congress is channelling discretion is a fiction because what it does is it tells 8 9 the judge, you must impose seven years, and you cannot 10 even consider what is authorized by the jury verdict in 11 this case.

12 And the jury verdict in this case authorized 13 a range of five years as the bottom. And so what 14 happens is, when you have Congress coming in and saying 15 that, if you find this fact on a mere preponderance 16 standard, you must impose seven years, then you are 17 stripping the defendant of the benefit of the full jury 18 verdict in this case, which authorized a range that had 19 a lower floor than that called for by the Federal 20 statute.

JUSTICE SCALIA: Ms. Maguire, could -- could you repeat the first sentence you uttered in this argument? I -- I hesitated to jump in so early, but could you repeat it verbatim? Maybe you had committed it to memory. Good -- good counsel often does that.

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1	(Laughter.)
2	MS. MAGUIRE: Thank you, Justice Scalia.
3	It's my very first sentence was, "This case is about
4	who gets to decide the facts that trigger a mandatory
5	minimum sentence."
6	JUSTICE SCALIA: No, that wasn't it.
7	(Laughter.)
8	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: It started,
9	"Mr. Chief Justice."
10	(Laughter.)
11	JUSTICE SCALIA: I think what you said was
12	who has to decide a fact which causes a defendant to be
13	subject to a penalty that he would not otherwise be
14	subject to? And the fact is that, in the case of a
15	mandatory minimum, the defendant could have been given
16	that mandatory minimum. It was up to the judge.
17	So this mandatory minimum does not increase
18	the penalty to which the defendant is subject. He's
19	subject, in Justice Kagan's example, to any penalty
20	between one years one year and 10. The judge, even
21	without the statute that she mentioned, could have given
22	him seven years because he he brandished a gun.
23	There there is really no no increase in the
24	penalty to which he is exposed.
25	And I thought that is what Apprendi

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1 addressed, any increase in the penalty to which you are 2 exposed, so that when you decide, I'm going to rob a 3 bank -- you know -- you know, when you go in, you are 4 going to get between one and 10 years, and, with a 5 mandatory minimum, you get between one and 10 years. 6 So what's the complaint, as far as Apprendi 7 is concerned? 8 MS. MAGUIRE: The complaint is that -- and 9 why we believe that the rule we are asking the Court to 10 adopt, Justice Scalia, is a natural -- it follows the 11 logic of Apprendi, is because, in both cases, you have 12 judicial factfinding that's leading to a more harsh 13 sentence. In your --

14 JUSTICE SCALIA: It isn't leading to a more 15 harsh -- more harsh sentence. That's the whole point of Apprendi. Does it lead to a sentence which is greater 16 17 than the judge would otherwise be authorized to impose? 18 And, in the case of a mandatory minimum, it never is. 19 The judge could impose that, if he was a hanging judge. 20 You know, you have some hanging judges; you have some 21 bleeding heart judges.

And -- and what a mandatory minimum simply says is -- you know, we don't care what kind of a judge you are, at least this much. But it doesn't expose the defendant to any greater penalty. He's -- he's at risk

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1 between one and 10 years.

2	MS. MAGUIRE: Well and I think,
3	Justice Scalia, that's that's a false presumption. I
4	think that's the position of the government, that,
5	somehow, mandatory minimums channel discretion within a
6	range. That is a fiction because a judge is being
7	told, you must impose this, you have no choice, you
8	cannot go below this. That is the whole nature of a
9	mandatory minimum. And so this
10	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Do you have any
11	statistics, on at least 924(c), of how often the greater
12	is the sentence than the absolute minimum required by
13	law?
14	MS. MAGUIRE: Well, Justice Sotomayor, this
15	Court found in O'Brien and I think that it's also
16	cited in the Lucas briefs and Dorsey briefs that this
17	Court is holding, that the majority of all defendants
18	convicted under 924(c) are, in fact, sentenced at the
19	mandatory minimum.
20	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So, in fact, your
21	argument is that fixing a sentence is different than
22	giving a judge discretion because it ignores the fact
23	that a judge might have given you less?
24	MS. MAGUIRE: That is exactly right.
25	JUSTICE SCALIA: That seems to me

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1	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So it's depriving you of
2	the constitutional right to have a jury decide what your
3	sentence could be?
4	MS. MAGUIRE: That is exactly right.
5	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Of having a judge decide
6	what your sentence could be?
7	MS. MAGUIRE: That is exactly right. And
8	it's further depriving you it is depriving the
9	defendant of liberty interests. It is imposing a
10	stigma, and it is entitling the prosecutor to a greater
11	and more severe punishment.
12	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: That's I'm not
13	sure that that's you've emphasized several times that
14	it takes away the discretion of the judge. That seems,
15	to me, to be a matter between Congress and the Judiciary
16	and not a Sixth Amendment question.
17	MS. MAGUIRE: Well, Mr. Chief Justice,
18	actually, the language of this Court in Apprendi said
19	that it is unconstitutional for the legislature to
20	remove from the jury the assessment of facts that
21	increase the prescribed range of penalties to which a
22	criminal defendant is exposed.
23	And that is exactly what's happening in this
24	context because
25	JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, Apprendi, thought, did it

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both ways. I mean, that's the best sentence for you in
 Apprendi, but there are other sentences in Apprendi
 which more go towards what Justice Scalia suggested,
 that the question was increasing it above the maximum
 that the jury authorized.

