

# History Repeated: The Dangers of Domestic Spying by Federal Law Enforcement

***“Those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.”***

*George Santayana*

## **Introduction**

History repeats itself unless we learn from our mistakes. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (“FBI”) has a long and sordid history of abusing its power to spy on innocent Americans. During the infamous J. Edgar Hoover administration, hundreds of thousands of Americans were unlawfully spied upon and harassed by FBI agents solely because of their political or religious views. Instead of learning from these prior mistakes, the FBI is repeating history.

In the 1970s, Americans were shocked to learn about the FBI’s extensive surveillance, intimidation, and harassment of law-abiding citizens. In 1976, protective Guidelines on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise and Terrorism Enterprise Investigation (hereafter “Guidelines”) were instituted to end these illegal practices. The Guidelines were largely successful.

All of that came to an end in 2002. When the ACLU learned that then-Attorney General Ashcroft planned on changing the Guidelines, the ACLU released a report documenting the FBI’s attempt to discredit and harass Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,<sup>1</sup> arguing that the Guidelines should not be changed. The report also served as a warning about what would happen if the Guidelines were relaxed. On May 30, 2002, then-Attorney General Ashcroft replaced the old Guidelines with a new set of Guidelines that removed protections and granted FBI agents broad spying powers.

Now, five years after Attorney General Ashcroft unleashed the FBI, we know the FBI learned nothing from history. The FBI is again abusing its considerable investigatory powers to spy upon innocent Americans, particularly those who disagree with the current administration. We have once again entered into an era of unwarranted surveillance and harassment by the FBI.

This report will conduct a brief review of past FBI spying, and show what we have learned from our repeated and often-litigated FOIA requests. The report will conclude by recommending changes to ensure that innocent Americans do not find themselves in a government database simply for exercising their constitutional rights.

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<sup>1</sup> See *The Dangers of Domestic Spying: A Case Study on FBI Surveillance of Dr. Martin Luther King*, located at: <http://www.aclu.org/congress/mlkreport.PDF>

## Church Committee Oversight Uncovered FBI Spying on Innocent Americans

In the early 1970s, revelations about the FBI spying on innocent Americans shocked the country. Led by Senator Frank Church, Congress thoroughly investigated allegations of FBI abuses and made recommendations to prevent further abuse. What the Church Committee found was breathtaking.

From the 1950s through the early 1970s, the FBI and other intelligence agencies launched various domestic programs to spy on Americans. Political dissidents, anti-war activists, civil rights activists, groups from the left to the right were infiltrated, disrupted, and harassed, often for nothing more than exercising their First Amendment rights.<sup>2</sup> For example, government agents infiltrated the “Women’s Liberation Movement.” FBI sources reported on the formation of the Conservative American Christian Action Council, and even collected information about the anti-Communist John Birch Society.<sup>3</sup> The NAACP was investigated to determine if it “had connections with” the Communist Party. In the first year of the investigation, the FBI issued a report stating that the NAACP had a “strong tendency” to “steer clear of Communist activities.” No evidence was ever adduced by the FBI to rebut this report, yet the FBI investigation continued for a total of twenty-five years.<sup>4</sup>

The FBI harassed and investigated Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. for decades in order to destroy his reputation.<sup>5</sup> The FBI saw him as a potential threat because he might “abandon his supposed ‘obedience’ to white liberal doctrines (non-violence).”<sup>6</sup> “In short, a non-violent man was to be secretly attacked and destroyed as insurance against his abandoning non-violence.”<sup>7</sup>

In 1976, the Church Committee released its report on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans. The extent of the FBI’s spying campaign was shocking:

- Between 1960 and 1974, the FBI kept files on one million Americans, and investigated 500,000 so-called “subversives” – all without a single court conviction.<sup>8</sup> In 1972 alone, the FBI opened 65,000 domestic intelligence files.<sup>9</sup>
- The Church Committee found that intelligence collection programs naturally generate increasing demands for new data, and once the data has been collected, strong pressures are exerted to use it against the target.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans, Book II, Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities, 94th Cong. (1976), at 7, hereinafter S. REP. No. 94-755 (1976).

<sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>4</sup> Id. at 8.

<sup>5</sup> For a more in-depth case study of the investigation of Dr. King, see the ACLU report, *The Dangers of Domestic Spying: A Case Study on FBI Surveillance of Dr. Martin Luther King*, located at:

<http://www.aclu.org/congress/mlkreport.PDF>

<sup>6</sup> S. REP. No. 94-755 at 11-12.

<sup>7</sup> Id.

<sup>8</sup> Id. at 6.

<sup>9</sup> Id.

<sup>10</sup> Id. at 4.

- The government often secretly spied upon citizens on the basis of their political beliefs, even when those beliefs posed no threat of violence or illegal acts. Groups and individuals were harassed and disrupted because of their political views and lifestyles.<sup>11</sup>
- The FBI used intrusive techniques such as wiretaps, microphone “bugs,” surreptitious mail opening and break-ins, sweeping in vast amounts of information about the personal lives, views, and associations of American citizens.<sup>12</sup>
- Investigations were based on vague standards whose breadth made excessive collection of information inevitable.<sup>13</sup>
- Unsavory and vicious tactics were employed by the FBI, including anonymous attempts to break up marriages, disrupting meetings, ostracizing people from their professions, and provoking target groups into rivalries that could have resulted in deaths.<sup>14</sup>
- Intelligence agencies have served the political and personal objectives of presidents and other high officials.<sup>15</sup> Every administration from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Richard Nixon had “permitted, and sometimes encouraged, government agencies to handle essentially political intelligence.”<sup>16</sup>

People often say that they have nothing to hide because they aren’t doing anything wrong. Having the FBI spy on them doesn’t make any difference to them. The Church Committee noted, however, that “[i]ntelligence activity. . . is generally covert. It is concealed from its victims and is seldom described in statutes or explicit executive orders. The victim may never suspect that his misfortunes are the intended result of

Clark Kerr is an example of a victim of the FBI’s covert activity. In the late 1950s and 1960s, Mr. Kerr was the president of the University of California (UC), and had served on several presidential advisory boards under Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. When UC professors were asked to sign a loyalty oath to the United States, Mr. Kerr signed. Some professors refused. Mr. Kerr supported their right to refuse to sign the oath, thus earning the ire of the FBI. When UC’s 1959 English aptitude test for high school seniors asked the question “What are the dangers to a democracy of a national police organization, like the FBI, which operates secretly and is unresponsive to public criticism?” FBI director J. Edgar Hoover was livid. The campaign against Kerr went into high gear.

The FBI campaigned successfully to destroy Clark Kerr’s career as UC President, and saw that he never received another presidential appointment. When President Johnson wanted to appoint Mr. Kerr as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, the FBI did a background check and reported damaging allegations against him the Bureau had already refuted. Kerr never received another presidential appointment. The FBI was also successful in destroying his career as UC President, despite repeated FBI investigations finding him loyal to the United States.

Mr. Kerr thought he was just having a run of incredibly bad luck. He might never have known about the FBI’s efforts to destroy him except for the efforts of a reporter who sought information from the FBI. The FBI spent more than fifteen years and \$1 million trying to suppress records of its unlawful undercover activities at the University of California and its campaign to fire Kerr. Finally, in 2002, this information was unearthed, and Mr. Kerr first learned about the FBI’s campaign.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Id. at 5.

<sup>12</sup> Id.

<sup>13</sup> Id.

<sup>14</sup> Id.

<sup>15</sup> Id.

<sup>16</sup> Id. at 9.

activities undertaken by his government, and accordingly may have no opportunity to challenge the actions taken against him.”<sup>17</sup>

The revelations from the Church Committee galvanized Congress to act and protect American citizens from FBI overreaching.

### **The FBI Unleashed: How Guidelines Designed to Curtail Unlawful Activities Were Twisted Into a Roadmap for Illegal Spying**

Unlike the Central Intelligence Agency, the FBI has no legislative charter describing what activities are permissible. A legislative charter for the FBI would detail what actions are permissible by the Bureau when conducting investigations, and what types of investigations are allowed. After the Church Committee findings, the ACLU supported a legislative charter for the FBI, and Congress began to move in that direction.

The FBI was not happy with the idea of a legislative charter. Then-Attorney General Edward Levi stepped in and successfully undercut the legislative charter movement by proposing guidelines. These guidelines would be written by the attorney general, and would govern the behavior of the FBI as to when and how to conduct investigations. Once the guidelines were proposed, Congress saw no need to pursue a legislative charter, and the effort fizzled.

By adopting these Guidelines and avoiding a statute, the attorney general preserved a lot of power for the FBI. Because the Guidelines are not statutory, the attorney general may change them at any time. The Guidelines are intended to provide guidance; they “may not be relied upon to create any rights, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by any party in any manner, civil or criminal. . .”<sup>18</sup> Thus, if an FBI agent violates the Guidelines, she is perhaps subject to internal discipline, but is not accountable to the public for the violation.

Despite these shortcomings, the Guidelines *did* provide some guidance to FBI agents, and were designed to curtail some of the worst abuses uncovered by the Church Committee.

#### *The Original Guidelines*

When conducting terrorism investigations, the FBI is subject to two sets of guidelines: the first is an unclassified set of guidelines on general crimes, racketeering and domestic terrorism; the second is a classified set of guidelines for foreign intelligence and international terrorism.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Id. at 2-3.

<sup>18</sup> Old Guidelines, Section VIIC

<sup>19</sup> The old Domestic Guidelines may be found at: <http://www.usdoj.gov/ag/readingroom/generalcrimea.htm>  
A redacted version of the Foreign Guidelines may be found at:  
<http://www.usdoj.gov/ag/readingroom/terrorismintel2.pdf> The Ashcroft Domestic Guidelines may be found at: <http://www.usdoj.gov/olp/>

### *Guidelines for Investigation of Domestic Groups*

The unclassified set of guidelines, entitled the “Attorney General Guidelines on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise and Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations” (hereinafter “Domestic Guidelines”), governs domestic investigations, and investigations of groups that operate and originate in the United States (like white supremacists, WTO protesters, animal rights activists, and anti-abortion groups).

The Domestic Guidelines require that FBI activity be predicated upon at least a modicum of suspicion that crime was afoot. After all, during the 1950s and 1960s the FBI routinely infiltrated non-violent political and religious groups to spy on their activities. The Guidelines were designed to prevent these widespread fishing expeditions.

Under the Domestic Guidelines, when the FBI has a “reasonable indication of criminal activity,” something far less than probable cause of crime, it can open a full investigation. Once an investigation begins, the FBI may use any and all lawful means to conduct the investigation, including undercover operations, use of informants, and electronic surveillance.

If the FBI has some information, but not enough to rise to the level of “reasonable indication of criminal activity,” it can open a preliminary inquiry. Preliminary inquiries are opened when there is not yet a “reasonable indication” of criminal activity, but where the FBI possesses information whose responsible handling requires some further scrutiny beyond the prompt and extremely limited checking out of initial leads.<sup>20</sup> Preliminary inquiries may use intrusive investigative techniques such as photo and physical surveillance, interviewing the subject, conducting background checks, and using informants, but may not use mail covers, mail openings, and nonconsensual electronic surveillance.<sup>21</sup> Thus, even when the FBI lacks reasonable indication of criminal activity, it can employ nearly the full panoply of investigative techniques available in a full investigation.

Preliminary inquiries were limited in time, and FBI headquarters was required to grant extensions of time. Under the Domestic Guidelines, preliminary inquiries had to be completed within 90 days after initiation of the first investigative step. FBI headquarters could grant extensions of time for succeeding thirty-day periods upon receipt of a written request and statement of reasons why further investigative steps were warranted when there was no “reasonable indication” of criminal activity. Therefore, preliminary inquiries could last longer than 90 days, but extensions required headquarters approval. The purpose of this rule was to avoid fishing expeditions and waste of manpower when there was no “reasonable indication” that anyone was breaking the law.

The Domestic Guidelines worked well, and remained largely intact over the years. There were some minor changes by succeeding attorneys general, for example, clarifying that

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<sup>20</sup> Old Domestic Guidelines, II B (1)

<sup>21</sup> Id. at II B (5)

the FBI could be proactive in seeking to prevent criminal activity, but no substantive changes were made in the years following the Domestic Guidelines' adoption.

### *Guidelines for Investigation of Foreign Groups*

The classified set of guidelines, "The Attorney General's Guidelines for FBI Foreign Intelligence Collection and Foreign Counterintelligence Investigations" (hereinafter "Foreign Guidelines"), governs investigations of organizations the government believes are engaged in international terrorism. The Foreign Guidelines are applicable to investigations inside the United States of foreign powers and international terrorism organizations (like al Qaeda, or Hamas). In other words, the Foreign Guidelines are used when the groups originate abroad, but carry out their actions within the United States.

In many ways, the Foreign Guidelines are much more relaxed than the Domestic Guidelines. For example, under the Foreign Guidelines, investigations may be conducted when there is *no* suspicion of criminal activity. A person may be investigated on the mere suspicion that he or she is affiliated with a group suspected of being engaged in international terrorism, even though the individual has committed no wrongdoing.

When Attorney General Ashcroft changed the guidelines in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, he announced changes to the *Domestic Guidelines* rather than the Foreign Guidelines. In other words, these changes have nothing to do with the investigation of al Qaeda and its activities in the U.S. Because al Qaeda is a group originating abroad, investigations of its activities would be conducted largely under the *Foreign Guidelines*.

### *The Ashcroft Guidelines*

After the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Department of Justice and the FBI saw an opportunity to expand the FBI's authority. Arguing that the Domestic Guidelines were "outmoded" and at times "hobbled FBI counterterrorism efforts,"<sup>22</sup> then-Attorney General Ashcroft decided to change the Domestic Guidelines to give the FBI a freer hand in investigations.

