



***FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION***

***FREEDOM OF INFORMATION / PRIVACY  
ACTS RELEASE***

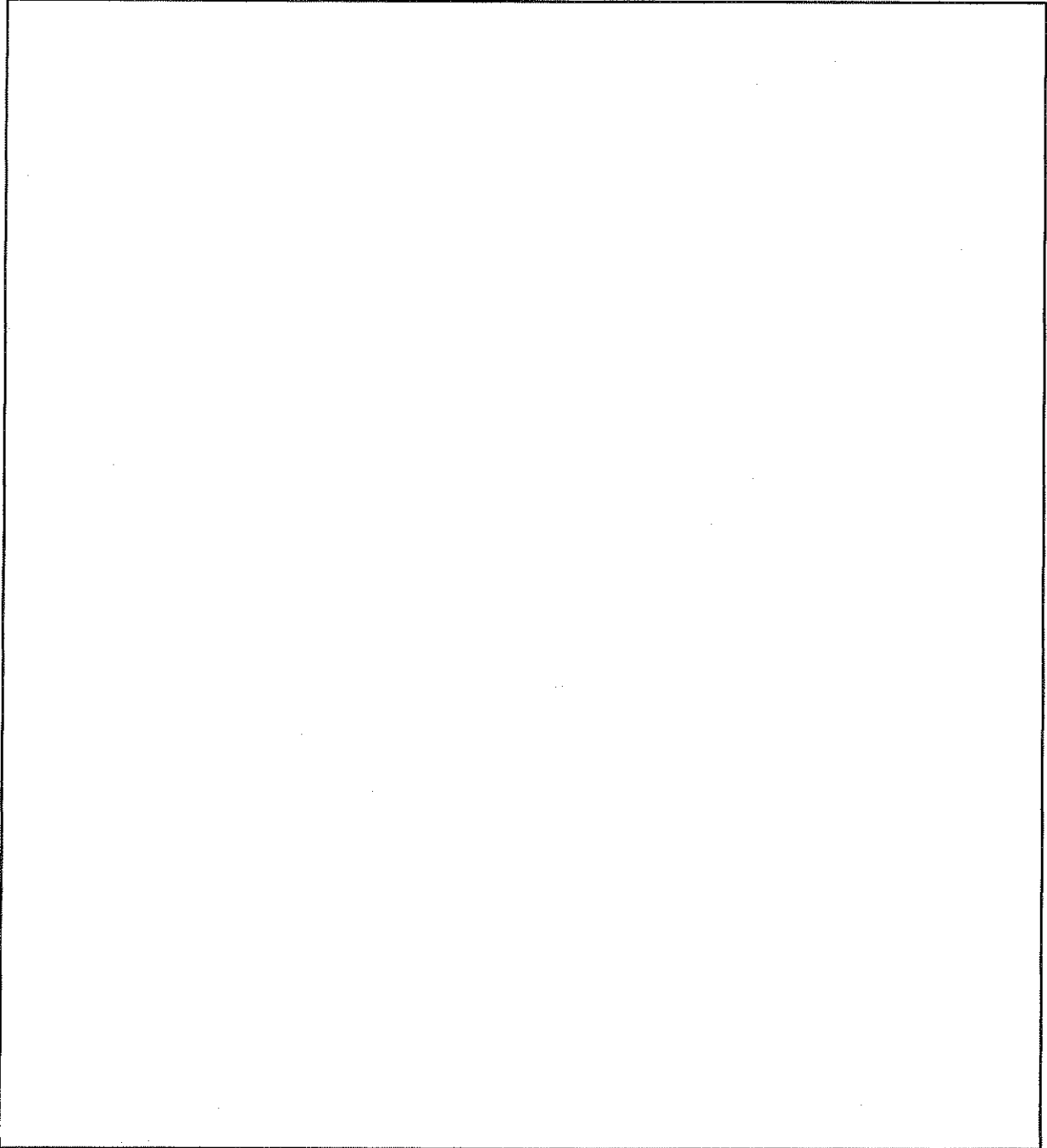
***SUBJECT: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
PETA***

***FILE NUMBER / DOCUMENT: DTOU PETA Documents  
Section (s) 4***



b5

OTHER outside scope



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.

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b6

b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted] with People for the  
Ethical Treatment of Animals. [Redacted]

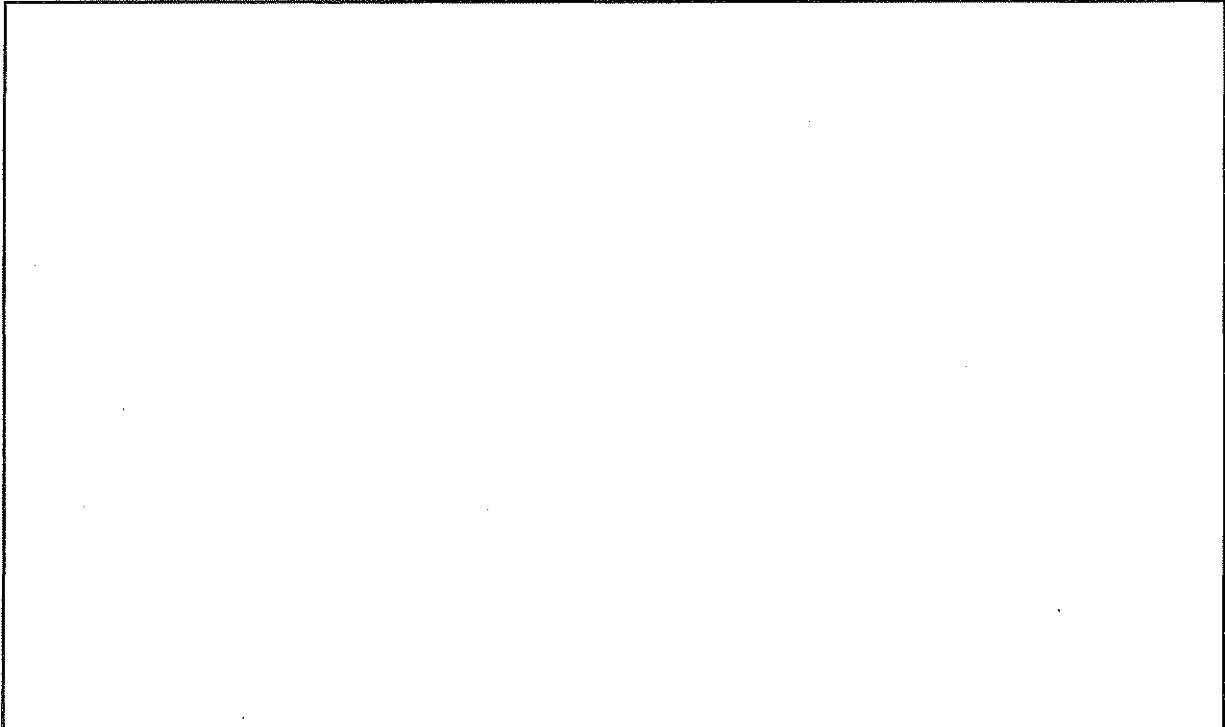
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[Redacted]

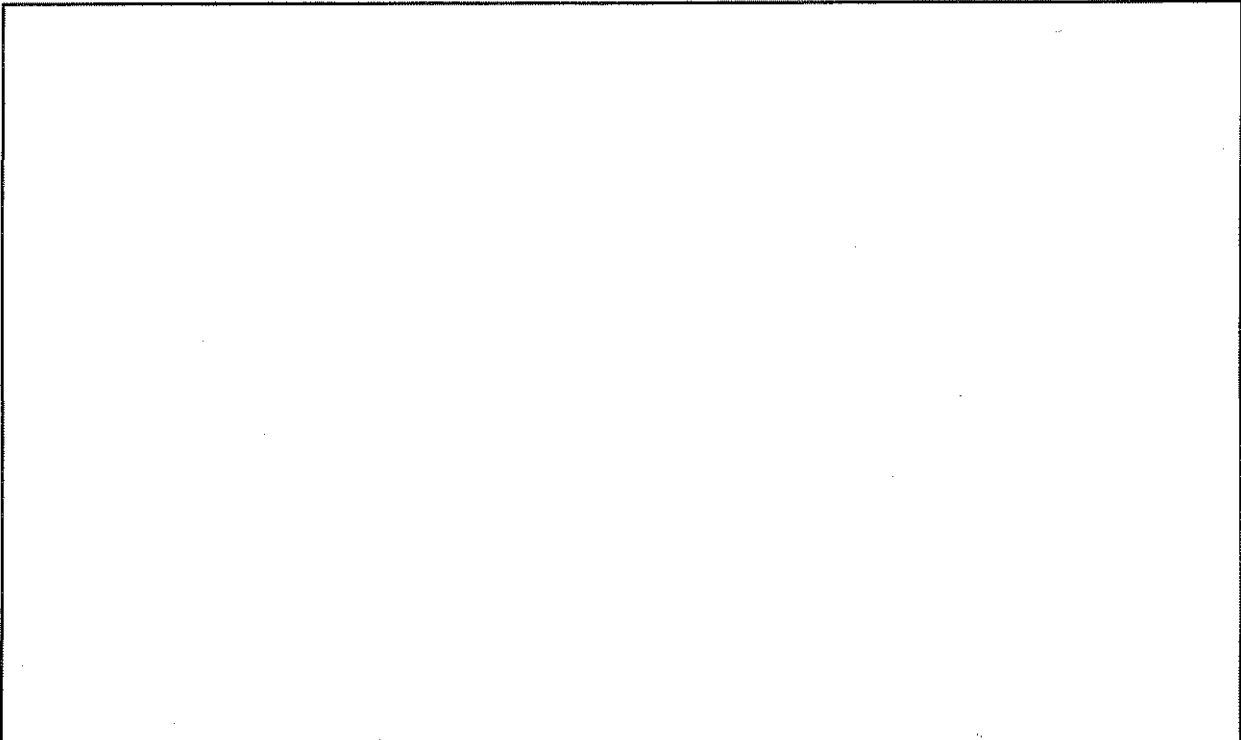
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OTHER Outside the scope



