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OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT  
PROCEEDINGS BEFORE

THE SUPREME COURT  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES

**CAPTION:** KEVIN N. STANFORD, Petitioner V. KENTUCKY

**CASE NO:** 87-5755

**PLACE:** WASHINGTON, D.C.

**DATE:** March 27, 1989

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1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

2 -----x  
3 KEVIN N. STANFORD, :

4 Petitioner :

5 v. :

No. 87-5765

6 KENTUCKY :

7 -----x

8 Washington, D.C.

9 Monday, March 27, 1989

10 The above-entitled matter came on for oral  
11 argument before the Supreme Court of the United States  
12 at 1:41 o'clock p.m.

13 APPEARANCES:

14 FRANK W. HEFT, JR., ESQ., Louisville, Kentucky; on  
15 behalf of the Petitioner.

16 FREDERIC J. COWAN, ESQ., Attorney General of Kentucky,  
17 Frankfct, Kentucky; on behalf of the Respondent.

C O N T E N T S

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FREDERIC J. COWAN, ESC.	
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P R O C E E D I N G S

(1:41 p.m.)

CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: We'll hear argument next in No. 87-5765, Kevin Stanford v. Kentucky.

Mr. Heft, you may proceed whenever you're ready.

ORAL ARGUMENT OF FRANK W. HEFT, JR.

ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER

MR. HEFT: Mr. Chief Justice, and may I please the Court.

The issue in this case is whether the Eighth Amendment prohibits the imposition of the death penalty on a juvenile who was 17 at the time of committing a capital offense.

One point of agreement for all members of the Court in Thompson v. Oklahoma is that there is some age below which a juvenile's crime can never be punished by death. Thus, the issue in this case is not whether a line should be drawn specifying a minimum age for the death penalty, but where the line should be drawn, and the Petitioner submits that the line should be drawn at the age of 18 because it is the most objective. It is the most justifiable. It is the most logical line that's capable of resolving the issue presented in this case.

1           As the briefs in -- filed in this case  
2 indicate, 18 is a very conservative age for  
3 determination as to when a person attains full  
4 maturity. Indeed, the maturation process is a  
5 continuing one that lasts until a person is into their  
6 early to mid 20s.

7           QUESTION: One would hope maybe even longer  
8 sometimes.

9           (Laughter.)

10          MR. HEFT: Yes, Your Honor. You're absolutely  
11 correct.

12          As human beings, we are simply incapable of  
13 making infallible judgments. Consequently, our society  
14 and the legal system are imperfect. Yet, in striving  
15 for perfection and in order to ensure fundamental  
16 fairness in the operation of our criminal justice  
17 system, jurisprudence in capital cases has consistently  
18 demanded certainty and reliability not only in capital  
19 sentencing procedures and trials, but in the outcome as  
20 well. However, a constitutionally acceptable degree of  
21 reliability and certainty cannot be attained in a case  
22 in which the state seeks the execution of a person who  
23 is under the age of 18 at the time of committing a crime.

24          The uncertainty about when a particular  
25 juvenile has fully developed and has fully evolved into

1 an adult has caused society to draw a bright line. That  
2 line is an expression of society's confidence and  
3 society's certainty that those under the age of 18 do  
4 not possess an adult's level of emotional, intellectual  
5 and cognitive development. And it is because of the  
6 uncertainty as to when a child actually evolves into an  
7 adult that society has drawn this bright line; the  
8 boundary has been drawn because of this uncertainty.

9           The uncertainty extends not only in matters as  
10 everyday life, such as voting rights or the right to sit  
11 on a jury, but certainly it extends to the area of  
12 capital punishment and sentencing. Eighteen is that  
13 point in a person's life where society feels comfortable  
14 and confident in assuming that one is ready to assume  
15 the privileges, rights and responsibilities of adulthood.

16           The failure of the Court to set 18 as the  
17 minimum age for the imposition of capital punishment  
18 puts society in a position it has sought to avoid, and  
19 that is of making an error in determining when a child  
20 has actually evolved into an adult. That risk of error  
21 we submit is simply intolerable in a capital case  
22 especially where society has chosen to err, if it does  
23 so, on the side of caution by creating a boundary  
24 between childhood and adulthood.

25           We simply cannot attain a sufficient level of

1 constitutional certainty and reliability in death  
2 penalty cases unless 18 is established as a minimum age  
3 for imposition of the death penalty and thereby  
4 eliminate the risk that a child who has not evolved into  
5 an adult is exposed to capital punishment.

6 QUESTION: And there has to be an element of  
7 --it -- It's arbitrary somewhere, isn't it?

8 MR. HEFT: Yes, Your Honor. There's no  
9 denying.

10 QUESTION: If you draw a bright line, it has  
11 to be arbitrary.

12 MR. HEFT: That's correct.

13 QUESTION: The day before he attains 18 he  
14 could commit his crime and not be executed.

15 MR. HEFT: That's correct, Your Honor.

16 QUESTION: If he did it the day -- a day  
17 later, he might be.

18 MR. HEFT: Our argument is that a -- the  
19 person who has not attained the age of 18 certainly  
20 shouldn't be executed.

21 And you're quite correct. There is an element  
22 of arbitrariness in any type of line-drawing. It's  
23 unavoidable. But as the Court noted in *Salom v. Helm*,  
24 that line-drawing is a problematical issue, it's a  
25 difficult issue, but it is one that exists in Eighth

1 Amendment cases.

2 And it seems to me that notwithstanding any  
3 arbitrariness, it's a justifiable arbitrariness and it's  
4 a permissible arbitrariness because society has made  
5 that choice. It has drawn that line in so many other  
6 aspects of our lives because the person who is 17 years  
7 old, 11 months and 364 days cannot vote under any  
8 circumstances, but a person who is 18 years old and one  
9 day can vote.

10 QUESTION: Can he drive --

11 QUESTION: But the difference, Mr. Heft --

12 QUESTION: Can he drive in the commonwealth?

13 MR. HEFT: Pardon me, Your Honor?

14 QUESTION: Can a 17 year old drive in the  
15 Commonwealth of Kentucky?

16 MR. HEFT: Yes, Your Honor. Yes.

17 QUESTION: So, they haven't drawn it there.

18 MR. HEFT: No, not as far as operation of a  
19 motor vehicle, Your Honor.

20 QUESTION: Mr. Heft, the difference in the  
21 -- in the examples that you give is this. We -- we don't  
22 have a mechanism where -- whereby the individual cases  
23 can be -- can be individuated. In -- with -- with  
24 respect to voting, for example, you don't -- there's no  
25 registrar you can go before to say, well, even though



1 you're not quite 13, are you nevertheless mature enough.

