

September 22, 2017

Chief Scott
President Turman
Vice President Mazzucco
Commissioner DeJesus
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Commissioner Robert Hirsch
Commissioner Melara
Commissioner Marshall

Police Commission Office
San Francisco Police Headquarters
1245 3rd Street
San Francisco, CA 94158

Dearest Chief and Commissioners,

This is a formal response to the Department General Order—Conducted Energy Devices and a submission of our opposition to the passage of this Order. The Coalition on Homelessness represents people who are the most vulnerable to negative impacts of this weapon; our constituency has a myriad of health issues, including high rates of heart disease, is disproportionately African American and at least one-third of the population suffers from mental illness, addictive disorders or both. In addition, as our people are forced to live outdoors due to their destitution, they come in constant police contact. We have spent a great deal of time examining this weapon to determine if it would save lives or destroy lives, and we have determined these weapons would be a disaster for our community

The Order allows all officers to be armed with these weapons, and permits use on a broad number of suspects including those armed with weapons other than firearms, as well as **unarmed suspects**. It even allows use on those unarmed individuals who “verbally display an intent to assault”. It allows the use of the weapon on individuals who the manufacturer has issued written warning against use on, such as those who are under the influence or who have chronic drug addiction disorders. It even permits the use of the weapon in drive stun mode, which the manufacturer states are only for use for pain management. The Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) recommends that police departments deploying these weapons prohibit the use of drive stun mode. It also has a very weak oversight and accountability. This proposal is a radical departure from the 2016 draft policy which limited use to armed suspects, except those armed with firearms, limited weapon use to tactical and specialist teams within the police department and prohibited drive stun mode.

That said, even if we had the very best Electronic Control Weapon (ECW) policy in the country, and we could trust that every officer would follow that policy, there are a long list of reasons why SFPD should not adopt this weapon.

1) Electronic Control Weapons Do Not Replace Guns

Each time an officer involved shooting has taken place, the Department's and/or the Police Officers Association response has been to in essence create political cover by calling for Tasers, and indicating that the particular individual would be alive if Tasers had been used. In fact, there was no evidence that this was the case, and in each of these circumstances, information indicates there were a lack of a tactical plan, and a dearth of utilizing time, distance and de-escalation. Ironically, in this recent debate, SFPD has confirmed repeatedly that this weapon is not a replacement for a firearm and the draft policy clearly states that as well. As the SFPD position is that the recent officer involved fatalities were cases that justified use of lethal force, it goes to reason that the same officers in those same instances would have been prohibited from using this weapon. The idea that Electronic Control Weapons (ECW) decrease use of lethal force, and increase subject safety has not played out, and in fact as cities across the country have backed away from this weapon, there has been no resulted increase in use of lethal force, nor in crime rates. Conversely, officer involved fatalities have not decreased with the introduction of this weapon. Most of the medical studies supporting the safety of ECW use, can only be called "junk science" by a company that is similar to big tobacco in its history of lying about medical evidence, side effects and relying on the difficulty of proving cause and effect by its victims. Remaining studies have inadequate sample size or other flaws.

2) ECW's Are a Far Less Safe Intermediate Force Option

SFPD has stated at community meetings and other public arenas that ECW's are intermediate force options, much like batons and pepper spray. A recent report by Reuters has uncovered approximately 1,000 deaths by ECW since early 2000's. In comparison, the number of deaths at the hands of police by weapons that many in SFPD have stated the ECW would replace -pepper spray or batons - are negligible. Very few fatalities have occurred at the hands of police using a truncheon, and while there is not much data on pepper spray deaths, one report from the Los Angeles Times put the number at 61 over five years between 1990 and 1995. At the same time, ECW does not replace carotid restraint holds, which are used when officer and suspects are in close contact grappling with each other. ECW probes require farther distance and are not for use in close combat.