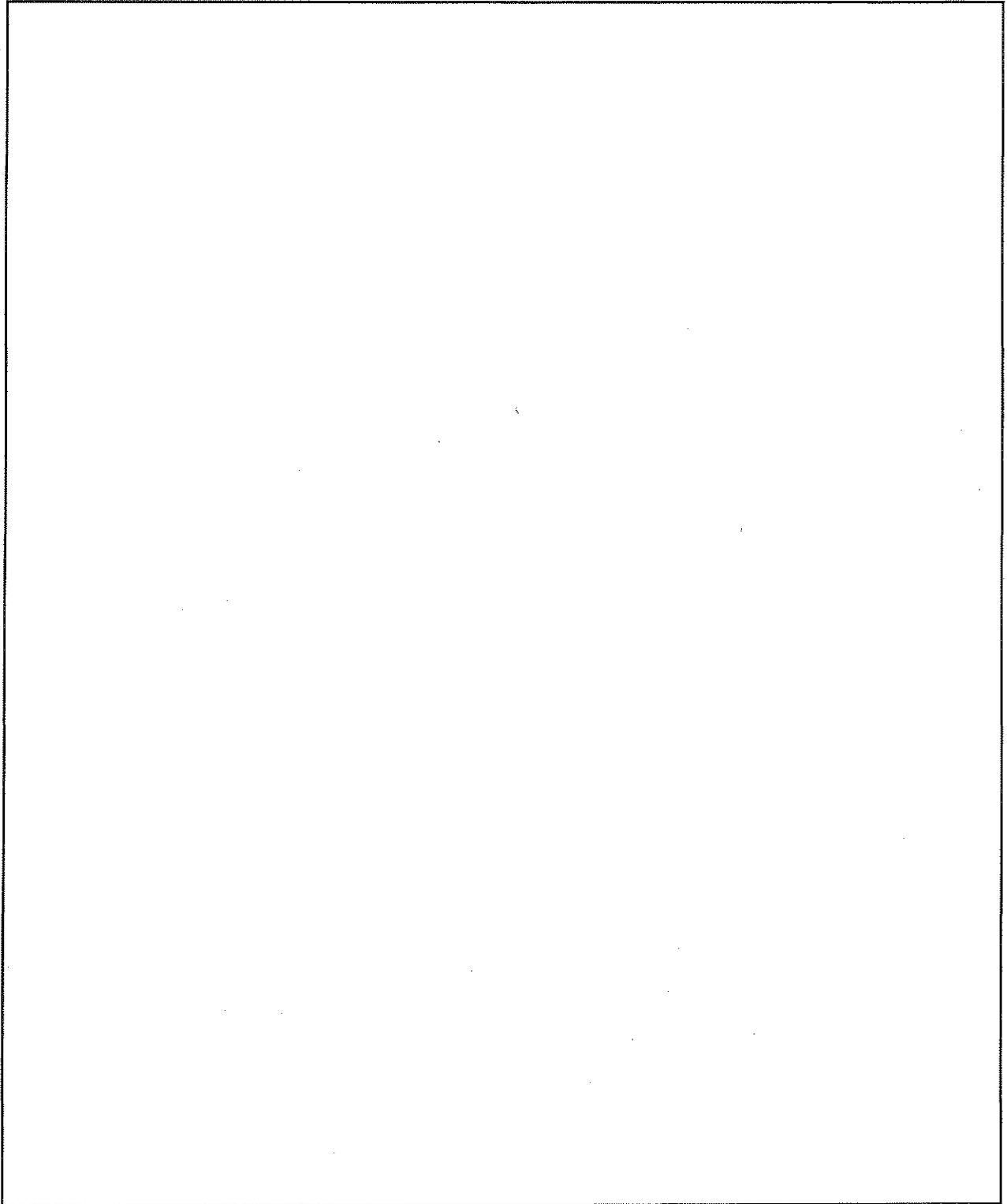
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OTHER Outside the scope

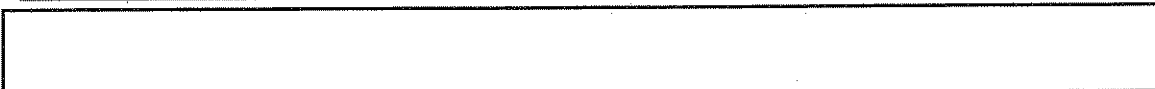
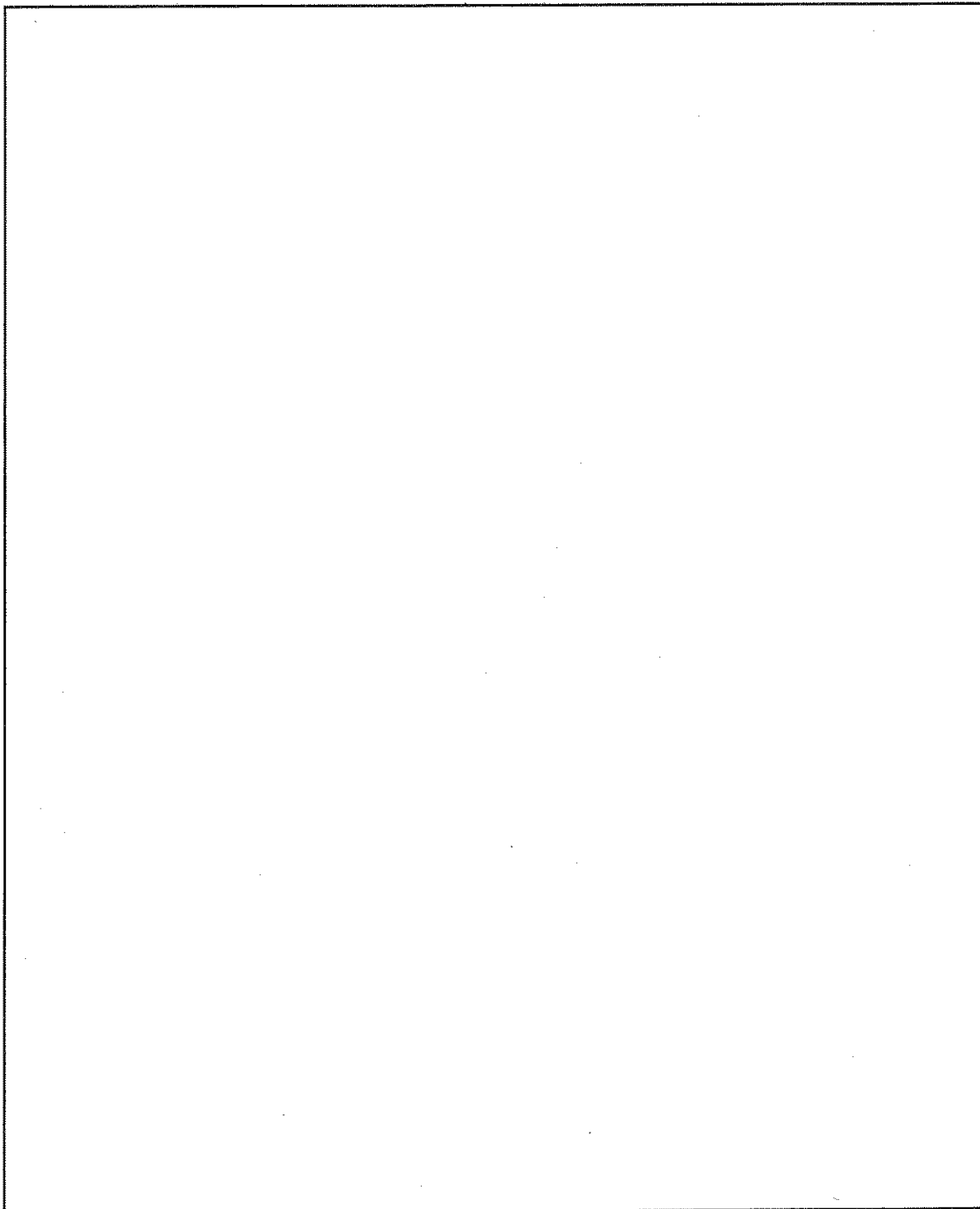
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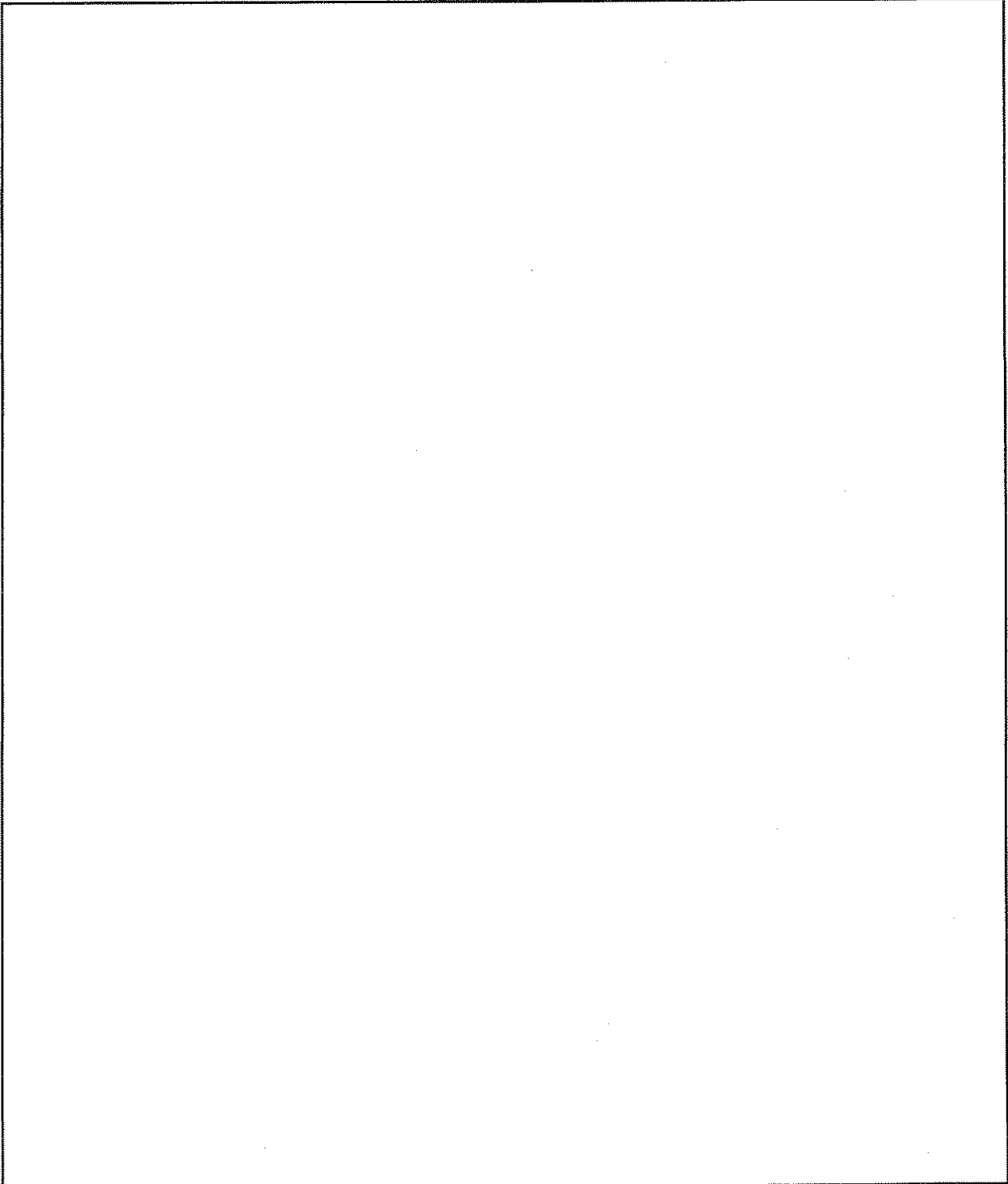
OTHER Outside the scope