6 So I'm not sure that we can get from the 7 language of Apprendi -- and I guess the question is, as 8 a matter of principle, why I -- I completely understand why a defendant would care about this. The question is 9 10 does it -- does it create a Sixth Amendment violation, 11 which is -- you know, the jury has to do this, when --12 when Congress is decreasing the judge's discretion, but 13 it's -- either way, the jury isn't deciding this.

MS. MAGUIRE: Well, Justice Kagan, we do believe the Sixth Amendment is implicated because we think the history of the Sixth Amendment in this country shows that the role of the jury is the buffer between the citizen meant to protect and the government.

And mandatory minimums give the prosecution far much power. And, in fact, if you do not adopt our rule and -- and make the government have to prove it beyond a reasonable doubt, what happens is then the average citizen does not get the benefit of a jury verdict, and his sentence is not driven wholly by the jury verdict because, in this case, we had a jury

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1 verdict, the government alleged the fact, we had a 2 special verdict form, the jury failed to find that fact. 3 As a result of that, then, the range to --4 that Mr. Alleyne should have been exposed was a 5 five-year mandatory minimum and for the constitutional argument assuming a maximum of life. Here, what 6 7 happened and at the sentencing hearing was on a mere 8 preponderance, the judge had to impose seven. And so we believe that is where you have the Sixth Amendment 9 10 problem because the defendant --11 JUSTICE SCALIA: But you -- you quoted 12 Apprendi correctly as saying that the jury has to decide 13 any fact which increases the sentence to which the 14 defendant is exposed. That's the language you quoted, 15 and it's accurate. 16 Why does a mandatory minimum increase the 17 sentence to which the defendant is exposed? He could 18 get the mandatory minimum sentence, even if there were 19 no mandatory minimum prescribed. He is exposed to a 20 sentence of one to 10 years. A mandatory minimum says, 21 you must impose seven years if he brandishes. 22 But the sentence to which he is exposed is 23 one to 10 years. And the mandatory minimum does not 24 change that at all. He is at risk for one to 10 years. 25 MS. MAGUIRE: Well, I understand that that

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1	may not change the exposure. What it does, on a
2	practical level, is it prevents the judge from even
3	considering anything less than the seven years.
4	JUSTICE SCALIA: That's true.
5	MS. MAGUIRE: And that becomes the problem.
6	JUSTICE SCALIA: That's true. But you must
7	acknowledge that that's not the theory of Apprendi.
8	MS. MAGUIRE: Well, I think the theory of
9	Apprendi if you if you take it out to its logical
10	step, is that, if you have judicial factfinding that is
11	resulting in a more harsh sentence being imposed, then,
12	in fact, you have a Sixth Amendment problem.
13	And so what happens on the mandatory
14	minimums is that, if a judge finds the mandatory
15	minimum, a more harsh sentence is being imposed because,
16	as an example, in this case, the judge could not even
17	consider giving the five-year year floor as a mandatory
18	minimum, which we've already noted is, in fact, how most
19	criminal defendants are sentenced under the 924(c)
20	statute at the mandatory minimum level.
21	JUSTICE SCALIA: I think the logic of
22	Apprendi is that the jury has to decide it if it
23	increases the sentence to which the defendant is
24	exposed, not if it eliminates some discretion of the
25	of the Court. He's exposed.

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1	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: How about Booker? What
2	did Booker do
3	MS. MAGUIRE: Well, I think
4	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: to the logic of
5	Apprendi?
6	MS. MAGUIRE: Justice Sotomayor, what I
7	believe that Booker did is that Booker indicated that
8	when you have a fact that drives a finding of fact
9	that drives a mandatory sentence to be imposed, that,
10	obviously, that was the Sixth Amendment problem.
11	Now, I understand and appreciate
12	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Even when the statutes
13	had a higher maximum?
14	MS. MAGUIRE: That is correct, Your Honor.
15	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Because the jury was
16	because the judge was constrained within a different
17	maximum?
18	MS. MAGUIRE: That is correct, Your Honor.
19	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Is that your argument
20	here?
21	MS. MAGUIRE: Yes. And so what I believe is
22	that what Booker indicates is that it is this mandatory
23	effect which may and that is why this Court found
24	extending Apprendi in the Booker case, that, in fact,
25	the guidelines then had to become advisory. It is the

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1 mandatory effect of the factfinding that is essential in
2 these cases.

3 JUSTICE SCALIA: It wasn't a mandatory 4 minimum case. Booker was a case in which the maximum was increased on the basis of judge finding of fact. 5 The maximum was increased. So, under the situation in 6 7 Booker, the -- the exposure of the defendant was, 8 indeed, increased on the basis of judge factfinding. Instead of one to 10, the statute in -- in Booker said, 9 10 if you brandish a gun, you can get 15. 11 That's a -- that's a quite different 12 situation from saying, yes, you are still on the hook 13 for one to 10, but, if you brandish, you got to get 7. 14 MS. MAGUIRE: Well, Justice Scalia, I think 15 the concern in Booker was the mandatory nature of the 16 guidelines. And while I would agree with you, that this 17 Court, in its constitutional part of the Booker 18 decision, did, in fact, look to the increase in the 19 maximums, it is the same problem. You have judge --20 judicial factfinding that is mandating a particular 21 sentence. 22 And that is where you have the Sixth--23 JUSTICE ALITO: Why is Booker -- why is 24 Booker entitled to greater stare decisis weight than

