AN NTSB FOR CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

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When a fatal traffic accident happens, we expect the local police and prosecutors to handle the investigation and criminal charges. When a fatal airplane crash occurs, however, we turn instead to the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB). The reason is that air crashes are complicated and the NTSB has vast expertise. Without that expertise, investigations falter. We need look no further than the mess made by Malaysian authorities in the search for Flight 370 to see the importance of expertise in handling complicated investigations and processes. It is easy to point to a similar series of mistakes by local prosecutors and defense attorneys in many death-penalty cases around the country. If we are to continue utilizing capital punishment in the United States, the death-penalty system should follow the air crash model, not the car crash model. Capital cases should be handled by an elite, nationwide unit of prosecutors and investigators who travel to capital-murder sites the way the NTSB travels to airplane and other catastrophic crashes. As the number of death sentences dwindles each year, states have incentive to enter into an NTSB model that allows them to continue using capital punishment without having to handle the complicated cases themselves. This Symposium Essay argues that capital punishment as currently conducted at the local level is a failure, but that the death penalty can be justified if carried out by an elite, national team of lawyers and investigators.

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At the time of this symposium in April 2014, the world was mesmerized by the disappearance of Malaysian Airlines Flight 370.1 There were (and still are) a number of vexing questions: How can an airplane just disappear? Was this a nefarious terrorist event or simply an accident? And, perhaps most surprisingly, with all of the radar and satellite technology in the world, why could the Malaysian government not find the plane in the days, weeks, and months that followed?2 What was clear, almost from the beginning, was that the Malaysian authorities were not equipped to effectively handle such a complicated investigation.3

The deeply flawed search for Flight 370 at first might seem like a strange analogy for the problems of capital punishment in the United States. Upon closer inspection, however, it is actually a very good fit.4 The search for Flight 370 was badly mismanaged by Malaysian authorities from the beginning because they lacked the experience and information to know they were making grievous errors.5 Because of those poor decisions up front, search teams spent weeks looking in the wrong place and wasting valuable time and resources.6 Malaysian officials later reversed course and redirected the search based on other evidence.7 All the while, the victims’ families were anguished because they received limited information from those in charge and could not understand what was taking so long.8 And to top it off, many other countries

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4. Any analogy one might make pales in comparison to the brilliant comparisons the late Andy Taslitz made in these pages in past symposia. See generally, e.g., Andrew E. Taslitz, Bullshitting the People: The Criminal Procedure Implications of a Scatalogical Term, 39 TEX. TECH L. REV. 1383 (2007) (discussing the impact of “political bullshit” on our society); Andrew E. Taslitz, Why Did Tinkerbell Get off So Easy?: The Roles of Imagination and Social Norms in Excusing Human Weakness, 42 TEX. TECH L. REV. 419 (2009) (analyzing the role compassion plays in our cultures).
5. See Keith Bradsher & Chris Buckley, Malaysia Backtracks on When Airliner’s Communications Were Disabled, N.Y. TIMES (Mar. 17, 2014), http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/18/world/asia/malaysia-backtracks-on-when-airliners-communications-were-disabled.html (explaining that the transportation minister who briefed the press appeared not to understand the admittedly complicated communications system on the plane).
6. See Chris Buckley, Jet’s Disappearance Puzzles a World Under Constant Electronic Watch, N.Y. TIMES (Mar. 22, 2014), http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/23/world/asia/in-a-wired-world-with-abundant-eyes-a-vanished-jet-vexes-and-perplexes.html (“As recently as last weekend, American aviation investigators in Malaysia told the government there that it was searching for the plane in the wrong areas, and that it needed to redirect its search to the Indian Ocean, according to a person briefed on the inquiry.”).
Capital punishment in the United States operates much the same way. Cases are reversed at an alarming rate. Many reversals are for ineffective assistance of counsel. Other capital cases are reversed for prosecutorial misconduct. Still other cases are overturned years later on direct appeal or habeas corpus because of invalid jury selection, improper arguments, and incorrect jury instructions. The result is years and years of wasted time while cases wind their way up and down the judicial system. Victims do not understand the process and are anguished by the lack of communication and the enormous delays (not to mention the false hopes that come from an initial death sentence or a later affirmance by a state supreme court). Just like the search for Flight 370, capital punishment in the United States costs a small fortune—certainly much more than it would cost to impose life imprisonment. And this is to say nothing of other issues—such as racial
discrimination and geographic arbitrariness of capital punishment within states—that occur because of local control of death penalty charging decisions.

That such tremendous problems continue to exist over four decades after the Court first struck down the death penalty as unconstitutional suggests that it might be time to end our experiment with capital punishment. Certainly, as a matter of pure utility, the cost of capital punishment—arbitrariness, discrimination, and actual dollars spent—appears to be vastly greater than the benefits (primarily questionable claims of deterrence) it tangibly provides to society. Even leaving aside the problem of innocence, capital punishment seems to be the classic example of a disastrous public policy.

Yet, the public is often willing to pay a lot of money for flawed public programs that convey psychological benefit. Indeed, we need look no further than the vast public support for spending tens, or even hundreds of millions of dollars to find an airplane that has almost certainly sunk to the bottom of the ocean and from which no human remains are likely to be recovered. While capital punishment is less popular than in the recent past, it still enjoys considerable nationwide support (and robust support in many southern states). Despite the views of the elite then, perhaps America’s experiment with the death penalty should continue.

If the experiment is to continue, though, America will need to change its approach to capital punishment. Dramatic reversal rates in capital cases should not be acceptable. Nor should we tolerate racial discrimination or defendants facing the death penalty because they committed their crimes in Philadelphia as opposed to Pittsburgh, or Houston as opposed to a small Texas

23. Cf. Ray Sanchez, Nearly 80% of Americans Think No One Survived Flight 370, CNN Poll Finds, CNN (May 6, 2014, 8:18 PM), http://www.cnn.com/2014/05/06/world/asia/malaysia-airlines-plane-poll/ (discussing how the public wants to spend a lot of money on searching for an airplane that likely cannot be found).
24. See id. (explaining that although 79% of people thought no survivors would be found, nearly 70% favored continuing to search for the plane).
26. See supra note 10 and accompanying text.
27. See supra note 19 and accompanying text.
county without the resources to seek the death penalty.\textsuperscript{28} And horror stories about ineffective assistance of counsel and prosecutorial misconduct four decades after the reinstatement of capital punishment is nothing short of appalling.\textsuperscript{29}

There is one plausible solution that might solve many of the problems with capital punishment. Just as we do not send the local police and prosecutors to investigate an air crash, we should not send local authorities to deal with a death-penalty case. Instead, final capital charging decisions and the litigation of all death-penalty cases should be handled by an elite unit of national prosecutors, investigators, and defense attorneys who are responsible for all of the nation’s cases.