OTHER Outside the scope



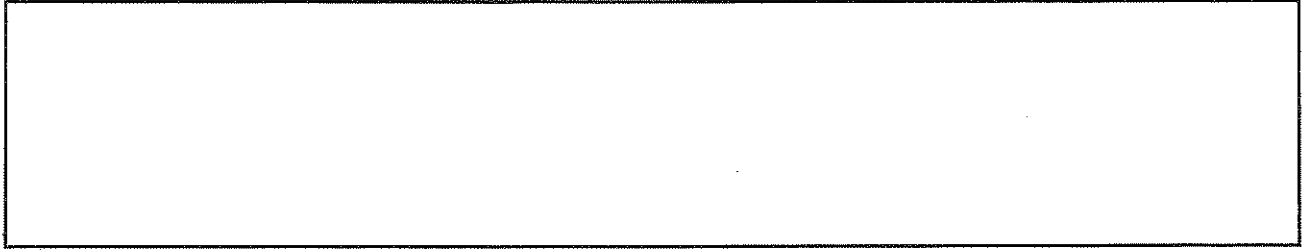
b5

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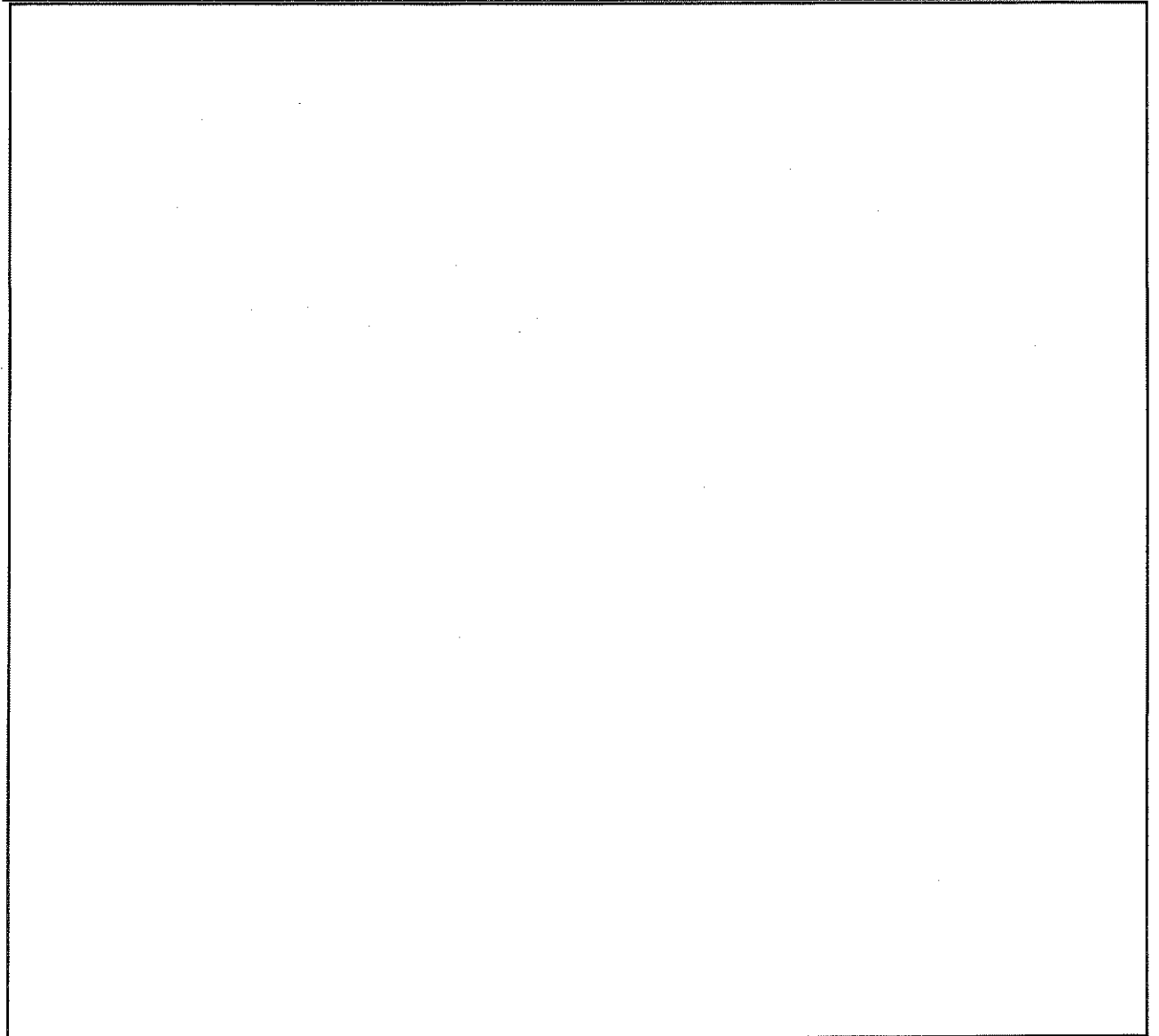
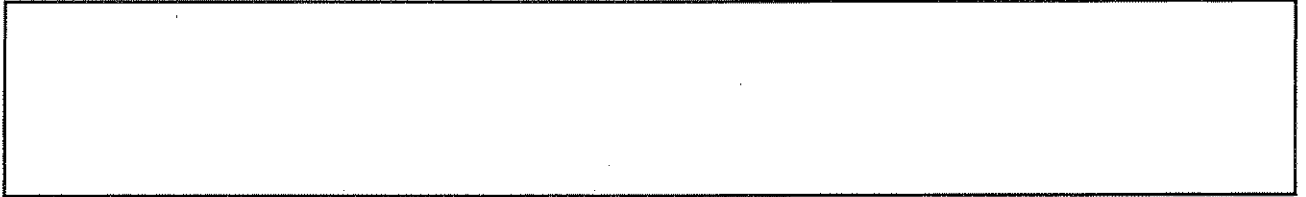


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OTHER Outside the scope



b5  
b6  
b7C



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***FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION***

***FREEDOM OF INFORMATION / PRIVACY  
ACTS RELEASE***

***SUBJECT: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
PETA***

***FILE NUMBER / DOCUMENT: DTOU PETA Documents  
Section (s) 6***



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Serial Description ~ COVER SHEET

02/26/2001

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 7

Page 102 ~ b3  
Page 103 ~ b3  
Page 104 ~ b3, b6, b7C  
Page 105 ~ b3, b6, b7C  
Page 106 ~ b3  
Page 107 ~ b3  
Page 108 ~ b3

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X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X for this Page X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

000140

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 02/26/2001

To: Counterterrorism

Attn: SSA [redacted]

All Field Offices

b7C

b6

From: Norfolk  
CJR Squad 6

Contact: SA [redacted]

Approved By: [redacted]

b6

Drafted By: [redacted]

b7C

Case ID #: [redacted]

(Pending) - 783

Title: [redacted]

OTHER Outside the scope

b7A

[redacted]

[redacted]

OTHER Outside the scope

*\* Plz ensure lead closed in ACS*

[redacted]

b6

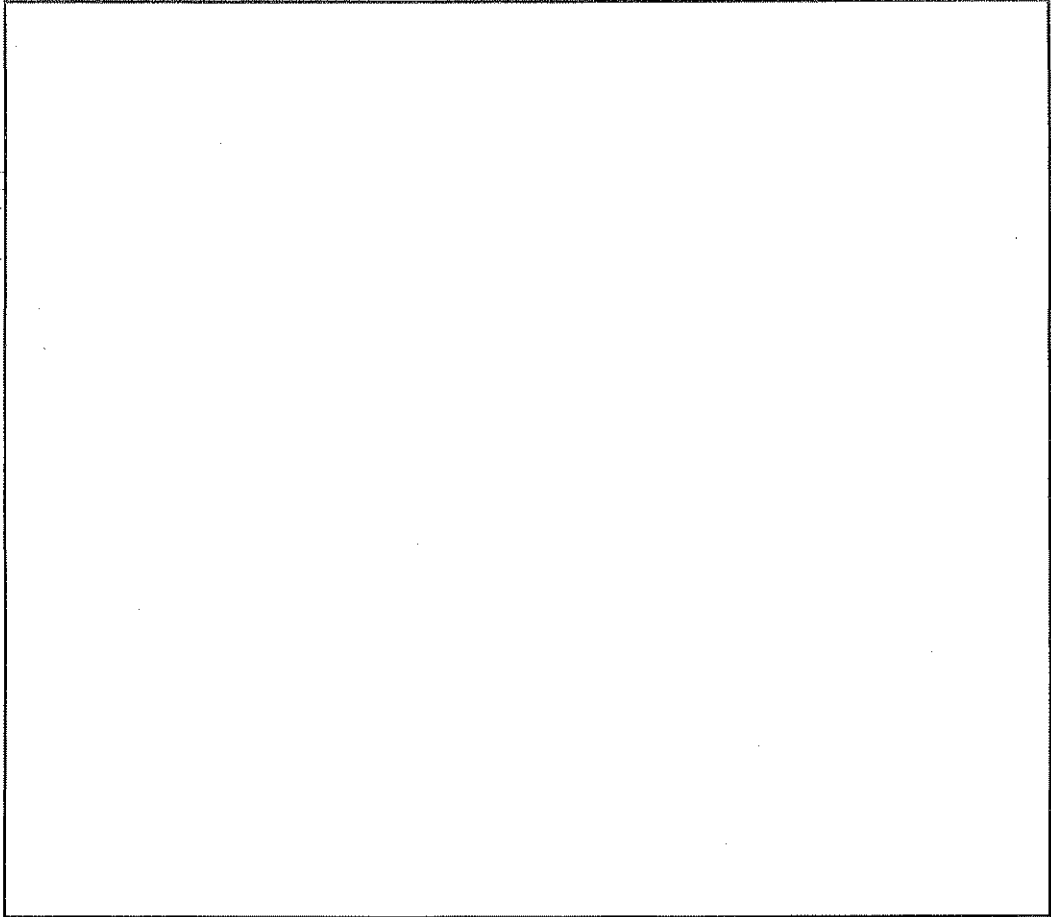
b7C

000141

Pete

To: Counterterrorism From: Norfolk  
Re: [redacted] 02/26/2001

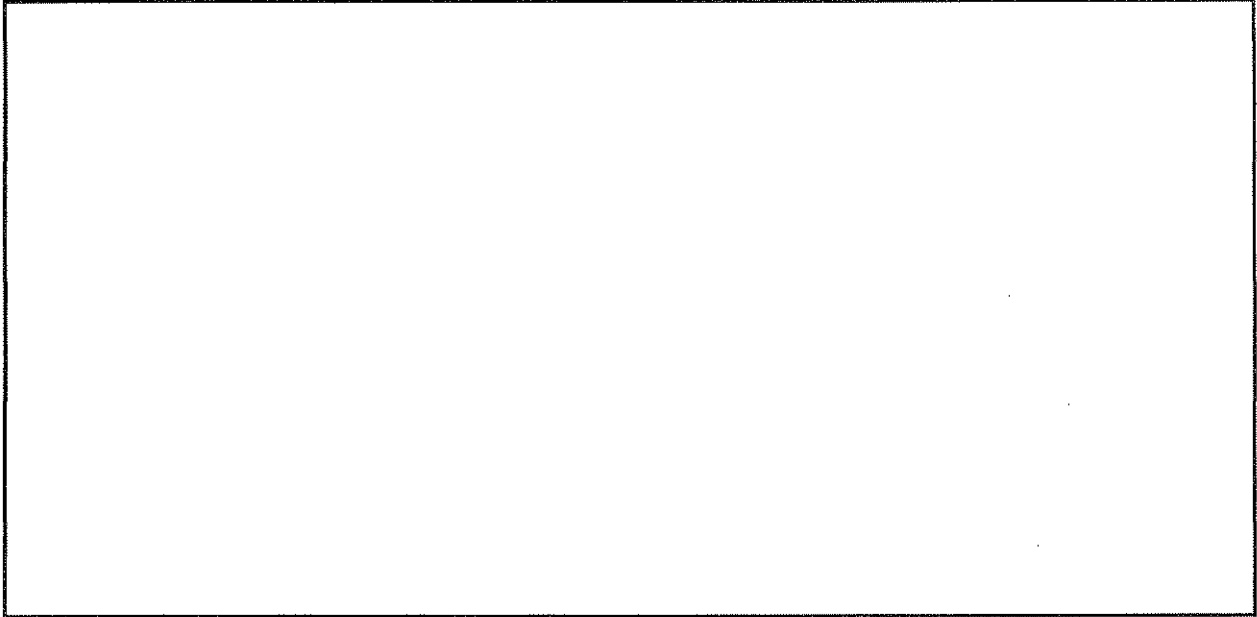
b7A



To: Counterterrorism From: Norfolk  
Re:  02/26/2001

LEAD(s): b7A

Set Lead 1:



*to lunch*

*//*

◆◆

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Precedence: ROUTINE

Date: 04/02/2001

To: Norfolk  
Portland

Attn: SA [Redacted]  
SA [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

From: Counterterrorism  
Domestic Terrorism Operations Unit (DTOU)/Room 11741

Contact: [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Approved By: [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Drafted By:

Case ID [Redacted] (Pending)

Title: [Redacted]

b7A

[Large Redacted Area]

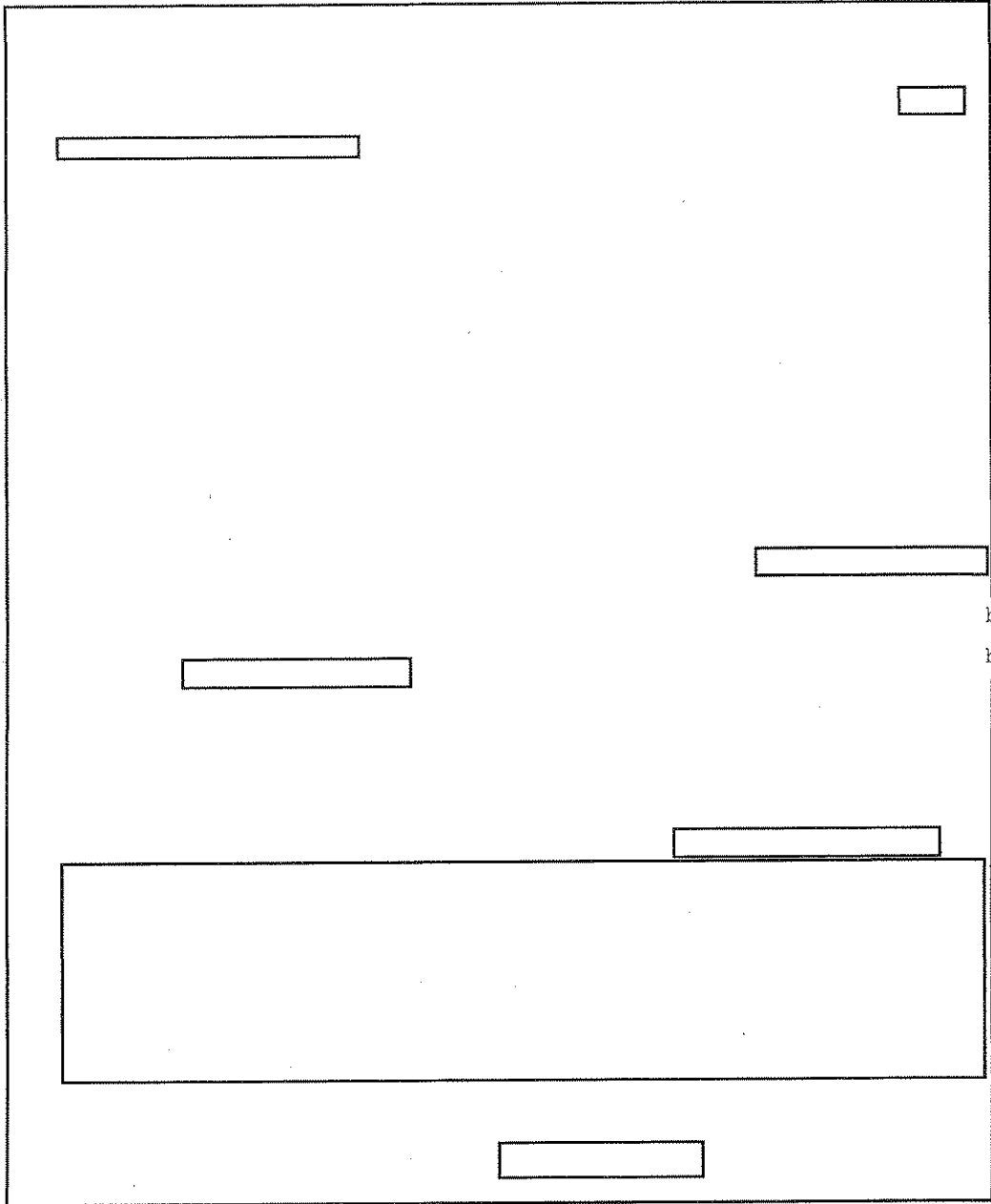
[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Pets

To: Norfolk From: Counterterrorism  
Re: [redacted] 04/02/2001

b7A



b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C

To: Norfolk From: Counterterrorism  
Re: [redacted] 04/02/2001

b7A

[redacted]

b7D

[redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

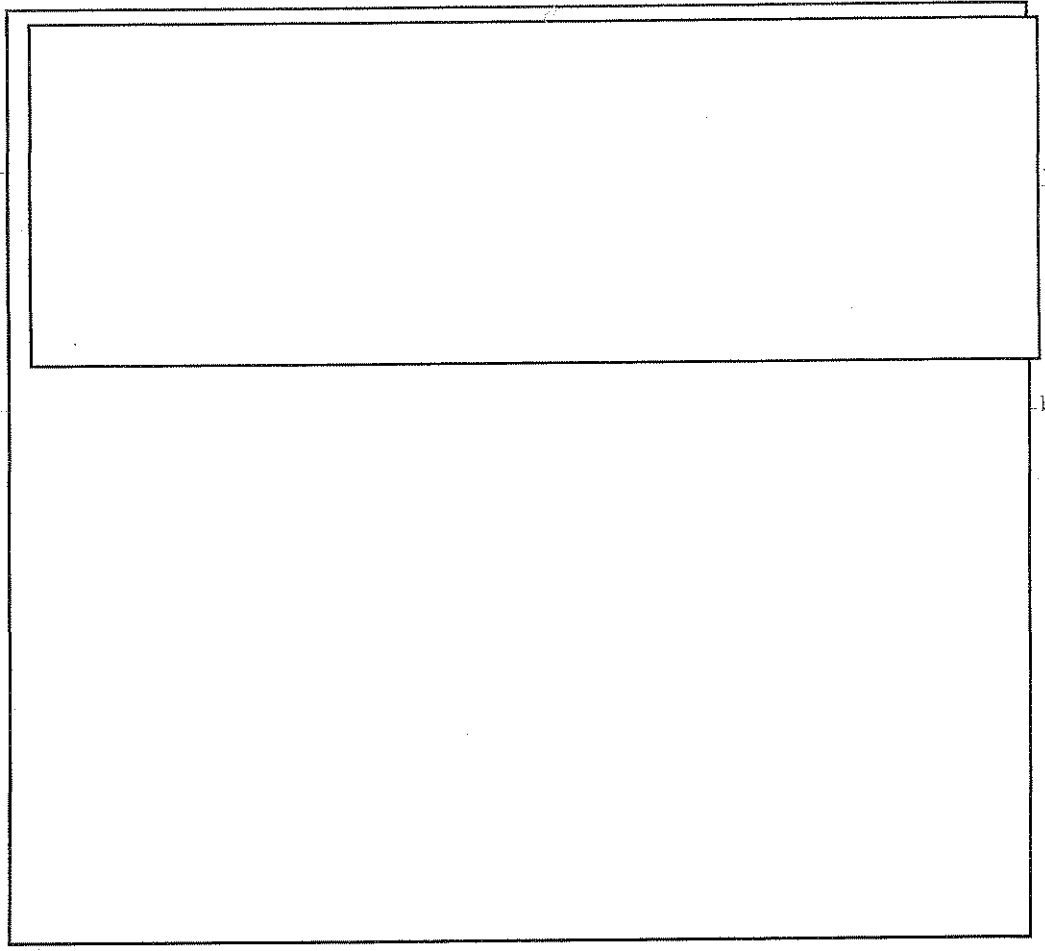
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b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7D



To: Norfolk From: Counterterrorism  
Re: [redacted] 04/02/2001



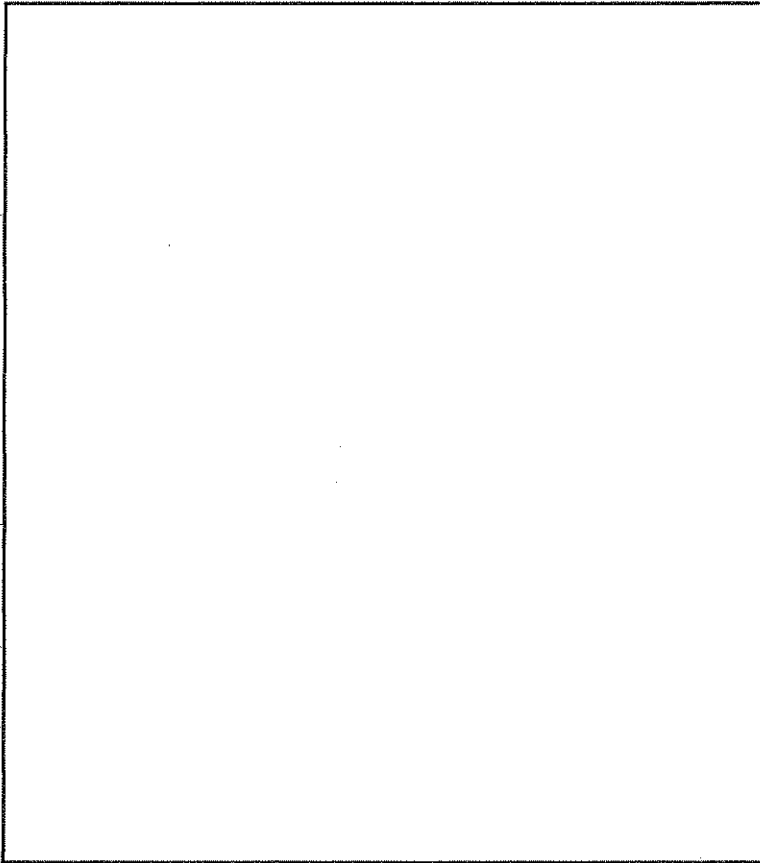
b6  
b7C

b7A

To: Norfolk From: Counterterrorism  
Re: [redacted] 04/02/2001

b7A

OTHER outside scope



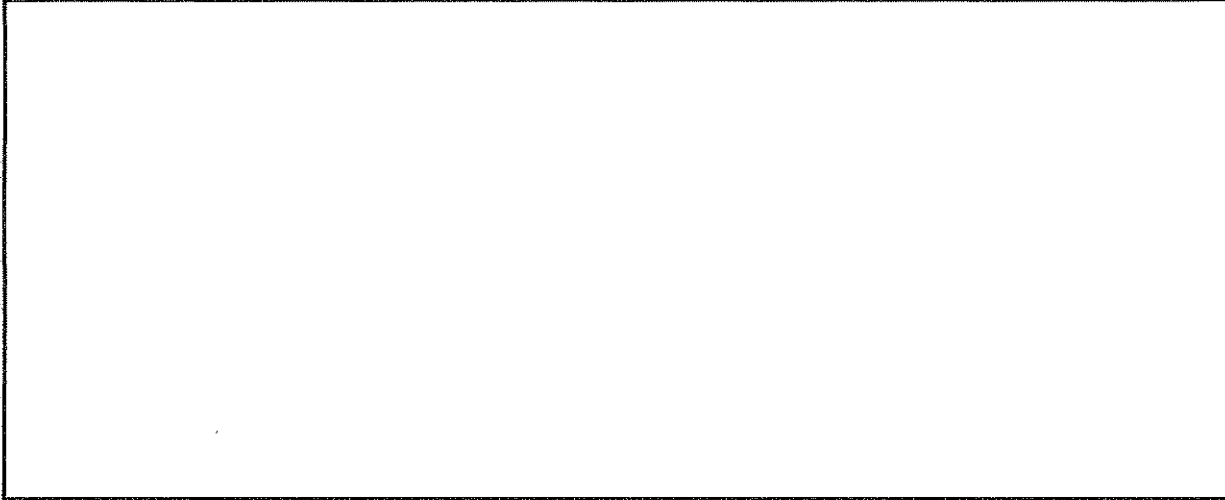
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Re:  04/02/2001