25 Harris and McMillan?

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1	MS. MAGUIRE: Well, I believe that Booker
2	is is entitled to greater weight because it was more
3	recently decided by this Court, and I also believe that
4	it is a more recent interpretation of this Court of the
5	principles held in Apprendi.
6	I would like to reserve the remainder of my
7	time.
8	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
9	Mr. Dreeben?
10	ORAL ARGUMENT OF MICHAEL R. DREEBEN
11	ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT
12	MR. DREEBEN: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
13	please the Court:
14	This Court should adhere to its decision in
15	Harris v. United States, which reaffirmed
16	McMillan v. Pennsylvania because those decisions
17	properly respected the fact that a mandatory minimum
18	divests the defendant of the right to judicial leniency.
19	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Could I go back to a
20	simple question on the stare decisis, the practicality
21	question?
22	What is so impractical about letting a jury
23	decide an issue that sets a mandatory sentence of any
24	kind? Why why are juries incapable of figuring out
25	whether a gun was carried or brandished? Why are they

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1 incapable of figuring out how many -- how much drugs 2 were sold or whether someone was driven by any of the 3 factors that States want to commit to judges, but the 4 Sixth Amendment might require them to submit to juries? MR. DREEBEN: 5 Justice Sotomayor, the government's argument here is not that juries are 6 7 incapable of finding facts under the Federal statutes 8 that involve mandatory minimums. It's that Congress has 9 sound reasons for wishing to allocate that factfinding 10 to the sentencing process and that it is not 11 unconstitutional for Congress to do so. 12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But what does that have 13 to do with the needs -- the constitutional need to make 14 sure that juries are driving a fixed sentence of any 15 kind? 16 MR. DREEBEN: The -- the constitutional 17 question, in my view, Justice Sotomayor, turns on 18 whether there is a right to the mercy of a tenderhearted 19 iudae. That is what a defendant loses when a judge 20 finds a mandatory minimum fact. 21 JUSTICE BREYER: No, no, it isn't quite. I 22 mean, the -- the linguistic difference -- I agree with 23 Justice Scalia, and I agree with you. It turns on the word "exposed." I mean, if you state Apprendi's holding 24 25 as it was just stated, this is a different case because

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1	you could, in fact, if you were the defendant, have been
2	sentenced to that anyway. That's your argument.
3	MR. DREEBEN: Correct.
4	JUSTICE BREYER: Now, let's put it
5	differently. There is a fact in the world. There's a
6	gun, or there wasn't a gun. In the Apprendi case, if
7	the fact turns out to be gun, you could get two more
8	years. All right? We have to go to the jury. Now,
9	here there's a fact in the world, gun or not gun.
10	If it turns out not gun, you get a lower
11	sentence, you could. And, if it turns out to be the
12	fact, gun, you can't the judge cannot put you in that
13	box. He has to put you in a worse box. He has to put
14	you in a worse box. He has to give you more than
15	more than the three years, two years, or one year. He
16	has to. Okay?
17	Now, from the point of view of the
18	defendant, worse or not at least as bad. From the
19	point of view of Congress, same. They drew some lines,
20	want a judge to administer them, and they turn on facts.
21	And the sentence very often will turn on those facts.
22	From the point of view of the judge, same.
23	It's the jury decides or he decides. In the one case,
24	his discretion is cut off to give a lower sentence. In
25	the other case, his discretion is granted to give a

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1 higher sentence. 2 Now, I see tremendous similarities, though I 3 grant you the words are different, but can you -- can 4 you just explain --5 MR. DREEBEN: Justice Breyer, yes. 6 JUSTICE BREYER: -- why the difference in 7 the words should overcome the fact that I can't think of 8 a -- of a difference, other than those words that 9 happened to be used in Apprendi? 10 MR. DREEBEN: Well, Justice Breyer, we have 11 a chart in our brief that I think is addressed 12 explicitly to the question that you are asking, and it's on page 36 of our brief. And it illustrates the 13 14 difference between an Apprendi situation and a Harris-McMillan situation. So the government's gray 15 16 brief. 17 And the point of the chart is this --18 JUSTICE SCALIA: What page? What page? 19 MR. DREEBEN: This is page 36 of the 20 government's brief. 21 JUSTICE BREYER: I'm afraid the other side 22 was upside down, and I saw what you meant. 23 MR. DREEBEN: Okay. The point of Apprendi is a jury cannot be reduced to low-level gatekeeping. 24 25 Congress cannot pass a statute that says it is a crime

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to assault someone, and that's punishable by one year in prison. But if the crime involves rape, then it's punishable by 10 years in prison. Or if the crime involves attempted murder, then it's punishable by up to life.

6 Congress can't do that because it would 7 diminish the role of the jury in finding the critical 8 facts that constitute the crime that sets the 9 defendant's maximum exposure. Apprendi protects against 10 that.

In a Harris situation, the defendant is already exposed to the maximum penalty that the defendant incurs under the statute, and that's what the second column illustrates. The defendant who commits a Section 924(c) crime knows that the defendant faces up to life in prison.