Contrary to Ashcroft's assertions, the FBI already had the operational freedom and authority to gather the information needed to do its job. Investigations since September 11, 2001 demonstrated that the FBI was not "hamstrung" by the Domestic Guidelines. The Domestic Guidelines largely related to how to *collect* evidence rather than how to analyze the evidence collected. The problems the FBI exhibited prior to September 11 were from failure to *analyze* the evidence it had already collected.<sup>23</sup> Amending the Domestic Guidelines to address this problem is akin to a fisherman who, unable to clean all the fish he catches, purchases a larger net.

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<sup>22</sup> David Johnston and Don Van Natta, Jr., "Ashcroft Seeking to Free FBI to Spy on Groups," *New York Times*, December 1, 2001.

<sup>23</sup> See Diagnosing Intelligence Failures and Protecting Privacy and Liberty, located at <http://www.schneier.com/crypto-gram-0109a.html>

The Domestic Guidelines were adopted to put the FBI out of the business of spying on Americans when there was no evidence they were involved in criminal activity. They were designed to deal with three problems arising from abusive FBI investigations:

- Surveillance of dissenters from government policy because they dissent, not because they may be involved in criminal activity;
- Inadequate supervision of agents who engaged in objectionable investigative techniques; and
- The use of unlawful or otherwise objectionable investigative techniques to disrupt the efforts of those who dissented.

By requiring “reasonable indication” of criminal activity and oversight by FBI headquarters, the Domestic Guidelines helped focus the FBI on what should be its primary task: finding and catching the bad guys. The Ashcroft Guidelines reduced oversight by FBI Headquarters and allowed the FBI to spy on innocent Americans without suspicion that any criminal activity is contemplated. In short, the Ashcroft Guidelines put the FBI back in the business of spying on innocent Americans.<sup>24</sup> By severing the tie between investigative activity and crime and by lessening the accountability of agents in the field to superiors who could reign in or prevent unlawful conduct, the Ashcroft Guidelines undermined two of the fundamental purposes for initially adopting the Domestic Guidelines.

#### *Increased Spying on Domestic Religious and Political Organizations*

The Domestic Guidelines prohibited spying on religious and political activity unless there was a reasonable indication of criminal activity, or unless the FBI was following an investigatory lead. This reduced spying on innocent activity and forced the FBI to focus its resources where they were most useful.

The Ashcroft Guidelines reversed course and allowed the FBI to attend any public meetings it desired. “For the purpose of detecting or preventing terrorist activities, the FBI is authorized to visit any place and attend any event that is open to the public, on the same terms and conditions as members of the public generally. No information obtained from such visits shall be retained unless it relates to potential criminal or terrorist activity.”<sup>25</sup> This was the same basis upon which the FBI sent agents into churches and other organizations during the civil rights movement, and then attempted to block the movement, suppress dissent, and protect the administration.

The Ashcroft Guidelines permit FBI agents to attend every single public meeting or demonstration, from political conventions and demonstrations, to religious services. So long as there is a claimed anti-terrorism purpose, nothing in the Ashcroft Guidelines

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<sup>24</sup> The Guidelines are entitled “The Attorney General’s Guidelines on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise, and Terrorism Enterprise Investigations.” For convenience, these guidelines will be referred to as the “Ashcroft Guidelines.”

<sup>25</sup> Ashcroft Domestic Guidelines, *supra* note 24, at VI (A) (2).

imposes any judicial control, FBI headquarters control, or even local Special Agent in Charge control over this activity. While Attorney General Ashcroft was fond of saying agents may conduct such surveillance only for the purposes of ferreting out terrorism, the Ashcroft Guidelines permit the agent, once there, to collect information about *any* crime, including those the FBI used as pretexts to detain people in its 9/11 investigation.

Proponents of this change – permitting the FBI to spy when there is no evidence of a crime – claim it is necessary because the requirement of evidence tied the hands of the FBI when suspects entered mosques or temples, or other houses of worship. In fact, the old guidelines did not prohibit FBI agents from entering houses of worship; it merely required that the agent be following a lead, or conducting an investigation or preliminary inquiry.<sup>26</sup>

Although the Ashcroft Guidelines say that information obtained from such surveillance must relate to potential criminal or terrorist activity, it is unclear how broad or attenuated that relationship must be. The natural tendency is to gather as much information as possible, fitting together bits and pieces of information, many meaningless by themselves, to determine whether a pattern of criminal activity exists.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, the tendency will be to collect more information, rather than less, in the hopes some of this “innocuous” information will be helpful when it comes time to “connect the dots.” The fact that the ACLU FOIA requests found information that the FBI possessed on organizations that were not engaged in criminal activity demonstrates that the FBI is both collecting and keeping evidence collected, even though it bears no relation to criminal activity.

Then-Attorney General Ashcroft portrayed the change that allowed FBI agents to attend public meetings as benign. After all, FBI agents are just members of the public. This argument may have superficial appeal, but it ignores reality and constitutional safeguards.

Because of the government’s extraordinary power to harm its citizens, the Bill of Rights constrains government action to an extent that is greater than similar constraints on ordinary citizens. A member of the public may attend meetings and note what you do and say. However, that member of the public has limited ability to do harm. The FBI, in contrast, has the power to destroy your life, send you to jail, get you fired from your job or prevent you from obtaining a job, and possibly even have you executed.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Washington Post, 5/30/02 “Under guidelines have been in place for several decades, the FBI has not been permitted to send investigators into religious settings unless the agents can establish their following a lead, or conducting an investigation or preliminary inquiry. As a practical matter, the Justice Department officials said, “agents mistakenly think they have to stop at the church door.” [Emphasis added.]

<sup>27</sup> Ashcroft Domestic Guidelines, supra note 24, at III (discussing criminal intelligence investigations, noting these investigations are “broader and less discriminate than usual, involving ‘the interrelation of various sources and types of information.’”) The same rules apply for domestic terrorism investigations. Thus, a wide net is necessarily cast to gather this information.

<sup>28</sup> The death penalty is increasingly available for certain federal offenses. Additionally, the Church Committee found the FBI engaged in many activities dangerous to life, such as falsely labeling someone a government informant, and sending an anonymous letter to a “violence prone” gang to intensify animosity and provoke retaliatory action.



The danger of allowing the FBI to attend religious functions and political rallies in the absence of a criminal investigation is that it will take note of who attends, what they say, and what they do. Any administration would then have its own taxpayer-financed intelligence arm to inform it of political plans and strategies its opponents may be hatching. Furthermore, the FBI will be wasting money and resources gathering information in situations in which there is no suspicion of any criminal conduct. And, most importantly, this will chill First Amendment activity from worship to free speech.

*Permitting Lengthy Preliminary Inquiries and Investigations Even Where No Evidence is Found*

The Domestic Guidelines limited preliminary inquiries to 90 days, with the option for extensions granted by FBI headquarters.

The Ashcroft Guidelines extend the authorized duration of preliminary inquiries from 90 days to 180 days. They also allow the Special Agent in Charge of field offices, rather than FBI headquarters, to authorize two 90-day extensions. Thus, preliminary inquiries can now last for up to one year without any meaningful oversight by FBI headquarters.

Remember, there are few constraints on the FBI in conducting preliminary inquiries. Under the Ashcroft Guidelines, the FBI is empowered to troll for information on the Internet, use commercial data mining services, and attend any public meetings, even when there is no suspicion of crime. This information however, may be used in order to form such a suspicion. Once that occurs, the FBI may use all lawful investigative techniques during the inquiry, with the exception of mail openings and nonconsensual electronic surveillance.<sup>29</sup> This includes physical or photographic surveillance, interviews of potential witnesses, examination of all public records, examination of federal, state, and local government records, interviews of the potential subject, interviews of the complainants, previously established informants, and other sources of information. Thus, with no reasonable indication an individual is involved in criminal activity, the FBI may use highly intrusive techniques to conduct its preliminary inquiry for up to one year.

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<sup>29</sup> Ashcroft Domestic Guidelines, *supra* note 24, at II (B) (5). This procedure makes a radical change from the previous Guidelines. Under those Guidelines, preliminary inquiries were prohibited from using mail covers, mail opening, and nonconsensual electronic surveillance. Old Domestic Guidelines, *supra* note 24, at II (B) (5). The Ashcroft Guidelines now only prohibit mail opening and nonconsensual electronic surveillance. Ashcroft Domestic Guidelines, *supra* note 24, at II (B) (5). As a result, the FBI monitors personal mail without a warrant or reasonable suspicion of criminal activity.

## **Despite More Funding and More Personnel, Spying on Innocent Americans Makes Us Less Safe and Less Free**

One may wonder what the FBI is doing with its newfound freedom in conducting investigations. Are we any safer? Is the FBI more efficient? Examinations of objective statistics suggest the answer to both questions is a resounding “no.”

Although the FBI’s funding and personnel have increased since 2001, the overall effectiveness of the FBI has decreased.<sup>30</sup> Sifting through mountains of useless information about law-abiding Americans only violates the privacy of those Americans and makes us less safe. Instead of focusing on information that would lead to catching the bad guys, the FBI is looking at the good guys.

The problem with looking at the good guys is that the FBI is concentrating its resources in the wrong place. Statistics compiled by the Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse demonstrate that the FBI is less effective in catching the bad guys despite increases in agents and intelligence officers.

Since FY 2001, FBI personnel and funding have increased, particularly special agents and intelligence officers. Intelligence officers, those responsible for sorting through the mounds of information and separating good information from bad, more than doubled from FY 2001 to FY 2006.<sup>31</sup>

With this increase in personnel, one would expect more and better investigations brought to prosecutors who are eager to bring the cases to trial. That, however, has not happened.

Federal prosecutors have the discretion to reject cases they believe have no merit. One would expect that if the FBI brought meritorious international terrorism cases to federal prosecutors, there would be few declinations of prosecution. Yet, the percentage of international terrorism cases declined by federal prosecutors in the last few years has been generally *increasing*, to a high of 87% in fiscal year 2006.<sup>32</sup> In other words, only 13% of cases brought to federal prosecutors on issues of international terrorism are accepted for prosecution!

The annual number of terrorism prosecutions is also declining:

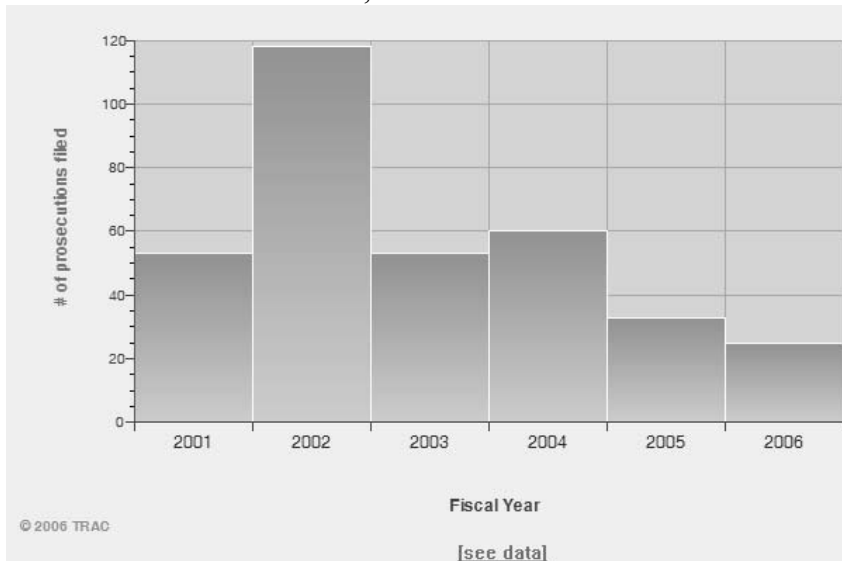
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<sup>30</sup> See, Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (TRAC), *National Profile and Enforcement Trends Over Time*, at <http://trac.syr.edu/tracfbi/newfindings/current/>

<sup>31</sup> Id.

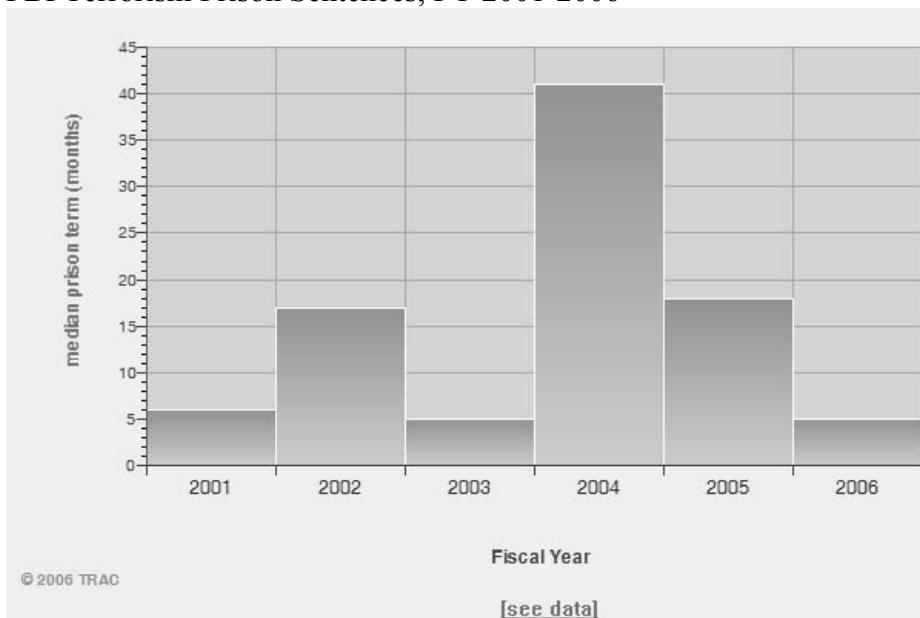
<sup>32</sup> Id.