LEAD(s):

b7A

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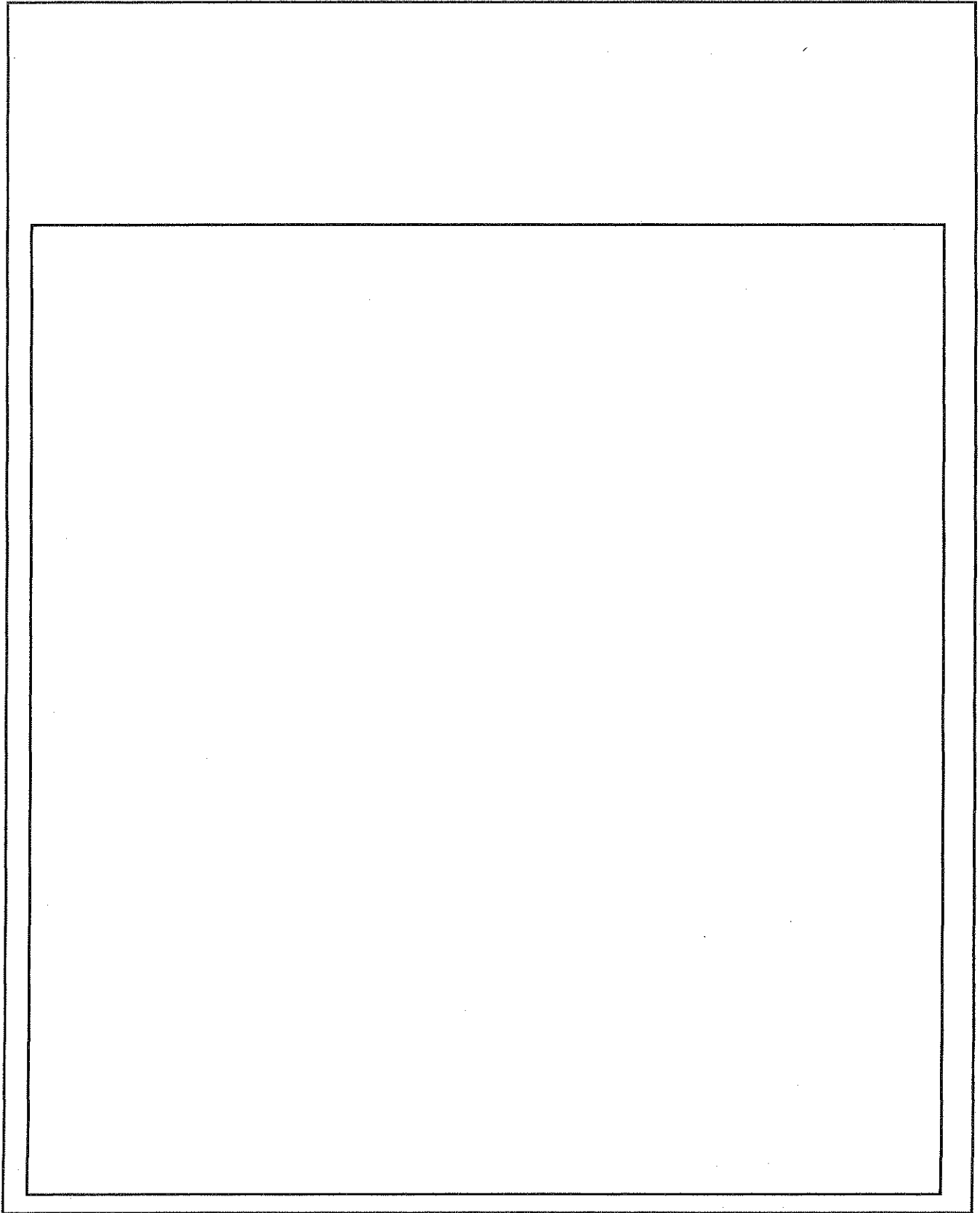
OTHER outside scope



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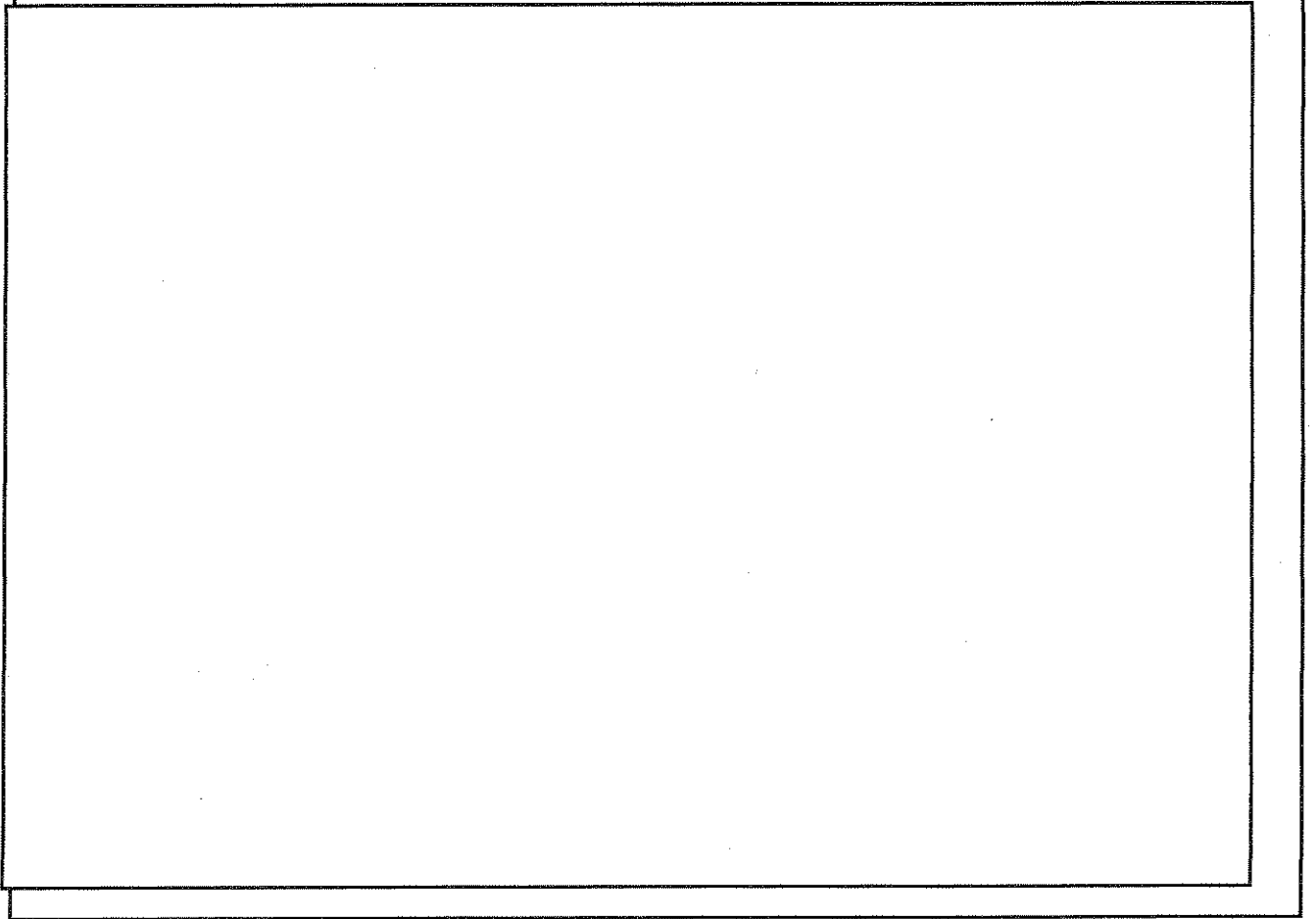
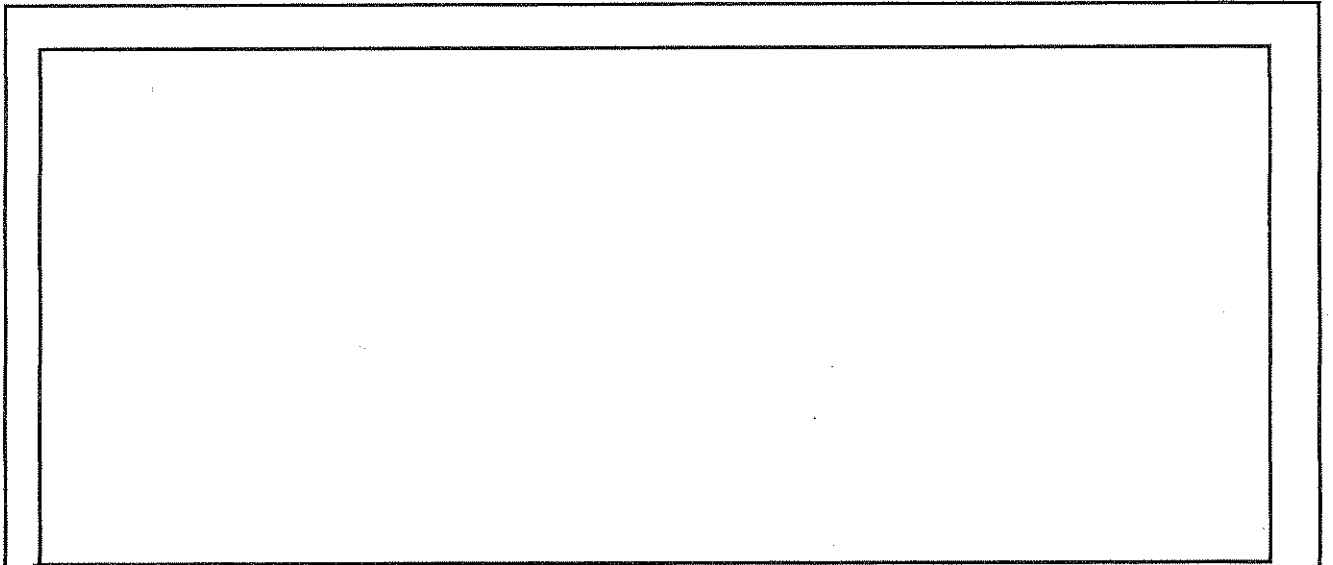
OTHER outside scope