When the mandatory minimum comes along, it doesn't increase the defendant's exposure to the most severe punishment he can get. It divests the defendant of a degree of judicial discretion. But the Sixth Amendment does not protect a right to judicial discretion. JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You know, but that --

24 JUSTICE BREYER: But --

25 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I'm sorry.

30

1	JUSTICE BREYER: That's the that's the
2	you've used all the words, which do make the difference,
3	in your mind. But my question
4	MR. DREEBEN: It's not just in my mind,
5	Justice
б	JUSTICE BREYER: is why should those
7	words make a difference?
8	Look, in the one case I'll be repeating
9	myself, but I want you to see it. In the one case,
10	presence of a fact or not means the defendant goes into
11	a higher sentencing box. In the other case, presence of
12	a fact or not means that he cannot go into the low
13	sentencing box.
14	MR. DREEBEN: And when he cannot
15	JUSTICE BREYER: In the one case, he cannot
16	go into the low sentencing box; in the other case, he
17	can't go into the high sentencing box. I got that
18	difference.
19	My only problem is why does it make a
20	difference.
21	MR. DREEBEN: It matters because the Sixth
22	Amendment protects a right to a jury trial; it does not
23	protect a right to judicial leniency.
24	JUSTICE BREYER: No, it's not well, you
25	can call it judicial leniency, but you could call the

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1 other judicial harshness. I mean, what is, in fact, 2 turning out --MR. DREEBEN: No, because, in -- in the 3 4 other situation, it protects the right of the jury to 5 determine the ingredients of the crime that Congress has determined exposed the defendant --6 7 JUSTICE BREYER: And, here, we have the 8 ingredients of a crime that Congress has determined that 9 you have to get the five years. 10 MR. DREEBEN: Well, we know --11 JUSTICE BREYER: I mean, in the one case, 12 you can say all that Apprendi did. It never should have 13 been decided -- I mean, some of us thought that --14 because, in fact --15 JUSTICE SCALIA: I wonder who -- I wonder 16 who that could have been. 17 (Laughter.) 18 JUSTICE BREYER: All you're talking about 19 there is that you are stopping the judge from exhibiting 20 his otherwise discretion towards harshness, and that's a 21 matter for judges. I've heard all these arguments 22 before, you see. 23 MR. DREEBEN: Well --JUSTICE BREYER: And I've just heard them in 24 25 the context of harshness, and, now, I don't know why

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1 changing it to leniency makes them somehow more 2 relevant. They weren't apparently relevant in the first 3 situation; so why are they relevant in this one? 4 They weren't relevant MR. DREEBEN: 5 in the first situation because, if there is no cap from the maximum that a judge could impose based on judicial б 7 factfinding, the role of a jury can be shrunk to what 8 the Court has called low-level gatekeeping. That can 9 never happen under a statute that increases only the 10 mandatory minimum. JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, is that --11 12 Mr. Dreeben, and -- and I think it's -- it's a great 13 question. Is the jury functioning as a low-level 14 gatekeeper under the Harris rule? Because I could make 15 the argument that, in fact, it is -- you know, you take 16 a statute, and it says, five and up for carrying, and 17 seven and up for brandishing, right? And this isn't 18 even a hypothetical. This is pretty close to this case. 19 It goes to the jury. The jury says, we 20 think he was carrying, we do not think that he was 21 brandishing, all right? And then it goes to the judge. 22 And, now, the judge says, you know what, if I had my 23 druthers, I would only give five years. If I had my druthers, I absolutely would defer to the jury verdict, 24 25 but I can't defer to the jury verdict because Congress

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has said I have to make this special factfinding, and
 the truth of the matter is I think he did brandish, and
 so I have to give seven years.

So the judge is not deferring to the jury, and he's not deferring to the jury when he would prefer to do so. I guess the question is isn't that, in every practical sense -- doesn't the mandatory minimum effectively increase the maximum punishment that the -that the defendant otherwise would get?

10 MR. DREEBEN: Well, it certainly doesn't 11 increase the maximum punishment that's authorized under 12 the statute. And it doesn't prevent the judge from 13 making the exact same finding by a preponderance of the 14 evidence that the jury did not make beyond a reasonable 15 doubt and giving seven years, even if there were no 16 mandatory minimums.

JUSTICE KAGAN: Yes. But what I'm suggesting is that in the world of judges -- you know, this -- the graph you wrote has this very little difference in the Harris situation between five and seven. But, in fact, most judges want to give five. I mean, that's the truth of the matter, that -- you know, nobody's giving a 97-year sentence.

24 So -- so the action in the criminal justice 25 system is at this lower range. And, at this lower

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1	range, what the mandatory minimums do is effectively
2	tell a judge that they cannot defer to a jury verdict.
3	MR. DREEBEN: Well, it's, first of all, not
4	entirely accurate that judges do not give higher
5	sentences than the minimum. There are plenty of cases
6	in which they do so. If the 920
7	JUSTICE GINSBURG: But let's say
8	JUSTICE KAGAN: I know there are plenty of
9	cases. All I'm saying is it's not the unusual case to
10	find ourselves in exactly this position, where the judge
11	wants to give five, the jury wants to give five, the
12	judge can't defer to the jury's verdict that it should
13	be five.
14	MR. DREEBEN: But taking away judicial
15	discretion to treat a fact within the range differently
16	than what Congress wants doesn't infringe the jury trial
17	right.
18	The jury can find facts by a beyond a
19	reasonable doubt, but, when the judge is at sentencing,
20	he is not operating under that burden, so the
21	factfinding role of the jury
22	JUSTICE KENNEDY: But you could say that
23	with reference to the to the maximum. Everything you
24	said could be applied to the maximum, and Apprendi says
25	you can't say that.