3) Wrong Direction for Department

The SFPD has been ahead of the curve on this weapon by refusing to arm officers with them all these years. Due to a mass, and misleading, marketing campaign by Taser International, these weapons have been adopted around the nation, and even the world. Now that more information has come out about the lack of safety, *fundamental ineffectiveness*, and misuse of these weapons, cities across the nation are now backing away from Taser use, using them infrequently and removing them from their departments. The movement nationally is instead towards using de-escalation techniques. For San Francisco to get on the "sinking Taser ship", now of all times, would be contrary to the new direction the Department is heading in.

4) ECW Use is Contrary to Time and Distance Fundamentals

Re-engineering use of force requires a fundamental shift in policy, mindset and training from the long established approach of rushing in and using command and control tactics to using time, distance, cover and rapport. This is critical for both the public and police officers safety. Electronic Control Weapons are inconsistent with re-engineering use of force and a policy and training of time, distance, cover and rapport. A Taser is the opposite because it requires close contact with an individual, between 7-15 feet. At a time that requires substantial officer training on how to slow down situations and create time, distance, cover and rapport---a Taser--which can only operate in a closer range--would undermine the very skills and muscle memory change the new training is attempting to develop. Most of the controversial SFPD incidents have involved sharp edged weapons. According to training guidelines, officers should be more then 20 feet away from subjects armed with sharp edged weapons. It would be safer for officers to use time and distance, and strong verbal de-escalation techniques, and wait it out for the person to calm down, rather then getting to an unsafe distance.

5) ECW's Will Interrupt Crisis Intervention Team Implementation

Nationally, there is movement towards re-imagining use of force and moving away from a reliance on weapons. This is supported by a recent report released by the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF), entitled "Re-engineering Training on Police Use of Force". In this report they state, "As the PERF Board of Directors understood ... in the immediate aftermath of the demonstrations in Ferguson, there has been a fundamental change in how the American people view the issue of police use of force." They caution that many of the recommendations will be hard to hear "because leading police chiefs are saying that our practices need to change dramatically." In summary, they recommend "it's time for an overhaul of police training, policy, supervision, and culture on use of force" and they emphasize that verbal de-escalation is one of many ways in which the training of police officers can be improved.

We believe that we already have the tools needed to de-escalate and respond to people experiencing mental health and psychiatric crisis. In drop-in centers, shelters, and service provider's offices we respond to and transform these experiences on the daily. We believe that if the leadership in the department prioritized opportunities like the Crisis Intervention Team, ECWs would be a non-issue. San Francisco has made great strides in moving towards CIT, since 2012 when it was approved by the commission, and training was implemented, there has been a marked decrease in use of force incidents. However, there is a long way to go in fully implementing this program. This includes ensuring training has much higher proportion of hands on practical training in de-escalation techniques, implementing the CIT general order, and ensuring the "team" model is fully implemented, including a tactical plan at the scene, and then ensuring regular analysis of effectiveness and techniques, and folding that learning into training and planning at future incidents. Introducing a new incredibly pain inducing, callous and dangerous weapon is the mirror opposite of that direction both culturally and practically. If the ECW is used, de-escalation goes out the window.

6) Tasers are not cost effective

According to a cost analysis by Mike Leonisio, the foremost national ECW expert and implementer of the program in Oakland, the cost for SF would run between \$8,000 - \$10,000 per year per officer, or \$17 to \$22 million for a weapon that will likely rarely be used. (Approximately one-half of a percent of all calls to the SFPD result in the use of force, and only a portion of those would call for an ECW). These costs include the cost of hardware, the weapon itself, plus cartridges and additional add-ons to shorten time weapon fires (in an effort reduce injury/death); cost to maintain weapons and/or opening testing center inside SFPD to ensure functioning, replacement of weapons, parts, cartridges, training on use of weapon, and collection of data and oversight. It does not include the cost of defibrillator training, purchasing and maintaining, medical costs, lawsuits and settlements. The ever-increasing number of warnings from the manufacturer means fewer situations where the weapons can be used, and decreases usage, and increases cost per usage. Meanwhile, there are other interventions that would help officers every moment, such as hand held devices containing data that give officers life-saving information about suspects.

