S. HRG. 109–947

ECO-TERRORISM SPECIFICALLY EXAMINING THE EARTH LIBERATION FRONT AND THE ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

MAY 18, 2005

Printed for the use of the Committee on Environment and Public Works

Available via the World Wide Web: http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress.senate

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

32–209 PDF WASHINGTON : 2007

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
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ECO-TERRORISM SPECIFICALLY EXAMINING THE EARTH LIBERATION FRONT AND THE ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 2005

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:32 a.m. in room 406, Senate Dirksen Building, the Hon. James Inhofe (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Inhofe, Warner, Vitter, Jeffords, and Lautenberg.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES M. INHOFE, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Senator INHOFE. Today, the Committee on Environment and Public Works will highlight the findings of the committee's ongoing investigation into the issue of eco-terrorism. The Patriot Act defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force and violence against people or property to intimidate or coerce Government or civilian population in furtherance of a political or social objective."

The Department of Justice and the Department of Homeland Security agree that eco-terrorism is a severe problem, naming the serious domestic terrorist threat in the United States today as the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) which, by all accounts, is a converging movement with similar ideologies in common personnel.

ELF and ALF are terrorists by definition, using intimidation, threats, acts of violence, and property destruction to force their opinions of proper environmental and animal rights policy upon society. ELF and ALF resort to arson, sabotage, and harassment in hopes of using fear to attain their goals of hampering development and free commerce. In fact, ELF and ALF are responsible for estimating conservatively, over $110 million in damages and 1,100 acts of terrorism in the last decade. ELF and ALF's weapon of choice is arson, placing instructions on how to effectively set fire to animal abusers on their Web site, which is chart No. 1, Arson-Around with Auntie ALF. This is a book on how to make incendiary devices and firebombs.

[The referenced document follows on page 124.]

Today, we will hear from Federal law enforcement agencies, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Bureau of Alcohol, To-

bacco, Firearms, and Explosives, who will discuss the problem of ELF and ALF and law enforcement's reaction to their dangerous and destructive tactics. It is these tactics, particularly the widespread use of arson, which makes ELF and ALF the No. 1 domestic terror concern over the likes of white supremacists, militias, and anti-abortion groups.

We will also hear testimony today from victims of ELF and ALF. The University of Iowa fell victim to an ALF raid in November 2004, in which a laboratory suffered $450,000 in damages, and the associated professors' names and addresses were published on the ALF Web site, inviting further terror. Chart No. 3 is the ALF Web site with professors' names and home addresses.

[The referenced document follows on page 127.]

Unfortunately, the University of Iowa is only 1 example of many laboratories that have been attacked by ALF, destroying years of research that could have produced results that we can only wonder about.

We will hear today from a victim of the largest ALF attack in history, causing estimated damages of $22 million. Chart No. 4 is a picture of the construction site before and after the arson.

[The referenced document follows on page 128.]

Garden Communities, a developing company, was building a 5 story, 306-unit condominium complex in an urban area of San Diego, CA, that was burned to the ground, forcing over 400 people to be evacuated from their homes. A banner reading, "If you build it, we will burn it, the ELFs are mad" was found at the crime scene.

Just like Al Qaeda and other terrorist movements, ELF and ALF cannot accomplish their goals without money, membership and the media. ELF and ALF have received support from mainstream activists in each of these categories. We will learn today of a growing network of support for extremists like ELF and ALF. For example, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, PETA, a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization, has given money to ELF and ALF members, while acting as the spokesgroup for ELF and ALF after committing acts of terrorism.

Chart No. 6 is a PETA document stating that they are the spokesgroup. These are not things that are accusations. These are facts, all documented.

[The referenced document follows on page 130.]

Ingrid Newkirk, the president of PETA, was invited to testify today at the hearing, but declined the committee's invitation. Along with help from above-ground organizations, ELF and ALF receive assistance in recruiting membership and media relations. Dr. Steven Best, a University of Texas professor, is an example of a spokesperson for ELF and ALF, who acts as a conduit for terrorists to the mainstream. Chart No. 7 is an ELF and ALF contact resource document.

[The referenced document follows on page 131.]

Dr. Best, through his writings, speeches, and the ALF Web site, advocates ALF and their practices, crossing the line between first amendment speech and criminal behavior inciting violence. Mr. Best declined the committee's invitation to speak today to appear at this hearing.

In addition to assistance from recruiters and well known 501(c)(3)s, ELF and ALF are able to raise money through the Internet. A supporter of ELF and ALF could go to either the ELF or ALF Web site and literally click a button to give money to a terrorist movement. Chart No. 8 is the ALF Web site, illustrating how one could now and does donate money. As a result of the committee's investigation, ELF and ALF are no longer receiving money through the Internet from sympathizers.

[The referenced document follows on page 132.]

The same is true for corporate sponsorship for the sales of goods through the ELF Web site. Before this committee's investigation, ELF was receiving a commission of up to 30 percent for the sale of books and posters. For example, Amazon.com paid ELF commissions for the sale of books through the ELF Web site. Chart No. 9 is the ELF Web site with Amazon.com. As a result of our investigation, Amazon.com removed their ad from the ELF Web site.

[The referenced document follows on page 133.]

The danger of ELF and ALF is imminent. Experts agree that although they have not killed anyone to date, it is only a matter of time until someone dies as a result of ELF and ALF criminal activity. With direct actions such as cutting the brake lines of 38 seafood delivery trucks, or the use of fire bombs and incendiary devices, it is through luck not planning, that there have been no ELF and ALF casualties. As a country, we must not only condemn terrorism, but we must also condemn the support and acts in furtherance of terrorism. It is time to take a look at the culture and the climate of support for criminally based activism like ELF and ALF, and do something about it.

As with any other criminal enterprise, we cannot allow individuals and organizations to, in effect, aid and abet criminal behavior or provide comfort and support to them after the fact, just as we cannot allow the individuals and organizations to surf in between the laws of permissible free speech and speech that incites violence, when we know the goal is to inspire people to commit crimes of violence. This hearing will begin the process of scrutinizing criminally based activism, as well as call into question the essential support received from mainstream individuals and organizations.

Before we hear testimony from our witnesses, I would like to show you just how serious this matter is. ELF and ALF recruit their membership from young people between the ages of 18 and 25. We are going to show you a video in a minute. But before we do, I would like to get our opening statements out of the way. Feel free to take whatever time you want, because I went a little bit over. Then I will introduce the video that we will be watching.

Senator Jeffords.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES M. JEFFORDS, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF VERMONT

Senator JEFFORDS. Radical extremist groups, whether eco-terrorists, abortion clinic bombers or white supremacists have no role in our democratic society. No one supports violent criminal action, regardless of the motivation.

I strongly condemn the actions claimed on behalf of the Animal Liberation Front and the Earth Liberation Front. Fortunately, our

Nation's law enforcement agencies appear to be successfully countering the threat posed by radical extremist groups.

Robert Mueller, Director of the FBI, testified in February that the serious incidents of animal rights and eco-terrorism decreased in 2004, largely due to law enforcement's successes.

As we will discuss eco-terrorism, it is important to make clear that there is no evidence that any mainstream environmental organization supports the criminal activities of the Earth Liberation Front, ELF. In fact, I would like to submit for the record, a letter signed by all of the major environmental groups which, "strongly condemns all acts of violence, including those committed in the name of environmental causes."

Timothy McVeigh's membership in the National Rifle Association did not make the NRA responsible for the Oklahoma City bombing. I have also been asked to submit for the record a statement from the People for Ethical Treatment of Animals, PETA, since they were unable to attend this hearing.

Similarly, I request that the hearing record remain open, as the Humane Society of the United States, has requested the opportunity to respond to the charges in Mr. Martosko's testimony.

[The referenced document follows on pages 138.]

I am puzzled while the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee is examining the issue of animal rights and eco-terrorism, since the committee lacks jurisdiction over the criminal law enforcement issues. Such matters are more appropriately addressed by the Judiciary or Homeland Security Committees.

Nevertheless, I look forward to learning what the committee can do to address the problems posed by domestic terrorism. For that reason, I am extremely disappointed that Congressman Benny Thompson, the Ranking Member of the House Representative Homeland Security Committee has not been allowed to testify today. This violates the basic congressional courtesy and Senate tradition.

Moreover, based on his position as the Ranking Member on the Homeland Security Committee, his testimony certainly would have been relevant to this hearing on terrorism. I would like to submit for the record a report that Congressman Thompson prepared entitled, "Ten Years After the Oklahoma City Bombing, the Department of Homeland Security Must Do More To Fight Right Wing Domestic Terrorists."

[The referenced document follows on pages 145.]

The report highlights the apparent failure of the DHS to address the threat posed by right-wing domestic terrorist groups in the Department's 5-year budget planning document. I share his concern that the Department of Homeland Security needs to protect us from all terrorist threats, and should not focus on eco-terrorism at the expense of other domestic terrorist groups, such as the KKK, right wing militias, abortion clinic bombers, and skin heads.

While the Environment Committee has no jurisdiction over criminal law enforcement, we do have a responsibility to protect our communities from terrorists who target industrial facilities in hopes of creating massive environmental releases that could cause widespread havoc and countless deaths.

Chemical plants, for example, have been called "pre-positioned weapons of mass destruction," since there are over 100 facilities across the Nation that have the potential to threaten over 100 million people.

Congress also needs to build on last year's bipartisan nuclear security legislation, that would require the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Department of Homeland Security to address the vulnerabilities at nuclear power plants and waste storage facilities.

Finally, Congress should act now to reduce the risk posed by roughly 16,000 wastewater treatment facilities nationwide that still threaten their communities through the use of potentially deadly chlorine gas.

In summary, Congress cannot do much about individual extremists committing crimes in the name of ELF or ALF, but we can act to significantly enhance the safety of the communities across the Nation. ELF and ALF may threaten dozens of people each year, but an incident at a chemical, nuclear, or wastewater facility would threaten tens of thousands.

To truly protect our homeland security, I pledge to work with my colleagues to ensure that the DHS assesses all domestic terrorist threats, and to enact meaningful chemical, nuclear, and wastewater security legislation.

Thank you.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Senator Jeffords.

Senator Lautenberg.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK LAUTENBERG, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Senator LAUTENBERG. Yes, thanks, Mr. Chairman, for trying to bring some light into this situation that we see with ELF and ALF. You, Mr. Chairman, have been touched by terrorism in your home State. I have been touched by it, by the loss of friends and neighbors who died through the attack on the Trade Center on 9/11.

Terrorists committed these acts. The fact that one was a domestic terrorist and the others were foreign has little to do with the description of the action that they took. It is terrorism.

When we look at what we are seeing here, I think we must be careful in our anger and our disgust at the unlawful actions that some of these people have taken, ELF and ALF, and others, as often loose associations of individuals committing these acts. To suggest that this is a terror ring and intimate that environmental organizations are all kind of tinged or come under the umbrella of terrorism, I think it is unfair and unwise.

I condemn unlawful acts wherever they occur. But if there is a violent killer who takes multiple lives out there, we do not say that he is a terrorist, not that we have to shy from calling him any name we want. But the label of a terrorist, a terrorist conspiracy that spreads through the environmental community, I think, is excessive name calling, and we ought not to engage in it.

Now I happen to live directly across the river from where the World Trade Center was. I was a Commissioner of the Port Authority and had offices in that building when I came to the U.S. Senate. The lives that were touched throughout our State and New York State and the surrounding States left heartbreak that can never

ever be forgotten or repaired. Because we are still seeing the effects on people's health who participated in the rescue operations at the World Trade Center.

When I look at what has happened against Americans abroad by terror rings, Al Qaeda and the others, it surpasses my view of what are environmentalists extremes, or extremes in any group. We describe them as religious fanatics. They want to kill people, they want to behead them, so we describe them as religious fanatics, as terror groups.

You have to be careful, I think, when you look at the issues of environmental protection and, see excesses. I condemn them. There is nothing worse than anyone who decides that in this Nation of laws that we have here, that they are entitled to do it their way, outside the scope of the law. There is no way that we can accept that.

We should prosecute these things diligently, Mr. Chairman. I know that you have been here long enough, and you know the rules. We have no basis in this committee to conduct an investigation of the criminality, but to try and identify a problem. I share that mission.

We are blessed in this country to have a political system. We are free to disagree with one another, with our Government. When we want to change things, we have to change them within the law.

So again, I enforce my condemnation of any violence for political or ideological purpose. I am concerned that people in my State, who have been victimized by individuals or groups, that want to change policies regarding their treatment or the environment, may be classified as terrorists, even if there is no terrorist act, but terrorism by some kind of an association that is so loose it is hard to find the connection. We have to keep things in perspective.

We have just seen this now, when Eric Rudolph recently pleaded guilty to placing a bomb in a public area during the Olympic Games in 1996, as well as bombing a Birmingham Women's Clinic and a gay night club. Since 1993, there have been at least 5 fatal attacks on doctors who perform legal abortions.

I did not know whether they had been described in these chambers as terrorists. But certainly, the appellation would fit very well there. All of these cases involve loss of human life.

Thank goodness, no life has been lost in the pursuit of these horrible goals that these organizations have set for themselves in the guise of trying to protect the environment. It is still wrong. It is wrong to destroy property and intimidate people who are doing their jobs. Those who commit crimes must be brought to justice.

We should not allow ourselves to be blinded by the more serious threats posed by those who have taken innocent lives. We must be careful not to proclaim guilt by association. The acts of 1 individual do not mean that an entire organization can be labeled as a terrorist group.

Mr. Chairman, one of the things that you said in your opening remarks is that ELF and ALF have received dollars from mainstream activists, which certainly is true, but not from mainstream environmental organizations. We ought not to let that thought creep out there, that perhaps environmentalism is a bad thing to be conscious of.

So when we see what happened with McVeigh, a member of the NRA, that does not make the NRA a terrorist group. The National Right to Life Committee is opposed to legal abortion. Eric Rudolph, with his behavior, was criminal, and he was involved with several anti-abortion groups. That does mean that all members of the National Right to Life Committee are terrorists or that members generally are terrorists. Terror is a tactic, and we have to condemn that tactic wherever it raises its ugly head, regardless of the ideology of those who would employ it.

But we must take care, Mr. Chairman, in all due respect, not to lump legitimate groups with terrorists. To do so would only minimize the very real threats against our society, and I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Senator Lautenberg follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK LAUTENBERG, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Chairman, thank you for holding this hearing. I know that you have been personally touched by terrorism as have I. Your State was the site of the deadly bombing of the Federal building that killed 168 people and wounded more than 500. No American will ever forget the images of the innocent children who were killed or injured in that blast.

Nor will any American forget September 11, 2001. From northern New Jersey, people could see the smoke rising from the attack on the World Trade Center that killed 700 of my fellow New Jerseyans.

I mention these horrible events to provide some background and perspective to the issues we will be discussing today. In our country we are blessed to have a political system where we are free to disagree with one another and with our Government.

When we want to change things, we must work for change within the law not break the law. So I condemn any violence for political or ideological purposes. I am concerned that people in my State have been victimized by individuals or groups that want to change policies regarding the treatment of animals, or the environment.

Having said that, we need to keep things in perspective. As I mentioned, the Oklahoma City bombing killed 168 people. The attacks of 9/11 killed 3,000.

Since 1993, there have been at least 5 fatal attacks on doctors who performed legal abortions. Eric Rudolph recently pleaded guilty to placing a bomb in a public area during the Olympic Games in 1996, as well as bombing a Birmingham women's clinic and a gay nightclub.

All of these cases involved the loss of human life. To date, not a single incident of so-called environmental terrorism has killed anyone. It's wrong to destroy property and intimidate people who are doing their jobs and those who commit these crimes must be brought to justice.

But let us not allow ourselves to be blinded to the more serious threats posed by those who have taken innocent lives. We also must be careful not to proclaim guilt by association.

The acts of 1 individual do not mean that an entire organization can be labeled a terrorist group. Timothy McVeigh was a member of the National Rifle Association. That doesn't make the NRA a terrorist group.

The National Right to Life Committee is opposed to legal abortion. Eric Rudolph bombed a Birmingham abortion clinic, and he was involved with several anti-abortion groups. That doesn't mean that the members of the National Right to Life Committee are terrorists.

Terror is a tactic. We must condemn that tactic whenever it raises its ugly head regardless of the ideology of those who would employ it. But we must take care not to lump legitimate groups with terrorists. To do so would only minimize the very real threats against our society.

Senator INHOFE. Well, thank you, Senator Lautenberg, and since you made a reference to my opening statement, I can respond. First of all, we have to understand that it is not this committee, it is the

FBI that identified these groups as the No. 1 domestic terrorist groups that we are dealing with.

No. 2, on the jurisdiction question, I certainly think we have jurisdiction. Because in spite of your statement that there is no relationship between legitimate mainstream environmental groups, there is. There is a dollar relationship between them.

No. 3, I am not about to sit aside and wait until someone is killed with an IED, and you know it is going to happen. You know it is going to happen, if we allow them to continue to do this. I think every committee of the House and the Senate should get on board and put an end to this thing, and we are doing the job that we have to do.

Before you came in, Senator Vitter, I commented that we are going to see a short video after the opening statement. So as soon as your statement is completed, we will do that.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Mr. Chairman, since your remarks were directed to me, I feel that I should have a chance to respond. I would respond only by asking, if you would say that a large part of the Right to Life group have committed terrorist acts, because they do contribute to the Right to Life movement, including those who are the extremists as terrorists.

I do not intend to sit by, either. No one who knows me would suggest that I tolerate this kind of thing. I just want us to be fair, Mr. Chairman.

Senator INHOFE. Senator Vitter.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. DAVID VITTER, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

Senator VITTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thanks for your leadership with this hearing today. I applaud it. I applaud use of the term terrorism for these specific acts and these specific loose organizations, because I think it is absolutely appropriate.

You look up the definition, and this is what terrorism is about. It is using violent and illegal activity to try to intimidate people, scare people into submission to go along with these extremist political agendas. That is basically the dictionary definition of terrorism. Unfortunately, that is what has been happening in these cases, including the ALF. The very name tells you something, the Animal Liberation Front.

I know about this from direct experience, unfortunately, in Louisiana, at Louisiana State University. LSU experienced this sort of eco-terrorism twice in the last few years. It caused hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of damages.

But more importantly, it really scared the heck out of a lot people. It made people truly fear for their safety, and also shut down working productive labs for a year, labs that were advancing science, advancing solutions to real problems that we need to address.

The first attack at LSU occurred on September 24, 2003, in a school of veterinary facility used for inhalation and toxicology research. It is important to point out, and I think useful to point out, that even though the Animal Liberation Front claimed responsibility for this, there were no animals in the laboratory at the time.

Nevertheless, the folks involved, associated with the ALF, vandalized the facility.

They destroyed walls and cabinets and expensive laboratory equipment, and generally trashed the entire laboratory. They caused an estimated $250,000 worth of damage to the property. Even more serious, they scared the heck out of a lot of good people who were only doing their job, doing mainstream and worthwhile scientific work. Research in the laboratory, because of this attack, had to be suspended for about a year, as repairs were made. Again, that is really concerning to me. A few hours after that LSU attack, the ALF sent an e-mail to the local news media and an LSU student newspaper, taking blame for the damage.

Less than a month ago, a second attack happened at LSU. This was on April 22. The Animal Liberation Front claimed responsibility for a second attack.

Senator INHOFE. What was the date of that one, the second one?

Senator VITTER. It was April 22. So very recently, there was a second attack at LSU, when 2 different animal facilities on the LSU campus were attacked. It occurred at the Life Sciences Facility at the central LSU campus.

Again, these attackers entered through, in this case, ventilation grid, built into a rear door, that is permanently locked and generally just used as an emergency exit. They broke into several rooms. They damaged expensive equipment. They generally damaged the laboratory. They messed up a number of experiments and ongoing work that was going on.

But even beyond the money damage, the physical damage, which was very significant, again, they scared the heck out of a lot of good people, in a clear attempt to intimidate them. Those 2 laboratories have had to be shut down for an extended period of time while repairs are being made.

ALF posted pictures taken from within the facility on their Web site, moving these from server to server, to prevent tracking of the server. This clearly points out that this is a movement. This is an organization. This is not simply 1 or 2 or 3 individuals. But they are claiming responsibility. They are posting pictures of their violence on their Web site.

So I am very concerned about this activity across the country and, unfortunately, these 2 attacks on the campus of LSU are 2 interesting examples.

I agree with you, Mr. Chairman, if we allow this to go on, it is only a matter of time until these sources of attacks lead to the loss of human life. So I thank you for this hearing. I thank the law enforcement and other enforcement and other officials here for their continuing work to counteract this very violent and terroristic activity. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Senator Vitter follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. DAVID VITTER, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

Mr. Chairman, thank you for your leadership in putting this hearing together today. I also want to thank our witnesses for coming to testify about this very important issue.

This an important issue in Louisiana specifically because Louisiana State University has experienced eco-terrorism twice in the last few years. It caused hundreds

of thousands of dollars worth of damages but more importantly has also led the people who work there to fear for their safety.

Over the past 3 years, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) claimed responsibility for 2 attacks at the Louisiana State University. ALF's first attack at LSU occurred on September 24, 2003, in a School of Veterinary Medicine facility used for inhalation and toxicology research. It is important to point out that no animals were in the laboratory at the time when ALF vandalized this facility. However, ALF vandals spray-painted slogans over several walls and cabinets, destroyed several pieces of expensive laboratory equipment, and generally trashed the entire laboratory causing an estimated $250,000 worth of damage to the property. Research in the laboratory was suspended for about a year as repairs were made. Even more concerning, the faculty and staff suffered fear and depression from ALF's attacks. This psychological harm was considerable and the people working in the facility feared for their safety.

Today, we will hear from other victims who also fear they would be in danger since ALF has a track record of lawless behavior and their home addresses were public record. A few hours after the LSU attack, ALF sent an e-mail to local news media and a LSU student newspaper taking blame for the damage. Sending news of the attacks to an LSU student newspaper, reveals how ALF intentionally targets young members for recruitment. It is necessary to prevent our youth from recruitment by these terrorist activities.

Less than a month ago on April 22, 2005, the Animal Liberation Front claimed responsibility for a second attack when ALF entered 1 of 2 animal facilities on the LSU campus. This attack occurred at the "Life Sciences" facility in central campus. ALF vandals entered through ventilation grids built into a rear door that is permanently locked and used as an emergency exit only. ALF also broke into another room by breaking the window in the door, reaching in, and unlocking the door. Ten mice and a few cages were stolen from the room. Then, ALF entered another room at the facility and destroyed 9 empty fish tanks. ALF also entered a third room and damaged equipment.

ALF vandals again spray-painted slogans on the walls and on valuable equipment, they threw acetone on the walls to strip paint, and injected epoxy glue into door locks. ALF posted pictures taken from within the facility on their web site, moving these from server to server to prevent tracking of the server. This second attack resulted in an estimated $30,000 worth of damage to the property. Again, the faculty and staff suffered psychological harm from the fear of their safety due to this incident.

It is important to point out that ALF actually harmed mice in the facility which resulted in the deaths of the mice. ALF moved the mice from 1 cage to another, removed their identifying cage cards and made it impossible to identify which groups the mice belonged to. As a result, this necessitated the euthanasia of all 80+ mice in the room, and a repeat of the study. This will set back the research by a year.

I am very concerned and troubled by ALF's destruction and harm towards LSU's faculty, staff and property in these 2 domestic terrorist attacks. The LSU's attacks are just a few examples of how these domestic terrorists negatively impact individuals and businesses across the Nation. Today we will also hear from Mr. David Skorton, President of the University of Iowa who will testify on the attacks at his University. It is wrong for domestic terrorists to commit violent attacks on universities that are involved in research for the development of medicines and procedures that could benefit humans and save lives.

It is only a matter of time until these attacks by domestic terrorists involving arson result in human deaths. We can no longer stand by and accept these attacks—stronger penalties are necessary. I look forward to hearing from our witnesses and gain a better understanding of how these domestic terrorist groups and their activities are a danger to Americans and how these groups attempt to unilaterally change environmental and animal rights policy through their acts of terrorism. Once again, thank you, Mr. Chairman for your efforts to organize this hearing.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Senator Vitter.

I have just been notified that the Democrats have objected to all committees meeting past 11:30 today. For that reason, I am going to move along here, because we want to get to both panels in the next hour and a half.

I am going to ask them now to show this video. This video is a video of actually recruiting people as a part of this terrorist movement.

[Video shown.]

Senator LAUTENBERG. Mr. Chairman, in the interests of moving along, do we want to continue to see this?

Senator INHOFE. You bet.

Senator LAUTENBERG. The point is made. You have some crazy guy who is advocating violence.

Senator INHOFE. We will go on.

[Video shown.]

Senator INHOFE. All right, I hope that you understand, and I would say to my good friend, Senator Lautenberg, that was at American University. It was sanctioned and it was on campus, raising money to go around to other campuses in New Jersey, Oklahoma, and elsewhere.

We are going to go on now to our panel. First of all, our first panel is John Lewis, Deputy Assistant Director of the FBI, and the second individual on the first panel is Carson Carroll, Deputy Assistant Director of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives.

We appreciate very much both of you being here. Let us start with you, John, if you would please, and your statement. If anyone wants to abbreviate their statement, their entire statement will be made a part of the record.

STATEMENT OF JOHN LEWIS, DEPUTY ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mr. LEWIS. Good morning, Chairman and members of the committee, I want to thank you very much for allowing us the opportunity to be here this morning and discuss the threat posed by animal rights extremists and eco-terrorists in this country, as well as the measures that the FBI and our partners are taking to address this threat.

This is 1 of today's most serious domestic threats, coming from the special interest extremist movements that we have heard about this morning: ALF, ELF, as well as another outfit called Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty, commonly known as SHAC.

I am gratified to hear your comments this morning, and the FBI certainly shares your opinion that these individuals are most certainly domestic terrorists, in the truest sense, because their agenda clearly advocates the unlawful or threatened use of force or violence to intimidate or coerce our society, our Government, for the benefit of their own ideological or political reasons.

Direct action is often criminal activity that destroys property or causes economic loss to targeted companies. Traditional targets have ranged from, but have not been limited to, research labs, restaurants, fur farmers, and forestry services. Extremists have used arson, bombings, theft, animal releases, vandalism, and office takeovers to achieve their goals.

The distinctions between Constitutionally protected advocacy and violent, criminal activity are extremely important to recognize, and law enforcement officials should be solely concerned with those individuals who pursue animal rights or environmental protection through force, violence, or criminal activity. Law enforcement only becomes involved when volatile talk turns into criminal activity.

The FBI has seen a significant amount of such criminal activity. From January 1990 to June 2004, animal and environmental rights

extremists have claimed credit for more than 1,200, resulting in millions of dollars of damages and monetary loss.

An analysis of these incidents occurring between the year 1977 and 2004 reflects that nearly 70 percent of these direct actions are acts of violence, ranging in seriousness. About 12 percent of these are related to animal thefts and releases. Beyond that, about 10 percent of these are related to arson and other crimes.

While most animal rights and eco-extremists have refrained from violence targeting human life, the FBI has observed troubling signs that this is changing. We have seen an escalation in violent rhetoric and tactics. One extremist recently said, "If someone is killing, on a regular basis, thousands of animals, and if that person can only be stopped in 1 way by the use of violence, then it is certainly a morally justifiable solution."

An ALF communication, recently released in 2002 on its Web site states the following, "Where it is necessary, we will no longer hesitate to pick up the gun to implement justice and provide the needed protection for our planet, that decades of legal battles, pleading, protest, and economic sabotage have failed to achieve."

Attacks are also growing in frequency and size. Harassing phone calls and vandalism now co-exist with improvised explosive devices and personal threats to employees. ELF's target list has expanded to include sports utility vehicle dealerships, as well as new home developers. We believe these trends will persist, particularly with the environmental movement, as extremists continue to combat what they perceive as "urban sprawl."

Preventing such criminal activity has become increasingly difficult, in large part, because extremists in these movements are very knowledgeable about the letter of the law and the limits of law enforcement. Moreover, they are highly autonomous. Lists of targets and instructions on making incendiary devices are posted on the Internet, but criminal incidents are carried out by individuals or small groups, acting unilaterally.

Criminal activity by animal rights extremists and eco-terrorists, in particular, requires relatively minor amounts of equipment and minimal funding. Extremists of these movements adhere to strict security measures, in both their communications as well as their operations.

The FBI has developed a strong response to domestic terrorism threats. Together with our partners, we are working to detect, disrupt, and dismantle the animal rights and environmental extremist movements that are involved in this criminal activity.

Our efforts are headed by a headquarters-based team of national intelligence analysts, program managers, and seasoned field agents. To address this crime problem, we have drawn upon our traditional criminal investigative resources, and have brought to this challenge additional and newer resources that today figure prominently in our international terrorism investigations.

Examples of these, without going into too much detail, are what we do in the area of terrorism finance operations, as well as similar help that we draw from our communication exploitation section.

Second, we have strengthened our intelligence capabilities. Since 2003, we have disseminated 64 raw intelligence reports to our partners throughout the United States law enforcement community,

pertaining to animal rights extremism, as well as eco-terrorism activity.

In addition, since 2004, we have disseminated 19 strategic intelligence assessments to our Federal, State, and local counterparts. Finally, we have strengthened our partnerships. We have combined our expertise and resources with those of our Federal, State, and local law enforcement partners nationwide, through our 103 Joint Terrorism Task Forces. We have increased training for our JTTF members, and have a strong and reoccurring liaison with foreign law enforcement agencies who are experiencing similar crime problems.

Our challenges are significant, but so are our successes. Currently, 35 of our 56 FBI field offices have over 150 pending investigations off of the JTTFs in this area. Since the beginning of 2004, the FBI and its partners have made a high number of high profile arrests of individuals involved in both animal rights extremism, as well as eco-terrorism. These arrests have led to successful prosecutions.

One of greatest challenges has been the lack of Federal criminal statutes to properly address the multi-state campaigns of intimidation, threats, and damage designed to shut legitimate businesses.

On this legislative front, we are most certainly interested in working with you to examine Federal criminal statutes, to see where they might be amended or augmented. These statutes provide a framework for the prosecution of animal rights extremists, but in practice, they do not cover many of the criminal acts the extremists have committed.

Investigating and preventing animal rights extremism and eco-terrorism is one of the FBI's highest domestic terrorism priorities. We are committed to working with our partners to disrupt and dismantle these movements, and to bring to justice those who commit crime in the name of animal or environmental rights.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity to discuss the challenges we face today in this area, and would be pleased to answer questions at the conclusion of our testimony. Thank you.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Mr. Lewis, for that excellent opening statement.

Senator Warner, we have just heard from the first witness, John Lewis of the FBI. Would you like to make an opening statement?

[No response.]

Senator INHOFE. All right, we will now hear from Mr. Carroll.

STATEMENT OF CARSON CARROLL, DEPUTY ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO, FIREARMS AND EXPLOSIVES

Mr. CARROLL. Good morning, Chairman Inhofe and members of the committee. I want to thank you for this opportunity to appear before you to discuss the contributions of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives in relationship to the investigation of violent crimes perpetrated by environmental and animal rights extremists.

Two of the most active extremists movements in the United States today are the Earth Liberation Front and the Animal Lib-

eration Front. Both tend to engage in criminal activities designed to make a direct adverse economic impact on the chosen target. In the Pacific Northwest, where I was the special agent in charge of the Seattle Field Division, I gained first-hand experience through exposure to numerous open arson investigations in the region, allegedly involving ELF and ALF. I saw the threat posed to the communities and to the Nation.

The most worrisome trend to law enforcement and private industry alike has been the increase in willingness by these movement to resort to the use of fire as their first weapon of choice. ATF has shown that suspected or known ELF and ALF sponsored arsons have been carried out using an assortment of devices ranging from primitive to sophisticated, which are described in ELF and ALF literature, print in print and on line. It is important to note that an arsonist is extremely dangerous. Because once the fire is set, he or she loses control, and the outcome is determined by the chaotic progression of the fire itself.

Because of this, there have been several close calls connected to activity of these extremists. In one case, during an ELF arson incident at the Boise Cascade Office in Oregon, fire fighters were pulled back just before the roof collapsed. However, according to the U.S. Fire Administration's annual report, an average of over 100 fire fighters die per year in the line of duty.

For the untrained eye, it is very easy to miss the remnants of an incendiary and explosive device, in and among the mounds of fire-bombed debris. The goal of ATF's arson programs is to provide investigative and technical expertise, rapid response, and state-of-the-art training, all in the service of reducing violent crimes involving fire.

In addition to all field agents receiving in depth arson training and experience, the agents participate in ATF certified fire investigator CFI program, and are at the forefront of fire investigation. They are unequivocally the most highly trained origin-cause investigators in the Federal Government. Prior to initial certification, and in addition to the core curriculum, CFI's must complete a 2-year process, which includes examination documentation of a minimum of 100 fire scenes. The candidates must prepare an improved publishable thesis in the area of fire science, fire dynamics, or fire behavior characteristics.

ATF's fire protection engineers, who are experts in fire reconstruction and engineering analysis, provide invaluable expertise in this area. ATF's laboratories are instrumental in perfecting ATF cases, and also in serving as a resource for State and local law enforcement. The ATF fire research laboratory, located in Ammendale, MD, is a one-of-a-kind fire test center, with the capability of replicating fire scenarios for the purpose of detailed analysis.

ATF also maintains the Arson Explosives National Repository, the country's most comprehensive set of data describing fire and explosion incidents. ATF is now using the latest information management technology to make case information available to law enforcement agencies nationwide, through the Bomb and Arson Tracking System.

Several of ATF's programs, such as the National Response Team, and Accelerant Detection and Explosives Detection Canine Programs, strengthen our efforts in arson and explosives investigations.

Mr. Chairman, the Anti-Arson Act of 1982 gave ATF jurisdiction in Federal arson offenses. Utilizing this existing statute, as contained in Title 18, U.S. Code Section 844(i), ATF has participated in over 100 investigations related to ELF and ALF incidents, with some noteworthy success in the following cases: the conviction of Jeff Leurs and Craig Marshal for an ELF-related arson that destroyed several sports utility vehicles at an automobile dealership in Eugene OR, the prosecution of William Jensen Cottrell for the ELF-related arson crimes in West Covina, CA.

ELF members initiated a combination of pipe bombs and incendiary devices at the Fur Breeder Agricultural Cooperative in Sandy, UT. Two defendants pled guilty for that crime.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, on behalf of the men and women of ATF, I thank you for your support of our crucial work. We are determined to succeed in our mission of reducing violent crime, preventing terrorism, and protecting the public. There is no greater evidence of this than our continued commitment in the fight against violent acts committed by animal rights and environmental extremists.

Additional information on relevant ATF programs is contained in the long statement provided for the record. I look forward to responding to any questions you may have.

Senator INHOFE. Great, thank you, Mr. Carroll, for that excellent opening statement.

Before we start our 5-minute rounds of questioning, I would like to announce that Dr. Steven Best and Ingrid Newkirk, who is the president of PETA, were both invited to participate in today's hearing, and they declined to attend.

Our committee investigation is ongoing. We will continue to examine how both organizations receive support and funding. While PETA has agreed to provide some information to the committee, Dr. Best has flat out refused to assist the committee in any way.

In our investigation, if we determine that testimony from 1 or both of the witnesses is vital, we will explore the option of issuing subpoenas to compel them to testify.

We will start with 5-minute rounds of questioning. I would start with you, Mr. Lewis. The FBI has identified ALF and ELF as the No. 1 domestic terrorist organizations. I would like to have you describe to us what went into that decision.

Mr. LEWIS. Sir, that decision is based on a very careful analysis of all of the types of cases that we are involved in, within the domestic terrorism program. There have been several of those types of groups mentioned here today, right wing extremists, KKK, anti-abortion groups and the like.

There is no question, as you look over the past several years, at the amount of damage and the amount of criminal activity that has been racked up by these various groups, that animal rights extremists and eco-terrorism, also known as ALF/ELF predominantly are way out in front, in terms of the damage that they are causing here in the United States.

We are not seeing it today from the other sectors. That does not mean we are not looking at them. We, of course, are, as I think ATF is, as well, in many cases along with us. But ELF and ALF, and certainly SHAC, are way out in front.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Mr. Lewis. You are much more of an expert than I am in the area of terrorism and law enforcement. I sit here and I wonder how we have kept a murder from taking place during all these incidents. Do you have any ideas, or would you offer us your view as to when something like this could happen?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, you used language in your opening remarks, Mr. Chairman, that I have used several times, including with your staff. Plainly, I think they are lucky.

As was mentioned by my colleague in his remarks, some of the arsons that we have seen around the United States, once you set one of these fires, they go terribly out of control. I think that through pure luck, we have not seen some stranger or employee or other type of person wonder into a site that is ablaze, who needed to be there for some legitimate reason. Frankly, they are lucky.

Senator INHOFE. Mr. Carroll, would you characterize ELF and ALF as sophisticated in their preparation of attacks? Are they people who really are sophisticated in their methodologies?

Mr. CARROLL. Yes, they are sophisticated, and even more so over the last 10 years or so. I think the we have seen an increase in the sophistication of the devices used and their methodology. I think it is more so in the planning and the care that they take to keep their information controlled and within, and how they go about keeping that internal. I believe that is where they are very sophisticated.

Senator INHOFE. How would you say, to advance their causes, they use the media, and how successful are they in using the media?

Mr. CARROLL. Well, they are successful in using the media. They use spokespersons in which somebody will announce that this action was carried out by ALF or ELF. Of course, when there is a fire or a major incendiary device, or a fire at a research or a university or a construction site or any of the other sites that we have spoken about today, it is on a news media. When it is on the news and it is on TV, people can see and watch it and it's a way of putting the word out.

Senator INHOFE. I have heard reports also that sometimes the media will actually use a Web site where people are allowed to contribute money to promote this type of activity.

Mr. CARROLL. I am not familiar with all the details related to that. I would have to look into that and provide that for the record at a later time.

Senator INHOFE. That would be fine.

Mr. Lewis, in your printed testimony, you talked about some 1,200 criminal acts that they claim responsibility for. Is that accurate?

Mr. LEWIS. It is accurate, sir. It is a compilation of cases that we know have been opened and worked, as well as cases they attribute to their own actions that are posted on their Web site.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you very much.

Senator Lautenberg.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

Let it be clearly understood that I deplore, as much as anybody here, these violent acts, no matter what name they want to attach to it. Terrorism is kind of an umbrella name that is being used.

Mr. Lewis, I noticed that you were kind enough to look at me every time you hit a point that you thought I ought to know. I thought you were looking at my pin that I got for enlisting in World War II, and you wanted to be sure that it was real.

[Laughter.]

Senator LAUTENBERG. I am going to ask if you would consider these organizations terrorist organizations. Just respond yes or no: Al Qaeda?

Mr. LEWIS. Definitely.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Hamas?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Hezbollah?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Right to Life?

Mr. LEWIS. That requires a longer explanation.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Well, you would not, or I would not consider it. But Mr. Carroll, they use arson. These crazies in the extreme movements, in the guise of environmental interests, they are a bunch of nuts. If you see this guy here, if he was near me I would punch him for the threat, and I have still a good fist.

Mr. LEWIS. Senator, if I may, 1 of the reasons that I hesitate is because there are law-abiding individuals in some of these groups, that spend their day trying to do the right thing. There are others who are obviously much more radical.

Senator LAUTENBERG. The Sierra Club.

Mr. LEWIS. I will exclude Al Qaeda from those comments.

Senator LAUTENBERG. How about, you said that people were terrorized by the notion of these actions. Let us see, you consider ecoterrorism the No. 1 domestic terrorist threat. Do I quote you properly?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Are people not more afraid to have their kids kidnaped in a mall, or having a rapist breaking into your home, or someone who commits a murder? Terrorists acts, how would you describe those acts?

Mr. LEWIS. I think if you asked the common person on the street, they might say, yes, we are probably more afraid of that.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Yes, because terrorism does not mean squat the way we talk about it.

Mr. LEWIS. The difference between what you have just mentioned and what we would consider to be terrorism is that terrorism is an ongoing relatively organized effort that is costing this country an awful lot of money.

Senator LAUTENBERG. So environmental violence is terrorism.

Mr. LEWIS. Sir, in your own State, there is a shining example of how effective this terrorism campaign has been.

Senator LAUTENBERG. It is awful. It does not need any explanation, Mr. Lewis. It does not need any. I stand against violence. If you talk to any of the police organizations, I was Commissioner

of the Port Authority in New York. We had 1 of the best police organizations, and we lost lots of people in the World Trade Center.

So I am a friend of law enforcement, and I am a friend of the FBI. I have great respect for what you and the organization does. But I am against this loose characterization that takes innocent people and throws them in with a bunch of thugs. Maybe it is the Audubon Society, the Sierra Club, the Nature Conservancy. I am a tree hugger. I have to tell you that. But I would not hug a tree and hurt anybody in the process.

I took my grandchildren out to the forest, 10 of them, and we each planted a tree. The environment means a lot to me. I would not stand still for anyone who was trying to damage the environment in any way. But I think when we describe this as the No. 1 terrorism threat, what is it compared to, what other threats are in that category?

Mr. LEWIS. On the domestic terrorism side?

Senator LAUTENBERG. Yes, what falls in the category of our number domestic threat?

Mr. LEWIS. The No. 1 domestic terrorism threat is the eco-terrorism animal rights movement, if you will. As I indicated a moment ago, there is nothing else going on in this country, over the last several years, that is racking up the high number of violent crimes and terrorist actions, arsons, etc., that this particular area of domestic terrorism has caused.

If you go backwards in time to the 1960's, you could look at the KKK, for instance, and see what kind of ruckus they were causing in this country. That has subsided. The abortion movement, over the last several years, even though they have had killings, as has been mentioned here this morning, cannot compare to the frequency, to the geographic dispersement of the campaign that eco-terrorists and animal rights extremists are creating.

Senator LAUTENBERG. How about anti-homosexual?

Senator INHOFE. Senator Lautenberg, because of the fact that the objection has been accepted, and all committees have to stop at 11:30, I would like to hold you real close to your time. Your time has expired.

Senator LAUTENBERG. OK, because, Mr. Chairman, I honor your hand here and your leadership. I really do. Would you mind if I write some things to Mr. Lewis and ask more questions of Mr. Carroll?

Senator INHOFE. If you write them? I am sorry.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Ask them to respond in writing to questions.

Senator INHOFE. For the record?

Senator LAUTENBERG. For the record.

Senator INHOFE. Oh, that would be fine. Yes, of course.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Can I ask 1 question? Did you say you were going to subpoena Steven Best and Ingrid Newkirk?

Senator INHOFE. That is 1 of the options we are looking at.

Senator LAUTENBERG. I see.

Senator INHOFE. Because we wanted them to come in. We wanted them to defend themselves, if there is a defense.

Senator LAUTENBERG. No, I just wondered why we did not let Benny Thompson join us. He wanted to be here, and the other guy

who did not want to be here, we are going to subpoena. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you.

Senator Vitter.

Senator VITTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, let me just underscore a few points before my questions. This activity, Senator Lautenberg, is the textbook definition of terrorism: violent illegal activity, specifically for the point of intimidating and trying to change behavior in society or Government.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Thank you for that explanation. I was not aware of that.

Senator VITTER. Sure, and the other comment I would make directly to you is that nobody here, that I noticed, mentioned the Audubon Society or the Sierra Club, except you. This hearing is about ALF and ELF.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Mr. Chairman, am I on the witness stand? If so, I will sit up there and Mr. Vitter can continue to ask me questions.

Senator INHOFE. OK, Mr. Vitter, we have witnesses here.

Senator VITTER. Sure, I just wanted to make those comments, because I thought they were pertinent.

I would ask both the witnesses what indicators, trends, if you will, over time have you seen to suggest that these activities by ELF and ALF are becoming more violent? I am talking about over a longer period of time, as a general trend.

Mr. CARROLL. Well, I think with ATF, we let the crime itself and the investigation lead us to the suspect, terrorism or not. If there is a fire, we are going to be involved, and we have the expertise to work those scenes and we have the resources.

So to answer your question related to explosive devices, incendiary devices, any time a device is used, it is violent. Whether it is more sophisticated now than it was 10 years ago, it is still a violent action, in which injury or death can occur.

I did make reference to one of the cases in which there were 5 pipe bombs. The case agent for that case is currently stationed in our ATF Headquarters Building, and we discussed it. There was an incendiary device, and there was an individual, a caretaker, that was I think asleep in 1 of the buildings, and could have died because of that action. Now we have not seen a lot of explosive devices. But I think that would be the 1 indicator, when you are talking about explosive devices, that would show that it is more violent.

Senator VITTER. OK, and Mr. Lewis, I do not know if you have any other comments. But I am trying to understand sort of trends over time, and what you have seen in terms of levels of violence, and also maybe something related, levels of sophistication.

Mr. LEWIS. All right, I will tell you that we have seen, over the past few years, a growing use of arson as the way to go in terms of direct actions. All of us here, I think, know that these wildfires can easily take lives.

We have seen an escalation in the violent rhetoric that is posted on their Web site, to my mind, attempting to influence and incite those that follow the teachings, if you will, or the propaganda that is put on those Web sites.

I would also point out, just in the last few years, to the use of improvised explosive devices. I do not know if you are going to have anyone here from Chiron or Shaklee. But there are a couple of devices that were used out there that contained shrapnel. Also, that scenario contained a second device that was set with a timer to go off, presumably, when first responders would show up to render first aid. That scenario is intended, in my mind, to do nothing more than to kill somebody.

Senator INHOFE. To kill the ones who are responding—is this what you are saying?

Mr. LEWIS. That is exactly what I am saying. All those things together indicate to me that we have a serious movement afoot, and Federal law enforcement, FBI along with its partners, we have to take this seriously, and we are. I mean, we are doing an awful lot. Mostly, we cannot talk about it, because it is ongoing. But this is a serious thing for us.

Senator VITTER. Again, without talking about any ongoing investigations, what can you tell us about the funding behind these activities?

Mr. LEWIS. It is not in any way, shape, or form resembling what we see in the international terrorist side of the house. The reasons for that are fairly simple. I will ask Mr. Carroll to speak of this, as well, if you do not mind.

That is, it does not take an awful lot of money. In fact, it takes very little to go out and burn down a housing complex that might be under construction, or go into a dealership in the deep of the night and set ablaze 150 or whatever cars. All you need is something to carry gasoline or some other accelerant, and an ignition source. It is very little money.

Mr. CARROLL. I have no further comments to that statement.

Senator VITTER. I appreciate what you are saying. But I assume there may be some funding and some transactions that nevertheless support this activity. Is it a focus of your investigations, to the extent that there is such funding?

Mr. LEWIS. As was stated in my opening remarks, we are drawing upon the very deep resources of the Terrorism Finance Operation Section, within our Counter-Terrorism Division. We are taking some of the tools out of that toolbox, if you will, and laying them over the domestic terrorism program.

I hate to go too much deeper, because I do not want to show my cards. But we are using every available technique that we can bring into play to prosecute these individuals. Thank you both.

Senator LEWIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Senator Vitter. We are going to go ahead and dismiss this panel. Because as I mentioned, and it might have been before you came in, we are going to have to stop at 11:30, because of the objection that was put on the committee's hearings.

I would like to ask you though, and I know that Senator Lautenberg is going to write some questions for the record. I will be doing the same thing, and I would like also for you to include an explanation of what you were about to say, that had happened in New Jersey, so that I can have the benefit of that.

We thank you very much for your time being here today. We would like to call panel 2, and I will introduce them: David Martosko, director of Research, the Center for Consumer Freedom; Bradley Campbell, commissioner, New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection; Dr. David Skorton, president, University of Iowa; and Monty McIntyre, with the Garden Communities.

The last 2, I believe, were actually victims of ELF and/or ALF attacks. So with that, first let me thank you. I do apologize for the fact that we are going to have to move this a little faster than we thought we were going to. But it is something that cannot be helped.

So I would like to ask you to limit your opening statements to 5 minutes. We will start with you, Mr. Martosko.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Mr. Chairman, might I issue a welcome to Mr. Bradley Campbell?

Senator INHOFE. Oh, I would like that, yes.

Senator LAUTENBERG. He is the New Jersey Commissioner of the Department of Environmental Protection. We welcome him here. He is a very accomplished professional, and we thank you for being here.

Senator INHOFE. Mr. Martosko—am I pronouncing it right, Martosko?

Mr. MARTOSKO. It is Martosko, sir.

Senator INHOFE. Martosko.

Mr. MARTOSKO. Close enough.

Senator INHOFE. Very good.