I have previously proposed that states abolish counties’ roles in the death penalty and instead run the death-penalty system at the state level.\textsuperscript{30} Here, I go a step further and suggest a national strategy for capital punishment.\textsuperscript{31} Local prosecutors should make the initial decision to label a case as “potentially capital.” Thereafter, they would forward the case to the national death-penalty team—an NTSB for capital punishment—that would decide whether to seek death and, if so, would then handle all aspects of the case from pretrial discovery to the last clemency petition. An NTSB for capital punishment would insulate charging decisions from the influence of politics, money, and subconscious racial discrimination. An elite nationwide group of prosecutors and defense attorneys would also drastically decrease the number of meritorious claims of prosecutorial misconduct and ineffective assistance of counsel that bog down the current capital-punishment system. An NTSB approach would lead to less arbitrary charging decisions, fairer trials, and shorter appellate processes with fewer reversals.\textsuperscript{32}

This Essay proceeds in three parts. Part I offers a brief explanation of the flaws in the search for Malaysian Flight 370 and draws a comparison with American capital punishment.\textsuperscript{33} Part I then describes how the NTSB operates and posits that it would not have made the same threshold mistakes as Malaysian authorities.\textsuperscript{34} Part II then briefly reviews the deep flaws present in a system allowing local control of the death penalty.\textsuperscript{35} In particular, Part II discusses threshold decisions about charging leading to arbitrariness, racial discrimination, and years of appeals and habeas petitions built around those

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{28} See supra note 20 and accompanying text.
\item \textsuperscript{29} See supra notes 11–12 and accompanying text.
\item \textsuperscript{30} See generally Adam M. Gershowitz, Statewide Capital Punishment: The Case for Eliminating Counties’ Role in the Death Penalty, 63 VA. L. REV. 307 (2010) [hereinafter Statewide Capital Punishment] (advancing the notion that counties should not participate in the death penalty administration process).
\item \textsuperscript{31} See infra Parts I–IV.
\item \textsuperscript{32} See infra Part III.A.2.
\item \textsuperscript{33} See infra Part I.A.
\item \textsuperscript{34} See infra Part I.B–C.
\item \textsuperscript{35} See infra Part II.
\end{itemize}
initial mistakes. Part III then explains how an elite national death-penalty unit—an NTSB for capital punishment—could create a functional death-penalty system. Part III explains why, in an era of dwindling numbers of capital cases, states should be eager to voluntarily opt into a nationwide capital-punishment system.

I. THE SEARCH FOR FLIGHT 370 AND THE NTSB

A. The Flawed Response by Malaysia and the Analogy to American Capital Punishment

Entire books will be written about the mysterious disappearance of Flight 370 and the flawed search for it. I want to focus on four issues here—competence, politics, poor relations with victims’ families, and cost—and draw a comparison to American capital punishment.

First, the Malaysian response smacked of incompetence. Malaysian authorities failed to understand all of the available radar data and began searching on the eastern coast of Malaysia. During this most crucial time period after the plane’s disappearance—when there was the best chance to see debris floating on the ocean and to locate the black box before its signal disappeared—Malaysian authorities directed the international community to look in the wrong place. Over five days passed before Malaysian authorities redirected the search.

Incompetence is also one of the main criticisms of the players in the American death-penalty system. An alarming number of defendants receive ineffective assistance of counsel. Scholars have long observed that the quality of lawyering plays an outsized role in determining who receives the death penalty and who escapes with their lives. A small number of ineffective defense attorneys are conscious of their poor performance but are simply too lazy to make a better effort. In many more cases, however, the defense

36. See infra Part II.
37. See infra Part III.A.1.
38. See infra Part III.B.
39. See Bradsher & Forsythe, supra note 3.
40. Id.
41. Id.
42. See LIEBMAN ET AL., supra note 10, at 5. In Professor James Liebman’s study of capital reversals from 1973 to 1995, ineffective assistance of counsel was the most common reason for state post-conviction reversal. Id.
44. For example, consider the infamous Joe Cannon in Harris County, Texas, who boasted of hurrying through capital cases like “greased lightening.” See Stephen B. Bright, Neither Equal Nor Just: The Rationing and Denial of Legal Services to the Poor When Life and Liberty Are at Stake, 1997 ANN. SURV. AM. L. 783, 789.
attorneys are over-burdened or under-trained and thus unintentionally provide poor legal representation.\footnote{See, e.g., Eve Brensike Primus, \textit{Structural Reform in Criminal Defense: Relocating Ineffective Assistance of Counsel Claims}, 92 \textit{CORNELL L. REV.} 679, 703 (2007) (“Some trial attorneys admit to routinely providing ineffective assistance to their clients. These attorneys simply do not have the time to investigate all of the cases, research all of the issues, and prepare adequately for all of the trials that come their way.” (footnote omitted)).}

The same incompetence criticism can be pinned on lawyers on the other side of the courtroom who engage in prosecutorial misconduct. As I have argued elsewhere, much prosecutorial misconduct is accidental, with prosecutors failing to disclose exculpatory evidence (or committing other errors) because they are over-burdened with huge case loads or because they fail to recognize \textit{Brady} material due to a lack of training and experience.\footnote{See Adam M. Gershowitz & Laura R. Killinger, \textit{The State (Never) Rests: How Excessive Prosecutorial Caseloads Harm Criminal Defendants}, 105 \textit{NW. U. L. REV.} 261, 282–85 (2011).} Thus, first and foremost, Malaysia’s bungled response to the missing plane shares some of the hallmarks of incompetence that we see in the American death-penalty system.

Second, politics undoubtedly played a role in the flawed response to the plane’s disappearance. Malaysian authorities did not initially realize the plane had disappeared until being alerted to that fact by Vietnamese officials.\footnote{See Chris Buckley & Michael Forsythe, \textit{17-Minute Delay Found in Reporting Missing Plane}, \textit{N.Y. TIMES} (May 1, 2014), http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/02/world/asia/malaysia-calls-for-better-tracking-of-flights.html.} Malaysian military installations also failed to track the plane as it traveled through their airspace.\footnote{See id.} Both of those mistakes were embarrassing, and the Malaysian government did not want to reveal the holes in its radar and defense capabilities.\footnote{See Edward Wong, \textit{Search for Lost Jet Is Complicated by Geopolitics and Rivalries}, \textit{N.Y. TIMES} (Mar. 26, 2014), http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/27/world/asia/geopolitical-rivalries-jet.html [hereinafter Wong, \textit{Search for Lost Jet is Complicated}].} The Malaysian government thus kept valuable information hidden and failed to reveal for a week that its military radar had spotted the jet flying west and away from the area where the initial international search efforts were being undertaken.\footnote{See id.} The \textit{New York Times} reported that “some analysts say Malaysian leaders might have feared the announcement would reveal ineptitude by the military, since it would appear that crew members watching the radar had failed at their jobs.”\footnote{Id.} This likely explains why Malaysian authorities were slow to accept international assistance in the search.\footnote{See Michael S. Schmidt & Scott Shane, \textit{As U.S. Looks for Terror Links in Plane Case, Malaysia Rejects Extensive Help}, \textit{N.Y. TIMES} (Mar. 16, 2014), http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/17/world/asia/as-us-looks-for-terror-links-in-plane-case-malaysia-rejects-extensive-help.html.}