7) Precedence Indicates Weapons Will Be Used Outside of Policy Guidelines

We are concerned that if Tasers are introduced, they will be used inappropriately. Many of the current policies are not followed within the SFPD, as demonstrated by recent shootings of Jessica Williams and Luis Gongora Pat, where time and distance were clearly not deployed. The problem is that because of broad belief among police that these weapons are safe for use, police tend to be even less cautious in their deployment. Nationally, 9 out of 10 of those who died from ECW's at the hands of police were unarmed. One quarter were in psychiatric or neurological distress.

8) ECW's Lead to Higher Death Rates

Independent, peer-reviewed research by cardiologists leaves no doubt that Tasers are harmful and often deadly. It's easy for members of the public to be confused about how dangerous Tasers really are. This is because Taser International has spent a lot of money to control public knowledge about Tasers, paying researchers and even suing coroners who have determined Taser shock to be the cause of death. Cardiologists at UCSF say that one way to cut through this disinformation is to consider funding source and author affiliation when evaluating researchers' claims about Taser safety.ⁱ

During his time as Director of the Electrophysiology Laboratories and Clinics in UCSF's Cardiology Division, Dr. Byron Lee analyzed the conclusions of Taser safety studies funded by Taser International, and compared these studies to independent studies. Lee and his colleagues found that "the likelihood of a study concluding TASER® devices are safe was 75 percent higher when the studies were either funded by the manufacturer or written by authors affiliated with the company, than when studies were conducted independently."ⁱⁱⁱ Cardiologists at UCSF caution that many studies commissioned by Taser are biased, and that Taser's conclusions do not apply to real-world situations. "When you read articles that are very favorable to the device, invariably you will see that one of authors is affiliated with the company making Tasers or sitting on the board," Dr. Lee explained.

Dr. Zian Tseng, a cardiologist at UCSF, told reporters that after he published his findings about the dangers of Tasers, representatives of the Taser Company contacted him, urged him to reconsider, and even offered to fund his future research. Dr. Tseng refused this offer. He has since spoken out publicly about the harms of Tasers on many occasions.ⁱⁱⁱ

In addition, Dr. Douglas Zipes, a cardiac electrophysiologist at the University of Indiana found that Tasers have caused cardiac arrest and death in people who were shocked by police. Researchers agree that people with mental illness, especially those who may be using medications or drugs, are at even greater risk of sudden death.^{iv} In San Francisco we have at least 2,000 members of the homeless population who fall into this category, according to our latest point in time homeless count.

In an interview with ABC news, Dr. Zipes explained how Tasers could cause sudden death by stopping the heart. Dr. Zipes's research discussing how Tasers caused cardiac arrest was published in the peer-reviewed journal of the *American Heart Association*. Dr. Zipes told ABC news: "It is absolutely unequivocal based on my understanding of how electricity works on the heart, based on good animal data and based on numerous clinical situations that the Taser unquestionably can produce sudden cardiac arrest and death." Dr. Zipes has also been called to testify as an expert witness about the ways in which Tasers damage the human heart.^v

We're lucky to have independent medical experts right here at UCSF. We urge the commissioners to listen to what medical experts say about the potentially fatal outcome.

We know that Tasers are harmful and often deadly, especially for homeless people who physically are at least 25 years older than their calendar years. But some police officers might still wonder whether Tasers might reduce rates of officer injury or death by reducing the use of guns. This claim, which sounds reasonable at first, has actually been **tested and proven false by cardiologists at UCSF!**

Statistically, adding Tasers means more weapons, which translates into higher death rates. Attached is a graph of what happens when police departments get Tasers [see attachment].

Dr. Tseng and his colleagues analyzed all available data from California police departments after Tasers were introduced. They found that death rates actually increased after Tasers were introduced into departments! Dr. Tseng's findings give us a statistical picture of what happens when police departments add Tasers.