2           Whereas, here you're talking about the  
3 situation where a jury in every case, in fact, even  
4 before the jury, you -- you have to have a judge say  
5 that this juvenile can be tried as an adult. That  
6 determination is first made. Then afterwards, a jury  
7 can consider the individual characteristics of this  
8 person and can say, even though this person is only 17  
9 years and nine months, we think this person is mature  
10 enough to be held liable. That's totally different from  
11 voting or any other area I can think of. We have an  
12 individuating procedure in place at two stages.

13           MR. HEFT: But the theory is constant, Your  
14 Honor, whether we are talking about the imposition of  
15 capital punishment or criminal sanctions, and also  
16 whether or not we are talking about voting rights or the  
17 ability to sit on a jury.

18           It seems to me that this case is a perfect  
19 example of why individual considerations don't work, why  
20 the safeguards that are presently in place don't work.

21           QUESTION: (Inaudible) perfect example. For  
22 all I know, the jury considered this very thoroughly and  
23 thought this individual -- although normally I  
24 personally -- and I suppose most jurors -- would --  
25 would not vote for -- for that in -- in the case of a

1 youthful offender. The jury, for all we know, considered  
2 this and said we think this person was mature enough.

3 MR. HEFT: Your Honor, let me answer this in  
4 --with -- in two different ways.

5 First of all, the primary safeguard against  
6 arbitrary imposition of capital -- of capital punishment  
7 is the introduction of mitigating evidence. But here,  
8 as I have pointed out in the brief, that safeguard was  
9 --was hollow because mitigating evidence was excluded  
10 unjustifiably. And the mitigating evidence that I'm  
11 talking about is testimony from a -- inmate on  
12 Kentucky's death row about rehabilitation programs  
13 within the adult criminal system. He not only knew  
14 about that information, but he had personal experience  
15 with the Petitioner before this crime occurred and after  
16 this crime occurred. Surely that is relevant mitigating  
17 evidence, but the jury wasn't allowed to hear that.

18 Not only that, as I -- as I've pointed out in  
19 the brief, youth as a mitigating circumstance under  
20 Kentucky's death penalty statute is also a hollow  
21 safeguard because it operates on a sliding scale insofar  
22 as it protects an individual -- theoretically protects  
23 an individual who is 16. It is also protects an  
24 individual who is 30. The --

25 QUESTION: You would have to be bound by your

1 18 year old rule even if the jury, for example, were  
2 shown evidence that this individual went around bragging  
3 I don't have to worry about the death penalty because  
4 I'm only 17 years old, 17 and 11 months, and they can't  
5 get me for another month. Even though the jury had that  
6 evidence in front of it, or -- or the jury had the  
7 evidence that this individual was selected to do the  
8 killing because this individual could not get it being  
9 one month short of 18.

10 This seems to me a much more arbitrary system  
11 of justice than -- than the one we have now. And you're  
12 putting this forward in the -- in the interest of being  
13 more equitable? It doesn't seem equitable to me at all.

14 MR. HEFT: I think it is equitable, Your  
15 Honor. I don't think we are asking the Court to carve  
16 particularly new or novel ground. We are asking the  
17 Court to rely on common sense, experience and what our  
18 society has -- our society has made a decision that  
19 individuals who are under 18 are children. They have  
20 not evolved into adults, and people on the other side of  
21 the line of 18 have evolved into adults.

22 QUESTION: (Inaudible) a decision that where  
23 we have no individuating mechanism, that's the line  
24 we'll use. But here we have an individuating mechanism,  
25 a jury that consider -- can consider in each case the

1 particular individual. If we could do that in voting,  
2 I'd be willing to have a voting age of 13 if you had  
3 somebody that would consider each individual voter. I  
4 can -- you know, I can think of some 15 year olds I'd  
5 like to have vote and maybe some 30 year olds I wouldn't.

6 (Laughter.)

7 MR. HEFT: Your Honor, with respect to the  
8 consideration that the jury might have given mitigating  
9 circumstances, there's no guarantee here what, if any,  
10 consideration they gave those mitigating circumstances  
11 and the extent --

12 QUESTION: But that -- that's true, Mr. Heft,  
13 with respect to adults. You'll have mitigating evidence  
14 come in as to adults, and there's no guarantee that the  
15 jury gave it any particular consideration.

16 MR. HEFT: Well, the -- I think the answer was  
17 -- was very obvious, and it was the one that trial  
18 counsel proposed in this case, Your Honor. Trial  
19 counsel asked the Judge to acquire the jury to make  
20 specific findings as to the existence of mitigating  
21 circumstances or the absence of those circumstances. In  
22 that way, we would at least have -- be assured that the  
23 jury did actually consider --

24 QUESTION: But your argument goes to the whole  
25 concept of mitigating circumstances in capital cases.

1 It's not peculiar to juvenile or 16 or 17 year old  
2 capital defendants.

3 MR. HEFT: Your Honor, I -- I think, as the  
4 Court stated in Eddings, that youth is not just another  
5 mitigating circumstance. It should be the pervasive  
6 factor in a case when the state is trying to seek  
7 capital punishment for a juvenile. It can't be treated  
8 categorically like every other mitigating circumstance.  
9 The Court I think --

10 QUESTION: You're asking to have it treated  
11 categorically in saying that it should be categorically  
12 ruled out.

13 MR. HEFT: I'm asking -- I --

14 QUESTION: Are you not?

15 MR. HEFT: Yes, that's correct. But if the  
16 jury is to consider youth as a mitigating circumstance,  
17 it needs to go beyond the plain -- the meaning -- the  
18 plain words "you are to consider the defendant's age."  
19 How do we know what weight the jury gave to the  
20 mitigating circumstance of youth?

21 QUESTION: How do we know what weight the jury  
22 gives to any mitigating circumstance? The -- you can  
23 say that about any capital defendant presumably that we  
24 can't be sure that -- just how the jury looked at this  
25 particular factor, but it's not peculiar to youth.

1 MR. HEFT: I -- I think it -- It's  
2 particularly special in the case of a juvenile where --  
3 who the state is trying to execute. We need to be  
4 absolutely certain that the jury takes into account all  
5 of the relevant mitigating circumstances. We don't have  
6 that assurance in dealing with juveniles in the present  
7 -- under the present system of procedural and in  
8 substantive safeguards.

9 They -- juveniles should not be treated  
10 categorically or lumped in together with adults for all  
11 -- for all purposes, particularly in capital punishment  
12 purposes. I think that's -- that's a fundamental flaw  
13 in -- in the present system. They are treated  
14 absolutely the same. There is no distinction. Youth is  
15 just another mitigating circumstance, and I don't think  
16 that's what the Court had intended in Eddings when it  
17 said that juries have to give great weight to mitigating  
18 -- youth as a mitigating circumstance. It's -- It's a  
19 mitigating circumstance above and beyond other  
20 mitigating statute -- circumstances that the -- the  
21 states might proscribe.