35

1	MR. DREEBEN: I don't think that it's quite
2	true that everything that I said applies to the maximum,
3	Justice Kennedy, because, as the plurality opinion in
4	Harris explained, once the court has been confronted
5	with a defendant who's convicted, the judge's discretion
6	extends up to the statutory maximum. He can't use his
7	factfinding ability to increase the defendant's exposure
8	to criminal punishment. Mandatory minimums can never do
9	that.
10	The defendant is already exposed to the
11	sentence that the judge could give. And I grant you,
12	Justice Kagan, that some judges might choose to give a
13	lower sentence. But the fact that they might choose to
14	reflects judicial leniency, tenderheartedness, something
15	that the Sixth Amendment does not speak to.
16	JUSTICE GINSBURG: How about in deference to
17	the jury's finding? I mean, in this this this
18	very case, wasn't it so that the judge said, I could
19	just say seven years because it's within the range, but
20	it would be dishonest of me to do that, wouldn't it? I
21	have to say seven because it's the mandatory minimum.
22	I think this is a case where the effect
23	is is shown graphically, that the judge says, I'm
24	stuck with the seven; I would prefer five. That's what
25	the jury would lead me to do, but I'm my hands are

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1	tied, I cannot respect the jury's finding.				
2	MR. DREEBEN: I think, Justice Ginsburg,				
3	that the judge said he would be intellectually honest				
4	and not ignore the fact that the the finding of				
5	brandishing did trigger the mandatory minimum. He did				
б	not say, I otherwise would have given five. And I think				
7	that this case				
8	JUSTICE SCALIA: But is it the usual case				
9	that a judge, when faced with this decision, has before				
10	him a jury finding? I that				
11	MR. DREEBEN: It's not the usual case,				
12	Justice Scalia.				
13	JUSTICE SCALIA: The Petitioner is asking				
14	these cases to be thrown out, even if there has been no				
15	jury finding.				
16	MR. DREEBEN: Correct.				
17	JUSTICE SCALIA: And the judge says you				
18	know, I have to decide whether he brandished or not; I				
19	think he brandished. But I you know, the Petitioner				
20	here wants to say, the judge cannot consider himself				
21	bound by a mandatory minimum. It seems to me the				
22	unusual case in which you have a jury finding, that the				
23	judge must ignore in in he actually doesn't ignore				
24	it, he goes along with it.				
25	The jury may well be right, that it's				

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1 impossible to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that --2 that the felon brandished a qun, but it's -- it -- it's 3 quite easy to say that it's very likely he branded a 4 qun -- brandished a qun, which is what the judge has to 5 find. So he -- he's not even ignoring the jury finding. 6 MR. DREEBEN: No, there is no inconsistency 7 between -- and I think, if you look at the way this case 8 evolves, it's not even clear that the jury rejected brandishing. What's very interesting about this case is 9 10 it's possibly the best illustration of the unfairness 11 problem that Justice Alito alluded to and that 12 Justice Breyer has written about in his opinions. The 13 issue at trial in this case was identity. 14 Was the defendant actually the person 15 sitting in the car, while his accomplice walked up to 16 the victim and -- and put a revolver into his neck and 17 asked for money? That was the issue at trial. There 18 was no discussion of brandishing whatsoever. 19 Nobody focused on it, and it allowed the 20 defendant, after the jury rejected his identity 21 argument, to go to the judge and say, even though the 22 jury has now found that my guy did it, he could not have 23 foreseen that a gun would have been used. 24 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Mr. Dreeben, can I go back to a point you made earlier? You talked about a 25

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1	legislature not attempting to supplant the jury's role
2	on the maximum. You don't see the same danger we
3	started out in a country where almost all sentencing was
4	in the discretion of the judge; whatever crime you
5	committed, the judge could decide where to sentence you.
6	As Apprendi and its subsequent progeny laid
7	out, these sentencing changes that have come into
8	existence have really come into existence the latter
9	half of the last century.
10	What don't you fear that, at some point,
11	the legislature will go back to the old system of
12	supplanting the jury by just saying what it said in
13	924(c)? Every single crime has a maximum of life.
14	And all the and every single fact that's
15	going to set a real sentence for the defendant, a
16	minimum, we're going to let the judge decide by a
17	preponderance of the evidence.
18	The bottom line of my question is, when
19	Apprendi was decided, what should be the driving force
20	of protecting the jury system? The deprivation of
21	discretion, whether that's permissible or not, or
22	whether a sentence is fixed in a range, whatever it
23	might be, by a jury?
24	MR. DREEBEN: Justice
25	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: What's the better rule