## FBI Terrorism Prosecutions, FY 2001-2006



If one examines prison sentences for terrorism, the average length of sentence for terrorism is declining as well. In FY 2001, the median sentence<sup>33</sup> was six months. The median hit its high point in FY 2004 when it reached 41 months. By FY 2006, the median had declined to five months.<sup>34</sup>

## FBI Terrorism Prison Sentences, FY 2001-2006

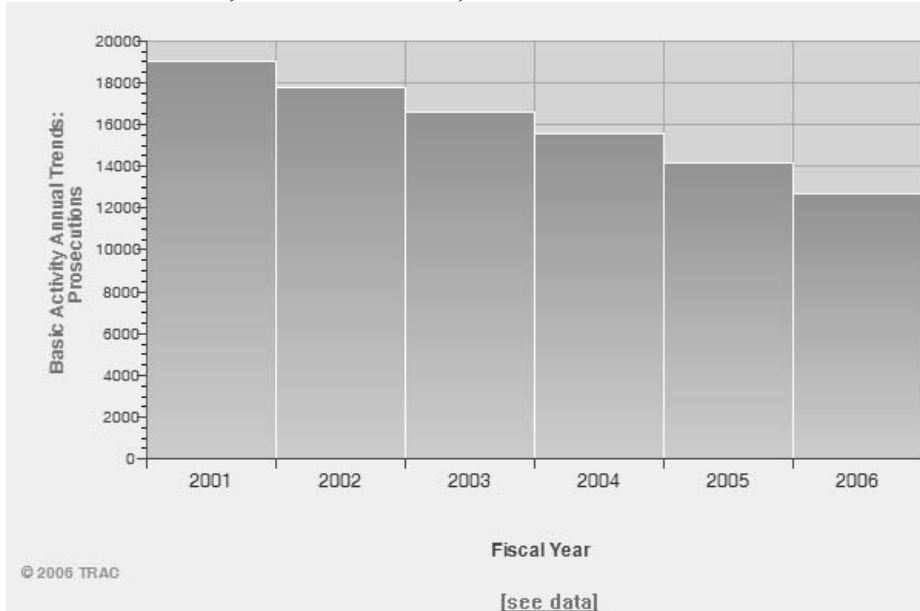


<sup>33</sup> Half got more time, and half got less time.

<sup>34</sup> TRAC, *supra.* at note 30.

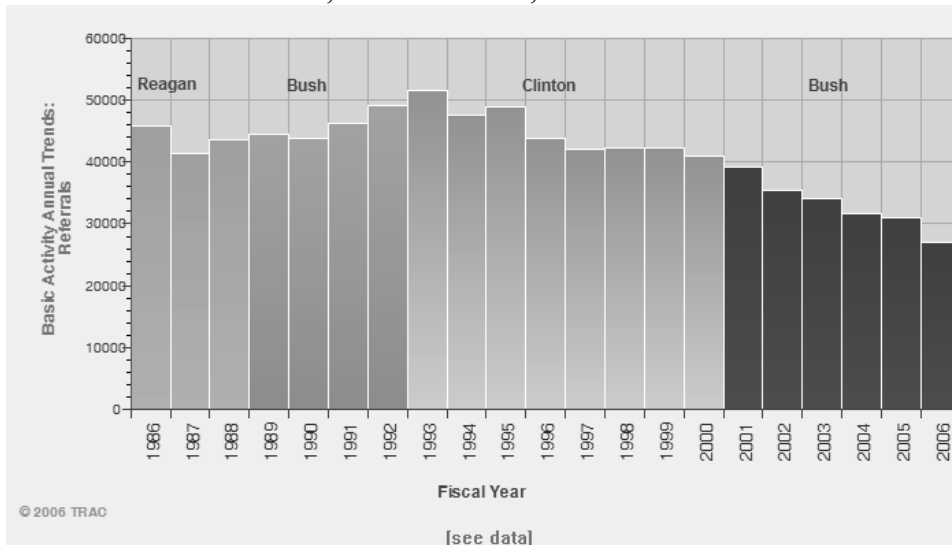
The explanation for the declining number of terrorism prosecutions has nothing to do with the FBI's focusing on other areas within its responsibility. In fact, overall prosecutions have been declining since 2001.<sup>35</sup>

FBI Enforcement, All Prosecutions, FY 2001-2006



Likewise, when viewed over a longer span (1986 to 2006) one sees that referrals of all types of cases by the FBI for prosecution have been decreasing.<sup>36</sup>

FBI Enforcement Trends, FY 1986-2006, Total FBI Referrals



So, what has the FBI been doing with its increased funding and personnel?

<sup>35</sup> Id.

<sup>36</sup> Id.

## History Repeats Itself

Documents obtained through the ACLU's FOIA requests and litigation have revealed numerous instances in which the FBI and its Joint Terrorism Task Forces have used counterterrorism resources to monitor domestic political organizations that criticize government policies, despite a lack of evidence that the groups have engaged in or supported violent action. These documents suggest that peace groups were targeted solely for exercising their constitutionally protected rights to protest the Iraq war. Other documents reveal a troubling tendency by the FBI to describe mainstream animal rights and environmental organizations as fronts for domestic terrorism.<sup>37</sup>

Father Roy Bourgeois co-founded School of the Americas Watch to protest the institution's advocacy of torture. The FBI viewed the foundation as a threat to the school's public relations campaign and began spying on its members. "Instead of using resources to further the causes of justice and accountability, the U.S. government is using precious resources to investigate peaceful demonstrators. We must be vigilant in speaking out against this kind of abuse of power and in standing up for civil and human rights violations, whether they occur in Latin America or in our own country."

### Monitoring of Anti-War Activities

- In 2002, the FBI initiated a classified investigation into the activities of the Thomas Merton Center (TMC), an ecumenical anti-war and social justice organization, noting that the center "holds daily leaflet distribution activities in downtown Pittsburgh and is currently focused on its opposition to the potential war with Iraq. According to these leaflets, Iraq does not possess weapons of mass destruction."
  - The FBI memo describes the TMC as "a left-wing organization advocating, among many political causes, pacifism."
  - The FBI highlights an upcoming TMC event whose purpose is to "bring all people of Pittsburgh together in understanding and respecting each other and also to inform them about Islam and Muslims."
  - The memo notes, "one female leaflet distributor...appeared to be of Middle Eastern decent."
- In a document entitled "International Terrorism Matters," the Pittsburgh JTTF notifies the local FBI of a peace rally held by the Thomas Merton Center, which "has been determined to be an organization which is opposed to the United States' war with Iraq." The JTTF memorandum also lists a United for Peace and Justice day of international protest and concludes: "The above information is for your use and any action deemed appropriate."
- United For Peace and Justice (UFPJ), a national peace organization that coordinates non-violent protests, appears in another FBI "counterterrorism" file that quotes UFPJ's calls for protests at the Republican and Democratic National Conventions from the organization's Web site.

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<sup>37</sup> See the Appendix for copies of some of the actual documents produced.

- As part of a “domestic terrorism” investigation, the JTTF conducted surveillance of a Denver bookstore on February 15, 2003 and monitored forty people who gathered there to carpool to an anti-war demonstration in Colorado Springs. The document reports that FBI agents spent two hours watching Breakdown Bookstore and recorded the descriptions and license plate number of a dozen cars “in the vicinity” of the political bookstore.

Betty Ball worked for peaceful environmental and social justice organizations that were monitored by the FBI because of their activism. Betty herself was interrogated, investigated, and surveilled by FBI agents. “I am worried about how far the government will go to squelch First Amendment rights and silence dissent. Will we all be rounded up and incarcerated? Already so many people have been frightened away from participating in our events, and have asked to have their names removed from our mailing lists, for fear of the consequences of associating with us.”

- Another FBI memorandum indicates that the FBI opened an investigation into an anti-war march on the basis of announcements the agency found on the Web sites of Rocky Mountain Peace and Justice Center and the Colorado Campaign for Middle East Peace. The document notes that organizers are “hyping the demonstration as the ‘biggest peace rally in the history of Colorado.’” The FBI reports that it will “effect surveillance” at the Denver location and relay information to FBI agents working with city police in Colorado Springs.
- A “counterterrorism” memorandum includes a list of names of participants in the “Third Annual National Organizing Conference on Iraq” in

Stanford, California. The redacted lists of names are described as “affiliated with” or representatives of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

### **Monitoring Environmental and Animal Rights Activism**

- Describing an Animal Rights Convention in Washington, D.C., one document states: “The purpose of this convention is to meet with various animal rights groups and individuals to discuss upcoming events that are significant to their cause. The source will attend this convention to further establish the source” within the animal rights community.
- An FBI email dated October 22, 2004 brands People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals a “DT [domestic terrorist] target[.]” with “DT objectives” – even though PETA has never been charged with any crime, let alone a terrorist offense.
- One document describes a “Vegan Community Project” event at the University of Indiana at which the group distributed “vegetarian starter kits” to students and faculty.
- An FBI email dated August 25, 2004 notes a planned PETA protest in New York City against a former PETA supporter, model Cindy Crawford, who “has jumped ship and become a llama fur spokesperson.”

- One document includes a recommendation to open an FBI counterterrorism investigation into activists planning nonviolence training for an upcoming protest of the North American Wholesale Lumber Association. The memorandum describes the purpose of the training as “learn[ing] non-violent methods of forest defense, offering workshops in climbing, blockade, organizing, security culture, street theatre and banner making.”

### **Monitoring of Other Protest Activity**

- An FBI report labeled “Domestic Terrorism Symposium” describes a meeting that was intended to “keep the local, state and federal law enforcement agencies apprised of the activities of the various groups and individuals within the state of Michigan who are thought to be involved in terrorist activities.” The document includes as potential terrorist threats Direct Action, an anti-war group, and By Any Means Necessary (BAMN), a national organization dedicated to defending affirmative action, integration, and other gains of the civil rights movement in the 1960s – even though, the FBI acknowledges, “Michigan State Police has information that in the past demonstrations by this group [BAMN] have been peaceful.”
- A “Call to Action Against Columbus Day” appears in a “counterterrorism” file calling for the opening of an FBI investigation into the event, even though “the majority of demonstrators at the Columbus Day events will be peaceful.” The report describes the Call to Action as a “week-long anti-capitalist convergence” and mentions various anarchist and diversity groups.
- The Catholic Workers Group (CWG), a religious group dedicated to nonviolence, appears in another FBI document describing a National Missile Defense protest. The document states that “CWG ... advocates a communist distribution of resources.”
- Several other FBI documents demonstrate the agency’s interest in Food Not Bombs, a group that opposes the government’s prioritization of war and military programs over solving domestic social ills and that serves vegetarian meals to the homeless. An FBI report written in December 2004 focuses on Sarah Bardwell, a young Denver activist who worked for the American Friends Service Committee for several years and who is also active in Food Not Bombs. Bardwell is listed as a “point of contact” for the organizers of a Denver anti-war protest and her address is “associated with” Food Not Bombs and a bicycle collective.

Kirsten Atkins, an environmental activist, was angered, but not surprised to learn that the FBI had been tapping her phones and opening her mail. She participated in numerous non-violent demonstrations, and had noticed law enforcement officials photographing her and taking down her license plate number. “Many people can’t believe that the government would have me under surveillance. Why would the FBI waste money and resources worrying about someone like me? For years, people told me and my fellow activists that we were being paranoid or overdramatic. But it is important to be aware that the government is using our tax money to spy on people in our communities who have been outspoken.”

- Several FBI reports reveal years of spying on School of the Americas Watch (SOA Watch) and its multi-national faith-based network. SOA Watch monitors human rights abuses in Latin America and has repeatedly called for the closure of a Department of Defense training facility in Fort Benning, Georgia.
- An October 14, 2003 memorandum explicitly states that the “leaders of the SOA Watch have taken strides to impart upon the protest participants that the protest should be a peaceful event.” It advises “FBIHQ” of SOA Watch’s annual scheduled demonstration, an event that “draws protestors who object to human rights violations conducted in these countrys [sic], and more specifically, to the event in which a group of Catholic missionaries were murdered in Central America.” A memorandum from later in October of the same year is nearly completely redacted except for the changed classification to “Counterterrorism.”

### **Vacuuming Up Private Personal Information on Innocent Citizens Through National Security Letters**

The 2001 PATRIOT Act expanded the FBI’s authority to issue National Security Letters, or “NSLs” to collect intelligence in counterterrorism and counterintelligence investigations. The FBI uses National Security Letters without any court oversight to obtain private customer records from telecommunications companies, Internet Service Providers, financial institutions, and credit reporting agencies. The requirement that the information requested must pertain to a suspected agent of a foreign power or international terrorist group was removed, so the FBI needs no reason to suspect someone of doing anything improper to obtain his or her records. All the FBI has to certify in a National Security Letter is that they have an authorized investigation and the records they seek are relevant to that investigation – even if those records relate to American citizens.

In March 2007, the Department of Justice’s Office of Inspector General issued an audit report revealing widespread abuse and misconduct involving the FBI’s use of its NSL authorities. The results confirmed the FBI is sweeping up large amounts of information and keeping it in its databases.<sup>38</sup>

- The FBI *underreported* its use of NSLs in previous reports to Congress. The FBI records were so deficient the IG could not even determine how many NSLs were issued, but the IG was able to document over 143,000 separate NSL requests from 2003 through 2005. An audit of just 77 FBI investigations found approximately 800 NSL requests. A review of just 293 of those NSLs revealed 22% more NSL requests than were documented in the FBI database.
- Just nine NSLs issued in 2004 requested information on over 11,000 different telephone numbers. Over half of the NSLs issued in 2004 and 2005 were seeking records of U.S. persons.
- The FBI used hundreds of “exigent letters” to illegally obtain telephone records without issuing NSLs, even when no authorized investigation existed.