22 We would -- we would submit that it is  
23 constitutionally acceptable in determining evolving  
24 standards of decency to utilize 18 as the age barrier  
25 for capital punishment because of its widespread

1 acceptance as the dividing line between childhood and  
2 adulthood. In exempting persons under 18 from capital  
3 punishment, society has -- the Court would be making a  
4 determination that is consistent with the purposes of  
5 the dividing line that is presently in place.

6 The objective factors that the Court has  
7 already heard in the prior arguments support the  
8 Petitioner's conclusion. Only six states at the present  
9 time set the minimum age of capital punishment at below  
10 18. Twenty-six states and the District of Columbia  
11 preclude the execution of juveniles.

12 QUESTION: Now, does that -- the 26 states and  
13 the District of Columbia -- does that include some  
14 states which preclude the execution of everybody?

15 MR. HEFT: Yes, Your Honor.

16 QUESTION: So, how many in your list that  
17 preclude the execution of juveniles authorize it for  
18 adults?

19 MR. HEFT: There are 12, Your Honor.

20 QUESTION: So, it's 12 versus what? Six?

21 MR. HEFT: Yes, Your Honor.

22 Moreover, international opinion widely rejects  
23 the execution of juveniles. In the amicus brief filed  
24 by Amnesty International, it shows overwhelming support  
25 for 18 as the minimum age for capital punishment. In

1 the chart submitted by Amnesty International, 143 out of  
2 180 nations rejected capital punishment for people under  
3 18. That seems --

4 QUESTION: How many of those rejected capital  
5 punishment totally?

6 MR. HEFT: I -- I believe there were  
7 approximately 20, Your Honor.

8 QUESTION: Twenty who had no capital  
9 punishment at all?

10 MR. HEFT: Yes, Your Honor.

11 We would submit that considering the ethnic,  
12 religious, cultural, social and political differences  
13 between the nations of the world, it seems a  
14 particularly strong, particularly objective factor in  
15 determining that capital punishment should be found  
16 unconstitutional for juveniles in this country because  
17 that age barrier that has been erected by the  
18 international community is a common bond that transcends  
19 all of the differences between nations of the world.

20 We would further submit that 18 is the most  
21 justifiable and the most logical line that the Court can  
22 draw. Children evolve into adults. The maturation  
23 process is a gradual one which gives rise to significant  
24 emotional, intellectual and cognitive development which  
25 extends into a person's 20s. Thus, we cannot say with a



1 degree of constitutional certainty or reliability  
2 required in capital cases that a juvenile, a person  
3 under 18, is so much like an adult that it is  
4 permissible to subject them to the death penalty.

5 QUESTION: That's again why we have juries.  
6 And juries sometimes won't execute a 25 year old who  
7 they think is -- is -- is too childlike. That's why we  
8 have juries.

9 MR. HEFT: Your Honor, I -- I think it makes a  
10 lot of sense not only as a matter of social policy, but  
11 of a -- as a matter of constitutional law to set the age  
12 of -- of 18. Society has already created a presumption  
13 that people under 18 -- they are not adults. They have  
14 not evolved into adulthood. The maturation process has  
15 run its course.

16 QUESTION: Once again, it has created that  
17 presumption in areas where it has no individuating  
18 procedure. But here we have an individuating procedure.

19 MR. HEFT: There's less reason I think to  
20 reject that presumption in capital punishment because it  
21 seems to me that the risk of any error in a capital case  
22 is too much. If one juvenile were wrongly executed  
23 because he or she was not -- or erroneously decided to  
24 be mature, that's too much of a risk.

25 QUESTION: If any risk of error is too much,

1 we just better abandon the criminal law. Nobody can  
2 guarantee perfection in any human endeavor. You can't  
3 really mean that.

4 MR. HEFT: We have less perfection certainly  
5 when juveniles are subjected to the death penalty.

6 QUESTION: Well, I -- I think -- I think you  
7 do mean your statement that any risk of error is too  
8 much, and -- and the conclusion that leads to is that  
9 capital punishment is impermissible, which is not a  
10 conclusion we've accepted.

11 Incidentally, as far as those nations that  
12 --if we were governed by the other nations of the world,  
13 how many of those -- what is the lineup with respect to  
14 the permissibility of capital punishment at all for  
15 juveniles or anybody else?

16 MR. HEFT: A number of the nations. I'm not  
17 sure of the exact figures.

18 QUESTION: How many -- how many other besides  
19 the United States currently allow it? Do you have any  
20 idea?

21 MR. HEFT: Allow capital punishment at all?

22 QUESTION: Yes, yes.

23 MR. HEFT: I'm not sure, Your Honor.

24 QUESTION: My impression is it's not very many.

25 MR. HEFT: That's correct, but I couldn't give

1 you a specific figure.

2 Juveniles demonstrate tremendous resilience.  
3 They have a substantial capacity for change,  
4 intellectual development and emotional growth. That's  
5 the true essence of adolescence. Thus, when a juvenile  
6 is subjected to the death penalty, our society cannot be  
7 absolutely certain in terms of the constitutional  
8 reliability of imposing capital punishment that a  
9 juvenile is so irredeemable or has so much evolved into  
10 an adult that the finished product of that childhood is  
11 what is being subjected to capital punishment.

12 Neither can we -- we be certain as human  
13 beings that the level of maturity experienced by a  
14 particular juvenile or exhibited by a particular  
15 juvenile is commensurate with that of an adult. There's  
16 too much room for error.

17 Society presumes by its extensive regulations  
18 of the lives of juveniles that they are an unfinished  
19 product and that the maturation process is still  
20 continuing. Juveniles are still developing as persons.  
21 They are simply -- and for that reason society has  
22 determined that they are not capable of exercising the  
23 same privileges and responsibilities of adults. We  
24 don't expect them to act as adults. We don't treat them  
25 as adults.

1           Ard those restrictions are a manifestation  
2 that society has substantial doubt that a person who is  
3 under 18 has actually evolved into an adult because a  
4 person under the age of 18 simply has not lived long  
5 enough for society to be certain that it is dealing with  
6 the completed individual or the finished product of the  
7 maturation process.

8           Ard that's consistent with Eighth Amendment  
9 jurisprudence that requires the Court to consider the  
10 dignity of man because society must be certain if  
11 capital punishment is to be imposed that it is dealing  
12 with the finished product of the maturation process, a  
13 fully evolved and mature adult. We can't reach that  
14 level of certainty in juvenile cases because of the age  
15 barrier or the -- the dividing line between childhood  
16 and adulthood.

17           QUESTION: I take it it's sort of irrelevant  
18 to your argument how many states permit it and how many  
19 don't.

20           MR. HEFT: It's a factor certainly for the  
21 Court to consider, but that is not the be all and the  
22 end all. That's not the end of the inquiry, Your Honor.

23           Eighteen --

24           QUESTION: Largely irrelevant then.

25           MR. HEFT: No, I'm not saying it's irrelevant,

1 Your Honor. It's a factor that the Court has identified  
2 in Enmund and Coker that it has to consider. But the  
3 Court also noted that in the final analysis, the  
4 determination of what's -- what constitutes evolving  
5 standards of decency under the Eighth Amendment is for  
6 the Court's determination guided by those objective  
7 factors.