STATEMENT OF DAVID MARTOSKO, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, THE CENTER FOR CONSUMER FREEDOM

Mr. MARTOSKO. Good morning, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. My name is David Martosko. I am director of Research at the Center for Consumer Freedom, a nonprofit organization based here in Washington. It is managed by Berman and Company, which is a public affairs and association management firm, which also manages the American Beverage Institute and the Employment Policies Institute. Support for the center comes from members of the public and from private industry, including restaurant and food companies.

I thank you very much for holding this very important hearing today.

The ALF and the ELF, in my way of thinking, do not really exist in the way we think of historical underground criminal movements. ALF and ELF are labels of convenience, applied to crimes after the fact by individuals or small groups in order to draw public attention to their cause.

This arrangement also gives the criminals the power to claim falsely that their movement is non-violent. Crimes that result in human bloodshed are simply not officially acknowledged by the ALF or ELF, but they do happen.

These domestic terrorists who start fires, detonate bombs, threaten innocent lives and stalk their targets, do receive assistance, both financial and rhetorical, from an above-ground support system. I would like to walk you through some of our findings in that regard.

In 1999, a magazine called "No Compromise," which is published by and for militant ALF supporters, printed a list of its benefactors. They included People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, the Fund for Animals, In Defense of Animals, and the New Jersey Animal Rights Alliance. These are all seemingly mainstream animal rights groups with 501(c)(3) Federal tax exemptions.

The list also included PETA's president, Ingrid Newkirk, 2 other PETA officers, and an activist now on the staff of the Humane Society of the United States.

Court documents from a Federal terrorism trial scheduled to begin next month in New Jersey indicate that the line between this so-called underground and its above-ground support network remains quite blurry.

Wiretap and e-mail trace warrants issued in that case include orders covering PETA employee Joseph Haptas, Humane Society of the United States employee Miyun Park, and University of Texas Professor Steven Best.

One of the Defendants in this terrorism case, Joshua Harper, has received a $5,000 grant from PETA. When the FBI searched his home last year, they found, among other things, an envelope booby-trapped with a razor blade. This specific weapon has been used in ALF-like attacks in the past.

Regarding the Humane Society of the United States, that organization has funded the operation of an Internet server, which distributed the ALF's claims for responsibility for violent crimes. According to 1 FBI evidence recovery log, a Humane Society of the United States employee named, Ariana Huemer passed money to Federal fugitive, Daniel Andreas San Diego, who is presumably responsible and wanted for the bombing of Chiron and Shaklee, 2 bio-med companies in California.

John Paul Goodwin, another high-ranking employee at the Humane Society of the United States, has spoken publicly in favor of ALF crimes including arson.

During the 1990's, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals paid over $70,000 to support the legal defense of Rodney Coronado, the ALF member we watched on video earlier, who was convicted of a Michigan State University arson.

But PETA President, Ingrid Newkirk, was herself implicated in that arson by the case's chief prosecutor. In his sentencing memorandum, U.S. Attorney, Michael Dettmer wrote that Ms. Newkirk arranged "days before the MSU arson occurred" for Mr. Coronado to send her materials that he would later steal from a targeted laboratory, along with a videotape of the arson being set.

At the time, PETA's habit was to claim ignorance about the source of materials like these, and then hold a press conference to distribute them.

In 2001, a PETA Campaign Director named Bruce Friedrich told an animal rights convention, "blowing stuff up and smashing windows [is] a great way to bring about animal liberation." Friedrich also added that restaurants, slaughterhouses, medical research labs, and even their banks should be blown up. He has never retracted these remarks.

I also want to note for the record that the current crop of Animal Liberation Front spokespersons also includes New Jersey Animal

Rights Alliance President, Angie Metler, who is herself a former PETA spokesperson.

The case of University of Texas El Paso Professor Steven Best, as a current ALF spokesperson, is very troubling. His academic position affords him a position of regrettable influence over young people, and he uses it in the classroom to promote and defend the ALF and the ELF.

Dr. Best even wrote in a recent essay that the negative publicity arising from the assassination of someone from my own organization, the Center for Consumer Freedom, would not harm the reputation of the Animal Rights Movement, as a whole.

The last self-appointed ALF spokesperson I will mention is Dr. Jerry Vlasak. In 2003, while appearing as a spokesperson for the Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine, which is a PETA-affiliated group, Dr. Vlasak openly endorsed the murder of doctors who use animals in their research.

When a member of his audience objected, comparing his approach to that of abortion clinic bombers, Vlasak replied, "Absolutely, I think they had a great strategy going."

Thank you again for holding this important hearing. I encourage you to seriously investigate the ALF, ELF, and similar phantom groups, and the above-ground individuals and organizations that give them aid and comfort. I urge members of this committee to prevail upon your colleagues to re-examine the tax exempt status of any groups that have helped to fund, directly or indirectly, these domestic terror groups.

Thank you very much for hearing me today.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you very much, sir.

Commissioner Campbell.

STATEMENT OF BRADLEY CAMPBELL, COMMISSIONER, NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear today on this important topic. If I may, I would like my entire statement to be made part of the record, and I will summarize briefly, in light of the time constraints.

Senator INHOFE. OK.

Mr. CAMPBELL. As Senator Lautenberg mentioned at the beginning, terrorism of any form has a particular salience and importance to New Jersey. We lost nearly 700 lives in the attacks of September 11 of our residents.

We were the site of the first bio-terror incident at the Hamilton Post Office on U.S. soil. We have ongoing efforts, outlined in my testimony, to ensure that the State is prepared, and wherever possible, terrorists acts are prevented and prosecuted.

In terms of the particular organizations identified today, New Jersey has had particular experience in the crimes that have been recited. In the area of ideological eco-terrorism, the animal terrorist enterprises, we have had more than 16 incidents over the past 8 years, involving crimes by these types of groups, and particularly, by the Animal Liberation Front and the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty or SHAC. These were both mentioned in the FBI and ATF testimony, and I concur in their characterization.

The damage in these cases ranged from several thousand dollars to several hundred thousand dollars over the course of time. I think, over the course of each of these incidents, there has been a significant learning experience on the part of all agencies of law enforcement, not merely my own Agency, but the Office of Counter Terrorism, which works closely with the Federal Department of Homeland Security.

I think what is notable, in part, is the success of traditional law enforcement tools, in addressing these groups. Their methods and their crimes are akin to those of other felons.

One reason the law enforcement effort has been successful is because Congress acted, by providing the animal terrorist enterprise provisions to Title 18 of the criminal code, Congress recognized this and gave State and Federal law enforcement agencies a new tool to address the threat.

This new tool, I think, is well illustrated by the success of our U.S. Attorney, Chris Christey, in bringing to indictment 7 members of SHAC, and their trial is now pending in the Federal Court for the District of New Jersey. We think that there is a broader class of eco-terror, particularly the use of chemical, petrochemical, and other industrial facilities as a weapon to inflict exposure that will result in mass casualty and deaths. We think that also is appropriate for congressional action, just as Congress acted with respect to animal terrorist organizations.

Mr. Chairman, I applaud you for advancing and seeking to heighten nuclear security in your legislation asking NRC to address specific challenges with regard to nuclear security facilities, where we think a type of impact eco-terrorism is a risk.

I applaud Senator Corzine and Senator Lautenberg for their leadership on chemical security, to try to put in place Federal standards and safeguards, and many members of this committee, on a bipartisan basis, who have undertaken similar leadership to propose and advance legislation on waste water in other facilities, where there is this risk that a terrorist organization can create, through the use of these facilities, that in many cases, may not have adequate safeguards, and certainly do not have enforceable Federal standards currently.

Referring to the chart behind the committee, New Jersey is one of those States where millions are literally at risk from potential terrorists incidents at these facilities. In South Jersey, alone, we have 4 chemical and petrochemical facilities that put millions of residents at risk. More than 100 such facilities have been identified by our Domestic Security Preparedness Task Force, as critical infrastructure, in the midst of densely populated communities.

So we ask, as the committee considers this issue, that the committee recognizes the success of congressional leadership, through provisions tailored to animal terrorist enterprises, and tries to follow that pattern by supporting and enacting legislation that will give both Federal and State agencies additional tools to address what we are concerned may be the next generation terrorists threat, in terms of terrorist acts at nuclear, petrochemical, and chemical facilities, where additional Federal safeguards are needed.

We also hope that the committee recognizes that in this effort, many of the tools that are used for other terrorists threats, outside

the realm of eco-terrorism, have been enormously effective in tracking, monitoring, and responding to ELF and SHAC and ALF in their presence in New Jersey. So our long-standing plea, as a State, is for better tailored funding formulas for domestic security is equally ethical to this threat, as it is to the range of threats that the Department of Homeland Security has identified.

So with that, I see my time is up, and I thank you.

Senator INHOFE. Well, thank you, Commissioner, that was an excellent statement. Let me just assure you and anyone else who might have any doubts about it, that this committee does have jurisdiction over nuclear security, chemical security, waste water security. We have introduced legislation and passed some legislation.

So we are addressing those. That is not the subject of this hearing today. This is eco-terrorism. It does not mean that we are any less concerned about the other legislation that we have proposed in this committee in a bipartisan way.

Dr. Skorton.

STATEMENT OF DR. DAVID SKORTON, PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Dr. SKORTON. Thank you, and I also ask that my entire statement be place in the record.

Senator INHOFE. It is so ordered.

Dr. SKORTON. Chairman Inhofe and distinguished members of the committee, my name is David Skorton, and I am president of the University of Iowa. I am also a physician and professor of internal medicine, biomedical engineering, and electrical engineering. I am very honored to have been asked to provide testimony today concerning a series of events on the University of Iowa campus. These are events that raise a variety of issues related to academic freedom, the safe working and living environment, the place of civil disobedience on a university campus, and most importantly, the future environment and accessibility of a publicly supported institution of higher education.

In the early morning hours of Sunday, November 14, 2004, 3 or more individuals broke into our Seashore Hall and Spence Laboratories facilities. The intruders smashed and overturned equipment, and poured acid and other chemicals on equipment and papers. Over 300 rodents were removed from the facility. Many of these rodents, purpose-bred for research and being cared for by faculty members, veterinarians, and other animal care professionals, likely suffered and died as a result of this action.

The University of Iowa police, in conjunction with the State of Iowa Department of Criminal Investigation, involved the FBI, which was central to the investigation of this act of domestic terrorism. All affected units had to be temporarily closed or relocated. Not only was research disrupted, but the academic activities and careers of faculty, undergraduate and graduate students and postdoctoral trainees were impaired, adding months to the conduct of peer-reviewed, Federally funded research.

Four days after the break-in, on Thursday, November 18, individuals sent an e-mail to multiple local and national media, claiming responsibility on behalf of ALF for the vandalism. The e-mail included the names, home addresses, phone numbers, e-mail address-

es, and spouses or partner's names for faculty, graduate students, and laboratory assistants. Publicizing this personal information was blatant intimidation. These individuals are still being harassed, and are still concerned about their own safety, as well as that of their families.

In addition to the human cost to the researchers, their colleagues and families, the total direct costs for the incident are approximately $450,000. What cannot be measured in monetary terms is the loss of progress and research.

Although the destruction was to research equipment and materials, it is clear from the videos that the group provided to the media, that the message of fear and intimidation was meant for a much larger audience: our university as a whole and the general public.

Was this an act of informed debate or civil disobedience? I think not. First, the perpetrators of the vandalism took no personal responsibility for the acts, but performed the actions wearing ski masks or other garments to protect their identities. For example, at the heart of Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of non-violent resistance was openness and forthrightness, "daring to do the right and facing consequences, whether it is in matters social, political or other." Second, direct intimidation of the researchers and the families, intended to cause fear and personal anxiety, was a deliberate tactic. Third and most ironically, the attacks occurred on a campus which has for decades exceeded Federal regulations regarding the humane care and use of animals in teaching and research.

If not civil disobedience, what was this action? In my estimation, it was purely and simply a criminal act. Let us explore very briefly the place of public civil discourse in the nationwide discussion of the use of animals in research and teaching.

Thanks to effective decades-long interactions among researchers, administrators, and constructive animal welfare groups, the handling and use of research animals have been greatly improved in recent decades. On our campus, training and the handling of research animals is mandatory, before personnel can acquire a single animal.

What has been the result on our campus, Mr. Chairman, of the deplorable criminal action by a group of vandals, acting in the dark of night, taking no responsibility for their actions? First, the environment for researchers at our university has been permanently altered. These researchers now live lives of fear and anger.

Second, the university and Federal and State taxpayers have had to spend funds that were, in essence, wasted on the sequelae of this action, rather than on advancing research. This, no doubt, was part of the strategy. This action and others like it add to the increasingly significant changes in the openness of American university campuses.

Finally and most importantly, what has not changed and will not change on our campus is that our university is completely and unalterably committed to allowing faculty, staff, and students to pursue their chosen research that is scientifically sound, legal, and humane. This criminal act will do nothing but strengthen our resolve to stand behind the principles of academic freedom in conducting

publicly supported research toward the advancement of knowledge and the improvement of animal and human health. Thank you.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Dr. Skorton.

Mr. McIntyre.

STATEMENT OF MONTY MCINTYRE, ESQ., GARDEN COMMUNITIES

Mr. MCINTYRE. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, good morning. My name is Monty McIntyre, and it is my privilege and my honor to testify before you today on behalf of Garden Communities.

President Abraham Lincoln, during his Gettysburg address, said these words, "that we here highly resolved that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

I am here to tell you about the devastating consequences of violent acts by groups like the Earth Liberation Front. They certainly do not believe in Government of the people, by the people, or for the people.

On August 1, 2003, ELF torched an apartment building that Garden Communities was building in San Diego, CA, totally destroying the building, and causing millions of dollars in damages. Garden Communities is a company that builds and operates apartment buildings in California and Arizona, providing homes for thousands of people. It also creates jobs, not only for its own employees, but also for many subcontractors and construction professionals that it works with.

Garden Communities follows the environmental laws applicable to its projects. As Senator Boxer from California would know, California has 1 of the toughest environmental laws in the country, known as the California Environmental Quality Act, or CEQA.

Under CEQA, the Garden Communities' project that we call La Jolla Crossroads was required to undergo the most intensive environmental study, which is called an Environmental Impact Report, EIR. When an EIR is being prepared, the public is notified and given the opportunity to provide input. The EIR considers the potential environmental impacts of the project, and also how those impacts might be eliminated or mitigated, and also considers alternative uses of the property.

The La Jolla Crossroads project went through the entire extensive EIR process and was approved. When completed, the La Jolla Crossroads Project will include 9 apartment buildings and 1 scientific research building. Before the ELF attack, the first building was expected to be completed by April 2004, and the project completion date was scheduled for August 2009. About 50 to 60 companies and 150 people were working on this project.

On August 1, 2003, ELF started a fire that completely destroyed the first building under construction. Why do we think ELF is responsible? On the ground next to the burned building was a white bed sheet with spray painted letters that said, "You make us mad. You build it, we burn it, ELF."

All framing and foundation for the building were completely destroyed. All construction work stopped immediately. Many of the

companies who were working on the project struggled financially after the fire, and at least 2 of them either went bankrupt or stopped conducting business altogether.

The fire loss also interrupted the good working relationships that Garden Communities had developed over the years with several of its subcontractors. After the fire, Garden Communities was forced to spend its time and resources figuring out the fire loss, removing the damage and debris, renegotiating numerous contracts with subcontractors, and working to get the construction going again.

This fire loss will delay the total project completion by at least 1 year. Garden Communities has suffered approximately $22 million in damages from this terrorist act. These damages include the overhead and general conditions, hard costs for reconstruction of the building that was destroyed, and other damages related to the entire project, including loss of rental income, increased carrying costs, and increased construction costs.

Garden Communities has also suffered because this fire loss has created a dispute with 1 of its insurance carriers. So you can see from the summary, Garden Communities has suffered enormous damages, as a result of the ELF attack.

Garden Communities is a good company. It provides jobs for our citizens and builds much needed housing for folks in California and Arizona. Garden Communities followed the environmental laws and was properly building this project.

By violently taking matters into their own hands, terrorist groups like ELF threaten our Nation's fundamental values, including the idea that our Government should be of the people, by the people, and for the people.

We hope that the U.S. Senate will do everything in its power to stop future unlawful acts by terrorist groups like ELF. Thank you.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you very much.

What we are going to do, since I made the announcements that the Democrats had opposed the continuation of committee hearings past 11:30, I understand there will be 1 or 2 other members coming down, Senator Lautenberg. So we are going to adhere to a very strict 5-minute questioning, so that others who come in would have their turn, also.

Mr. Martosko.

Mr. MARTOSKO. Martosko.

Senator INHOFE. Martosko, all right, can I call you David?

Mr. MARTOSKO. Absolutely, I prefer that.

[Laughter.]

Senator INHOFE. You tried to cover so much, which is our fault, in the limited period of time. So I apologize for that. But you said something about razor blades. I did not get how that was connected to this subject in here. Would you share that with us?

Mr. MARTOSKO. Certainly. In its investigation of Joshua Harper, pursuant to the Federal charges in the SHAC case, which trial is being started June 1st in New Jersey, in Joshua Harper's residence, FBI evidence recovered logs indicate that they found 1 of these booby-trapped devices, that consists of a envelope booby-trapped and rigged with a razor blade, designed to slice off the finger of the person who opens the envelope.

Now these items have been used before in attacks directed at, I believe, fur farmers and biomedical researchers, both in the United States and Canada. Generally speaking, these particular crimes did not get claimed by the ALF because blood was spilled.

An example of this is the Canadian attacks. As soon as news reports got out that someone actually was harmed by opening 1 of these envelopes, booby-trapped with a razor blade, the claim of responsibility for the crime was issued by a previously unheard of group that called itself the Justice Department. This was an ad hoc designation. Because, of course, if the ALF officially claimed it, that would completely destroy their claim of non-violence.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you very much, and I have 1 other question that I want to ask you. We have a photograph of Rodney Coronado, an ALF member who we saw in the video, Dr. Steven Best, and PETA employees at a conference on revolutionary environmentalism. What is your sense of the interaction between the underground criminal activities and the mainstream activities?

Mr. MARTOSKO. Well, Senator, I think while a picture can certainly say a thousand words, this 1 is on Steven Best's own Web site. He seems very proud of his association with Rodney Coronado, who is a convicted ALF arsonist, and Mr. Gary Yourofsky, who is also an ALF convict. He spent 6 months in maximum security in Canada for raiding a farm up there.

I should point out, Mr. Yourofsky is a contractor with PETA. They have him going into schools and lecturing to children in middle school and high school. You know, he is an ALF convict. It boggles the mind. Of course, Mr. Coronado, as we saw in the video earlier, is out teaching college students how to build incendiary devices.

Yet, Dr. Best seems very comfortable in their company. I think anyone who follows this movement as closely as I do will tell you that Dr. Best is at the epicenter right now of the organizational aspect of what the ALF is doing.

Dr. Best is part cheerleader, part recruiter, if you will. You know, he uses his classroom, freely and openly, to indoctrinate adolescents with animal-rights ambitions, and simultaneously praises the ALF and ELF.

As I mentioned before, he has even written, within the last month, that it would not be such a bad thing if I personally were assassinated. So the mixture between the aboveground and underground is hard to keep track of because the line keeps blurring so much.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you very much.

Dr. Skorton, this is interesting. I know that you are not only a physician and a professor, but also a biomedical engineer and electrical engineer.

I have a son who is a biomedical and electrical engineer and a hand surgeon. Coincidentally, he called me this morning early, because he knew this was coming up. He just asked a very simple question. He said, "You know, when we are experimenting, it is either going to be with animals or with humans. Why is this a confusing issue?" Now when you look at it professionally, what do you think about that? Do you agree with my son?

Dr. SKORTON. Well, I would never disagree with your son, sir, in public. However let me take a slightly broader view.

Senator INHOFE. OK, I am going to modify the question, because I am almost out of time. I know in your background, No. 1, I understand you are a vegetarian, and I know, No. 2, you have been active in animal rights. I would like to have you, coming from your perspective, say how you feel animals are used in the propriety.

Dr. SKORTON. I appreciate the restatement, sir. I believe there is plenty of room for discussion about the appropriate place for animals and humans in research. I consider 1 of my interest to be in research ethics, broadly defined.

That whole area of constructive discussion on the place, the rules, and procedures, Federal laws, regulations, animal welfare act, USDA regulations, under which animals are used is certainly an area where reasonable people can disagree. As I tried to make clear in my brief remarks, we have made much progress in the last decades by having constructive interaction among Members of Congress, among administrators, among animal researchers, and constructive animal welfare groups.

I want to set that question aside, of reasonable public discourse, and say, that has nothing to do with what you are hearing about today. It has nothing to do with it whatsoever.

What you are hearing about today are people frustrated, in my estimation, by the fact that things are moving too slowly and not in the direction they would like. So they take matters in their own hands in a criminal way.

I would like to clearly separate for the committee my opinion that there is plenty of room for reasonable debate on many issues in this country. In fact, on university campuses, it is our obligation to have that debate. There is no room for personal intimidation crime of the sort that we have heard about here.

Senator INHOFE. That is very good. I am 30 seconds over, so Senator Lautenberg, you can go 30 seconds over.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Yes, thank you.

Mr. Martosko, are you a registered lobbyist?

Mr. MARTOSKO. No, sir, I am not.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Is your organization supported by the Restaurant Association?

Mr. MARTOSKO. No, sir, the Restaurant Association has no connection with us.

Senator LAUTENBERG. I thought you said that clients of your organization were affiliated.

Mr. MARTOSKO. We do not have clients. The Center for Consumer Freedom is supported, in part, by private industry, which includes individual restaurant and food companies. But we are not, in any way, connected to the National Restaurant Association.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Brad Campbell, you have testified that there have been about 1,100 eco-terrorist incidents over the 3 decades. But in 2003 alone, there were more than 8,700 hate crimes, including 1,217 where people were attacked for their sexual orientation.

Perhaps it is not fair to ask you this question. What could highlight eco-terrorism or attacks on those who pursue any kind activity, non-criminal? I mean, just listening to Dr. Skorton, your testi-

mony was balanced and very important. There is nothing more revolting than to see people interrupt research and science and buildings and life. I mean, these are terrible criminal acts.

I think, Mr. Martosko, you ought to provide the information so we can nail these guys. Why do you not get it out there to the FBI? If your evidence and the statements you make are supported by fact, then why do you not promote punishing these people, getting them locked up?

I mean, you make statements that suggest that, well, this 1 is part of this organization, and he is defending so-and-so. Does that mean that the organization is included in your definition of terrorism?

Mr. MARTOSKO. It depends on which case you mean, Senator. In the case of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, I think when a U.S. Attorney is issued a finding of fact that the group's president implicated herself in an arson, I think that includes the organization in the definition of terrorism.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Well, she ought to be punished.

Mr. MARTOSKO. I agree, and it is a mystery to me why she never was prosecuted. But I am not a law enforcement agent. My role is to provide accurate research and facts, and let gentlemen like you and law enforcement decide what to do with them.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Thank you.

Mr. Campbell, do you see the leveling of this eco-terrorism as being the No. 1 domestic terror concern?

Mr. CARROLL. Well, Senator, I would not necessarily dispute the testimony of the FBI or the ATF. But I think that testimony likely would have been the same in the view of our law enforcement officials, before September 11.

What September 11 changed is the type of terrorists. In my view, it's another form of eco-terrorism, trying to create an ecological impact that creates casualties and damage on a massive scale. It changed our sense of which problem was the most urgent, in terms of additional measures.

Congress enacted additional measures with respect to these animal terrorist groups. I think the success of the indictment by our U.S. Attorney, Chris Christy, with respect to the SHAC group that the ATF and FBI mentioned earlier, is an example of that.

My concern is that that fact, which I think was a fact before September 11, not distract us from the types of populations and communities that may be at risk, due to the absence of Federal safeguards in some of these other sectors.

Senator LAUTENBERG. I think I took it out of your realm. I asked the question because I am looking for some reinforcement here.

When I look at what we have surrounding us, and how this Nation has responded to the fear or the anxiety of a terrorist attack, there is 1 place, as you know very well, Commissioner Campbell, that is described as the most dangerous 2-mile area as a target for terrorists in the country. Dr. Skorton, it is said by the Coast Guard that an attack on a chlorine plant that is there could kill as many as 12 million people.

Mr. Chairman, we have railroads here, where these cars carry chlorine gas. It is believed here that if one of these is attacked and that gas escapes, that 5,000 people could be in danger.

There is one thing I want to get straight here. That is, that I, in no way ever, condone any violence, no matter what the cause is. We are a Nation of laws, and by golly, we have a way to handle these things and we should.

Dr. Skorton, yes, please?

Dr. SKORTON. I did not mean to interrupt you. I wanted to make a comment.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Well, I am glad to hear from you.

Dr. SKORTON. Well, forgive me, I think the sense of your statement is that there are some larger kinds of issues out there. I want to make one more point, strictly about the narrow focus that I am giving on animal research in the biomedical research domain. It is not product testing, but research.

That is, I think one has to calculate or estimate the so-called opportunity cost of not doing the research, the opportunity cost on animal lives, the opportunity cost on human lives.

I would submit that unfortunately although I cannot give you quantification of that opportunity cost, that it is massive. That for every single or generation of researcher that lives in a chilled environment and does not go forward to do research, that we are paying an opportunity cost that I would estimate could be calculated in many lives over the years, because of the huge number of discoveries that have been based in part, not in whole, but in part to animal research.

So this is in no way to argue with the points that you were making, but just to mention the opportunity costs of the research not going forward, just for your consideration.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Yes, Mr. Chairman, are we loose on time, until we have other visitors?

Senator INHOFE. Let me go ahead and take my turn. If no one shows up, we will just pass it back and forth. Is that all right? All right, sir, thank you very much.

Mr. McIntyre, we have a photo here of the construction site to which you referred. This was arson in an urban area of San Diego?

Mr. MCINTYRE. Yes, it is called the Golden Triangle area. There are a lot of apartment and condominium units fairly close by, as well as office buildings.

Senator INHOFE. Yes, the question I would ask you is, under California law, it is my understanding under their Environmental Quality Act and other laws, that the citizens are provided ample opportunity to voice objections concerning new construction and all that. Is that correct, and did they do that?

Mr. MCINTYRE. That is correct. Under the CEQA law that I talked about, citizens are given notice and the opportunity to participate when an Environmental Impact Report is being prepared. That is the most intensive report that can be prepared. There are other less intensive reports that can be done. But this project required the most intensive report.

Also, if people from the public are concerned about the project or want to take positions opposing it, they can do so. They have rights to appeal the process, when it goes through the different agencies that do it. When the agencies complete their review—and in this case it would be the city of San Diego—and approve the EIR, then citizens also have a right, if they think it is inappropriately ap-

prove, to file civil litigation to contest that finding. We went through that whole process, a very involved process.

Senator INHOFE. About how many hearings do you think there were?

Mr. MCINTYRE. Oh, in terms of the total number of hearings, we get in the range of about 4 or 5. Part of it also depends upon, if somebody files appeals or not. But we went through the process.

Senator INHOFE. Did anyone with any association with ELF and ALF ever pose any objections at any of those hearings?

Mr. MCINTYRE. Not that we know of, no.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you very much.

Mr. Martosko, what role do you believe that Dr. Steven Best plays for ALF?

Mr. MARTOSKO. Well, judging from his writings, I think it is fair to say that he is an enthusiastic supporter of every 1 of their tactics, regardless of how violent.

Senator INHOFE. Do you believe he advocates criminally based activism?

Mr. MARTOSKO. I think it is a fact. It is clear from the record of his writings and his speeches that he advocates criminal activity.

Senator INHOFE. Do you believe that Dr. Best and ALF and ELF and PETA target youth for membership in their movements?

Mr. MARTOSKO. It is clear that in the case of the underground criminal elements, they target adolescents, generally. In the case of more aboveground groups like PETA, they target children as young as 6 years old, through the schools, through curriculums, and by propagandizing them outside of their own schools, as they walk home from school sometimes. Dr. Best, I think his influence is limited to college-age adolescents. But he is certainly targeting that age group, as well.

Senator INHOFE. Well, certainly, this is something I was not aware of. You say that there is an effort also to motivate grade school kids?

Mr. MARTOSKO. I am not saying that PETA is motivating grade school kids to commit crimes. I am saying that they are motivating grade school kids to embrace an animal rights philosophy, which might in some cases lead these children to embrace criminal activity later in life.

PETA's activists camp outside of middle schools and elementary schools. They have done this in at least 30 States, intercepting kids as they walk to and from school, without the knowledge of their parents.

In some cases, 2 Christmases ago, outside a performance of the Nutcracker, PETA activists looked for women wearing fur coats who had children with them, and thrust a graphic comic book into the children's hands, which instructed the kids that "your mommy kills animals."

I encourage you to talk, if you have time, to Dr. Jeffrey Dolgan, who is the chief of Psychology at Children's Hospital in Denver, who has spoken extensively about the impact of this on a child's psychological development.

In the case of Dr. Best, more pointed to your question, he sort of closes the loop. He closes the deal with the adolescents who are inclined to set fires and throw bombs. I think he seals the deal.

Senator INHOFE. Do you know of any other mainstream organizations that have ties to criminally based activism?

Mr. MARTOSKO. Well, it depends on how loosely you want to define those ties. I mean, somebody here mentioned the Sierra Club earlier. That organization has a board member named Paul Watson, who himself told an animal rights convention 2 years ago that, "There is nothing wrong with being a terrorist, as long as you win."

This is a man who trains people who wind up ALF defendants. He trained Rodney Coronado. He trained other folks on his boats at the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. So even the Sierra Club does have a link here, and I wish they would disavow that gentleman.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you. Dr. Skorton, as I understand, you are a protector of free speech in the academic world. What are your thoughts on speech and rhetoric that advocates and incites violence?

Dr. SKORTON. Well, as an example of how much of a supporter we are, at our university, we allowed Mr. Best to come and speak to our campus. He was invited by a student group on January 27, 2005, when the terrorist occurred on November 14, 2004.

A request was made to my office to prevent his appearing on campus, which I rejected, as evidence that I do think it is important to have open speech. We determined that Mr. Best was within First Amendment rights to speak on campus.

I personally repudiated a lot of the things he said. If you would like to, I can read some of his statements that went to the record. But even without doing that, let me just say that I think it is very important that universities do not become closed enclaves of a particular opinion. Nonetheless, I will say that his statements were very strongly supportive of the worst violent acts.

Senator INHOFE. All right, thank you very much.

Senator Lautenberg.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Professor, let me commend you for your academic charge. It is not always pleasant when we hear things that people say that are repulsive to us and that we challenge. But unfortunately, the cost of academic freedom does include some of what we consider abuses, but I do not know whether they are lawbreaking.

Mr. Martosko, you sit at this table, and I assume that you realize that you are under oath, even though you have not stood up and raised your hand.

Mr. MARTOSKO. Yes, sir.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Now what did you say happened with Ms. Newkirk? She is the president of PETA.

Mr. MARTOSKO. She is the president and co-founder.

Senator LAUTENBERG. What charge did you say was leveled against her?

Mr. MARTOSKO. I did not say a charge was leveled against her. What I said, Senator, was that in his sentencing document, in the case of Rodney Coronado, a portion of which I have submitted for the record, U.S. Attorney, Michael Detmer wrote that Ingrid Newkirk had foreknowledge of the arson at Michigan State University.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Could she not have been prosecuted for aiding and abetting?

Mr. MARTOSKO. I think she should have been, sir. But I was not following the issue back then.

Senator LAUTENBERG. You make these accusations fairly loosely here.

Mr. MARTOSKO. No, sir, the U.S. Attorney made the accusation. I am merely reporting it.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Would you agree with him?

Mr. MARTOSKO. I have no position to agree or disagree. I am merely reporting the evidence, as read to the courts.

Senator LAUTENBERG. I want the record to show that you are just reporting on that.

Mr. MARTOSKO. Yes, sir.

Senator LAUTENBERG. That you had no basis, in fact, to suggest that she was violating the law in any way.

Mr. MARTOSKO. It is only what the U.S. Attorney reported, which was that she arranged ahead of time for a convicted arsonist to send her materials.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Did you write to that particular U.S. Attorney, suggesting that they prosecute?

Mr. MARTOSKO. I am sorry, say that again.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Did you write or call him to encourage the prosecution of Ms. Newkirk?

Mr. MARTOSKO. I have communicated with the U.S. Attorney's office, but that was long since that case was closed. I am sure the statute of limitations would preclude her prosecution at this point. This is now 10 years after.

Senator LAUTENBERG. So it was dealt with effectively?

Mr. MARTOSKO. I would disagree. But I think certainly there was an opportunity to deal with it effectively that was lost.

Senator LAUTENBERG. I am curious about something. Dr. Skorton, I am a contributor to something called the Lautenberg Center for Cancer Research. It is out of the country. It is a very effective organization.

It is based in Israel. A scientist from New Jersey moved there and is a friend of mine. I funded their operation in the beginning. It is very good basic research. As you know, sometimes they will use radical treatments for someone who is terminally ill, to try and see if they can help someone else in the future.

So I frankly like the way that you presented the question about experimentation with animals, etc. There is room for debate on that question. There is, and I am not proposing it, believe me.

But the fact of the matter is, heaven forbid that it was one of my children or one of my grandchildren, and they knew that by testing a material on a particular rodent that responded physiologically similar to a human, I would say, go get it. I, quite frankly, would have to say that.

So I have little or no patience with these violent acts committed in whatever name they come. The only thing I am concerned about is whether to elevate this to the No. 1 domestic terror issue. Our Department of Homeland Security has a budget of over $40 billion. This is in anticipation that we are still not doing the job as well as we would like to.

I do not understand the ugliness of these pictures. It is just like we have seen ugly pictures of other kinds of destruction. It qualifies to make this a pursuit of our country. I would like to catch every one of those.

My son, Senator Inhofe, is in Colorado. He climbs and hikes, and he works in the mountains. When they burned the facility in Vale, CO, it was heartbreaking. This was a beautiful thing, and some part of that property is Government property.

The case was never closed. I called the FBI, because I was there to see if they would take the case. They did, and they were never able to solve it. It was believed to be some eco-terrorist group who was protesting whatever the cause was. So I thank you for your open-mindedness.

Dr. SKORTON. I am not in the position, and I have no ability or skill or knowledge to comment on whether this is No. 1 or No. 2.

I will garner the floor briefly to thank you for your support of bio-medical research that you are doing. I, too, have worked with colleagues at the Technian for years.

Your example of cancer treatment is one in which all of these modalities have to come together. I have had the honor of being consultant to the FAA for a decade in medical devices. In cancer research, there has to be computer modeling. There has to be basic research that involves cells. There has to be some animal research. There has to be some human research, and there has to be follow-up of drugs and medical devices.

My point is only, at the risk of being redundant, that a well organized dialog across the country of all involved parties toward the goal of improving the corps of knowledge, in animal health and human health, will bear and will produce much disagreement on many things. It should be done in the context of the way we do things in this country, and that it is openly taking responsibility for our views, and moving things forward in that fashion.

Once again, I thank you for your personal support for the research endeavor.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Thank you, and bless our Nation of laws.

Senator INHOFE. Yes. We will have to end in 4 minutes. Senator Lautenberg, let me just get in here for a final couple of questions.

First, I just want to give you the assurance, Commissioner Campbell, that we have devoted a lot of time on chemical security. That is not the subject of this hearing today. We have actually passed out new chemical security bills. Now with the reorganization, they have taken that from us and it is now under DHS. So they will continue the work that we have started.

Mr. McIntyre, you mentioned that you could read. Why don't you select one statement, just so we can hear it here, as opposed to getting it from the record, of Dr. Best. You mentioned that there are some statements that you had.

Mr. MCINTYRE. That was not me.

Senator INHOFE. I am so sorry. Dr. Skorton, would you do that, please?

Senator LAUTENBERG. Could I speak for a second, Mr. Chairman?

Senator INHOFE. Sure.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Unanimous consent request that the opening statement of Senator Obama and other members who could not be here today be included in the record.

Senator INHOFE. No objection.

[The referenced statement follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. BARACK OBAMA, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

In America, we have the right to disagree over personal beliefs whether they are religious, philosophical or moral and to express those beliefs peaceably. We have the right to assemble and to demonstrate. However, we do not have the right to destroy others' property and to commit acts of violence in the name of free speech.

Those who engage in such acts should be punished to the full extent of the law. We need to support our law enforcement officials in their efforts to apprehend these criminals and bring them to justice.

However, in our quest to apprehend these criminals, I hope we are not headed down the path of infringing on the ability of legitimate advocacy organizations to express their opinions and to raise funds in order to do so. I do not want Americans to equate groups that advocate violence with mainstream environmental organizations.

We also need to put these violent acts into context. The FBI has indicated a downward trend in the number of crimes committed by these groups approximately 60 in 2004. While I want these crimes stopped, I do not want people to think that the threat from these organizations is equivalent to other crimes faced by Americans every day. According to the FBI, there were over 7,400 hate crimes committed in 2003 half of which were racially motivated. More directly relevant to this committee, the FBI reports 450 pending environmental crimes cases involving worker endangerment or threats to public health or the environment.

So, while I appreciate the Chairman's interest in these fringe groups, I urge the Committee to focus its attention on larger environmental threats, such as the dangerously high blood lead levels in hundreds of thousands of children. With all due respect, Mr. Chairman, I believe the Committee's time would be better spent learning why EPA has not promulgated regulations to deal with lead paint in remodeled homes. Such an oversight hearing could have a significant impact on improving the lives of children all over the country.

Thank you.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Thank you.

Dr. SKORTON. Forgive me for shuffling through my papers. These are just a couple of things that Mr. Best said on January 27, 2005, when he appeared with our permission and support at the University of Iowa.

"We should focus on the real aggressors, the real perpetrators of violence. That is what people do to animals inside laboratories. That is the real violence. That is the real crime."

Then according to just war theory,

"Violence is acceptable, one, when it is the last of all alternatives that have been explored; and two, when the minimal amount of violence necessary to resolve the situation has been used."

In direct answer to a question, he said,

"Do I support a tax on laboratories?" "Folks, I am not going to lie to you. Yes, I do. Yes, I do."

Senator INHOFE. I think that is adequate. I think that gets the point across. I would like to have you submit anything else for the record. We are down to a minute and a half now.

Again, I apologize to the first and the second panel. We had no control. Either party has the right to stop us from meeting, and the Democrats have chosen to do that. So we have to stop in a minute and a half.

Do you have anything in 1 minute, David, that you would like to say, that you did not get a chance to say, that you are anxious to say?

Mr. MARTOSKO. Yes, sir, I want the committee to note and be aware that the growing movement of ALF and ELF terrorism can be legitimately considered a national security threat. The 2 most recent ELF spokesperson have formed a new group, which they characterize as a revolutionary movement to overthrow the U.S. Government.

In a news story that we are all going to hear about very soon, KCRA Television in Sacramento is reporting now that yesterday, when investigators were investigating an ELF attack on some vehicles, including slashed tires and graffiti, they found graffiti nearby which read, "Bomb the White House." This is disturbing, and I think if we let this get out of control, we are all going to be sorry later.

Senator INHOFE. All right, sir, after this is over, I want you to give me any evidence you have that uses either "Bomb the White House" or your final statement there.

Mr. MARTOSKO. I would be more than happy to submit that to you, sir.

Senator INHOFE. Very good, well, I thank very much the panelists for coming. Again, we wanted to have more time for you, but it did not work out that way. This is a very significant subject.

There will be questions for the record that will be submitted to you folks, and we will ask you to respond to those questions, not just the Members that were here, but any other Members who may be on this committee. We are timely adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:30 a.m., the committee was adjourned.]

[Additional statements submitted for the record follow:]

STATEMENT OF JOHN LEWIS, DEPUTY ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Good morning Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member Jeffords, and members of the Committee. I am pleased to have the opportunity to appear today and to discuss the threat posed by animal rights extremists and eco-terrorists in this country, as well as the measures the FBI and its partners are taking to address this threat.

One of today's most serious domestic terrorism threats come from special interest extremist movements such as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), and Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) campaign. Adherents to these movements aim to resolve specific issues by using criminal "direct action" against individuals or companies believed to be abusing or exploiting animals or the environment.

"Direct action" is often criminal activity that destroys property or causes economic loss to a targeted company. Traditional targets have ranged from, but have not been limited to, research laboratories to restaurants, fur farmers to forestry services. Extremists have used arson, bombings, theft, animal releases, vandalism, and office takeovers to achieve their goals.

The distinctions between constitutionally protected advocacy and violent, criminal activity are extremely important to recognize, and law enforcement officials should be solely concerned with those individuals who pursue animal rights or environmental protection through force, violence, or criminal activity. Law enforcement only becomes involved when volatile talk turns into criminal activity. Unfortunately, the FBI has seen a significant amount of such criminal activity. From January 1990 to June 2004, animal and environmental rights extremists have claimed credit for more than 1,200 criminal incidents, resulting in millions of dollars in damage and monetary loss.

While most animal rights and eco-extremists have refrained from violence targeting human life, the FBI has observed troubling signs that this is changing. We have seen an escalation in violent rhetoric and tactics. One extremist recently said,

"If someone is killing, on a regular basis, thousands of animals, and if that person can only be stopped in 1 way by the use of violence, then it is certainly a morally justifiable solution."

Attacks are also growing in frequency and size. Harassing phone calls and vandalism now co-exist with improvised explosive devices and personal threats to employees. ELF"s target list has expanded to include sports utility vehicle dealerships and new home developers. We believe these trends will persist, particularly within the environmental movement, as extremists continue to combat what they perceive as "urban sprawl."

Preventing such criminal activity has become increasingly difficult, in large part because extremists in these movements are very knowledgeable about the letter of the law and the limits of law enforcement. Moreover, they are highly autonomous. Lists of targets and instructions on making incendiary devices are posted on the Internet, but criminal incidents are carried out by individuals or small groups acting unilaterally. Criminal activity by animal rights extremists and eco-terrorists in particular requires relatively minor amounts of equipment and minimal funding. Extremists of these movements adhere to strict security measures in both their communications and their operations.

The FBI has developed a strong response to domestic terrorism threats. Together with our partners, we are working to detect, disrupt, and dismantle the animal rights and environmental extremist movements that are involved in criminal activity.

Our efforts are headed by a headquarters-based team of national intelligence analysts, program managers, and seasoned field agents. We draw on the resources of our Terrorist Financing Operations Section to support field investigations into domestic terrorism, just as we do for international terrorism investigations. We also draw upon our expertise in the area of communication analysis to provide investigative direction.

Second, we have strengthened our intelligence capabilities. Since 2003, we have disseminated 64 raw intelligence reports to our partners pertaining to animal rights extremism and eco-terrorism activity. In addition, since 2004 we have disseminated 19 strategic intelligence assessments to our Federal, State and local counterparts. And we have developed an intelligence requirement set for animal rights/eco-terrorism, enabling us to better collect, analyze, and share information.

Finally, we have strengthened our partnerships. We have combined our expertise and resources with those of our Federal, State and local law enforcement partners nationwide through our 103 Joint Terrorism Task Forces. We have increased training for JTTF members, and have strong liaison with foreign law enforcement agencies.

Our challenges are significant, but so are our successes. Currently, 35 FBI offices have over 150 pending investigations associated with animal rights/eco-terrorist activities. Since the beginning of 2004, the FBI and its partners have made a number of high-profile arrests of individuals involved with animal rights extremism or eco-terrorism. These arrests have led to several successful prosecutions.

Let me give you a brief snapshot of our recent successes:

In 2005,

• An individual who had been a fugitive, was arrested and charged with 2 counts of Animal Enterprise Terrorism for a series of animal releases at mink farms in 1997;

• Three individuals were arrested for a series of arsons and attempted arsons of construction sites in California; and

• One individual was arrested for the 2003 arson of a McDonald's in Seattle.

In 2004,

• Two individuals were arrested for arson on the campus of Brigham Young University in Utah;

• Seven individuals associated with SHAC were arrested in New Jersey, California, and Washington State;

• An individual was arrested and indicted for arsons of logging and construction equipment;

• William Cottrell was indicted and convicted last month in California for conspiracy to commit arson, seven counts of arson; and

• Two individuals were arrested in Virginia during an attempt to firebomb a car dealership.

These are just some of our many accomplishments, but we have much more work ahead of us. One of our greatest challenges has been the lack of Federal criminal statutes to address multi-state campaigns of intimidation, threats, and damage designed to shut down legitimate businesses.

On the legislative front, we are interested in working with you to examine Federal criminal statutes, specifically 18 USC 43, "Animal Enterprise Terrorism." The statute provides a framework for the prosecution of animal rights extremists, but in practice, it does not cover many of the criminal acts that extremists have committed.

Additionally, the statute only applies to criminal acts committed by animal rights extremists, but does not address criminal activity related to eco-terrorism.

Therefore, the existing statutes may need refinements to make them more applicable to current animal rights/eco-extremist actions and to give law enforcement more effective means to bring criminals to justice.

Investigating and preventing animal rights extremism and eco-terrorism is one of the FBI's highest domestic terrorism priorities. We are committed to working with our partners to disrupt and dismantle these movements, and to bring to justice those who commit crime in the name of animal or environmental rights. Chairman Inhofe and Members of the Committee, I appreciate the opportunity to discuss the challenges we face and the ways we can overcome them. I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Thank you.

RESPONSE OF JOHN E. LEWIS TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FROM SENATOR JEFFORDS

Question. It appears that the FBI has categorized potential terrorist threats based on whether the group is a domestic group or an international group. Can you explain why infrastructure security issues such as wastewater treatment plants, chemical producing facilities, and nuclear power plants are not included in the realm of domestic terrorist threats?

Response. While clearly the threat of infrastructure attacks can originate from either domestic or international terrorists, the FBI does not align its investigative priorities based on potential targets or actual attacks. Investigative priorities are instead established based on the individuals or groups responsible for violations of the law, and our intelligence collection and investigative work is predicated on criminal activities.

Infrastructure protection is important to the FBI, and clearly the United States infrastructure is a possible target of attack by domestic terrorists. The FBI assists in the assessment of vulnerabilities, the enhancement of security, and the coordination of law enforcement response plans through its participation in national and local liaison programs related to infrastructure protection. The quality of this assistance is significantly enhanced by the FBI's numerous outreach programs, through which Agents work closely with officials in the nuclear power, waste treatment, and chemical industries.

RESPONSES OF JOHN E. LEWIS TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FROM SENATOR LAUTENBERG

Question 1. You have testified that there have been about 1,100 eco-terrorist incidents in more than 3 decades. But in 2003 alone, there were more than 8,700 hate crimes, including 1,217 where people were attacked for their sexual orientation. Why are attacks on property more of a concern than attacks on people based on bigotry?

Response. This question implies that attacks on property pose no threat to individual safety, whereas in fact attacks on property can have a devastating impact on lives, as demonstrated by the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. This danger is as inherent in ecologically motivated terrorism as politically motivated terrorism. The FBI does not have more "concern" for one crime than another, but we are cognizant of the qualitative differences in the ramifications of various crimes.

While the FBI has a broad mission with varied and competing challenges, Director Mueller has established the FBI's priorities according to the interaction of three factors: (1) the significance of the threat to the security of the United States as expressed by the President in National Security Presidential Decision Directive 26; (2) the priority the American public places on various threats; and (3) the degree to which addressing the threat falls most exclusively within the FBI's jurisdiction. Eco-terrorism has cost the United States millions of dollars in property damage and presents the potential for significant loss of life. Because of this, the FBI continues to place eco-terrorism as a top investigative priority. This does not preclude the FBI from aggressively conducting civil rights and "color of law" investigations, including

the investigation of violations of Federal hate crime laws. The first five FBI investigative priorities are:

1. Protect the United States from terrorist attacks.
2. Protect the United States against foreign intelligence operations and espionage.
3. Protect the United States against cyber-based attacks and high-technology crimes.
4. Combat public corruption at all levels.
5. Protect civil rights.

Question 2. It is my understanding that the number of individual animal-rights activists connected to such crimes is extremely small. Do you argue that legitimate organizations should not be tarnished by the acts of these criminals?

Response. While the number of individual animal-rights activists connected to acts of terrorism has been proportionally small to date, the FBI must investigate all reported incidents of terrorism and determine whether those involved in these incidents are associated with terrorist groups. In the course of such investigations, it may be necessary to examine the activities of individuals associated with legitimate organizations. Legitimate organizations should not be tarnished by criminal conduct undertaken in the name of animal rights or environmentalism so long as those organizations do not offer support, either tangible or intangible, to the commission of those criminal acts. While the FBI regrets any harm to the reputations of legitimate organizations, we must ensure that our investigations are thorough, and this thoroughness includes examination of those who may be providing logistical, financial, or other support to those who commit these crimes.

