June 4, 2008

Sheriff Bob Fletcher  
Ramsey County Sheriff  
425 Grove Street  
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dear Sheriff Fletcher,

I apologize for the delay in replying to your earlier letters but as you know there have been a few other pressing matters that required my immediate attention.

I think you know that I appreciate your interest in the upcoming RNC. As I read your letter I was initially alarmed by your concerns about civil unrest. As we have met repeatedly over this issue I am somewhat perplexed as to why you have taken to starting a letter writing campaign to reiterate the concern you so articulately described to me months ago.

I have as a result of our meetings met with my Intel unit commander Dave Korus and Sgt Scott Duff to discuss the issues you raised. My staff is of the opinion that your estimates are not unreasonable and they have documented from their own sources comparable information. My staff could not provide me with any reliable estimates as to capacity. As a result of this discussion I then reached out to chiefs and Law enforcement leaders including: FBI, LA, Boston, Denver and DC. These executives told me that assessment of anarchists in their experience was often based on Intel officer’s educated guesses, which were either a percentage estimate or based on comments on what the groups wish for. No one of the experienced leaders could point to anything comparable to Gang net as a basis for their estimates. In the first case I was told that federal authorities have used a rule of 5% i.e. 100 protestors = 5 anarchists. Extrapolated out if there are 10,000 protestors then there might be 500 anarchists. The problem with this is that weve had
several 10,000 person protests that I have personally managed and never had more than a handful of anarchists attend, even when we were told there was a large convergence in town. When I asked others about confirmation of the estimates they could not come up with any time it had been other than WTO. Even in WTO I was cautioned that a firm number is difficult to arrive at since rarely more than a few of the anarchist are arrested and given then tendency to use masking double counting is an issue. The other method I learned about was that in talking to informants from the groups themselves, police would be told that the group is bringing 1000 people to town. While these groups would like to bring a thousand only a handful is what often shows up.

All of the departments told me that estimates from Intel have often been high and that I should temper my concern by looking at their history and capacity of the groups we identify. My colleagues advised me not to underestimate these groups but that I should not accept the estimates as gospel. The comment that stuck with me is that these are bad guys and bad guys tend to lie. It’s also my experience that even the protest groups while they may or may not be bad guys - do like to brag. Every one of those groups when they have asked for a permit has over estimated their numbers by at least half some by a much as 100 times.

As I considered your suggestion that I increase or change our plan for the RNC I struggled to see the justification and after talking with these departments where protests happen more routinely I realized what I was lacking. In order for us to take action based on a terroristic threat there must be two components. There must be articulable intent and there must be means. It is the means test that I have not been able to meet thus far. You have documented articulable intent but what I need to see is evidence that there are means to accomplish their intent. I would compare this to the threat of international terrorism. There are millions of people in the world who have said repeatedly they mean to do us harm. They have even said that the Midwest and their capitals and centers of commerce are targets. If I use the standard means of identifying the threats you could reason that about 50,000 enemies want to attack us. Despite their articulable intent and numbers you have not put a division of cops around the campus or courthouse and we have not put an anti missile systems up around the capital or the Mall of America because we can not show means. Even our local sources are not showing more than 500 people attending local convergence activities.

Based on the above factors, I do not feel that I can justify the increase in staffing you suggest. In talking to the other chiefs who have had these events more recently they concur that if we achieve our staffing goals of 4000 we believe we will have a more than adequate response capacity. Bill Bratton noted that that it took less than 200 cops to clear 10,000 people in 20
minutes although he was not happy with the command and control breakdown which ordered the action. We will have several times that number of officers ready, trained and available. In regards to your concerns about the transportation plan I would say that it is a work in progress. We have factored in the intent and the plan is flexible enough that we feel we can make changes if more information becomes available. In the meantime we are factoring in your information into the plan.

In closing I appreciate both your concern and your offer of staff for the RNC. I trust that as more information develops the mechanisms we have established will facilitate our being informed in a timely fashion. I would ask that as information comes to your attention that is actionable in St Paul that you use the mechanisms we have established to share it with us. In the absence of this information we are forced to continue on our own and my preference is that this is done with you as a partner. In regards to my request for more information on the capacity and means test, AC Bostrom will be contacting your staff with specific questions. Finally I would ask that if you are going to send people in to our operations that they use the same mechanism to avoid avoidable confliction situations.

Only 90 days till the RNC.

Your Truly

John M. Harrington
Chief of Police