Please review these direct quotations from Dr. Tseng's article entitled, "Relation of Taser Deployment to Increase in In-Custody Sudden Deaths" which was published in the *American Journal of Cardiology* in 2009. "Although Tasers are *marketed* as a safer alternative to subdue prisoners and suspects in law enforcement custody, recent reports have described a temporal association between use of stun guns and hundreds of in-custody sudden deaths in North America."

In this epidemiologic study of police and sheriff departments of moderate to large cities in California using Tasers, we found a statistically significant **6.4-fold increase in the rate of in-custody sudden deaths not involving lethal (firearm) force in the first full year of Taser deployment compared with the pre-deployment period**. Although Taser use has been *advertised* to decrease Lethal Force Deaths (by firearms) and prevent Officer Injuries, we observed **no decrease** in the rate of either event after Taser deployment. To the contrary, departments had a twofold increase in the rate of Lethal Firearm Deaths in the year of Taser deployment and the first full year after deployment, whereas the rate of serious Officer Injuries requiring visits to an emergency room was unchanged.” (2009: 879).
“... We speculate that early liberal use of Tasers may have contributed to these findings, possibly escalating some confrontations to the point that firearms were necessary” (Tseng et al. 2009: 879).

9) Electronic Control Weapons Would Lead to Lawsuits

There have been many lawsuits against Taser International/Axon for misinforming police departments about the dangers of Tasers, and against police who accidentally killed people with Tasers.^{vi} ECW's can kill. In a recent report by Reuters, they reviewed wrongful death lawsuits in which ECW's were a factor that may have caused death. They found 232 lawsuits that resulted in judgments for the plaintiffs. Reuters was able to determine the payouts in only 193 cases totaling \$172 million paid by cities and their insurers, not including confidential or unavailable payouts. It is important to note that Taser International/Axon has taken a number of steps to ensure they are not liable – they have outlined a number of risks associated with the weapons, to ensure it is officer mis-use at fault and not the weapon, and have cities sign liability waivers.

10) Tasers Will Be Used Disproportionately on People with Mental Illnesses

In the past 15 years, in every place where these weapons have been used, they have been used inappropriately. The Reuters report found that one quarter of deaths by this weapon were of people in psychiatric or neurological distress. The Civil Rights community has made it very clear that they do not stand in support of Tasers being introduced to SFPD. In a report produced by the ACLU of Northern California, legal experts outline the dangers that Tasers pose to vulnerable people in the city given the increase in officer involved shootings after Tasers are introduced: “Interactions with these high-risk groups, namely those in mental crisis, accounted for the substantial part of the police work in San Francisco. Additionally, a KQED review of 51 San Francisco officer-involved shootings between 2005 and 2013 found that 58 percent — or 11 people — of the 19 individuals killed by police had a mental illness that was a contributing factor in the incident. The link between elevated risks of Taser injury and these high-risk populations is virtually undisputed.”

11) Tasers Will Be Used Disproportionately on People of Color

African-Americans and Hispanics in San Francisco are stopped and searched by police officers in disproportionate numbers and are subject to a host of other actions that appear to be discriminatory according to the report issued by the Blue Ribbon Panel on Transparency, Accountability and Fairness in Law enforcement. This same report found a lower proportion of “hits” or incidents when contraband was found during a search. Since San Francisco has not halted bias in policing, it is reasonable to predict that new weapons

will also be used on communities of color disproportionately, as has been the experience in other communities.

An Amnesty International Report from 2001 and 2008 shows that African-Americans represented 45% of Taser deaths and are only 12% of the national population. The ACLU also highlights the particular risk that Tasers pose for the African-American community in San Francisco “An article investigating the SFPD found that use of force among officers was not only ‘alarmingly high,’ but that 40% of the victims of excessive force were African-Americans who make up less than 8% of San Francisco’s population” at that time.