b7A

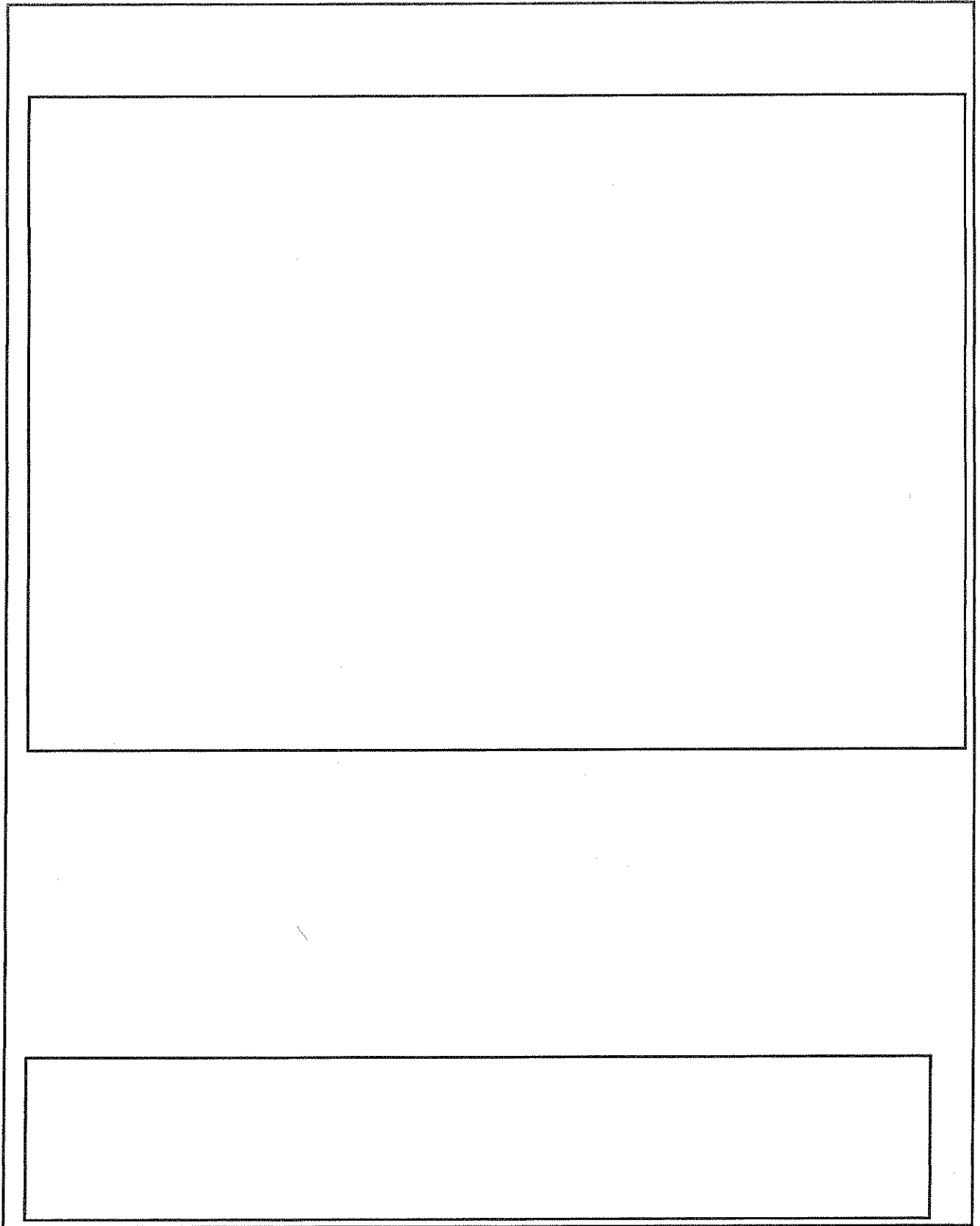


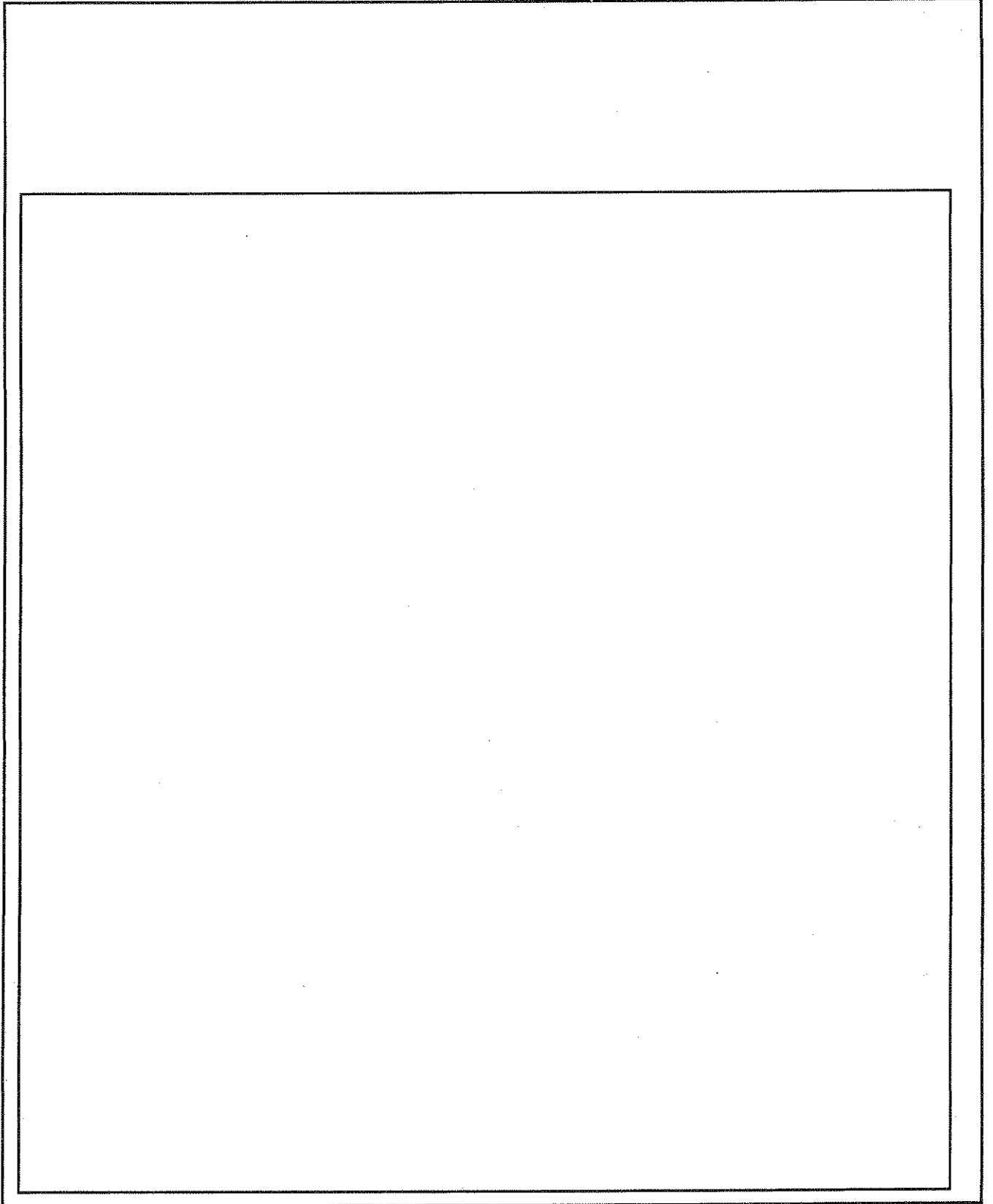
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b7A