Of course, politics plays a huge role in capital cases as well. The worst offenders are often not the ones sentenced to death. In some truly egregious
cases, prosecutors make the calculated political decision not to seek the death penalty because the financial cost would be exorbitant.53 Faced with the prospect of having to raise taxes to pay for a death-penalty trial, some prosecutors choose the less expensive path and forego the option to seek death.54 On the opposite end of the spectrum, some prosecutors likely seek the death penalty in marginal cases to create a reputation for being tough on crime in order to secure their reelection or move up the ladder to a higher office.55 Indeed, a few prosecutors—such as former Philadelphia district attorney Lynne Abraham—seek the death penalty in every case in which it is plausibly available rather than making a nuanced effort to seek death in only the most egregious cases.56 And some prosecutors who fall in the middle of the spectrum—people with the very best of intentions—are occasionally influenced by local news coverage, public opinion, and unconscious racial bias in some death-penalty filings.57

Third, the Malaysian authorities did a terrible job dealing with the families of the passengers. Because of the trickle of information, family members believed the Malaysian government was hiding something.58 Just one week after the plane’s disappearance, The New York Times reported that “[t]o say many [family members] are exasperated, astounded or fed up with the way the Malaysian authorities have handled the investigation and search efforts is an understatement. Last week, people... lobbed plastic water bottles at Malaysia Airlines executives.”59 A few weeks later, a group of family members “presented a Malaysian diplomat with a scathing statement saying that the families would regard Malaysian leaders and the state-controlled operator of the flight, Malaysia Airlines, to be ‘murderers’ if it emerged that missteps had led to the deaths of their loved ones.”60

Although not nearly as pronounced, family members often feel victimized by the criminal-justice process in capital cases. As Professor Stephanos Bibas has explained, there is a great gulf between the knowledge held by insiders and outsiders in the criminal-justice system.61 Handicapped by a lack of knowledge

54. See infra notes 122–28 and accompanying text.
57. See Jonathan DeMay, A District Attorney’s Decision Whether to Seek the Death Penalty: Toward an Improved Process, 26 FORDHAM URB. L.J. 767, 770 (1999).
58. See Wong, Tension is Growing, supra note 8.
59. Id.
about how the system works, average citizens often feel aggrieved by the lack of information they receive from prosecutors and how the reality of the process differs from the inaccurate impression of the system they may have from television, movies, or other limited data points. The sheer length of capital cases also leaves victims feeling violated as the terrible memories of the crime are dredged up with every new appeal and habeas petition. Of course, any process that protects the rights of criminal defendants will necessarily result in anger by victims’ families. But the sheer scope of appeals and habeas petitions—to say nothing of reversals and retrials based on avoidable problems such as prosecutorial misconduct and ineffective assistance of counsel—is unnecessarily jarring to victims’ families. At bottom, transparency and information flow are lacking in the current capital-punishment system in the United States.

Fourth and finally, the issue of cost is a significant point of comparison between the search for Flight 370 and American death-penalty cases. The search for Flight 370 has already cost tens—perhaps hundreds—of millions of dollars. Civilian and military ships and planes from more than a dozen countries spent weeks scouring thousands of miles of ocean searching for the plane. Each ship and plane was operated by numerous highly trained workers who stopped performing other tasks so that they could participate in the search. And, as noted above, for at least one week these military and civilian personnel were wasting their time by searching the wrong area because of the obvious missteps of the Malaysian government.

The comparison to American capital punishment is obvious. States spend millions of dollars to run dysfunctional capital-punishment systems. It costs far more to utilize the death penalty than to impose life imprisonment. And many of those costs are avoidable. Years of appellate and post-conviction litigation focused on ineffective assistance of counsel and prosecutorial misconduct could be avoided if states properly trained and supervised lawyers up front. Just as the sailors on military vessels would not have wasted their time on the wrong search area if the Malaysian authorities had not withheld

62. See id. at 924–25.
64. See id.
65. Professor Bibas has made this point effectively with respect to the criminal-justice system generally. See STEPHANOS BIBAS, THE MACHINERY OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE 51 (2012) (“Secrecy and opacity weaken citizens’ trust in the law and may also make them feel distant and alienated.”).
66. See Semple, supra note 9.
67. See id.
68. See Wong, Search for Lost Jet is Complicated, supra note 49.
69. See id.
71. See id. at 541–44.
72. See id. at 549 (stating that, “unless [prosecutors] are required to internalize more of the costs of making poor screening decisions,” the threat of the death penalty will continue to be used inefficiently).
valuable information, so too would appellate judges, clerks, appointed appellate attorneys, and other players in the criminal-justice system not have wasted their time if death-penalty trials were properly handled at the outset.73

In sum, the bungled response to Flight 370’s disappearance looks a lot like the dysfunctional capital-punishment system in the United States. Both were (and are) costly and ineffective, while leaving the victims feeling aggrieved.

B. How Might Things Have Been Different if the NTSB Had Been in Charge?

If Flight 370 had disappeared in the United States, the NTSB would have been in charge of the investigation.74 Originally, the NTSB was an independent agent in the Department of Transportation, but it eventually became completely independent of even that department.75 The NTSB has jurisdiction over all aviation accidents, and it handles selected accidents involving other modes of transportation.76 Approximately 80% of the NTSB’s work involves aviation accidents. In an average year, this amounts to roughly 2,000 total incidents.77

Although the NTSB is “[o]n call 24 hours a day, 365 days a year” and travels to the site of an accident immediately,78 it employs a relatively lean staff of roughly 400 people.79 It is able to work with a small staff because it taps into a network of experts from other governmental agencies as well as the private sector.80 These parties are (with the exception of the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA)) involved in investigations by invitation only and are selected for their strong competence across a wide array of areas.81

The NTSB is exclusively engaged in forensic analysis and, unlike many other governmental agencies, has no regulatory portfolio.82 It focuses exclusively on accident investigations and safety recommendations.83 It is thus insulated from politics and able to appear and actually be objective.84 Because

73. Compare Wong, Search for Lost Jet is Complicated, supra note 49 (explaining that Malaysian officials did not announce that military radar had spotted the plane flying in a different direction than where search efforts were concentrated until a week after the plane disappeared), with Thaxton, supra note 70, at 549 (discussing the costs of poor prosecutorial decision making).
75. See 49 U.S.C.A. § 1111(a) (West 2007).
76. See History of the NTSB, supra note 74.
80. Id. at 17.
81. Id. at 21.
82. Id. at 17, 19.
83. See Annual Report, supra note 78, at 5.
84. See Fielding et al., supra note 79, at 19.
of its core competency and its insulation from politics, the NTSB is perceived to be one of the best functioning governmental agencies.85

It is, of course, impossible to say whether the NTSB would have been able to succeed in finding Flight 370 where Malaysian authorities failed. Perhaps the clues were simply missing and no one would have been able to locate the plane in the days after its disappearance. It stands to reason, however, that the NTSB would have had a better chance of finding the plane. The NTSB has handled over 140,000 aviation accidents in its history, including numerous major air crashes.86 The NTSB would have been able to quickly draw on its “party system” to engage radar experts to interpret the data.87 While it took Malaysian authorities weeks to find and interpret the radar data, the NTSB would have been in a position to crunch the data more quickly.88 Additionally, because it is an independent agency, the NTSB would have been insulated from politics and able to direct the search based on where the evidence led.89 The same cannot be said for the Malaysian authorities.