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<sup>38</sup> For a more thorough analysis of the Inspector General’s report, see Michael German, “Roadmap of Justice Department Inspector General’s Review of the FBI’s Use of National Security Letters,” at <http://www.aclu.org/safe/free/nationalsecurityletters/29067leg20070319.html>



- All of the information the FBI collects with NSLs is indefinitely retained and retrievable, even when the investigation clears the subjects of any ties to terrorism or espionage.

The FBI also routinely imposes gag orders on recipients of NSLs. This allows the FBI to cover itself in a veil of secrecy and prevents the public from learning about the FBI's abuse of the NSL power. In two cases brought by the ACLU, federal courts struck down gag orders imposed by the FBI on recipients of NSLs. In one case, the recipient was Library Connection, Inc. – a library consortium. In the other case, the recipient was a small Internet Service Provider. In both cases, judges found that the gag orders violated the First Amendment.<sup>39</sup>

Between the information gained from spying on innocent Americans, and personal information swept up with the NSL net, the FBI is building vast databases on the good guys, while prosecutions of the bad guys are declining.

Allowing the FBI to conduct this unwarranted surveillance is unwise and unnecessary. The FBI *should* investigate whenever there is a reasonable suspicion that some individual or group is about to engage in criminal activity, including terrorism. However, trolling for information at public meetings is not the way to accomplish the goal of preventing crime and terrorism. In fact, it is counterproductive. Paying FBI agents to attend public meetings does not result in actionable intelligence. After all, how many criminals or terrorists hold public meetings to discuss their actions? Additional resources are wasted in analyzing and organizing this “intelligence.” If you are looking for a needle in a haystack, it makes no sense to pile on more hay.

## **Recommendations**

All of this information is just the tip of the iceberg. Our FOIA requests have contributed to a better understanding of the FBI's collection and maintenance of information about the lawful First Amendment activities of U.S. citizens, but many questions remain unanswered. Far too little is known about how and why the information was collected in the first place. Moreover, the FOIA requests were aimed at specific groups and individuals about whom there was already suspicion of FBI spying. We do not know how many other FBI files are maintained on groups and individuals who have no idea they are being spied upon. We do not know the extent to which other federal agencies might have been involved in collecting information on law-abiding Americans. We do not know whether the information improperly collected by the FBI was distributed to other government agencies.

Congress' somnolence in conducting FBI oversight for the last six years has contributed to the lack of knowledge, as has the Administration's excessive secrecy. Congress must vigorously exercise its oversight authority and hold the FBI accountable to the people and the Constitution.

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<sup>39</sup> The case involving the Internet service provider is ongoing. For more information, see [www.aclu.org/nsi](http://www.aclu.org/nsi)

In addition to Congressional oversight, the FBI needs to focus its efforts on developing good intelligence and following up leads based on a reasonable suspicion. The FBI's investigative guidelines should promote the efficient and effective use of limited investigative resources rather than authorize unproductive fishing expeditions that protect neither our security nor our liberties. We therefore recommend:

- Congress should conduct Church Committee-style oversight investigations regarding FBI counter-terrorism and counter-intelligence programs to evaluate the effectiveness of such programs and their impact on the civil rights and privacy of innocent Americans.
- Congress should enact legislation to return to the pre-Ashcroft standard requiring a "reasonable indication" that a federal crime has been, is being, or will be committed before the FBI can engage in any investigative activity. Because the Guidelines may be changed at the whim of the attorney general, only a statutory change will ensure the change is permanent.
- Dispense with or strictly limit "preliminary inquiries" in both time and scope to prevent an unjustifiable waste of resources on investigations where there is no reasonable indication of criminality. The "reasonable indication" threshold is extremely low—"substantially lower than probable cause," according to the Domestic Guidelines—and should be present before any investigator begins to expend effort or public resources. If an agent is unable to articulate a reason for the inquiry or investigation, he or she should not engage in the investigation.

## **Conclusion**

For too long, the FBI has been operating in the shadows. Congress must exercise vigorous oversight, and demand that the Bureau provide answers to its questions. Without effective oversight, the American people have no way of knowing the extent to which taxpayer dollars are being wasted. Without effective oversight, there is no way to tell how many innocent, non-violent Americans are being spied on. Without effective oversight, there is no way to tell how much of these law-abiding Americans' personal information winds up in a government database, and shared with state, local, federal, and foreign agencies.

Congress should also pass legislation to permanently end the abuses of surveillance power currently occurring under the Ashcroft Guidelines. American citizens must once again be confident they may exercise their constitutionally protected right to protest government policy without becoming targets of government scrutiny.

## **Acknowledgements**

This report was written by Marv Johnson, Legislative Counsel, with contributions by Policy Counsels James Tucker and Mike German, as well as Ben Wizner, Staff Attorney with the ACLU National Security Program. Research assistance was provided by Legislative Assistant Mary Bonventre.

## **Appendix**

Attached are some of the documents produced in the ACLU FOIA litigation. They are arranged in the order discussed in the text.

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 11/29/2002

To: Pittsburgh

From: Pittsburgh  
Squad 4

Contact: SA [redacted]

Approved By: [redacted]  
Drafted By: [redacted] TRO

b6

b7C

Case ID #: ~~(S)~~ 199-0 (Pending)

Title: ~~(S)~~ IT Matters

Synopsis: ~~(S)~~ To report results of investigation of Pittsburgh anti-war activity.

~~(S)~~ Derived From : G-3  
Declassify On: X1

Details: ~~(S)~~ The Thomas Merton Center (TMC), 5125 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, telephone: (412) 361-3022, webpage: [www.thomasmertoncenter.org](http://www.thomasmertoncenter.org), is a left-wing organization advocating, among many political causes, pacificism.

12

~~(S)~~ TMC holds daily leaflet distribution activities in downtown Pittsburgh and is currently focused on its opposition to the potential war with Iraq. According to these leaflets, Iraq does not possess weapons of mass destruction and that, if the United States invades Iraq, Saddam Hussien [sic] will unleash bio-chemical weapons upon American soldiers.

~~(S)~~ TMC advertises its activities on its webpage. On November 24, 2002, TMC coordinated the 8th Annual An-Nass (Humanity) Day at the Islamic Center of Pittsburgh, 4100 Bigelow Blyd., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213. The contact person for this event was Farooq Hussaini of the Islamic Center, work telephone: (412) 622-8838, home telephone: [redacted] email: [redacted] URL: [www.icp-pgh.org](http://www.icp-pgh.org). The purpose of An-Nass Day was "to bring all people of Pittsburgh together in understanding and respecting each other and also to inform them about Islam and Muslims."

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I: 14 [redacted] 333 TRO 01. EC

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DUC

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To: Pittsburgh From: Pittsburgh  
Re: ~~(S)~~ 199-0, 11/29/2002

~~(S)~~ Tim Vinning, the Merton Center's executive director, stated to Pittsburgh Tribune Review columnist Mike Seate that there are more than a few Muslims and people of Middle Eastern descent among the regulars attending meetings at the Merton Center's East Liberty headquarters.

~~(S)~~ On November 29, 2002, SA [redacted] photographed TMC leaflet distributors at the Pavilion in Market Square, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. These photographs are being reviewed by Pittsburgh IT specialists.

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~~(S)~~ One female leaflet distributor, who appeared to be of Middle Eastern descent, inquired if SA [redacted] was an FBI Agent. No other TMC participants appeared to be of Middle Eastern descent.

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U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Pittsburgh, PA 15203-2148  
February 26, 2003

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM  
MATTERS

Pittsburgh Division Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) investigation has revealed the following information of which your agency may already be aware:

The Thomas Merton Center (TMC), located at 5125 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (PA), telephone 412-361-3022, webpage: [www.thomasmertoncenter.org](http://www.thomasmertoncenter.org), has been determined to be an organization which is opposed to the United States' war with Iraq. A review of the above website revealed that when the United States begins war with Iraq:

"All who desire peace and an end to war gather at the Federal Building downtown, corner of Liberty and Grant at 12 noon for an interfaith prayer vigil, 5 P.M. for a rally, and possible civil disobedience for those prepared to do this."

Also listed on the website is the date February 15, 2003. This day is a day of international protestors against the war promoted by United for Peace and Justice ([www.unitedforpeace.org](http://www.unitedforpeace.org)). The organization hosted the international rally and march against the war in New York City at the United Nations Building. Hundreds of people from the Pittsburgh region were making the trip to New York City for the protest. In addition, thousands more were anticipated in local marches, rallies, and vigils in Youngstown, Ohio (OH), Morgantown, West Virginia (WV), and Butler, Meadville, and Pittsburgh, PA.

Regional events included:

12:00 P.M. North Side Vigil for Peace in Iraq.  
Allegheny UU Church, North Avenue and  
Resaca Place (North Side)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM  
MATTERS

- 12:00 P.M. East End Community Stand for Peace, corner  
of Penn and Highland (East Liberty)
- 12:00 P.M. Regent Square Community Vigil for Peace in  
Iraq. Waverly Church corner of Forbes and  
Braddock (Regent Square)

The above information is for your use and any action  
deemed appropriate.

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 09/04/2003

To: Counterterrorism

Attn: SSA [redacted] SEMU  
 SSA [redacted] DTOU b6  
 UC [redacted] DTAU b7C  
 Attn: SA [redacted] DT-5  
 SA [redacted] CT-2  
 SA [redacted] USSS, CT-3  
 SA [redacted] CT-6

New York  
Boston  
Los Angeles

From: Los Angeles

CT-6

Contact: [redacted] [redacted]

Approved By: [redacted] b2

Drafted By: [redacted] mad b6

Case ID #: 300A-NY-284132 (Pending) b7C  
300A-LA-C217624 (Pending)

Title: 2004 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
AUGUST 30 - SEPTEMBER 3, 2004;  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK;

Synopsis: RNC protest web sites established.

Reference: 300A-NY-284132 Serial 11

Details: Review of the Internet found three web sites that are currently promoting protests against the upcoming 2004 Republican National Convention (RNC) in New York. At least one of these sites is operated by a group known to have participated in previous illegal and disruptive demonstrations against political and economic gatherings in the United States. This information is being reported to recipients in a effort to facilitate security awareness and Special Event planning for the 2004 RNC.

As previously reported to this file in serial 11, the group RNC Not Welcome, [www.rncnotwelcome.org](http://www.rncnotwelcome.org), is promoting demonstrations to "disrupt" the 2004 RNC. Additionally, the web site [www.counterconvention.org](http://www.counterconvention.org), which is hyperlinked to RNC Not Welcome, has been established to promote the same types of protests against the 2004 RNC.

Out of Scope

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[redacted]

[redacted] includes the

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Case ID : 300A-NY-284132  
300A-LA-C217624  
300A-NY-284132-K

Serial : 19  
168  
4



following statement regarding its intended makeup; "Imagine: A million people on the street, representing the diversity of New York, and the multiplicity of this nation - community organizers, black radicals, unions, anarchists, church groups, queers, grandma's for peace, AIDS activists, youth organizers, environmentalists, people of color contingents, global justice organizers, those united for peace and justice, veterans, and everyone who is maligned by Bush's malicious agenda - on the street - en masse - An overwhelming, festive, and poignant showing with the entire world bearing witness."

Out of Scope

b2

Review of the Internet found that a web site operated by Global Exchange, one of the groups responsible for organizing protests against the World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Seattle that turned violent during late 1999, is promoting demonstrations against the 2004 RNC via [www.unitedforpeace.org](http://www.unitedforpeace.org).

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Members of Global Exchange are also known to have participated in past anarchist events, to include the "Showdown in Texas" held in Austin, Texas, between May 3rd and May 5th, 2003, to protest the Administration of President George W. Bush.

Text of United For Peace and Justice's (UFPJ) "Call for Mass Demo," dated 7/7/03, that is posted to various Internet sites, follows: "UNITED FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE, 212-603-3700, MASS WORLDWIDE PROTEST DURING THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN NEW YORK CITY: SUNDAY, AUGUST 29, 2004

"In the last three years, George W. Bush has presided over a radical right-wing takeover of the U.S. government whose ramifications have been felt all over the world. Not only has he waged two wars, killing thousands of innocent people, during his short time in office, but he has also implemented a policy of pre-emptive war that violates international law and threatens global security. On the home front, unemployment soars, the federal budget deficit swells into the billions, and states prepare to slash funding for everything from healthcare to education, yet Bush responded with two huge tax cut that will primarily benefit the wealthy rather than the people who are most in need.

"On every issue - from environmental regulations and international treaty participation to worker rights, civil rights and civil liberties - George W. Bush has pushed for unprecedented and destructive changes in U.S. foreign and domestic policy that even more sharply favor corporations and the wealthy, especially Bush Administration supporters at the expense of the people of the world and our environment.

"Meanwhile, the Bush Administration shamelessly uses the tragic attacks of September 11, 2001 to justify its aggressive and militaristic policies. In its most recent attempt to exploit the grief and fear that were provoked after September 11, the Republican Party pushed back its 2004 convention to August 28 - September 2, 2004 and will hold it in New York City,

not far from Ground Zero.

"SAVE THE DATE: ON AUGUST 29, 2004, THE WORLD SAYS NO TO BUSH - On February 15, 2003, millions of people all over the world took to the streets in protest with the message The World Says No to War. On August 29, 2004, we will come together in New York City and in cities throughout the world to say The World Says No to Bush!

"We are also organizing a protest for Thursday, Sept. 2, 2004, the day of Bush's official selection as the presidential candidate of the Republican Party.

"Initiated by United for Peace and Justice (<<http://www.unitedforpeace.org/>>), a U.S. anti-war coalition with more than 600 member groups. UFPJ looks forward to working with many other organizations on this day of protest, so please contact us at [info@unitedforpeace.org](mailto:info@unitedforpeace.org) if your group wants to work collaboratively on these actions and to let us know about other actions being planned to coincide with the Republican Convention."

This information is being reported to recipients for review and action deemed appropriate.