8           Eighteen is the -- as the minimum age for  
9 capital punishment would -- would unequivocally resolve  
10 doubt in the favor of juveniles and eliminate the risk  
11 that a juvenile who has not evolved into an adult is  
12 subjected to capital punishment.

13           As far as the imposition of the death penalty  
14 is concerned, we would submit that it has no deterrent  
15 or -- or retribution value to people under 18.

16 Deterrence, as we noted in our brief, is -- is only  
17 remotely possible. It's only a remote possibility as  
18 far as juveniles are concerned because of the present  
19 approximately 2,200 members or inhabitants of our  
20 country's death row, only just barely over 1 percent are  
21 juveniles.

22           But the reason why the deterrence rationale is  
23 inapplicable to juveniles lies beyond mere statistics  
24 and goes to what is the essence --

25           QUESTION: What do the statistics prove at all

1 about the death penalty being a deterrent to juveniles?  
2 That there are only 1 percent of juveniles on death row  
3 -- you would have to compare that to other universes  
4 surely to get anything out of it.

5 MR. HEFT: It seems to me, Your Honor, that  
6 the fact that there are so few juveniles on death row  
7 reflects our society's reluctance to inflict the death  
8 penalty on juveniles.

9 QUESTION: Well, it might reflect that, or it  
10 might reflect the fact that very -- a much smaller  
11 percentage of juveniles than adults commit offenses  
12 which could be capital crimes in the first place.

13 MR. HEFT: That point goes precisely to why  
14 deterrence -- the deterrence rationale is inapplicable  
15 to juveniles, Your Honor.

16 QUESTION: Would you explain it?

17 MR. HEFT: Well, it's -- it seems to me that  
18 juveniles, by virtue of their immaturity, by virtue of  
19 their age, inexperience and lack of judgment, do not  
20 appreciate the long-term consequences of their action --

21 QUESTION: Well --

22 MR. HEFT: -- In the same -- I'm sorry.

23 QUESTION: That -- that's certainly an  
24 argument that at least seems to move in that direction.  
25 But I don't see how that ties to the statistics at all.

1 MR. HEFT: well, the -- the statistics in and  
2 of themselves, Your Honor, seem to me to -- to indicate  
3 a societal response that juvenile cases are viewed  
4 differently even when the state is seeking capital  
5 punishment.

6 QUESTION: But wouldn't you have to compare  
7 the 1 percent with the number of juvenile cases in which  
8 capital punishment could have been imposed or the number  
9 -- the universe of juvenile offenders?

10 MR. HEFT: That -- that certainly would be the  
11 ideal, Your Honor, but we don't have the capability at  
12 this point of making that type of statistical analysis.  
13 But it still seems to me significant that when you look  
14 at the -- the -- who inhabits our death rows and find  
15 that only 1 percent of that population are juveniles,  
16 that's -- I think that's significant in and of itself.

17 QUESTION: Would you say the same thing if we  
18 examined death row and found that only 1 percent of the  
19 inhabitants were over 60, that the death penalty really  
20 doesn't deter people who are over 60?

21 MR. HEFT: well, I -- I think -- my answer  
22 would be that, as far as the deterrence rationale is  
23 concerned, that applies to juveniles again because the  
24 -- the difference in their emotional and intellectual  
25 development has posed --

1 QUESTION: But then it's because of the  
2 Juvenile nature that you're talking about, not because  
3 of the statistics.

4 MR. HEFT: That's true in the sense that I  
5 think the statistics reflect society's recognition of  
6 the differences between juveniles and adults.

7 There is widespread agreement that juveniles  
8 are less mature and less responsible than adults, and  
9 that's the --

10 QUESTION: Mr. Heft, but on the statistics,  
11 what again is the figure? It's 1 percent of the 2,200,  
12 so there are about 24 or 25. How many -- how many  
13 juveniles?

14 MR. HEFT: There are -- according to Legal  
15 Defense Fund's latest publication, Death Row U.S.A.,  
16 there are 31.

17 QUESTION: Thirty-one is all.

18 MR. HEFT: Yes, Your Honor.

19 QUESTION: Thank you.

20 MR. HEFT: There's widespread agreement --

21 QUESTION: Of those, how many are seven --  
22 were 17 at the time of the murder?

23 MR. HEFT: Twenty-three by my count, Your  
24 Honor. The -- there is -- there are five 16 year olds,  
25 two 15 year olds and one is unknown.



1           Widespread agreement -- there is widespread  
2 agreement that juveniles are less mature and less  
3 responsible than adults. That is the reason why society  
4 has undertaken pervasive control and regulation of the  
5 juveniles' lives.

6           QUESTION: Is there widespread agreement that  
7 as a result of that, deterrence is irrelevant? I mean,  
8 it would seem to me that if -- if a young adult is -- is  
9 impulsive and has poor judgment, that maybe deterrence  
10 is more important, not less.

11           MR. HEFT: Your Honor, I would separate the  
12 --I would not categorize juveniles as young adults. A  
13 young adult I would categorize as someone 18 to 25, and  
14 I think our society recognizes the difference between --

15           QUESTION: All right, a young person.

16           MR. HEFT: As far as acting impulsively, that  
17 -- that is trait of adolescence. It's a trait of  
18 juvenile conduct and behavior. And I think society --

19           QUESTION: But why is deterrence less relevant  
20 when you have an impulsive nature? I -- I don't  
21 understand that.

22           MR. HEFT: That -- first of all, that's the  
23 essence of juvenile conduct. But I think it goes beyond  
24 just simply the emotional and intellectual development  
25 of juveniles --

1 QUESTION: It seems to me -- but you're saying  
2 that juveniles can be so dangerous that therefore we  
3 shouldn't have the ultimate deterrent.

4 MR. HEFT: No.

5 QUESTION: And to me that just doesn't follow.

6 MR. HEFT: No, I'm not arguing that, as far as  
7 retribution is concerned, that society does not have the  
8 right to expect some type of --

9 QUESTION: We're talking about deterrence.

10 MR. HEFT: The psychiatric literature that  
11 we've cited in our brief has indicated that deterrence  
12 does not -- is not a -- is not applicable to juveniles  
13 because they don't -- they have absolutely no fear of  
14 death. They don't -- they have no fear of death in  
15 their ordinary -- ordinary lives. It has no deterrent  
16 value to their everyday lives, and therefore would have  
17 no deterrence to criminal conduct because of the -- the  
18 particular makeup, psychological makeup, of juveniles.  
19 And I think that's all part and parcel of the lack of  
20 maturity so that an individual who is a young adult, 18  
21 to 25, has had an opportunity and would be expected to  
22 -- to be at a higher level of maturity than someone  
23 who's 17 or under.