RESPONSES OF JOHN E. LEWIS TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FROM SENATOR OBAMA

Question 1a. The written testimony provided to the Committee referred to eco-terrorism as one of the most serious domestic terrorism threats in the United States today, and Mr. Lewis' oral testimony referred to it as the No. 1 domestic terrorist threat. Yet, the FBI's own statistics indicate that there have been, on average, less than 100 criminal incidents per year over the past 14 years. How many FTE nationwide does the FBI devote to eco-terrorism?

Response. While our time capture system does allow us to determine how many Agent hours are dedicated to investigating domestic terrorism activity generally, we are not able to accurately identify the amount of time dedicated specifically to investigations of eco-terrorism. The FBI calculates "full-time equivalent" (FTE) for Special Agents based on a 50-hour work week rather than the 40-hour work week used for other Federal employees. In fiscal year (FY) 2004, the FBI devoted 610 "Agent FTEs" to its Domestic Terrorism Program (this includes only "street" Agents, and does not include, for example, their supervisors, FBI Headquarters personnel, analysts, or others involved in this program). Many of these Special Agents are assigned to Joint Terrorism Task Forces or domestic terrorism squads and are called upon to investigate a variety of domestic terrorism matters, including eco-terrorism.

Question 1b. Are hate crimes considered domestic terrorism?

Response. As defined by 18 U.S.C. § 2331, acts of domestic terrorism are criminal acts that appear to be intended "to intimidate or coerce a civilian population," "to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion," or "to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping." Although hate crimes generally involve acts of personal malice directed at individuals, and therefore typically lack the political or social motivation inherent in acts of domestic terrorism, the intent of these crimes is reviewed in order to determine whether they constitute acts of domestic terrorism.

Question 1c. How many FTE nationwide does the FBI devote to hate crimes?

Response. Currently the FBI devotes 153 "Agent FTEs" to its Civil Rights Program (as with the Domestic Terrorism Program statistics provided above, this includes only the "street" Agents who investigate these crimes). The Civil Rights Program consists of 4 subprograms: Hate Crimes, Color of Law, Involuntary Servitude and Slavery, and the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act. Over the most recent 4-year period (2001–2004), the FBI has devoted an average of 21 "Agent FTEs" to hate-related investigations per year. As noted above, the FBI calculates FTE for Special Agents based on a 50-hour work week.

Question 1d. On average, how many criminal incidents per year involve hate crimes?

Response. The Uniform Crime Report (UCR) indicates that the average number of reported hate crimes during the period from fiscal year (FY) 2000 through fiscal year 2003 was 5,996. (The UCR collects data from nearly 17,000 voluntary law en-

forcement agency participants.) In 2001, there were 9,730 reported hate crimes, 1,667 more than the previous year and 2,268 more than the subsequent year. This spike in reported hate crimes in 2001 was attributed to the events of September 11, 2001.

Question 1e. Are gang-related crimes considered domestic terrorist acts?

Response. As indicated in response to subpart b, above, "domestic terrorism" is defined by statute. Gang-related crimes are typically not considered acts of domestic terrorism because they generally involve acts undertaken for personal power or financial gain and lack the political or social motivation inherent in acts of domestic terrorism.

Question 1f. How many FTE nationwide does the FBI devote to gang-related crimes?

Response. Over the most recent 5-year period (2000–2004), the FBI devoted an average of 267 "Agent FTEs" to gang-related investigations (as with the program statistics provided above, this includes only the "street" Agents who investigate these crimes). In fiscal year (FY) 2004, the "Agent FTE" devoted to gang-related investigations was approximately 435, which represents a significant increase in gang-related investigations during that year. (As noted above, the FBI calculates FTE for Special Agents based on a 50-hour work week.) This increase was the result of the FBI's National Gang Strategy, the elevated emphasis placed on gang investigations, and the expansion of FBI-led Safe Streets Task Forces that investigate violent gangs.

Question 1g. On average, how many criminal incidents per year involve gang-related violence?

Response. While the FBI does not track the investigation of gang-related violence in this precise way, we do track the number of gang-related investigations opened by the FBI in its 56 Field Offices. Over the most recent 5-year period (2000–2004), the FBI opened an average of 361 gang-related investigations per year. In fiscal year 2004, 370 gang-related investigations were opened.

Question 2. How does the FBI determine whether individual criminal acts are domestic terrorist acts or ordinary acts of crime?

Response. Through the investigative process, the FBI determines whether the intent of a criminal act was to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or affect the conduct of a government. If so, the criminal act is considered an act of terrorism. Acts of domestic terrorism are generally committed with a political or philosophical motivation in an attempt to effect political or societal change. In some instances, it is difficult to discern immediately whether a crime is one of domestic terrorism or is strictly criminal in nature. In these instances, the FBI would, as part of its investigation, attempt to identify the motive in order to determine the nature of the crime.

Question 3. Has the FBI ever convicted any representatives of any environmental organization other than ALF, ELF or SHAC of domestic terrorism or as an accessory to the crime?

Response. When an act that may be considered "domestic terrorism" is committed, as that term is defined by 18 U.S.C. § 2331, the defendant is often prosecuted for the underlying "traditional" criminal violations (such as firearms violations, arson, or explosives violations), particularly when the defendant's motivation is difficult to prove. In addition, proof that a crime was intended "to intimidate or coerce a civilian population" or "to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion" does not require demonstration that the defendant was affiliated with a particular group, so any such affiliation may not be a matter of record.

We can offer, anecdotally, that four members of a group calling itself the Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC) were indicted in 1989–1990 on various Federal charges related to planned attacks on an Arizona ski resort and on Arizona, California, and Colorado energy generating facilities, including nuclear power plants. Each of the 4 was convicted, pursuant to a plea of guilty, on one of these Federal charges (the charges were different for different defendants, but all of the charges were for "traditional" crimes, rather than for "domestic terrorism" related crimes), and they were sentenced to serve up to six years in Federal prison and to pay up to $19,821 in fines.

Question 4. How many abortion rights-related crimes have been committed over the past 14 years?

Response. The Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act became effective in 1994. The FBI has opened 214 investigations pursuant to this Act, broken down by year as follows:

Year	Number of Abortion-Rights Related Crimes Reported
1994	8
1995	25
1996	5
1997	4
1998	3
1999	7
2000	59
2001	43
2002	23
2003	19
2004	18

STATEMENT OF CARSON CARROLL, DEPUTY ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO, FIREARMS AND EXPLOSIVES

Good morning Chairman Inhofe, Senator Jeffords and members of the committee. Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you to discuss the significant contributions of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) relating to the investigation of violent crimes perpetrated by animal rights and environmental extremists. With our law enforcement partners, we are diligently working together to protect America.

The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) was formed by British anarchist Ronnie Lee in Great Britain in 1976 as an outgrowth of the Band of Mercy and the Hunt Saboteurs. ALF is primarily concerned with animal rights issues. ALF became active in the United States in 1979 after claiming responsibility for the release of five animals from the New York University Medical Center. The American ALF was the first and most active offshoot outside Britain. Until 1987, most ALF "direct actions" were limited to break-ins and vandalism in efforts to release animals from various university and research facilities around the country. However, after 1987, ALF activities have included arson and other explosives incidents.

The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) was established in 1992 in Brighton, England, from members of the activist environmental group, "Earth First!" These radical members dedicated themselves to saving the environment by advocating criminal acts over legal protest as a means of advancing their environmental agenda and beliefs. The first ELF action in the United States occurred in October 1996 with an arson attack on a U.S. Forest Service truck in Oregon's Willamette National Forest and was followed by the 1997 arson attack at the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) Wild Horse Corral in Burns, Oregon.

Traditionally, the agendas of the two movements have overlapped, and in 1993 ELF declared solidarity with ALF in an open communiqué. Since then, there has been a convergence of agendas. Spokespersons for each movement dually claim that neither maintains a central organization or membership guide. They do claim many autonomous groups of people known only as "cells," located around the world that act on behalf of ELF and ALF. A common misperception is that names or labels of a movement imply the existence of groups. ELF and ALF are more accurately portrayed as ideological movements, or causes, not groups. Both ELF and ALF assert that any individuals who wish to carry out an action do so based upon their own personal conscience.

Fundamentally, each movement shares common characteristics. They tend to engage in criminal activities designed to make a direct adverse economic impact against the chosen target. Animal rights extremists conduct raids of mink, chinchilla, and fox farms throughout the United States. Breeding records are often removed and/or destroyed in these acts, causing significant economic losses for the fur industry. Acts of vandalism committed in the name of ELF and ALF include graffiti, super-glued locks, destruction of research records and equipment, damaged pipes and clogged toilets. ELF extremists frequently engage in sabotage of industrial or construction equipment. Acts include removing primary nuts and bolts from machinery, tree spiking, pouring sand or sugar in gas tanks, and cutting hydraulic lines or cables.

The most worrisome trend to law enforcement and private industry alike has been the increase in willingness by these movements to resort to the use of incendiary and explosive devices. The use of incendiary devices has become a popular tactic employed by ELF and ALF. ATF field agents and our law enforcement partners, coupled with the expertise of ATF's laboratories, have shown that suspected or known ELF and ALF sponsored arsons have been carried out using an assortment of de-

vices described in ELF and ALF literature and on the Internet. The devices range from a primitive and easily constructed design to sophisticated electronically ignited devices. ELF and ALF serial arsonists are conscious of the potential ignition failure of the devices and have deployed multiple devices at the target locations to ensure that at least some damage will occur. Instructions for the creation and use of these timed incendiary devices represent a fraction of the instructional material available to ELF and ALF members, and society as a whole, on the Internet.

ELF and ALF are engaged in substantial intelligence gatherings against animal or environmental businesses and share this information at rallies, protests and on the Internet. They also secure employment with an animal or environmental business for the purpose of gaining inside intelligence for raids or other forms of illegal "direct action."

ELF and ALF activists wear gloves during their illegal activity to avoid leaving behind fingerprints, and wear non-descript clothing to include hoods and hats to hide their identity. They are knowledgeable of the implications of DNA evidence. Also, in the event bolt cutters are used during an attack, they are instructed to sharpen the bolt cutters afterwards in order to thwart law enforcement tool mark analysis.

ELF and ALF activists rely upon the publicity generated by their attacks to bring attention to their causes, and thereby win converts for their movements. However, ELF and ALF's "direct action" is unique as they typically use fire as their weapon. Once the fire is set, complete control is lost by the ELF/ALF member and the outcome is determined by fire progression itself. There have been several instances where "close calls" have occurred for first responders as a result of ELF and ALF-related violent actions. At the Boise Cascade Office in Monmouth, OR, the scene of an ELF arson incident, the Chief of the local volunteer fire department pulled back his firefighters just before the roof collapsed. An ALF member initiated an incendiary device at the Fur Breeders Agricultural Cooperative, in Sandy, Utah, without knowing that the caretaker of the facility was asleep in the next room, but luckily, the device failed to function.

Since 1987, ATF has initiated over 100 investigations related to ELF and ALF incidents. Some of the investigations involved explosives incidents, as well as, acts of arson. While the number of ELF and ALF incidents has fluctuated from year to year, the magnitude of the incidents appears to be on the rise with a number of high-damage arsons occurring since 1999. Between 1999 and 2005, ATF opened 58 investigations related to ELF and ALF acts of violence.

Using existing statutes, Title 18, United States Code (USC), Section 844, Federal Arson, ATF has had noteworthy successes with regard to ELF and ALF investigations. Most notably in 1992, ATF Certified Fire Investigators (CFIs) and the ATF laboratory, working jointly with law enforcement partners, investigated and successfully prosecuted Rodney Coronado, who received a 57-month sentence for actions tied to various ALF crimes throughout the Pacific Northwest and Michigan. In 2000, an arson incident at Joe Romania Chevrolet in Eugene, Oregon, resulted in the destruction of several sports utility vehicles. An ATF CFI and the Eugene Police Department, supported by the ATF laboratory, contributed to the successful prosecution of Jeff Leurs and Craig Marshal for violating State arson laws. Leurs received a 23-year sentence in State prison and Marshal received 6 years in State prison. In 2004, ATF CFIs and an ATF accelerant detection K-9 were involved in the investigation and prosecution of William Jensen Cottrell for his ELF-related crimes in West Covina, CA. Cottrell, a PhD candidate at California Institute of Technology, received a 100-month sentence and was ordered to pay $3.5 million in restitution as a result of his conviction for arson, Title 18, USC, Section 844 (i), and conspiracy. In 2004, the ATF National Response Team, working with law enforcement partners, was called in to investigate a fire at the Stock Lumber Supply Yard in West Jordan, Utah. An ATF CFI, through an origin and cause investigation, determined that an arson had occurred. The case culminated in the conviction of Justus Allen Ireland, who pled guilty to violating Federal arson laws, Title 18, USC, Section 844 (i). Ireland was sentenced to 87 months in prison and ordered to pay $1,643,692.80 in restitution as a result of his acts of violence in the name of ELF. At the time of Ireland's arrest, he was on life probation for sexual assault of a minor.

Mr. Chairman, the Anti-Arson Act of 1982 gave ATF broad-based jurisdiction in Federal arson offenses. ATF's arson enforcement efforts include preventing arson, providing effective post-incident response, and reducing the community impact of crimes involving fire. As a former Special Agent in Charge of the Seattle Field Division which covers the Pacific Northwest region, and now one of the Deputy Assistant Directors of ATF Field Operations, I have seen and continue to see, first-hand, our efforts to reduce violent crime and protect the public. Through our dedicated work, the men and women of ATF are improving the lives of Americans. Our efforts

produce real results with safer neighborhoods where all of us, including children and senior citizens, can live without fear. In our continued effort to protect America, ATF has a number of programs designed to make an impact on violent crime.

The long-term strategic goal of ATF's arson program is to provide effective investigative and technical expertise, rapid response assistance, and state-of-the-art training to reduce the impact of violent crimes that involve fire. ATF investigative efforts are generally focused on arsons of Federal interest, more broadly defined as arsons affecting interstate commerce.

The agents participating in ATF's Certified Fire Investigator Program are at the forefront of fire investigation. These agents are federally trained and certified as origin and cause investigators. These CFIs are able to qualify as expert witnesses in fire origin and cause determinations. The CFI program has received national and international acclaim.

ATF's laboratories are an invaluable resource in perfecting ATF cases and in serving as a resource for State and local law enforcement. ATF's laboratory system is composed of the National Laboratory Center (NLC) in Ammendale, MD, and the regional laboratories in Atlanta, GA, and Walnut Creek, CA. One of ATF's fire investigation resources is the Fire Research Laboratory (FRL). Also located in Ammendale, MD, it is a one-of-a-kind fire test center with the capability of replicating initial fire scenarios approaching a quarter acre in size, to scale, and under controlled conditions allowing for detailed analysis. This facility is the only such facility in the United States that is dedicated to providing case support in fire investigations using forensic fire science.

In addition, ATF Special Agents investigate bombings, unlawful distribution of explosives, thefts of explosives and other explosives violations. ATF has explosives and arson groups nationwide, each consisting of Special Agents, CFIs, and CESs, as well as State and local police and fire personnel. Special Agent CESs are among the most experienced, best-trained explosives experts in the Federal Government.

ATF has other experts in the field of explosives, including Explosive Enforcement Officers (EEOs) and Industry Operations Investigators. EEOs provide technical assistance and support in explosives matters, and Industry Operations Investigators conduct inspections of Federal explosives licensees and permittees.

ATF maintains the Arson and Explosives National Repository (AENR), the country's most comprehensive set of data describing fire and explosion incidents. ATF is also using the latest information management technology to make case information available to law enforcement nationwide through the Bomb and Arson Tracking System (BATS). This program facilitates and promotes the collection and dissemination of fire, arson, and explosives incidents and information among participating agencies.

ATF continues to share its expertise by training Federal, State, local, military, and international bomb technicians and investigators in Explosives Disposal and Investigation Techniques at the National Center for Explosives Training and Research (NCETR). ATF offers numerous advanced courses related to explosives disposal and post-blast investigation techniques at the NCETR.

Several of ATF's programs, such as the National Response Team (NRT) and the Accelerant Detection and Explosives Detection Canine Programs, strengthen our efforts in explosives and arson investigations. They contribute to our missions of reducing violent crime and protecting the public. In the wake of a major fire or explosives incident, law enforcement investigators can rely on the expertise and advanced technology of ATF's NRT. Capable of responding within 24 hours to major explosives or fire incidents anywhere in the country, NRT members work at reconstructing the scene, identifying the seat of the blast or origin and cause of the fire, conducting interviews, sifting through debris to obtain evidence related to the explosion and/or fire, assisting with the ensuing investigation, and providing expert court testimony.

ATF's Explosives and Accelerant Detection Canine Program also plays a critical role in ensuring public safety. ATF's unique training methodology enables its 34 explosives detection canines to locate explosives and gunpowder sidue in many forms, for example, Improvised Explosives Devices (IEDs), post-blast debris, firearms, ammunition, bulk explosives, and shell casings. The canines can detect explosives from the five explosives categories. Sixty ATF trained and certified accelerant detection canines help to identify potential points of origin at a fire scene.

ATF fosters innovation and cooperation through liaison efforts and through research and development efforts. ATF employees hold key positions in many prestigious professional organizations. Since 1990, an ATF agent has chaired the Arson and Explosives Committee of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Similarly, ATF has maintained outstanding relationships with the International Associa-

tion of Bomb Technicians and Investigators, the International Association of Arson Investigators and the National Bomb Squad Commanders Advisory Board.

At ATF, we believe that working together is not just a good strategy, it is a matter of national security. Our agency has a long history of collaborating effectively with other Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies and they consistently turn to ATF because of our expertise and our commitment to partnerships.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Jeffords, and Members of the Subcommittee, on behalf of the men and women of ATF, I thank you for your support of our crucial work. Year after year, we continue to stop those whose violent and criminal behavior threatens the peace of our communities. For many years, we have investigated major explosives incidents and major arsons, and have shared our knowledge with other law enforcement personnel through extensive training programs and effective partnerships. Yet I believe that our greatest achievements are still to come. We have made much progress but we know there is much more to do. We are determined to succeed in our missions of reducing violent crime, preventing terrorism, and protecting the public.

I look forward to responding to any questions you may have.

RESPONSES OF CARSON W. CARROLL TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FROM SENATOR OBAMA

Question 1. How many FTE nationwide does the ATF currently devote to eco-terrorism?

Response. ATF dedicates approximately 25 percent of its resources toward arson and explosives related issues, and does not track FTE's attributed specifically to eco-terrorist crimes. ATF responds to fires and explosions, and if evidence is present, classifies them as arson, bombings or accidents. ATF investigators then follow the evidence to determine who may have been responsible for any crimes committed. In some cases, the act on its face may appear as though it was related to eco-terrorism, but evidence has proven to the contrary. A good example was the series of arsons that destroyed 10 unoccupied new homes in Charles County, Maryland, in early December, 2004. During the first few days of the investigation, many attributed the acts to eco-terrorists. Evidence proved differently.

ATF has a cadre of Certified Fire Investigators (CFI) and Certified Explosives Specialists (CES) who possess extensive experience and training in arson and explosives matters. ATF CFIs complete a 2-year training program before they are certified, and complete yearly recertification requirements. ATF CESs complete more than 700 hours of training requirements during their first 5 years working as explosives specialists.

ATF's commitment to investigating violent acts carried out by environmental extremists and animal rights extremists is also evidenced by the fact that all ATF special agents are highly trained in arson and explosives investigative techniques, and are capable of responding 100 percent of the time to violent incidents involving the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) extremists. Every ATF agent, while attending Special Agent Basic Training, receives more training in arson and explosives related matters (150 hours) than most Federal agents receive in their careers.

To put it in context, since the year 2000, ATF has initiated roughly 2600 fire and explosion cases each year. Since 1987, evidence has linked 185 incendiary and/or explosives devices to environmental extremists and animal rights extremists.

Question 2. What percentage of total ATF FTE does that represent?

Response. ATF dedicates approximately 25 percent of its resources toward arson and explosives related issues. We do not specifically track FTE's to ELF or ALF type investigations. However, all ATF agents are highly trained in arson and explosives related matters, and have the expertise and knowledge to respond to and investigate the violent acts committed by environmental extremist and animal rights extremist movements.

Question 3. Has the ATF ever convicted any representative of any environmental organization other than ALF, ELF or SHAC of domestic terrorism or as an accessory to the crime?

Response. Since there are no official membership logs for these movements, it is difficult to quantify who the "representatives" are. ATF databases don't lend themselves to non-specific queries. With regard to ELF, ALF and SHAC, ATF has been involved in, and successfully investigated violent acts since 1987, and recommended prosecution through existing statutes for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 844(i) (Federal Arson and Explosives) and 844(n) (Conspiracy), 18 U.S.C. § 924(c) (Use Of Firearm/

Destructive Device During Commission Of Drug Trafficking Crime Or Crime Of Violence), 26 U.S.C. § 5861 (Possession of Unregistered Destructive Device) and State arson laws.

Question 4. Another witness made the allegation that PETA President Ingrid Newkirk had prior knowledge of the Michigan State University arson. Please address whether the ATF's investigation revealed that allegation to be true.

Response. During the 1992 investigation of the fire at Anthony Hall on the campus of Michigan State University, ATF investigated and arrested Rod Coronado for the incident. Subsequently, Coronado was convicted and served 57 months in Federal prison for Federal arson violations. During the course of the investigation, ATF did not uncover evidence of Ingrid Newkirk's prior knowledge of the violent act.

STATEMENT OF DAVID MARTOSKO, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, CENTER FOR CONSUMER FREEDOM

Good morning Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee. My name is David Martosko. I am director of Research at the Center for Consumer Freedom, a nonprofit organization based in Washington, DC. The Center does not solicit and has never accepted government funding.

Thank you for holding this hearing today. The threat from domestic terrorism motivated by environmental and animal-rights ideologies is well documented, unambiguous, and growing.

The ALF and ELF don't really exist in the way we think of advocacy groups or even underground criminal movements like the Symbionese Liberation Army or the Weather Underground. ALF and ELF are labels of convenience, applied to crimes after the fact by individuals or small groups in order to draw public attention to their actions.

Those who engage in "direct action" crimes, such as starting fires, detonating bombs, threatening lives, and stalking innocent people, receive demonstrable cooperation and assistance—both rhetorical and financial—from an above-ground support system. Today I'd like to walk you through some of our findings in this regard.

A good place to start is No Compromise, a self-described "militant, direct action magazine" for ALF supporters. In 1999, No Compromise published a list of its benefactors, which included People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), the Fund for Animals, In Defense of Animals, and the New Jersey Animal Rights Alliance—all groups with 501(c)(3) Federal tax exemptions. The list also included PETA's president and two other PETA officers, and an activist now on the staff of the Humane Society of the United United States (HSUS).[1]

HSUS, PETA, and PETA's quasi-medical affiliate, the Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine (PCRM), are troubling examples of animal-rights charities which have connections to their movement's militant underbelly. In some cases, the line between the direct-action underground and more "mainstream" protest groups is quite blurry.

Miyun Park, the same HSUS employee named in 1999 as a No Compromise benefactor, is the subject of at least six Federal wiretap warrants in connection with an upcoming Federal Animal Enterprise Terrorism trial.[2] These warrants also cover ALF apologist (and UTEP professor) Steven Best, PETA grantee (and terror defendant) Joshua Harper, and PETA employee Joe Haptas.

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[1] Published list of financial supporters of No Compromise magazine, dating from 1999. *http://web.archive.org/web/19990501135838/http://www.enviroweb.org/nocompromise/about.html* accessed on May 13, 2005.

[2] "Listing of Affidavits and Applications" covering wiretap and e-mail tap-and-trace warrants issued pursuant to the Federal animal-enterprise terrorism investigation of Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty USA [*USA* v. *SHAC USA et al.,* U.S. District Court for the District of New Jersey #04-cr-00373 MLC].

HSUS has funded the operation of an Internet server called "Waste.org" while it was the source of ALF-related "communiqués" issued after the commission of crimes.[3, 4] This server also hosted No Compromise magazine's e-mail account.

The case of Daniel Andreas San Diego is a chilling story of animal-rights terrorism, involving 10-pound shrapnel bombs detonated in 2003 at two California biomedical research companies, built with the same ingredients used in the 1995 Oklahoma City blast site.[5] One of these bombs was accompanied by a "secondary" device, timed to detonate after first-responders (*e.g.,* paramedics, firefighters, and police) arrived on the scene.

Mr. San Diego is a fugitive on the FBI's "Most Wanted" list. An FBI evidence recovery log from the search of his automobile describes a check written to him by Ariana M. Huemer—who was then an employee of the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS). It remains to be seen why an HSUS staffer was passing money to an alleged bomber.[6]

John Paul "J.P." Goodwin represents another disturbing tie between HSUS and the violent animal-rights underground. In 1997, when Goodwin was the national director of the Coalition To Abolish the Fur Trade, he wrote in No Compromise that he and his group "support these [ALF] actions 100 percent. We will never ever work with anyone who helps the FBI stop the ALF—this is one of the best things to happen in a long time."[7] In March 1997, following the $1 million ALF arson of a fur farmers' feed co-op in Utah, Goodwin told reporters: "We're ecstatic."[8]

In 2000, HSUS sent Goodwin as its emissary on a tour of Chinese fur farms. By 2001 he was an HSUS employee, and remains on the animal-rights group's full-time staff.

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals has even clearer connections with the ALF and ELF. During the 1990's PETA made grants and loans totaling $70,990 in support of the legal defense of Rodney Coronado, a self-described Animal Liberation Front member who was later convicted of an ALF arson at Michigan State University.[9]

PETA president Ingrid Newkirk was herself implicated in this arson by U.S. Attorney Michael Dettmer, who wrote that Newkirk arranged "days before the MSU arson occurred" for Coronado to send her materials stolen from the targeted laboratory, along with a videotape of the fire being set.[10]

In February 2003, Mr. Coronado (since, released from prison) appeared at American University in Washington, DC as part of the National Conference on Organized Resistance. During his speech, he demonstrated before an audience of over 100 college-age activists how to build a crude incendiary device using household materials, for a cost of "about two dollars."[11]

Later that year, appearing on ABC's 20/20, PETA president, Ingrid Newkirk was shown this videotape. After viewing it, she referred to Coronado as "a fine young man and a schoolteacher."

Publicly, PETA has consistently claimed to have no information about the identity of any Animal Liberation Front criminals. Yet on at least 2 separate occasions, PETA published interviews with self-described ALF members in its own news-

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[3] Pages from "Form 990" filed with the IRS by the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) for the tax years 1998 and 1999, showing disbursements to "Waste." Waste.org still acknowledges HSUS as a current financial benefactor last checked on May 13, 2005).

[4] Animal Liberation Front "communiqué" claiming responsibility for arson attacks on meat delivery trucks in New York. It was distributed in 2001 by the "ALF Frontline" e-mail listserv, hosted by waste.org.

[5] E-mail, attributed by FBI investigators to Daniel Andreas San Diego, describing the use of an improvised explosive device to attack a company targeted by animal-rights militants. It was distributed by a No Compromise magazine staffer to a listserv operated by Earth First!.

[6] Page from an FBI Evidence Recovery Log related to the search of bombing suspect Daniel Andreas San Diego's automobile.

[7] "Fur Wars Heat Up: A.L.F. is on the Warpath!" by J.P. Goodwin (No Compromise) Issue 4, Fall 1996.

[8] "Activists take credit for Sandy fur fire" (The Deseret News), March 11, 1997.

[9] Pages from "Form 990" filed with the IRS by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals for the tax year 1994, showing disbursements to the "Rodney Coronado Support Committee" and a loan to Mr. Coronado's father.

[10] Excerpt pp. (8–10) from Government Sentencing Memorandum of U.S. Attorney Michael Dettmer, in the case of *USA* v. *Rodney Coronado* (signed Michael H. Dettmer, U.S. Attorney, July 31, 1995).

[11] Photograph and partial transcript of remarks by Rodney Coronado at American University (Washington, DC) on January 26, 2003.

[12] "ALF Talks" (PETA News), November/December 1989; and "PETA Talks with the Animal Liberation Front" (PETA News, no. 4), undated, circa 1986.

letter.[12] Early in its history, this newsletter included a full-page advertisement promoting the ALF as a "rescue" organization.[13]

Also in this newsletter, PETA advertised Ingrid Newkirk's first book, Free The Animals!, as "an intimate look at the ALF," and wrote that Newkirk "speaks for the Animal Liberation Front."[14]

In 2001 PETA campaign director, Bruce Friedrich told an animal-rights convention audience that "blowing stuff up and smashing windows [is] a great way to bring about animal liberation—Hallelujah to the people who are willing to do it."[15]

PETA has employed and continues to pay regular stipends to an activist named, Gary Yourofsky, who was convicted by a Canadian court of a farm burglary for which a claim of responsibility was issued in the name of the ALF. Mr. Yourofsky told a reporter in 2002 that he would "unequivocally support" the death of medical researchers in ALF-related arson fires.[16]

PETA hired Yourofsky after he gave this interview.[17] The group acknowledges having employed him to speak to children in middle-school and high-school classrooms, and continues to pay him as an independent contractor.

That same year PETA wrote a $1,500 check payable to the North American Earth Liberation Front[18], a donation which PETA spokespersons have publicly attempted to justify with multiple and contradictory explanations.[19]

Regardless of which explanation (if any) is accurate, any organization funding a bona fide FBI-designated terrorist group should not be permitted to claim that it is not, in fact, funding terrorism. That logic would never pass muster if the terrorist group in question were Al Qaeda or the Ku Klux Klan.

PETA has made a $5,000 cash grant to Joshua Harper, an activist presently awaiting trial in New Jersey on Federal Animal Enterprise Terrorism charges.[20] An FBI evidence recovery log from the search of his residence describes a razor-blade booby-trapped envelope,[21] similar to those used in a string of attacks claimed by an ALF-like group calling itself "The Justice Department."[22] Harper has reported that he is working on a video documentary, called "Speaking With Fire," which will encourage and defend animal-rights-related arson.

PETA also gave $2,000 to David Wilson, an activist who served as an official ALF "spokesperson" during the 1990's.[23] In a 1999 interview with Mother Jones magazine, Wilson explained the ALF–ELF nexus: "We started with animal rights, but we've expanded to wildlife actions like the one in Vail. We're the ones bridging the environmental gap."[24]

The criminal record of accused ELF arsonist Tre Arrow, presently attempting to fight extradition from Canada,[25] began with an arrest in 1998 during a PETA protest near Cincinnati.[26]

The current crop of ALF spokespersons, who now call themselves "press officers,"[27] includes a New Jersey activist named Angi Metler, who was once described in PETA News as a "PETA spokesperson."[28]

Another self-appointed ALF "press officer" is Dr. Jerry Vlasak. In 2003, while acting as a spokesperson for the PETA-affiliated Physicians Committee for Responsible

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[12] "ALF Talks" (PETA News), November/December 1989; and "PETA Talks with the Animal Liberation Front" (PETA News, no. 4), undated, circa 1986.

[13] Full-page advertisement (PETA News), March/April 1990.

[14] Book-promotion advertisement (PETA News), spring 1993.

[15] Partial transcript of remarks by Bruce Friedrich at the "Animal Rights 2001" national conference on July 2, 2001.

[16] "Activist Devotes Life to Animal Rights" (The Toledo Blade), June 24, 2001.

[17] "Open Letter from Gary Yourofsky" dated May 28, 2002 and distributed to animal-rights-oriented electronic mailing lists.

[18] Page from "Form 990" filed with the IRS by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals for the tax year 2000, showing a disbursement to the "North American Earth Liberation Front."

[19] Explanations given for PETA's donation to the ELF by PETA spokespersons.

[20] Page from "Form 990" filed with the IRS by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals for the tax year 2000, showing a disbursement to the "Josh Harper Support Fund."

[21] Page from an FBI Evidence Recovery Log related to the search of animal-enterprise-terrorism defendant Josh Harper's residence.

[22] "Scientists Get Letters Rigged With Razors" (The Oregonian), October 27, 1999.

[23] Page from "Form 990" filed with the IRS by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals for the tax year 1999, showing a disbursement to David

[24] "Alleged eco-terrorist Tre Arrow denied bail while awaiting extradition hearing" (Associated Press), December 3, 2004.

[25] "Animal rights group steps up protest of Procter & Gamble" (Associated Press), August 6, 1998.

[26] "Backfire" (The Mother Jones), March/April 1999.

[27] Current home page for the "North American Animal Liberation Press Office" (accessed on May 13, 2005).

[28] "PETA-New Jersey Rescues Lambs" (PETA News, vol. 1 no. 8), undated, circa 1986.

Medicine,[29] Vlasak openly endorsed the murder of doctors who use animals in their medical research. "For 5 lives, 10 lives, 15 human lives," he told an animal-rights convention, "we could save a million, 2 million, 10 million non-human lives." When an audience member objected, comparing his strategy to that of violent criminals who bomb abortion clinics, Vlasak responded: "Absolutely. I think they had a great strategy going."[30]

In 2001 the Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine engaged in a letter-writing campaign with the president of another terrorist threat group called SHAC (Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty). The letters were designed to threaten and intimidate companies targeted by SHAC for their business dealings with a biomedical research firm that uses animal-testing models.[31] In addition to both veiled and overt threats of death and bodily harm, SHAC's tactics have included car bombings, identity theft, physical assault, and interstate stalking.[32]

SHAC's current U.S. president is Pamelyn Ferdin, who is married to Dr. Jerry Vlasak.[33] Ferdin also carries a Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine business card.[34]

Also on the current roster of ALF spokespersons is Dr. Steven Best, who chairs the Philosophy department at the University of Texas El Paso (UTEP). Like Vlasak, whose statements in support of violent terrorism carry weight primarily because of his medical license, Dr. Best's academic position affords him a position of regrettable influence within the animal rights movement.[35]

He proclaims in one 2003 essay first published on his UTEP web page: "I support the Animal Liberation Front (ALF). I support property destruction—violence is defensible in certain cases—The ALF ought to be respected and appreciated for the brave soldiers they are."

In 2004 when Dr. Best praised the ALF during an interview aired on the Showtime cable network, he spoke in the first person: "We are breaking down doors, breaking into buildings, rescuing animals, and smashing property—These tactics are legitimate, they're necessary, they're powerful, they're effective."[36]

Best chose his words similarly at the "Animal Rights 2003" national conference, while insisting upon the futility of promoting animal welfare among farmers and laboratory scientists. "Rather than arguing with them," he said, "we just shut them down the best we can. We cannot win the war of liberation through education and legislative tactics alone. More direct, militant, and confrontational tactics often are needed."

Mr. Chairman, I urge this Committee to fully investigate the connections between individuals who commit crimes in the name of the ALF, ELF, or similar phantom groups, and the above-ground individuals and organizations that give them aid and comfort. I would also urge members of this Committee to prevail upon their colleagues to re-examine the tax-exempt status of groups that have helped to fund-directly or indirectly these domestic terrorists.

Thank you again for holding this important hearing.

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[29] Official program from the "Animal Rights 2003" national conference in Los Angeles, California.

[30] Partial transcript of remarks by Dr. Jerry Vlasak at the "Animal Rights 2003" national conference on August 3, 2003.

[31] Letter on Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine letterhead, co-signed by PCRM president Neal Barnard and then-president of SHAC USA Kevin Kjonaas.

[32] Excerpts from "Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty: A Resource Guide" (U.S. Dept. of Justice), August 2003.

[33] Affidavit of Pamelyn Ferdin in the case of *USA* v. *SHAG USA* et al.

[34] Business card obtained in 2004 from Pamelyn Ferdin.

[35] Photo gallery of Dr. Steven Best, demonstrating his sphere of influence.

[36] Partial transcript of remarks by Dr. Steven Best, broadcast on the television program Penn & Teller: Bullshit (Showtime Network), April 1, 2004.

http://web.archive.org/web/19990501135838/http://www.enviroweb.org/nocompromise/about.html

Information About No Compromise

Mission Statement:
No Compromise is dedicated to unifying the grassroots animal liberationists by providing a forum where activists can exchange information, share strategy, discuss important issues within the movement, network with each other in an open and respectful environment and strengthen the grassroots. *No Compromise* is not intended to encourage illegal activity, although we are highly supportive of any non-violent activities that help reduce or prevent animal suffering. *No Compromise* is a cooperative effort between numerous grassroots organizations that is published by the Animal Rights America.

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Tony Wong, *Animal Defense League - Indy*

THANKS!

No Compromise would like to publicly thank our major donors who help us in our mission to expand and strengthen the grassroots, direct action movement for animals. Thank you!

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Madeline Bolbol, Carla Bennett, Marjorie Fontana, Philip Goff, Bryan Hall, Lisa Lange, Craig McCurdy, Miyun Park, North American ALF Supporters Group, Sharon Pezan, Tom Regan, Eric Torkelson, Kathy Winkler and Kim Wrede.

We would also like to extend a VERY special thank you to Allen Schubert and the Animal Rights Resource Site for hosting the No Compromise Web Page as well as Rikki Rockett who provided our custom graphics!!

No Compromise would also like to thank for their contributions to the production of this issue: Anonymous ALF Author, Elizabeth Adams, Angie & Jeremy, Frank Arnold, Anne Archy, Dan Berger, Heather Burt, Anita Carswell, Kevin Chapman, Kim Chicchi, Darren Cole, Michael Conway, Anne Crimaudo, Frank DeGiacomo, Andrea DeJarlais, Mike Dirks, Davida Douglas, Darake, Jennifer Duffy, Delia Dunlap, Heidi Dunst, Earth First! Journal, Emily Elson, Katie Fedor, Dari Fulmer John G., Christie Gann, Garine, Joolie Geldner, Cathy Goeggel, JP Goodwin, Da Griffin, D.H., Josh Harper, David Hayden, Amy Holbohm, Andy Hopp, Rob Jacobs, Jason Jordan, Marian Kramer, Chelsea Lincoln, Lupine, Gina Lynn, Lydia Nichols, Christine Matyasovsky, Angi Metler, Mark McAlpine, Matt Mackall, Hillary Morris, Anne Muller, Unny Nambudiripad, Emmanuel Ortiz, Miyun Park, Chris Patterson, North American ALFSG, Craig Rosebraugh, Flavia Sayner, Catherine Rice, Dave Rolsky, Hilma Ruby, Jesse Parsh, James Pearson, Bryan Pease, Jamie Roth, Derek St. Pierre, Julie Smith, Chris Tarbell, Justin Taylor, John Thompson, Darren Thurston, Dave Turner, UK ALFSG, Jonathon Weintraub, Larry Weiss, Denise Violetta, Adam Weissman, Julia Wilczynski, Frank Winbigler, Dave Wilson, Delyla Wilson, Tony Wong, Gary Yourofsky, all of the grassroots groups who were featured in "In the Trenches," the wonderful people who have subscribed, donated to or helped distribute *No Compromise*, the Earth and Animal Liberation Fronts for providing us with actions to report and dedicated activists everywhere who continue to struggle for the liberation of the earth and all her species. **Thank You!**

Main Menu - *Latest* - *Features* - *News* - *Fight Back!* - *A.L.F.* - *Commentary* - *Trenches* - *Links*

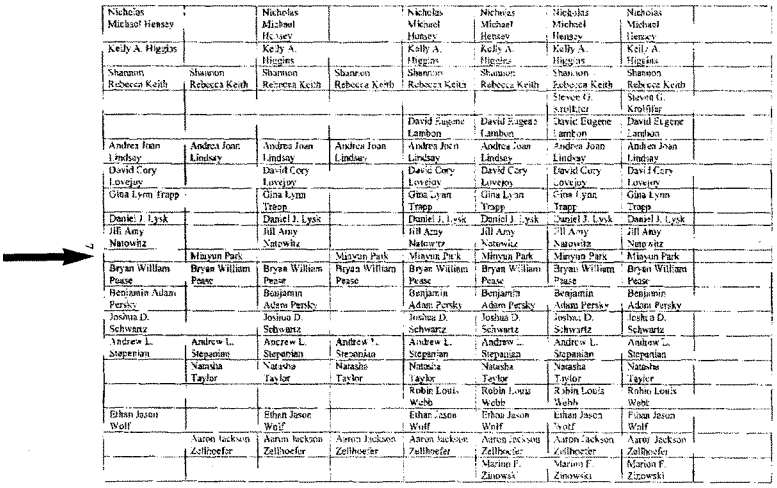
CHART A – LISTING OF AFFIDAVITS AND APPLICATIONS

AFFIDAVIT AND APPLICATION, NOV. 15, 2002 (wire) Da1 to Da110	AFFIDAVIT AND APPLICATION, NOV. 27, 2002 (e-mail) Da111 to Da183	AFFIDAVIT AND APPLICATION, DEC. 14, 2002 (wire) Da184 to Da248	AFFIDAVIT AND APPLICATION, DEC. 26, 2002 (e-mail) Da249 to Da307	AFFIDAVIT AND APPLICATION, JAN. 13, 2003 (wire) Da308 to Da388	AFFIDAVIT AND APPLICATION, JAN. 24, 2003 (e-mail) Da389 to Da460	AFFIDAVIT AND APPLICATION, FEB. 10, 2003 (wire) Da461 to Da558	AFFIDAVIT AND APPLICATION, FEB. 21, 2003 (e-mail) Da559 to Da640	AFFIDAVIT AND APPLICATION, APR. 22, 2003 (search warrant – 101 Home St., Somerset, NJ) Da641 to Da673
Affiant: FBI SA Millicent A. Tompa (Da17)	FBI SA Millicent A. Tompa (Da128)	FBI SA Millicent A. Tompa (Da199)	ATF SA Calvin A. Meyer (Da264)	FBI SA Millicent A. Tompa (Da325)	FBI SA Millicent A. Tompa (Da404)	ATF SA Calvin A. Meyer (Da479)	FBI SA Millicent A. Tompa (Da578)	FBI SA John A. Bennett (Da644)
Statement of Probable Cause: Da19-22	*Statement of Probable Cause:* Da130-33	*Statement of Probable Cause:* Da200-04	*Statement of Probable Cause:* Da266-70	*Statement of Probable Cause:* Da327-31	*Statement of Probable Cause:* Da406-11	*Statement of Probable Cause:* Da481-85	*Statement of Probable Cause:* Da581-87	*Statement of Probable Cause:* Da646-47
offense: 18 U.S.C. § 1951 (extortion -- Hobbs Act)	offense: 18 U.S.C. § 1951 (extortion -- Hobbs Act); § 2 (aiding & abetting); § 371 (Conspiracy); § 875 (Threatening Interstate Communics.); § 1952 (Travel Act)	offense: 18 U.S.C. § 1951 (extortion -- Hobbs Act); § 2 (aiding & abetting); § 371 (Conspiracy); § 875 (Threatening Interstate Communics.); § 1952 (Travel Act)	offense: 18 U.S.C. § 1951 (extortion -- Hobbs Act); § 2 (aiding & abetting); § 371 (Conspiracy); § 875 (Threatening Interstate Communics.); § 1952 (Travel Act)	offense: 18 U.S.C. § 195 (extortion -- Hobbs Act); § 2 (aiding & abetting); § 371 (Conspiracy); § 875 (Threatening Interstate Communics.); § 1952 (Travel Act)	offense: 18 U.S.C. § 1951 (extortion -- Hobbs Act); § 2 (aiding & abetting); § 371 (Conspiracy); § 875 (Threatening Interstate Communics.); § 1952 (Travel Act)	offense: 18 U.S.C. § 1951 (extortion -- Hobbs Act); § 2 (aiding & abetting); § 371 (Conspiracy); § 875 (Threatening Interstate Communics.); § 1028 (Identity Theft); § 1030 (Computer Fraud & Abuse); § 842 (Unlawful Acts); § 1952 (Travel	offense: 18 U.S.C. § 1951 (extortion -- Hobbs Act); § 2 (aiding & abetting); § 371 (Conspiracy); § 875 (Threatening Interstate Communics.); § 1028 (Identity Theft); § 1030 (Computer Fraud & Abuse); § 842 (Unlawful Acts); § 1952 (Travel	offense: 18 U.S.C. § 1951 (extortion -- Hobbs Act); § 2 (aiding & abetting); § 43 (Animal Enterprise Protection Act); § 371 (Conspiracy); § 1028 (Identity Theft); § 1030 (Computer Fraud & Abuse); § 1952 (Travel Act)

Chart A – p. 1

Persons named as violators in the Affidavit:								
Da19-Da20	Da130-Da131	Da201-Da202	Da266-Da268	Da327-Da328	Da407-Da409	Da482-Da483	Da582-Da584	
Kevin Donald Kjonaas	Kevin Donald Kjonaas	Kevin Donald Kjonaas	Kevin Donald Kjonaas	Kevin Donald Kjonaas	Kevin Donald Kjonaas	Kevin Donald Kjonaas	Kevin Donald Kjonaas	
	Nicholas Henry Atwood		Nicholas Henry Atwood	Nicholas Henry Atwood	Nicholas Henry Atwood	Nicholas Henry Atwood	Nicholas Henry Atwood	
	Gregory Harrison Avery	Gregory Harrison Avery	Gregory Harrison Avery	Gregory Harrison Avery	Gregory Harrison Avery	Gregory Harrison Avery	Gregory Harrison Avery	
	Heather James Avery	Heather James Avery	Heather James Avery	Heather James Avery	Heather James Avery	Heather James Avery	Heather James Avery	
	David Nathan Babarash	David Nathan Babarash	David Nathan Babarash	David Nathan Babarash	David Nathan Babarash	David Nathan Babarash	David Nathan Babarash	
Kimberly Ann Berardi	Kimberly Ann Berardi	Kimberly Ann Berardi	Kimberly Ann Berardi	Kimberly Ann Berardi	Kimberly Ann Berardi	Kimberly Ann Berardi	Kimberly Ann Berardi	
				Steve Best	Steve Best	Steven P. Best	Steven P. Best	
Jacob Matthew Corzo	Jacob Matthew Conroy	Jacob Matthew Conroy	Jacob Matthew Conroy	Jacob Matthew Conroy	Jacob Matthew Conroy	Jacob Matthew Conroy	Jacob Matthew Conroy	
						Christine A. DiBella	Christine A. DiBella	
Kathleen Ann Fedor		Kathleen Ann Fedor		Kathleen Ann Fedor	Kathleen Ann Fedor	Kathleen Ann Fedor	Kathleen Ann Fedor	
Darius Glen Fullmer	Darius Glen Fullmer	Darius Glen Fullmer	Darius Glen Fullmer	Darius Glen Fullmer	Darius Glen Fullmer	Darius Glen Fullmer	Darius Glen Fullmer	
					Christine Garcia			
Lauren Beth Gazzola	Lauren Beth Gazzola	Lauren Beth Gazzola	Lauren Beth Gazzola	Lauren Beth Gazzola	Lauren Beth Gazzola	Lauren Beth Gazzola	Lauren Beth Gazzola	
				Jennifer Greenberg	Jennifer Greenberg	Jennifer Greenberg	Jennifer Greenberg	
				Joe Hapies [phonetic]	Joseph Frank Hapias, Jr.	Joseph Frank Hapias, Jr.	Joseph Frank Hapias, Jr.	
	Joshua James Harper	Joshua James Harper	Joshua Caleb Harper	Joshua Caleb Harper	Joshua Caleb Harper	Joshua Caleb Harper	Joshua Caleb Harper	
David Patrick Hayden	David Patrick Hayden	David Patrick Hayden	David Patrick Hayden	David Patrick Hayden	David Patrick Hayden	David Patrick Hayden	David Patrick Hayden	