LEAD(s):

Set Lead 1: (Info)

COUNTERTERRORISM

AT WASHINGTON, DC

For SEMU, No hard copy to follow, read and clear.

Set Lead 2: (Info)

COUNTERTERRORISM

AT WASHINGTON, DC

For DTOU, No hard copy to follow, read and clear.

Set Lead 3: (Info)

COUNTERTERRORISM

AT WASHINGTON, DC

For DTAU, No hard copy to follow, read and clear.

Set Lead 4: (Info)

NEW YORK

b6

AT NEW YORK, NY

b7C

For SA [REDACTED] Read and Clear.

Set Lead 5: (Info)

BOSTON

b6

AT BOSTON, MA

b7C

For SA [REDACTED] No hard copy to follow, read and clear.

Set Lead 6: (Info)

LOS ANGELES

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AT LOS ANGELES, CA

b7C

For SA [REDACTED] Read and Clear.

Set Lead 7: (Info)

LOS ANGELES

b6

AT LOS ANGELES, CA

b7C

For SA [REDACTED] Read and Clear.

Precedence: PRIORITY

Date: 05/24/2004

To: New York  
Boston

Attn: JTTF  
FIG Supervisor  
DNC Working Group  
CT-2

From: Boston

b2

CT-2

Contact: [redacted] [redacted]

b6

b7C

Approved By: [redacted]

Drafted By: [redacted]

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Case ID #: 266A-BS-92850 (Pending)

Title: [redacted]

[redacted] Threat to Disrupt Democratic National  
Convention; AOT-DT; Violent Crimes - Predicate Offense

Synopsis: To set lead to New York Division to identify  
subject [redacted]

Enclosure(s): Enclosed for NYO is (1) copy of forum taken off  
Indymedia.org containing excerpts by [redacted]

Out of Scope

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Details: Through the course of criminal investigation, Boston  
has learned that [redacted]

[redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Out of Scope

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] "The Organization" is discovered to have a very loose affinity for the Black Bloc, a renowned anarchist tactic.

[Redacted] critical of the traditional "hammering" tactics as used by other anarchist groups, most notably the UFPJ, NION, ANSWER, as well as the Black Bloc Hammers. It is known to the writer that the term "hammering" conveys illegal activity such as property destruction, disruption of traffic, antagonization of police, and the interruption of business.

According to [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

266A-DN-61960  
FMH:jmh

b6  
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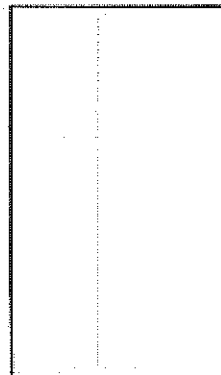
1

The following investigation was conducted by SA [redacted] SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] on February 15, 2003:

Public source information indicated that individuals participating in the Revolutionary Anti-War Response (RAWR) Breakaway March were meeting in Denver prior to the protest event in Colorado Springs. Surveillance of the meeting place, Breakdown Books, 1409 Ogden Street, Denver, between 8:00 a.m. and 10:00 a.m., determined that at least 40 individuals appeared to be involved in the RAWR group. Some of the participants wore all black clothing, including sweatshirts or jackets with hoods. Several flags and banners with the colors black and pink were also observed.

The following vehicles and license plates were observed in the vicinity of 1409 Ogden Street:

Older model blue Suburban:  
Large gray passenger van:  
Green hand-painted VW van:  
Purple sedan:  
Silver Saab sedan:  
Gold Honda sedan:  
White sedan:  
Blue Honda sedan:  
Nissan sedan:  
Silver sedan:  
Brown Toyota sedan:  
Blue station wagon:



b6  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2005 BY 60306AUC/aw/dsp/cad

266A-DN-61960 - 5

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date: 02/11/2003

Precedence: ROUTINE

To: Denver

From: Denver

Colorado Spr: [redacted]

Contact: SA [redacted]

Approved By: [redacted]

Drafted By: [redacted]

Case ID #: 266A-DN-NEW 61960

Title: UNSUB(S); aka  
Revolutionary Anti-War Response (RAWR);  
Rocky Mountain Peace and Justice (RMPJ);  
Colorado Campaign for Middle East Peace (CCMEP);  
Anti-War Rally - Palmer Park,  
Colorado Springs, CO  
02/15/2003;  
AOT - DT - Violent Crimes (A)

b6

b7C

Synopsis: To open a Preliminary Inquiry into captioned matter.

Preliminary Inquiry Instituted: 02/11/2003, set to expire 06/14/2003.

Details: Websites and hyperlinks associated with the "Mile High Resistance" an Anti-Global Expansion, Environmentalist radical movement located in Denver and Boulder, Colorado, is advertising for an antiwar demonstration to be held on Saturday, February 15, 2003, at 11:00 a.m., Palmer Park, a city of Colorado Springs facility, located at the intersection of Maizeland Road and Academy Blvd., Colorado Springs, Colorado.

The two websites being used to advertise the event are the COLORADO CAMPAIGN FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE (CCMEP) and the ROCKY MOUNTAIN CITIZENS FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE (RMCPJ). They are hyping the demonstration as the "biggest peace rally in the history of Colorado" and are representing the size of the rally to be 2,000 demonstrators. The organizations are organizing car pools and hiring buses to transport the demonstrators to Colorado Springs.

The two groups are advocating committing what they refer to "civil disobedience," possibly by blocking vehicular traffic at Maizeland and Academy at 12:30 P.M. and then again at 2-14-03

Tickler: "Convert PI to Full, extend PI, or close by 6/14/03." to be done by 6/14/03.

OAG PI to SA [redacted] Begin 2/12/03, End 6/14/03  
2/12/03

b6

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266A-DN-NEW 61960

To: Denver, FL: Denver  
Re: 266A-DN-NEW, 02/11/2003

the main entrance to Peterson Air Force Base at Platte Road and Peterson Blvd. at 2:30 P.M.

In addition to CCEP and RMCPJ actions, a third more radical faction called the REVOLUTIONARY ANTI-WAR RESPONSE (RAWR), has posted on "coloradoradicals.org" that they intend to start with the main demonstrating group at Palmer Park and then conduct a "break out" demonstration somewhere else in the city.

According to the postings, RAWR will form their car pools in a parking lot located at the intersection of 14th Street and Ogden Blvd., Denver, Colorado, the morning of February 15, between the hours of 8:00 A.M. and 9:00 A.M. and they will convoy down to Colorado Springs. They will be wearing a uniform of pink and black.

SA [redacted] office [redacted] and Nextel [redacted] provided the majority of the website information to writer on instant date. SA [redacted] will forward paper copies of the website and messages for information as soon as possible. SA [redacted] will also effect surveillance on the RAWR rendezvous on Saturday to determine the approximate number of demonstrators and communicate any relevant information to the joint even CSPD and FBI observation team in Colorado Springs.

It is requested that, based on the above, a preliminary inquiry be opened and assigned to SA [redacted]

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~~SECRET~~

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 11/15/2002

To: Counterterrorism  
Detroit

Attn: SSA [redacted]  
SA [redacted]

From: Los Angeles  
Squad 1/West Covina RA  
Contact: SA [redacted]

b2

b6

Approved By: [redacted]

b7C

Drafted By: [redacted]

Case ID #: (S) [redacted] (Pending)

b1

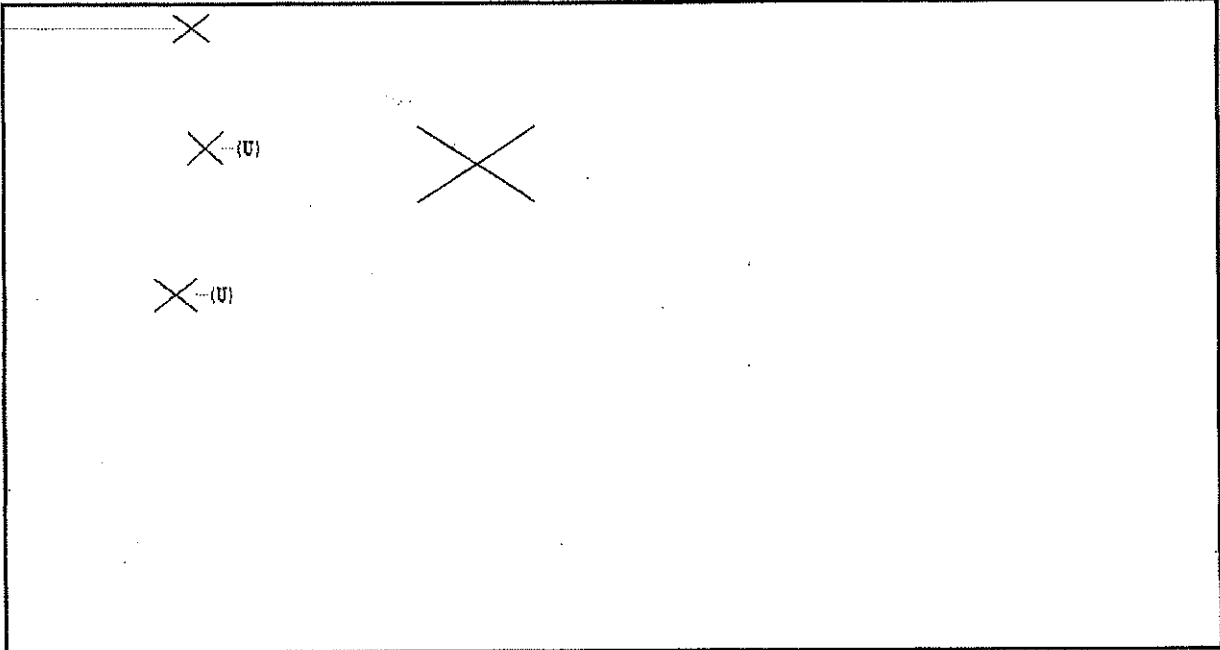
Title: (S) [redacted]

(S)

b1

IT [redacted]  
OO: LOS ANGELES

(S)



out of scope OTHER

DATE: 09-09-2005  
CLASSIFIED BY: 60389AUCTam/dcg/cad  
REASON: 1.4 (C)  
DECLASSIFY ON: 09-09-2030

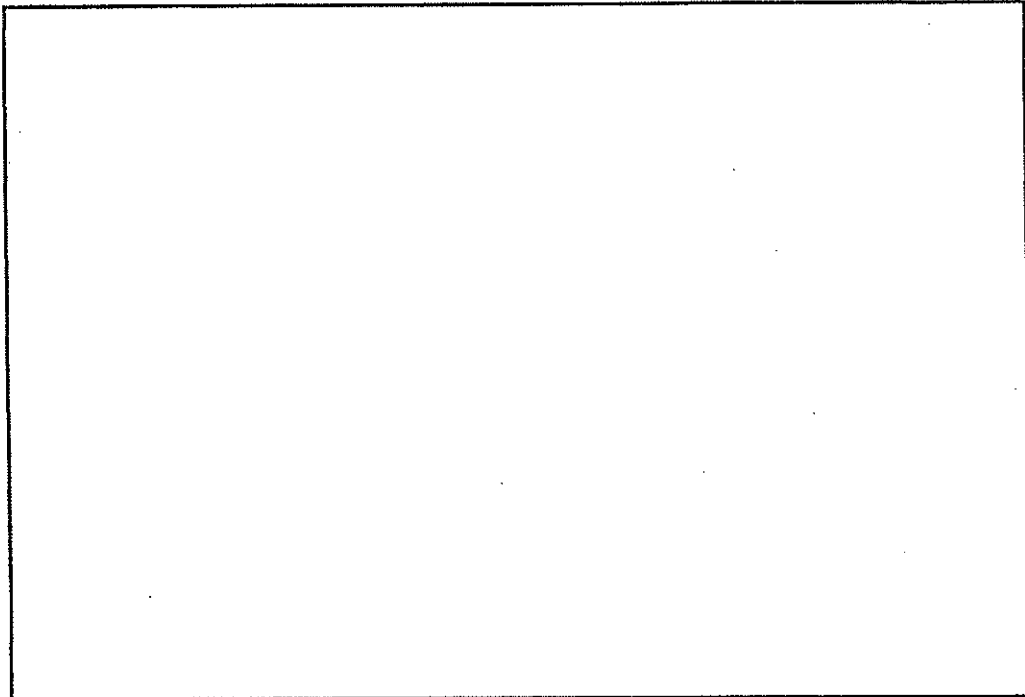
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

000299

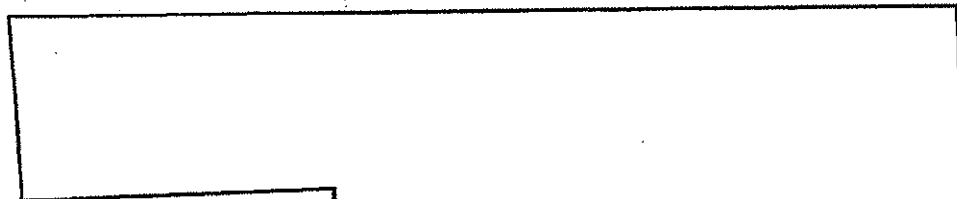
~~SECRET~~

To: Counterterrorism From: Los Angeles  
Re: (S) [redacted] 11/15/2002 b1

out of scope  
OTHER

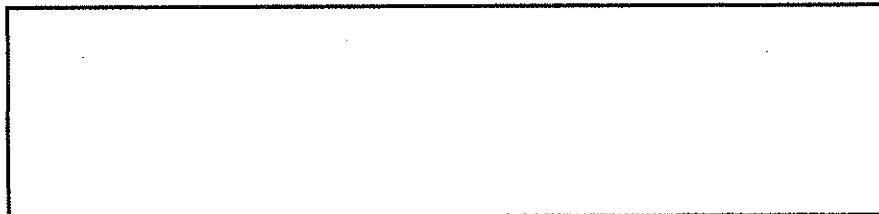


25.) A contact list for the "Attendees at the Third National Organizing Conference on Iraq, Stanford, CA: May 25 - 26, 2002. The contact information is listed as follows:



Affiliated with: [redacted]  
American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee,

(Agent note: Ref. in [redacted] b7A



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~~SECRET~~

000300

~~SECRET~~

To: Counterterrorism From: Los Angeles  
Re: (S) [redacted] 11/15/2002

b1

out of scope

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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Representing: American Arab Anti-Discrimination  
Committee

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

000301

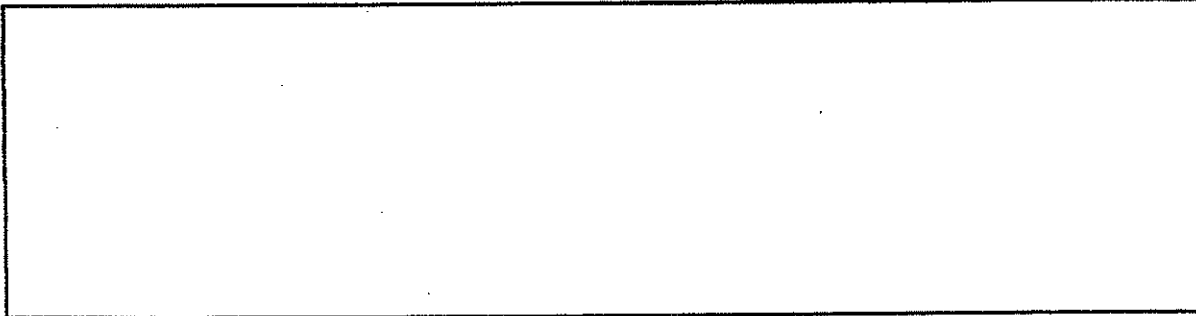
~~SECRET~~

To: Counterterrorism From: Los Angeles  
Re: (S) [redacted] 11/15/2002

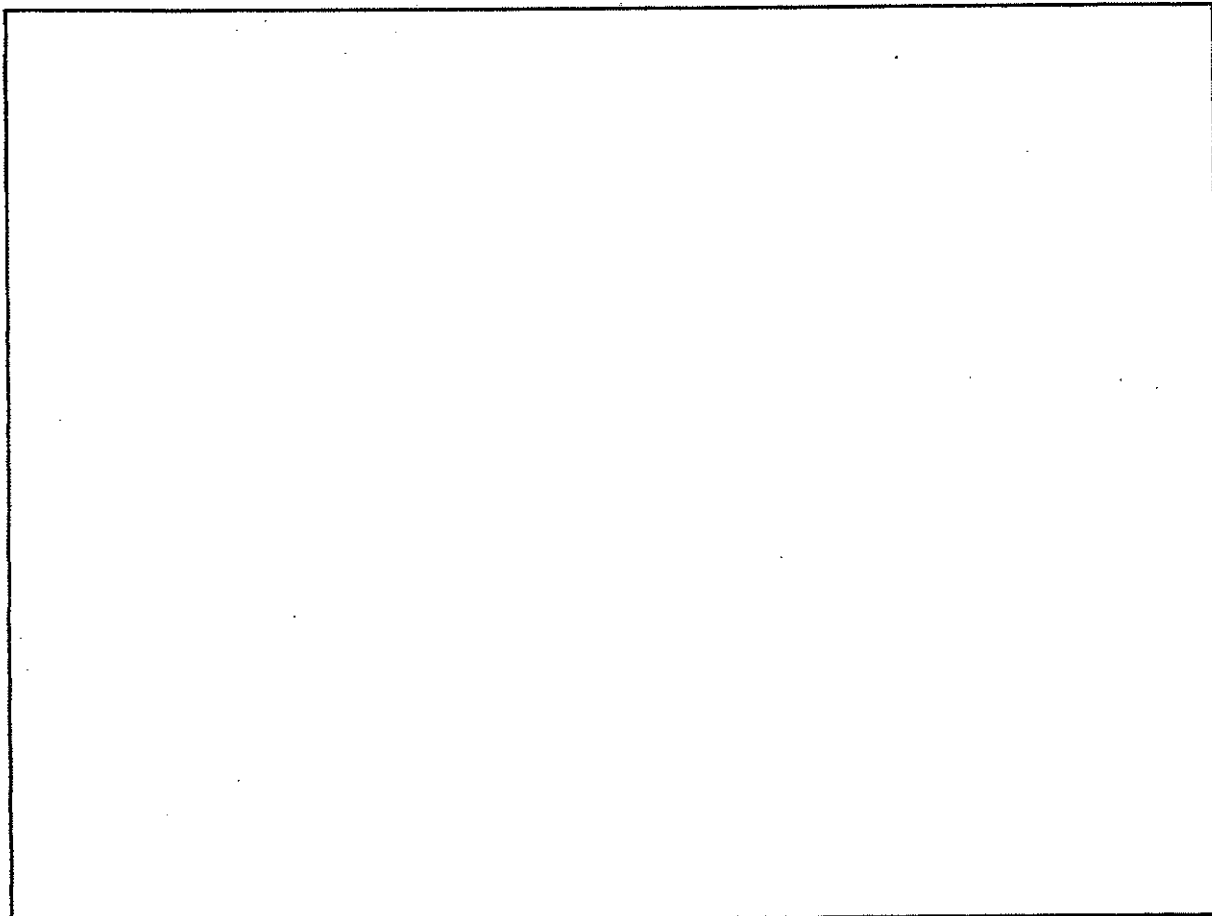
b1

OTHER

out of scope



36.) Flier for: American-Arab Anti-Discrimination  
Committee (ADC), at 4201 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300,  
Washington DC 20008, Tel: (202) 244-2990, Fax: (202) 244-3196, E-  
mail: [adc@adc.org](mailto:adc@adc.org).



~~SECRET~~

OTHER outside scope



On 6/30/2000, the source traveled to the Animal Rights 2000 Conference that was held in Washington, D.C. While attending the Animal Rights 2000 Conference, the source learned that

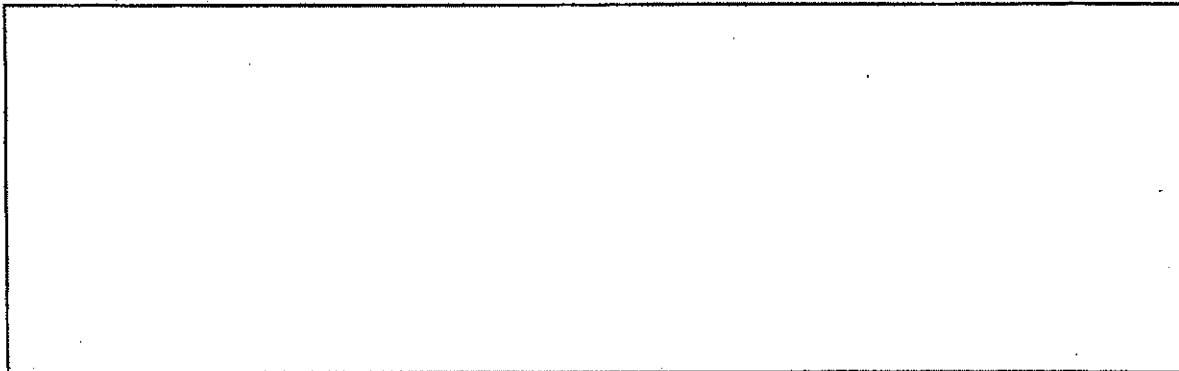
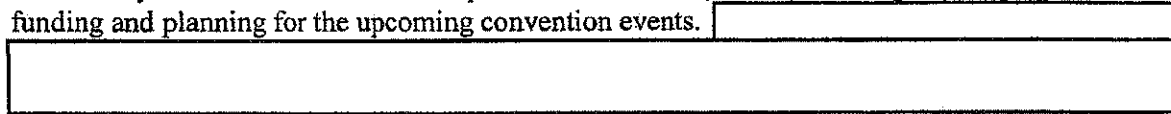


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the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and the Physician's Committee for Responsible Medicine (PCRM) are allegedly helping in the funding and planning for the upcoming convention events.



OTHER outside scope

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1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

PRQ: prq

[redacted]

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OTHER outside :

[redacted] who is well insulated within the People for  
the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA). [redacted]

[redacted] to attend

the Animal Rights 2000 Convention being held in Washington, DC from June 30, 2000 through July 4, 2000. The purpose of this convention is to meet with various animal rights groups and individuals to discuss upcoming events that are significant to their cause. The source will attend this convention to further establish the source within the animal rights/Ruckus movements.

[redacted]

OTHER outside scope

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[Redacted]

7/06/2000

OTHER outside scope

[Redacted]

b6

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**RECENT DEVELOPMENTS**

OTHER OUTSIDE SCOPE 7/30/2000, the [Redacted] source (hereafter identified as source) traveled to the [Redacted] 2000 Conference that was held in Washington, D.C.

[Redacted]

[Redacted] An individual identified as "Grubs" in Los Angeles was identified as a point of contact. The source also learned that the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and the Physician's Committee for Responsible Medicine (PCRM) are allegedly helping in the funding and planning for the upcoming convention events. According to the source, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

OTHER outside scope

[Redacted]

- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]

PRQ: prq

b6  
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- 1 - each SSA DTOU
- 1 - each IOS DTOU
- 1 - each DT/CPS Unit Chief
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]

000242

*PETA*

[Redacted]

b6

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From:

[Redacted]

Sent: Friday, October 22, 2004 5:10 PM

To:

[Redacted]

Subject: CFC

**UNCLASSIFIED**  
**NON-RECORD**

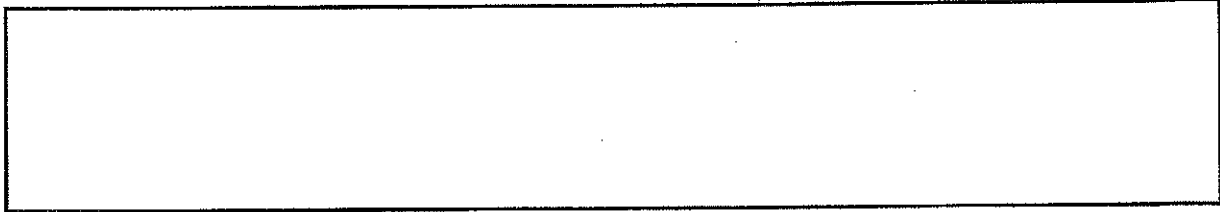
Go on line to [www.bestcfc.org](http://www.bestcfc.org), and check out "the BEST Animal Charities", PETA, In Defense of Animals, Vegan Outreach and other DT targets as they collect money from federal employees for their DT objectives!

**UNCLASSIFIED**

000283

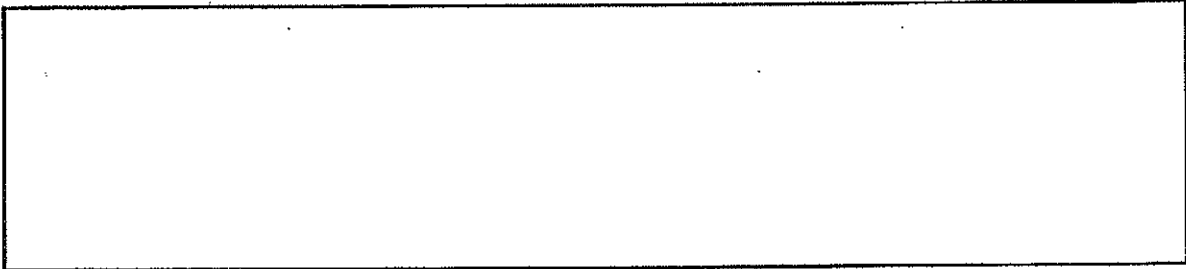


OTHER outside scope



**Current Situation:**

OTHER outside scope



[redacted] general

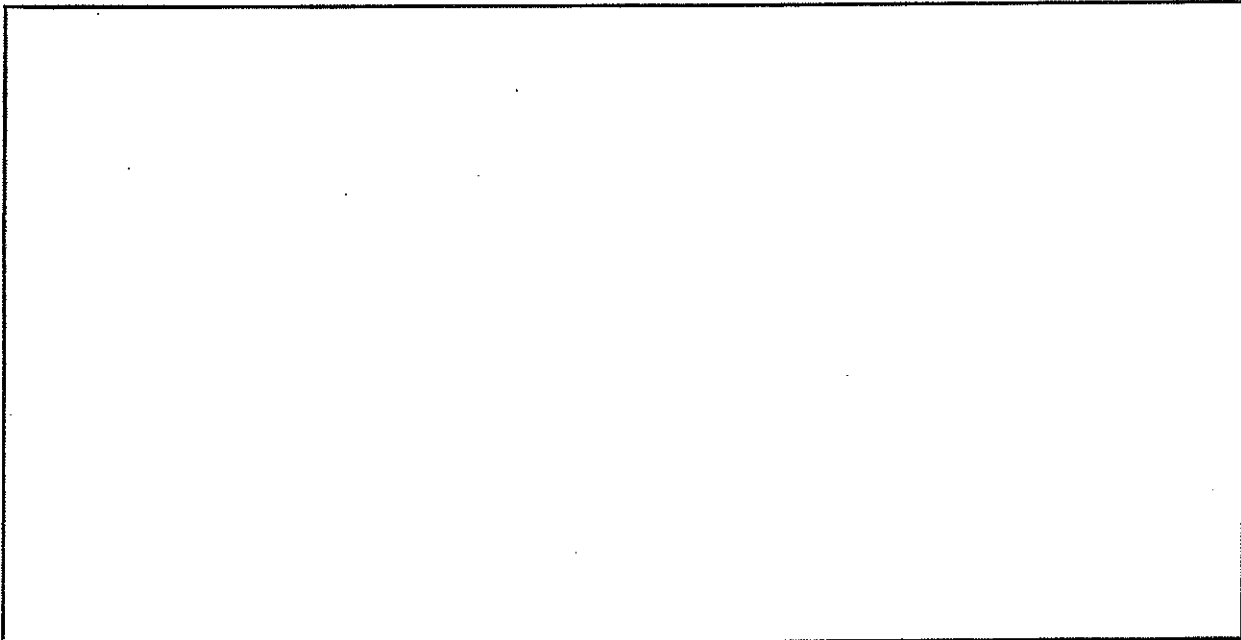
intelligence regarding [redacted]

[redacted] upcoming "Vegan Community Project", scheduled to occur on 04/02/03, and hosted by the recently appointed, "official, national lecturer" for PETA, Gary Yourofsky. This gathering is to occur on the Bloomington, In., campus at Indiana University Memorial Union, Maple Room, from 7-10pm. A surveillance is planned [redacted]

b6  
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b7E



[redacted] Occasional spot checks and surveillances are being conducted.



b7A

OTHER outside scope

000124

[Redacted]

b6

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From:

[Redacted]

Sent: Wednesday, August 25, 2004 11:35 AM

To:

[Redacted]

Subject: FW: PETA Protest

UNCLASSIFIED  
NON-RECORD

FYI.