The Baltimore Sun reported in April 2016: <https://www.rt.com/usa/339242-baltimore-police-Taser-black-poor/> "The use of Tasers by the Baltimore Police Department has been concentrated mostly on African-Americans and residents in the city’s poorest neighborhoods who did not pose a threat, according to a new report based on police data. Between 2012 and 2014, Baltimore PD used Tasers more often than any other law enforcement agency in Maryland, the Baltimore Sun reported. Out of some 730 incidents, almost 90 percent of people targeted with Tasers were African-American. Roughly 63 percent of the city’s population is black. The majority of Taser incidents – about 70 percent of them – took place in neighborhoods with the city’s lowest median incomes. Only about 11 percent occurred in high-income neighborhoods. Notably, officers almost always used Tasers against individuals who were not listening to police orders but were also deemed to be “*non-threatening*,” according to the Sun, which based its report on police data encompassing some 3,000 cases through 2014. In 98 percent of all the analyzed cases, police said that the suspects they shocked were not a threat. Across the entire state of Maryland, almost 60 percent of incidents involved someone deemed “*non-compliant and non-threatening*.”

In April 2016, Chicago's Police Accountability Task Force reported of 1,886 Taser discharges between 2012-2015, African-Americans were the target at an incredibly high rate: 76% or 1,435 African Americans were the target; 13% or 254 Hispanics, 8% or 144 Whites and .21 or 4 Asians. (see link, page 14). <https://chicagopatf.org/> . It is likely the weapons in San Francisco would be misused, given the pattern of discriminatory practices already in place in SFPD.

12) New Weapon is Untested

The manufacture of this weapon has changed out the X26, with a maximum charge of 125 microcoulombs of electricity, for the X2 model, which has 63 microcoulombs. This weapon has not been tested. However, there is currently a lawsuit underway by a female officer who is suing the company because she was severely disabled after an altercation in which the weapon did not work. San Francisco should not subject its officers to a weapon in which efficacy is unknown.

13) Implementing Tasers Would Halt COPS Reforms

The SFPD is attempting to implement 272 recommendations from the Department of Justice. Tasers must be considered in this context, both in terms of cost and department priorities. The Commission must carefully consider whether Tasers might play a useful or counterproductive role in that "fundamental re-engineering" we're all (except SFPOA) trying to bring about. There are many recommendations that not only take time and energy to fully implement, but also have hard costs. For example, giving officers vital information about

calls on their hand helds is a costly measure. SFPD has yet to implement data implementation and analysis on disproportionate use of force, to fully train officers on new use of force guidelines, or securing outside academics to evaluate use of force and Crisis Intervention Team effectiveness. These are choices; if the Commission chooses ECW's inevitably there will not be funding or time for other priorities. There is no feasible way for the department to do it all, even within a two to three year framework – implementing this weapon now will get in the way of other efforts.

Taser International themselves promoted and promotes their product as part of a fundamental re-engineering of use of force -- though they call it a "revolution" because they claim it allows officers to use force in a safer and more effective manner. That's why most law enforcement bought their sales pitch. While to date, San Francisco has opted out of the "Taser revolution," there is no doubt that it has taken place throughout the vast majority of American law enforcement over the last 15 years. Taser International co-founder and long-time spokesperson Steve Tuttle proudly told a San Francisco audience at the Public Defender's Justice Summit that Tasers were now ***the*** most used less lethal force" by police in the United States. Mr. Tuttle also volunteered that fully 90% of Taser uses domestically are against ***unarmed*** individuals while noting that there are 900 "arrest-related deaths" each year in this country. Meanwhile, the *Washington Post* recently reported that deaths after Taser uses by law enforcement are now taking place at a rate of one each week. Do the math. In other words, that means -- according to Taser International and the *Washington Post* -- ***6% of the arrest-related deaths in the US take place after the use of a weapon -- Tasers -- that are used 90% of the time against unarmed individuals!***

That's how the mass adoption of Tasers by law enforcement has already re-engineered force in this country over the last 15 years. The question is why San Francisco would want to join the "Taser revolution" rather than the de-escalation one being led and promoted by former President Obama's 21st Century Policing Task Force and PERF. With a 15-year track record now, if Tasers were thought by the best minds in the profession to play an important role in de-escalating force and producing safer outcomes for all, they would have been heavily touted by the President's Task Force and by PERF. They were not.