24 The death penalty is society's ultimate act of  
25 despair. When it is imposed on a juvenile, it manifests

1 a hopelessness of absolutely no possibility of change  
2 and development which is fundamentally inconsistent with  
3 the true essence of adolescence. That is a resiliency  
4 which is reflected in continuous growth, development and  
5 maturation. As human beings, we are incapable of making  
6 an infallible determination that a person under 18 is so  
7 much like an adult or so far beyond the possibility of  
8 all change that he or she can justifiably be subjected  
9 to the death penalty.

10 QUESTION: Well, I don't think that's really  
11 true. You're saying that the death penalty is never  
12 imposed by our society except upon people who -- who  
13 cannot be corrected so that they won't do it again.

14 MR. HEFT: I think that's a --

15 QUESTION: I think that's just not true. I  
16 think sometimes we execute people that you know won't  
17 commit the crime of murder again, but the crime they've  
18 committed is so heinous that society decides to impose  
19 capital punishment. I mean, it may be the killing of a  
20 wife or some person. You know it will never happen  
21 again, but --

22 MR. HEFT: I think the inquiry has to be -- go  
23 beyond the nature of the crime, whether it be heinous,  
24 atrocious or whatever, and look to the individual. And  
25 in this particular case, there was a finding by the

1 juvenile judge that the Petitioner was amenable to  
2 treatment.

3 QUESTION: Well, I understand. I'm just --  
4 I'm just questioning your -- your general proposition  
5 that -- that a touchstone of whether we -- our society  
6 as a whole imposes capital punishment -- we only do so  
7 when the person cannot be induced never to commit that  
8 kind of murder again. I -- I just don't think so. I  
9 think, you know, if Adolf Hitler had come in and said I  
10 promise I'll never do it again, and we believed him, I  
11 think we would still impose capital punishment.

12 MR. HEFT: I -- I think there that recognizes  
13 the distinction between juveniles and adult. Juveniles,  
14 as I've indicated earlier, have a tremendous capacity  
15 for change. Change is expected. It evolves through the  
16 maturation process. And therefore that potential for  
17 change, that potential for rehabilitation is much  
18 greater in juveniles. And therefore there's absolutely  
19 less reason or no justification for imposing the death  
20 penalty on them at such a young and tender age.

21 For purposes of the Eighth Amendment, it is  
22 entirely appropriate for the Court to set 18 as the  
23 minimum age for the imposition of capital punishment  
24 because it will unequivocally eliminate the possibility  
25 of executing a child who has not fully matured into an

1 adult or who does not possess an adult's level of  
2 maturity, emotional and intellectual development and  
3 whose moral culpability cannot, therefore, be considered  
4 commensurate with an adult. Setting 18 as the minimum  
5 age for capital punishment --

6 QUESTION: Of course, you're -- you're arguing  
7 for 365 days, aren't you?

8 MR. HEFT: Yes, Your Honor.

9 QUESTION: Three sixty-six in leap years.

10 MR. HEFT: Yes, Your Honor. But I should  
11 point out --

12 QUESTION: That -- that -- that's your margin.

13 MR. HEFT: We are asking the Court to draw the  
14 line at 18, Your Honor, yes.

15 Setting 18 as the minimum age for capital  
16 punishment advances the -- the objectives of Eighth  
17 Amendment jurisprudence, that is, confidence, certainty  
18 and reliability in the outcome of the proceedings. And  
19 we, therefore, urge the Court to rule that juveniles  
20 under the age of 18 cannot be executed.

21 Thank you.

22 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Heft.

23 General Cowan, we'll hear now from you.

24 ORAL ARGUMENT OF FREDERIC J. COWAN

25 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT

1 MR. CCWAN: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it  
2 please the Court.

3 What is at stake in this case before the Court  
4 today is this Court's long-established jurisprudence of  
5 individualized consideration in matters of death penalty  
6 cases focusing on the nature of the crime and the  
7 personal culpability of the individual.

8 To accept Petitioner's point of view, this  
9 Court would have to accept the notion that suddenly at  
10 age 18 individuals become sophisticated, mature and  
11 responsible as adults. Not only does that notion fly in  
12 the face of common sense, it also flies in the face of a  
13 national consensus that does exist which is that  
14 individuals mature and grow at different rates depending  
15 upon who they are and what their individual  
16 circumstances are.

17 The Petitioner would have this Court draw a  
18 line, a bright line, that would exempt categorically all  
19 individuals in a certain class depending upon one  
20 factor, namely, chronological age that is not related or  
21 not directly or necessarily related to the individual  
22 culpability of the particular defendant.

23 This case that is before the Court today shows  
24 what a mistake it would be to shift the focus of  
25 jurisprudence away from individual culpability. Kevin

1 Stanford committed these crimes with deliberateness and  
2 intention, with purposefulness. His motive was to  
3 eliminate a witness. He was mature and sophisticated  
4 enough to seduce and terrorize a young woman, calm and  
5 calculated enough to allow her to smoke a cigarette  
6 before executing her, and calm enough to return to the  
7 scene of the crime and steal some 300 cartons of  
8 cigarettes.

9 In addition, the trial judge in fact, after  
10 hearing all the evidence and considering all the  
11 circumstances before the court, made a finding -- and  
12 this at Joint appendix page 111 -- that this individual  
13 was beyond rehabilitation whether in or outside of an  
14 institution.

15 QUESTION: Are there any scientific studies to  
16 verify that people at that age 17 are not amenable to  
17 treatment?

18 MR. COWAN: Your Honor, I am not aware of any,  
19 and I think the point that is raised with respect to  
20 rehabilitation is very much the question of if someone  
21 at age 17 is amenable to rehabilitation, does that mean  
22 that someone at age 19 is not. Clearly that also -- I  
23 don't think there's any scientific basis to demonstrate  
24 that that's true, and it certainly flies in the face of  
25 common sense.

1 QUESTION: Is there a scientific basis that  
2 you can have a hardened criminal, a well-set sociopathic  
3 personality at the age of 17?

4 MR. COWAN: Your Honor, I believe there is  
5 although I must say I -- I cannot cite you chapter and  
6 verse as --

7 QUESTION: None has been cited that I see.

8 MR. COWAN: Your Honor, I can only point to  
9 this particular case and this particular individual  
10 where there was a long history of going in and out of  
11 institutions providing him with opportunities to be  
12 rehabilitated. In fact, in this particular case, the  
13 individual was in a treatment program just prior to the  
14 time of the crime. There was testimony in the record in  
15 the -- in the hearing process that some 86 percent of  
16 the people who went through that program were  
17 successfully treated. He was one of the 14 percent  
18 apparently who was not.

19 To rely on an age alone -- a bright line of  
20 age alone, is unlike this Court's previous decisions in  
21 *Enmund v. Florida*, *Tison v. Arizona* where, for example,  
22 the culpability -- the question was based upon the  
23 personal culpability as it related to the individual's  
24 participation in that crime. Age in itself is an  
25 imperfect proxy, if you will, or a symbol of factors



1 that are more important such as maturation,  
2 sophistication, ability to appreciate the seriousness of  
3 the crime, and the consequences of the crime.