C. The Comparison of the NTSB and a National Capital-Punishment Group

Although I will leave for Part III the details of how an NTSB for capital punishment could be implemented, at this stage it is worth briefly tying together the benefits an NTSB approach would bring to capital-case handling.

First, and quite obviously, the NTSB is skilled at air traffic accident investigations because it conducts a lot of them.90 There is every reason to believe that assigning dozens of capital cases to the same group of prosecutors and defense lawyers would likewise be beneficial. Capital-jury selection, portrayal of aggravating circumstances, witness examination, and mitigation development by defense attorneys are all skills peculiar to capital litigation and are crucial to successful defense and prosecution of death-penalty cases.91 The more one practices a technique, the better one becomes at it. It thus stands to reason that prosecutors and defense lawyers who focus exclusively on these and other capital trial skills will become experts at them.

Moreover, capital-punishment law is complicated.92 Lawyers who handle an occasional capital case are unlikely to understand the nuances of

85. See id.
86. ANNUAL REPORT, supra note 78, at 5.
87. See Fielding et al., supra note 79, at 21.
88. See Bradsher, Hunt for Malaysian Jet, supra note 2.
89. See Fielding et al., supra note 79, at 19–21.
90. See History of the NTSB, supra note 74.
91. See generally John H. Blume et al., Competent Capital Representation: The Necessity of Knowing and Heeding What Jurors Tell Us About Mitigation, 36 Hofstra L. Rev. 1035 (2008) (detailing the importance and skill of making the “case for life”).
death-penalty law to the same extent as an expert who is versed in Eighth Amendment law and whose sole job it is to handle capital cases.

One might object here that there are already skilled death-penalty lawyers in some jurisdictions, and that, in any event, understanding the state death-penalty statute and local rules of practice are just as important as being versed in Eighth Amendment precedent. Both of those objections are true. The problem, of course, is not that there are no skilled prosecutors or defense attorneys handling capital cases today.\textsuperscript{93} The problem is that some capital cases are handled by incompetent defense lawyers and overzealous prosecutors.\textsuperscript{94} This reality merely reinforces the value of an NTSB approach. Recall that the NTSB has a modest staff of 400 employees and that it utilizes a party system to draw on a vast network of experts to assist based on the type of accident and investigation.\textsuperscript{95} The same could be true in the capital context. A party system would enable the NTSB group of capital litigators to draw on a top-notch group of local prosecutors and criminal defense attorneys while circumventing the unskilled lawyers who would otherwise handle capital cases because they are the local prosecutors in the jurisdictions or are favorites of the judge who hands out court appointments.

Second, when prosecutors see a lot of capital cases, they are better able to put them in perspective and assess the worst cases in which death might be merited as opposed to simply bad cases in which life imprisonment would be more appropriate.\textsuperscript{96} Thus, a national unit that looks at most of the nation’s worst homicides would be in the best position to deliver what the Supreme Court has long elusively sought: to limit the death penalty to the worst of the worst.\textsuperscript{97} As noted in Part II, the current system of local control of capital punishment has given us the exact opposite outcome in which geographic arbitrariness is rampant.\textsuperscript{98}

Third, an elite, national capital-punishment group would be insulated from politics. One of the NTSB’s best attributes is that it is independent and can make its accident determinations based exclusively on the evidence without interference from political leaders, business executives, or the public, all of

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\footnote{93. For instance, in Harris County, Texas—which long had a poor reputation for capital-defense lawyers—almost all knowledgeable prosecutors and criminal defense attorneys would point to Robert Morrow (who has handled dozens of capital cases) as an extremely effective capital defense lawyer. See Lise Olsen, \textit{Attorneys Overworked in Harris County Death-Row Cases}, HOU. CHRON. (May 25, 2009), http://www.chron.com/news/Houston-texas/article/attorneys-overworked-in-harris-county-death-row-1727249.php (“Morrow uses a team of legal interns and lawyers involved in a mentorship program to help with his assignments and specializes almost exclusively in capital work.”). The NTSB group could wisely draw on his expertise, while ignoring other defense attorneys who might be favorites of local judges but who are known not to be as skilled.}
\footnote{94. See supra notes 11–12 and accompanying text.}
\footnote{95. Fielding et al., \textit{ supra} note 79, at 18–21.}
\footnote{97. See Statewide Capital Punishment, \textit{ supra} note 30, at 331.}
\footnote{98. See infra Part II.}
\end{footnotes}
whom have vested interests. Local prosecutors are subjected to considerable political pressure in their capital charging decisions. Prosecutors must stand for reelection and the surest way to cause themselves political damage is to go “soft” on a murder suspect. A spate of news coverage about a case might affect prosecutorial decision-making. District attorneys also might be more likely to seek death when the victim is a well-regarded member of the community (or, perhaps subconsciously, when the victim is white). A national panel of prosecutors will not face these political pressures. A group of NTSB prosecutors would be diverse and drawn from across the country. The odds of a local bias affecting charging decisions would therefore be very low.

To fully appreciate the benefits of an elite, national capital-punishment unit, it is worth comparing them to the current state of affairs. In the next section I explain what local control of capital punishment has wrought in the United States.

II. THE FAILURE OF LOCAL CONTROL OF THE DEATH PENALTY

Capital punishment is controlled locally in the United States. While the governing law is provided by state death-penalty statutes, it is actually local prosecutors who have complete control over whether to seek the death penalty. And local prosecutors are responsible for litigating capital cases at trial. Thus, while local prosecutors often hand over control to state attorneys general at the appellate stage, the vast majority of critical death penalty decision-making is done at the local level.