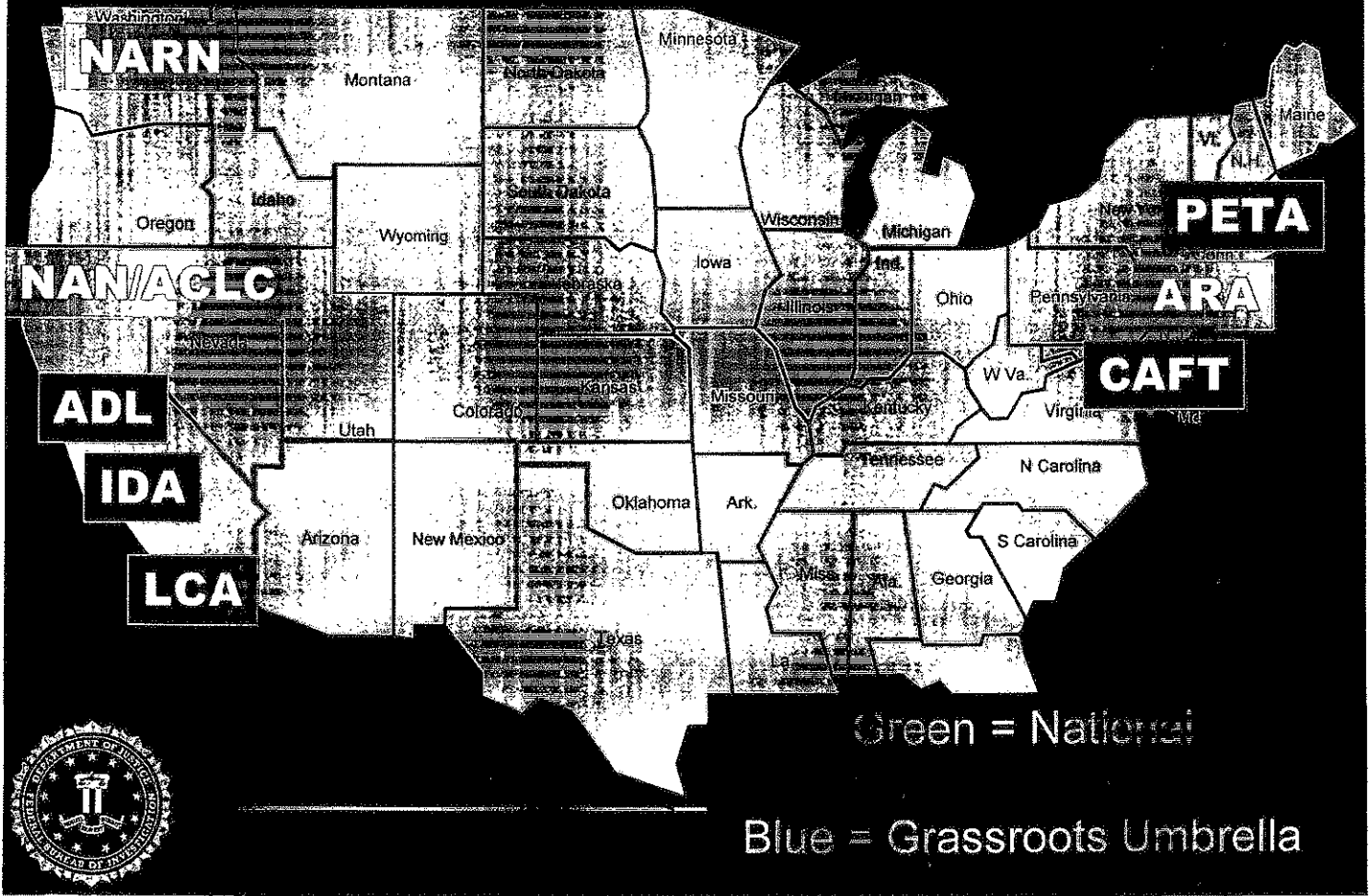


OTHER outside scope





# Significant Umbrella and National Organizations







***FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION***

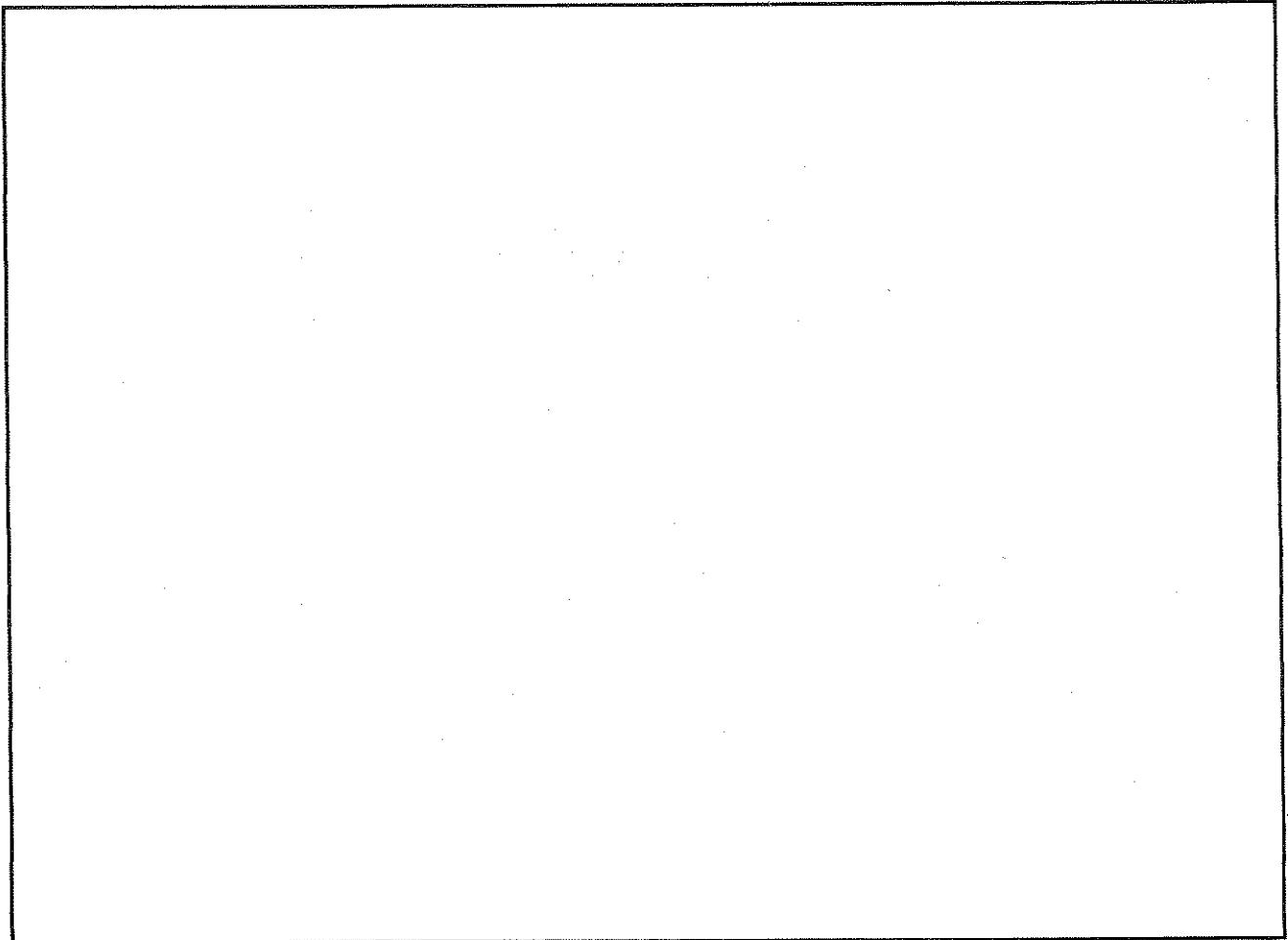
***FREEDOM OF INFORMATION / PRIVACY  
ACTS RELEASE***

***SUBJECT: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
PETA***

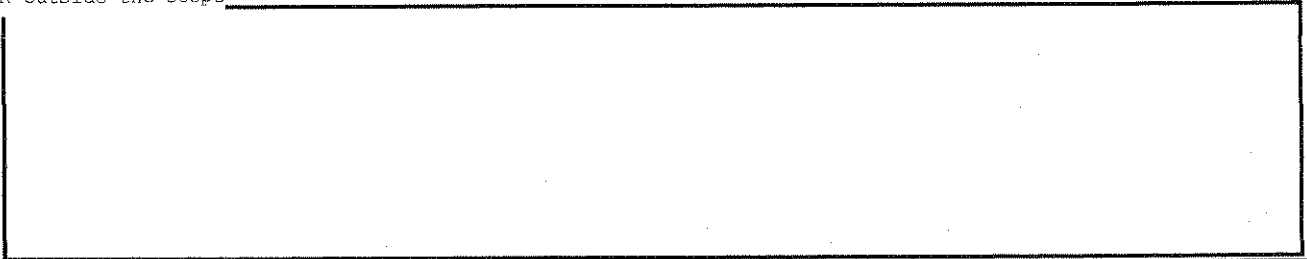
***FILE NUMBER / DOCUMENT: DTOU PETA Documents  
Section (s) 7***



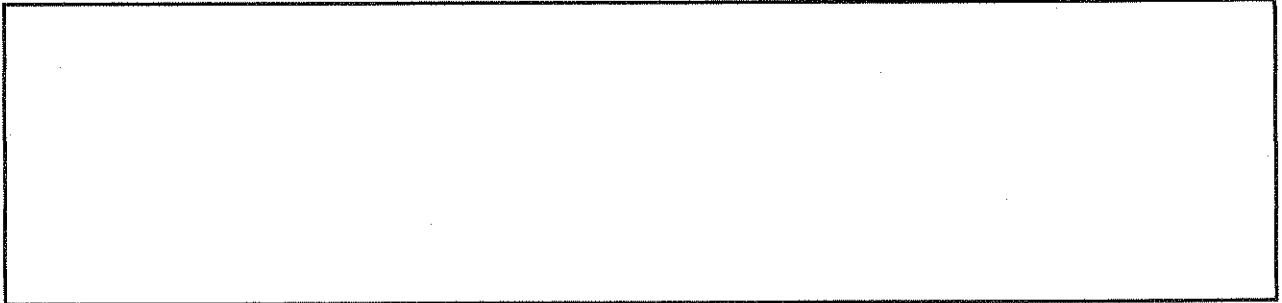
OTHER Outside the scope



OTHER Outside the scope



b6  
b7C  
b7A



OTHER Outside the scope

OTHER Outside the scope

[Redacted]

b7A

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

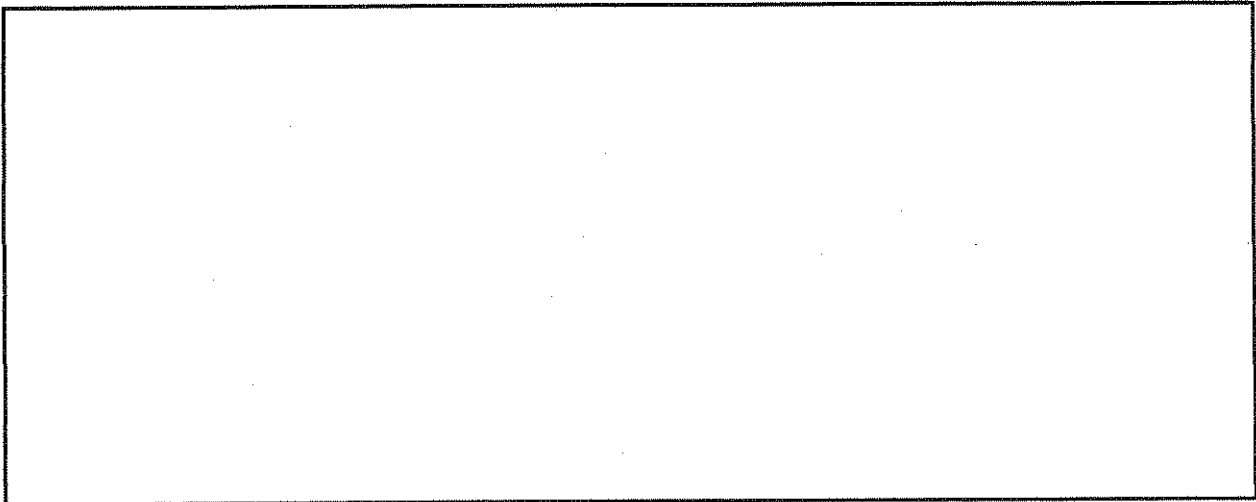
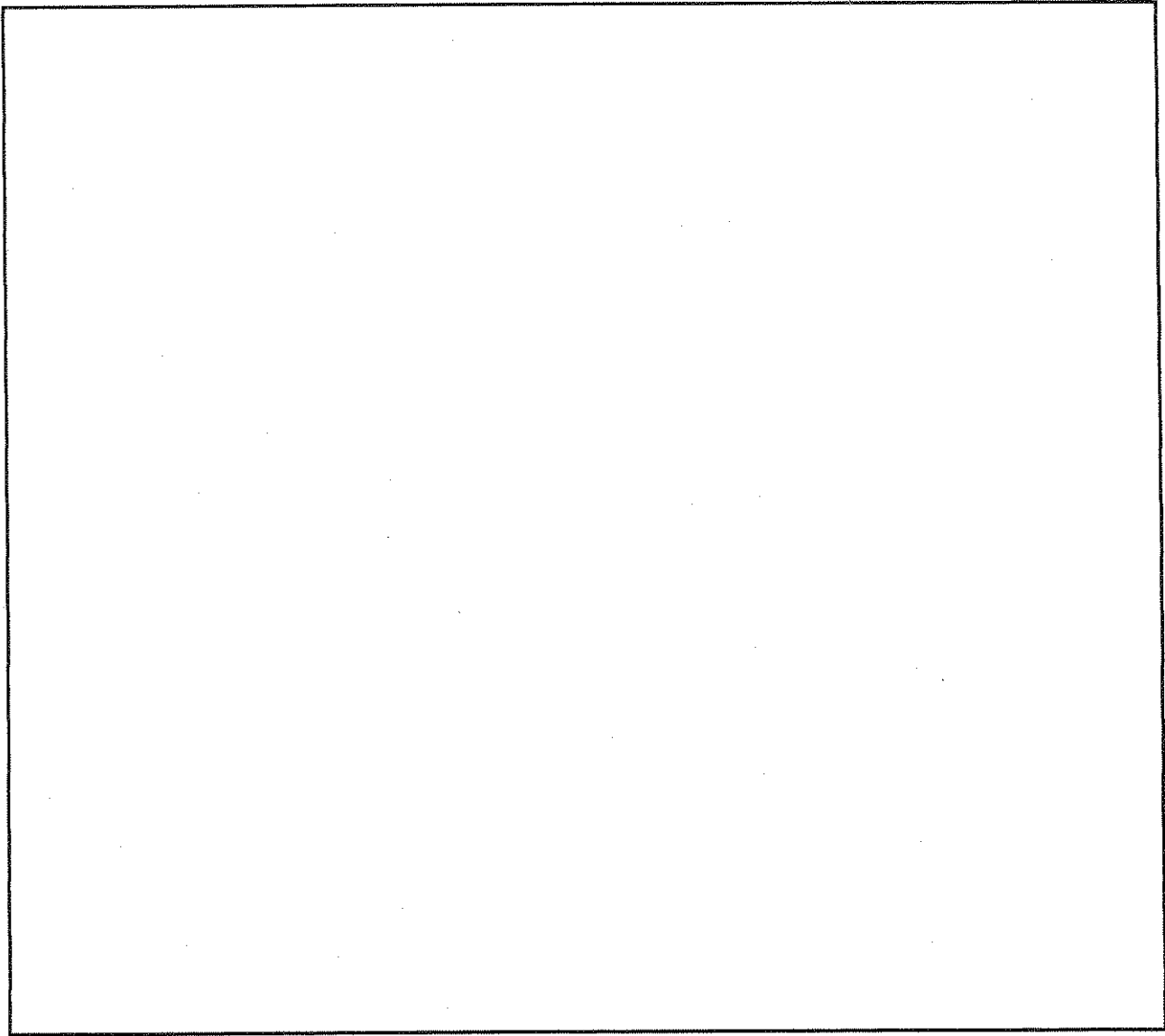
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OTHER Outside the scope