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1	to keep both extremes from happening?
2	MR. DREEBEN: I think, Justice Sotomayor,
3	that the Court recognized, in Apprendi, that its rule
4	was limited and to certain extent could be evaded by
5	legislatures, if they were inclined to do so.
б	JUSTICE SCALIA: Mr. Dreeben, I think that
7	history is wrong. In fact, the way the country started,
8	there was no judicial discretion. There were simply
9	fixed penalties for crimes. If you stole a horse, you
10	were guilty of a felony, and you would be hanged.
11	That's where we started.
12	MR. DREEBEN: Well
13	JUSTICE SCALIA: And I would think that the
14	risk involved is whether, if we come out the way that
15	the Petitioner here urges us to do, legislatures will
16	consider going back to to where we started from and
17	simply saying, if you brandish, you get seven years,
18	period, with no discretion in the judge.
19	That, it seems to me, is the greater risk.
20	MR. DREEBEN: Well, Justice Scalia, I agree
21	in part with both you and Justice Sotomayor on history.
22	In fact, if you look at the 1790 Crimes Act that the
23	First Congress passed, many of the set sentences are
24	determinant sentences.
25	Others of the sentences were were

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prescribed up to a certain amount of years. And, within that, it was well understood that judges would find facts to graduate the penalties according to the gravity of the crime.

5 And what the legislatures have done in the 6 20th Century innovation of mandatory minimums within an 7 otherwise authorized range, as you have with 924(c), is 8 say, we would prefer that judges take into account 9 brandishing and discharging, as under Justice Kagan's 10 hypothetical statute, but we would like to -- to do that 11 in a uniform manner.

We know that they can find, by a preponderance of the evidence, that brandishing exists. We know that many, if not most, judges would consider that worse than simple possession of a firearm in a crime of violence, and we want judges to behave consistently.

By proscribing consistency, they are acting in accord with the historical tradition of having determinate sentences, a tradition that this Court held in Chapman v. --

JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I'm sorry, the historical -- you said, earlier, that most of the historical evidence was that determinate sentences would be decided by juries; they found facts, and a

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1 determinate sentence was given.

2 MR. DREEBEN: And there was no judicial 3 discretion, which I think makes --4 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So what is the judicial 5 discretion now? You find by a preponderance of the evidence, and a mandatory minimum makes you give seven. 6 7 So where is the judicial discretion? 8 MR. DREEBEN: The judicial discretion is what the defendant is losing. He is not losing the 9 10 right to a jury trial because the very same verdict 11 authorizes the judge to find brandishing and impose 12 seven years. 13 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You think, for a 14 defendant in a constitutional right, that they are 15 more -- that it's constitutional to have a determinate 16 sentence at seven and still constitutional -- and make 17 the jury find it by a -- beyond a reasonable doubt and 18 that it's still constitutional to have a determinative 19 sentence of seven years, but have the jury find it by a 20 preponderance of the evidence? 21 MR. DREEBEN: To have the jury find it by a 22 preponderance of the --23 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Those are equal? Those 24 are -- those are equal? 25 MR. DREEBEN: It's not just my position that

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1 it's constitutional for a -- a judge to find mandatory 2 minimum triggering facts by a preponderance. I'm sure 3 that a legislature could allocate that to a jury, if it 4 wishes to. 5 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: No, I know we said it in Harris. 6 7 MR. DREEBEN: Yes. 8 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: The question here before 9 us today is --10 MR. DREEBEN: Yes. And I think that -- that 11 not only does it not contradict any decision of this 12 Court to allow the judge to make those findings, it 13 doesn't contradict the principle behind the jury trial 14 right or the right to proof beyond a reasonable doubt. 15 JUSTICE BREYER: Look, look, here's another 16 way of putting the same point: With the mandatory 17 minimum, the judge can't go below the five years, okay? 18 But you say, well, he could have gone below 19 the five years anyway, couldn't he have? I mean, you --20 he could have given you the five years anyway -- sorry. 21 He could have given you the five years anyway. That's 22 your point. 23 MR. DREEBEN: Correct. JUSTICE BREYER: All right. He could have 24 25 given you the five years -- he could have given you the

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1 five years if you'd been -- if you had been convicted of 2 a different crime. 3 MR. DREEBEN: And that's the difference 4 between this and Apprendi. 5 JUSTICE BREYER: But why does that make a difference? The best way I thought of putting it is the 6 7 heading on page 6 of their reply brief is almost right, 8 I think. I mean, I -- it says it's -- it's permitting 9 10 judges to find facts by a preponderance of the evidence 11 that compels sentences higher than a set of those 12 permitted by the jury's verdict. 13 That's exactly what's going on here. 14 MR. DREEBEN: Well --15 JUSTICE BREYER: And -- and I -- I want to 16 know, what is it? And the trouble is --17 MR. DREEBEN: That's --18 JUSTICE BREYER: You're just going to say, 19 well, he could have given the same sentence anyway. And 20 I'm going to say, well, so what, why does that matter? 21 MR. DREEBEN: It's descriptively accurate, 22 but it says nothing about the constitutionality of the 23 procedure. And I think that it's very important to focus not only on the fact that stare decisis is in 24 25 play, but that Apprendi has been a very history-driven

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area of the law. Last term, when the Court extended
 Apprendi to fines, it has found an ample historical basis
 for doing so.

In this case, by comparison, there is no historical showing that would justify extending Apprendi to fines. Not only is there no direct analogy to a 924(c) type statute, but the three pillars of their historical argument are extremely weak and strained analogies.