4 We all know as a matter of common experience  
5 that maturity exists on both sides of that line and  
6 sophistication exists on both sides of that bright line  
7 the Petitioner wishes to draw. The sentencer, in fact --

8 QUESTION: Once again, have there been any  
9 psychological studies or sociological studies that bear  
10 that out, or are you asking us to rely on -- on our --  
11 on our own judgment and our own knowledge?

12 MR. COWAN: Your Honor, I think it is fair in  
13 this case to rely on your own judgment and your own  
14 knowledge and your own intuitive sense in that we know  
15 that individuals do vary at different ages.

16 QUESTION: And I would ask the same question  
17 about the deterrent value of the death penalty so far as  
18 a 16 year old is concerned or a 17 year old.

19 MR. COWAN: Your Honor, I think there is no  
20 --there's nothing that I am aware of that indicates one  
21 way or another as far as the deterrent value separating  
22 juveniles from adults. I would only say to you that if  
23 there is a deterrent value, I see no reason why it would  
24 not apply to juveniles as well as to adults.

25 In particular, in this case you had a -- you

1 had a juvenile who was street wise, who had been in and  
2 out of the criminal justice system for a number of years  
3 who was capable of making the kinds of rational  
4 decisions that he made in this particular case.

5 I believe it's important to avoid in thinking  
6 about these problems the notion of stereotypes and  
7 thinking about the average 17 year old or the average 16  
8 year old. What we are talking about here is the  
9 juvenile such as the one who is before us who was, in  
10 fact, the most sophisticated, who had been -- had seen  
11 the various aspects of the criminal justice system, who  
12 acted with the kind of deliberation and performed the  
13 kinds of acts that he did.

14 Another thing I think is important to think  
15 about in determining whether a bright line is a good  
16 test is to consider that if that test is developed, it  
17 seems to me that you're writing into the Constitution a  
18 principle that will guarantee injustice, and by that I  
19 mean take the example of two individuals who both commit  
20 jointly a crime, a murder, one 17, one 18. Let us  
21 suppose that the 18 year old is unquestionably less  
22 culpable than the 17 year old. He didn't pull the  
23 trigger. He didn't plan the crime, but he was there in  
24 such a way as to exhibit the extreme indifference to  
25 human life as in Tison.

1           The Petitioner would have this Court say that  
2 the 17 year old shall be exempt, the clearly more  
3 culpable of the two, and the 18 year old will be, in  
4 fact, put to death even though he is clearly less  
5 culpable. Or compare -- and I would suggest to you that  
6 a case like that will present itself to this Court if a  
7 bright line is drawn, and the opponents of the death  
8 penalty will be before you asking you to rule out the  
9 capital punishment for the older one on the grounds that  
10 it is freakish and arbitrary to do so.

11           Compare this case Stanford versus Tison. Can  
12 we say with any degree of assurance, if we have a bright  
13 line, that the type of culpability exhibited by Stanford  
14 is less than that -- or excuse me -- is -- is less than  
15 that exhibited by the Tison brothers in their particular  
16 case? I think not.

17           Or take Jose Hyde, the original case that was  
18 before this Court, the -- someone who was thought to be  
19 17 from Georgia and then it was discovered that, no, he  
20 was perhaps 19. Is today he any different now just  
21 because the fact happened to be discovered? Is the  
22 crime any different? Is his degree of culpability any  
23 different because now he is eligible for the death  
24 penalty and under Petitioner's point of view would not  
25 be?

1           Your honor, as legislatures -- legislatures  
2 can draw lines like this. They can draw such lines for  
3 reasons of policy. They can draw such lines for  
4 whatever reason they want to. They may wish to exhibit  
5 mercy, and that is fine and that is wise and  
6 acceptable. But the Constitution -- the Constitution is  
7 an instrument of justice, not an instrument of mercy. -  
8 And I think that that is what Petitioners are asking  
9 here.

10           This Court has recognized in California v.  
11 Brown that very principle, in fact, where it held that a  
12 defendant did not have an Eighth Amendment right to have  
13 put before the jury considerations of sympathy and  
14 considerations of mercy.

15           The Petitioner seeks to convert what is, in  
16 fact, a mitigating factor, that of youth, into a  
17 constitutional prohibition. And I see no reason why we  
18 could not talk about other mitigating factors and  
19 attempt to convert those into constitutional  
20 prohibitions as well.

21           QUESTION: Mr. Attorney General, what do you  
22 say about the Petitioner's complaint that they weren't  
23 allowed to put on mitigating evidence?

24           MR. COWAN: Your Honor, the evidence that he  
25 was not allowed to put on -- the bulk of that evidence

1 related to the witness' proposed testimony of what it  
2 was like to be on death row. And in addition, his  
3 contacts with the Petitioner were very minimal. The  
4 trial Judge in that case made a determination that the  
5 evidence was not competent and that it was cumulative.  
6 We cannot, it seems to me, fashion or attempt to fashion  
7 a rule to tell a trial judge that you can -- you have to  
8 let everything in no matter what is offered. Surely, as  
9 a matter of constitutional law, a trial Judge should be  
10 able to continue to follow the rules -- normal rules of  
11 evidence, and that was what was done in this case.

12 QUESTION: General Cowan, do you think -- Is  
13 it your view that Thompson v. Oklahoma is wrong?

14 MR. COWAN: Your Honor, it's -- I would have  
15 to take each of the positions. I -- I believe that the  
16 plurality decision was incorrect, Your Honor. But even  
17 assuming that it was correct, I think that -- that in  
18 this particular case we are talking about significant  
19 differences because in -- as you recall, in Thompson v.  
20 Oklahoma, there was not a single state that had, in  
21 fact, set the line below the age of 16. Here we have  
22 six states out of 18 that have explicitly addressed the  
23 question where the line has been drawn below the age of  
24 18.

25 In addition, Your Honor, one of the points

1 that was very clear -- clearly made in the plurality of  
2 the Thompson case by Justice Stevens was the fact that  
3 there was no state that treated 15 year olds other than  
4 initially in the juvenile process, in the juvenile  
5 jurisdiction. That is not true with respect to 17 year  
6 olds. Seventeen year old murderers -- there are some  
7 20 states -- about 20 states who either automatically  
8 waive a 17 year old murderer to adult court or who have  
9 no jurisdiction over that at that -- at that time. So,  
10 we have an entirely different situation, it seems to me,  
11 than we did in Thompson.

12 QUESTION: In Kentucky, how many do you have  
13 on death row now?

14 MR. COWAN: Total, Your Honor? We have  
15 approximately 34 or 35.

16 QUESTION: And how many are under 18?

17 MR. COWAN: There is -- there is one. There  
18 is this Petitioner, Your Honor. Well, he's -- was under  
19 18 at the time that he committed the crime.