Chart A – p. 2



Nicholas Michael Hensey		Nicholas Michael Hensey		Nicholas Michael Hensey	Nicholas Michael Hensey	Nicholas Michael Hensey	Nicholas Michael Hensey
Kelly A. Higgins		Kelly A. Higgins		Kelly A. Higgins	Kelly A. Higgins	Kelly A. Higgins	Kelly A. Higgins
Shannon Rebecca Keith	Shannon Rebecca Keith	Shannon Rebecca Keith	Shannon Rebecca Keith	Shannon Rebecca Keith	Shannon Rebecca Keith	Shannon Rebecca Keith	Shannon Rebecca Keith
						Steven G. Kroliffer	Steven G. Kroliffer
				David Eugene Lambon	David Eugene Lambon	David Eugene Lambon	David Eugene Lambon
Andrea Joan Lindsay	Andrea Joan Lindsay	Andrea Joan Lindsay	Andrea Joan Lindsay	Andrea Joan Lindsay	Andrea Joan Lindsay	Andrea Joan Lindsay	Andrea Joan Lindsay
David Cory Lovejoy		David Cory Lovejoy		David Cory Lovejoy	David Cory Lovejoy	David Cory Lovejoy	David Cory Lovejoy
Gina Lynn Trapp		Gina Lynn Trapp		Gina Lynn Trapp	Gina Lynn Trapp	Gina Lynn Trapp	Gina Lynn Trapp
Daniel J. Lysk		Daniel J. Lysk		Daniel J. Lysk	Daniel J. Lysk	Daniel J. Lysk	Daniel J. Lysk
Jill Amy Natowitz		Jill Amy Natowitz		Jill Amy Natowitz	Jill Amy Natowitz	Jill Amy Natowitz	Jill Amy Natowitz
	Minyun Park		Minyun Park	Minyun Park	Minyun Park	Minyun Park	Minyun Park
Bryan William Pease	Bryan William Pease	Bryan William Pease	Bryan William Pease	Bryan William Pease	Bryan William Pease	Bryan William Pease	Bryan William Pease
Benjamin Adam Persky		Benjamin Adam Persky		Benjamin Adam Persky	Benjamin Adam Persky	Benjamin Adam Persky	Benjamin Adam Persky
Joshua D. Schwartz		Joshua D. Schwartz		Joshua D. Schwartz	Joshua D. Schwartz	Joshua D. Schwartz	Joshua D. Schwartz
Andrew L. Stepanian	Andrew L. Stepanian	Andrew L. Stepanian	Andrew L. Stepanian	Andrew L. Stepanian	Andrew L. Stepanian	Andrew L. Stepanian	Andrew L. Stepanian
	Natasha Taylor	Natasha Taylor	Natasha Taylor	Natasha Taylor	Natasha Taylor	Natasha Taylor	Natasha Taylor
				Robin Louis Webb	Robin Louis Webb	Robin Louis Webb	Robin Louis Webb
Ethan Jason Wolf		Ethan Jason Wolf		Ethan Jason Wolf	Ethan Jason Wolf	Ethan Jason Wolf	Ethan Jason Wolf
	Aaron Jackson Zellhoefer	Aaron Jackson Zellhoefer	Aaron Jackson Zellhoefer	Aaron Jackson Zellhoefer	Aaron Jackson Zellhoefer	Aaron Jackson Zellhoefer	Aaron Jackson Zellhoefer
					Marion F. Zinowski	Marion F. Zinowski	Marion F. Zinowski

Chart A -- p. 3

	Steve [Last Name Unknown]	Steve [Last Name Unknown]	Steve [Last Name Unknown]	Steve [Last Name Unknown]	Steve [Last Name Unknown] [Boxer identified as Steven G. Krolifer]		
				Christine [Last Name Unknown]			
				Marion [Last Name Unknown]			
				Monica [Last Name Unknown]	Monica [Last Name Unknown]	Monica [Last Name Unknown]	Monica [Last Name Unknown]
			"Mez"	"Mez"	"Mez"	"Mez"	"Mez"
			"Sun Tzu"	"Sun Tzu"	"Sun Tzu"	"Sun Tzu"	"Sun Tzu"

Chart A -- p. 4

THE HUMANE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES
FEDERAL FORM 990
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1998

#53-0225390

Part II - Line 22

Schedule "1"

00-4100-0-00000	Counterpart International	5,000.00
00-4100-0-00000	International Development Conference	5,000.00
00-4100-0-00000	Manitou Institute	2,500.00
00-4110-0-00000	Hospice of Pan Handle	100.00
00-4110-0-00000	Marshall Legacy Institute	500.00
00-4110-0-00000	New Zealand Humane	2,000.00
00-4110-0-00000	Renewable Natural Resources Foundation	750.00
00-4110-0-00000	Wilson College	15,000.00
00-4310-8-71110	The Ecology Center	1,750.00
00-4320-0-00000	Environmental Magazine	12,864.00
00-4320-0-00000	Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation	14,000.00
00-4320-0-00000	Operation Greyhound	500.00
00-4320-0-00000	Summit For The Animals	1,000.00
00-4320-8-70190	Antarctica Project	1,000.00
00-4320-8-70190	Cetacean Society International	750.00
00-4320-8-70190	Neah Bay Washington	200.00
00-4320-8-70190	PAWS	1,500.00
00-4320-8-70190	The Husavik Whale Centre	5,000.00
00-4320-8-70190	Third Millennium Foundation	5,000.00
00-4321-0-00000	A.W.A.R.E.	25.00
00-4321-0-00000	Association of Veterinarians for Animal Rights	50.00
00-4321-0-00000	Doris Day Animal League	2,086.27
00-4321-8-71170	WASTE	60.00
00-4321-8-71180	EuroNiche	1,003.50
00-4321-8-71213	WASTE	100.00
00-4330-0-00000	Coalition for Healthy and Humane Business Practices	333.34
00-4330-0-00000	Maryland Dept. Natural Resources	500.00
00-4330-0-00000	National Council of SPCAs	8,000.00
00-4330-0-00000	Polar Bear Alive	1,000.00
00-4330-8-70130	Wakuluzu, Friends of Colobus Trust	500.00
00-4330-8-70190	Antarctica Project	1,000.00
00-4330-8-70190	Cetacean Society International	750.00
00-4330-8-70190	Monitor	4,000.00
00-4330-8-70380	Alaska Wildlife Alliance	200.00
00-4330-8-70390	Oklahoma State University	1,000.00
00-4330-8-70430	Fauna and Flora International/Ape Alliance	2,637.50
00-4330-8-70430	International Primate Protection League	1,000.00
00-4330-8-70430	Species Survival Network	9,500.00
00-4330-8-70440	Beaver Busters	300.00
00-4330-8-70440	Second Chance Wildlife Rehab.	1,000.00
00-4330-8-70440	University of Arizona	5,000.00
00-4330-8-71220	The Ecology Center	1,750.00
00-4340-0-00000	Maryland Dept. Natural Resources	500.00

THE HUMANE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES
FEDERAL FORM 990
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1999

Statement "24"

HSUS		
00-4580-0-00000	Rutherford County Animal Control	(5,000.00)
00-4380-0-00000	Sisters of St. Francis	25.00
00-4330-8-70180	Massachusetts SPCA	27.00
00-4560-0-00000	Flanders Fire & Rescue Company #1	75.00
00-4330-0-00000	Wildlands Center for Preventing Roads	100.00
00-4350-8-70490	Animal Welfare League Alexandria	100.00
00-4350-8-70490	Humane Society of Baltimore County	100.00
00-4540-0-00000	Wayside Waifs	100.00
00-4540-8-70580	People for Animal Rights	100.00
00-4560-0-00000	David F. Moore Special Opportunities Fund	100.00
00-4560-0-00000	Dean A. Gallo Scholarship Foundation	100.00
00-4321-8-71213	WASTE	150.00
00-4380-0-00000	Community Alliance of Family Farmers	150.00
00-4320-8-70190	Peninsula Citizens for the Protection of Whales	200.00
00-4320-8-70190	World Whale Police	200.00
00-4320-8-70190	Safe Passage	200.00
00-4380-0-00000	Northern Plains Sustainable Agriculture Society	200.00
00-4520-0-00000	Animal Protection of New Mexico	200.00
14-4520-6-00008	Operation Kindness	200.00
00-4330-8-70380	Minnesota Wolf Alliance	250.00
00-4350-8-70490	Pequannock Township Animal Control	250.00
00-4550-0-00000	Last Chance Corral	250.00
00-4560-8-70590	Pequannock Township Animal Control	250.00
00-4570-8-70580	Humane Association of Georgia	250.00
00-4722-0-00000	Communities Against Violence	250.00
14-4440-8-71336	Poplar Spring Animal Sanctuary	250.00
00-4380-0-00000	Buygreen Virginia Partnership	300.00
00-4320-8-70190	West Coast Anti-Whaling Society	400.00
00-4530-0-00000	Federation of Animal Care and Control Agencies	400.00
00-4580-0-00000	Southern Alliance of Animal Welfare Societies	400.00
00-4350-0-00000	Virginia Animal Control Association	500.00
00-4350-8-70566	Pets - DC	500.00
00-4350-8-70566	Frederick County Humane Society	500.00
00-4380-0-00000	Just Food	500.00
00-4380-0-00000	Organic Farming Research Foundation	500.00
00-4400-8-70046	Virginia Animal Control Association	500.00
00-4400-8-71305	Virginia Federation of Humane Societies	500.00
00-4420-0-00000	Wildlife & Aquatic Animal Medicine Club @ UC - Davis	500.00
00-4520-0-00000	Oklahoma Humane Federation	500.00
00-4520-0-00000	Arkansas Professional League for Animal Control	500.00
00-4540-0-00000	Missouri Animal Control	500.00
00-4550-0-00000	Marshall County Rescue League	500.00

Frontline Information Service - News 3/04/01

A.L.F. CLAIM FIRE ATTACK ON MEAT TRUCKS

NORTH AMERICAN ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT PRESS OFFICE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
March 05, 2001

Long Island City, NY - The underground Animal Liberation Front has claimed responsibility for an attack on several trucks belonging to an Astoria, Queens meat packing company. In an anonymous Communique sent to the ALF Press Office, the activists state that in the early morning hours of March 02 they planted incendiary devices under two trucks belonging to Schaller and Weber Meat Packing Plant, 2235 46th St., Long Island City (718-721-5480).

The Communique released by the ALF activists claim that the incendiary devices did ignite and caused an unknown amount of damage to both trucks.

"The ALF activists have taken this action against the meat industry to continue their campaign of economic sabotage against all companies who profit from the misery, torture and death inflicted upon animals in the name of profit," states David Barbarash, ALF spokesperson.

According to the Communique, the action against Schaller and Weber was done in support of two animal and environmental activists: Long Island's Andy Stepanian and Bloomington, Ind. activist Frank Ambrose. Andy Stepanian was convicted of an ALF action against a fur store where a window was smashed. He was released from jail on March 03. Frank Ambrose is facing charges relating to a tree spiking action claimed by the Earth Liberation Front. Both activists have maintained their innocence.

The Animal Liberation Front is an international underground movement of people who choose to take non-violent direct action against animal abuse industries. These actions include liberating animals and property destruction. The ALF adhere to a strict code of non-violence which states that no injury or death must come to any animal or human in the course of the action. In the twenty years of ALF activity in North America this guideline has never been breached.

"Meat companies and packing plants are frequent targets of animal liberation activists because of the inherent cruelty of raising an animal for slaughter," comments David Barbarash. "From the rearing of cows, pigs and chickens, to their confinement, to their ultimate slaughter all involve cruelty, pain, suffering and ultimately, death."

Schaller and Weber trucks were damaged as part of a continued campaign of economic sabotage. The ALF have been active in North America since the late 1980's and throughout the 1990's, targeting mainly meat and fur businesses.

In recent months several direct actions have taken place against animal abuse industries in the New York area:

On Dec. 29, 2000 the ALF smashed out all the windows of Hewlett furrier Tres Chic Furs, spray painted anti-fur slogans and destroyed ten coats wed red paint. The following day, Dec. 30, the ALF monkey wrenched ten trucks belonging to a Rockville Center dairy operation, slashing 32 tires, most of the vehicles' windows, cutting coolant and electrical cables, as well as other damage. Twelve storefront windows were also smashed.

On Feb. 05 unIdentified activists smashed four large display windows and the glass door of Burger King on the University of Buffalo campus, and the following day, Feb. 06, the Animal Liberation Front claimed responsibility for smashing the front windows of Corlina Furs in New York City.

Communiques claiming responsibility for all of the above-mentioned actions are available from the ALF Press Office.

The North American ALF Press Office is run independently and separately from the ALF, and is not a participant in illegal activities. The Press Office receives and forwards information from the underground activists. Further information and interviews are available at 250-703-6312.

Local contact: Long Island Animal Defense League, 631-340-4708.

The full text of the ALF Communique is as follows:

"In the early morning hours of March 2nd, we planted two incendiary devices underneath two trucks belonging to The Schaller and Weber Meat Packing Plant in Astoria, Queens. The incendiary devices did an unknown amount of damage to the trucks, although it was evident that the trucks caught fire.

Until the institutional abuse of animals is put to an end we will continue to destroy the property used to exploit innocent life.

This action was carried out in support of Andrew Stepanian, and Frank Ambrose, both dedicated members of our strong above-ground support groups. The unjust treatment of these activists will never intimidate us into stopping our activities.

We will not stop until they do,

-- The Animal Liberation Front"

North American Animal Liberation Front Press Office

* * * * * The Voice of the A.L.F. * * * * *

Spokesperson: David Barbarash
Email: naalfpo@tao.ca
Phone: 250-703-6312
Fax: 419-858-9065
Mailing Address: P.O.Box 3673, Courtenay, B.C., V9N 7P1 Canada
URL and PGP key: http://www.animalliberation.net/media/naalfpo.html

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X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook, Build 11.0.4920
Thread-Index: AcOG/JI/LOOyKE0SR0m87s2R3dSRsQADlNlA
From: "kim berardi." <kim@nocompromise.org>
X-Yahoo-Profile: keesoonkim
Mailing-List: list earthfirstalert@yahoogroups.com; contact earthfirstalert-owner@yahoogroups.com
Delivered-To: mailing list earthfirstalert@yahoogroups.com
List-Unsubscribe: <mailto:earthfirstalert-unsubscribe@yahoogroups.com>
Date: Mon, 29 Sep 2003 21:27:16 -0700
Subject: [EF!] For Earth, Animal and Humyn Liberation
Reply-To: earthfirstalert@yahoogroups.com

The following communique was received anonymously by No Compromise.

=====

On the night of September 25th volunteers from the Revolutionary Cells attacked a subsidiary of a notorious HLS client, Yamanouchi. We left an approximately 10lb ammonium nitrate bomb strapped with nails outside of Shaklee Inc, whose CEO is both the CEO for Shaklee and Yamanouchi Consumer Inc. We gave all of the customers the chance, the choice, to withdraw their business from HLS. Now you all will have to reap what you have sown. All customers and their families are considered legitimate targets.

Hey Sean Lance, and the rest of the Chiron team, how are you sleeping? You never know when your house, your car even, might go boom. Who knows, that new car in the parking lot may be packed with explosives. Or maybe it will be a shot in the dark.

We have given all of the collaborators a chance to withdraw from their relations from HLS. We will now be doubling the size of every device we make. Today it is 10lbs, tomorrow 20....until your buildings are nothing more than rubble. It is time for this war to truely have two sides. No more will all of the killing be done by the oppressors, now the oppressed will strike back. We will be non-violent when the these people are non-violent to the animal nations.

In memory of all of those fallen before us in the war for liberation: Jill Phipps (animal activist), Barry Horne (ALF), Olaia Kastresana (ETA), Arkaitz Otazua (ETA), Angayarkanni (LTTE), Babu (LTTE), Bobby Sands (IRA), Patsy O'Hara (INLA), Carlos Guiliani (anti-globilization martyr), Lee Kyung-hae (farmer and anti-globablization victim), and many more on numerous other fronts. We won't forget you, we won't let your deaths be in vain.

Gora Euskadi Ta Askatasuna!
Up the Real IRA!
Long live the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine!
Viva La Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia!
Long live the Frontu Di Liberazione Naziunalista Corsu!
For the creation of Revolutionary Cells!
For Humyn, Earth & Animal Liberation!

Bringing the bomb and the bullet back into amerikan politics, Revolutionary Cells

--animal liberation brigade

ITEM#	DESCRIPTION	WHERE FOUND
8	VACUUMING SAMPLE FROM BACK DRIVERS SIDE SEAT	BACK DRIVERS SIDE SEAT OF HONDA CIVIC
9	CERIFIED MAIL RECEIPT FOR ITEM SENT TO: MAUDINE WILLIAMS, PO BOX 320626, SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94608, ATM RECEIPT DATED 08/08/03, WHITE PIECE OF PAPER WITH WRITING ON IT.	UNDER FRONT DRIVERS SEAT
10	PARKING TICKET FOR SAN FRANCISCO, ATM RECEIPT DATED 08/12/03, FRYS RECEIPT DATED OCTOBER 3, 2003, NOTICE OF DETERMINATION FPR TEMPORARY EXTENDED UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION	FLOOR BEHIND DRIVERS SEAT
11	ONE CHECK IN THE AMOUNT OF $100.00 PAYABLE TO ANDREAS SAN DIEGO, DRAWN ON THE ACCOUNT OF ARIANA M. HUEMER, 5222 DANTES VIEW DRIVE, AGOURA, CA	DRIVERS SIDE VISOR OF HONDA CIVIC
12	CAR REGISTRATION FOR THE HONDA CIVIC, UNDER THE NAME OF DANIEL ANDREAS SAN DIEGO, STATEFARM CALIFORNIA INSURANCE CARD	DRIVERS SIDE VSIOR OF THE HONDA CIVIC
13	ONE SHEET OF NOTE PAPER WITH DRIVING DIRECTIONS	GLOVE BOX
14	NOTICE OF PARKING CITATION FOR SAN FRANCISCO, ONE OFF WHITE NOTE CARD WITH DRIVING DIRECTIONS	BACK SEAT DRIVERS SIDE OF HONDA CIVIC
15	LEATHERMAN TOOL	FRONT PASSENGER SEAT IN REAR POUCH OF HONDA CIVIC
16	PARKING TICKET	DRIVERS SEAT IN HONDA CIVIC
17	BLACK FLEECE PULLOVER JACKET	TRUNK
18	BROWN LIQUID FROM "BULL DOZER" BOTTLE	TRUNK
	BROKEN THERMOMETER FROM BOX IN TRUNK	TRUNK OF HONDA CIVIC

NO COMPROMISE

The Militant, Direct Action Publication of Grassroots Animal Liberationists & their Supporters

Fur Wars Heat Up: A.L.F. is on the Warpath!

from No Compromise Issue 4

By JP Goodwin

It was reported in the last issue that the Animal Liberation Front had declared war on fur farmers and was going all out in an intense campaign for mink liberation. June, July, and August saw as many actions against mink farms as the whole year before that.

On June 7th the A.L.F. made their first attack against a Utah fur farm. The A.L.F. had already smashed one local retailer up so many times that they had put a sign in the window reading "No Fur Products Sold Here Anymore". This time they went into the Fur Breeders Agriculture Co-op in Sandy, and liberated 50-75 mink. Apparently this raid marked the beginning of what appears to be a long, hot summer for Utah fur farmers.

Three weeks later the A.L.F. struck again, this time in Riverton, Utah. They reported that some mink were dead in their cages while others were piled up under the cages, rotting in the other minks feces. Some mink were cannibalized, and the whole place was filthy. The A.L.F. opened the cages and freed 1000 mink who ran into nearby fields enjoying their new found freedom.

At some point in the month of June the A.L.F. struck in Washington state. We don't have any details except that 80 mink were liberated. This cell did not report the name of the city, name of the farm, or the date that it happened.

July 4th turned out to be a true independence day for animals. In Langley, British Columbia the A.L.F. raided the Akagami mink ranch and released 400 animals. We called the mink farmer posing as reporters and spoke with his wife. She claimed that the mink would starve to death as they hadn't been trained to hunt for food. She then shot holes in that myth by claiming that the liberated mink had killed and eaten a dozen geese in the area. So much for starvation!

On the same night, another A.L.F. cell raided the Latzig mink ranch in Howard Lake, Minnesota. Another 1000 mink were liberated this time. This led to massive media coverage. Myself and Freeman Wicklund from Animal Liberation League did numerous media interviews and debates, explaining that now these mink had a chance at life, whereas before, death was certain.

The Minneapolis Star Tribune ran quotes from CAFT refuting the fur farmers claims that the mink wouldn't survive. The public was educated to the fact that mink have escaped from fur farms in many places where there were no native mink populations. Not only did they survive, they reproduced. This proves that ranch raised mink still have the natural instincts necessary for survival in the wild. The alternative is death in a gas chamber, or by broken neck.

Another A.L.F. cell reported that they were going to carry out a third raid on Mac Ellis Fox Farm in Tennessee, but that the place was now out of business. Apparently this is a result of last falls raid which saw the release of half the fox on that farm.

The A.L.F. didn't stop there. The next target was Holt Mink Ranch in South Jordan, Utah. Utah fur farmers are scared. They have been installing heavy duty fencing with aluminum plates along the top that make a lot of noise when someone tries to go over them. Holt had installed this sort of fencing, but the A.L.F. took it apart, cut it down, and rolled up. They also smashed the new locks on all of the cages. 3000 mink were released, but police arrived and the group had to evacuate. TV news reported that damage to breeding cards alone amounted to $35,000.

The A.L.F. struck next in Hinsdale, Massachusetts at the Carmel Mink Ranch. 1,000 mink were released. The August 10th actior led to national coverage. Even CNN reported on the raid. Two nights later the A.L.F. was in Alliance, Ohio for another break in that led to the liberation of 2,500 mink. Though some mink have been recovered at each site, many are now free, and the industry is going ballistic.

These raids have been very successful. So successful that the fur industry will do almost anything to stop them from occurring. They have put out a $100,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of any A.L.F. activist involved in a fur farm raid. One fur auction house has taken out an insurance policy for any fur farmers which ship through them. They are worried that their farmers will start closing up as a result of this. They are already spending millions of dollars in extra security nationwide.

The industry has produced a booklet that they are sending out to farmers. This booklet describes security techniques that they can adopt. Security techniques which the A.L.F. dismantled in Utah, putting the industry to shame. We haven't gotten a copy o the booklet yet.

Sadly, some so called "animal defenders" are not so supportive of these raids. Ann Davis of the Salt Lake City, Utah based Animal Rights Alliance has stated that she has already talked to the FBI, and will continue to do so. The FBI is working for the fur industry. Anyone that works with them is working hand in hand with the fur trade and is a traitor. If you don't want to be investigated then don't associate with turncoats. With friends like these, the mink are screwed.

Let it be stated loud and clear, that myself and the Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade support these actions 100%. We will never, ever, ever work with anyone who helps the FBI stop the A.L.F.. Put yourself in the minks place and think of how it must feel. Merritt Clifton of Animal People magazine has spread outright lies and misinformation about the mink liberation campaign. Would these people rather see these mink piled up in a gas chamber while the fur trade gets rich? Apparently so.

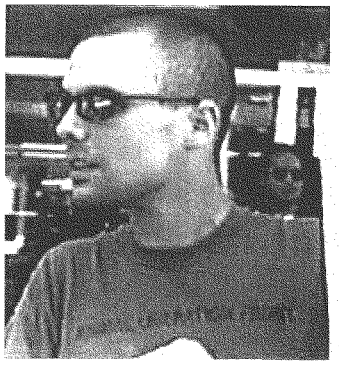
Fortunately, most animal rights activists realize that this is one of the best things to happen in a long time. The A.L.F. looks like they won't stop, and the authorities are nowhere near catching them.

JP Goodwin is the Executive Director of the Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade. He can be reached via e-mail at minklib@aol.com.

This just in! Three more fur farms raided! On September 28, 8,000 mink were released from a farm in Alliance, Ohio - This is the largest release to date! On October 2nd, thousands of mink were freed from a Utah farm. And on October 6th, the A.L.F. liberated 35 fox and 10 mink, and damaged the farm equipment at a Lindboro, New Hampshire farm. That makes 18 known fur farm raids in one year, with over 30,000 animals released!

Be sure to read the next issue of No Compromise for further updates of the A.L.F.'s campaign of mink liberation!

David Martosko **EXHIBIT 7 (p.2)** May 18, 2005



HSUS staffer (since 2001)
John Paul "J.P." Goodwin

The Deseret News (Salt Lake City)
March 11, 1997
Activists take credit for Sandy fur fire
By Cala Byram

SANDY -- Animal rights activists claim they used bombs and set fire to a fur business that sustained $1 million in damage Tuesday.

If the claim is substantiated, the fire that destroyed the main office and four trucks of the Utah Fur Breeders Agricultural Cooperative could be the state's largest animal-rights attack.

The three-alarm blaze brought fire-fighters from Salt Lake County, four nearby cities and bomb-sniffing dogs to the scene about 2 a.m.

None of the 800 mink at the cooperative, which serves mink farmers in Utah and southern Idaho, was harmed.

A caller disguising his voice through computer generation called the Dallas founder of the Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade at 3 a.m. Tuesday, saying the action was on behalf of two jailed activists in New York.

The caller said bombs had been placed in four trucks and the building and a fire had been started at the fur cooperative in Sandy, coalition founder J.P. Goodwin said.

Goodwin knew exactly what facility it was. The cooperative is one of the largest in the nation.

Fire officials have not confirmed whether explosives were actually involved in the fire. However, bomb-sniffing dogs from the Salt Lake International Airport were going over the area Tuesday morning, said Salt Lake County Fire Capt. Frank Dalton.

For safety, authorities also moved the police perimeter farther from the building at 8720 S. 700 West about 7 a.m. to keep people away.

Arson investigators were on the scene Tuesday morning trying to determine what started the fire in the cooperative's main building. It took 60 firefighters from SaltLake County, West Jordan, Murray, Midvale and Sandy about an hour to battle the blaze, Dalton said.

Utah Fur Breeders Agricultural Cooperative spokesman Ryan Holt said the damage to the four trucks looked to be the work of pipe bombs. The blast blew shrapnel through a steel door.

The extent of the alleged attack surprised Holt, even though vandalism has plagued the state's mink-growing industry for years.

"There's been vandalism. But we haven't had any this drastic," Holt said. Goodwin said the caller did not indicate what kind of bombs were used or how many people were involved. There was also no claim to an affiliation with any group. The Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade is not tied to the activity or others like it, but serves as a liaison of sorts for people who don't want to be identified.

"We're ecstatic," said Goodwin, who believes all living things are equal. "We have no problem with inanimate objects being destroyed so animate objects can survive. We believe life is more valuable than property."

A local animal rights group promptly condemned Tuesday's alleged terrorism.

'This type of action detracts from anything positive that could be accomplished on behalf of animals,' said Anne Davis, executive director of Utah Animal Rights Alliance.

Davis fears a 'radical' stigma haunts anyone involved in animal rights because of violent, well-publicized acts committed by the movement's fringe members.

Those claiming responsibility told Goodwin there could be more attacks forthcoming if the demands of two Syracuse, N.Y., inmates are not met. The inmates, Jeff Watkins and Nicole Rogers, are on their 12th day of a hunger strike demanding changes in the way animals are trapped and treated.

The Beehive State produced 600,000 pelts in 1994, about 20 percent of America's minks.

Animal rights activists have been vocal about what they perceive to be the mistreatment of animals in the state's mink farms. The cooperative was hit in June 1995.

"ALF," which stands for the Animal Liberation Front, was sprayed on a door and animals were let out of their cages. Mink farmers throughout the state have tightened security near their operations.

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, Inc.
52-1218336
1994 Form 990

Part I
Line 8 (A)
Sales of publicly traded securities

Gross sales price	$ 3,947,906
Basis	$ 3,974,067
Loss on sales	$ (26,161)

Line 8 (B)

Description	Date Acquired	How Acquired	Date Sold	Sales Price	Cost or Value	Depreciation	(Loss)
Vending Cart	6/05/92	Purchase	5/01/95	$350	$3,600	$2,697	$(553)

Part IV

Line 50 Loan Receivable

Borrower	Original Amount	Balance Due	Date	Maturity Date	Payment Terms	Interest Rate
Jeanne Roush	$21,000	$21,000	1/9/95	Demand	Open	9.0%

Line 51 Notes receivable

Borrower	Original Amount	Balance Due	Date	Maturity Date	Payment Terms	Interest Rate
Jesse Dean and Luz A. Longacre	$52,500	$51,605	9/2/92	9/02/07	$403.69/mo.	8.5%
Ray Coronado	$25,000	$26,375	12/21/94	Demand	Open	9%
Carroll John	$ 4,805	$ 4,251	3/21/95	Demand	$133.47/mo.	Non-Interest Bearing
		$82,231				

SCHEDULE OF DONATIONS - FY 1995

DATE	RECIPIENT/PURPOSE	AMOUNT
	(TO SUPPORT ORGANIZATIONS PROGRAMS)	
12/20/94	IN DEFENSE OF ANIMALS 816 WEST FRANCISCO BLVD. SAN RAFAEL, CA 94901 (FOR REFERENDUM DRIVE)	1,500.00
01/04/95	ALLIANCE FOR ANIMALS 122 STATE ST., # 309 MADISON, WI 53703 (TO SUPPORT ORGANIZATIONS PROGRAMS)	300.00
01/13/95	UNIVERSITY OF IOWA ANIMAL COALITION 902 N. DODGE ST., APT. A-11 IOWA CITY, IA 52245 (TOWARD EDUCATIONAL WORK)	300.00
01/20/95	DEBORAH STOUT/R. CORONADO SUPPORT COMMITTE 810 S. 4TH WEST MISSOULA, MT 59801 (DONATION TO SUPPORT COMMITTEES WORK)	790.00
01/20/95	RODNEY CORONADO SUPPORT COMMITTEE P.O. BOX 1891 TUCSON, AZ 85702 (DONATION TO SUPPORT COMMITTEES WORK)	45,200.00
01/30/95	P.C.R.M. P.O. BOX 6322 WASHINGTON, DC 20015 (DONATION TO SUPPORT COMMITTEES WORK)	10,000.00
01/31/95	ANIMAL REFUGE KANSAI 595 NOMA OHARA, NOSE-CHO TOYONO-GUN, OSAKA-FU 563-01, JAPAN (FOR DISASTER RELIEF)	3,000.00

PAGE 4

FC-003352

The night before the MSU fire, Coronado and Stout checked into a hotel in Ann Arbor.

Coronado's active participation in Operation Bite Back became more apparent when investigators began to question witnesses to the various crimes. For example, witnesses to the OSU fire recalled seeing a female and a male similar in appearance to Coronado acting suspiciously in the vicinity of the attack immediately before the blaze. As stated previously, the WSU attack was followed by ALF press releases which threatened future attacks against six other scientists. The press releases had been sent from a commercial copy center. Coronado was identified as one of the three individuals who composed and sent these press releases. After the December 21, 1991 arson at the Malecky mink ranch, a reporter at television station KGW received a telephone call from a male individual claiming responsibility for the destruction and identifying himself as a member of the ALF. Telephone records indicated that Coronado made that telephone call.

Forensic evidence discovered during the investigation confirmed that Coronado played an important role in planning and executing the ALF's campaign of terrorism. Investigators learned that immediately before and after the MSU arson, a Federal Express package had been sent to a Bethesda, Maryland address from an individual identifying himself as "Leonard Robideau". The

first package went to Ingrid Newkirk, PETA's founder.[1] The second package was intercepted by employees of Federal Express after they discovered that a phony account number had been used to send the package. This second package contained documents that had been stolen from Dr. Aulerich during the MSU raid. Also in this package was a videotape of a perpetrator of the MSU crime, disguised in a ski mask. It had been sent from a drop box adjacent to the Ann Arbor hotel where Coronado had rented a room. Analysis of the handwriting on the freight bill for the Federal Express package showed it to be Coronado's.

Search warrants also disclosed evidence that the defendant was an active participant in illegal activity on behalf of animals. The first warrant was executed at the home of Maria Blanton, a longtime PETA member who had agreed to accept the first Federal Express package from Coronado after being asked to do so by Ingrid Newkirk. Records found during the search of Blanton's home demonstrated that Coronado and others had planned a raid at Tulane University. These records showed that Coronado, Alex Pacheco (another PETA founder) and others had planned a burglary at Tulane University's Primate Research Center in 1990. (In 1990, Tulane housed the "Silver Springs Monkeys", a group of lab monkeys that had been the focus of furious criticism by PETA.) The records seized included surveillance logs; code names for Coronado, Pacheco and others; burglary tools; two-way radios;

[1] Significantly, Newkirk had arranged to have the package delivered to her days before the MSU arson occurred.

night vision goggles; phony identification for Coronado and Pacheco, and animal euthanasia drugs. The Tulane burglary did not occur, presumably because the monkeys were sent elsewhere immediately before the raid was scheduled to occur.

Further evidence of Coronado's direct involvement in Operation Bite Back was discovered during a search of a storage locker rented by him in Talent, Oregon. Found in the locker was a typewriter. Forensic examiners were able to reconstruct the text of what had been typed on the ribbon of this typewriter. This reconstructed letter revealed that Coronado had targeted two Montana fur farms for arson and had solicited funds to bankroll the operation. One target for arson was the Huggans Rocky Mountain Fur Farm in Hamilton, Montana, which the defendant described as the

> LARGEST ... largest fur processors in Montana. After my investigation I discovered that all the fur farmers in Montana used the same company to prepare pelts for auction. The Huggan's Rocky Mountain Fur Company is a building I have been in before. It is all wood, with no alarms and no close proximity to animals. The targeted building contains all the drying racks, and drums used in pelt processing. If we could cause substantial damage to that equipment, we would cause a serious disruption in the pelting season, and also push the Huggan's family (third generation trappers) into a position closer to bankruptcy.

Coronado went onto explain that this and similar "actions" could also prevent consumers from buying fur products "for fear of ALF." Coronado also stated that if he could obtain funds, he would mount other attacks "against the fur farm industry this

Transcript excerpts

Speaker: Rodney Coronado
Event: National Conference on Organized Resistance
Location: American University (Washington, DC)
Date: January 26, 2003

"So along those same lines, as a direct-action warrior, it made a lot of sense to me to attack institutions in the fur trade, and the animal abuse industry, and the timber industry, with fire, because those -- as I said before, those buildings were built for no other purpose than to destroy life. And so there is no purpose for them in today's world. We need to destroy them by any means necessary." *[applause]*

[...]

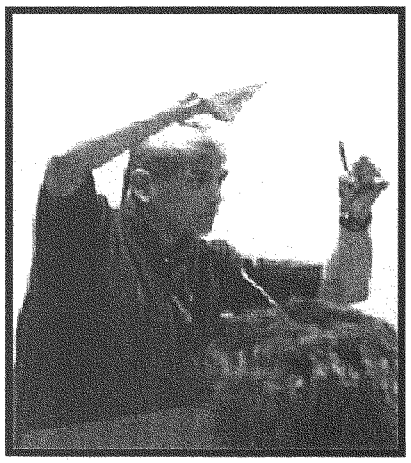
"Whenever any police agency or government or corporation ... every time that they violate our civil or human rights, we should target their property. Every time a police agency pepper-sprays or uses pain-compliance holds against our people, their cars should burn."

[...]

"You know, those people - I think they should appreciate that we're only targeting their property. Because frankly I think it's time to start targeting them." *[applause]*

[...]

"We need to fight globalization in our own homes. We need to recognize that the money that it costs for us to travel across the country doing actions can be well, much, well spent doing direct actions. Here's a little model I'm going to show you here. I didn't have any incense, but -- this is a crude incendiary device. It is a simple plastic jug, which you fill with gasoline and oil. You put in a sponge, which is soaked also in flammable liquid - I couldn't find an incense stick, but this represents that. You put the incense stick in here, light it, place it -- underneath the 'weapon of mass destruction,' light the incense stick - sandalwood works nice -- and you destroy the profits that are brought about through animal and earth abuse. That's about two dollars." *[applause]*



PETA NEWS November/December 1985

ALF TALKS!

My interview with two of the Animal Liberation Front cat liberators took nearly three weeks to set up. Finally, we met in the back parking lot of a Dallas coffee shop at 10 p.m. on a Thursday.

There, a serious young couple materialized in the darkness and introduced themselves as Dave and Jan. Both wore shaded glasses and hats that covered their hair. Jan "patted me down," checking for a hidden camera or microphone; then we all got into my car. Dave drove. After a few minutes, Jan, apologizing, slipped a scarf blindfold over my eyes.

About ten minutes later, the car stopped, and when Jan removed the blindfold, I saw that we were at a nondescript garden apartment. Over coffee in the kitchen we talked. Jan is a social worker; Dave a high school history teacher.

Jan: John Orem is what we call a career vivisector. That means he's typical of animal experimenters who make a handsome living mutilating animals with government funds. Someone on the inside said she had watched the cats suffer for years and that the ALF was her - and their - only hope. We had experts look Orem's papers over and they were sick at how stupid and cruel it was.

Me: So far he's received $900,000, hasn't he?

Dave: Yes. He's been riding the government grant gravy train, fueled with tortured cats, since 1977 and obviously plans to ride it until he retires, and the results of it all are a big fat zero.

Me: Couldn't you have contacted the authorities?

Jan: There's no point. No law's being broken. The stark truth is the Animal Welfare Act doesn't even cover animals during actual experiments. No law does. Not one! Experimenters don't even have to use anesthesia, and frequently they don't. When you complain to the funding agencies, they defend everything. To them there is no such thing as trash science, no such thing as too much pain.

Me: How did you gain entry to Orem's laboratory?

Dave: Shortly after 7 a.m. four of us went in and two of us stayed outside as lookouts. We had been in on a recky [reconnaissance] some weeks earlier. We knew exactly where to go.

Me: Were the cats afraid of you?

Dave: They were afraid of the men, not the women. They cringed and pulled back at first, as if expecting to be hurt. After we took the videos from Orem's office and gave his torture machinery what it deserved, two of us held the cat bags open while the women placed the cats gently inside them. As the others carried the cats out, I spray-painted 'Don't mess with Texas Animals - ALF' on the wall.

Me: What happened to the cats?

Jan: We took them straight to a vet. Floyd was sick. The breathing tube hole in his neck was infected and he had an upper respiratory infection because his sinuses had been stripped by years of ammonium hydroxide blasts in the face. His hair was so badly matted that he had to be shaved. Cinders has peculiar stumps instead of legs. His growth has been severely stunted somehow. Black Cat had a traumatic hernia the size of a Texas grapefruit and that was removed right away.

Dave: Now they're all together many miles from here, healing inside and out with care and kindness, coming out of their shells.

Me: Why did you destroy that equipment?

Dave: Because its whole purpose is to cause pain. We didn't want Orem to pick up the phone and simply replace the cats. We want to make continuing barbaric, worthless experiments like his as expensive and as difficult as possible.

Me: Would you ever harm a person?

Dave: No. The ALF will break things, but we will never harm a living being. The vivisectors are terrorists. Every day they cut, shock, burn, poison and drive insane thousands of frightened, helpless, innocent animals. They kill without a thought. Our aim is to slow down and eventually stop their violence.

Jan: We want the public to know what's going on behind the locked laboratory doors. If they know, they'll stop hearing the hype and help us stop the horror. That day, a lot of animals will be happy.

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

PETA Talks With the Animal Liberation Front

An ALF member since 1982, "Jack" believes ALF actions to date have succeeded because of 2 important factors: the time spent in careful planning and the discipline necessary to protect the anonymity of ALF units.

PETA: I understand that you were a member of the team that broke into Dr. Gennarelli's laboratory at the University of Pennsylvania.
Jack: Yes, and I helped a few weeks later with the second raid.
P: Why these two raids?
Jack: Well, two main reasons over and above my general commitment to intervene directly to help stop suffering. First, G. is absolutely notorious and his abuses, it struck me, could only be exposed through this kind of action. Everything else had been tried. As for the second raid, I had the additional incentive of knowing about two veterinarians at the school, Adrian Morrison and Peter Hand, who had travelled last year to Maryland to appear in court and defend yet another infamous experimenter, Dr. Taub.*
P: You mean they defended the conditions in Taub's lab?
J: Absolutely. One of them actually went so far as to say there was nothing wrong with failing to call in a veterinarian if a monkey had a broken bone or infected wound. They pretty much said that no deaths or few deaths equaled good health! They also said there was no scientific evidence that heavy accumulation of feces caused a health problem. I remember reading that the prosecutor told the judge that if that were the case, we've wasted a lot of money on sewage systems in this country.
P: Why has this action received more attention than past ALF actions?
J: I don't know positively, but I feel sure the tapes play a big part. Finally people can see what's actually going on in laboratories, and they can see what they're paying for. That's one reason I'm delighted with the press coverage; we've known all along how bad things are for laboratory animals, but now everyone can see for themselves.
P: Did you go in specifically for the tapes, or did you intend to bring out animals?
J: We decided to go in for the tapes, because we knew how important a step this exposure would be for all laboratory animals. But the decision wasn't easy. We had seen the baboons on the fifth floor during a previous surveillance; their cages were so small, and looking into their eyes sent chills through me. It was an ugly choice because the whole place was wretched; all of us wanted to just stop the whole operation. I remember Fred Weisman's film "Primate", where he described laboratories as having the "smell of urine and the stench of greed"; it's so disgustingly true.
P: You said G. is notorious. What do you mean?
J: I'm talking about his callousness towards the animals he uses, his consumption of large sums of taxpayers' money, and the fact that all these years he's been fine-tuning his

Flying back to freedom after liberation.

ability to damage animals' brains, ever so precisely at this angle and this speed, so that we can make better football helmets. My brother is a dirt bike racer, and when he tells me about some of the things he and his friends do, I'm grateful he's still here at all. But he does all those wild things because he wants to; he enjoys it. PETA has a T-shirt that says, "Animals don't drink, Animals don't smoke, Animals don't wear makeup, Animals don't drop bombs. Because we do, why should they suffer?" That's how I feel.
P: Do you think the end of G's work would mean the end of head injury research?
J: Of course not. In fact, I really want to see money going to develop alternatives to animals. I believe we could take some real steps forward, faster and more efficiently without using animals than Gennarelli has over the past fifteen years by mutilating all those monkeys. In this technological age alternatives should be actively sought out and developed. Right now the money is in animal experiments. Dallas Pratt's book *Alternatives To Pain* really got me thinking. Researchers claim that there aren't any alternatives—without ever trying to find them. They haven't searched their souls about what they're doing; they use animals as a matter of course. That needs to change.
P: Have your ALF activities ever interfered with your personal life?
J: Actually, I look at it in the opposite way. I've tried to make sure that I don't take on responsibilities that will interrupt or prevent my animal work. A year ago my dog died, and I decided then not to replace her. Instead, I thought I could better help other animals by making my home a foster home. I keep animals temporarily, while people go on vacation or for any reason. I've been able to help so many animals by keeping them out of commercial kennels. Years ago I worked in a kennel for the summer. The conditions were pretty bad and this place was supposed to be one of the best. If you've ever boarded your dog you

*who was prosecuted for cruelty to animals in Maryland.

know you aren't allowed to see the pens; the animals can sit in their urine all week and get a quick bath the day they're to be picked up. They're confused and upset enough about being left by the people they know, without having to go through substandard treatment.
P: What about your job?
J: I'm a graduate student with a full scholarship, so I'm not working now. I have a lot of studying and book work to do, but somehow I've always managed to keep up.
P: How do you feel about being in the ALF?
J: I'm proud of it. I only wish I could openly recruit classmates and other students. I have no misgivings or second thoughts about what I do, only a sound conviction that I have to do it. What I find regrettable is that I can't share my experiences with friends after a successful action. I find myself wanting to run up to someone and say, *"Did you hear about the animals in such and such a laboratory? After all they've been through, now they're free."* Along with being happy for the liberated ones, I feel excited about what they represent for our cause; each action we accomplish means a step forward for animal rights, because by exposing their plight, we have the opportunity to speak for them. And as long as people don't know what's going on, they can't do anything about it.
P: Would you have changed anything about the G. break-in?
J: I only wish we had done it sooner. ■

"Animals don't drink, Animals don't smoke, Animals don't wear makeup, Animals don't drop bombs. Because we do, why should they suffer?" That's how I feel.

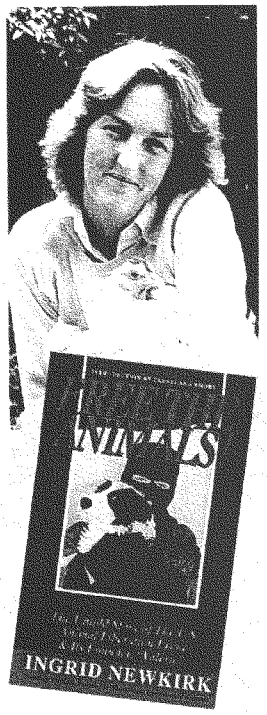
PETA NEWS March/April 1990

DO YOU SUPPORT THE ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT?

ALF CREDO

- To rescue animals from persecution by removing them from farms and laboratories, etc.
- To economically sabotage the industries of animal exploitation.
- No action should harm, or seek to harm, human or animal life.

INGRID NEWKIRK



Free the Animals!
by Ingrid Newkirk

The voice that speaks for the animals speaks for the Animal Liberation Front (ALF). At long last, the story of the ALF in America is told by PETA co-founder Ingrid Newkirk. Scintillating details about animal rescues from testing laboratories, fur farms, and food factories make for fast-moving adventure and riveting reading. Newkirk's interviews with the stop-at-nothing ALF leader, "Valerie," and the story of her 10-year struggle to revolutionize society's attitudes toward animals provide an intimate look at the ALF that surpasses everything the media have said about this shadowy group.

372 pages, paperback

5500 $13.95

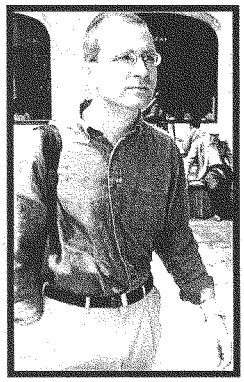
PETA Members: $12.50

Transcript excerpts

Speaker: Bruce Friedrich
Event: Animal Rights 2001 national conference
Location: Hilton Mclean Tysons Corner (near Washington, DC)
Date: July 2, 2001

"For people who don't know me, I work for People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, and have for a little bit more than five years ... And I've been doing direct action for quite some time, actually."

[...]



"If these animals do have the same right to be free of pain and suffering at our hands, then of course we're going to be, as a movement, blowing stuff up and smashing windows. For the record, I don't do this stuff, but I do advocate it. I think it's a great way to bring about animal liberation. And considering the level of the atrocity and the level of the suffering, I think it would be a great thing if all these fast food outlets and these slaughterhouses and these laboratories, and the banks that fund them exploded tomorrow. *[applause]* I think it's perfectly appropriate. And I think it's perfectly appropriate for people to take bricks and toss them through the windows and you know, everything else along that line. Hallelujah to the people who are willing to do it. And I think that it prioritizes things appropriately."

[...]

"Property is not about causing suffering. And it's a sort of sick idolatry that says a gestation crate or a veal slaughterhouse or even a fast food restaurant that offers no vegan meals is in anyway property or in any way life giving or in any way sustaining. It's the exact opposite of that. And what turns it into property is when it's blown up or burned to the ground and it becomes rubble."

The Toledo Blade

Activist Devotes Life to Animal Rights

By Jack Lessenberry

Sunday, June 24, 2001

Gary Yourofsky is not, he says, an animal lover. Never mind that virtually every waking moment of his life is devoted to fighting for animal rights. Never mind that he has been arrested more than a dozen times and served more than two months hard time in a Canadian prison for liberating mink.

No, he's not an animal lover. "I don't even like most animals," the outspoken 30-year-old said.

"Anyway, this isn't about loving them. It's about injustice. My goal is to free them. They are a disenfranchised group. They have the right to their own existence. They aren't ours to exploit. They exist for their own reasons."

Mr. Yourofsky, a slight, virtually bald young man with piercing eyes, has dedicated his life to fighting for what he sees as the worlds' greatest civil rights movement: Animal Liberation. Though he is of a generation that is virtually a stranger to political commitment, he is, cheerfully and proudly "an activist 24/7. This is what I do."

He isn't kidding. A large tattoo of himself wearing a hood and displaying the symbols of ALF, the Animal Liberation Front, adorns one forearm.

He isn't getting rich at it. Mr. Yourofsky is "in debt up to my ears. I owe at least $30,000 on credit cards," and gets by on donations. He lives in a tiny apartment with his ancient dog, Rex, and probably could fit all his worldly goods into his car.

Sometimes, he admits, he gets down, especially when he thinks about how much brutality there is, and how little progress he has made. But he has absolutely no doubt that what he is doing is right, and that his life would even be worth losing if it would help stop what he thinks is the most evil"ism" in human history.

"Speciesism. That is, the unfounded, unethical, and unprincipled view that the human animal has every right to enslave, torture, and murder the non-human animal."

Does he think that the life of a gnat, say, is as valuable as that of a person? He waves impatiently; he isn't going there. "What we must do is start viewing every cow, pig, chicken, monkey, rabbit, mouse, and pigeon as our family members."