To be sure, there are benefits of local control of charging and punishment generally and capital punishment specifically. As Professor Stephen Smith has explained, local control “make[s] the enforcement of criminal law more responsive to the values, priorities, and felt needs of local communities.” This makes sense at a global level, of course, as we often

99. See Fielding et al., supra note 79, at 21.
101. See James S. Liebman, The Overproduction of Death, 100 COLUM. L. REV. 2030, 2078–80 (2000) (“Local law enforcement is under tremendous pressure to solve the crime and punish the perpetrator, harshly. If the sheriff and district attorney do so, they can run for office on their success; if they fail, they risk being run out of office at the next election.” (footnote omitted) (emphasis in original)); DeMay, supra note 57, at 785–86.
104. See infra Part II.
105. See Pay Now, Execute Later, supra note 20, at 862.
106. See id. at 862–63.
107. See id. at 862.
108. See id. at 862–63, 891.
locally elect our judges and prosecutors, and venue rules typically ensure that crimes are prosecuted where they occurred.\textsuperscript{110} The conscience of the community is surely relevant in determining whether and how severely a local crime should be punished.\textsuperscript{111}

The problem, however, is that local control of capital punishment has proven to be an abject failure. Capital punishment is geographically arbitrary within states.\textsuperscript{112} Local prosecutors frequently engage in reversible error at trial.\textsuperscript{113} In their charging decisions, these prosecutors likely allow some subconscious racial bias to slip in, resulting in a disparate number of minority defendants being sentenced to death.\textsuperscript{114} And local defense attorneys are found to be ineffective far too often.\textsuperscript{115} A tremendous amount of scholarly literature supports each of these assertions, so I will sketch them only briefly.

**Geographic Arbitrariness:** The death penalty is geographically arbitrary within states. In Tennessee, capital charges are brought much more often in Memphis than in Nashville.\textsuperscript{116} In Ohio, prosecutors in Cincinnati seek the death penalty much more often than in Columbus, even though the former has a considerably smaller population.\textsuperscript{117} In Georgia, a murder in Clayton County is “13 times more likely to bring death-penalty prosecution than a similar crime a few miles away in Fulton.”\textsuperscript{118} In Pennsylvania, death row is filled with inmates from Philadelphia County—seventy-three as of June 1, 2014—but has only seven from comparably sized Allegheny County, which is home to Pittsburgh.\textsuperscript{119} And in Texas—the supposed capital of capital punishment—most counties never actually sentence anyone to death.\textsuperscript{120} As I explained in 2010,

Harris County, which is home to the nation’s fourth-largest city (Houston), accounts for 16 percent of Texas’s population, but 28 percent of its death sentences. When three additional counties—Bexar, Dallas, and Tarrant—are added to Harris County, those four localities account for 51 percent of

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\textsuperscript{110} See id. at 110–11. Of course, even under my NTSB proposal with nationwide prosecutors and defense attorneys, local juries would still make the ultimate decision on life and death. See infra Part III.A.1–2.
\end{flushleft}
Texas’s death sentences, but only 40 percent of its population. Adding the death sentences from fourteen additional counties accounts for roughly 75 percent of Texas’s total death sentences. By contrast, there are more than 130 Texas counties that have never sent an inmate to death row in the last three decades.121

Recent empirical evidence confirms that geographic arbitrariness is, at least in part, due to finances. A recent empirical study by Professor Goelzhauser found that “larger prosecutorial budgets are associated with an increase in the probability of a prosecutor seeking death against a defendant in a death-eligible case.”122 Although many prosecutors remark that cost is never a factor in deciding whether to seek the death penalty,123 more honest prosecutors readily acknowledge the influence of money, even in Texas.124 For instance, in a 2005 triple-murder case in Brownsville, Texas, the prosecutor agreed to a life sentence because “the plea deal was better than a costly fight for a death sentence that might later be commuted to life. He estimated such a trial and appeals would cost $6 million.”125 Or consider a 2011 case from Anderson County, Texas, in which the prosecutor explained that it was “an effective usage of the county’s funds” not to seek the death penalty.126 In an even more recent case from Walker County, Texas, the local judge and county commissioners speculated openly in the media about the $500,000 price tag for a capital trial and whether seeking death in that case was worth the cost.127 The same calculations are made in other states besides Texas.128

The best evidence of intra-state arbitrariness of the death penalty may be the egregious cases in which smaller counties fail to seek the death penalty. For example, prosecutors in Navarro County, Texas—population 48,000129—

121. Id. at 316 (footnotes omitted).
123. See, e.g., Prosecutor: Death Penalty Hinges on Justice, Not Money, SEATTLE TIMES (June 19, 2000, 12:00 AM), http://community.seattletimes.nwsource.com/archive/?date=20000619&s=&slug=4027575 (“Spokane County Prosecutor Steve Tucker says money won’t be a factor in his decision whether to pursue the death penalty against Robert Yates Jr. in eight serial killings.”). In an interesting comparison, officials from around the world similarly remarked that cost was not an issue in the search for Malaysian Flight 370. See Demetri Sevastopulo, Length of Search for Missing Flight MH370 Raises Cost Fears, FIN. TIMES (Mar. 24, 2014, 1:54 PM), http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/b849532a-b347-11e3-b09d-00144feabdc0.html?axzz3HGKsYoo.<br />
125. Id.
128. See, e.g., Rankin et al., supra note 118 (quoting the district attorney from Muscogee County, Georgia, for the point that “it is too costly to seek death in every case”).
allowed a defendant to plead to life imprisonment without parole for the sexual assault and murder of a six-year-old girl.  

Or consider the Indiana case in which prosecutors from Pike County—with a population of 13,000—did not “seek the death penalty for [defendants] who kidnapped a woman and drove over her body . . . thirty times while she was still alive.” According to the victim’s mother, the prosecutor explained that “the county could not seek the death penalty because it was too expensive.” Other examples abound.

In sum, there are wide variations within states in capital charging, and these variations appear to be based on cost and finances. Large and wealthy counties seek death. Smaller and poorer counties do not. It is very hard to offer a legitimate justification for such a system.

Prosecutorial Misconduct: In his landmark study of capital cases from 1973 to 1995, Professor James Liebman and his colleagues found that a considerable percentage of capital cases were reversed for prosecutorial misconduct. Among the most prevalent were Brady violations for failure to disclose evidence, which accounted for nearly 20% of reversible error in capital cases. Capital cases are also reversed frequently for Batson violations when prosecutors impermissibly strike jurors based on race or gender. And prosecutors are occasionally found to have engaged in improper pretrial publicity and presenting false evidence in capital cases.

The high reversal rate for prosecutorial misconduct is not surprising, as trying a capital case consistent with the rules of evidence, state statutes, and the Eighth Amendment is difficult. Some prosecutorial error is the result of flagrant misconduct by prosecutors who are either inherently unethical or well-intentioned but bend the rules in hopes of achieving what they think is justice for the brutal murder cases they are handling.
Other misconduct is surely accidental because prosecutors are overworked and undertrained. The lack of expertise is particularly problematic in death-penalty cases because prosecutors who only occasionally handle capital cases are handicapped compared to prosecutors who repeatedly try death-penalty cases. The lack of training or case pressures may even lead prosecutors to unintentionally allow the race of the defendant or victim to influence their charging decisions.