20 I might say while on the subject of --

21 QUESTION: Kentucky -- General Cowan, Kentucky  
22 is a state that has expressly addressed the age at which  
23 one is to be subjected to capital punishment.

24 MR. COWAN: Yes, Your Honor.

25 QUESTION: And it had done so at the time of

1 the commission of this offense?

2 MR. CCWAN: Your Honor, it's a little bit  
3 complicated, but let me explain very briefly, if I can.  
4 At the time of the commission of this offense, Kentucky  
5 had no explicit minimum in effect. This was in 1981  
6 that the offense was committed. At that time, the only  
7 effective statute on the books was KRS 208.170 which is  
8 the juvenile transfer statute. In that statute, Your  
9 Honor, the statute very explicitly sets out that  
10 individuals under the age of 16 who committed capital  
11 offenses -- and it used the word "capital offenses"  
12 -- may be waived to adult court if other factors are  
13 considered.

14 Five -- Section 5(c) of that statute also  
15 explicitly says that once the trial judge -- having had  
16 the case waived to him, once the trial judge refuses to  
17 send it back to juvenile court, then the case will  
18 proceed against that -- that individual as against any  
19 other defendant.

20 Quite clearly, Kentucky in that statute alone  
21 demonstrated its awareness that it, in fact, it was  
22 dealing with capital offenders under the age of 16.  
23 And, of course, we're talking about one that's 17.

24 At that time, also Kentucky, to be quite clear  
25 with you and quite -- quite candid, Kentucky had adopted

1 In 1980 the Unified Juvenile Code, delayed its effective  
2 date until 1982. In that code, it said that there would  
3 be an 18 year old minimum for -- for juvenile death  
4 penalty. That was delayed. The 1982 general assembly  
5 deferred it until 1984, and it was only in 1986 with an  
6 effective date in 1987 that Kentucky adopted a minimum  
7 age of 16. But Kentucky now has the minimum age of 16.  
8 At the time of the commission of the offense, there was  
9 no effective minimum in effect.

10 In discussing consensus analysis in trying to  
11 determine what is the best approach to determining what  
12 societal values are, the Court it seems to me has to be  
13 quite cautious in trying to reach that decision. The  
14 Constitution shall not catch a pendulum at one end of  
15 its swing and freeze that notion into law.

16 The attitude in this society about youth is  
17 very much in a state of flux and has been for a number  
18 of years. And we see movement in the various  
19 legislatures. It is commonplace I think to -- to hear  
20 people say youth are growing up so much faster today.  
21 They're so much more sophisticated. They're exposed to  
22 so many more types of things. And I think common  
23 experience tell us that that is the case.

24 Under Gregg v. Georgia, the Petitioner has a  
25 heavy burden to demonstrate that there is a national



1 consensus against the execution of 17 year olds. As I  
2 have pointed out, six out of the 18 states that  
3 expressly have expressed -- have -- have expressly drawn  
4 a line have done so at 17 or below. Eighteen other  
5 states allow on their face for the execution of those  
6 under the age of 18. I believe those 18 should be  
7 counted in determining a national consensus.

8 But even if one were to follow the type of  
9 analysis in the plurality in Thompson or the concurrence  
10 in Thompson, I think that we have to realize that  
11 significant evidence relating to the interpretation of  
12 those 18 states' statute has been overlooked because  
13 they do, as in Kentucky's case that was in effect then  
14 explicitly recognized the notion of capital offense in  
15 those juvenile transfer statutes.

16 When we talk about -- when we talk about  
17 consensus, we do have to at some point go beyond mere  
18 counting, and I think the Court has to consider what the  
19 particular nature of the crime -- nature of the  
20 punishment is. And it seems to me that punishment  
21 should be something that is patently offensive to the  
22 national conscience or so revolting or abhorrent or such  
23 an aberration that we can comfortably say that it is  
24 cruel and unusual under the Eighth Amendment.

25 If you take, for example, a case of -- suppose

1 we had a felony limit that was set in order to be tried  
2 as a felony, and every state in the Union had \$300 set  
3 as the minimum for someone to be tried as a felony, but  
4 one state had \$100 -- so it was 49 to 1 -- then surely  
5 it would not be unconstitutional for that one state to  
6 express -- to have that \$100.

7 We must recognize in -- in doing consensus  
8 analysis, recognize the notion of federalism that is  
9 central to our -- central to our constitutional scheme.  
10 As was noted by Justice O'Connor in Tennessee v. Garner,  
11 the Eighth Amendment is not violated every time a state  
12 reaches a conclusion different from the majority of its  
13 sisters over how best to administer its criminal laws.

14 The Petitioner's bright line analysis I  
15 believe is further flawed, and I think these are some of  
16 the comments that Justice Scalia was getting to when  
17 looking at the question of eligibility for juries or  
18 eligibility for voting, these sorts of things. I might  
19 point out, of course, that there is at least one very  
20 distinct age that we know that is virtually nationwide  
21 -- I think nationwide now, and that's 21 years old in  
22 order to purchase alcoholic beverages.

23 But the point is that all these things are  
24 passed depending upon what the particular harm or what  
25 the particular circumstance is. And as Justice Scalia

1 noted, they are done for a purpose of administrative  
2 convenience, the 18 year olds for voting and driving and  
3 -- and this sort of thing. It would be best I think for  
4 all of us if we can make an individualized determination  
5 for voting, for serving on a grand jury, whatever it  
6 happens to be, as to who was really mature enough and  
7 sophisticated enough to be able to do that. But clearly  
8 the transaction costs of that are too high.

9 But the criminal justice system -- the very  
10 premise of the criminal justice system is based upon an  
11 individualized consideration of each individual. That's  
12 what it's set up for. That's what it is capable of  
13 doing, and that's what it should do. And that's why we  
14 ask that it be continued in this particular case.

15 And I might add particularly -- and this Court  
16 has recognized -- in dealing with problems of crimes and  
17 punishment, we're dealing with an entirely different  
18 matter than we are in dealing with things like juries  
19 -- serving on a jury and voting and whatnot.

20 QUESTION: Well, on the juries -- how about an  
21 age limit on the jury?

22 MR. COWAN: On serving on a jury, Your Honor?

23 QUESTION: Yes, sir.

24 MR. COWAN: Well --

25 QUESTION: That tries the juvenile.

1 MR. COWAN: Oh, serving on a -- that tries the  
2 juvenile?

3 QUESTION: A jury of his peers.

4 MR. CCWAN: The age minimum? Your Honor, I  
5 simply don't think there's any way that we can put that  
6 into a -- in a matter of constitutional law by saying  
7 that people have to --

8 QUESTION: It just happens to be the jury of  
9 your peers is a part of constitutional law.

10 MR. CCWAN: Yes, Your Honor, I suppose it's --

11 QUESTION: And this man did not get a jury of  
12 his peers.

13 MR. CCWAN: Your Honor, I --

14 QUESTION: Is that true?

15 MR. COWAN: Your Honor, I would respectfully  
16 disagree with you and say, no, it's not because I think  
17 it depends on what your definition of your peers are.  
18 And I don't think that we should be in a position where  
19 we say that anyone under the age of 18 should be allowed  
20 to serve on -- on the jury.