"And we must be willing to do whatever it takes to gain their freedom and stop their torture," he adds. For himself, that means only nonviolent means. But Mr. Yourofsky doesn't condemn others who feel differently. "Do not be afraid to condone arsons at places of animal torture," he has written to supporters.

Matter of fact, if an "animal abuser" were to get killed in the process of burning down a research lab, "I would unequivocally support that, too."

He wasn't always out there. He grew up in the very suburban, mostly Jewish Detroit suburb of Oak Park. He ate meat, played guitar, and dreamed of someday being a goalie in the National Hockey League.

Then, one day in his early 20s, his stepfather, who was a professional circus clown, took Gary behind the scenes at the circus. He went up to an elephant and "saw nothing but fear and hopelessness in her eyes" and saw that she was chained and could barely move. "I didn't even know then how they are routinely beaten, to break their spirit. I just knew something was wrong." When they brought out dancing bears wearing tutus, he left.

That changed his life. He plunged into research on how animals are treated and mistreated; became first a vegetarian, then a more radical vegan. Though he had degrees in journalism and broadcasting, he decided to put his skills to work full-time for the animals. Five years ago, he founded ADAPTT (Animals Deserve Absolute Protection Today and Tomorrow) which now has, he says, 2,200 or so members.

Yes, he did once liberate precisely 1,542 mink from individual cages on a now-bankrupt Ontario farm, crawling through dirt and mink feces to do so. Yes, he chained himself to his car and blocked the entrance to Detroit Animal Control Center, to protest their gassing of unwanted animals and, worse, selling them to a university for experiments.

"Any real scientist will tell you we learn nothing of value by experimenting on animals. Nothing!" he maintained. "And even if we did, we've no right to do it."

Though he may be arrested again, what he really prefers doing is lecturing about animal rights. An articulate, compelling speaker, he is in increasing demand on the classroom and lecture circuit. When he's not doing that, he is heavily into other forms of "informational propaganda." Last fall, he successfully wangled $10,000 from PETA - People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals - and got a commercial attacking "the animal slavery enterprise known as the circus" on local TV 69 times.

What the future holds, he knows, is more frustration. Last winter, depressed over his economic situation and the enormous task, Mr. Yourofsky dropped out for two or three months, before gradually returning to the fray. Now, however, he is pumped and ready. If he gets tired, he remembers what he tells audiences: "Picture yourself in chains, swaying back and forth as someone whacked you over the head with an elephant hook. Then tell me you wouldn't want your supporters to do anything to obtain your freedom."

In the long run, he doesn't expect to see very much animal liberation in his lifetime. "I really think I will be assassinated," he said. One comes away with a feeling that if his own death helped further the cause, it might, for Gary Yourofsky, seem worth it.

Jack Lessenberry is a member of the journalism faculty at Wayne State University in Detroit.

OPEN LETTER from Gary Yourofsky
May 28, 2002

Friends, enemies, and supporters, lend me your ears.

The founder of the world's most recognizable animal rights organization has decided to keep me heavily involved in the struggle for animal liberation.

The day after my resignation letter was sent out a couple of months ago, I received a phone call from Ingrid Newkirk, PETA's founder and president. Ingrid called after Bruce Friedrich, PETA's Director of Vegan Outreach, informed her of my situation. As most of you recall, after six years of volunteering for ADAPTT, I resigned as ADAPTT's president due to financial ruin.

Ingrid's message was touching and emotional, to say the least. Frankly, I was blown away that Ingrid would call me with concern because I could no longer continue my activism. Getting a call and/or a request from Ingrid is like getting a call from the Godfather's Don Corleone. It's an offer one can't refuse.

In a nutshell, Ingrid and PETA wanted to know what they could do to keep me involved. We've been in negotiations ever since. Then, on Monday, May 20, PETA made me its official, national lecturer. This union will benefit the animals immensely. Words cannot describe the joy that I am experiencing over this alliance.

After watching my 68-minute presentation, PETA, like many others in this movement, believed that my vegan/animal liberation lecture was damn persuasive! So, our goal now is to have DAILY lectures set up in schools across the U.S. when the fall semester begins next September. Several people will be helping me achieve this goal. Plus, at the end of June, an oration will be recorded at a Michigan college and placed on VHS, DVD, and CD (audio). These items will be featured in PETA's next issue of Animal Times which will be available in the PETA catalogue. This will help us reach many educators across the country.

As always, if you know anyone who is a teacher/professor, please ask them to bring me in as a guest lecturer. Traveling will no longer be a problem. We just have to coordinate and get as many lectures as possible scheduled in every region.

By the way, those closest to me know that I have been growing wiser as each year of activism passes. I used to be flat-out vituperative when it came to PETA and other groups who didn't do things my way. But last year I started to realize that my acrimony was wrong and wasteful. I pondered the reasons why I was such an effective activist who was admired by many. Why were teachers constantly inviting me into their classrooms? Why were students going vegan instantly after hearing my speech? Why were TV stations accepting graphic TV advertisements that I produced? Why did media outlets constantly give me positive coverage? Why did people follow me?

Since one is never too old for an epiphany, another one took place in my life. I realized that people supported me because I was an uncompromising, in-your-face, articulate activist who condemned all kinds of animal abuse and who was willing to go to any length to achieve animal liberation, including jail (and even death). Truthfully, I never made a bit of difference condemning my fellow activists.

Moreover, after spending a week here at PETA's HQ in Norfolk, Virginia, I now see that PETA people work damn hard for the animals. There are 100 Yourofskys working in this building, each activist doing what they do best. Every activist should be required to meet our PETA brethren face-to-face and attend a monthly staff meeting to see all the hard work and achievements. While I may have had tactical differences with PETA, I have had tactical differences with EVERY group and EVERY activist involved in animal liberation, even the ALF!!!! Heck, I don't even agree with myself sometimes!

So, it is time to truly unite and make a world of difference for every enslaved animal on this planet. With PETA's assistance, my goal of educating students in classrooms all across the US is feasible.

For any of you out there who feel that I've sold out or something like that -- let me paraphrase Paul Watson by saying what makes you think I care what you have to say? Creating an image for one's self is NOT more important than fighting for animal freedom. I've said it before and I'll say it again: "I work for the animals and the animals alone." And, thanks to largest animal rights organization in the world and its founder Ingrid Newkirk, I can now continue my work!

Goddess/God Bless PETA and ALL of my fellow activists.

Gary Yourofsky
PETA National Lecturer
757-622-7382 -- Ext 1580
garyy@peta.org

03/26/01	Compassionate A[illegible]on for Animals 6524 Walker Street, Suite 225 St. Paul, MN 55426	To Support Their Program Activities	$1,500.00
03/26/01	Helga Tacreiter P.O. Box 227 Shiloh, NJ 08353	To Support Their Program Activities	$500.00
03/26/01	Elizabeth River Project 801 Boush Street, Suite 204 Norfolk, VA 23510	To Support Their Program Activities	$175.00
03/31/01	Pazanimal Carrera 3 # m 1-42 San Antonio Cali, Columbia	To Support Their Program Activities	$400.00
04/03/01	Matt Rossell 4717 NE Garfield Street Portland, OR 97211	To Support Their Program Activities	$4,000.00
04/06/01	Free Dolphin Coalition of Maui P.O. Box 1547 Kahului, HI 96733	To Support Their Program Activities	$300.00
04/20/01	North American Earth Liberation Front P.O. Box 4783 Portland, OR 97208	To Support Their Program Activities	$1,500.00
04/23/01	Helga Tacreiter P.O. Box 227 Shiloh, NJ 08353	To Support Their Program Activities	$500.00
04/23/01	Compassion Over Killing P.O. Box 9773 Washington, DC 20016	To Support Their Program Activities	$1,000.00
04/30/01	Grey 2K USA P.O. Box 442117 Somerville, MA 02144	To Support Their Program Activities	$2,000.00

PETA explains its $1,500 donation to the Earth Liberation Front

"PETA President Ingrid Newkirk says ... that the ELF donation was for a publication (and not its illegal activities)."

— *The Wall Street Journal*, February 22, 2002

"[Newkirk] said she did not remember the check to ELF, which was reported on the organization's 2000 tax return."

— ABC News, February 26, 2002

"[Newkirk] also said the money PETA gave to the North American Earth Liberation Front was in response to a request for funds for educational materials."

— The Associated Press, March 4, 2002

"Newkirk also confirms that [PETA] donated money to the ELF for 'habitat protection.'"

— KOMO-TV (Seattle), March 5, 2002

"PETA [said they] contributed $1,500 during the 2000 fiscal year to ELF for education and habitat protection."

— *The Denver Post*, March 6, 2002

"We did. We did. We gave a $1,500 contribution to the ELF for a specific program ... The only reason we did it is because it was a program that we supported. And it was about vegetarianism."

— PETA communications director Lisa Lange on *The O'Reilly Factor*, Fox News Channel, March 7, 2002

"In April 2001, PETA sent a check in the amount of $1,500.00 to the North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office to assist Craig Rosebraugh with legal expenses related to free speech issues regarding animal protection issues."

— PETA general counsel Jeff Kerr in a letter to U.S. Congressman Scott McInnis, March 14, 2002

"PETA said the money was used to send two people to Washington to testify at a congressional hearing on behalf of an ELF spokesman."

— The Associated Press, October 1, 2003

01/10/01	Silke Wrobah Noah's Ark P.O. Box 241 Crete, Greece	To Support Their Program Activities	$2,000.00
01/16/01	RSPA P.O. Box 2301 Rehovot, Isreal 76122	To Support Their Program Activities	$50.00
01/16/01	United Poultry Concerns P.O. Box 150 Machipongo, VA 23405	To Support Their Program Activities	$200.00
01/16/01	Helga Tacreiter P.O. Box 227 Shiloh, NJ 08353	To Support Their Program Activities	$500.00
01/16/01	Helga Tacreiter P.O. Box 227 Shiloh, NJ 08353	To Support Their Program Activities	$500.00
01/24/01	Josh Harper Support Fund P.O. Box 45275 Seattle, WA 98145	To Support Their Program Activities	$5,000.00
02/05/01	Animal Help Foundation Opp the Underbridge Retreat, Shahibag, Ahmedabad - 380004, India	To Support Their Program Activities	$1,000.00
02/07/01	Animal Protection of New Mexico P.O. Box 1215 Santa Fe, NM 87504-1215	To Support Their Program Activities	$1,500.00
02/14/01	Alley Cat Rescue P.O. Box 585 Mount Rainier, MD 20712	To Support Their Program Activities	$200.00
02/14/01	Fundacion Vida Animal Auenida 3 Oeste No. 7-35 Cali, Columbia	To Support Their Program Activities	$500.00

FD-597 (Rev 8-11-94) Page 2 of 2

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Receipt for Property Received/Returned/Released/Seized

File # 266A-SE-87680

On (date) 4/23/03

Item(s) listed below were
☐ Received From
☐ Returned To
☐ Released To
☒ Seized

(Name)

(Street Address) 5526 17TH AVE NE

(City) SEATTLE, WA 98105

Description of Item(s)

(20) READING MATERIAL
(21) SOUVENIR LADDIES BOOK / TICKETS Room H
(22) LARGE POSTER Room H
(23) CHECK BOOK Room H
(24) MAINE LIST Room H
(25) VHS CASSETTES Room H
(26) BUS TICKET Room H
(27) RAZOR BOBBY TRAN LISTER Room H
(28) 35# MARBLE MAUL Room A
(29) BOX OF CARDS Room H
(30) MAIL FROM "SUGARMAN" Room H
(31) CORRESPONDENCE MAIL Room H

NOTE

Received By _____ (Signature) Received From: _____ (Signature)

The Oregonian
OCTOBER 27, 1999
Scientists Get Letters Rigged With Razors
by Bryan Denson

Underground animal-rights extremists have mailed letters rigged with razor blades to scientists across the United States, including four in Oregon, to scare them out of using primates in research.

The letters, postmarked Friday in Las Vegas, were the second such mass mailing in the past 90 days by a group calling itself the "Justice Department." One envelope was delivered to a Portland-area scientist, who turned it over unopened to authorities.

In early August, the group mailed similar envelopes to fur industry officials across the United States and Canada, including at least three Oregon ranchers. Animal-rights extremists have been accused of previous mailings in England and Canada, but the latest mass mailings are thought to be unprecedented in the United States.

For 20 years, underground terrorists devoted to the environment and its creatures have burned, bombed and otherwise sabotaged industries that rely on natural resources. They have typically intended to inflict economic, not physical, harm.

But the mass-mailed letters, rigged with utility razor blades affixed to index cards, were designed to cut fingers. The wife of a Pennsylvania fur farmer, who sliced her thumb last summer, appears to be the only one hurt so far.

FBI agents in Washington, D.C., and Las Vegas confirmed Tuesday that they were familiar with the incidents but would not confirm having opened an investigation.

The latest batch of letters was sent to 86 primate researchers from Atlanta to Seattle, according to a notice posted by the extremist organization on an Animal Liberation Front Internet sites.

"Animal abusers beware," the site warns, ". . . the wave of booby-trapped letters sent to fur farmers in North America in August was only the beginning."

Dr. Don P. Wolf, a senior scientist at Oregon Health Sciences University's regional primate research center in Hillsboro, received one of the rigged letters early Monday at a Portland fertility clinic. Wolf had been warned that he was on the hit list, so he didn't open the letter when it arrived. Instead, he gave the envelope to campus police, who turned it over to the FBI.

"It's very sobering to realize that it would be very easy for an individual to do bodily harm if they were determined," said Wolf. Three other OHSU primate researchers also made the hit list, but all were out of town and none received the letters, said Jim Parker, chief spokesman for primate researchers at OHSU.

At least a dozen other researchers nationally had received the letters by Tuesday, but none had been hurt, said Jacquie Calnan, president of Americans for Medical Progress, a Virginia-based group dedicated to bolstering public opinion of medical research.

Calnan, who spent Monday and Tuesday e-mailing researchers on the hit list, was dismayed by the latest mailing.

"They feel it's time for scientists to get hurt," she said.

Notes inside the envelopes warned primate researchers they had until fall 2000 to quit using primates in their research or be subjected to more violence.

Wolf has researched the cloning of rhesus monkeys at the OHSU primate center in hopes of finding a way to slow the spread of AIDS. His research requires him to remove eggs from his monkeys, create embryos and return them to the animals.

Some militant animal-rights activists think that caging and performing surgeries on monkeys should be abolished.

"I appreciate their right to an opinion," Wolf said. "I think this is a poor way to express it."

The Justice Department, said to have originated in England as an underground offshoot of that nation's animal-rights movement, appears to be "dissatisfied with the progress of animal liberation, so they feel that violence against humans is justified," said David Barbarash, spokesman for the Animal Liberation Front in Vancouver, British Columbia.

Even the most extreme animal-rights activists differ on whether such rigged letters are an appropriate tactic.

"I'm truthfully not opposed to it, but, at the same time, it's not something I'm going to run out and do," said Craig Rosebraugh, a Portland activist who is also a national spokesman for the secretive Earth Liberation Front. "I don't condemn it in any way."

Barbarash does.

"It's an intimidation tactic to force animal abusers out of business, and it may be successful -- I guess we'll have to find out -- [but] it makes me uncomfortable," he said. "I don't like violence."

Even though he condemns the tactic, Barbarash stands accused of acting on behalf of the Justice Department by mailing similar letters to 22 hunting guides in Canada in early 1996. Barbarash denies the charge, saying it is an attempt by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to destroy him.

Teresa Platt, who heads Fur Commission USA, said, "These attacks are designed to render you silent." Platt, burned in effigy by animal-rights activists last month in California, has received e-mailed death threats and, in August, got one of the Justice Department's first mass-mailed razor blade letters.

That first mailing, aimed primarily at the fur industry, was received by at least three Oregon fur ranchers, Platt said.

"You have been targeted," read a note in the envelopes. "You have until autumn of the year 2000 to get out of the bloody fur trade. If you don't heed our warning, we will turn your violence back upon you."

Just below the note -- signed by the Justice Department's Anti-Fur Task Force -- was a line drawing of a mail bomb.

Peopl or the Ethical Treatment of Animals, I
52-1218336

SCHEDULE OF GRANTS AND ALLOCATIONS - Statement 18

DATE	RECIPIENT/PURPOSE	AMOUNT
06/14/00	FOUNDATION TO SUPPORT ANIMAL PROTECTION 501 FRONT STREET NORFOLK, VA 23510 Supporting Organization Noncash-Bonds and Securities	$300,000.00 $700,000.00
08/17/99	David Wilson 255 E. HILL AVENUE #5 SALT LAKE CITY, UT 84107 (TO SUPPORT THEIR PROGRAM ACTIVITIES)	$2,000.00
08/24/99	Vegan Outreach 211 INDIAN DRIVE PITTSBURGH, PA 15238 (TO SUPPORT THEIR PROGRAM ACTIVITIES)	$450.00
10/19/99	United Poultry Concerns P.O. BOX 150 MACHIPONGO, VA 23405 (TO SUPPORT THEIR PROGRAM ACTIVITIES)	$400.00
10/26/99	OpSail 2000 120 W. MAIN STREET NORFOLK, VA 23512 (TO SUPPORT THEIR PROGRAM ACTIVITIES)	$500.00
10/31/99	Global Action Network 1254 MACKAY #1 MONTREAL, QC H3G244 (TO SUPPORT THEIR PROGRAM ACTIVITIES)	$500.00
11/30/99	Ahimsa Bombay SHOP NO 1 PLUTO CO-OP SOC PERRY ROAD OPP HONGKONG BANK MUMBAI (TO SUPPORT THEIR PROGRAM ACTIVITIES)	$200.00
12/15/99	Animal Rights Network P.O. BOX 25881 BALTIMORE, MD 21224 (TO SUPPORT THEIR PROGRAM ACTIVITIES)	$1,000.00

Eco-terrorists' elusiveness frustrate law enforcement in PA
The Associated Press
January 5, 2005
By DAN NEPHIN

PITTSBURGH -- On New Year's Day two years ago, the Earth Liberation Front, a radical environmental group, claimed responsibility for igniting several trucks and sport utility vehicles at an auto dealership - the fourth and last known attack in northwestern Pennsylvania in the preceding year.

No one has ever been charged and eco-terrorism experts say it's unlikely that anyone will.

"Unless somebody squeals or somebody got a license place number, they're probably not going to get caught," said Gary Perlstein, an eco-terrorism expert and professor emeritus at Portland State University.

Gerald Clark Jr., acting supervisory special agent of the FBI's Erie office, remains optimistic. Agents "continue to follow leads that we feel have potential in the investigation," he said Wednesday.

Law enforcement outside Pennsylvania had identified Michael J. Scarpitti as a suspect in one of the other attacks, the Aug. 11, 2002, fire at a U.S. Forest Service research station near Warren. Clark said he couldn't confirm or deny whether Scarpitti was a suspect in that blaze, which caused $700,000 damage.

Scarpitti, who has said trees told him to change his name to Tre Arrow, was convicted last year of shoplifting in Victoria, British Columbia, and remains in jail there. He is wanted for his alleged role in the 2001 firebombing of logging and cement trucks in Oregon, but is fighting extradition.

Clark acknowledged that ELF is a difficult group to investigate. In October, a joint terrorism task force was created to enable local and federal law enforcement to combine resources and intelligence to combat terrorism, which should help, he said.

ELF's lack of structure makes infiltration difficult and it doesn't announce when or where attacks will occur, according to eco-terrorism experts and law enforcement.

Members are anonymous, claiming membership by simply carrying out an action under the group's name and guidelines. The group uses the Internet to communicate and broadcast its message, but its Web site has been down for about the past six months, said Kelly Stoner, executive director of Stop Eco-Violence, a Portland, Ore., group that tracks environmental violence.

ELF claimed responsibility for four attacks in the Erie area. Besides the vehicle torching at Bob Ferrando's dealership in Girard and the research station fire, ELF took credit for torching a $500,000 construction crane at a bridge work site in Erie and setting fire to a mink barn outside Erie.

The acts were part of ELF's campaign to battle commercialism and industry in the name of saving the environment.

Members carry out their assaults individually or in groups of three to five trusted allies, reducing the chance of being caught, Perlstein said.

Because the Erie area attacks happened in a narrow time span, Perlstein said it's likely whoever was responsible was a high school or college student who's since graduated and moved.

In the few cases in which someone has been caught, Stoner said, they've tended to be local. But, she said, ELF is savvy and members could well float from place to place.

As for Ferrando, he said the fire cost him nothing more than some paperwork because his insurer covered the losses.

But the activities do bother him and worry him that someone may get hurt, he said.

So far, ELF hasn't intentionally harmed anyone, but firefighters and other first responsders are put in risk with each fire, said Harvey W. Kushner, chair of the criminal justice department at Long Island University and author of "Encyclopedia of Terrorism."

The group hasn't ruled out violence. In a communique issued after the research station fire, ELF said: "While innocent life will never be harmed in any action we undertake, where it is necessary, we will no longer hesitate to pick up the gun to implement justice."

Kushner said ELF's methods aren't working.

More vehicles are built to replace those destroyed and more trees are cut to replace lumber destroyed when ELF sets fire to housing developments, he said.

Animal rights group steps up protest of Procter & Gamble
The Associated Press
August 6, 1998

WYOMING, Ohio -- Two animal rights activists were arrested outside the home of Procter & Gamble's chief executive officer for protesting the company's use of animals in test products.

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals distributed door-hangers Wednesday around CEO John Pepper's home in this upscale Cincinnati suburb. The door-hangers feature Pepper's face superimposed over Mr. Clean's on a bottle of the household cleaner. The label also contained the phrases, "John Pepper, clean up your act," and "Animal tests stink."

Jason Baker, a PETA spokesman, said his group thought it was important to get a message out to Pepper's neighbors.

"We want them to know that the company that he runs is needlessly killing animals and causing them to suffer," Baker said.

Baker said he and another PETA member tried to leave a door-hanger at Pepper's home, but they were escorted off the property by security guards.

Baker and Michael Scarpitti, 24, of Cincinnati, were cited by Wyoming police for distributing literature on private property without a permit. Police Chief Tim World said the men were each fined $130.

Baker said he and Scarpitti paid the fines, but they are considering taking legal action against the city.

"Our attorneys said we shouldn't have paid, " he said. "We should have a right to freedom of information."

PETA has been conducting numerous protests against P&G's use of animals to test products. P&G spokeswoman Mindy Patton said the company was disappointed to see the protests continue.

"We are eliminating all the animal tests we can, and we have eliminated 85 percent since 1984," she said. "We would hope that animal rights activists would join with us in searching for alternatives to animal testing."

Pepper was out of town on Wednesday and could not be reached for comment.

Backfire

Environmentalists had forged an unusual coalition with locals and animal rights activists to oppose Vail's growth -- until ecoterrorists torched the mountain.

Alex Markels
March/April 1999 Issue

Vail Resorts, Inc., had made a lot of enemies lately, and it seemed all of them were here this night. It was March 1998, seven months before a shadowy clique of arsonists took to Colorado's Vail Mountain with matches and gasoline, and the biggest, most rancorous crowd in Eagle County Commission history packed the benches in front of the three commissioners. At least 300 locals, environmentalists, and animal rights activists had turned out on this chilly evening -- the snow still 5 feet deep on Vail Mountain -- to debate what the resort calls its Category III ski area expansion. Cat III, as locals call it, is the third phase in the ski company's decades-old master plan and would develop a 2,200-acre area of Vail's backcountry for skiing, including 700 acres of old-growth forest.

The area is a prime habitat for elk and the Canada lynx, the endangered bobcat cousin unseen in these parts for nearly 30 years. Opponents interested in preserving it for wildlife -- among them Jeff Berman, a 29-year-old volunteer with the Colorado-based environmental group Ancient Forest Rescue (AFR), and Nicole Rosmarino, a 28-year-old doctoral candidate at the University of Colorado at Boulder and member of the radical group Rocky Mountain Animal Defense (RMAD) -- wanted to stop the project, slated for construction after the elk calving season in June. Activists had repeatedly filed lawsuits on behalf of the lynx, but Forest Service officials had already ruled in favor of the development, leaving only the County Commission to decide how the project should proceed.

"This [expansion] has nothing to do with skiing!" Berman shouted when he got his chance at the microphone. Waving Vail Resorts' annual report like a Bible-toting preacher, he reminded the crowd that the resort had recently purchased an option to develop a huge tract of private land just a mile from Cat III. "This is all about real estate," he shouted as the crowd erupted in applause.

At the front of the room, a battalion of Vail Resorts lawyers and executives testily argued that Cat III was about improving snow quality and extending the ski season. But the crowd wasn't buying it. And considering that the company signs the paychecks for more than 15 percent of the valley's 30,000 residents and supplies them with free ski passes, their candor was impressive. As one local hotelier put it, explaining that he had yet to wait in a chairlift line that season, "Why do we have to build more terrain if we can't even sell what we have?"

Others decried the jarring changes that had occurred since a group of Wall Street investors gained control of Vail Resorts in 1992. Their reorganized company had gobbled up two nearby ski resorts, replaced longtime local managers with outsiders, and taken the company public with a $266 million offering. Area business owners blamed their shrinking profits on Vail Resorts' expanding retail presence. And growth-weary locals blamed the company's burgeoning real estate division (part of its plan to increase revenues amid stagnating lift-ticket demand) for feeding a building frenzy of lavish trophy homes and private golf courses that had turned the valley into a 15-mile-long construction zone.

Citing one new development -- a ski-in/ski-out subdivision asking as much as $4.6 million per home -- a local seamstress angrily recalled that the forested hillside "used to be a prime calving area for elk; now it is a prime playground for the rich and famous."

By itself, the terrain expansion would probably not have raised much ire. But at a time of unbridled growth and hectic preparation for the 1999 World Alpine Ski Championships (the most important ski competition next to the Olympics) the following January, Cat III seemed a symbol for all that was going wrong in Vail. And as the clock ticked down the hours to the championships, a series of bumper stickers betrayed the growing discontent: "Bail '99," "Evail," and simply, "No More Fucking Rich People."

Yet in the politically conservative, deeply entrepreneurial valley, there were plenty of people who felt differently. Although few of them showed their faces at the commissioners' meeting, more than 3,000 had signed a petition favoring the expansion, which Vail Resorts officials presented to the commission. Armed with $2 million in wildlife studies, economic assessments, and environmental impact reports, which they piled 2 feet high on the commissioners' tables, Vail Resorts made its case. In April, the commissioners unanimously voted to support the project.

Then, on the night of Sunday, October 18 -- just as construction crews began clearing trees in the disputed area -- some twisted souls climbed Vail Mountain. By morning, two huge plumes of smoke rising from the mountaintop signaled the most destructive act of environmental sabotage in U.S. history -- causing more than $12 million in damage. Four ski lifts were damaged; the ski patrol's headquarters and the lavish $5 million Two Elk Lodge were reduced to ashes.

Swarms of federal agents picked through the ruins, but the biggest clue arrived two days later in the form of a seven- sentence e-mail. It claimed responsibility for the fires and threatened further actions if construction on Cat III continued. It read, in part: "Putting profits ahead of Colorado's wildlife will not be tolerated. This action is just a warning. We will be back if this greedy corporation continues to trespass into wild and unroaded areas. For your safety and convenience, we strongly advise skiers to choose other destinations until Vail cancels its inexcusable plans for expansion."

The communiqué was signed by the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), an all-but-unknown band of radical environmentalists recently connected with the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), a militant animal rights group that has long sabotaged animal research labs, fur farms, and meat industry buildings. Believed by some to be one and the same, the two groups claimed joint responsibility for several attacks in 1997 and 1998, including the burning of an Oregon corral used to round up wild horses for slaughter; the arson of a U.S. Agriculture Department building where wild animals were allegedly euthanized; the release of mink from a Wisconsin fur farm; and the arson of the Oregon

headquarters of U.S. Forest Industries. ALF's Web site explains how to make firebombs with fuses made from gasoline-soaked sponges -- the same peculiar devices investigators reportedly found evidence of in the Vail ashes.

As national TV reports flashed pictures of the Vail blaze and scrolled through ELF's e-mail warning to skiers, spokespeople on both sides of the environmental movement warned of the arrival of a new, more belligerent chapter in the war over the nation's dwindling wilderness. "The Vail action is an example of the new vanguard of warriors who aren't intimidated by the government's tactics," said Rod Coronado, an Earth First! and ALF activist now serving time for helping to torch a Michigan animal lab. Ron Arnold, the founder of the anti-environmentalist Wise Use movement, agreed: "They've stepped over a line they've never crossed before. They're also getting more professional. That troubles me a lot."

For those who had waged the long legal battle against Cat III, the fire was more than just troubling. It was an outright disaster. For instead of setting fire to the backcountry construction so many here had opposed, the arsonists had vented their anger on the beloved ski mountain where Vailites work and play. Even worse, ELF's warning to skiers made clear that the attack wasn't only on the resort company, but on every skier in Vail. The resulting outrage flipped public opinion virtually overnight, fueling a backlash that reversed months of coalition building and turned every Cat III opponent into a potential suspect.

It was one of the most beautiful acts of economic sabotage ever in this state," says Nicole Rosmarino of the fire. A self-proclaimed "bunny hugger," the RMAD activist says she was "jumping up and down with delight" when she heard the news. After Cat III's opponents exhausted every legal avenue, she says, "there was nothing left to do but break the law. I was ready to do acts of civil disobedience to slow down the loggers, but what transpired was more effective than anything I was prepared to do."

A vegetarian since her college days in upstate New York, Rosmarino first joined the animal rights movement to protest the plight of lab animals. But she soon focused her efforts on wildlife "because those are the animals that still have a fighting chance," she says. "I have absolute adoration, even quasi worship, for wildlife." After moving to Colorado to earn a doctorate in public policy, she signed on as wildlife coordinator for RMAD. Unlike more traditional animal rights groups, RMAD prides itself on "linking environmental struggles with animal rights and human struggles" to create a new breed of animal rights/environmental activists. "I'm in that category," she says proudly.

To Rosmarino, the Cat III fight seemed the perfect way to bridge the two movements. But bringing them together wasn't easy. Although they shared a hatred of big business, the movements' adherents felt little empathy for each other's core causes. Animal liberationists like Rosmarino resented the tree huggers' insensitivity to animals and reluctance to risk jail time, while more mainstream environmentalists like AFR's Jeff Berman disagreed with the bunny huggers' wacky morality and in-your-face tactics.

The two groups' differences were in full view as they teamed up to parade through Vail last winter. While Berman used his megaphone to hammer away at Cat III's real estate connection, Rosmarino and her boisterous RMAD friends yelled slogans such as "Extinction stinks! Save the lynx!" They soon passed a woman emerging from one of Vail's fur salons wearing a mink coat. "You'd look a lot sexier

without 65 dead animals on your back!" yelled an RMAD protester. A shouting match ensued, and the Vail police officers who were following the group with a decibel meter approached.

Berman winced. Afraid of alienating anyone who might prove sympathetic to his cause, he'd hoped to avoid mixing the fur and Cat III issues. "The guy was being hotheaded," Berman says of the RMAD protester. To his disappointment, Rosmarino refused to calm down her combative friend. "I had no problem with RMAD activists telling that lady off," she recalls. "That's why the lynx are in the shape they're in. And I'm disappointed in environmentalists who can't see that."

Yet as Cat III moved closer to reality, she and Berman needed each other more than ever. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service had repeatedly declined to consider giving the lynx endangered status, declawing the activists' legal maneuvers to stop construction on the animal's behalf. Without the listing, lawsuits accusing the Forest Service of failing to adequately measure Cat III's environmental impact went nowhere, leaving only the County Commission to block construction.

So while Rosmarino and her RMAD friends focused on the plight of the lynx, Berman helped orchestrate a series of community meetings that hammered on the impact of the resort's growth-worsening housing and labor shortages, skyrocketing rents, and sprawling development.

The parallel efforts helped fill the bleachers at the commissioners' hearings. But in the end, they failed to sway the decision-makers. In September, with construction imminent, opponents gathered in Berman's living room to consider their dwindling options. They'd already begun efforts to hit Vail in its wallet, pushing the local university to end student bus service to the resort and drafting an open letter to ski clubs nationwide asking those visiting Vail to boycott Vail Resorts-owned properties.

Now it was time for civil disobedience, for which they had trained by role-playing arrest scenarios and practicing tree climbing, road blockades, and other protest techniques. They even set up a base camp near the mouth of the valley leading to the Cat III construction site in order to monitor its progress, store food and other supplies, and scope out the best trees to climb in protest. As for more aggressive tactics, the group adopted an informal code of nonviolence, but agreed that individual members would have to decide for themselves what was appropriate.

But construction was delayed by another last-gasp legal appeal, and by the time the court ruled against it a month later, few were left to carry on the fight. As bulldozers passed through Cat III's entrance on Friday, October 16, Berman tried desperately to organize a protest in front of Vail Resorts' headquarters but abandoned the plan after gathering barely 10 people.

Then all hell broke loose on Vail Mountain two days later. And as federal agents and journalists investigating the fire bore down on all of Cat III's opponents, the coalition Berman and Rosmarino once hoped to cement seemed to crumble. While Rosmarino lauded the arsonists as "heroes," Berman's camp angrily denounced the perpetrators as "criminals and terrorists."

And as most Cat III opponents desperately tried to distance themselves from the arsonists, Rosmarino lashed out at the tree huggers' spinelessness. "This was not terrorism -- it was economic sabotage. And it did more for the cause than anything that came before it!" she says. "The reaction from those who purport to speak for wildlife is really a reaction of fear. If they don't have the courage to light the match, that's fine. But to attack those who did is sheer hypocrisy."

Ever since Edward Abbey's novel *The Monkey Wrench Gang* inspired radical groups like Earth First! to take environmental matters into their own hands, a sporadic guerrilla war of "ecotage" has targeted mining, logging, and electric power companies in the Western states. The monkey-wrenching actions peaked in 1989 when a group of activists conspired to cut the power lines to a plant in Arizona. The FBI had launched a two-year probe, infiltrating the group prior to the Arizona assault, and the resulting arrests "pretty much beheaded the radical environmental movement," says Susan Zakin, author of *Coyotes and Town Dogs: Earth First! and the Environmental Movement.* With the 1989 arrest of Earth First! founder Dave Foreman and four other activists, Zakin says, "people realized that if they called themselves Earth First!ers, they might as well have an 'Arrest Me!' sign on their back. It sobered them up."

Meanwhile, North American animal liberation groups like ALF were stepping up their attacks and soon called for a coming together of the animal liberation and radical environmental movements in publications such as *Earth First! Journal.* In 1996, a group calling itself the ELF began claiming responsibility for attacks on fur farms and government facilities -- not just in the name of individual animals but on behalf of the entire ecosystem.

Leading the call to join forces is Coronado, who keeps tabs on the Cat III fight from the Arizona prison where he is finishing his 57-month sentence. The 32-year-old Yaqui Indian believes the Cat III fight is a microcosm of the larger movement. "It's an example of the power wielded by corporations...against animals and the environment," he says. "In the Northwest, it's the timber industry. In the Midwest, it's the livestock industry. And in Colorado, it's the ski industry. Even though it's based on recreation, people are realizing that it's just as exploitative as the timber industry -- so it's an excellent example for the younger generation, [which] now finds itself holding the reins of the environmental and animal liberation movement."

Younger indeed. Although no ELF member has ever been caught, or even stepped forward from the shadows, the group's ALF brethren who have been implicated in sabotage efforts are barely adults. Those arrested and convicted in Utah for the 1997 firebombing of a fur farm cooperative ranged in age from 19 to 24. "It's my generation," says David Wilson, a 21-year-old ALF spokesman who first broadcast the group's claims of responsibility for the Utah fire. He and his peers read *The Monkey Wrench Gang* in high school -- a book that has led a new generation of monkey-wrenchers "to break the law to make their point," says Wilson. "We started with animal rights, but we've expanded to wildlife actions like the one in Vail. We're the ones bridging the environmental gap."

Jeff Sarnacki knows the type all too well. "This is definitely the cause du jour," says the special agent with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms in Salt Lake City who has investigated a string of ALF-linked arsons and bombings in Utah since 1991. "They pick it up in junior high and high school. They become vegetarians, and they get involved in protests like Fur-Free Fridays. But they get disillusioned with the protesting and picketing, and some decide that enough is not enough and they take it to the next step." While some are deep believers, he says, others "are just everyday kids looking for something to do. Some kids are into computers -- and some are into this."

And some are into both. With sophisticated Web site primers detailing everything from how to make firebombs to encrypting e-mail to staking out targets, ALF has fashioned the ultimate dis-organization -- an amorphous collection of radicals whose beliefs and Internet connections are the only things that

bind them together. On ALF's Web site, under FAQs, those wondering how to join the group are told that "someone 'joins' the ALF simply by doing ALF actions." The site posts detailed diaries of past sabotage, imploring potential adherents to take matters into their own hands.

"I, too, desperately wanted to join this group," writes a young woman who claims to have sabotaged a fast-food restaurant. "At one point, I wrote an animal rights group letting them know I would be willing to help them raid an [animal testing] lab. Needless to say, that letter went unanswered. ... Would anyone who put hundreds of hours in[to] planning a covert, illegal direct action that could land them in prison for years [risk] asking a basic stranger for help simply because he or she is a vegetarian or belonged to a local animal rights chapter? No! So how did I, or how do you, end up joining the ALF? That's easy! Come up with your own plan!"

Once they've carried out an action, perpetrators send an anonymous e-mail or fax to self-appointed ALF/ELF spokespeople such as Katie Fedor in Minnesota, or Craig Rosebraugh in Portland, Oregon, both of whom spoke to the press about the Vail fires. Before including the action among the group's list of successful attacks, they first verify that no one was hurt by the crime. "Nonviolence is really the crucial criteria," Fedor says.

The resulting nearly structureless network has confounded law enforcement agencies. "It's like they cribbed from Mao Tse-tung's writings on guerrilla warfare," says Gary Perlstein, a criminology professor at Portland State University who has studied the groups extensively. "Mao talked about the three-person cell, and how this was an ideal organization to confound the government."

Arson investigators are quick to note that virtually anyone could have set the fires and shifted blame on the radical groups by e-mailing Fedor with a claim of responsibility. But Fedor and Coronado say they don't care who the actual perpetrator is. "We welcome the use of the names ALF and ELF by anyone," says Coronado, "whether it's someone who wants to save the lynx, or some Vail local who's frustrated with the corporate takeover of the community."

That leaves cops with "a big basketful of worms," says Eagle County sheriff A.J. Johnson, who oversees the local investigation. "It's been overwhelming," he says. "It's not just ELF. ...There's all kinds of weird splinter groups out there, and that's just one tunnel to follow. There's been a lot of changes up and down this valley. Frustration levels are up. We've got hundreds of e-mails and letters complaining about development. So you've got to look at the disgruntled employee and angry local concepts, too."

Federal authorities have refused to comment on the ongoing investigations, but they've clearly stepped up efforts to break the radical groups. But unlike the government's earlier success at infiltrating Earth First!, "the FBI is starting late this time," says Perlstein. Instead of going undercover, investigators have had to target aboveground activists. In January, they reportedly issued a rash of subpoenas, calling at least one Ancient Forest Rescue member to testify before a grand jury. But while such efforts may one day yield them a prosecutable suspect, "they're basically powerless to prevent anything unless they can infiltrate them," Perlstein says.

By the time the fires burned themselves out late that October afternoon, the local opposition to Cat III had largely evaporated. Vail officials had hastily convened a pep rally, and Vail Resorts' silver-

haired president, Andy Daly, made sure everyone knew who the new enemy was. The arson "was perpetrated by outsiders, those who don't share our values, who have forced their values on us and know no compromise," he told the overflowing crowd. "We will rise again and be all we can be! Let people know the strength of this valley, the strength of Vail Resorts, and how we will come together."

A sobering slide show of the devastation only strengthened the crowd's anger, and in the weeks following the fires some locals even offered to rebuild the patrol headquarters in an Amish-style barn raising. (Indeed, Vail did survive -- handily. By the eve of the 1999 World Alpine Ski Championships, work crews had repaired all of the damaged lifts and a blanket of fresh snow had hidden any sign of the fire's violence. Moreover, the insurance-funded plans for rebuilding the Two Elk Lodge will allow Vail Resorts to expand the opulent, 33,000-square-foot structure by nearly one-third.)

Cat III's opponents were left to lash out not at the project's construction, but at the arsonists. While supporters of Vail Resorts cheered Daly, Berman gathered with a somber group for a candlelight vigil at the resort's clock tower. Under a banner reading "Ancient Forest Rescue, No Violence -- No Cat III," they clutched white candles and tried to explain their feelings. Reading from a prepared statement, Berman defended his opposition to Cat III.

"If the individuals who did this can somehow hear me, I say, 'Get the hell out of Colorado! Indeed, vanish altogether! Just go away!'" Berman told the group, which included several TV and newspaper reporters. "Your actions have only created sympathy for Vail Resorts at a time when they are undertaking one of the largest logging operations in Colorado."

But he was preaching to the converted. And as a man shouting "No more fires! No more fires!" approached the group, it became painfully obvious that local sentiment had turned irrevocably against Berman and the Cat III opponents. "Did it ever occur to you that all these little fires you are holding are a really bad symbol?" the heckler asked. "We've already had enough big fires. We don't need to be reminded of them with a bunch of little ones. Why don't you just blow them out and go away?"

Scott Willoughby contributed research to this article.

NORTH AMERICAN
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.: PRESS RELEASES .: COMMUNIQUES .: MEDIA COVERAGE .: NEWSLETTER
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"We have to organize and become involved in well coordinated action which will involve any means necessary to bring about complete elimination of the conditions that exist..... It takes action to get action." - Malcolm X

Friday, May 13, 2005

.: PRESS OFFICE DIRECTIVE :.

The North American Animal Liberation Press Office (NAALPO) was founded to communicate the actions, strategies, and philosophy of the animal liberation movement to the media and the public. Many of these actions are illegal under a current societal structure that fails to recognize the rights of non-human animals to live free of suffering, but validates and promotes the "right" of industries to do whatever they want to animals for profit or research. Within these conditions, those in the underground working for animal liberation often cannot speak out directly. Nevertheless, their actions and message is urgent and deserve to be heard and understood. Since animal liberation actions either go unreported in the media or are uncritically vilified as "violent" and as "terrorist" with no attention paid to the suffering that industries and individuals gratuitously inflict on animals, NAALPO seeks to clarify the motivation and nature of actions taken in defense of animals.

The Press Office also tries to provide a historical, social, and philosophical context for an objective understanding of the nature and motivation of illegal direct actions taken on behalf of captive animals.

- For an introduction to the underground animal liberation movement, click here.
- For more on the history of the underground, see the links here.
- The Buddha on animal liberation, click here.

Disclaimer: The Animal Liberation Press Officers do not engage in illegal activities, nor do they know any individuals who do. Rather, the Press Office receives and posts communiques from anonymous parties and provides comment to the media. more...

.: BREAKING NEWS :.

The Breaking News section lists the most recent direct actions covered by this press office. Click on the respective box under 'more info' to read details of the action.

TARGET INSTITUTION	LOCATION	DATE	GROUP RESPONSIBLE	MORE INFO
Louisiana State University Photos Available!	Louisiana	04-26-05	Animal Liberation Front	click here
Phenomenex / HLS	Torrance, CA	04-25-05	Animal Liberation Front	click here
Forest Labs/ HLS	Laurel Hollow, NY	04-21-05	Animal Liberation Front	click here
Kerry Littig Fox Farm	Bluffs, IL	04-01-05	Animal Liberation Front	click here
KFC	Hattiesburg, MS	03-29-05	Animal Liberation Front	click here
Woodland Farms	Tranquility, CA	02-26-05	Animal Liberation Front	click here
McDonald's New Photos Available!	Torrance, CA	02-13-05 02-06-05	Animal Liberation Front	click here click here
GNK Deer Farm	Monterey County, CA	01-18-05	Animal Liberation Front	click here
Seaboard Securities/ HLS	Tequesta, FL	01-07-05	Animal Liberation Front	click here

E-Mail
E-Mail Us
Our PGP key
What's PGP?
Press Officers
Steve Best, PhD
Texas & New Mexico
Camille Hankins
New York, NY
Angie Metier
New Jersey
Jerry Vlasak, MD
Los Angeles
Resources
Animal Liberation Front - USA
Animal Liberation Net
Bite Back
No Compromise
Stop Animal Neglect and Exploitation

Search:
GO
(search tips: site:sp)

	Monterey County, CA	01-18-05	Front	
Seaboard Securities/ HLS	Tequesta, FL	01-07-05	Animal Liberation Front	click here
Los Angeles Animal Services	Los Angeles, CA	12-24-04	Animal Liberation Front	click here
University of Iowa New Photos Available!	Iowa City , IA	11-14-04	Animal Liberation Front	click here
McDonald's	Harbor Gateway, CA	11-21-04	Animal Liberation Front	click here

For a more complete listing of animal liberation events worldwide, click here

. : National Press Officers : .

Jerry Vlasak, MD is a board-certified surgeon specializing in trauma and critical care. He is a former vivisector who has seen the agony of animals in laboratories. He debates the scientific invalidity of animal experimentation around the world, speaks out about the benefits of a vegan diet and offers lectures on the right of all sentient beings to live free of pain and suffering. His essays and interviews have been published in numerous journals and magazines and he has been interviewed on radio, TV and print by journalists worldwide regarding animal rights. He resides in Los Angeles, CA.

Dr. Steven Best is Associate Professor and Chair of the Philosophy Department at the University of Texas at El Paso. He is an activist, host of the radio show Animal Concerns of Texas, and an author of numerous award-winning books. He is the co-editor (with Anthony J. Nocella II) of the recently published [illegible] Many of his writings are posted on his [illegible]

Camille Hankins After 20 years of corporate experience, Camille Hankins abandoned a lucrative career in [illegible] Consulting to devote her time and energy to animal liberation. She brings a wealth of marketing, resource development and management experience to the animal rights movement, coupled with over 15 years of grass roots animal rights campaign experience.

In 2004, Camille co-founded the group We Animal Rights (WAR), focused primarily on the campaign to close Huntingdon Life Sciences, one of the largest and most notorious animal testing labs in the world. In addition, WAR supports a variety of projects including:

- the campaigns to stop the NJ bear hunt and the Canadian seal slaughter,
- the SPEAK campaign to stop the building of an animal testing lab at Oxford University and the
- Gateway to Hell campaign.
- WAR is also working toward a Fur Free New York City and is committed to an
- aggressive educational outreach program that includes vegan advocacy.

Additionally in 2003, Camille launched the New York Animal Liberation Front Supporters (NYALFS), which promotes a better understanding of the nature of the underground animal liberation movement through public speaking engagements and educational outreach. NYALFS also actively supports imprisoned animal liberation prisoners.

Camille serves on the management committee of the preeminent AR national conference organized by FARM and has addressed numerous national and regional AR conferences. At this year's AR2005, she will once again manage the exhibit expo.

Since 1983, **Angi Metler** has been the volunteer full-time director of the New Jersey Animal Rights Alliance (NJARA). Since that time, NJARA has grown from a closet-sized office to an office owned by the organization and a staff of seven highly motivated and dedicated animal liberationists. NJARA has seen many victories and defeats, but continues to grow in its determination to end animal exploitation. To that end, NJARA supports ALF liberations and rescues, educational programs, active outreach, and networking within the movement.

NJARA regularly staff information tables at town halls, festivals, local stores, etc. We've directly helped animals receive medical attention through our innovative veterinary assistance program.

Our victories include, but are not limited to stopping a 2000 bear hunt, closed down a NJ zoo that was repeatedly in violation of the federal Animal Welfare Act, stopped the high diving mule act at the Atlantic City Pier, created the award winning Shep Program--designed to eliminate back-yard dogs, etc.

We are involved in litigation, legislation, and education on all levels. We publish a newsletter that reserves space for other grassroots organizations in New Jersey to advertise local events. In 2004, we started a comprehensive program to help feral cats. Our interactive website has resources to aid people 24-hours a day in their quest to protect animals.

more bios to come

TOP

PETA NEWS

Actions for Animals

PETA-New Jersey Rescues Lambs

About fifteen PETA-New Jersey members saved these lambs from slaughter by buying them at the annual 4-H Fair in Somerset County this year.

Throughout the Fair PETA-New Jersey members held protests against animal agriculture and in favor of promoting the sensitization of children, drawing enormous public attention and attracting lively media coverage.

PETA spokesperson Angi Metler described the sale of lambs by 4-Hers as "traumatic" for the children *and* the animals and called on County residents to ban the event.