Any effort to tally the amount of prosecutorial misconduct is likely to be underinclusive, as many cases of misconduct will be sufficiently well hidden (either intentionally or not) and will never see the light of day. Nevertheless, we know from newspaper accounts that prosecutorial misconduct is all too common. For instance, an analysis by The Chicago Tribune found over 360 homicide cases in which courts threw out criminal charges because prosecutors failed to turn over exculpatory evidence or knowingly used false evidence.

Ineffective Defense Counsel: Perhaps no other issue related to the death penalty has received as much attention as the poor lawyering provided to capital defendants. The story is very similar to the pervasive indigent defense crisis in non-capital cases. Defense lawyers are undertrained, under-resourced, and overworked. Some are competent but lack the time and money to put on a good defense. Others are simply incompetent. In addition to traditional trial mistakes, capital defense counsel often perform ineffectively at the

140. See Gershowitz & Killinger, supra note 46, at 283–85.
141. See Steve Brewer, County Has Budget to Prosecute with a Vengeance, HOUS. CHRON. (Feb. 4, 2001), http://www.chron.com/news/article/County-has-budget-to-prosecute-with-a-vengeance-2009544.php (quoting a veteran Harris County prosecutor as saying, “[W]e just do so damn many more of [these death penalty cases] than anyone else . . . . You could go into any district attorney’s office in this state and not find as many lawyers with capital prosecution experience.”).
142. See supra note 103.
148. Id. at 19–20.
sentencing stage by failing to conduct an adequate investigation of possible mitigating circumstances a jury could rely on to spare the defendant’s life.149

The Supreme Court has taken a noticeable interest in the ineffectiveness problem. In a string of decisions in the early 2000s, the Court found defense lawyers’ performance to be deficient for failing to conduct adequate mitigation investigations.150 And at the end of that decade, the Court issued a flurry of additional decisions aimed at clarifying the standard for ineffectiveness.151 At the same time, training for capital defense attorneys has improved across the country.152 As Professor Scott Sundby has explained:

The need for a lawyer to be specially trained in capital defense is now widely recognized and has fostered the emergence of a professional capital defense bar. Some states that have had particularly troubling histories with incompetent capital representation, such as Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia, have created statewide systems specifically devoted to capital representation.153

There is thus cause for optimism on the ineffectiveness front. Many capital cases will be defended better than a generation ago, and the courts will be more willing to reverse those cases in which truly poor performance occurs. Both developments are helpful to capital defendants, although the optimism should be tempered. First, while many capital defendants may receive a better defense than they received a decade or two ago, some will continue to be represented by undertrained, overworked, or simply incompetent attorneys.154 Second, those who receive ineffective representation will have a better chance of a reversal during the habeas corpus process. But this simply means continued reversal of death-penalty cases and costly retrials.

* * *

The common thread of these problems—geographic arbitrariness, prosecutorial misconduct, and ineffective defense counsel—is that they could be minimized in a death-penalty system run by an elite capital unit. One approach, as I have suggested previously, would be to have an elite statewide capital unit that handles all aspects of death-penalty prosecutions from charging


150. See id. at 591–94.

151. See id. at 594–601.


153. Id.

Another approach—one that takes account of the declining use of the death penalty—would be for states to form a consortium and opt into the equivalent of an NTSB for capital punishment.

III. AN NTSB FOR CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

How would an NTSB for capital punishment operate? There are at least two threshold problems. First, we would have to organize the institution and arrange for proper funding. Second, we would have to set a protocol for selecting the NTSB prosecutors, defense attorneys, and staff who would run the institution and travel around the country to handle capital cases. Both problems are obviously challenging. Part III.A offers a brief sketch of how an NTSB for capital punishment might be established. Part III.B then turns to the reasons states should want to participate.

A. The Logistics

1. Creating the Institution

The starting point for an NTSB for capital punishment might come from state attorneys general. The National Association of Attorneys General includes attorneys general from around the country, and part of its core mission is to “foster interstate and state/federal cooperation on legal and law enforcement issues.” The group is perhaps best known for the 1998 agreement in which forty-six states agreed not to sue the tobacco industry in exchange for a global settlement of more than $200 billion. In more recent years, state attorneys general continue to work together on a variety of issues from amber alerts to financial fraud. Relying on these long-term working relationships, state attorneys general could take the first step to organize a consortium of states that assign capital charging decisions and litigation to a nationwide NTSB unit. The consortium could start with a modest number of states and accept additional participants in future years.

Once at least a few states agree to the existence of an NTSB for capital punishment, the next challenge will be properly funding the unit. Funding for the capital punishment unit would come from annual payments similar to insurance premiums. All states would pay a premium, in advance, to be part of

156. See infra Part III.A.
157. See infra Part III.B.
the NTSB program. The amount of the payment would vary by state and would be based on the number of death-penalty cases that have been typically tried in the state over the last few years. Such data is already available from independent sources, and in any event, states entering the NTSB group would certainly be in possession of data about their numbers of death sentences. The idea here is that states should not pay any more to utilize the death penalty under an NTSB framework than they already pay under a local control model.

Once the NTSB group begins investigating and handling cases, funding should continue to operate similar to an insurance premium. If a large number of death-qualifying crimes occurred in a particular state in Year 1, the NTSB would handle those cases based on the merits, regardless of whether the costs exceed the premium paid by the state. Thereafter, in Year 2, the NTSB group would raise the premium for a state that had a larger-than-expected number of death-penalty cases or lower the premium for a state that had a smaller-than-expected number. Obviously, finding the correct premium might take some trial and error, but an actuary should be able to find the right baseline amount in short order.

Because states’ participation in the NTSB for capital punishment would be voluntary, they would only continue to participate if they felt their money was being used efficiently and was a net benefit to their states. Moving forward, the NTSB unit would be incentivized to charge fair premiums. Indeed, the system could operate like a mutual insurance company in which participants receive a rebate or dividend if the NTSB group has remaining money at the end of the fiscal year or some other designated time period.

2. Selection and Role of the Lawyers and Staff

Once the NTSB unit is established and funded, the remaining problem will be to staff it and set protocols for how it will operate.

Selection Process: As I have argued elsewhere, it is crucial that the prosecutors and defense attorneys selected for an elite capital-punishment unit meet certain objective criteria. In particular, the NTSB prosecutors and defense attorneys should have (1) considerable experience handling capital cases, (2) unblemished ethics records, (3) low rates of reversal in their capital and non-capital trials, and (4) no reversals for prosecutorial misconduct or ineffective assistance of counsel.

161. See e.g., The Geography of the Death Penalty, supra note 20.
162. Unless specified otherwise, insurance policies cover multiple occurrences, even if the cost to the insurer ends up being much larger than expected when the premium was calculated. See 3 NEW APPLÉMAN ON INSURANCE LAW LIBRARY EDITION § 16.09(3)(a) (Jeffrey E. Thomas & Francis J. Mootz, III eds., 2014).
163. See Statewide Capital Punishment, supra note 30, at 331–33, 335–36.
164. See id.
The objective criteria are necessary but not sufficient. The NTSB should survey lawyers and judges who have worked with the prospective hires, just as local bar associations conduct surveys about judicial candidates. Equally important, the NTSB should interview applicants carefully and observe them in court.