10 The first one is simply that, to get a 11 statutory crime that was parallel to a common law crime, 12 but differed, the prosecutor had to charge all of the 13 elements of the statutory crime in the indictment. That 14 says nothing about mandatory minimum sentencing.

15 The sentence -- second pillar of their 16 historical argument is the procedure called benefit of 17 clergy, which was a form of what Blackstone called a 18 statute pardon, that allowed a defendant to avoid a 19 capital sentence.

In the First Crimes Act, in Section 31, in 1790, Congress said, "Benefit of clergy shall not exist in the United States for any crime punishable by a capital sentence." Benefit of clergy has never been part of this -- this country's Sixth Amendment heritage. It was abolished before the Sixth Amendment was even

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1 ratified.

2	And the third pillar of their historical
3	argument are three late 19th Century cases, Jones,
4	Garcia, and Lacy, each of which involve statutes that
5	both raised the maximum and the minimum, not a single
6	one of them spoke about the Constitution. None of them
7	purported to define what a legislature could do if it
8	wanted to raise only the minimum, and that's it.
9	And I would suggest to the Court that this
10	kind of Gertrude Stein history, where there's really no
11	"there" there, is not sufficient to overturn the
12	legislative prerogative to make uniform the findings of
13	fact within a range
14	JUSTICE KAGAN: Mr. Dreeben, could I take
14 15	JUSTICE KAGAN: Mr. Dreeben, could I take you back to the principles involved? Let's suppose
15	you back to the principles involved? Let's suppose
15 16	you back to the principles involved? Let's suppose that, instead of this statute, which is 579, you had a
15 16 17	you back to the principles involved? Let's suppose that, instead of this statute, which is 579, you had a statute which was five for carrying, five up to life, and
15 16 17 18	you back to the principles involved? Let's suppose that, instead of this statute, which is 579, you had a statute which was five for carrying, five up to life, and then, for brandishing, 40. All right? And maybe if
15 16 17 18 19	you back to the principles involved? Let's suppose that, instead of this statute, which is 579, you had a statute which was five for carrying, five up to life, and then, for brandishing, 40. All right? And maybe if we're discharging, 60. All right. So a very large gap.
15 16 17 18 19 20	you back to the principles involved? Let's suppose that, instead of this statute, which is 579, you had a statute which was five for carrying, five up to life, and then, for brandishing, 40. All right? And maybe if we're discharging, 60. All right. So a very large gap. Is your argument still the same?
15 16 17 18 19 20 21	you back to the principles involved? Let's suppose that, instead of this statute, which is 579, you had a statute which was five for carrying, five up to life, and then, for brandishing, 40. All right? And maybe if we're discharging, 60. All right. So a very large gap. Is your argument still the same? MR. DREEBEN: The constitutional argument is
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	<pre>you back to the principles involved? Let's suppose that, instead of this statute, which is 579, you had a statute which was five for carrying, five up to life, and then, for brandishing, 40. All right? And maybe if we're discharging, 60. All right. So a very large gap. Is your argument still the same? MR. DREEBEN: The constitutional argument is the same. I think this Court's decision in O'Brien</pre>

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1	JUSTICE KAGAN: But suppose the
2	legislature
3	JUSTICE SCALIA: I'm sorry. I didn't hear
4	your last word. Those would be?
5	MR. DREEBEN: "Deemed elements." Under the
6	decision in O'Brien, where the machine gun finding
7	raised the minimum to 30 years, the Court held that it
8	should be deemed to be an element, but
9	JUSTICE KAGAN: But suppose suppose that
10	Congress is absolutely clear about it, and you say
11	and I think that you're right, you've got to be right
12	about this it's a constitutional matter, it's the
13	same, but the hypothetical sort of suggests exactly what
14	you said our inquiry ought to be, is that, in a world
15	like that, the jury is, in fact, functioning only as a
16	low-level gatekeeper; isn't that right?
17	MR. DREEBEN: No.
18	JUSTICE KAGAN: And that the only reason we
19	see it in the hypothetical a little bit more clearly is
20	because the numbers are a bit more dramatic.
21	MR. DREEBEN: I wouldn't suggest that the
22	jury is being a low-level gatekeeper in that situation
23	because the jury's verdict alone and this is a
24	serious crime exposes the defendant to a life
25	sentence. This is a crime that involves either a

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predicate Federal crime of violence or a Federal drug
 trafficking crime, plus the use of the gun in it.

And I think Congress could reasonably expect that the worse the use of the gun, the more extreme, the higher the corresponding penalty. And, indeed, if a 924(c) violation is charged by itself, and a defendant is an armed career criminal, then his sentencing range goes up to 360 months to life --

9 JUSTICE KAGAN: I mean, there's something 10 deeply incongruous, isn't there, where you have an 11 Apprendi rule which says if the maximum is -- you know, 12 if it's five to seven, and then the -- the judge says 13 seven years and a day, we're going to take that out, but 14 as a mandatory minimum that will leapfrog you from five 15 to 40 doesn't get the same result?

16 MR. DREEBEN: It's not incongruous if you 17 look at it from the point of view of the fact that the 18 jury verdict itself allows a life sentence. And if the 19 defendant draws the proverbial hanging judge who, in his 20 discretion -- or her discretion, wants to give that life 21 sentence, the defendant knew, from day one, when he committed the crime, that, if the jury finds him guilty 22 23 of it, he's exposed to a life sentence.