Another PETA member, Susan Gordon, wrote in her newspaper editorial that the children needed to be taught "life enhancing, not destructive, values" and blamed continued emphasis on animal agriculture for "insuring disaster for the world's starving people and the environment." Susan's suggestion that children be discouraged from viewing animals as exploitable objects good only for conversion into profits brought letters of support for PETA's position from all over the area. Thanks to these activists the lambs are happily situated on vegetarian farms.

SELECTED PRESENTERS

Carol Adams Author "Sexual Politics of Meat"
Natasha Alles Former Miss World USA
Danielle Bays Animal Protection Voters
Alan Berger Animal Protection Institute
Steve Best University of Texas (El Paso)
Linda Blair Author, "Going Vegan"
Laurette Blanchard FARM
Michael Budkie Stop Animal Exploitation Now!
Teresa Bunn-Carden World League for Prot. of Animals
Ellie Callahan Gentle Barn
Judy Carman Author "Veggie Soup Chicken's Soul"
Cindy Carrocetto Austin Zoo
Anita Carswell In Defense of Animals
Laurence Carter-Long In Defense of Animals
Sarah Clifton Fund for Animals
Robert Cohen Dairy Education Board
Kevin Connelly In Defense of Animals
Joseph Connelly Veg News
Rod Coronado Animal activist
Joyce D'Silva Compassion in World Farming
Karen Davis United Poultry Concerns
Karen Dawn DawnWatch
Margo DeMello House Rabbit Society
Dani Dennenberg Sowing Seeds
Courtney Dillard Willamette University
Laura Ducceschi AAVS/Animalearn
Don Elrog Tennessee Network for Animals
Monica Engebretson Animal Protection Institute
Sybil Erden The Oasis Sanctuary
Jill Ettinger Yoga instructor
Pamelyn Ferdin Animal Defense League - LA
Mary Finelli Farmed Animal Watch
Lionel Friedberg Television producer
Lester Friedlander Former USDA Veterinarian
Che Green Northwest Animal Rights Network
Michael Gregor Physician, lecturer
Virginia Handley Fund for Animals
Camille Hankins FARM
Alex Hershaft FARM
Steve Hindi SHARK
Colleen Holland Veg News
Paul Howard FARM
Kevin Jonas Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty
Dena Jones Humane Farming Association
Roberta Kalechofsky Jews for Animal Rights
Elliot Katz In Defense of Animals
Lisa Kemmerer University of Montana
Marti Kheel Feminists for Animal Rights
Andrew Knight NW AnimalRights Network
Dennis Kucinich U.S. Congress
Patrick Kwan Student Animal Rights Alliance
Greg Lawson Vegetarian Soc. of El Paso
Marie Leffkovil Zero Impact Productions
Paul Leonard ALDF
Shari Leviskas Animal Protections Institute
Bob Linden Go Vegan Radio
Rebecca Lyman Voice For a Viable Future
Bill Maher Television Host
Jim Mason Co-Founder, Animals Agenda
Mark McLellan Animal Legislative Action Network
Dana McPhail Animal Legal Defense Fund
Kelsey Meadows FARM
Dawn Monroe FARM
Marc Neaton Voice For a Viable Future
Jack Norris Vegan Outreach
Lauren Ornelas VivaUSA
Nicole Paquette Animal Protection Institute
Milan Park Compassion Over Killing
Ann Park Orange County People for Animals
Kristal Parks Peace activist
Bryan Pease Animal Protection and Rescue League
Dave Peterson Great Ape Project
Jill Robinson Animals Asia Foundation
Matt Rossell In Defense of Animals
Nathan Runkle Mercy for Animals
Sherry Schlueter Law enforcement officer
Paul Shapiro Compassion Over Killing
Ken Shrader Naturopath, author
Jarnagin Sheridan Nutritionist, lecturer
Peter Singer Author "Animal Liberation"
Scott Smith Wildlife Waystation
Crystal Spiegel American Anti-Vivisection Society
Nora Stern Animals Voice
Kim Stallo Animal Place, Fund for Animals
Mark Sutton CyberEarth Productions
Cheri Thompson Healing Species
David Thornton Northwest Animal Rights Network
Joyce Tischler Animal Legal Defense Fund
Will Tuttle Reclaim Music
Jerry Vlasak Physicians Comm. for Resp. Medicine
Paul Watson Sea Shepherd International
Vernon Weir American Sanctuaries Association
Freeman Wicklund Eco-Animal Allies
Fran Williams Small Planet

POST-CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES

9am-noon Humane Education Workshop - *Dennenberg, Thompson, Wicklund*
9am-noon Animal-Friendly Medicine *Sheridan*
10am-noon Animals & Spirituality - *Carman, Tuttle*
12:30-5pm SHAC Demonstration at Sumitomo

present

ANIMAL RIGHTS

2003

National Conferences

August 1 - August 6
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Plenaries · Workshops · Raps · Campaign Reports · Videos · Exhibits · Planning Meetings · Employment Clearinghouse · Networking Receptions · Awards Banquet · Vegan Cuisine · Post-Conference Activities

www.animalrights2003.org

"Exposing and challenging the daily terror against animals"

Transcript excerpt

Speaker: Dr. Jerry Vlasak
Event: Animal Rights 2003 national conference
Location: Westin LAX hotel, Los Angeles
Date: August 3, 2003

"I think there is a use for violence in our movement. And I think that it can be an effective strategy. Not only is it morally acceptable, I think that there are places where it could be used quite effectively from a pragmatic standpoint.

"For instance, If vivisectors were routinely being killed, I think it would give other vivisectors pause in what they were doing in their work -- and if these vivisectors were being targeted for assassination, and call it political assassination or what have you, I think if -- and I wouldn't pick some guy way down the totem pole, but if there were prominent vivisectors being assassinated, I think that there would be a trickle-down effect and many, many people who are lower on that totem pole would say, 'I'm not going to get into this business because it's a very dangerous business and there's other things I can do with my life that don't involve getting into a dangerous business.' And I think that the -- strictly from a fear and intimidation factor, that would be an effective tactic.

"And I don't think you'd have to kill -- assassinate -- too many vivisectors before you would see a marked decrease in the amount of vivisection going on. And I think for 5 lives, 10 lives, 15 human lives, we could save a million, 2 million, 10 million non-human lives.

"And I, you know -- people get all excited about, 'Oh, what's going to happen when -- if the ALF accidentally kills somebody in an arson?' Well, I think we need to get used to this idea. It's going to happen, okay? It's going to happen."

Female audience member: "That's just like the pro-life movement killing abortion doctors."

"Absolutely. I think they had a great strategy going."

PCRM PHYSICIANS COMMITTEE FOR RESPONSIBLE MEDICINE
5100 WISCONSIN AVENUE, NW • SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, DC 20016
(202) 686-2210 • FAX (202) 686-2216
WWW.PCRM.ORG

September 20, 2001

Executive Director
Tokyon Fujimi Bldg
11-2 Fujimi 1 Chome
Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo 102-8172, Japan

Dear Executive Director:

This letter is written on behalf of the Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine (PCRM) and Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC). PCRM is a health advocacy non-profit organization that promotes preventive medicine and higher standards for ethics and effectiveness in research. It is comprised of 5,000 physicians and more than 100,000 laypersons. SHAC is an animal protection non-profit organization campaigning to close the Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS) facility because of its documented abuses to animals and inappropriate animal experimentation. These two organizations would like to share with you two scientific critiques of animal experiments conducted at HLS. These scientific reviews, written by PCRM physicians, show what we believe to be the irrelevance and inappropriateness of some of the studies done at HLS.

May I ask you to please read the enclosed studies? As a company that is striving to bring products to the market that may improve or enhance people's lives, we ask you to make an honest assessment as to the extent that HLS has served you, their customer, and the public fairly and safely when given a contract to test various products, chemicals, and life altering drugs.

Although animal tests are routinely used to test compounds for toxicity or carcinogenicity, or alternatively, for their possible therapeutic effect, these tests are poor indicators for safety and effectiveness in humans. Animal studies cannot be reliably used to understand human pharmacokinetics because of the myriad anatomical, physiological, and pathological differences between humans and other animals. For instance, the significantly shorter gestational periods of rodents, compared to humans, contribute to the marked differences in developmental toxicity of drugs that often occur between test animals and humans. On the other hand, epidemiological data provide much more reliable risk assessments and can be applied directly to human populations.

Extrapolating carcinogenicity data generated by animal studies to humans is especially problematic. Not only are humans and other species prone to developing different cancers, most human cancers behave differently from artificially produced animal models. Moreover, rodents in carcinogenicity tests sometimes develop cancer from chemicals given in extremely high doses that are harmless to humans at normal exposure levels because these doses cause artificial tissue irritation and cell

proliferation, which result in cancer. In other instances, potentially useful drugs may be overlooked because of ineffectiveness or harmful effects in animals used in testing. For these and other reasons outlined in the enclosed critiques, reliance on nonhuman animals to provide toxicity and carcinogenicity data for human risk assessment constitutes a faulty scientific method.

Because we realize your company is committed to public safety and sound science, we hope you will take the time to contact PCRM or SHAC with any questions or concerns you may have. Below you will find contact information for SHAC. We extend a sincere hope to hear from your company soon.

Sincerely,

Neal D. Barnard, M.D.
President
PCRM

Kevin Kjonaas
SHAC
P.O. Box 22398
Philadelphia, PA 19110
(T) 215-951-9593

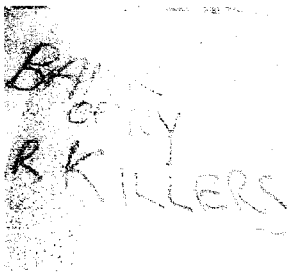
Chapter

"In order to operate the lab facility in New Jersey, HLS must rely upon other outside companies to provide them with such services as food/catering, office supplies, waste removal, lawn services, security, etc. All of these companies are making animal cruelty possible at HLS and should be treated no different than the abusers themselves."

-SHAC USA web site

Tactics

Numerous criminal acts, including death threats, vandalism, and office invasions, have been conducted by members of SHAC and its support groups. SHAC's HLS campaign is specific, targeted, and has a multi-pronged approach. The campaign focuses on attacking workers, shareholders, and clients, resulting in what SHAC terms "an all-time low worker morale, a rock bottom share price, and a loss of customer confidence."[2]



SHAC is relentless in its determination and employs a variety of tactics against its chosen targets. The campaign against HLS is a sustained operation by extreme animal rights activists. Currently, the main strategy employed by SHAC is the targeting of the pillars of support for HLS. SHAC claims to have identified all crucial financial facilities, such as corporate stock brokers, market makers, fund analysts, and shareholders and has staged a campaign "that has brought HLS to the brink of foreclosure and left it teetering on the verge of collapse." SHAC brags that "some of the most significant financial institutions in the world have severed their ties with HLS"[3] as a result of its efforts. SHAC also attacks the customer base of HLS and "has convinced a number of HLS's clients to place their research elsewhere as HLS poses a public safety threat and are convicted animal abusers."[4]

[2] www.october29.org.
[3] www.shac.net.
[4] Ibid.

SHAC engages in various levels of activity, both legal and illegal. SHAC's most lawful, basic, and nonviolent actions include:

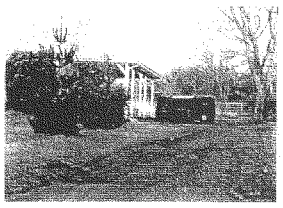
- Acts of civil disobedience
- Protests/demonstrations
- Non-threatening E-mails
- Phone calls
- Leafleting/flyers
- Public relations war
- HLS stock purchases

Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty

From these lawful, nonviolent actions, SHAC escalates its activities to harassment of employees and clients of HLS. These actions include, but are not limited to:

- Verbal abuse
- Phone blockades
- Black faxes
- False mail orders
- Suggestive threats
- Home visits
- Release of private personal information over the Internet

The final level of action SHAC employs is criminal "direct action." When SHAC engages in direct actions against its chosen targets, the following can be expected:



- Vandalism
- Graffiti/lock gluing
- Property destruction
- Equipment sabotage
- ATM machine destruction
- Threats to bomb
- Death threats
- Business and home invasions
- Internet incursions/denial of service
- Theft of property, data, & records

It is critical to identify potential targets of SHAC-related activity in your area. To do this, review SHAC USA's web site, www.shacamerica.net, and contact your local FBI office (see Appendix F).

It is important to become familiar with the following list of "Top 20 Terror Tactics" that was posted to the SHAC website[5]:

1. Demonstrations at your home or place of work, including verbal abuse using a loudhailer.
2. Abusive graffiti, posters and stickers on your house, car and around the area you live.
3. Invading offices, damaging property and stealing documents.
4. Chaining gates shut or blocking gates with old cars to trap staff on site.
5. Physical assaults on yourself and your partner, including spraying cleaning fluid into your eyes.
6. Smashing all the windows in your home when your family is at home.
7. Flooding your home with a hose attached to an outside tap and pushed through letterbox or window, while you are away from home.
8. Vandalizing your car (gluing the locks, slashing tires, pouring paint over it, etc.).
9. Sledgehammer attack on your car- while you are still inside it.
10. Firebombing your car in your driveway, firebombing sheds and garages.
11. Bomb hoaxes requiring evacuation of premises.
12. Threatening telephone calls and letters (threats to kill or injure you, your partner and children).
13. Abusive telephone calls to your home, at all hours of the day and night, and to your neighbors, relatives, and friends.
14. Abusive letters and cards to your home, and posted through the letterboxes of every house in your neighborhood.
15. E-mail 'bombs' to attempt to crash your computer system.

[5] In February 2001, the Research Defense Society, a UK organization, released this list of successful terror tactics used by activists against HLS. SHAC reprinted this list on its www.october29.org website.

16. Ordering goods and services in your name and address (e.g., mail-order goods, deliveries of gravel, car-towing).

17. Placing hoax free ads for (non-existent) cheap goods using your name and number, so that you get numerous calls from would-be buyers.

18. Sending continuous black paper to your fax, causing it to burn out.

19. Telephone blockades: repeat dialing preventing you from using your telephone.

20. Arranging for the undertaker to call to collect your body.

MARK GOLDOWITZ, #96418
PAUL CLIFFORD, #119015
CALIFORNIA ANTI-SLAPP PROJECT
2903 Sacramento Street
Berkeley, CA 94702
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mg@casp.net

Special Counsel for Defendant
STOP HUNTINGDON ANIMAL CRUELTY, USA, INC.

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA FOR THE COUNTY OF ALAMEDA

(UNLIMITED JURISDICTION)

CHIRON CORP., Plaintiff, vs. STOP HUNTINGDON ANIMAL CRUELTY, USA, INC., a Delaware Corporation, a/k/a SHAC USA, a/k/a SHAC, a/k/a STOP HUNTINGDON ANIMAL CRUELTY; and DOES 1-100, inclusive, Defendants.	Case No.: No. RG 04142768 DECLARATION OF PAMELYN FERDIN Date: September 3, 2004 Time: 2:00 pm Dept: 31 Judge: Hon. Steven A. Brick Action Filed: February 25, 2004 Trial Date: None Set

I, Pamelyn Ferdin, declare as follows:

1. All of the facts recited herein are of my own personal knowledge and, if called as a witness, I could and would testify competently under oath to all of the facts recited herein.

2. I currently serve as the President of Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty USA, Inc. (SHAC USA) Kevin Kjonaas resigned as President on August 2, 2004, and I formally accepted said office on August 14, 2004. The abbreviated name for the organization is SHAC USA and it is duly incorporated in Delaware.

3. SHAC USA gave permission to the San Francisco *Animal Rights Direct Action Coalition* (ARDAC) to advertise ARDAC's weekend of protest activities on August 13-15, 2004, to SHAC USA email subscribers only after assurances were given by ARDAC that the events were planned to be lawful. SHAC USA was never told that any of this protest activity was to be directed towards Chiron or its employees.

4. SHAC USA did not authorize, ratify, direct, or participate in the demonstration near William Green's home in Orinda on August 15th, 2004, which I understand was organized by ARDAC.

5. SHAC USA did not create the banner carried at the August 15 demonstration, nor did it give permission to print its website URL on this banner or to display the banner at the demonstration. I have notified ARDAC that it must, in the future, obtain prior written permission before using SHAC USA's name and the domain names owned by SHAC USA at its events.

6. I did not vandalize, nor do I know who vandalized, the property owned by Mr. William Green.

7. SHAC USA did not authorize anyone to speak on its behalf at the demonstrations in the San

//

//

Francisco Bay Area on the weekend of August 13-15, 2004, and to my knowledge and understanding, no one purported to do so.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of California that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on August 28th, 2004 in Los Angeles, California.

Pamelyn Ferdin

PCRM PHYSICIANS COMMITTEE FOR RESPONSIBLE MEDICINE

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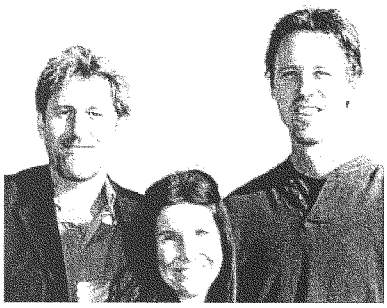
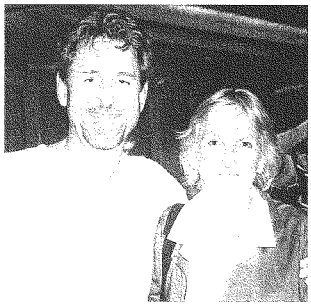
PAMELYN FERDIN, R.N.

Steven Best with former SHAC USA president and current federal terrorism defendant Kevin Kjonaas

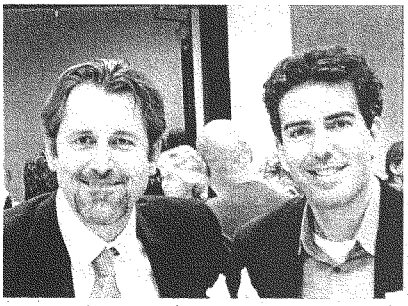


Steven Best with SHAC USA president Pamelyn Ferdin and her husband Dr. Jerry Vlasak

Steven Best with ALF arsonist Rodney Coronado and ALF burglar (and PETA on-school lecturer) Gary Yourofsky



Steven Best with PETA co-founder and president Ingrid Newkirk



Steven Best with Humane Society of the United States president Wayne Pacelle

Steven Best with PETA's arson-endorsing vegetarian campaign director, Bruce Friedrich

Transcript excerpt

Speaker: Dr. Steven Best
Program: *Penn & Teller: Bullshit* (Showtime Network)
Air date: April 1, 2004

"It's the same thing with the ALF. We are breaking down doors, breaking into buildings, rescuing animals, and smashing property of any who choose to exploit animals."

[...]

"Now it's time use these tactics to advance animal rights, because these tactics are legitimate, they're necessary, they're powerful, they're effective. America, welcome to the new face of animal rights struggle."

RESPONSE BY DAVID MARTOSKO TO ADDITIONAL QUESTION FROM SENATOR JEFFORDS

Question. On May 2, 2005, The Washington Post ran an article about the Center for Consumer Freedom (CCF) titled, "Obesity Hype?" According to the article, a group called Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) has questioned CCF's 501(c)(3) tax exempt status. The concern is that the founder of CCF, Rick Berman, may be violating Federal tax law by channeling funds from CCF and other non-profits that he created into his own public affairs firm, Berman and Company. According to the article, CREW also asserts that CCF's activities are "not remotely charitable." Could you please respond to these accusations?

Response. We view CREW's complaint as an ordinary inside-the-beltway partisan attack from an organization that disagrees with us. While the Center is nonpartisan by nature, CREW appears to be viewing our activities through the typical Washingtonian liberal-vs-conservative lens, and has apparently decided that we are not "progressive" enough to escape their truncheon.

CREW itself is a self-described "left leaning" legal organization funded by two "progressive" philanthropies and a handful of former Clinton-era DNC political operatives. Consisting of one high-profile lawyer and three support staffers, the organization is best known for filing a flurry of lawsuits and ethics complaints against prominent Republicans including Rep. Tom DeLay, Sen. Ted Stevens, Sen. Mel Martinez, former Attorney General John Ashcroft, RNC Chairman Ken Mehlman, anti-tax crusader Grover Norquist, and the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth.

On March 23, 2005, The Hill published an article ("Watchdogs in Soros's pocket: GOP" by Alexander Bolton) which, in part, explored the nature of CREW's partisanship:

> One target of Republican criticism is Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW), the group that last year assisted former Rep. Chris Bell (D-Texas) in drafting an ethics complaint against DeLay, which resulted in an admonishment of DeLay from the ethics committee. At last week's press conference, Melanie Sloan, CREW's executive director, said that DeLay should step down as majority leader.
>
> From 1995 to 1998, CREW's Sloan served as minority counsel for the House Judiciary Committee under Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.). Before that, Sloan served as the nominations counsel on the Senate Judiciary Committee under Sen. Joe Biden (D-Delaware.).
>
> According to GOP research, Mark Penn, who had been a pollster for President Clinton, and Daniel Berger, a major Democratic donor, are on CREW's board. Spokeswoman Naomi Seligman declined several requests to reveal the membership of CREW's board, although she confirmed that Penn and Berger are members. Last year, Berger made a $100,000 contribution to America Coming Together (ACT), a 527 group that was dedicated to defeating Bush in the Presidential election, according to politicalmoneyline.com, a website that tracks fundraising.
>
> CREW declined to respond to the RNC talking points or House GOP research.

As to the substance of CREW's charges, Berman and Company (BAC) is a communications and association-management firm. BAC manages the Center for Consumer Freedom (and other nonprofits, the names of which I listed at the opening of my testimony) on behalf of a Board of Directors and the Center's funders. Most of these funders are sophisticated businesses that understand the typical nature of this arrangement. BAC manages CCF's books, operates its educational programs, and keeps the organization on a course toward meeting its stated objectives.

Expenses for which BAC bills the Center include personnel hours for research, communications, legal fees, and development; media expenses; information technology infrastructure; and ordinary office expenses. Still, the Center spends over 84 percent of its operating budget on its charitable, educational programs, and barely 15 percent on overhead and fundraising. These numbers are far better than the average for tax-exempt nonprofits.

CREW's claim that the Center's activities are "not remotely charitable" is false and defamatory, and appears calculated to do us harm. The IRS has ruled that the Center meets its guidelines for tax-exempt status as a charitable organization with a legitimate educational purpose. It's worth noting that CREW's press release is the only communication we have received (or heard of) regarding its complaint. The IRS has not communicated with us about this issue.

RESPONSES BY DAVID MARTOSKO TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FROM SENATOR VITTER

Question 1. How do ALF and ELF recruit for membership?

Response. It's important to note that neither the ALF nor the ELF are "membership" organizations in the way we typically think about the term. Anyone who sets a building on fire, issues a death threat against restaurant owner, or detonates a pipe bomb outside a biomedical research firm can claim to be acting on behalf of the ALF or ELF simply by stating so in a "communiqué" to the outside world.

But it's becoming increasingly clear that a handful of high-profile activist leaders have made a habit of criss-crossing the country with the aim of recruiting young people into a lifestyle that may encourage such illegal activity. Individuals that I would categorize as recruiters in this fashion—those who have made repeated speeches, presentations, and lectures to young people promoting "direct action" and the "animal liberation" and "earth liberation" philosophies—would include:

Dr. Steven Best, Philosophy professor at the University of Texas El Paso and current "press officer" for the ALF; Rodney Coronado, Convicted ALF arsonist, recipient of over $70,000 in PETA subsidies, and editor of the Earth First! Journal; Bruce Friedrich, campaign coordinator at People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA); Pamelyn Ferdin, Wife of Dr. Jerry Vlasak and president of Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty USA; Camille Hankins, Leader of "Win Animal Rights" (W.A.R.) and current "press officer" for the ALF; Joshua Harper, Current Federal Animal Enterprise Terrorism defendant, filmmaker whose documentaries glorify arson in the pursuit of animal rights, and recipient of a $5,000 grant from PETA; Kevin Kjonaas, Former President of Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty USA and current Federal Animal Enterprise Terrorism defendant; Andrew Stepanian, Former PETA employee, ALF convict, and current Federal Animal Enterprise Terrorism defendant; Dr. Jerry Vlasak, California trauma surgeon, recent spokesperson for the PETA-affiliated Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine, and current "press officer" for the ALF; Paul Watson, President and co-founder of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, co-founder of Greenpeace, current Board member of the Sierra Club; Gary Yourofsky, ALF convict and in-school lecture contractor with PETA.

These names are merely the low-hanging fruit. It's likely that a more exhaustive list could be obtained from the FBI's Domestic Terror Operations Unit in Washington.

In addition, there are some publications that exist for the purpose of glorifying ALF and ELF criminal activity. These periodicals serve as encouragement to young people who may be contemplating "direct action" (the current euphemism for arson, vandalism, burglary, or other crimes undertaken for political purposes): The Earth First Journal, Bite Back, No Compromise.

Question 2. Do you believe that they intentionally target young members?

Response. I believe that the animal-rights and environmental movements in general have always targeted young people, and their extreme fringes are no different. In general, activist groups target young people with political ideas (*e.g.,* strict vegetarianism, the abolition of fossil fuels, strict limits on suburban growth) because they understand that adults are less likely to undertake severe lifestyle shifts. Adolescents, on the other hand, are in the process of forging their identities and can be moved toward embracing ideas that older Americans might dismiss as impractical.

The kinds of actions for which claims of responsibility are typically issued by ALF and ELF are generally felonies that would suggest considerable jail sentences. While fully formed adults with families and careers tend to see prison time as a practical deterrent, some teens do not. Many animal-rights movement insiders who have spent time behind bars make a point of preaching to teens that prison time is "no big deal." And a far-flung support network has sprung up to ensure that those whom the movement considers "political prisoners" are inundated with encouraging letters, and can expect a supportive crowd at parole hearings.

Question 3. Groups like PETA use funds donated in large part by well-meaning citizens concerned about animal welfare, to fund extremist groups whose activities are clearly detrimental to the U.S. economy. How can the donating public be better educated concerning the ultimate use of funds donated to groups such as PETA, so that they better realize the ultimate effects their donations are having on the U.S. economy?

Response. Nonprofit groups either are tax-exempt or they're not. The United States Treasury Code does not provide for a middle ground that would permit (or require) disclaimers on fundraising appeals regarding the specific nature of a given group's charitable activities.

So the best solution to this problem is not for the public to be burdened with additional fine print. It's for the Treasury Department to cancel the tax-exempt status of any group that crosses the line between (1) the advocacy of a controversial idea

and (2) the bankrolling of extremist proponents of that idea whose actions are rightly deemed terrorist in nature.

It should be a black-letter Internal Revenue Code violation for a 501(c)(3) organization to donate any funds to an organization designated a "domestic terror threat group" by a Federal law-enforcement agency. The FBI, BATFE, and Homeland Security Department can make these designations, but unlike when the State Department issues findings of fact regarding international terrorist threats, these pronouncements appear to have little practical weight. PETA knew that the ELF was considered a terrorist group when it made its donation. If our government takes the threat of terrorism seriously, it should not give PETA (or any similarly situated group) the chance to dissemble after the fact.

If we were talking about a financial gift to Hamas or Al Qaeda (or the Ku Klux Klan), I seriously doubt anyone would listen to PETA's claim that it willfully supported a terrorist group without intending to support terrorist activity. In fact, there have been recent cases (*e.g.,* the Holy Land Foundation and Benevolence International) where financial support of an international terrorist threat group was cited by the IRS as the primary reason for revocation of 501(c)(3) status.

RESPONSE BY DAVID MARTOSKO TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FROM SENATOR LAUTENBERG

Question. Mr. Martosko, do you believe it is possible to be a member of an organization, such as the Sierra Club, yet hold views that differ with that organization—or do you believe in "guilt by association?"

Response. Clearly, not every individual who professes membership in a given organization is likely to hold the same views on everything. So it would be unfair to characterize any membership organization as an opinion monolith.

But I think a more important question is whether it's possible for a large membership group to openly countenance the controversial and lawless views of one of its legal officers, and still properly represent its larger constituency. In the case of the Sierra Club, a member of the group's Board of Directors (Mr. Paul Watson) openly endorses the use of illegal "direct action" tactics in the pursuit of animal rights.

At the "Animal Rights 2004" convention, Watson said of animal-activist attacks on fishermen:

> [T]o get our message across sometimes we've got to scare the hell out of these people—We don't really want to hurt them. Well, not yet, anyway. But in the mean-time let's try and continue to scare the hell out of them.

During another panel discussion at the same event, Watson added:

> If you can make the law work for you and for the animals, that's all pretty good. But you'll find for the most part, of course, that the law is working against you and the animals. And there it becomes a question of manipulating the law in order to make it work for you, or sometimes ignoring the law, or sometimes just simply breaking the law. And remember that breaking the law is not that bad of a thing.

The next day, Watson clarified his position even further, making specific reference to ALF attacks on research laboratories:

> I am fully supportive of anybody who breaks into a lab to rescue an animal today. I am fully supportive of anybody who has to do anything to protect life, because justice must take precedence over the law.

At the same event 2 year earlier (the "Animal Rights 2002" convention), Watson had these things to say:

- "Destruction of property is not violence."
- "There's nothing wrong with being a terrorist, as long as you win. Then you write the history."
- "If you do not intend to kill anybody, if you make every effort to not kill and injure anybody, that's all you really can do. You can't stop somebody from walking into a situation, and we really can't be too overly preoccupied with this. The fact is that we live in an extremely violent culture, and we all justify violence if it's for what we believe in."
- "Animal Liberation Front tactics are going to continue. There's not a damned thing you can do about it, you're not going to stop it. So you might as well incorporate it into the movement."

Watson puts his talk into action. His Sea Shepherd Conservation Society has trained several notable ALF-affiliated and otherwise criminally oriented activists, including arsonist Rodney Coronado, PETA co-founder Alex Pacheco, and SHAC terrorism defendants Kevin Kjonaas and Joshua Harper. Watson and Coronado openly

discuss their work sunk whaling ships together. Watson's flagship is fitted with a cement hull specifically designed for ramming other vessels, and (literally) flies a skull-and-crossbones pirate flag.

Do most rank-and-file Sierra Club members approve of the tactics practices by one of their Board members? I have far too much faith in ordinary Americans to believe that they would. But we should ask whether the Sierra Club is doing anyone a service by allowing such an extremist to help shape its future direction.

STATEMENT OF BRADLEY CAMPBELL, COMMISSIONER, NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

I would like to thank the Committee for the opportunity to appear before you to discuss the problems of ecoterrorism and other threats to domestic security.

These are subjects that Governor Richard J. Codey and every New Jersey resident regard with urgent concern. Our residents live in the shadow of the attacks of September 11, 2001, which claimed the lives of 674 New Jerseyans and transformed our northern waterfront into an evacuation zone. New Jersey also was the launching site for the first major bio-terror attacks on United States soil resulting in fatalities, when a still-unknown terrorist mailed anthrax-laden letters that severely contaminated the United States Postal Service facility in Hamilton, NJ.

New Jersey's very strengths create particular vulnerability to acts of domestic terrorism. Our chemical, petroleum and other industrial plants that support the economy of the Nation are clustered around well-developed transportation infrastructure linking the New York and Philadelphia metropolitan regions. The Port of New Jersey and New York is the entry point for more than 4 million cargo containers and 55 million tons of bulk cargo valued at over $100 billion. New Jersey is home to Newark Liberty International Airport—one of the busiest airports in the country serving more than 30 million passengers annually. New Jersey is well-known as the center of pharmaceutical, biotechnology, and other life science industries targeted by violent and extreme animal rights activists. All of these infrastructure sites and more are potential targets for terrorists, and all lie in the most densely populated State in the Union.

I shall begin with a brief overview of New Jersey's domestic security preparedness activities, and then turn to the specific types of ecoterrorism that concern us.

OVERVIEW OF NEW JERSEY'S DOMESTIC SECURITY PREPAREDNESS EFFORT

New Jersey's unique vulnerabilities have made us a leader among States in initiating and implementing measures to counter potential terrorist operatives, to reduce the risk of attack at critical infrastructure facilities, and to reduce the potential impacts to public health and safety if any such attacks should occur in the future. New Jersey undertakes these efforts through our Domestic Security Preparedness Task Force (DSPTF or Task Force), chaired by Attorney General Peter C. Harvey, and our Office of Counter-Terrorism (OCT), directed by Sidney Caspersen.

As Commissioner of the Department of Environmental Protection (DEP), I serve as the DSPTF's lead for the pharmaceutical and biotechnology, chemical, nuclear, petroleum, wastewater, and dam safety sectors of our critical infrastructure. I share responsibility for the water sector as well in cooperation with our Board of Public Utilities. Through the DSPTF and the OCT, I also participate in New Jersey's preparedness and response effort for other sectors. Notably, the sectors within DEP's oversight are among the sectors in which ecoterror has been of greatest concern, and the sectors in which credible threats of other forms of terrorism have most often been identified in New Jersey.

The DSPTF has undertaken a comprehensive program to reduce terror risk, to ensure preparedness at critical infrastructure facilities, and to test the efficacy of both public agencies and the private sector in responding to acts of terrorism. Every DSPTF agency and every sector of our critical infrastructure has developed, thorough a public-private collaboration, a series of "Best Practices" for domestic security. Each set of Best Practices has been reviewed and approved by the Task Force and the Governor. Every DSPTF agency and every sector of our critical infrastructure has also participated in appropriate exercises to test the strengths and limits of terror detection and response capability, most recently in the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's regional "Top Officials" ("TOPOFF") exercise in April, 2005, which simulated a massive bioterror attack resulting in thousands of deaths throughout New Jersey.

Another worthy program initiated by DHS and carried forward by the New Jersey OCT in conjunction with State and local law enforcement partners is the "Buffer Zone Protection Program," which addresses protective measures outside a facility's

perimeter. Sixteen of the most high consequence facilities in New Jersey have completed "Buffer Zone Protection Plans." A program of similar scope and intensity focused on protective measures inside a facility's perimeter is what New Jersey hopes this Committee and Congress will undertake.

New Jersey's current challenge is to ensure full implementation of security "Best Practices" across all sectors, consistent with Governor Codey's policy of "Zero Tolerance" for noncompliance, and to identify those additional regulatory and other measures that are appropriate to contend with emerging threats and challenges. Throughout this process, DEP is working with OCT, our State Police, our Attorney General's Office and private companies within our sectors to reduce or eliminate specific threats that we have identified on a case-by-case basis.

ANIMAL RIGHTS/ENVIRONMENTAL TERRORISM

For New Jersey, animal rights/environmental terrorism, which I will loosely refer to as "ecoterrorism" is considered a significant threat. In our experience, the threat cleaves into two very different strains. The first strain consists of those groups with an ostensibly ecological ideology or agenda that are prepared to use acts or threats of violence to trumpet their message or interfere with legitimate industrial, commercial, or scientific enterprises. I shall refer to this strain as "ideological ecoterrorism." The second strain consists of those groups who may use ecological harm—such as the sudden and catastrophic release of explosive, toxic, or other material—to expose the public on a scale that will create massive injuries and death and long term injury to the State's natural resources. I shall refer to this strain as "impact ecoterrorism."

1. Ideological Ecoterrorism

As the home to many pharmaceutical, biotechnology, and other major firms concerned with the life sciences, New Jersey is particularly sensitive and attractive to the groups most likely to use threats or acts of terror to advance putatively "environmental" or "animal protection" causes.

I use the terms "environmental" and "animal protection" guardedly, recognizing that there are mainstream environmental and animal welfare organizations that have contributed thoughtful advocacy to our domestic security preparedness effort or more broadly to environmental and wildlife policy. Thoughtful organizations participating in the public process of developing and implementing public policy should not suffer the stigma or suspicion that legitimately attaches to extreme and violent groups.

New Jersey, primarily through the efforts of OCT, has worked with the DHS in closely monitoring groups advocating or promoting acts of violence or ecoterror, including any activities and potential threats associated with the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), or similar organizations. In New Jersey's experience, the more significant threat has come from those groups espousing an extreme animal-rights agenda.

These groups have had a particular focus on the pharmaceutical industry, which is one of the largest business sectors in New Jersey. The pharmaceutical industry contributes almost $30 billion annually to the State's economy and employs more than 62,000 people. Fully 75 percent of the world's leading pharmaceutical companies maintain some presence in New Jersey.

Ideological animal enterprise terrorist groups have in fact targeted our pharmaceutical facilities. Franklin Township is home to one of Huntingdon Life Sciences' (HLS) 3 worldwide animal research laboratories. This company and its employees, who provide contractual work for other chemical and pharmaceutical companies, have been the subject of repeated harassment for more than four years by members of Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC), an organization considered an animal enterprise terrorist group by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

SHAC is just one of several single-issue environmental or animal rights groups active in the region, which include ELF and ALF. Our OCT has noted increasing signs of convergence among these groups. ELF, ALF, and SHAC share certain goals and have overlapping agendas. These groups employ similar leaderless resistance models and employ similar tactics.

Notably, traditional law enforcement approaches, coupled with the vigilance of our OCT, have been sufficient to deal with the threats New Jersey has seen to date. The methods of these groups are more akin to those of traditional felons than they are to those of the international terrorist communities. Their intentions generally have been limited to interference with particular facilities, companies, or individuals. To date, we have seen no evidence of intent to wreak mass destruction or mass casualties in communities surrounding these facilities. While the acts and threats

of these groups may be criminal and serious in many cases, both the threat and the potential impacts appear within the capability of traditional law enforcement.

The success of traditional law enforcement tools has been demonstrated by the Federal grand jury indictment of seven of SHAC's leaders a year ago. I am grateful to U.S. Attorney Christopher Christie for his aggressive pursuit of these criminals. To offer a more personal example of the use of traditional law enforcement tools against ideological ecoterrorists, New Jersey's Attorney General Peter Harvey has successfully secured a civil protective order against an animal rights extremist who had threatened my home and my family.

Moreover, the measures New Jersey has undertaken to protect its communities against more threatening terrorist groups will significantly reduce potential risks of harm from ideological animal rights/environmental terrorists. For example, our work to ensure appropriate site security and target hardening measures at sectors within DEP's oversight, and OCT's buffer zone protection program, will help to reduce the vulnerability of all of our facilities to these acts of single-issue terrorism in the future.

2. "Impact Ecoterrorism"

Traditional law enforcement tools are not adequate to prevent and respond to "impact ecoterrorism," in which the materials, processes, or resources of industrial or utility facilities may be used by terrorist to create injuries, death, or environmental damage on a massive scale. In preventing and responding to this form of terrorism, both Federal and State measures are needed. Governor Codey and the DSPTF are particularly concerned with terror risks associated with chemical, petroleum and nuclear facilities.

In New Jersey, there are nearly 100 chemical facilities that are considered critical infrastructure sites, as well as 22 petroleum facilities, and four nuclear power plants. South Jersey alone has four refining and chemical plants each of which could expose a million or more people to highly toxic chemicals in a worst-case chemical release.

New Jersey's DSPTF has worked collaboratively with our critical infrastructure sectors to develop and implement "Best Practices" that will reduce risk and enhance preparedness at these types of facilities. Private sector leadership has been critical to this effort, including the example set by the American Chemistry Council (ACC) and the New Jersey Chemistry Council leadership to develop the Security Code of ACC's "Responsible Care" program. This and similar efforts have provided the critical building blocks of New Jersey's preparedness effort, and the DSPTF is implementing Governor Codey's policy of "zero tolerance" for noncompliance with these measures.

But these measures alone are merely a starting point. Our knowledge of both the threat and the appropriate response is evolving daily. As we implement the "Best Practices" and work with facilities on site-by-site review of security vulnerabilities, we also are beginning a public process to review what additional regulatory measures may be appropriate to harden potential targets, to reduce risk to surrounding communities, and to involve workers and communities in the process.

While New Jersey is doing its part, we renew our call for Federal standards and protections that will reinforce our work and ensure a level playing field for firms operating in New Jersey.

New Jersey is particularly concerned with the issue of chemical plant security. We share the concerns of President Bush's former security adviser, Richard Falkenrath, who has said that the complete lack of government oversight makes potential targets out of thousands of chemical plants, and who has called chemical plant security "the single greatest danger of potential terrorist attack in our country today."

Recognizing this danger, the New Jersey strongly supports the Chemical Security Act, introduced in the last Congress by Senator Jon Corzine and unanimously reported out of this committee on July 25, 2002. We strongly support Federal measures to require major chemical and petroleum facilities to conduct vulnerability assessments subject to Federal and State agency review; to require review of inherently safer technology that may improve plant safety; and to provide safe access to sensitive chemical facility security information. These requirements should, at a minimum, apply to the more than 15,000 facilities that are subject to the EPA's Risk Management Plan (RMP) requirements.

New Jersey also supports efforts to impose stricter Federal standards and protections in the nuclear power generation sector, another potential target for impact ecoterrorism. As the committee is aware, State action at these facilities is limited by the exclusive jurisdiction of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). While the NRC has been cooperative with DEP, New Jersey is concerned that the "design basis threat" that the NRC uses to evaluate terror threats is woefully inadequate.

New Jersey strongly support Federal legislation, such as last session's S. 1043, that would direct the NRC and Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to assess security vulnerabilities at nuclear power plants and waste storage facilities; to make recommendations for reducing security risks, taking into account specified threats including attacks comparable to 9/11; and to conduct a rulemaking to upgrade security requirements for nuclear facilities. In this Congress, New Jersey supports passage of S. 864, the Nuclear Safety and Security Act of 2005, even as we would like to see the more rigorous requirements of S. 1043 retained in the newer legislation.

In addition, New Jersey supports legislation that would increase Federal oversight of domestic security preparedness at facilities in other sectors. For example, according to the EPA, there are more than 16,000 wastewater treatment facilities nationwide with approximately 1,600 located near large metropolitan areas. Many of these facilities use chlorine to disinfect the water. Chlorine is a poisonous, greenish-yellow gas that is fatal in large concentrations. It can also burn the eyes, lungs, and skin. When released, it quickly turns to gas, stays close to the ground, and spreads rapidly. In New Jersey, only one wastewater treatment plant still uses enough chlorine (more than 1,000 pounds annually) to be regulated by our TCPA rules. However, we estimate that more than 12 million pounds of chlorine is stored at TCPA facilities around the State. Given the prevalence of this potentially lethal chemical, New Jersey strongly supports Federal legislation, such as S. 779 from the last Congressional session, that would authorize funds for wastewater utilities to conduct vulnerability assessments and required wastewater facilities to conduct and submit vulnerability assessments and emergency response plans to the government. As a February 2005, General Accounting Office (GAO) report concluded, any legislation overseeing improvements in wastewater treatment security should also emphasize replacing gaseous chemicals used in wastewater treatment with less hazardous alternatives; improving local, State, and regional efforts to coordinate responses in advance of a terrorist threat; and completing vulnerability assessments for individual wastewater systems.

Added Federal safeguards in these areas would complement New Jersey's tradition of strict rules to ensure safety at major chemical and petroleum facilities and to protect surrounding communities. Almost 20 years ago, the State adopted the Toxic Catastrophe Prevention Act (TCPA) statute after the Bhopal tragedy in India. TCPA rules require detailed "risk management plans" and "off-site consequences analysis" to be performed for all chemical sites that manage extraordinarily hazardous substances. In the wake of the September 11 tragedy, we have redoubled our efforts to ensure safety at these facilities. On August 5, 2003, New Jersey became the first State to regulate reactive hazard substances when present at a facility above a specified threshold, Reactive hazard substances are those that can explode when inadvertently exposed to air or water or when mixed with certain other chemicals.

New Jersey also requires facilities subject to TCPA regulations to evaluate their risk reduction options every 5 years to ensure the options reflect the most up-to-date, practicable technologies available for minimizing the risk of catastrophic accidental releases, and to implement this technology if cost-effective. Facilities must evaluate their new processes to ensure they incorporate, where feasible and cost-effective, inherently safer technologies that minimize or eliminate the threat of chemical releases by using safer chemicals, reducing chemical inventories, and improving equipment maintenance and design.

In addition to our TCPA program, DEP also regulates facilities through its Discharge Prevention, Containment and Countermeasure (DPCC) program. The DPCC program is basically an above-ground storage tank program that regulates facilities that store either 20,000 gallons of hazardous substances or 200,000 gallons of petroleum products and hazardous substances. Each facility is required to prepare a DPCC Plan and a Discharge Cleanup and Removal Plan (DCR). The DCR plan is the emergency response plan for the facility in the event of a discharge. DEP must review and approve of these plans.

The primary focus of both the DPCC and TCPA programs has been to ensure that the hazardous substances used by these facilities are not accidentally discharged into the State's environment. These programs are proving to be useful tools in domestic security preparedness, and will inform any additional regulatory requirements we develop at the State level.

But we remain persuaded that both security and interstate fairness would be advanced significantly, and with far less economic impact, if State measures were coupled with a Federal framework of regulatory protections. New Jersey is prepared to work with all members of the committee to achieve appropriate legislation to establish that framework.

HOMELAND SECURITY FUNDING

In responding to the threats of both single-issue, or ideological ecoterrorists, and impact ecoterrorists, funding is critical. Governor Codey has repeatedly pointed out that current homeland security funding formulas seriously undervalue actual intelligence about the presence of potential and known terror targets.

For all of the types of terrorists discussed today, New Jersey presents a greater array of pharmaceutical, chemical and petrochemical targets, in much closer proximity to population centers, than many other States. The same is true in States like California and Louisiana, especially when compared to States like Wyoming or Nebraska.

New Jersey's Federal homeland security funds overall decreased by more than 36 percent in Fiscal Year (FY) 2005. We estimate that the Federal budget will translate to $4.35 per capita in homeland security funding for New Jersey versus $25.45 per capita in Wyoming. Moreover, the current Federal budget cuts Federal Urban Area Security Initiative funding to Jersey City by more than 60 percent and to Newark by nearly 20 percent; this despite the fact that Newark faced a Terror Level of Orange last year after it was learned that terror groups might be plotting to bomb major financial targets in Newark.

Greater homeland security funding is needed more than ever as we also try to be mindful of other sectors that might also be targets of terror groups. In his 2005 State of the State address, Acting Governor Codey launched an unprecedented effort to make New Jersey's students safer by introducing a statewide school security checklist, law-enforcement visits to schools and training of teachers and staff to prepare for possible terror attacks on schools. This initiative was prompted by concerns last fall when information about two New Jersey elementary schools, one in Monmouth County and one in Gloucester County, was found on a computer disk in Iraq. This was at the same time that terrorists seized a middle school in Russia and killed more than 300 children and other hostages. As a result, the New Jersey State Police are helping our schools pinpoint widespread security weaknesses that should be remedied. The need for this initiative, while not falling under the jurisdiction of this Committee, is yet one more demonstration of why New Jersey and all States need greater financial and regulatory support from the Federal government to address all fronts in the fight to improve homeland security.

CONCLUSION

New Jersey considers both single-issue, or ideological ecoterrorism, and impact ecoterrorism to be serious risks to the safety and health of our communities. New Jersey's experience has been that traditional law enforcement tools, coupled with domestic security preparedness measures implemented to date, appear commensurate with the threat of single-issue or ideological ecoterror groups. With regard to "impact ecoterrorism," New Jersey urges Congress to enact additional regulatory safeguards and protections, and to revise Federal funding formulas to respond to available intelligence concerning the nature of the relevant threats.

RESPONSES BY BRADLEY CAMPBELL TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FROM SENATOR JEFFORDS

Question 1. What are the potential consequences of "impact eco-terrorism" in New Jersey, such as a terrorist attack on a chemical plant?

Response. The New Jersey Office of Counter-Terrorism maintains a Critical Infrastructure List ("CI List") that identifies the infrastructure within the chemical sector which have the greatest vulnerability based on threat information, consequence to life and/or the economy, or the ability to disrupt the routine of daily life, if subjected to terrorist attack. The CI List contains Tier 1 (Department of Homeland Security criteria) and Tier 2 (New Jersey criteria) facilities. Tier 1 includes sites that could cause death or serious injury in the event of a chemical release and have greater than 300,000 people within a 25-mile radius of the facility. Tier 2 facilities include the remaining sites that have off site consequences and those that have greater than 500,000 gallons of aboveground storage tank capacity for hazardous substances. There are a total of 93 chemical facilities on the CI List.

The potential population impact of a terrorist attack at one of the CI facilities is site specific. There are 7 facilities were the impact exceeds a residential population of 1,000,000, 16 facilities that exceed 100,000, and 80 facilities that have off site consequences less than 100,000 people. In summary, 80 of the 93 CI facilities have the potential for off site consequences resulting from a terrorist attack.