Because the NTSB capital-punishment unit would be independent, it would have ultimate authority—without interference from judges, elected district attorneys, or public defenders who might be biased in favor of particular candidates for improper reasons—for deciding exactly who should be hired. The big-picture point is that the NTSB unit should seek out the lawyers who have a strong understanding of capital-punishment law, excellent litigation skills, and a reputation among all the players in the courthouse for being fair and thoughtful attorneys.

Operating the Unit: The NTSB capital-punishment unit should operate just like the actual NTSB. When a local prosecutor identifies a potentially capital case, that prosecutor would send the existing file to the NTSB capital unit. Once it has reviewed the file, the NTSB capital unit would establish a “Go Team” of prosecutors and investigators who would travel to the local jurisdiction to take over the investigation of the case. Depending on how thorough of a job the local authorities have done, the NTSB may not have to completely replicate the investigation. They will, however, have to undertake a fairly searching investigation to ensure that all inculpatory evidence helpful to the prosecution has been located, and perhaps more importantly, that all favorable *Brady* material has been identified and accounted for so that it can be turned over to the defense team.

Once all necessary investigation has been completed, the NTSB prosecutors will have to determine whether to seek the death penalty (and thus remove the case from local authorities) or decline capital charges (thus returning the case to local prosecutors so they could seek any sentence up to life-without-parole). At this point, a particular strength of the NTSB model should come into play. The NTSB prosecutors will not face the political pressures to seek the death penalty the way an elected prosecutor might. Nor will they be heavily influenced by financial concerns because there is no prospect that they will have to raise taxes or ask county commissioners to cut another department’s budget in order to pay for a capital prosecution. Additionally, the NTSB prosecutors will have the benefit of having seen many death-penalty cases, and these data points will help them to assess whether a case is truly deserving of the death penalty.

The charging decisions would be made at the NTSB’s home office, not in the local jurisdiction at the site of the crime. This would enable a few

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165. *See id. at 333.*

166. By contrast, a small-town prosecutor who handles only a small number of homicides has insufficient information to make such a comparison.
important events to occur. First, the charging decision would be made by a committee of prosecutors, rather than by a single prosecutor who might have tunnel vision based on what was seen on the ground at the local jurisdiction.167 Second, the investigating prosecutor would write a memorandum informing the charging committee of the facts necessary to make a capital charging decision. Importantly, the memorandum (and any subsequent oral discussion) should make no reference to (1) the race of the defendant, (2) the race of the victim, or (3) the county where the case came from.168 Excluding these irrelevant factors from the discussion would make it less likely that they would have any effect on the charging decision. Third, before the charging committee could decide to seek the death penalty, it would have to listen to a presentation from the defense attorney as to why the case does not merit the death penalty.169 Because defense counsel might have important mitigation (or even guilt stage) information that would undermine the prosecution, it is important for the committee to be aware of it (should the defense wish to share it) to avoid wasting considerable time and money on a case that might turn out to be much weaker than it initially appears.

If the charging committee does seek death, NTSB prosecutors and defense attorneys will try the case, likely without involvement from any local lawyers. Like the actual NTSB, however, the elite capital unit would utilize a party system that enables them to draw on experts from outside the capital unit. Thus, if a state’s death-penalty statute were particularly complicated, or if the case called for a particular type of mitigation specialist, the NTSB might draw on local prosecutors or defense attorneys to assist in the trial. As with the actual NTSB, though, those outside parties would only be involved if they were specifically invited to participate by the NTSB capital unit.

In sum, the elite NTSB unit would conduct its own investigation of the crime, ensure that Brady material was turned over to the defense team, and then convene a committee to conduct a race-blind and geography-blind assessment of whether the death penalty was warranted. If the case was deemed death-worthy, an elite team of prosecutors and defense attorneys with vast experience and proven ethics would try the case in a way that was less likely to create wrongful death sentences and reversible error.

B. Why Would States Opt into a Nationwide System?

While a nationwide NTSB for capital punishment should be very effective, it obviously is not constitutionally required. Basic federalism dictates that states are free to run their own death-penalty systems, either at the state level or by delegating prosecutorial authority to counties. States would thus have to choose to opt into an NTSB system. As explained below, there are good reasons for states to voluntarily join an NTSB system and cede control of their capital cases.

Political Incentives: Capital punishment is still popular in America, and politicians still benefit politically from advocating for the death penalty. This suggests that prosecutors—who are already known to be very territorial—will not want to cede control of their most high-profile cases. Nevertheless, politicians (including elected district attorneys) do not like the heat that comes when the death-penalty system operates poorly. And with over 140 death row exonerationst—including sixty since the year 2000—there has been a lot of heat. Moreover, as the public has learned about the enormous amount of money spent (and wasted) on failed capital prosecutions and appeals, support for capital punishment has dropped to its lowest rate in four decades. In the last decade, six states have abolished capital punishment, in large part based on concerns about cost and innocent defendants.

An NTSB for capital punishment allows politicians the best of both worlds. First, politicians can be vociferously in favor of capital punishment without having to internalize the costs of the prosecution. The politicians—including elected prosecutors—would merely be making public statements in support of the death penalty and would not actually have to make the difficult charging decision to seek death. The NTSB prosecutors would hopefully

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170. See Localism and Capital Punishment, supra note 109, at 105.
171. Id.
172. See supra note 25 and accompanying text.
173. See Liebman & Clarke, supra note 14, at 347.
176. See supra note 17 and accompanying text.
ignore the politicians’ bluster and decide whether to seek death based on the merits of the case.

Second, politicians could favor capital punishment as vocally as they like without having to shoulder responsibility for the litigation and outcome of the prosecutions. The NTSB prosecutors would handle the case with no involvement from local prosecutors or elected officials. If things went well, the elected officials would be happy (and perhaps even try to take credit). If the defendant was not sentenced to death, or if the death sentence was reversed on appeal, the elected prosecutor would not be responsible because he would have had no role in the trial or appeals. In sum, politicians would be able to retain the political benefits of the death penalty without risking the blame that comes from unsuccessful or reversed prosecutions.

Cost: In addition to naked political ambition, there is a good policy reason for states to enter into an NTSB approach. The number of death sentences in the United States has declined dramatically in the last fifteen years. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, states consistently sentenced 250 to 300 defendants to death per year in the United States. Beginning around 2000, however, there was a precipitous decline. By 2010, the annual number of national death sentences declined to 109. And over the last few years, the number has fallen further, to roughly eighty per year. There are now less than a third as many death sentences nationally as there were only fifteen years ago.