And the Court, in Apprendi, said structural democratic constraints will preclude legislatures -- or

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1	at least discourage them from assigning maximum
2	sentences to crimes that are higher than what the
3	legislature deemed
4	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So how about in O'Brien,
5	if the legislature had said 40 years for a machine gun?
6	Would we how do we justify saying, no, that has to
7	remain an element? Under your theory, the democratic
8	process didn't work.
9	MR. DREEBEN: No, I think that
10	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So how what would we
11	do in that situation?
12	MR. DREEBEN: In that situation, the
13	democratic process would have concluded that firearms
14	brandishing, discharge, or use of a machine gun is an
15	extremely serious component of this crime. We know
16	judges will take that into account in sentencing. We
17	simply want them to take that into account in the same
18	particularly harsh way.
19	And in in trying to achieve uniformity
20	among judicial actors, when finding facts at sentencing,
21	which everybody knows that they will do, does not
22	deprive the defendant of a right to a jury trial on the
23	elements of the crime; it deprives him of the right to a
24	judge who might show mercy under a particular set of
25	facts.

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1	And that simply is not the right that's
2	embodied in the Sixth Amendment.
3	JUSTICE BREYER: That that's I don't
4	know if you can add anything to this, but, remember, I
5	agree with you about the history, but I just apply it to
6	Apprendi, too. So the one
7	JUSTICE SCALIA: It is so bad he wants to
8	extend it.
9	(Laughter.)
10	JUSTICE BREYER: I thought are you sure
11	it was Gertrude Stein and not Dorothy Parker? But I
12	think you're probably right about that.
13	But the the I'm thinking of this as,
14	well, Apprendi, I see what they're thinking. They're
15	thinking that, once you have to add the extra fact to
16	get above the otherwise ceiling, it's like a new crime.
17	It isn't really a new crime, but it's like a new crime.
18	Okay. But then I can say, well, once you
19	have to really cut off that five years and less and
20	really send him to jail for five years, hey, that's just
21	like a new crime. It isn't really a new crime, but it's
22	like a new crime.
23	So why can't I say everything that we said
24	about Apprendi here, except I can't deny what you say,
25	the judge could have given the sentence anyway. That's

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1 absolutely right. But all the other things, I can say. 2 Is that true? 3 MR. DREEBEN: Well, I agree that you can say 4 them, Justice Breyer --5 JUSTICE BREYER: But, I mean, are they true? 6 (Laughter.) 7 MR. DREEBEN: Respectfully, no. We -- the critical point about Apprendi is, 8 by assigning the role of constitutional element status 9 10 to a fact that increases the maximum, the Court has 11 preserved the jury trial right against its reduction to, 12 essentially, a formality on a particular subset of 13 elements. And the relationship of a crime that's 14 covered by Apprendi and the so-called base crime is like 15 a greater included offense and a lesser included 16 offense. 17 Whereas, in the mandatory minimum situation, 18 we know that the judge will be engaged in sentencing. 19 We know that the judge will find facts that extend beyond the elements of the crime to inform himself about 20 21 how the basic crime is committed. We also know that 22 different judges may treat those facts differently after 23 finding them by the preponderance of the evidence. 24 The mandatory minimum changes only one 25 thing. It says, Judge, if you find this fact,

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1 brandishing or discharge, you will impose the same 2 sentence as your neighboring judge down the hall, not a 3 different one based on your different perception of 4 sentencing philosophy. 5 So it allows the legislature to intervene after having defined a sufficiently serious enough crime 6 7 and determine how the judges will treat those facts. 8 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Why is the legislature being deprived of that right, if they give it to the 9 10 jury? 11 MR. DREEBEN: The legislature --12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I mean, it seems to me 13 that, whether you give it to a jury or a judge, the 14 legislature protects itself by declaring a minimum 15 sentence. 16 MR. DREEBEN: There are many ways --17 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: It determines the 18 sentence, really. 19 MR. DREEBEN: There are many ways that a 20 legislature could achieve a goal that allows the judge's 21 factfinding to carry more weight. For one thing, it 22 could extend the maximum punishments and convert 23 everything into an affirmative defense, which this Court 24 said last week is constitutional. 25 The point is whether the defendant has

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1	really been divested of a jury trial right when he loses
2	the right to the mercy of a judge.
3	Thank you.
4	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
5	Mr. Dreeben.
6	Ms. Maguire, you have five minutes
7	remaining.
8	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF MARY E. MAGUIRE
9	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
10	MS. MAGUIRE: It is the effect of the
11	factfinding that is important, not what it is called. A
12	mandatory minimum does, in fact, increase the exposure
13	that a defendant is is exposed to because his range
14	then goes from five to life, which was wholly authorized
15	by the jury's verdict in this case, to seven to life,
16	and that is an increase.
17	And we are not talking about a right to
18	leniency, but a right for the judge to consider the full
19	range that the jury authorized. And I would note the
20	language in Apprendi did, in fact, address this issue of
21	range when it said, "One need only look to the kind,
22	degree, or range of punishment to which the prosecution
23	is, by law, entitled for a given set of facts."
24	Thank you.
25	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.

1	The case is submitted.
2	(Whereupon, at 10:59 a.m., the case in the
3	above-entitled matter was submitted.)
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