Consider the PERF March 2016 *Guiding Principles on Use of Force* report. As you know, this PERF report is ***the*** guidebook -- the Bible if you will -- for San Francisco's attempts to fundamentally re-engineer force. The report is 127 pages long and details 30 separate guiding principles. The ***only*** one that addresses Tasers whatsoever is an attempt to address the tragic consequence of the "Taser revolution" when "accounts of fatal police shooting often state that 'the officer tried an ECW, it had no effect and so that officer then used a firearm.' This is an inappropriate way to view force options." (Principle 27, page 67.) In other words, in trying to fundamentally re-engineer use of force, PERF has to address the problems of far too quick escalation created by the last "re-engineering" that the mass introduction of Tasers represents. Taser International is correct. Tasers ***have*** fundamentally re-engineered force over the last 15 years and PERF is now in the process of trying to undo the damage of that revolution.

This all to common "rapid escalation to deadly force" problem exists, in part, because

once deployed officers are often shocked to discover that Tasers are not nearly as effective as they were led to believe. At the very moment the SFPOA was running radio ads recently telling the public and their officers that Tasers were "safe and effective," the *LA Times* was reporting Taser effectiveness data for the last five years in Los Angeles. **In 2015, LAPD Taser deployments were effective only 53% of the time and in no year in the last five were they more than 65% effective.** The LAPD Captain who compiled the data called those low effectiveness rates "very disappointing."

Taser International knows that a "de-escalation" mass re-engineering of use of force will be a disaster for their business model because it will inevitably mean far fewer Taser guns and cartridges being sold. So, it's no surprise they openly argue with the PERF approach. For example, during his San Francisco appearance, Mr. Tuttle was dismissive of the idea that shields could play a useful de-escalation role. When he was asked about the fact that PERF disagreed with him on this point, Mr. Tuttle claimed (falsely touting his "22 years of experience *in* law enforcement" as opposed to his career as a senate staffer and then a product pitch man *to* law enforcement) -- "with shields right now. It's simply not being done or being adapted by anyone else *in the world* right now in law enforcement. It's not a common tool." As the Commission knows from the SFPD research trips to the UK and Scotland and from the extensive section on shields in the PERF report, that claim is simply false.

Former ACLU police practices specialist John Crew reports he asked Mr. Tuttle after his appearance if he was familiar with the PERF *Guiding Principles on Use of Force* report. Mr. Tuttle said that he was very familiar with it and that "there's a lot wrong in that report." Mr. Tuttle went on to explain that Taser International generally agrees with the strong critiques on PERF's re-engineering force principles and "Critical Decision-Making Model" being led by the national police union groups -- the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and National Association of Police Organizations (NAPO) -- and whose arguments are being parroted on the local level by the SFPOA.

Taser International/Axon as a company and Taser as a product are aligned with the *last* re-engineering of force that has taken place over the last 15 years and that has helped leave the country -- and our communities of color in particular -- in a state of extreme alarm over use of force practices. The company represents a past the progressive forces in law enforcement are now trying to evolve beyond over the strong objection of the police unions. Their weapons are a major source of the very problems -- unnecessary uses of force, too rapid escalation, far too many avoidable fatal shootings and severe racial disparities in the application of force -- the "re-engineering" movement in law enforcement is trying to address and that the San Francisco public has been led to believe you and SFPD wanted to join and help lead. San Francisco adopting Tasers right now would cast serious public doubt over the Commission and SFPD's commitment to true "re-engineering" principles promulgated by PERF and to the reform process generally.