More noteworthy than the national trend is that some mass producers of death sentences have stopped sending inmates to death row. For years, Harris County, Texas was the leading producer of capital cases in the United States. Harris County sought the death penalty in about fifteen cases per year and was frequently successful in procuring death sentences. In 2012, however, Harris County did not send a single inmate to death row. In 2013, it sent only one. Other frequent users of capital punishment—Philadelphia County in Pennsylvania, Hamilton County in Ohio, Shelby County in

180. Id.
181. Id.
182. Id.
183. See id.
184. See id.
186. See Imposing a Cap on Capital Punishment, supra note 20, at 75 & n.13.
Tennessee, and San Diego County in California, to name just a few—have also seen a decline in death sentences.\textsuperscript{189}

The most stunning statistic might simply be that, in 2012 and 2013, only three counties in the United States sent more than two people to death row.\textsuperscript{190} In 2012, there were only nine counties in the United States that sent more than one person to death row.\textsuperscript{191} In 2013, only thirteen counties had more than one death sentence.\textsuperscript{192} Put differently, in 2013, forty-five of the seventy-nine death sentences in the United States came from counties that sent only one inmate to death row.\textsuperscript{193} In 2012, the number was even more stark, with fifty-one of the seventy-nine death sentences coming from counties that sent only one inmate to death row.\textsuperscript{194}

The data indicate that counties throughout the United States are mobilizing time and resources to have their prosecutors and defense lawyers learn the complicated law and strategy of death-penalty prosecutions so that they can handle one capital case every year or every few years.\textsuperscript{195} And these are the counties that are actually seeking the death penalty.\textsuperscript{196} The vast majority of counties, even in states that authorize the death penalty, almost never sentence anyone to death.\textsuperscript{197} As Professor Robert Smith has documented, between 2004 and 2009, “[j]ust 10% of counties nationally returned even a single death sentence.”\textsuperscript{198}

Given that capital-punishment law is complicated, that very few counties seek the death penalty with any regularity, and that cases are frequently reversed for errors by prosecutors and defense attorneys, the idea of local prosecution seems undesirable. To put it simply, when there is a rare catastrophic event like an airplane crash, train derailment, or other complicated disaster, the local jurisdiction does not ask its local police department to spend time and money learning how to investigate the disaster. For rare and complicated events, we call upon specialists such as the NTSB.

Adopting an NTSB approach to capital punishment is far more sensible than local control. Under an NTSB approach, local prosecutors would not have to develop expertise in the state capital statute, Eighth Amendment jurisprudence, capital jury selection, presentation of aggravating circumstances, or other skills. Public defenders and appointed lawyers would not have to become experts in mitigation and the case for life, nor would they have to

\textsuperscript{189}. See id.; 2012 Sentencing, supra note 187.
\textsuperscript{190}. See 2012 Sentencing, supra note 187; 2013 Sentencing, supra note 188.
\textsuperscript{191}. See 2012 Sentencing, supra note 187.
\textsuperscript{192}. See 2013 Sentencing, supra note 188.
\textsuperscript{193}. See id.
\textsuperscript{194}. See 2012 Sentencing, supra note 187.
\textsuperscript{195}. The Geography of the Death Penalty, supra note 20, at 229–30.
\textsuperscript{196}. Id.
\textsuperscript{197}. Id. at 228.
\textsuperscript{198}. Id.
become versed in the statutory and constitutional law of capital punishment. All of this, by itself, is likely to save money.

An elite team of prosecutors and defense attorneys is also likely to produce fewer marginal death sentences that will be reversed on appeal. Fewer reversals will mean less wasted money. Capital punishment as currently operated is incredibly expensive. An NTSB approach to capital punishment should be far more cost effective than the current system of local control. And in a time of tight budgets, states have recently shown themselves to be willing to consider cost-saving approaches that would have been politically unpalatable only a few years ago.199

IV. CONCLUSION

The use of capital punishment has declined dramatically in recent years.200 At present, there are only about eighty death sentences per year in the entire nation.201 Even though litigating capital cases requires prosecutors and defense attorneys to understand complicated legal doctrine and master difficult litigation skills, responsibility for this complex, yet rare task is widely diffused among a large number of lawyers throughout the United States. Put differently, in almost all of the thirty-two states that have authorized the death penalty, capital cases are prosecuted at the county level.202 In total, that puts prosecutors and defense attorneys in more than 2,200 total counties on call to potentially handle one of the roughly eighty cases in which death sentences are handed down each year in the United States.204 Some of these prosecutors and defense lawyers are excellent, but many others lack the time to study the law and the skill to conduct a clean trial.205 As a result of that lack of knowledge, experience, and skill, cases are reversed on appeal.206 Victims’ families are further harmed by the emotional roller coaster.207 And vast amounts of money are wasted on appeals and retrials that could have been avoided if the case was handled correctly from the start.208

There is a better way. States should voluntarily opt into a nationwide capital-punishment system in which capital cases are handled exclusively—


200. See Death Sentences by State and by Year, supra note 179.

201. See id.

202. Very small states, such as Delaware, handle all criminal cases at the state level. See Statewide Capital Punishment, supra note 30, at 314 n.31.


204. See Death Sentences by State and by Year, supra note 179.

205. See supra Part II.

206. See supra Part II.

207. See supra note 16 and accompanying text.

208. See supra Part II.
from initial charging until acquittal or execution—by an elite unit of prosecutors and defense attorneys.\textsuperscript{209} The NTSB fulfills this role for transportation accidents. In a given year, the NTSB travels the country and investigates dozens of major accidents and roughly 200 less serious accidents.\textsuperscript{210} With an NTSB for capital punishment, an elite team of national prosecutors would travel to locations where capital charges are justified and take over the investigations.\textsuperscript{211} If the NTSB unit decided to seek the death penalty, it would then handle the trial and appeals.\textsuperscript{212} An NTSB for capital punishment would minimize, if not eliminate, politics from charging decisions.\textsuperscript{213} It would also limit reversals by minimizing valid claims of prosecutorial misconduct and ineffective assistance of counsel.\textsuperscript{214}

Even though there is a very long tradition of local control of prosecution in the United States, death truly is a different type of prosecution, and states should consider breaking from tradition. An NTSB for capital punishment would serve politicians’ naked political instincts because they could be as pro-death penalty as they like without having to actually personally take responsibility for the handling and outcome of individual prosecutions.\textsuperscript{215} And from a policy perspective, given that there are only eighty death sentences in the United States each year, it makes little sense for local prosecutors and defense attorneys to cling to control of complicated cases that could be better handled by an elite national unit.\textsuperscript{216}

\textsuperscript{209} See supra Part III.A–B.

\textsuperscript{210} See Fielding et al., supra note 79, at 31 (“With about 400 employees in an organization that investigated 13 major accidents, 10 international accidents, and 195 other accidents in fiscal year 2009 . . . .”).

\textsuperscript{211} See supra Part III.A.2.

\textsuperscript{212} See supra Part III.A.2.

\textsuperscript{213} See supra Part III.B.

\textsuperscript{214} See supra Part II.

\textsuperscript{215} See supra Part III.B.

\textsuperscript{216} See supra Part III.B.