21 A national consensus does exist I believe and  
22 it -- it is shown and the national consensus is that  
23 youths do, in fact, mature at different rates depending  
24 upon their individual circumstances. And it is shown  
25 objectively by the fact that all states -- all states

1 --allow 17 year old murderers to be tried as adults.  
2 And except for those states that have a minimum of 18  
3 and a death penalty, they all expose those 17 year olds  
4 to their maximum penalty authorized by law.

5 Your Honors, in Kentucky's case, we gave full  
6 individualized consideration to Kevin Stanford, and we  
7 fully considered the matters relating to his youth and  
8 all the mitigating circumstances relating to any  
9 explanation that he might have going that would diminish  
10 his personal responsibility for the crime. Not only was  
11 there a transfer hearing, at which a full record was  
12 developed, there was a circuit court hearing, a trial  
13 level hearing. There was a motion on whether to  
14 retransfer him. The grand jury reindicted him because  
15 it was not informed the first time that it had the  
16 opportunity to send him back. And the jury itself gave  
17 full individualized consideration to him.

18 I would ask the Court to make a note of the  
19 instructions at Joint appendix 100 and 101. That  
20 --those instructions laid out 20 mitigating factors --  
21 20 mitigating factors -- for the jury to consider,  
22 including the fact that he was of very youthful age, he  
23 was only 17 years old, that he was led into the crime by  
24 another person, that he was emotionally immature, that  
25 because of his age, he was capable of changing, and some

1 16 other factors. Every single one of the mitigating  
2 factors asked for by the defendant was granted in this  
3 case verbatim, word for word.

4 Kentucky also --

5 QUESTION: General, may I get back to my other  
6 question? Is there any principal way in which we can  
7 decide in your favor here and keep Thompson v. Oklahoma  
8 on the books?

9 MR. CCWAN: Your Honor, I think -- I think  
10 there -- there is, and I think that it has to do with  
11 the national consensus. If you believe there was a  
12 national consensus against the execution of 15 year  
13 olds, the evidence supporting a national consensus  
14 against the execution of 17 years olds is significantly  
15 less.

16 QUESTION: And what about 16?

17 MR. CCWAN: Sixteen? It is also significantly  
18 less although, of course, there is a difference of three  
19 states in talking about the states that have directly  
20 addressed the question.

21 In Kentucky's case, however -- and this  
22 addresses Justice O'Connor's point -- the -- there was  
23 an explicit rejection of the 18 year minimum, and I  
24 think that certainly that is a matter of some note.

25 In conclusions, I would like to say that

1 Kentucky gave full individualized consideration as  
2 required by the Constitution under Eddings and Lockett  
3 to this individual. They provided, in fact, protections  
4 beyond the constitutional minimum. The bright line test  
5 proposed by Petitioners, it seems to me, destroys a key  
6 tenet of Eighth Amendment analysis based upon  
7 individualized consideration. The Constitution is very  
8 much an instrument of justice, not an instrument of  
9 mercy. And finally, common sense dictates that youths  
10 mature at different rates, and that is reflected in a  
11 national consensus that youth may be treated as adults  
12 in all these various circumstances.

13 For the reasons we have stated, Your Honors, I  
14 would like to --

15 QUESTION: May I just ask you one other  
16 question? Your entire argument has been based on the  
17 national consensus aspect of the analysis. Do you think  
18 that is the only test by which the Court should judge  
19 whether punishment is cruel and unusual?

20 MR. CCWAN: Your Honor, I am not sure how  
21 --what other way to proceed other than -- because under  
22 *Tropp v. Dulles*, which this Court has always followed in  
23 talking about evolving standards of decency, we have to  
24 reach some determination as to what those evolving  
25 standards of decency are. And I certainly think this

1 Court is free to make that determination as it best sees  
2 fit.

3           However, I think the way of looking at  
4 objective Indicia first at the very beginning is -- is  
5 the most appropriate way, and particularly at  
6 legislatures, since they are the best expression we have  
7 in this Nation of the expression of the popular will.

8           I think it would be very difficult to  
9 determine and fashion some other type of analysis. This  
10 Court I suppose -- I don't -- I don't ask you to do  
11 this, but you could commission all kinds of public  
12 opinion polls, but that certainly is not something --

13           QUESTION: Well, did the Court use the  
14 national consensus approach prior to the capital  
15 punishment cases?

16           MR. COWAN: I'm sorry. I didn't hear your  
17 question.

18           QUESTION: Did the Court use this national  
19 consensus approach prior to the capital punishment cases?

20           MR. COWAN: I don't believe so, not in terms,  
21 Your Honor, of trying to count states and that sort of  
22 thing.

23           QUESTION: What do you suppose prior to this  
24 -- this national consensus approach, what principal  
25 basis would there have been for putting content into



1 these --this part of the Constitution?

2 MR. CCWAN: Well, I think that the --

3 QUESTION: Or do you think there is anything?  
4 It's strictly a matter of Gallup polls and the like.

5 MR. CCWAN: Well, I -- I think the Court has  
6 to look at legal history and a variety of things along  
7 --along those lines that it I believe did under Weems  
8 and Tropp v. Dulles. I don't think -- I think that's  
9 about as well as we can do if we're trying to discern  
10 what, in fact, are evolving standards of decency.

11 My point is with respect to those, however,  
12 that with -- at least as far as juveniles are concerned,  
13 we know that society is in a state of flux with -- with  
14 reference to their particular attitude about those  
15 juveniles. We know, for example, that we have to -- or  
16 I shouldn't say we know. We have to consider new types  
17 of problems that come up in our society, whether they be  
18 problems of drugs or problems with drunken driving and  
19 this sort of thing. And it is very -- the Court must be  
20 very cautious as far as freezing into constitutional law  
21 some particular aspect that says that this is a cruel  
22 and unusual punishment.

23 For the reasons that I've stated, Your Honors,  
24 we ask that you affirm the judgment below.

25 Thank you.

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CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, General  
Cowan.

The case is submitted.

(Whereupon, at 2:37 o'clock p.m., the case in  
the above-entitled matter was submitted.)

CERTIFICATION

Alderson Reporting Company, Inc., hereby certifies that the attached pages represents an accurate transcription of electronic sound recording of the oral argument before the Supreme Court of The United States in the Matter of:

No. 87-5765 - KEVIN N. STANFORD, Petitioner V. KENTUCKY

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and that these attached pages constitutes the original transcript of the proceedings for the records of the court.

BY Judy Freilicher  
(REPORTER)

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