In addition to the potential population impact, the economic ramifications of a terrorist attack are also quite severe. The chemical industry is a critical and indispensable part of New Jersey's infrastructure. The business of chemistry is a nearly $30 billion industry in New Jersey, ranking the State second in the $460 billion-a-year enterprise throughout the United States.

Question 2. Compared to the risks posed by "impact eco-terrorism", how great is the threat of ALF or ELF attacks in your State?

Response. It is highly likely that New Jersey will continue to experience terrorist acts perpetrated by ALF and its affiliates. Currently, the most active animal enterprise terrorist group in New Jersey is the ALF affiliate Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty (SHAC). SHAC was formed in 1999 in the United Kingdom as part of an international campaign to close Huntington Life Sciences (HLS), a Contract Research Organization (CRO) which performs testing on animals. HLS does contractual work for other pharmaceutical and chemical companies, and the only HLS facility in the United States is located in New Jersey. In recent months, SHAC has expanded its target list well beyond HLS to include pharmaceutical companies and others that are HLS clients, suppliers, or otherwise do business with HLS. Since New Jersey is widely acknowledged as the global epicenter of the pharmaceutical and medical technology industry, serving as corporate headquarters for many of the world's largest drug companies, it is truly a target-rich environment for SHAC and ALF.

The majority of the attacks committed by ALF and SHAC have consisted of vandalism and harassment attacks perpetrated on the personal property of employees of pharmaceutical and biosciences companies. In addition, there have been several instances in which ALF has conducted incendiary attacks against fur stores and the property of amusement parks and circuses that incorporate animal acts. And three years ago, SHAC managed to steal fourteen dogs from HLS.

Thus far, ELF has not been particularly active in New Jersey, though it is active in the region. Moreover, since ALF and ELF share similar goals and tactics, support each other, and likely draw on the same pool of activists, the threat from ELF cannot be discounted.

While causing human casualties is not among the explicitly stated goals of these groups, the parent organizations have little control over their more violent elements. In August and September 2003, an animal rights activist named Daniel Andreas San Diego was linked to bomb attacks committed against facilities operated by the Chiron and Shaklee corporations to protest their sponsorship of animal experimentation. He is still at large, and is believed to be the leader of a violent ALF splinter faction called the "Revolutionary Cells: Animal Liberation Brigade." Also, SHAC activists in the UK, where HLS is headquartered, followed the HLS President home and severely beat him. Finally, a prominent ELF activist in the region has threatened police with bodily harm if they stand in ELF's way.

Question 3. Are you aware of any evidence that any mainstream environmental group supports the Earth Liberation Front?

Response. The Sierra Club has issued several statements condemning the activities of ELF, including the following, made by the Sierra Club's executive director in August '03: "No matter what the motivation, the Sierra Club does not condone acts of violence." And the eco-group Greenpeace, while frequently engaging in acts of civil disobedience, actually contributed to the creation of ELF by refusing to engage in criminal activity, prompting the most radical members of Greenpeace to form ELF.

In contrast, the animal rights group People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) has made numerous contributions to the defense funds of jailed animal rights activists, has partially underwritten a speaking tour by a convicted eco-terrorist, and has sold a book, "Free The Animals," that champions ALF's activities. In the book, PETA director Ingrid Newkirk romanticizes ALF's activities and its violent methods.

PETA recently has been active in New Jersey, specifically targeting Covance, Inc. PETA activists in the region also have spoken out in support of SHAC.

Response by Bradley Campbell to an Additional Question from Senator Lautenberg

Question. You stated that New Jersey has adequate law enforcement tools to combat the "ideological terrorists" such as ALF and ELF. What tools did New Jersey use to arrest and indict the seven leaders of the group Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty, last year?

Response. The 6 SHAC leaders in New Jersey were charged under the Animal Enterprise Protection Act of 1992 which prohibits, among other activities, the causing of "physical disruption to the functioning of an animal enterprise." The Newark Joint Terrorism Task Force investigated the matter, with the assistance of the New Jersey Office of Counter-Terrorism, the New Jersey State Police, and local law enforcement entities.

What makes the successful prosecution of groups like ALF, SHAC, and ELF difficult is the fact that they are organized into small, independent cells that have minimal contact with their respective leadership. Unlike organized crime groups, the parent organizations function as information and propaganda centers, and have little direct control over how these independent cells operate.

STATEMENT OF DAVID SKORTON, PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member Jeffords and distinguished members of the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works: My name is David Skorton, and I am President of The University of Iowa. I am also a physician and professor in the Colleges of Medicine and Engineering. I am honored to have been asked to provide testimony today concerning a series of events on The University of Iowa campus and in our community of Iowa City, Iowa, triggered by a destructive break-in at one of our campus research facilities. This incident raises a variety of issues related to academic freedom, a safe working and living environment, the place of civil disobedience on a university campus and, most importantly, the future environment and accessibility of a publicly supported institution of higher education.

In the early morning hours of Sunday, November 14, 2004, 3 or more individuals, later claiming to represent the Animal Liberation Front, broke into our Seashore Hall and Spence Laboratories facility, including research laboratories associated with the Department of Psychology. The intruders smashed and overturned equipment and poured acid and other chemicals on equipment and papers. Over 300 rodents were removed from the facility. Many of these rodents, purpose-bred for research and being cared for by faculty members, veterinarians and other animal care professionals, likely suffered and died as a result of this action. The individuals also broke into faculty offices, dumped books, research materials, and computers on the floor, and poured acid on these items.

The University of Iowa Police in conjunction with the State of Iowa Department of Criminal Investigation involved the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which was central to this investigation of domestic terrorism. Many other health and safety officials were also involved. All affected units had to be temporarily closed or relocated, including offices, classrooms, research labs and psychology clinics. Not only was research disrupted, but the academic activities and careers of faculty, undergraduate and graduate students and post-doctoral trainees were impaired, in some cases adding months to the conduct of their federally funded, peer-reviewed research.

Four days after the break-in, on Thursday, November 18, individuals claiming responsibility for this act sent an e-mail to multiple local and national media outlets. The e-mail claimed responsibility on behalf of ALF for the vandalism on the facility. It also included the names, home addresses, phone numbers, e-mail addresses, and spouse's or partner's names for Psychology Department faculty who conduct animal research, as well as for some graduate students and laboratory assistants. Publicizing this personal information was blatant intimidation. It was also successful, as these individuals are still being harassed and are still concerned about their own safety, as well as their families'. To cite 1 example of harassment, 5 faculty members as well as some of their spouses received a total of over 400 unsolicited magazine subscriptions under the "bill me later" option. In terms of safety issues, numerous researchers are even concerned about allowing their children to play in their own yards.

In addition to the human cost to the researchers, their colleagues and families, the total direct costs for the incident are approximately $450,000. The cost for the chemical cleanup, both by our own Health Protection Office and outside contractors, is estimated at $150,000. The cost to our Department of Public Safety, including increased contract-based security on campus, is approximately $25,000, and replacement estimates for equipment and supplies are over $250,000. With this incident prompting a review of all of our security measures, the eventual cost for additional research facility protection will be much more. What cannot be measured in monetary terms is the loss of progress in research.

Because the vandalized research space is located within a larger shared-use academic building, the work of dozens of faculty, staff and students who were not in

any way connected to the research was disrupted for many days during a very busy time of the academic year while health and safety officials cleared the building. Though the destruction was to research equipment and materials, it is clear from the videos the group provided to the media that the message of fear and intimidation was meant for a much larger audience—the University as a whole and the general public.

Was this an act of either informed debate or civil disobedience? I think not. As a long-time student of the writings of Mohandas K. Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., I recognize several critical and undeniable differences between the criminal behavior that is the focus of my comments and that of classic practitioners of civil disobedience.

First, the perpetrators of the vandalism at our University took no personal responsibility for the acts, but performed the actions wearing ski masks or other garments to protect their identities. At the heart of Gandhi's philosophy of non-violent resistance was openness and forthrightness in one's actions, "daring to do the right and facing consequences whether it is in matters social, political or other." [1] Second, direct intimidation of the researchers and their families, intended to cause fear and personal anxiety, was a deliberate tactic in our case. To my knowledge, such personal and familial intimidation has never been a feature of the nonviolent civil disobedience respected in our country. Third, and perhaps most ironically, the attack occurred on a campus which has for decades prided itself on exceeding Federal regulations regarding the humane care and use of animals in research and teaching.

If not civil disobedience, what was this action? In my estimation it was, purely and simply, a criminal act meant to disrupt an endeavor which is highly valued by our society. In the face of society's support for this research, the illegal tactics of a violent group have been unsuccessful in eradicating it.

Let us explore for a moment the place of public civil discourse in the nationwide discussion on the use of animals in research and teaching. Thanks to effective interactions among researchers, administrators, and constructive animal welfare groups, the handling and use of research animals have been greatly improved in recent decades. Animal Care and Use Committees at institutions receiving Federal funding are responsible for extremely careful review and approval, disapproval or modification of all proposals to use animals in research. On the University of Iowa campus, training in the handling of research animals is mandatory before principal investigators, researchers, or other personnel can acquire a single animal for research or teaching activities. In addition, these committees conduct ongoing monitoring of activities in which animals are used for research and educational purposes. Many campuses, including The University of Iowa, have gone beyond these regulations by, for example, seeking and obtaining voluntary accreditation with the Association for Assessment and Accreditation of Laboratory Animal Care International, Inc.

What has been the result on our campus of the deplorable criminal action by a group of vandals acting in the dark of night, taking no responsibility for their actions?

First, the environment for researchers at The University of Iowa has been permanently altered. These researchers, who have devoted their careers to fundamental and applied research directed at increasing the corpus of life science knowledge and improving health for animals and humans, now live lives of fear and anger. Second, the University and Federal and State taxpayers indirectly have had to spend funds that were, in essence, wasted on the sequelae of this action rather than on advancing the state of animal and human health. This, no doubt, was part of the strategy of the organization at work. Third, in the wake of many other national security issues, this action and others like it add to the increasingly significant changes in the openness of American university campuses. No longer can those of us in positions of responsibility consider our campuses to be largely open areas, and we must increasingly consider security concerns that affect the openness of the environment.

Most importantly, what has not changed and will not change is that The University of Iowa is completely and unalterably committed to allowing faculty, staff and students to pursue their chosen research that is scientifically sound, legal and humane. When there are problems in the conduct of animal research at our University, they are identified, corrected and handled by a well-established system of peer review and administrative oversight. This criminal act will do nothing but strengthen our resolve to stand behind the principles of academic freedom in conducting publicly supported research toward the advancement of knowledge and the improvement of animal and human health.

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[1] Attributed to Mohandas K. Gandhi by the Official Mahatma Gandhi eArchive and Reference Library of the Mahatma Gandhi Foundation of Mumbai, India at *http://www.mahatma.org.in/quotes/quotes.jsp?link=qt.*

Thank you.

STATEMENT OF MONTY A. MCINTYRE, ESQ., ON BEHALF OF GARDEN COMMUNITIES

Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member Jeffords, and Members of the U.S. Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works:

My name is Monty McIntyre, and it is my privilege and honor to testify before you today on behalf of my client, Garden Communities.

President Abraham Lincoln, in his Gettysburg Address, said these immortal words:

> That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

I've come here to tell you about the devastating consequences of violent acts by groups like the Earth Liberation Front ("ELF"). They certainly don't believe in government of the people, by the people, and for the people. On August 1, 2003 ELF torched an apartment building that Garden Communities was building in San Diego, totally destroying the building and causing millions of dollars of damage.

Garden Communities is a company that builds and operates apartment buildings in California and Arizona, providing homes for thousands of people. It creates jobs, not only for its employees, but also for the many subcontractors and construction professionals that it works with.

Garden Communities properly follows the environmental laws applicable to its projects. California has one of the toughest environmental laws in the country, known as the California Environmental Quality Act ("CEQA"). Under CEQA the Garden Community project, known as La Jolla Crossroads, was required to undergo the most intensive environmental study which is called an Environmental Impact Report ("EIR"). When an EIR is being prepared, the public is notified and given the opportunity to provide iriput. The EIR considers the potential environmental impacts of the project, how those impacts might be eliminated or mitigated, and also considers alternative uses of the property. The La Jolla Crossroads project went through the extensive EIR process and was approved.

When completed, La Jolla Crossroads will include nine apartment buildings and one scientific research building. Before the ELF attack, the first building was expected to be completed by April 2004, and the project completion date was scheduled for August of 2009. Approximately 50 to 60 companies and approximately 150 people were working on the project.

On August 1, 2003, ELF started a fire that completely destroyed the first building under construction. Why do we think that ELF is responsible? On the ground next to the burned building was a white bed sheet with spray painted letters that said "You make us mad. You build it. We bum it. ELF."

All framing and the foundation for the building were completely destroyed. All construction work stopped immediately. Many of the companies who were working on the project struggled financially after the fire, and at least two companies either went bankrupt or stopped functioning all together. The fire loss also interrupted good working relationships that Garden Communities had developed with several of its subcontractors. After the fire, Garden Communities was forced to spend time and resources figuring out its fire loss, removing the damage and debris, renegotiating numerous contracts with subcontractors, and working to get the construction going again.

This fire loss will delay the total project completion by at least 1 year. Garden Communities has suffered approximately $22 million in damages from this terrorist act. The damages include overhead and general conditions, hard costs for the reconstruction of the building that was destroyed, and other damages related to the entire project including loss of rental income, increased carrying costs, and increased construction costs.

Garden Communities has further suffered because its fire loss claim has been wrongfully denied by Illinois Union Insurance Company, the second excess carrier. Illinois Union denied this fire loss claim, even though the primary carrier and the first excess carrier have paid their policy limits. Illinois Union's bad faith acts mean that Garden Communities has been victimized twice, first by ELF and later by Illinois Union Insurance Company.

Garden Communities is a good company. It provides jobs for our citizens and builds much needed housing for folks in California and Arizona.

Garden Communities followed the environmental rules and was properly building this project.

By violently taking matters into their own hands, terrorist groups like ELF threaten our nation's fundamental values including the idea that our government should be of the people, by the people, and for the people.

We hope that the U.S. Senate will do everything in its power to stop future unlawful acts by terrorist groups like ELF.

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Exhibit #6: PETA Supports Terrorist Activity—ALF Army of the Kind

Exhibit #7: Dr. Best Supports Terrorist Activity as Their Liaison to the Public

Exhibit #8: Contributors blocked from financing ALF through the Internet

Exhibit #9: ELF earned Commissions from Book Sales through ELF Web Site

Exhibit #10: Dr. Steven Best with 2 ALF Members. All 3 Speakers at Fresno State Conference on "Revolutionary Environmentalism" Feb. 13-14, 2003

Exhibit #11: PETA Gives Over $70,000 to ALF Member After Burning Down Michigan State Research Lab.

Exhibit #12: ELF Attacks on Development and Car Dealership

Exhibit #13: ELF Website References EPW Committee Inquiry

Exhibit #1

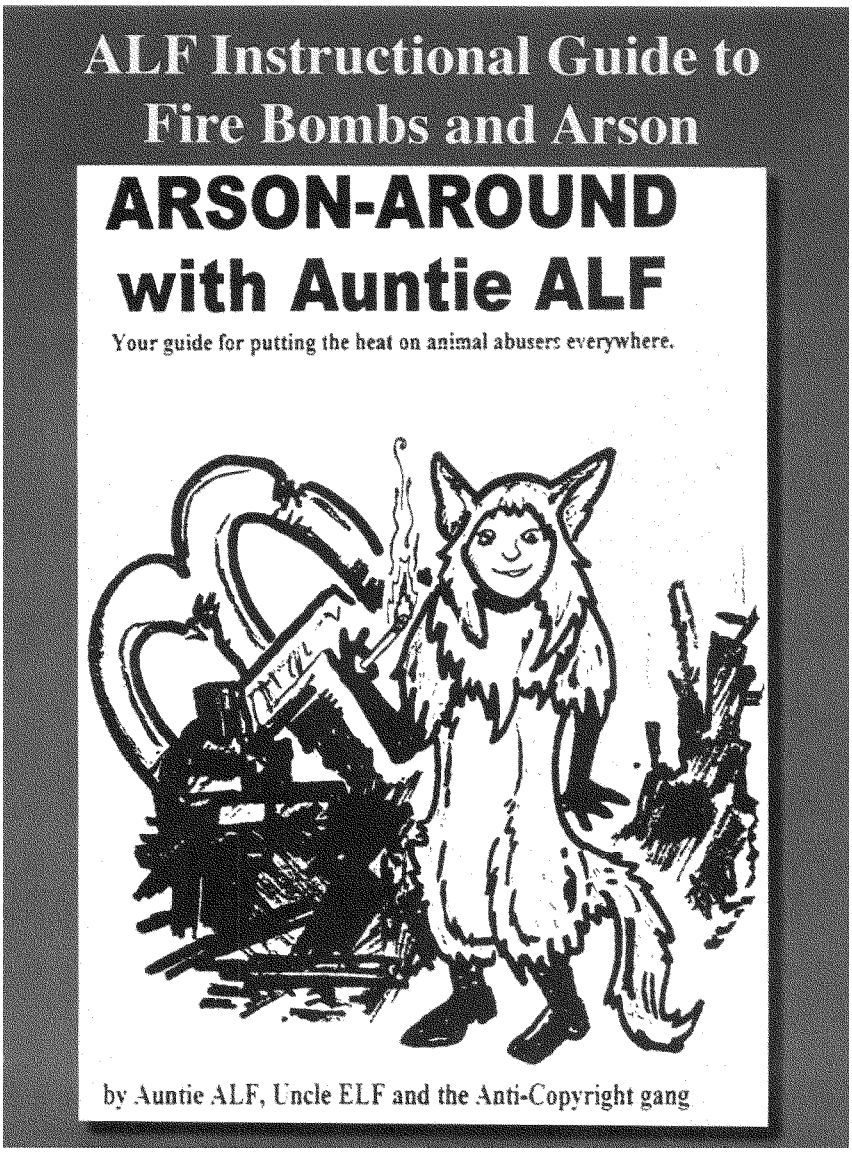

ALF Instructional Guide to
Fire Bombs and Arson
ARSON-AROUND
with Auntie ALF
Your guide for putting the heat on animal abusers everywhere.
by Auntie ALF, Uncle ELF and the Anti-Copyright gang

Exhibit #2a

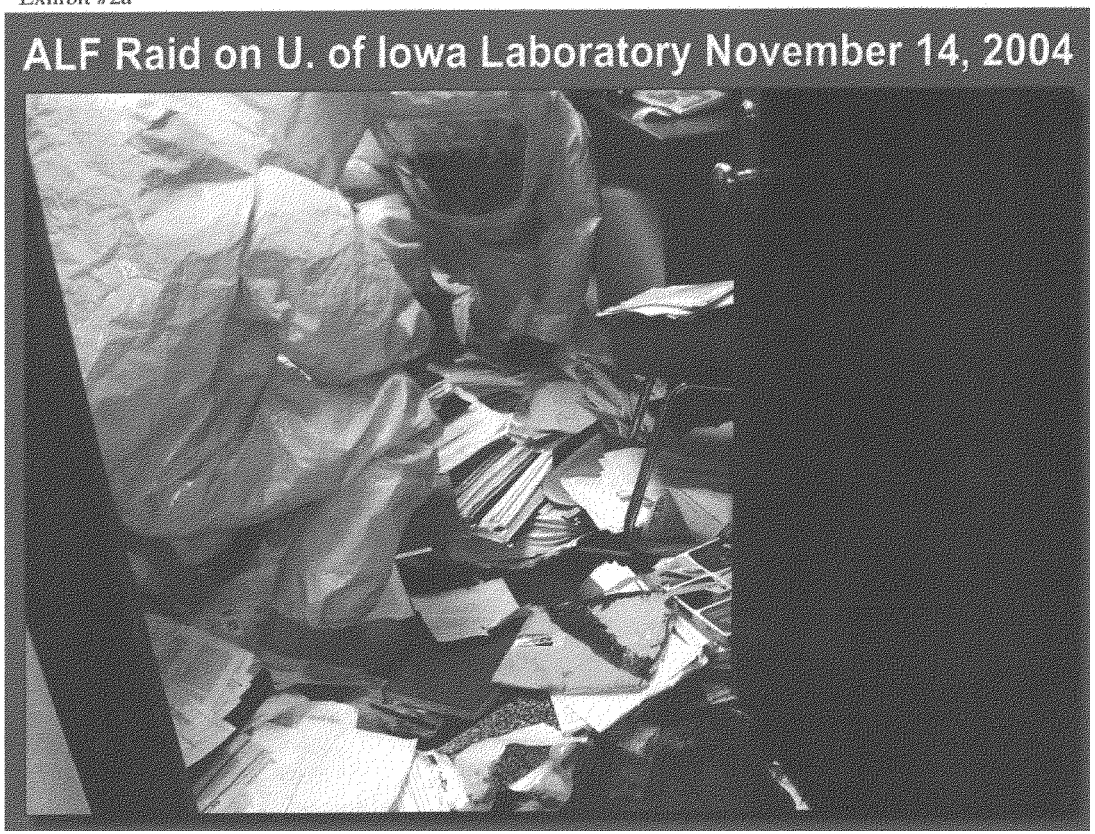


Exhibit #2b

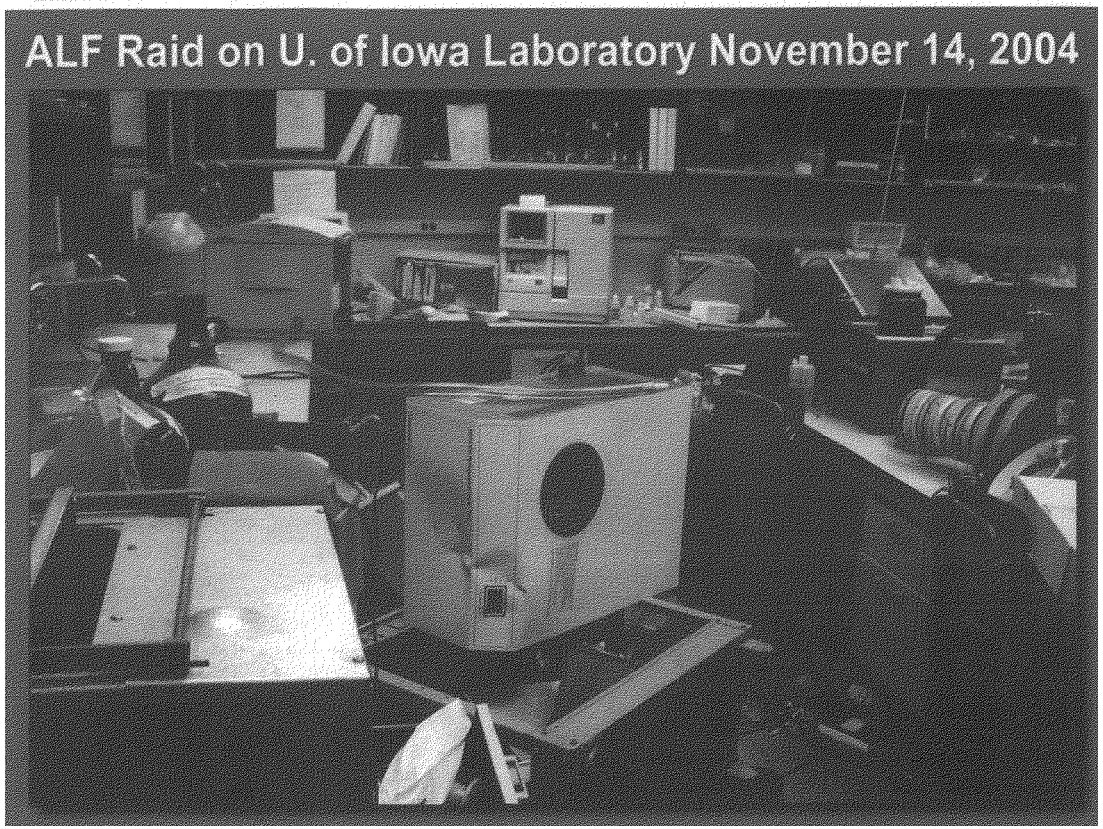


Exhibit #3

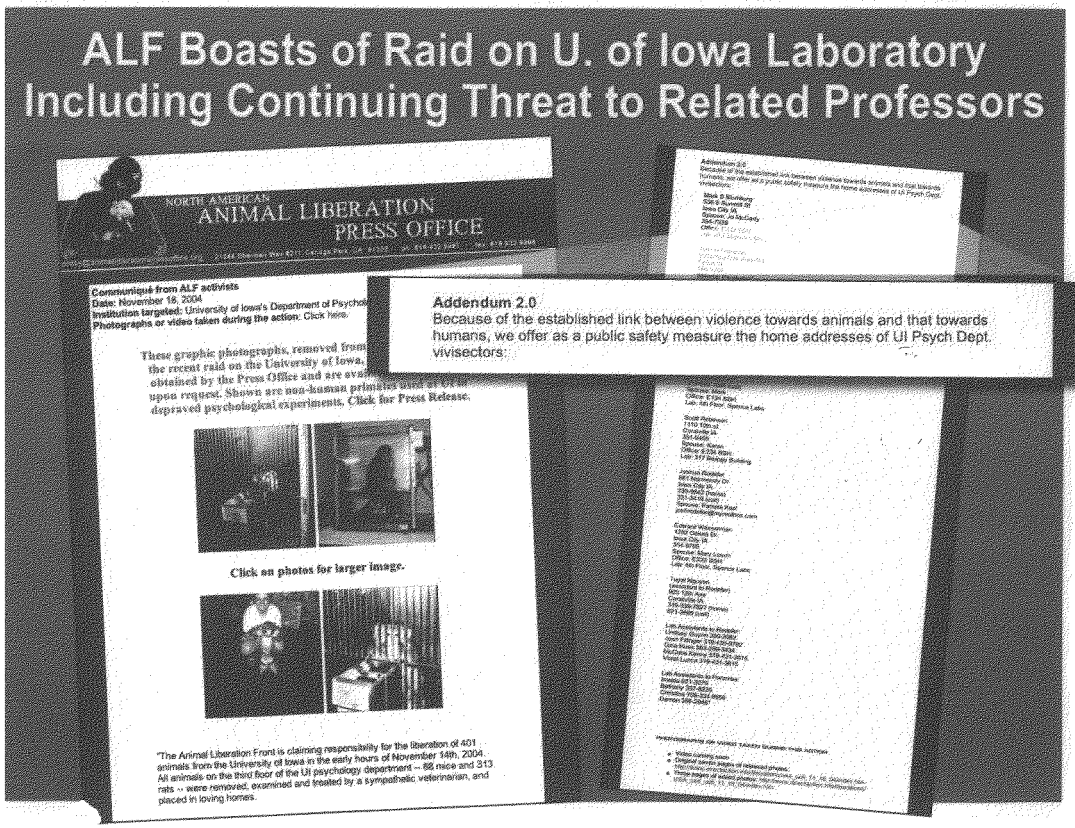

ALF Boasts of Raid on U. of Iowa Laboratory Including Continuing Threat to Related Professors
NORTH AMERICAN ANIMAL LIBERATION PRESS OFFICE
Communiqué from ALF activists
Addendum 2.0
Because of the established link between violence towards animals and that towards humans, we offer as a public safety measure the home addresses of UI Psych Dept. vivisectors:
These graphic photographs, removed from
the recent raid on the University of Iowa,
obtained by the Press Office and are ava
upon request. Shown are non-human primates used in
depraved psychological experiment. Click for Press Release.
Click on photos for larger image.
"The Animal Liberation Front is claiming responsibility for the liberation of 401 animals from the University of Iowa in the early hours of November 14th, 2004. All animals on the third floor of the UI psychology department -- 82 mice and 313 rats -- were removed, examined and treated by a sympathetic veterinarian, and placed in loving homes.

Exhibit #4

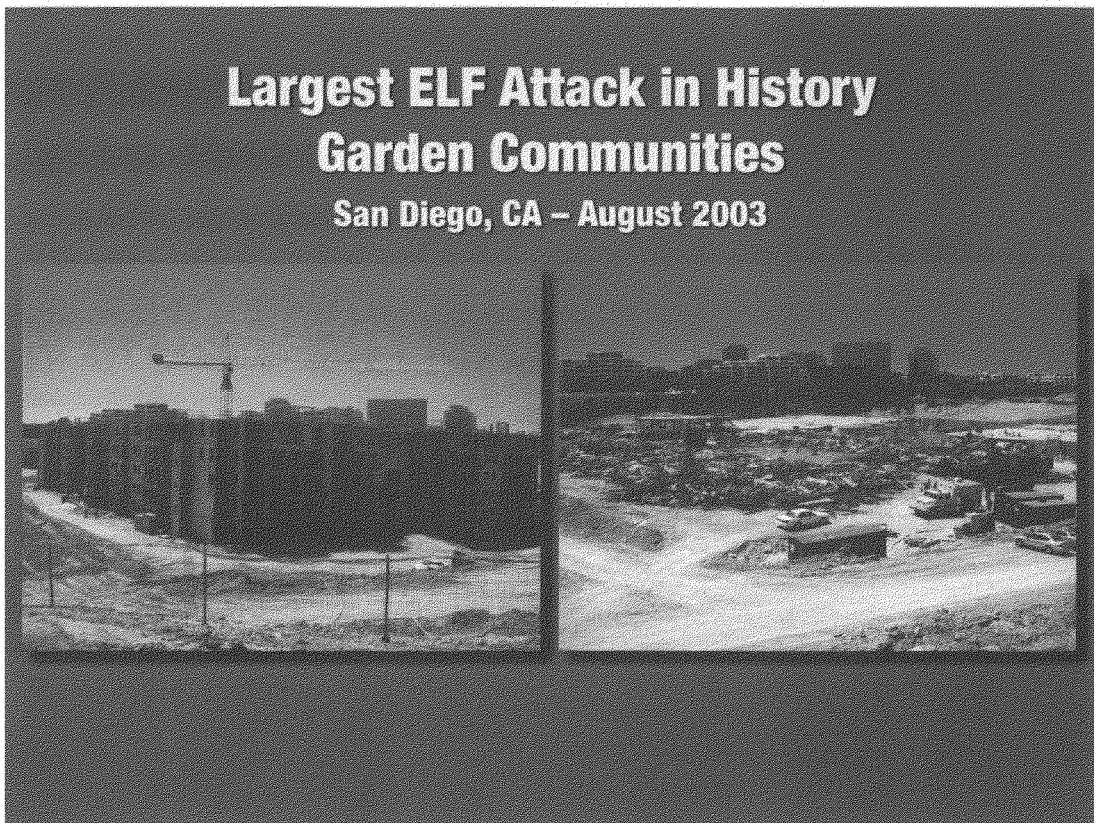
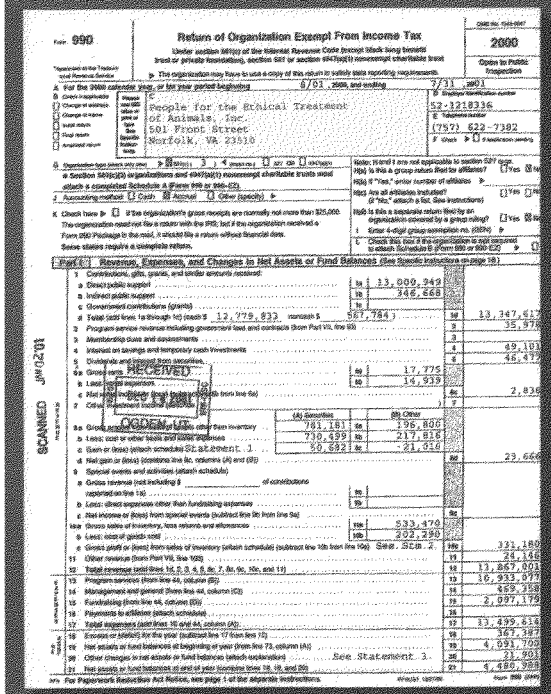

Largest ELF Attack in History
Garden Communities
San Diego, CA – August 2003

Exhibit #5

PETA Tax Return Claiming Grant to Terrorist Organization



Form 990 — Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax — 2000

Under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation), section 527 or section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust

Open to Public Inspection

A For the 2000 calendar year, or tax year beginning 8/01, 2000, and ending 7/31, 2001

C Name: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, Inc.
Number and street: 501 Front Street
City or town, state, and ZIP code: Norfolk, VA 23510

D Employer identification number: 52-1218336

E Telephone number: (757) 622-7382

F Check ▶ if application pending

B Check if applicable: Address change; Name change; Initial return; Final return; Amended return

G Organization type (check only one): ▶ 501(c)(3) ◀ (insert no.); 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust; 527

H(a) Is this a group return for affiliates? Yes No

H(b) If "Yes," enter number of affiliates ▶

H(c) Are all affiliates included? (If "No," attach a list. See instructions) Yes No

H(d) Is this a separate return filed by an organization covered by a group ruling? Yes No

I Enter 4-digit group exemption no. (GEN) ▶

J Accounting method: Cash Accrual Other (specify) ▶

K Check here ▶ if the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than $25,000. The organization need not file a return with the IRS, but if the organization received a Form 990 Package in the mail, it should file a return without financial data. Some states require a complete return.

L Check this box if the organization is not required to attach Schedule B (Form 990 or 990-EZ) ▶

Part I Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances (See Specific Instructions on page 18)

1	Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received:			
a	Direct public support	1a	13,000,949	
b	Indirect public support	1b	346,668	
c	Government contributions (grants)	1c		
d	Total (add lines 1a through 1c) (cash $ 12,779,833 noncash $ 567,784)			1d 13,347,617
2	Program service revenue including government fees and contracts (from Part VII, line 93)			2 35,979
3	Membership dues and assessments			3
4	Interest on savings and temporary cash investments			4 49,103
5	Dividends and interest from securities			5 48,479
6a	Gross rents	6a	17,775	
b	Less: rental expenses	6b	14,939	
c	Net rental income or (loss) (subtract line 6b from line 6a)			6c 2,836
7	Other investment income (describe ▶)			7
8a	Gross amount from sales of assets other than inventory	(A) Securities 8a 781,181	(B) Other 8a 196,800	
b	Less: cost or other basis and sales expenses	730,499	8b 217,816	
c	Gain or (loss) (attach schedule) Statement 1	50,682	8c -21,016	
d	Net gain or (loss) (combine line 8c, columns (A) and (B))			8d 23,666
9	Special events and activities (attach schedule)			
a	Gross revenue (not including $ ____ of contributions reported on line 1b)		9a	
b	Less: direct expenses other than fundraising expenses		9b	
c	Net income or (loss) from special events (subtract line 9b from line 9a)			9c
10a	Gross sales of inventory, less returns and allowances		10a 533,470	
b	Less: cost of goods sold		10b 202,290	
c	Gross profit or (loss) from sales of inventory (attach schedule) (subtract line 10b from line 10a)		See Sch. 2	10c 331,180
11	Other revenue (from Part VII, line 103)			11 24,146
12	Total revenue (add lines 1d, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6c, 7, 8d, 9c, 10c, and 11)			12 13,867,001
13	Program services (from line 44, column (B))			13 10,933,973
14	Management and general (from line 44, column (C))			14 469,259
15	Fundraising (from line 44, column (D))			15 2,997,179
16	Payments to affiliates (attach schedule)			16
17	Total expenses (add lines 13, and 44, column (A))			17 13,499,614
18	Excess or (deficit) for the year (subtract line 17 from line 12)			18 367,387
19	Net assets or fund balances at beginning of year (from line 73, column (A))			19 4,091,700
20	Other changes in net assets or fund balances (attach explanation)	See Statement 3		20 21,901
21	Net assets or fund balances at end of year (combine lines 18, 19, and 20)			21 4,480,988

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the separate instructions.

Form 990 (2000)

RECEIVED
OGDEN UT

SCANNED JAN 02 01

03/26/01	Compassionate Action for Animals 6524 Walker Street, Suite 225 St. Paul, MN 55426	To Support Their Program Activities	$1,500.00
03/26/01	Helga Tacreiter P.O. Box 227 Shiloh, NJ 08353	To Support Their Program Activities	$500.00
03/26/01	Elizabeth River Project 801 Boush Street, Suite 204 Norfolk, VA 23510	To Support Their Program Activities	$175.00
03/31/01	Pazanimal Carrera 3 # m 1-42 San Antonio Cali, Columbia	To Support Their Program Activities	$400.00
04/03/01	Matt Rossell 4717 NE Garfield Street Portland, OR 97211	To Support Their Program Activities	$4,000.00
04/06/01	Free Dolphin Coalition of Maui P.O. Box 1547 Kahului, HI 96733	To Support Their Program Activities	$300.00
04/20/01	North American Earth Liberation Front P.O. Box 4783 Portland, OR 97208	To Support Their Program Activities	$1,500.00
04/23/01	Helga Tacreiter P.O. Box 227 Shiloh, NJ 08353	To Support Their Program Activities	$500.00
04/23/01	Compassion Over Killing P.O. Box 9773 Washington, DC 20016	To Support Their Program Activities	$1,000.00
04/30/01	Grey 2K USA P.O. Box 442117 Somerville, MA 02144	To Support Their Program Activities	$2,000.00

Exhibit #6

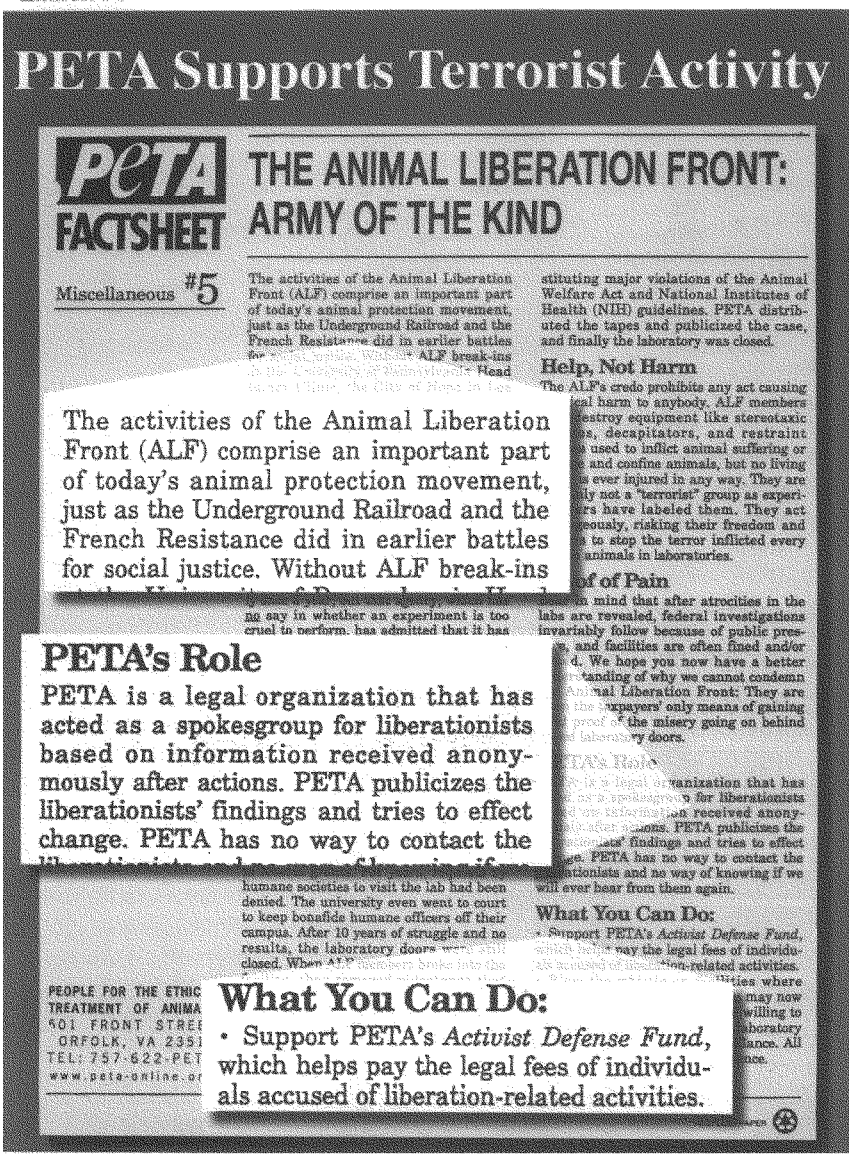

PETA Supports Terrorist Activity
PETA FACTSHEET
THE ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT: ARMY OF THE KIND
Miscellaneous #5
The activities of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) comprise an important part of today's animal protection movement, just as the Underground Railroad and the French Resistance did in earlier battles for social justice. Without ALF break-ins
PETA's Role
PETA is a legal organization that has acted as a spokesgroup for liberationists based on information received anonymously after actions. PETA publicizes the liberationists' findings and tries to effect change. PETA has no way to contact the
What You Can Do:
• Support PETA's Activist Defense Fund, which helps pay the legal fees of individuals accused of liberation-related activities.
PEOPLE FOR THE ETHIC
TREATMENT OF ANIMA
501 FRONT STREE
ORFOLK, VA 2351
TEL: 757-622-PET
www.peta-online.o

Exhibit #7

Dr. Best Supports Terrorist Activity as Their Liaison to the Public

Animal Liberation Front
&
Earth Liberation Front

CONTACT RESOURCES

ACADEMIC

Center on Animal Liberation Affairs -CALA
Department of Philosophy
University of Texas
El Paso, TX 79968
Website: www.cala-online.org
E-mail: info@cala-online.org

ALF INFORMATION WEB LINKS

Animal Liberation Front
www.animalliberationfront.com

Animal Liberation Frontline Information Service
www.animalliberation.net

Earth Liberation Front
www.earthliberationfront.com

MEDIA

Arkangel Magazine
BCM 9240,
London WC1N 3XX
E-mail: info@arkangelweb.org
Website: www.arkangelweb.org

Bite Back Magazine
222 Lakeview Ave
Ste. 160-231
West Palm Beach, FL 33401
E-mail: biteback@directaction.info
Website: www.directaction.info

No Compromise
740A 14th Street
#125
San Francisco, CA 94114
Phone: 831-425-3007
E-mail: nc-info@nocompromise.org

PRESS OFFICE

ALF Press Office
BM4400,
London WC1N 3XX, U.K.
Phone/Fax: + 44 (0) 1623 746470
Cellphone: + 44 (0) 7752 107515
E-mail: alfpressoffice@yahoo.com

ELF Press Office
PO Box 21554
1424 Commercial Dr
Vancouver, BC Canada

PRISONER SUPPORT GROUPS

Auckland Animal Action – [New Zealand]
PO Box 7523
Wellesley St
Auckland
New Zealand
Phone: +64 021 117 9192
E-mail: aucklandanimalaction@yahoo.com

Earth Liberation Prisoners-Poland
PO Box 43,
15-662 Bialystok 26, Poland
E-mail: ELP4321@Hotmail.com
Website: www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk/

Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network
c/o BM Box 2407,
London, WC1N 3XX, England
E-mail: ELP4321@hotmail.com
Website: www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk/

EVTR [A.L.F.S.G.Finland]
PO Box 223, 33201 Tampere, Finland
Tel: 050 536 8052
E-mail: yllapito@elaintenvapautus.net
Website: www.elaintenvapautus.net

Holland---ALF Supporters Group
Postbus 3607, 1001 AK Amsterdam, Holland
E-mail: alf-sg@zonnet.nl
Website: www.geocities.com/earthlibprisoner/

Italian Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network
E-mail: italianelp@yahoo.com

North American---A.L.F.S.G.
P.O. Box 428
Brighton, Ontario, K0K 1H0
E-mail: naalfsg@resist.ca

North American Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network
E-mail: naelpsn@graffiti.net

DFF SG [Norwegian---A.L.F.S.G.]
P.O. Box 386, 5001 Bergen, Norway
E-mail: torchvial@yahoo.com

Spanish A.L.F.S.G.
APDO 50390, 28080 Madrid, Spain

Spirit of Freedom – (Earth Liberation Prisoners)
c/o Cornerstone Resource Centre,
16 Sholebroke Avenue,
Chapelton, Leeds, LS7 3HB, England,
E-mail: earthlibprisoner@mail.com
Website: www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk/

DBF-SG [Swedish---A.L.F.S.G.]
Box 919, 114 79 Stockholm, Sweden
Phone: (24 h): 0709-30 22 90
E-mail: dbfsg@hotmail.com

Exhibit #8

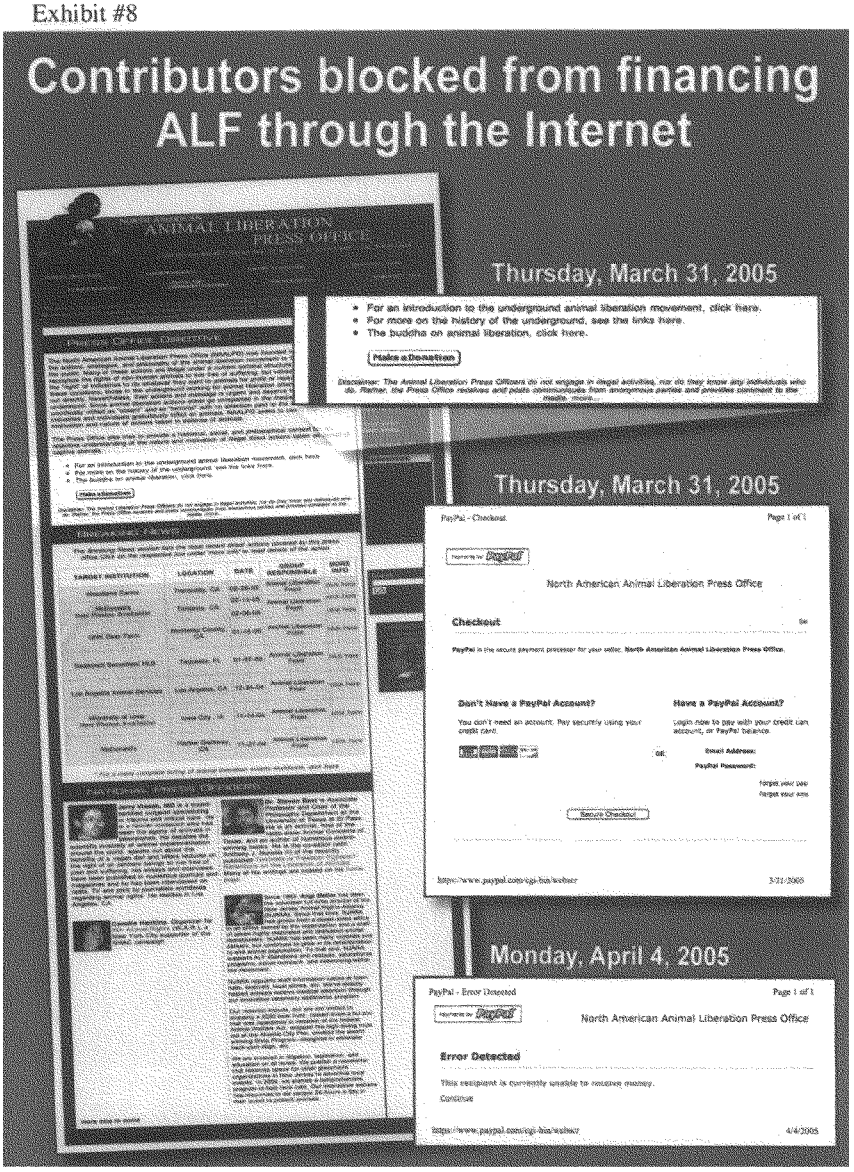

Contributors blocked from financing ALF through the Internet
Thursday, March 31, 2005
For an introduction to the underground animal liberation movement, click here.
For more on the history of the underground, see the links here.
The buddha on animal liberation, click here.
Make a Donation
Thursday, March 31, 2005
PayPal - Checkout
North American Animal Liberation Press Office
Checkout
Don't Have a PayPal Account?
Have a PayPal Account?
Monday, April 4, 2005
PayPal - Error Detected
North American Animal Liberation Press Office
Error Detected

Exhibit #9

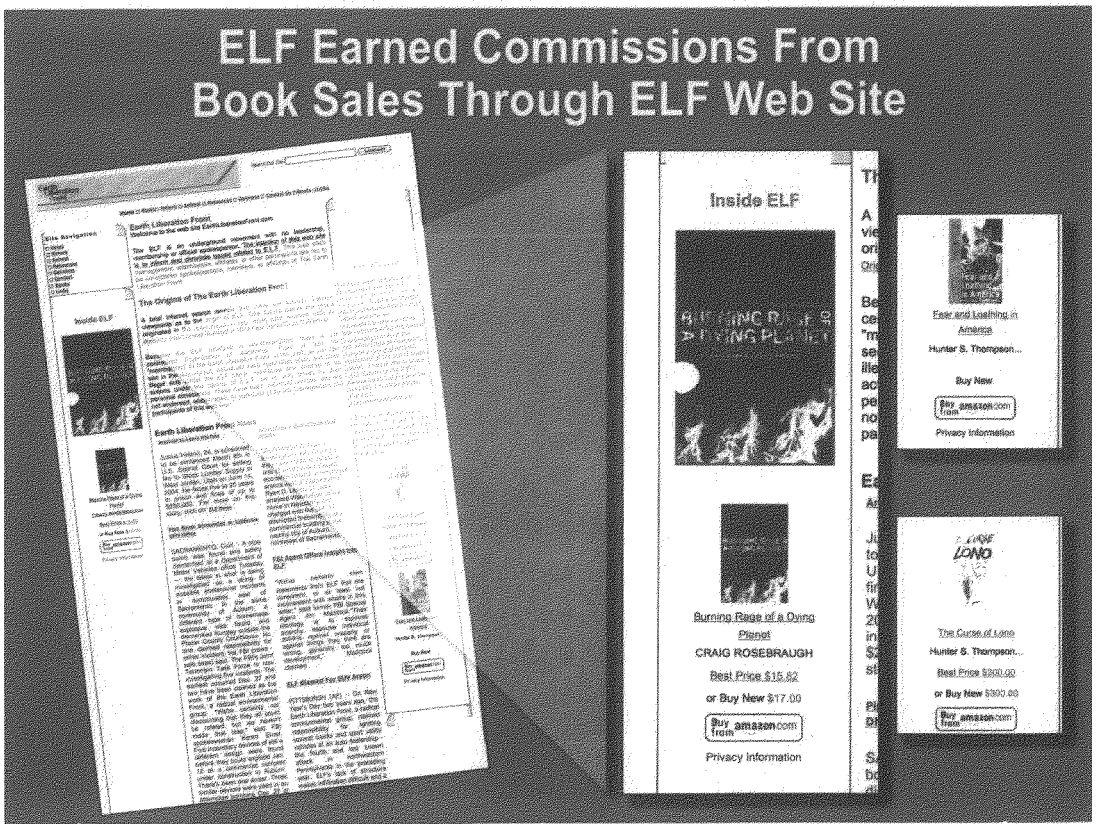

ELF Earned Commissions From
Book Sales Through ELF Web Site
Inside ELF
Burning Rage of a Dying Planet
CRAIG ROSEBRAUGH
Best Price $15.82
or Buy New $17.00
Buy from amazon.com
Privacy Information
Fear and Loathing in America
Hunter S. Thompson...
Buy New
Buy from amazon.com
Privacy Information
The Curse of Lono
Hunter S. Thompson...
Best Price $390.00
or Buy New $390.00
Buy from amazon.com

Exhibit #10

Dr. Steven Best with 2 ALF Members. All 3 Speakers at Fresno State Conference on "Revolutionary Environmentalism" Feb. 13-14, 2003

Rodney Coronado

- Convicted of arson for the demolition of a Michigan State University research lab.
- PETA gave him over $70,000 during the MSU arson investigation.
- Confessed in public to at least six other arsons.
- Speaks to students about ELF and ALF to recruit membership and instruct on how to make incendiary devices from household items.