We do not want Tasers to be a part of the SFPD. San Francisco doesn't want Tasers. San Francisco can't afford Tasers. San Francisco doesn't need Tasers.

We thank you for your service to our community and for holding open, community forums to gather the feedback and concerns from the citizens of San Francisco. We urge you to make a decision that best supports the entire city and reject this proposal for introducing ECWs to SFPD.

Respectfully,

Jennifer Friedenbach
Executive Director

ⁱ <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/21884872>

ⁱⁱ <http://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/article/25498>

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/story/2008/05/12/Taser-inquiry.html?ref=rss>

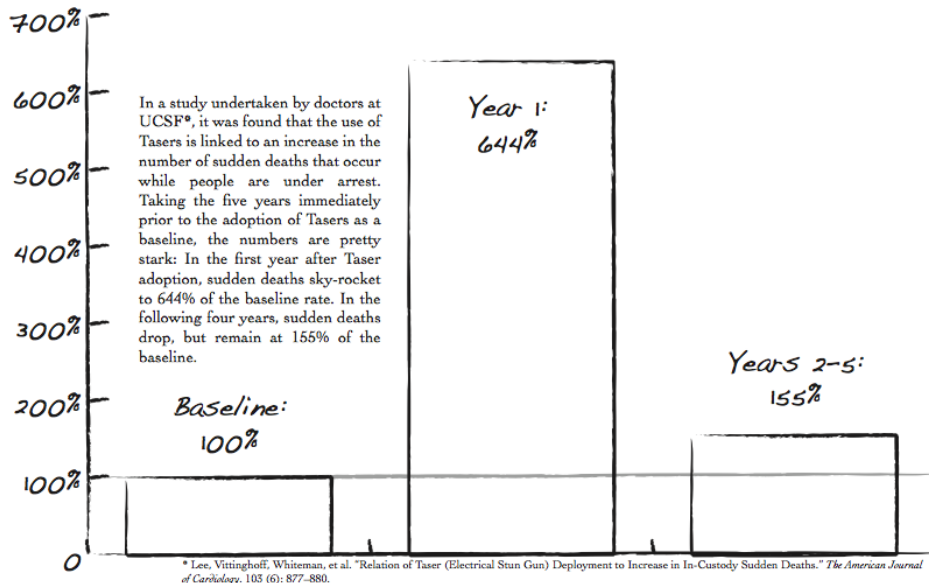
^{iv} Dr. Tseng and his colleagues say that studies of Tasers based on their controlled application to healthy police officers that are lying down are not generalizable to “real world” situations (2009: 878-879). Here’s a direct quote from Dr. Tseng’s article: “Police suspects would be expected to have unique physiologic (hyperadrenergic state), environmental (restraint techniques, multiple Taser applications near the heart on the torso), and external (illicit drugs) influences, any of which may make them more vulnerable to sudden death” (2009: 879).

The San Francisco Mental Health Board Resolution against Tasers states: “WHEREAS, the risk of Taser injuries and/or death is heightened for the mentally and emotionally ill who, in a crisis may be potentially unable to connect actions to consequences and may resist police even in the face of stepped-up force; and, WHEREAS, research has found patients taking prescribed antipsychotic medications are already at increased risk of sudden cardiac death if Tasered (Straus et al, 2004); and, WHEREAS, people in states of acute agitation resulting from mental illness have been associated with unexplained deaths in custody. (Robison & Hunt, 2005)... THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Mental Health Board of San Francisco urges the San Francisco Police Commission and the SFPD to oppose the adoption of Tasers to SFPD C.I.T trained officers.”

^v http://www.abcactionnews.com/dpp/news/local_news/investigations/american-heart-association-publishes-study-claiming-Tasers-can-be-cause-of-death

^{vi} For example: <http://www.wcnc.com/news/local/NC-family-awarded-10M-in-lawsuit-against-Taser-125907818.html>

Tasers Kill



Tasers Don't Reduce Shootings