-----Original Message-----

From:

[Redacted]

b6

Sent: Wednesday, August 25, 2004 11:29 AM

To:

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

Subject: PETA Protest

UNCLASSIFIED  
NON-RECORD

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A news report stated that model and former PETA spokesperson Cindy Crawford has jumped ship and become a llama fur spokesperson. PETA plans to protest [Redacted] bar/nightclubs in NYC, Whiskey Sky etc. However [Redacted] if you hear anything about the LV location, please let me know.

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

000265

4/13/2005

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 06/04/2002

To: Counterterrorism  
Denver

Attn: DTOU  
Special Events Management Unit  
Attn: Grand Junction RA  
SA [redacted]

b6

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From: Denver

Squad 12/ CSRA  
Contact: SA [redacted]

Approved By: [redacted] *wj/dtl*

b2

Drafted By: [redacted] *wj*

b6

Case ID #: 300A-DN-~~NEW~~ 61175

b7C

Title: NORTH AMERICAN WHOLESALE LUMBER ASSOCIATION  
BROADMOOR HOTEL, COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO  
6/10-12/2002

Synopsis: Request case be opened and assigned

Details: On June 10-12, 2002, the North American Wholesale Lumber Association (NAWLA) will hold it's annual meeting at the Broadmoor Hotel, Colorado Springs, Colorado. President and CEO Nicholas R. Kent, telephone number 1-800-527-8258, advised that NAWLA has had 110 annual meetings and expects 250 attendees at the Broadmoor Hotel. NAWLA represents wholesale lumber companies in the United States.

Investigation has revealed that a "training camp" will take place in the Pikes Peak National Forest from 6/7-9/2002. The purpose of the training is to "learn non-violent methods of forest defense, offering workshops in climbing, blockades, organizing, security culture, street theater and banner making. Internet traffic indicates scheduled protest activity beginning on Monday June 10, 2002 at the City Park, Colorado Springs, Colorado and continuing throughout the NAWLA meeting.

A meeting was held on 6/4/02 with members of the Colorado Springs Police Department, Broadmoor Hotel Security, U.S. Forest Service and the FBI regarding the potential protest.

Writer request case be opened and assigned.

b6

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*6-4-02*  
*08A*  
*AP/DC*  
*more*  
*Assn*  
*up*  
*PI-120*

300A-DN-61175-1

To: Counterterrorism From: Denver  
Re: 300A-DN-NEW, 06/04/2002

LEAD (s):

Set Lead 1: (Adm)

COUNTERTERRORISM

AT WASHINGTON, DC

Read and Clear

Set Lead 2: (Adm)

DENVER

AT GRAND JUNCTION, COLORADO

Read and Clear

Set Lead 3: (Adm)

AT COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORAD

Writer request case be opened and assigned

◆◆

Handwritten initials: ASE'd

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 01/29/2002

To: Detroit

Attn: SSA [redacted]  
SSRAs/SRAS

From: Detroit

Squad CI-2

Contact: SA [redacted]

b2

b7C

Approved By: [redacted]

b6

Drafted By: [redacted]

tjs

Case ID #: <sup>33-</sup>✓266A-DE-0 (Pending)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 06-29-2005 BY 60309AUctam/dcg/cad

Title: DOMESTIC TERRORISM SYMPOSIUM

Synopsis: To claim statistical accomplishment.

Details: On 01/23/2002 at 10:00 a.m. SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] attended a Domestic Terrorism Symposium that was hosted by D/TRP [redacted] of the Michigan State Police Criminal Intelligence Unit.

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Others attending the meeting were officials from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), United States Secret Service (USSS), Michigan Department of Corrections (MDOC), Michigan State University Public Safety, Michigan National Guard/Army Reserve and Michigan State Police.

Handwritten circled text: AZ TDS

The purpose of the meeting was to keep the local, state and federal law enforcement agencies apprised of the activities of the various groups and individuals within the state of Michigan who are thought to be involved in terrorist activities.

Detective [redacted] presented information on The Aryan World Church, web address www.aryanworldchurch.com, a Christian based white supremacist group from Dodgeville, Michigan. This group was founded by David Gregg Donnelly Jr., 86 Main Street, Dodgeville, Michigan. Michigan State Police has no other information on the group at this time, but they are continually attempting to gather more information on the group.

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Detective [redacted] also, presented information on a meeting to be held on February 24, 2002 at the Holiday Inn Express, 46194 North I-94 Service Road, Belleville, Michigan, by the Christian Identity. The principle speaker for this event will be Pastor Pete J. Peters leader of the Christian Identity.

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Handwritten number: 266-0-355

To: Detroit From: Detroit  
Re: 266A-DE-0, 01/29/2002

Detective [redacted] presented information on a protest from February 8-10, 2002 in Ann Arbor, Michigan, by the group Any Means Necessary. Michigan State Police has information that in the past demonstrations by this group have been peaceful.

Finally, Detective [redacted] presented information that ALF/ELF has declared February 12, 2002 as a day of action. It is thought that any demonstrations on this day will be to protest the trial of a prominent ALF/ELF member. Detective [redacted] will provide more information when available.

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[redacted] Michigan State University (MSU) Public Safety, presented information on a group called East Lansing Animal Rights Movement (ELARM). This group is similar to and may have links to ALF/ELF. The [redacted] student at MSU. MSU Public Safety feels that this group has approximately 12-15 members at this time.

[redacted] had information that ELARM has also been linked to the Direct Action Group (DA). This group is [redacted] and protests perceived injustices by law enforcement. Both ELARM and DA protested the FBI Lansing RA on Friday, January 19, 2002.

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Special Agent [redacted] from the FBI Bay City RA presented information that [redacted] is in the process of reforming the Michigan Militia. SA [redacted] will provide more information when available.

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[redacted] Sergeant MDOC, reported that the MDOC has 100 confirmed inmates with 5% Nation tattoos. The 5% Nation is a radical splinter group of the Nation of Islam. [redacted] also had information that the 5% Nation has a school in the Detroit area named D-Mecca.

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Special Agent [redacted] Detroit FBI, presented information pertaining to an FBIHQ, CTD alert sent to all FBI offices in reference to the Salt Lake City Winter Olympics and the fact that right wing and left wing extremist groups may target each other at these games. SA [redacted] requested help in obtaining any information on threats referenced to the Salt Lake City Olympic Games.

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The meeting closed at approximately 11:00 a.m. and a tentative date was set for the next meeting on 04/18/2002 at 10:00 a.m.

To: Detroit From: Detroit  
Re: 266A-DE-0, 01/29/2002

**Accomplishment Information:**

Number: 1  
Type: POSITIVE INTELLIGENCE (DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI)  
ITU: LIAISON WITH OTHER AGENCY  
ITU: LIAISON WITHIN FBI  
Claimed By:  
SSN:   
Name:   
Squad: CI2

Number: 1  
Type: POSITIVE INTELLIGENCE (DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI)  
ITU: LIAISON WITH OTHER AGENCY  
ITU: LIAISON WITHIN FBI  
Claimed By:  
SSN:   
Name:   
Squad: CI2

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b7C

◆◆



Welcome, mspfdciu (mspfddciu · mspfdciu@yahoo.com)

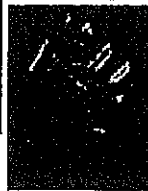
[Start a Group](#) - [My Groups](#) - [Sign Out](#)

**CincinnatiDA** · Cincinnati Direct Action

Group Member [ [Edit My Membership](#) ]



**Description**



**Category: Issues and Causes**  
Organizing of Direct Action demonstrations and protests going on in the Cincinnati area. Resource for anyone planning or attending Direct Action in Cincinnati.

**Membership**

You are a member of this group

[ [Edit My Membersh](#) ]  
[ [Leave Group](#) ]

**Group Info**

Members: 103  
Founded: Sep 6, 200  
Language: English

**Group Settings**

- Listed in directory
- Open membership
- Unmoderated
- All members may post
- Archives for members only
- Email attachments are permitted

- ▶ [Home](#)
- [Messages](#)
- [Post](#)
- [Chat](#)
- [Files](#)
- [Photos](#)
- [Bookmarks](#)
- [Database](#)
- [Polls](#)
- [Members](#)
- [Calendar](#)
- [Promote](#)

**Most Recent Messages**

- Jan 22 [Somalia - bgarry](#)  
...
- Jan 22 [Tom Daschle Letter to George W. Bush - truthout](#)  
truthout | 01.23 Tom Daschle Letter to George W. Bush  
<http://www.tr>
- Jan 22 [people going to NYC for anti-WEF - salem](#)  
Hello, I am writing a story for Citybeat about the protests in NYC aga
- Jan 22 [Fwd: Brazil: capitalists murder socialist mayor - akronaction](#)  
--- In ohioleft@y..., "akronaction" <akronaction@y...> wrote:
- Jan 21 [Andersen Top Bush Donor - truthout](#)  
truthout | 01.22 Andersen Top Bush Donor  
<http://www.truthout.com/01>

- ★ = Owner
- ☆ = Moderator
- ☺ = Online



	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
2002	<a href="#">50</a>											
2001	<a href="#">67</a>	<a href="#">51</a>	<a href="#">57</a>	<a href="#">118</a>	<a href="#">84</a>	<a href="#">90</a>	<a href="#">121</a>	<a href="#">77</a>	<a href="#">88</a>	<a href="#">109</a>	<a href="#">90</a>	<a href="#">80</a>
2000									<a href="#">78</a>	<a href="#">201</a>	<a href="#">233</a>	<a href="#">104</a>

**Group Email Addresses**

- Post: CincinnatiDA@yahoogroups.com
- Subscribe: CincinnatiDA-subscribe@yahoogroups.com
- Unsubscribe: CincinnatiDA-
- List owner: CincinnatiDA-owner@yahoogroups.com



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 06/18/2002

To: Counterterrorism

Attn: SSA [redacted]  
DTCU

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From: Denver

Squad 5

Contact: SA [redacted]

Det. [redacted]

b7C

b6

*2/1*  
*John*

Approved By: [redacted]

b7C

Drafted By: [redacted]

b6

✓ Case ID #: 266A-DN-NEW

Title: UNSUB(S);  
COLUMBUS DAY THREATS  
DENVER, COLORADO  
OCTOBER, 2002.  
AOT - DT - VC

*DA*

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*102*  
*open by*

Synopsis: Open and assign investigation.

Preliminary Inquiry Instituted: 06/18/2002, set to expire 12/15/2002.

Enclosure(s): Copy of "Call to Action Against Columbus Day 2002."

Details: Denver has received information from [redacted] indicating that a "call to action" for a convergence against Columbus Day in Denver, October, 2002, has been issued. Such "Call to Action" was posted on the Mile High Resistance website and forwarded by e-mail to anti-capitalist groups around the country. A copy is attached.

b7D

The "Call to Action" is for a week-long anti-capitalist convergence to "attack and confront colonialism." It includes the statement: "We will humble ourselves if asked by our allies, and we will strike with fury and passion when needed."

CS has also received information that [redacted]

[redacted] reports that the Phoenix Anarchist Coalition has issued "A Call for West Coast Anarchist Solidarity" on the Internet. The posting notes that "There will be two large scale

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266A-DN-61216-  
1

To: Counterterrorism From: Denver  
Re: 266A-DN-NEW, 06/18/2002

actions this year, both confronting the imperialism of the United States, one in Washington, D.C. . . . and the other in Denver."

In October, 2001, similar Internet postings called for a large gathering of anarchist and other groups to converge in Denver to protest the Columbus Day Parade. On 10/06/2001, a large group wearing black clothing, masks and goggles joined in the All Nations March. The group of about 50 carried anarchist flags and banners, including a large banner for the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Bloc (RAIB). The march and subsequent rally at the State Capitol was uneventful, largely due to the police presence. One RAIB member was arrested before the march began.

A group known as The Dandelion Center has obtained state permits to conduct a press conference and demonstrations to celebrate cultural diversity from the west steps of the State Capitol Building on October 11-14, 2002. The permit applications identify [redacted]

[redacted] of the American Indian Movement (AIM). In October, 2000, and AIM called for protests and civil disobedience against the Columbus Day Parade that resulted in the arrest of 141 protestors.

The Denver Italian American Anti-Discrimination Association has obtained state permits to conduct multi-cultural/historical events from the east steps of the State Capitol Building on October 12-14, 2002. The permit applications indicate that the Italian American group expects "AIM, Barrior Warriors, La Raza, etc." to disrupt their events.