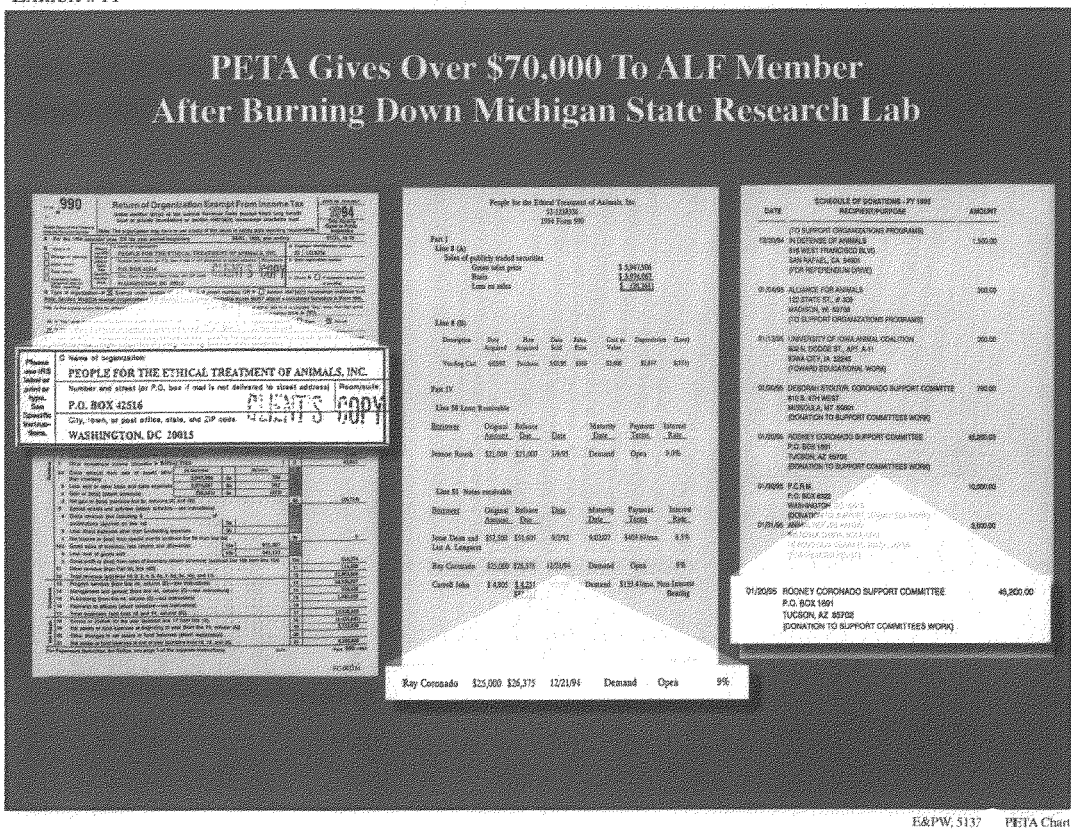
Dr. Steven Best

- Indoctrinates and recruits impressionable youth into the animal rights movement.
- Serves as the academic and press contact for ALF and ELF.
- "This is guerilla war...support the struggles of organizations such as ALF and SHAC, we need an army of activists..."—Dr. Steven Best
- "We cannot win the war of liberation through education and legislative tactics alone. More direct, militant, and confrontational tactics often are needed."—Dr. Steven Best

Gary Yourofsky

- PETA employee who spoke to students on animal rights
- Arrested over 12 times for animal-rights crimes.
- Served time in a Canadian prison for a felony raid on a fur farm.
- Tattooed with Animal Liberation Front propaganda. "If an "animal abuser" were killed in a research lab firebombing, I would unequivocally support that, too." – Gary Yourofsky

Exhibit #11



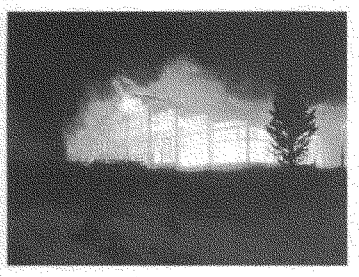
E&PW, 5137 PETA Chart

Exhibit #12

ELF Attacks on Development and Car Dealership

Earth Liberation Front (ELF)

Arson Victim: Vail, Colorado -- 1998



Oct. 19, 1998 Vail, Colorado
The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) claimed responsibility for starting fires at Vail Ski Resort that caused over $12 million in damages. Multiple fires were set to eight different structures at the resort. Only five days before the attack, the District Court of Colorado dismissed a lawsuit that had been filed by environmental groups attempting to stop planned expansion to the ski area. October 19 was the day that land-clearing and construction was set to begin on the expansion. In their claim of responsibility, the ELF warned skiers to "choose other destinations."

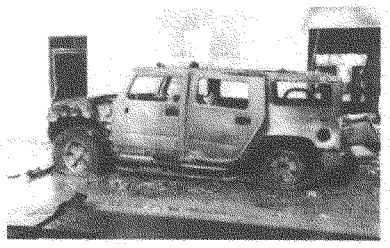
Earth Liberation Front (ELF)

Arson Victim: San Diego, CA -- 2003

Aug 1, 2003 San Diego, California
The $50 million blaze is the Earth Liberation Front's most dangerous Arson. The Earth Liberation Front claims responsibility for an August 1st arson fire that destroyed a five- story 306 unit condominium project under construction in University City, a district of San Diego, California. The La Jolla Crossroads complex was planned for 1,500 housing units, including low-income and market-rate rental apartments, and condominiums for sale. 400 people in the area had to be evacuated

Earth Liberation Front (ELF)

Arson Victim: West Covina, CA -- 2003



Aug. 22, 2003 West Covina,CA
The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) is responsible for starting fires at the Clippinger Chevrolet dealership in West Covina, California, which caused over $1 million in damage. The vehicles damaged, mostly Hummers, were parked at the dealership. Authorities found slogans spray painted on other vehicles at the site of the attack reading, "Fat, Lazy Americans" and "ELF" among others. Police arrested and then later released Joshua Thomas Connole who they suspected was involved with the attack but could not come up with enough evidence to support their belief. On 19 November 2004, Billy Cottrell, a suspected member of the ELF and co-conspirer or this attack was charged with federal arson charges and faces up to thirty years in prison, the most allowed for this crime.

ELF Web Site References EPW Committee Inquiry
Today's Feature:
We have been getting a lot of inquiries from the U.S. Senate Committee on Environment & Public Works. Seems as though some individuals there would rather work for an investigative agency rather than administering the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.
We encourage all readers to read and comprehend the disclaimer at the top of these pages. If would like to share your opinion of the EPW, please send it along and we will post it in these pages.
Contact:
info@earthliberationfront.com

AMERICAN RIVERS, FRIENDS OF THE EARTH, GREENPEACE, LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS, NATURAL RESOURCES DEFENSE COUNCIL, SIERRA CLUB, THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY, UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS, U.S. PUBLIC INTEREST RESEARCH GROUP,

May 17, 2005.

Hon. JAMES INHOFE,
Chairman, Committee on the Environment and Public Works,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

Hon. JAMES JEFFORDS,
Ranking Member, Committee on the Environment and Public Works,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATORS: It has come to our attention that the Environment and Public Works Committee is holding a hearing to look into acts of violence ostensibly committed in the name of the environment. On behalf of the millions of members of our organizations, we would like to reiterate that our groups strongly condemn all acts of violence, including those committed in the name of environmental causes. Moreover, we would like to stress our opposition to all forms of violence related to terrorism on behalf of any cause.

While we can respect the decision of those who, as a matter of conscience, undertake acts of nonviolent civil disobedience, peaceful disobedience and violence are vastly different acts. Our groups do not condone any acts of violence or violent crime, no matter what the motivation.

In fact, we urge Congress to focus on important matters related to terrorism and the rule of law that demand immediate and careful attention. Regarding safety from terrorist attack, we urge Congress to enact legislation to make vulnerable targets here in the United States, like chemical and nuclear plants, more secure against terrorist attacks. We respectfully urge you to move meaningful legislation forward on this issue.

We are also disturbed by conspicuously narrow and exclusive legislative approaches considered by Congress in the past regarding political violence or crime that focus only on acts of violence allegedly committed in the name of the environment. Such legislation should condemn violence regardless of the cause, helping to ensure that the threat from other kinds of terrorist groups is not ignored, or worse, unintentionally encouraged. Furthermore, some of this narrow legislation has been written in a way that potentially covers non-violent forms of protest, which could chill freedom of political expression and dissent.

Thank you for your consideration of our views. Please be assured that we stand ready to work with your committee on any issue that will make America safer and more secure.

Sincerely,

Anna Aurilio, Legislative Director, U.S. Public Interest Research Group; S. Elizabeth Birnbaum, Vice President for Government Affairs, American Rivers; Debbie Boger, Deputy Legislative Director, Sierra Club; Rick Hind, Legislative Director, Toxics Campaign, Greenpeace; Linda Lance, Vice President for Public Policy, The Wilderness Society; Tiernan Sittenfeld, Legislative Director, League of Conservation Voters; Karen Wayland, Legislative Director, Natural Resources Defense Council; Marchant Wentworth, Washington Representative for Clean Energy, Union of Concerned Scientists; Sara Zdeb, Legislative Director, Friends of the Earth.

STATEMENT OF JEFFREY S. KERR, GENERAL COUNSEL AND DIRECTOR OF CORPORATE AFFAIRS, THE PETA FOUNDATION

Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Members of the Committee:

Thank you for the opportunity to submit these brief comments to the Committee in order to place the activities of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, Inc. (PETA) in the proper perspective.

PETA'S CHARITABLE PROGRAMS

PETA is the largest animal rights organization in the world, with more than 800,000 members and supporters around the country and around the globe. Since its founding in 1980, PETA has had a tremendous impact on the treatment of animals in the United States and internationally, evidenced by the following small list

of just some of its most recent accomplishments, more of which can be found at PETA.org:

• PETA convinced fast-food giants McDonald's, Burger King, and Wendy's to improve living conditions for the animals provided by their suppliers. These were immense steps forward that greatly reduce the suffering of billions of animals.

• PETA has convinced almost 600 companies, including Gillette, Colgate-Palmolive, Mary Kay, L'Oreal, and many others, to stop testing their products on animals.

• PETA has convinced international retailers Limited Brands, Timberland, J. Crew, Abercrombie & Fitch, and New Look, among others, to pledge not to sell cruelly-obtained Australian wool until the practice of mulesing (in which farmers use gardening shears to cut large sections of flesh from sheep's' rumps without any painkillers) and the live export of millions of discarded sheep to the Middle East for slaughter every year are stopped.

• PETA released details of cruelty to pigs found during an investigation of the third-largest pig farm in the U.S. One manager was charged with four counts of felony animal cruelty—only the second time in U.S. history that a factory farm employee has been charged with felony animal abuse. (The first time was a PETA case involving a North Carolina pig farm in 2000).

• PETA convinced international retail giants like Nike, Gucci, Eddie Bauer, Nordstrom, Reebok, Kenneth Cole, The GAP, and L.L. Bean to boycott Indian leather after PETA exposed the immense animal abuse in the Indian leather industry, including breaking animals' tails and rubbing hot peppers into their eyes in order to force them to march long distances to slaughter.

• PETA convinced the U.S. Department of Transportation to stop painful tests in which corrosive chemicals were poured onto rabbits' shaved backs, burning holes into their skin. PETA successfully argued that the D.O.T. should use a modern, non-animal test that had already been approved by the government.

• PETA convinced Sears, Roebuck & Company to cancel its sponsorship of Ringling Bros. & Barnum and Bailey Circus after explaining Ringling's record of repeatedly violating the Federal Animal Welfare Act in which they have failed to satisfy even minimum standards for the animals beaten and forced to perform tricks in its circus.

• PETA saved more than 800,000 animals from painful poisoning tests slated for the U.S. Government's high production volume (HPV) chemical program designed to test thousands of chemical substances on animals. The government agreed to replace many of the tests with non-animal methods, delay some of the tests for two years to allow for the development of non-animal tests, and to dedicate $5 million to fund non-animal methods.

• PETA's SNIP (Spay and Neuter Immediately Please)-mobile, a mobile spay-neuter clinic serving mostly low-income families, has sterilized nearly 25,000 animals for those people who could not otherwise afford the procedures and for shelter cats and dogs prior to adoption.

• PETA staff and dedicated volunteers travel regularly to one of the country's poorest communities in North Carolina to deliver hundreds of doghouses hand-made by PETA to exacting specifications for animals exposed to the elements at the city's rundown animal shelter and for "backyard dogs" huddled under card tables, inside rusting cars, and in mud holes, unable to get away from searing summer heat and freezing winter cold.

We have enclosed a sampling of several news articles regarding PETA's groundbreaking and effective campaigns for the protection of animals, along with some of the thousands of news releases PETA has issued over the last 5 years informing the public about our work.

THE PRESENT INQUIRY

The allegations directed against PETA in this inquiry are old news, some dating from as far back as the 1980s. It is all too predictable that PETA's work for the improvement of our society by seeking to reduce the suffering and abuse inflicted on billions of animals annually raised and killed for food, experimented upon, slaughtered for their skins and fur, or beaten and abused in circuses would be attacked by the industries profiting from that abuse. We take these attacks as a sign of our effectiveness in eroding the support that props up their businesses. These smear attacks, using half-truths, false innuendo, and outright lies have been a regular occurrence since PETA's founding a quarter century ago.

PETA has no involvement with alleged ALF or ELF actions. PETA does not support terrorism. PETA does not condone violence. In fact, PETA exists to fight the

terrorism and violence inflicted on billions of animals annually in the meat, dairy, experimentation, tobacco, fur, leather, and circus industries.

The matters asserted against PETA in this inquiry have also been reviewed during one of two comprehensive Internal Revenue Service audits of PETA, the first between 1990–1992, and the second one, a 20-month-long major case audit from 2003–2005, both of which resulted in reaffirmation of PETA's tax exempt status.

PETA FACT SHEET

The fact sheet in question was written in the late 1980s and was not updated, other than to change PETA's address after relocating to Norfolk nine years ago. The fact sheet is no longer in use and was discontinued as being out of date during a routine review. It accurately identifies PETA as a legal organization that merely informed the public and proper authorities about animal abuse information received by it anonymously, consistent with its First Amendment rights and charitable mission. The last time PETA issued any such information was in 1992. It also accurately states that PETA has no way to contact the people who sent the information and no way of knowing if it will ever hear from them again.

The Activist Defense Fund referred to in the fact sheet never came into being. The grants about which the Committee inquired were made from PETA's general operating funds and properly and publicly reported. Those grants represent an infinitesimally small portion of PETA's expenditures in furtherance of its charitable animal protection mission over the years, totaling more than $100 million since 1999 alone.

2001 GRANT OF $1,500

PETA made a grant to assist Craig Rosebraugh in paying legal fees associated with responding to a subpoena he received in connection with a grand jury investigation in Oregon. PETA does not know the precise nature of the grand jury investigation and has no information that Mr. Rosebraugh was ever alleged to have been involved in or charged with any wrongdoing related to the ELF or otherwise. PETA believed that Mr. Rosebraugh was subpoenaed as a result of the fact that he had engaged in protected First Amendment activity by publicizing the mistreatment of animals. The grant request was referred to PETA's outside counsel for review and approval. The IRS reviewed this grant as part of the recently completed audit which resulted in reaffirmation of PETA's tax-exempt status.

GRANT TO SUPPORT COMMITTEE

PETA provided funds to assist in paying legal fees incurred in connection with the defense of charges that arose out of a grand jury investigation. PETA also provided a loan, which was repaid, to assist in posting bond pending trial, the terms of which bond were complied with fully. As with the Rosebraugh grant, PETA referred this matter to outside counsel for review and approval. The IRS reviewed this grant and loan as part of its recent audit which resulted in reaffirmation of PETA's tax-exempt status.

We are proud of what we have accomplished with the vital support of our members and volunteers, but we will not rest on that record. PETA will continue to expose animal abuse and to work for a better world in which the rights of all animals to be free from exploitation and abuse, to have food and shelter, or to simply be left alone are recognized by every nation.

THE HUMANE SOCIETY
OF THE UNITED STATES.

May 19, 2005

The Honorable James Inhofe
Chairman
Senate Environment and Public Works Committee
410 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Inhofe:

In the May 18th hearing before the Committee on Environment and Public Works, witness David Martosko of the Center for Consumer Freedom purported to show in his testimony how "mainstream animal charities" are funding criminal activities of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). His testimony specifically identified The Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) as being engaged in such activities by providing funding to an Internet service provider that distributed communiqués from the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), and specifically named employees of The HSUS as having loose ties to alleged criminal activity. This information is severely distorted and the suggestion that The HSUS supports any illegal action, or that it has ties to groups like the ALF and ELF that it has repeatedly denounced, is patently false and outrageous. We submit this letter to correct the record, and, as a separate course of action, are now considering the initiation of legal action against Mr. Martosko and his organization for the scurrilous and defamatory remarks made about our organization.

First, I want to emphatically state that The HSUS takes its responsibilities very seriously on matters relating to tactics and philosophy. The HSUS has repeatedly and publicly criticized individuals who break the law in the name of protecting animals. We have denounced individuals and groups who resort to intimidation, vandalism, or violence in pursuit of animal protection goals. We have done so at conferences and in the print and electronic media, and would be happy to provide the committee with a series of documents to support our claim. We believe harassment, violence, and other illegal tactics are wholly unacceptable and inconsistent with a core ethic of promoting compassion and respect. A public statement outlining our position with regard to these unacceptable tactics is attached and available on our web site at http://www.hsus.org/about_us/about_hsus_programs_and_services/hsus_statement_on_nonviolence.html. This position statement has been on our web site for several years.

Second, the Committee should be aware that the organization making these allegations – the Center for Consumer Freedom (CCF) – is run by Rick Berman, a lobbyist for the tobacco, alcohol, and hospitality industries. The group actively opposes efforts by health advocates, doctors, animal welfare advocates, and other public interest organizations. The group's ostensible purpose is to unite the restaurant and hospitality industry against advances from anti-smoking, anti-drinking, and healthy food advocates, and to discredit them with lies, half-truths, and innuendo. For example, the CCF website is highly critical of Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) for its efforts to reduce drinking and driving, and it also

attacks MADD through another website, www.neoprohibition.com. Other tactics CCF employs include blatantly fabricating quotations and attributing them to the spokespersons for groups it opposes and taking quotes out of context.

A May 2nd editorial in *The Washington Post* (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/05/01/AR2005050100625.html) stated that "the Center for Consumer Freedom is not an ordinary consumer advocacy group pushing neutral 'facts.' It is, by its spokesman's admission, funded by the restaurant and food industries." A recent *Washington Post* story (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/04/26/AR2005042601259.html) revealed that the group was started by Phillip Morris USA Inc., the tobacco company that also owns Kraft – maker of cookies, crackers, and macaroni and cheese. A *USA Today* editorial on May 4th (http://www.usatoday.com/news/opinion/editorials/2005-05-04-name-edit_x.htm) added in response to a Center for Consumer Freedom ad campaign on obesity, "Every group is entitled to its opinion, but it would have been nice if readers knew straight off that the center is heavily funded by restaurant and food companies – industries with a huge stake in battling concerns that Americans are eating themselves to death. Maybe the group should change its Web site from ConsumerFreedom.com to FatforProfit.com."

Berman was linked to the ethics scandal that disgraced then-House Speaker Newt Gingrich in 1995, and there is now a petition pending with the IRS to revoke CCF's tax-exempt status. If there's any question of just how extreme and out of step with mainstream American values the CCF is, an article in PR Watch (http://www.prwatch.org/improp/ddam.html) noted, "Anyone who criticizes tobacco, alcohol, fatty foods or soda pop is likely to come under attack from Berman's front groups," including CCF, and that Berman's "enemies list has included such diverse groups and individuals as" the following:

- Alliance of American Insurers
- American Academy of Orthopedic Surgeons
- American Medical Association
- Arthritis Foundation
- Consumer Federation of America
- New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani
- Harvard School of Public Health
- Marin Institute for the Prevention of Alcohol and Other Drug Problems
- National Association of High School Principals
- National Safety Council
- National Transportation Safety Board
- Office of Highway Safety for the state of Georgia
- Ralph Nader's group, Public Citizen
- U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)
- U.S. Department of Transportation

The HSUS is proud to stand alongside this list of teachers, doctors, national heroes, and outstanding civic organizations as targets of Mr. Berman's ad hominem attacks.

Third, regarding the specific allegation by CCF related to the Internet server: in 1998, The HSUS established a listserv dedicated to discussion of animal welfare issues with special relevance to college campuses, such as the issue of alternatives to animal dissection in biology classes. We established the Inter-Campus Animal Advocacy Network (I-CAAN) and chose as its electronic host a provider known as waste.org, which caters to animal-friendly nonprofits and provides its service free of charge. They solicited donations from us in 1998 and 1999 and each year we gave them a grand total of $150 for their services to us. We made no additional contributions.

In December 2002 it came to our attention that waste.org also hosted a listserv related to the ALF, and we, of course, were not apprised of the decision by waste.org to host this completely distinct listserv. This listserv was established after we had entered into our relationship with the company. Given our longstanding policy against illegal activity described above, The HSUS promptly moved I-CAAN to a different server, Lsoft International (home.ease.lsoft.com), on January 10, 2003. I-CAAN was subsequently closed on April 30, 2003, in a restructuring of The HSUS's electronic information and resources. Suggesting that The HSUS financed ALF communiqués is like suggesting that anyone who shops at a particular grocery is responsible for illegal activities conducted by another customer at that grocery. We addressed this very concern in a letter to Senator Hatch last year after the Center for Consumer Freedom made the very same outrageous statement at a hearing of the Senate Judiciary Committee. CCF's repetition of this claim simply shows that the organization has demonstrated a knowing and reckless disregard for the facts.

Fourth, the accusations made regarding staff members of our organization are nothing more than severely distorted attacks. We have 400 employees working for our organization, and it is true that one of them, as a youth nearly a decade ago, and several years before joining The HSUS, did associate himself with illegal direct action. He has now renounced those views and has become a leading critic of violence and illegal activities committed in the name of the animal protection movement. He is a convert to working within the system, and provides a stellar example to young people that they should embrace legal means of effecting social reforms and not turn down the wrong path. The other claims made by the Center for Consumer Freedom are simply silly. The group seems to operate under the "Six Degrees of Separation" rule to decide who is a terrorist.

I hope this letter serves to clarify these matters. I would be happy to respond to any questions from you or other members of the Committee. The HSUS and its more than nine million supporters nationwide – one of every 33 Americans – appreciate your continuing efforts on behalf of animals and look forward to working together on the challenges ahead. We are very grateful for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Wayne Pacelle

Wayne Pacelle
President and CEO
The Humane Society of the United States

Promoting the protection of all animals
2100 L Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037 ▪ 202-452-1100 ▪ Fax: 202-778-6132 ▪ www.hsus.org

HSUS Statement on Nonviolence

The Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) is the nation's largest animal protection organization, with a constituency of more than nine million people—one of every 33 Americans. The HSUS employs scientists, veterinarians, attorneys, animal care professionals, wildlife specialists, and legislative professionals, and relies on thousands of volunteer members to spread its message of compassion and respect for all animals, including people. The very foundation of our work is to protect animals from suffering and cruelty caused by human actions. We believe that any tactic or strategy involving violence toward people, or threats of violence, undermines the core ethic we espouse. Such tactics are ethically wrong and do fundamental damage to the credibility of the humane movement. Since its founding in 1954, The HSUS has never engaged in or supported any form of violence done in the name of protecting animals.

REPORT

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE BENNIE G. THOMPSON, RANKING MEMBER, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY, APRIL 19, 2005

TEN YEARS AFTER THE OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING, THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY MUST DO MORE TO FIGHT RIGHT-WING DOMESTIC TERRORISTS

According to a recent public report, a U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) 5-year budget planning document failed to mention right-wing domestic terrorist groups in its list of terrorist threats facing the United States, even though the document listed left-wing domestic groups such as environmental terrorists.[1] Democratic Members of the House Committee on Homeland Security are very concerned that this oversight demonstrates DHS administrators are not adequately considering right-wing domestic terrorist groups that are focused on attacking America in order to further their political beliefs.

As the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building in Oklahoma City 10 years ago demonstrated, right-wing domestic terrorists are capable of harming America in ways similar to Al Qaeda. Indeed, white supremacists, violent militiamen, anti-abortion bombers, and other right-wing hate groups have shown a remarkable ability to resist law enforcement authorities. In 2003, for example, the American radical right staged a "comeback," with the number of skinhead groups doubling from the prior year.[2]

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is the lead agency for investigating acts or preparation of domestic terrorism.[3] However, the Department has a key role in fighting domestic terrorism, especially with respect to its duties to conduct threat analysis and protect critical infrastructures. As DHS implements its new plan to focus on risk as a means of allocating scarce anti-terrorism resources,[4] it must consider the threat that right-wing domestic terrorists pose to critical infrastructure and America as a whole. Moreover, it must re-define what it considers to be critical infrastructure by re-evaluating the risk that right-wing domestic terrorists pose to schools, large churches, or other public places in order to publicize their beliefs. Better coordination and sharing of information between the FBI and DHS may be necessary in order to evaluate these risks.

If DHS' long-term planning documents do not consider these and other risks posed by right-wing domestic terrorists, then lower-level agents working to fight these groups may not be receiving enough budgetary, policy, or administrative support from their superiors. This means possible threats to our homeland could go undetected. In order to correct this potential security gap, a renewed effort should be made to catalogue the risks posed by right-wing domestic terrorists, determine how DHS is already working to fight these risks, and evaluate what can be done to improve these efforts.

This report provides some of the framework for this analysis, but it is only a first step in the process. As 9/11 showed us, America's security can only be assured if our intelligence and law enforcement agencies do a better job evaluating threats, including thinking of risks that are "outside the box," and break down bureaucratic barriers to information sharing and action. There may be right-wing terrorists here in America that want to create just as spectacular a disaster as the 9/11 attacks, and we cannot fail to meet this threat.

DOMESTIC TERRORISM DEFINED

Incidents such as the 1995 Oklahoma City Bombing and the 1996 bombing of Olympic Park in Atlanta, GA during the 1996 Summer Olympics prove that domes-

[1] Justin Rood, "Animal Rights Groups and Ecology Militants Make DHS Terrorist List, Right-Wing Vigilantes Omitted," Congressional Quarterly (March 25, 2005) can be seen at http://www.cq.com/corp/show.do?page=crawford/20050325—homeland. The actual 5-year planning document, entitled "Integrated Planning Guidance, Fiscal Years 2005-2011," was produced in a "sensitive" and "for official use only" format, and now is marked "Sensitive." Therefore, any discussion of the contents of the DHS document in this report is based solely on the public reports of the document, not an actual review of it.

[2] "The Year in Hate," Southern Poverty Law Center Intelligence Report, Issue Number 113, Spring 2004, available at http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=131.

[3] Both Presidential Decision Directive-39 (PDD–39), titled "U.S. Policy on Terrorism," dated June 21, 1995, and Executive Order 12333 designate the FBI as the lead agency for countering acts of terrorism within the United States.

[4] On March 16, 2005, in his first major policy address, the new Secretary of DHS, Michael Chertoff, stated that DHS needs to adopt a "risk-based approach in both our operations and our philosophy." The speech is available at http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/display?content=4391.

tic groups with radical agendas, or people inspired by them, will continue their attempts to attack America in order to make their message heard. Thus, law enforcement agencies are continually redefining the line between criminal acts and acts of terrorism. The definition of domestic terrorism differs across Federal agencies, but the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which has been designated as the lead Federal agency to investigate domestic terrorism or related acts,[5] defines domestic terrorism as

> the unlawful use, or threatened use, of force or violence by a group or individual based and operating entirely within the United States or its territories without foreign direction committed against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.[6]

The U.S.A. Patriot Act, passed shortly after the September 11 attacks, defines domestic terrorism as criminal acts that "involve acts dangerous to human life . . . and appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government—"[7]

According to a 2004 issue paper written by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Markle Foundation, the FBI also distinguishes three primary categories of domestic terrorism: left-wing, right-wing, and special interest.[8] Left-wing groups generally are opposed to capitalism, while right-wing groups are opposed to taxation, the Federal government, and international organizations, or motivated by racial or religious hatred.

The FBI's third domestic terror group targets "special interest" issues, which can be left or right-wing in affiliation—such as animal rights, environmental protection or abortion. While the FBI does not consider these groups to pose a terrorist threat, last week's guilty plea by Eric Rudolph[9] proved that even "special interest" groups are capable of conducting attacks beyond their "traditional" targets. Although Eric Rudolph and his family were connected with the Christian Identity movement, a militant, racist and anti-Semitic organization that believes whites are God's chosen people,[10] he indicated that he bombed the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia because he wanted to shame the United States for its legalization of abortion. He said his goal was to knock out Atlanta's power grid and shut down the Olympics.[11]

FBI officials say right-wing militants—including skinheads, neo-Nazis, violent militia members, and the so-called Christian Patriot movement—now pose America's most serious domestic terrorist threat.[12] In fact, white supremacists, traditionally the most violent right-wing group, have strengthened their recruiting and rhetoric since 9/11.[13]

DHS' CURRENT EFFORTS TO FIGHT DOMESTIC TERRORISM

DHS' Statutory Duties

Congress established DHS after the 9/11 terror attacks "to prevent terrorist attacks within the United States."[14] In the Homeland Security Act of 2002, DHS is specifically required to

- identify and assess the nature and scope of terrorist threats to the homeland;
- detect and identify threats of terrorism against the United States; and

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[5] Presidential Decision Directive 39 and Executive Order 12333.

[6] FBI, Counterterrorism Threat Assessment and Warning Unit, Counterterrorism Division, "Terrorism in the United States, 1999," available at *http://www.fbi.gov/publications/terror/terror99.pdf.*

[7] Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT) Act of 2001, § 802 (P.L. 107–56), codified at 18 USC § 2331.

[8] Terrorism: Questions & Answers," issue paper by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Markle Foundation can be found at *http://www.terrorismanswers.org/groups/american2.html.*

[9] Eric Rudolph plead guilty to 3 bombings in Atlanta, Georgia—including the fatal 1996 Olympics attack which killed one person and injured more than 100—and a blast at a Birmingham, AL, women's clinic that killed an off-duty police officer.

[10] *http://www.cnn.com/2003/US/05/31/rudolph.profile/index.html.*

[11] http://www.cnn.com/2005/LAW/04/13/eric.rudolph/index.html.

[12] Terrorism: Questions & Answers," issue paper by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Markle Foundation can be found at http://www.terrorismanswers.org/groups/american2.html.

[13] FBI, Strategic Plan 2004-2009, 27, available at http://www.fbi.gov/publications/strategicplan/strategicplanfull.pdf.

[14] The Homeland Security Act of 2002, § 101 (P.L. 107–296).

• understand such threats in light of actual and potential vulnerabilities of the homeland.[15]

These requirements necessarily include preventing terror attacks posed by domestic groups as well as traditional foreign groups such as Al Qaeda.[16]

How DHS Defines Threats

DHS officials noted in staff interviews[17] that the Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection (IAIP) Directorate reviews intelligence information from the FBI, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other intelligence agencies on a daily basis. In addition, IAIP also reviews intelligence information from its own agencies such as the Secret Service, the Coast Guard, and U.S. Customs and Border Protection. When the Department encounters intelligence information indicating a possible terrorist threat, it forwards an investigation request to one of the FBI's joint terrorist task forces (JTTF), and the FBI then decides how to proceed.

Regarding domestic terror threats, IAIP officials stated that they analyze the information to determine whether domestic groups possess the "capability and intent" to conduct a "catastrophic" attack on U.S. critical infrastructure or resources.[18] However, nothing in the Homeland Security Act limits IAIP analysis to "catastrophic attacks" or critical infrastructure or resources. It is unclear why the Department has chosen this limited interpretation of its statutory responsibility to identify and assess "the nature and scope of terrorist threats to the homeland."

DHS' lack of certainty over how to categorize the risk posed by domestic terrorist groups is further revealed in its strategic planning. According to a recent news article, DHS distributed a January 2005 budgetary planning document entitled "Integrated Planning Guidance, Fiscal Years 2005–2011," which identified certain domestic terror groups as posing potential threats to the homeland.[19] Given the FBI's designation of right-wing groups as "the most serious domestic threat," it is surprising that, according to the article, DHS' planning document did not name right-wing domestic terrorists or terrorist groups as a potential threat. However, the document reportedly does list left-wing domestic groups, "such as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF)," as terrorist threats.[20] A subsequent interview with DHS officials revealed that the document included eco-terrorists because they "will continue to focus their attacks on property damage in an effort to change policy." The document notes that although "publicly ALF and ELF promote nonviolence toward human life . . . some members may escalate their attacks."[21]

Other terrorism experts still consider right-wing terrorists as serious threats, and were surprised that DHS did not. "They are still a threat, and they will continue to be a threat," said Mike German, a 16-year undercover agent for the FBI who spent most of his career infiltrating radical right-wing groups. "If for some reason the government no longer considers them a threat, I think they will regret that," said German, who left the FBI last year. "Hopefully it's an oversight," he added.[22] Another terrorism expert, James O. Ellis III, a senior terror researcher for the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT), stated that whereas left-wing groups, which have been more active recently, have focused mainly on the destruction of property, right-wing groups have a much deadlier and more violent record and should be on the list. "The nature of the history of terrorism is that you will see acts in the name of [right-wing] causes in the future."[23]

DHS' Risk Assessment Differs from Other Agency Views

The war on terror is a huge undertaking that requires consistent cooperation between Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies that each monitor different domestic terror groups based on their agency's mission.

The FBI develops and continually revises a long-term strategic plan that identifies potential threats, sources of those threats, and actions needed to confront and pre-

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[15] Homeland Security Act of 2002, § 201 (P.L. 107–296).

[16] Domestic terrorism is defined in 28 CFR § 0.85 and in the USA Patriot Act of 2001 (P.L. 107–56).

[17] Democratic staff of the House Homeland Security Committee conducted a telephone conference call with Department officials on April 15, 2005.

[18] Democratic staff of the House Homeland Security Committee conducted a telephone conference call with DHS officials on April 15, 2005.

[19] Justin Rood, "Animal Rights Groups and Ecology Militants Make DHS Terrorist List, Right-Wing Vigilantes Omitted," Congressional Quarterly (March 25, 2005).

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

vent these threats. However, neither the FBI nor any other Federal agency maintains a comprehensive list of domestic terror groups or individuals.[24]

Nonetheless, the FBI's Strategic Plan does consider domestic threats from both right-wing and left-wing terrorists, stating "[r]ight-wing extremists exposing anti-government or racist sentiment, will pose a threat because of their continuing collection of weapons and explosives coupled with their propensity for violence."[25]

According to DHS officials, even though the FBI and DHS are working closely, they do not consider the same groups to present the same terrorist threat.[26] This is because they are "looking for different types of threats."[27] Given the FBI analysis of the risk posed by right-wing extremists, it remains unclear why DHS does not give higher priority to this threat, such as by mentioning it in the Department's planning document.

It should be noted that while both the FBI's Strategic Plan and DHS' planning document both reportedly name Al Qaeda as the greatest threat to the United States, the two agencies categorize the risk posed by other international terrorist groups differently.[28] Considering the emphasis placed on fighting international terrorists since 9/11, if the two agencies are still assessing different risks to these groups, then we should be very concerned about their ability to coordinate threat assessment of domestic terrorists.

Post-9/11 Risks and DHS' Need to Think of Risks "Outside the Box"

According to USA Today, there have been some chilling cases of right-wing domestic terrorism planning since 9/11.[29] For example, in May, 2004, William Krar, of Noonday, Texas, was sentenced to more than 11 years in prison after he stockpiled enough sodium cyanide to kill everyone inside a 30,000-square-foot building. Krar, described by Federal prosecutors as a white supremacist, also had nine machine guns, 67 sticks of explosives and more than 100,000 rounds of ammunition. Investigators and the Federal prosecutor said they didn't know what Krar intended to do with the potentially deadly chemicals.

The Krar case demonstrates that white supremacists and other right-wing groups or individuals can obtain the capability to perform a large-scale terrorist attack in America on a scale similar to those Al Qaeda seeks to conduct. If DHS' planning document and difference in approach to right-wing domestic terrorism compared to the FBI are any indication of the type of threat analysis the Department is conducting, then there may be a failure to think of risks "outside the box" that is eerily reminiscent of the intelligence failures that led to the 9/11 attacks.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are many opportunities for DHS to revise its approach and think as creatively as some right-wing terrorists may.

• DHS must reassess the threat posed by right-wing domestic terrorists and revise its long-term planning to address this risk.

First and foremost, DHS must return to its overall statutory mandate to determine "the nature and scope of terrorist threats to the homeland" by including in its long-term planning a genuine consideration of the risks posed by right-wing domestic terrorists. Without this planning, the intelligence analysts and agents on the front-line may not get the budgetary and administrative support they need from above.

• Congress or DHS should establish an advisory council of groups with experience monitoring right-wing domestic terrorists

There are several organizations, such as the Southern Poverty Law Center, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the Anti-Defamation League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, the National Abortion Federation, and others with long-standing experience in monitoring right-wing domestic terrorist groups and assessing their danger. Congress or DHS should establish an advisory council of these groups in order to ensure

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[24] Terrorism: Questions & Answers," issue paper by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Markle Foundation can be found at *http://www.terrorismanswers.org/groups/american2.html.*

[25] FBI Strategic Plan, 15.

[26] Justin Rood, "Animal Rights Groups and Ecology Militants Make DHS Terrorist List, Right-Wing Vigilantes Omitted," Congressional Quarterly (March 25, 2005).

[27] Democratic staff of the House Homeland Security Committee conducted a telephone conference call with Department officials on April 15, 2005.

[28] FBI Strategic Plan, 26; Justin Rood, "Animal Rights Groups and Ecology Militants Make DHS Terrorist List, Right-Wing Vigilantes Omitted," Congressional Quarterly (March 25, 2005).

[29] Larry Copeland, "Domestic terrorism: New trouble at home," USA TODAY, November 14, 2004, available at http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2004–11–14-domestic-terrorism—x.htm.

that the Department has as much information as possible about the risks right-wing domestic terrorists pose.

• DHS and the FBI should work together to create and maintain a comprehensive list of domestic terror groups or individuals.

DHS and the FBI should close the security gap identified by the Council on comprehensive list of domestic terror groups or individuals.

• DHS must expand its definition of "critical infrastructure" for purposes of collecting intelligence on domestic terror groups.

DHS must redefine its definition of "critical infrastructure" to include those "soft targets" most at risk of attack by right-wing domestic terrorists. Just as Al Qaeda may want to destroy prominent symbols of America authority and inflict mass casualties, as on 9/11, and left-wing domestic environmental terrorist groups may attack what they perceive as anti-environmental structures, such as dams, right-wing domestic terrorists may strike at what best communicates their message of hate. For example, a single African-American church in a large city can have several thousand people in it on a Sunday, and large inner-city schools can have thousands of minority students. Both of these could be prime targets for an attack by a white supremacist group.

We cannot protect every "soft-target" as well as we can protect "hard targets," like airplanes or nuclear power plants, but DHS should consider these risks when evaluating the stream of intelligence "chatter" it receives on right-wing domestic terrorists. If this intelligence reveals a credible threat, DHS must work closely with the FBI and other law enforcement authorities, but it should also provide the threatened entity with at least some recommendations on how to reduce its risk.

• DHS must think "outside the box" about the types of attacks right-wing domestic terrorists may conduct.

Eric Rudolph's bombing of Atlanta's Olympic Park in order to raise his anti-abortion views demonstrates that right-wing domestic terrorists may choose to attack a symbol that is not directly associated with their particular political objection in order to prove their point. DHS must consider these risks when evaluating the threats to critical infrastructure as well as to everyday large-scale events. For example, large gatherings of women, such as a "Take Back the Night" rally, could be a target for right-wing anti-abortion terrorists.

America as a whole should not develop paranoid views about the risks to every place or event posed by unassociated domestic terrorists, but that does not mean that intelligence analysts and law enforcement should not consider these risks and consider basic precautions to prevent them.

• The FBI and DHS should work closely to set government-wide standards for focusing on right-wing domestic terrorists and sharing information on these risks.

By focusing on both left and right-wing domestic terrorists, the FBI has a considerably more thorough view of domestic terrorism than DHS. As the lead agency in fighting domestic terrorism, the FBI should work to ensure that DHS and other agencies understand the risks posed by right-wing domestic terrorists.

Additionally, while DHS should not interfere with ongoing FBI investigations, the Department should have access to the relevant data it needs to make a determination of the risks to America posed by right-wing domestic terrorists. According to IAIP officials, this type of information sharing is presently occurring, but the two agencies should be constantly vigilant to ensure it continues. If Congress must act to ensure any bureaucratic "stovepipes" of information are eliminated, than it should do so. A prime lesson from 9/11 was that failures to share information can lead to catastrophic results.

STATEMENT OF MINDY KURSBAN, ESQ., GENERAL COUNSEL AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, PHYSICIANS COMMITTEE FOR RESPONSIBLE MEDICINE

Thank you for the opportunity to submit this testimony to address and clarify the false allegations made about the Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine (Physicians Committee) by the Director of Research for the so-called "Center for Consumer Freedom," a lobbying group for the restaurant, food, tobacco, and alcohol industries.

The Physicians Committee is a nonprofit health advocacy organization founded in 1985 that currently has over 100,000 members and supporters. The Physicians Committee conducts clinical research studies, advocates for preventive medicine, and promotes higher standards in research. The Physicians Committee's research studies have been published in peer-reviewed medical journals such as the American Journal of Cardiology, the Archives of Family Medicine, Preventive Medicine, and Obstetrics and Gynecology, among others. The Physicians Committee educates the

public through extensive publication of materials such as books, brochures, booklets, and audio tapes; exhibiting at medical, nutrition, and scientific conferences; and developing, publishing, and submitting public service announcements promoting preventive medicine, working with celebrities such as Keenen Ivory Wayans, Alicia Silverstone, Ed Asner, Marilu Henner, Bill Maher, Alexandra Paul, and Ziggy Marley.

The President of the Physicians Committee is a federally funded nutrition researcher, author of eight books on diet and health, and an adjunct faculty member at the George Washington University Medical Center. They Physicians Committee's Director of Research and Senior Toxicology Advisor, who has his Doctorate in Toxicology from Emory University, is a former EPA employee, where he served on the Pesticide Research Committee, worked as toxicology team leader, and served as senior author of numerous EPA documents. He is currently a core expert panel member for the EPA's Voluntary Children's Chemical Exposure Program. Our Nutrition Director, who has his Masters of Public Health degree and his Doctorate in Public Health Nutrition from California's Loma Linda University, conducted a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of California-Davis' Department of Nutrition, and served as a nutritionist for the USDA Western Human Nutrition Center in California. Information about other staff members and consultants of the Physicians Committee can be found at *PCRM.org/news/experts.*

The Physicians Committee is an independent 501(c)(3) organization supported primarily by public donations. The Physicians Committee is affiliated with only three other organizations: The PCRM Foundation, Washington Center for Clinical Research, and The Cancer Project. Each of these is a not-for-profit charitable corporation recognized as tax exempt under Internal Revenue Code section 501(c)(3). The Foundation, in addition, is recognized as tax exempt under IRS Code section 509(a)(3) as a supporting organization.

It is one of the Physicians Committee's core principles that research involving human subjects must be in accordance with the highest ethical standards and all applicable laws. We also extend this concept of ethics and morality to animal research subjects. Research, testing, and educational exercises involving animal subjects virtually always involve significant suffering and ultimately the deaths of the animals involved. As such, it is incumbent on investigators, educators, and research institutions to incorporate non-animal research methods without limit.

In accordance with these principles, in 2001, the Physicians Committee signed a letter with Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty asking the recipient companies to review two scientific critiques of animal experiments conducted at Huntington Life Sciences (HLS) because of HLS's documented abuses to animals and inappropriate animal experimentation. It was noted that because of the myriad anatomical, physiological, and pathological differences between human and other animals, toxicity or carcinogenicity tests on animals are poor indicators for safety and effectiveness in humans. The Physicians Committee has had no other involvement with Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty aside from writing this single request that companies choose better options.

The Physicians Committee also maintains the principle that when physicians are exercising their obligation to advocate for the life and health of patients and to safeguard the subjects of research, they shall adhere to and promote the principles of nonviolent advocacy. As such, no person acting as a Physicians Committee spokesperson has ever advocated violence, nor would the Physicians Committee tolerate any such comment. If any person speaking on his or her own behalf were to make comments that could be interpreted as condoning violence, such a person would not be eligible to act as a Physicians Committee spokesperson.

We note that "Center for Consumer Freedom," quoted comments from Jerry Vlasak, M.D. Dr. Vlasak is not a Physicians Committee spokesperson, has not been one for some time, and made no comments related to the topics cited while acting as a Physicians Committee spokesperson.

Despite all the rhetoric surrounding the issue of animal research, most Americans agree that animal research should be performed humanely or, better yet, not at all when an alternative exists. In furtherance of this laudatory goal, we would suggest that, rather than vilify those who express concern about animals through lawful and peaceful means, Congress direct the National Institutes of Health to shift an ample percentage of its funding for animal research to finding non-animal research methods and funding studies using non-animal research.

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