[redacted] has provided information that Rocky Mountain Animal Defense [redacted]

Although the majority of demonstrators at the Columbus Day events will be peaceful, a small fraction of individuals intent on causing violence and property damage can be expected. Due to the possible national participation and potential for protests that have disrupted the Columbus Day events in the past, Denver anticipates similar activity this year.

Accordingly, writer requests that a PI be opened and assigned to allow for identification and investigation of individuals planning criminal activity during Columbus Day, October, 2002.

To: Counterterrorism From: Denver  
Re: 266A-DN-NEW 06/18/2002

LEAD(s):

Set Lead 1:

COUNTERTERRORISM

AT WASHINGTON, DC

Read and clear.

◆◆

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 05/23/2001

To: Los Angeles

From: Los Angeles

SMRA

Contact: SA [redacted]

Approved By: [redacted]

Drafted By: [redacted]

j1z

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Case ID #: 266D-LA-226745 (Pending)

Title: CHANGED  
UNSUBS;

[redacted]

b6

SANTA CRUZ DIRECT ACTION COALITION;  
GREENPEACE;  
GLOBAL NETWORK AGAINST WEAPONS  
AND NUCLEAR POWER IN SPACE;  
RUKUS;  
CATHOLIC WORKERS GROUP;  
VANDENBERG ACTION COALITION;  
AOT-DT-GRC

b7C

Synopsis: Change title. Information on Rukus and Catholic Workers Group.

Previous Title: Title marked "Changed" to reflect the addition of Rukus and Catholic Workers Group. Title previously carried as

UNSUBS;

[redacted]

b6

SANTA CRUZ DIRECT ACTION COALITION;  
GREENPEACE;  
GLOBAL NETWORK AGAINST WEAPONS  
AND NUCLEAR POWER IN SPACE;  
VANDENBERG ACTION COALITION;  
AOT-DT-GRC.

b7C

Details: On 05/19/2001, a protest occurred at Vandenberg Air Force Base against the National Missile Defense (NMD) system. Vandenberg Air Force Base Office of Special Investigations Special Agent [redacted] advised that according to his reliable source [redacted]

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[redacted] According to the source, the

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266D-LA-226745-11

17/23.01

000670

To: Los Angeles From: Los Angeles  
Re: 266D-LA-226745, 05/23/2001

[redacted]  
[redacted] The author observed four protestors grouped amongst the approximately 225 protestors that were advocating confrontation with the Air Force police. Two of these four protestors wore a bandana over their face. According to the source, [redacted]  
[redacted]

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ACS shows entries on Rukus in San Diego, CA. According to a San Diego source, Rukus members are interested in confrontational protests, advocate property damage, advocate anarchy and were a factor in the 2001 Seattle World Trade Organization protest that turned violent. Based on the author's observation, Rukus members were advocating an end to capitalism in America.

The Catholic Workers Group (CWG) is based in Los Angeles, CA. According to one arrestee, [redacted] (PROTECT), CWG advocates love and peace thru prayer. [redacted] and another CWG protestor, [redacted] advocated impeding NMD launches thru non-violent civil disobedience. Based on the author's interpretation of comments made by various CWG protestors, CWG also advocates a communist distribution of resources.

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ACS listings on CWG were not contributory to this investigation.

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STG JN 100

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 12/07/2004

To: Denver

From: Denver

Squad 5/JTTF

Contact: SA [redacted]

Approved By: [redacted]

b2

*gub* Drafted By: [redacted] jmh

b7C

(1)  
Jub

Case ID #: 266A-DN-63085 -39 (Pending)

Title: [redacted]

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS DENVER (ABCD);  
AOT-DT-VC-CIVIL DISORDER

**Synopsis:** To document information regarding Sarah Bardwell and Food Not Bombs.

**Details:** As previously noted in serial 4, Colorado has several active Food Not Bombs (FNB) groups in Denver, Boulder, Fort Collins and Durango. On August 1, 2003, eight individuals were arrested at the so-called Denver FNB house at 1435 Lipan Street. The charges included obstruction police/fire, disturbing the peace, resisting arrest and assault. These arrests were noted in this investigation due to (i) the close association between FNB and the Anarchist Black Cross movement and (ii) the close proximity of the FNB house to 923 Lipan Street, the location of the Anarchist Black Cross Denver.

On March 20, 2004, three individuals were arrested by the Denver Police Department for crimes committed during an anti-war protest at the Federal Building, 19th and Stout. The police report noted that the protest was sponsored by Coloradans Opposing War. Sarah Rina Bardwell, 1065 Lipan Street, was identified as a point of contact for the protest organizers. Routine records checks identified Bardwell as a white female, DOB 06/02/1983, [redacted], with no criminal history. Her address, 1065 Lipan Street, was found to be associated with FNB and Derailer Bicycle Collective. This address was of interest to this investigation for the same reasons noted above. In addition, writer recalled that the Derailer group hosted a meeting place during the Columbus Day protests in Denver in October 2002.

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 08/02/2004

To: St. Louis

Attn: SA [redacted]

From: Denver

Squad 5/JTTF

Contact: SA [redacted]

Approved By: [redacted]

Drafted By: [redacted]

jmb

Case ID #: 266A-SL-189880 (Pending)

266A-DN-63085 (Pending)

b2

b7C

*Handwritten initials/signature*

Title:

[redacted]

DT - DTO

[redacted]

et al, dba

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS DENVER (ABCD)

Synopsis: To document leads covered by Denver Division

Reference: 266A-SL-189880 Serial 3

Details: Referenced EC set several leads for the Denver Division to conduct pretext interviews to gain general information concerning possible criminal activity at the upcoming political conventions and presidential election

Lead 2, to locate and interview [redacted]

[redacted] was completed on 07/22/2004. [redacted] other residents were also contacted at that address and voluntarily identified themselves as [redacted]

[redacted]

None of the residents provided information concerning possible criminal activity at the election events. [redacted] of the residents, [redacted] were found to

266A DN-63085-25

To: St. Louis From: Denver  
Re: 266A-SL-189880, 08/02/2004

have outstanding local warrants and were arrested by the Denver Police Department at the conclusion of the interviews.

Lead 3 to locate and interview persons at other addresses in Denver was partially successful in that six individuals were contacted at 1065 Lipan Street, but they refused to identify themselves or consent to an interview. Investigation confirmed that this is the current location of Food Not Bombs and Defailer Bicycle Collective. A subsequent newspaper article confirmed that one of the residents at such address is Sarah Bardwell, DOB 06/02/1983.

No contacts were made at 1435 Lipan Street as such residence was vacant and under renovation. No contacts were attempted at Breakdown Book Collective and Community Space, 1409 Ogden Street, as the purpose of the interviews was served by the contacts made at the two residences.

b7C

Leads 4 and 5 to attempt to locate and interview [redacted] were completed by agents in those RAs [redacted] consented to an interview



To: St. Louis Field: Denver  
Re: 2004 SL-189880, 08/02/2004

LEAD(s):

Set Lead 1: (Info)

ST. LOUIS

AT KIRKSVILLE, MO

Read and clear

◆◆

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: PRIORITY

Date: 10/14/2003

To: Counterterrorism Division

Attn: Domestic Terrorism  
Operations Unit,  
Special Events-

Atlanta

SSA [Redacted]  
SSA [Redacted]

Info

From: Atlanta  
Columbus Resident Agency (CRA)

Contact: SA [Redacted]

Approved By: [Redacted]

b6

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Drafted By: [Redacted] ra

Case ID #: 266D-AT-90739 (Pending) -62

Title: SCHOOL OF AMERICAS WATCH;  
CGR-FT. BENNING, GA;  
UNLAWFUL ENTRY ON A  
MILITARY RESERVATION;  
11/21-23/03;

Synopsis: To advise FBIHQ of the annual scheduled demonstration that will occur in Columbus and the Ft. Benning, Georgia Military reservation during the week of 11/21-23/03.

Details: The annual School of Americas (SOA) WATCH protest is scheduled for the weekend of November 21-23, 2003. In the past, the event has drawn between 6,000 to 10,000 protestors. The culmination of the protest is on Sunday, November 23, 2003.

By way of background, ROY BOURGEOIS a CATHOLIC priest was the founder and leader of this protest since its inception in 1988. The event has grown dramatically during the past several years attracting college students and others sympathetic to the issue. The primary issue of the protest is the funding and training by the Department Of Defense (DOD) and the Department of State of Latin American military officers at the Ft. Benning, Ga. military installation. This event draws protestors who object to human rights violation conducted in these countrys, and more specifically, to the event in which a group of Catholic missionaries were murdered in Central America. The SOA WATCH

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To: Counterterrorism Division From: Atlanta  
Re: 266D-AT-90739, 10/14/2003

group determined that SOA graduates took part in this crime or had knowledge related to the murders.

The leaders of the SOA Watch have taken strides to impart upon the protest participants that the protest should be a peaceful event. As the size of the event has grown, the leaders control has been strained. Part of the groups tactics has been and likely remain to have a number of willing participants arrested on misdemeanor trespassing charges. Those charged are taken before a U.S. Magistrate for a hearing. The protestors use the hearing to garner press coverage and further their views. The 2002 protest resulted in eighty two arrests for trespassing.

Ft. Benning authorities constructed a chain link fence and the gate at the Main entrance which is closed during the event. The Columbus Police Department (CPD) has primary crowd control responsibilities. CPD is dedicating approximately [redacted] officers for this event. The military utilizes a combination of Department of Defense (DOD) law enforcement officers and Military Police (MPs) to secure the post.

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The CRA monitors the event and serves in a liaison capacity with the local and military authorities. Should any of the protestors actions rise to the level of felony violations, the CRA will handle those matters.

To: Counterterrorism Division From: Atlanta  
Re: 266D-AT-90739, 10/14/2003

LEAD(s):

Set Lead 1: (Action)

COUNTERTERRORISM

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

AT FBIHQ- DOMESTIC OPERATIONS UNIT



Set Lead 2: (Action)

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COUNTERTERRORISM

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

AT FBIHQ-SPECIAL EVENTS

For info and appropriate dissemination.

Set Lead 3: (Info)

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

For information, read and clear.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: PRIORITY

Date: 10/23/2003

To: Counterterrorism

Attn: Domestic Terrorism  
Operations Unit,  
Special Events-  
SSA [redacted]

Atlanta

Attn: SSA [redacted] Info

Miami

Attn: Counterterrorism  
Domestic Terrorism

From: Atlanta  
Columbus Resident Agency (CRA)

Contact: SA [redacted]

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Approved By:

[redacted]  
[redacted] *gdg*

Drafted By:

[redacted] gdg

Case ID #: 266D-AT-90739 (Pending)

Title: SCHOOL OF AMERICAS WATCH;  
CGR-FT. BENNING, GA;  
UNLAWFUL ENTRY ON A  
MILITARY RESERVATION;  
11/21-23/03 ;

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Synopsis:

[redacted]

Details:

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 01-05-2006 BY 60309/AUC/TAM/DCG/YM

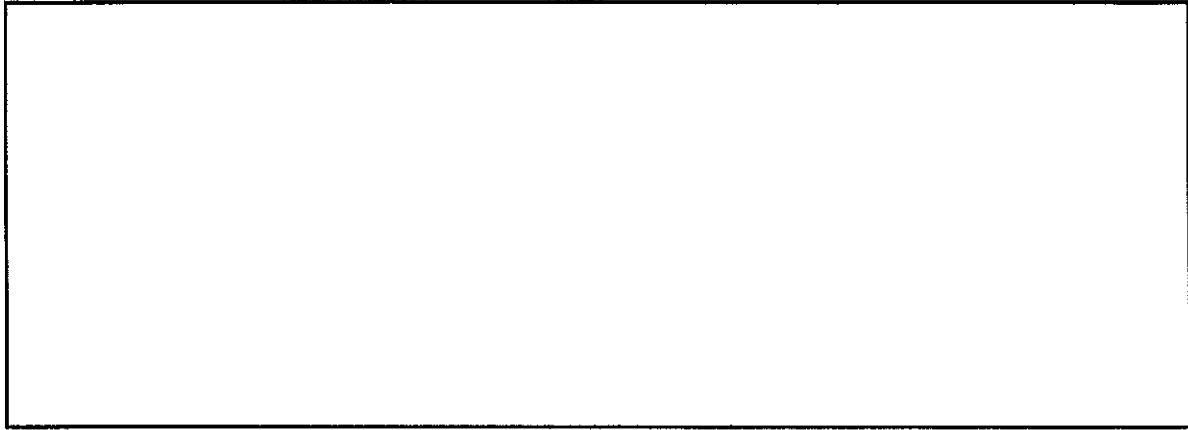
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266D-AT-90739-63

To: Counterterrorism From: Atlanta  
Re: 266D-AT-90739, 10/23/2003



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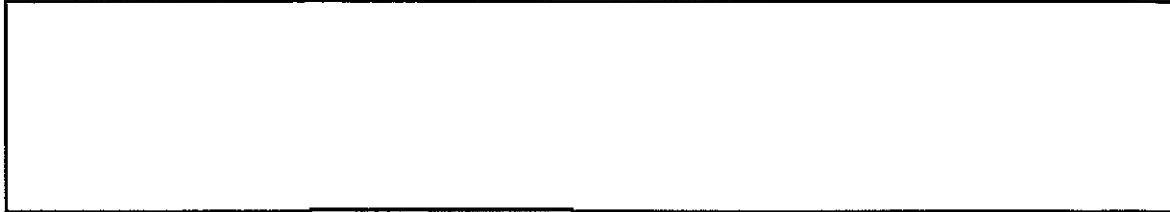
To: Counterterrorism From: Atlanta  
Re: 266D-AT-90739, 10/23/2003

LEAD(s):

Set Lead 1: (Action)

MIAMI

AT MIAMI, FLORIDA



telephone number



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