000156

OTHER Outside the scope



b7A

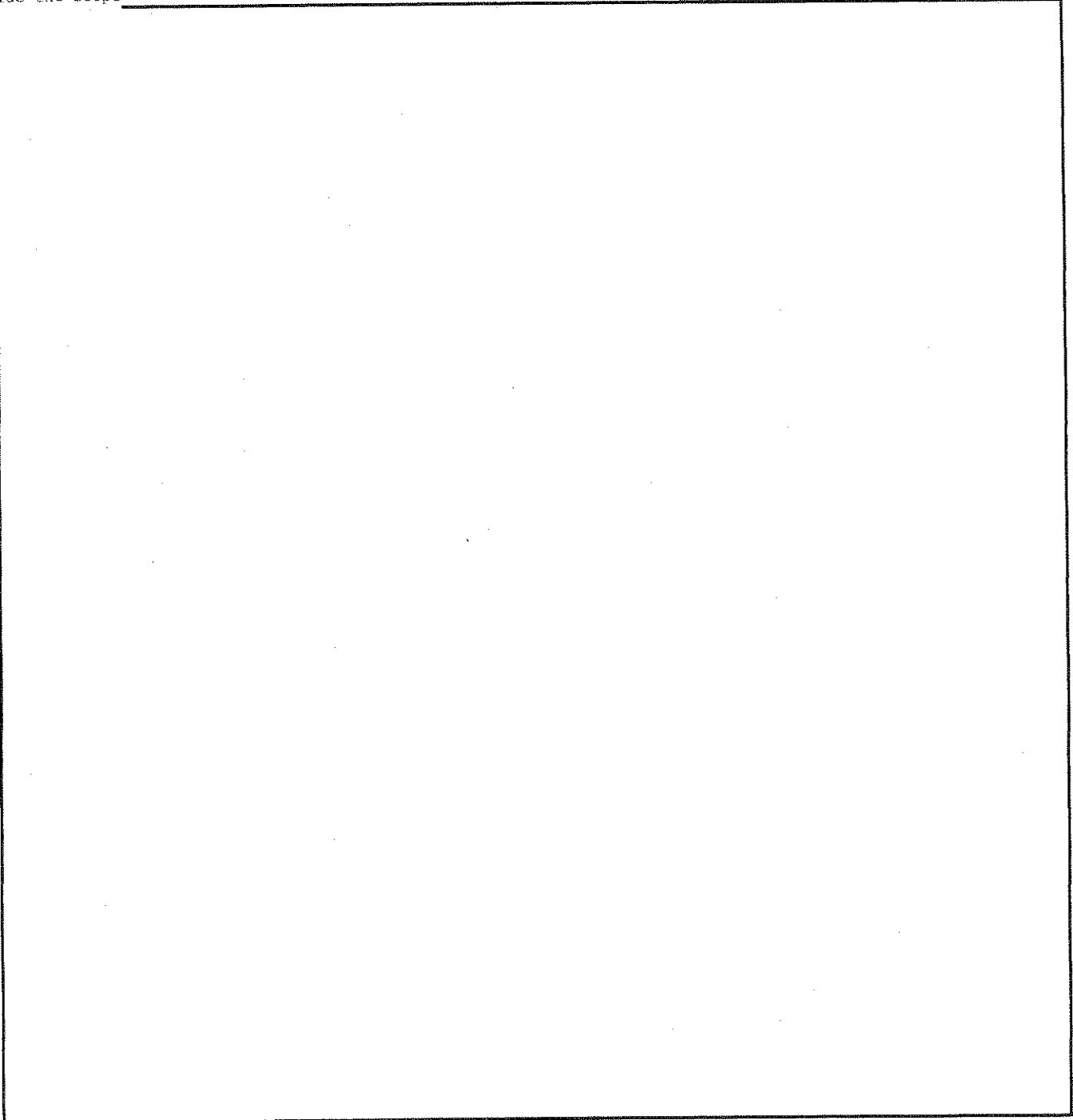
OTHER Outside the scope



b7A



OTHER Outside the scope





***FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION***

***FREEDOM OF INFORMATION / PRIVACY  
ACTS RELEASE***

***SUBJECT: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
PETA***

***FILE NUMBER / DOCUMENT: DTOU PETA Documents  
Section (s) 8***



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Page 113 ~ b3 26 USC Section 6103

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***FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION***

***FREEDOM OF INFORMATION / PRIVACY  
ACTS RELEASE***

***SUBJECT: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
PETA***

***FILE NUMBER / DOCUMENT: DTOU PETA Documents  
Section (s) 9***





FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Serial Description ~ COVER SHEET

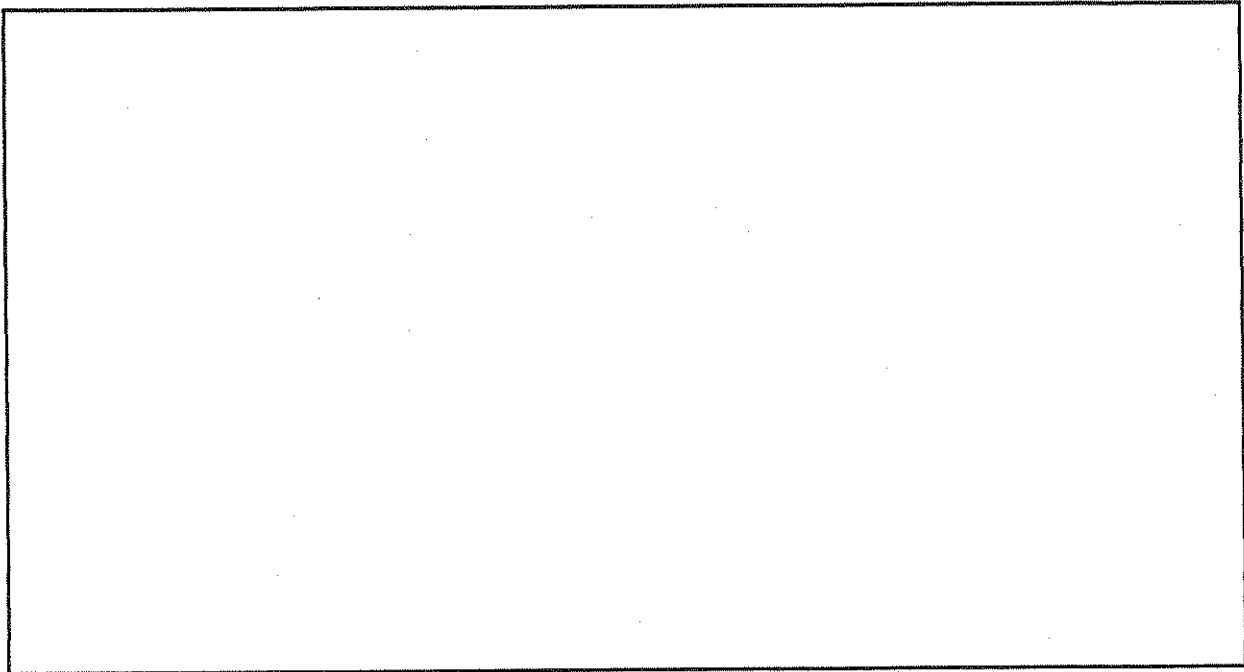
09/26/2003

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Page 74 ~ Duplicate

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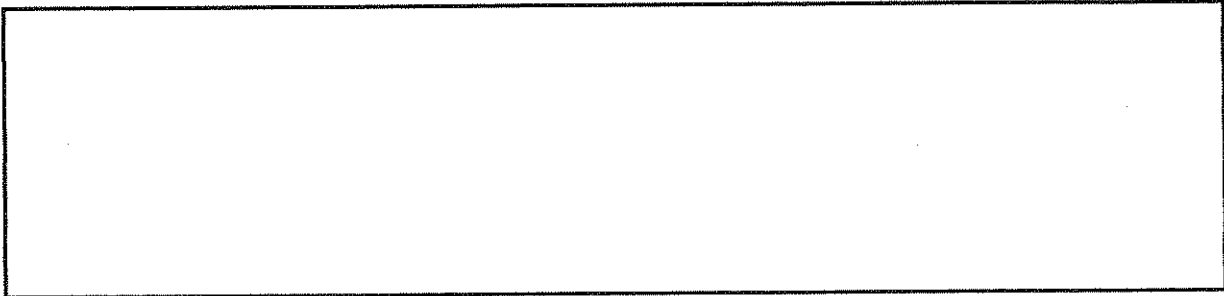
000160

OTHER outside scope



**Background Information:**

(U) On 09/26/03, at approximately 03:31 A.M. (PST) a bomb exploded outside the front lobby of the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, which is located at 4755 Willow Road, Pleasanton, California. Shaklee conducts animal testing during the making of cosmetic products and YCI has been a frequent target of the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) and Persons for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) campaigns.



OTHER outside scope

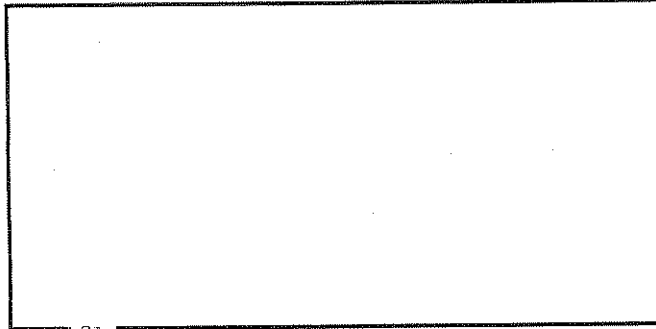
(UNCLASSIFIED)

000161

b6

08/28/2000

b7C



b7A

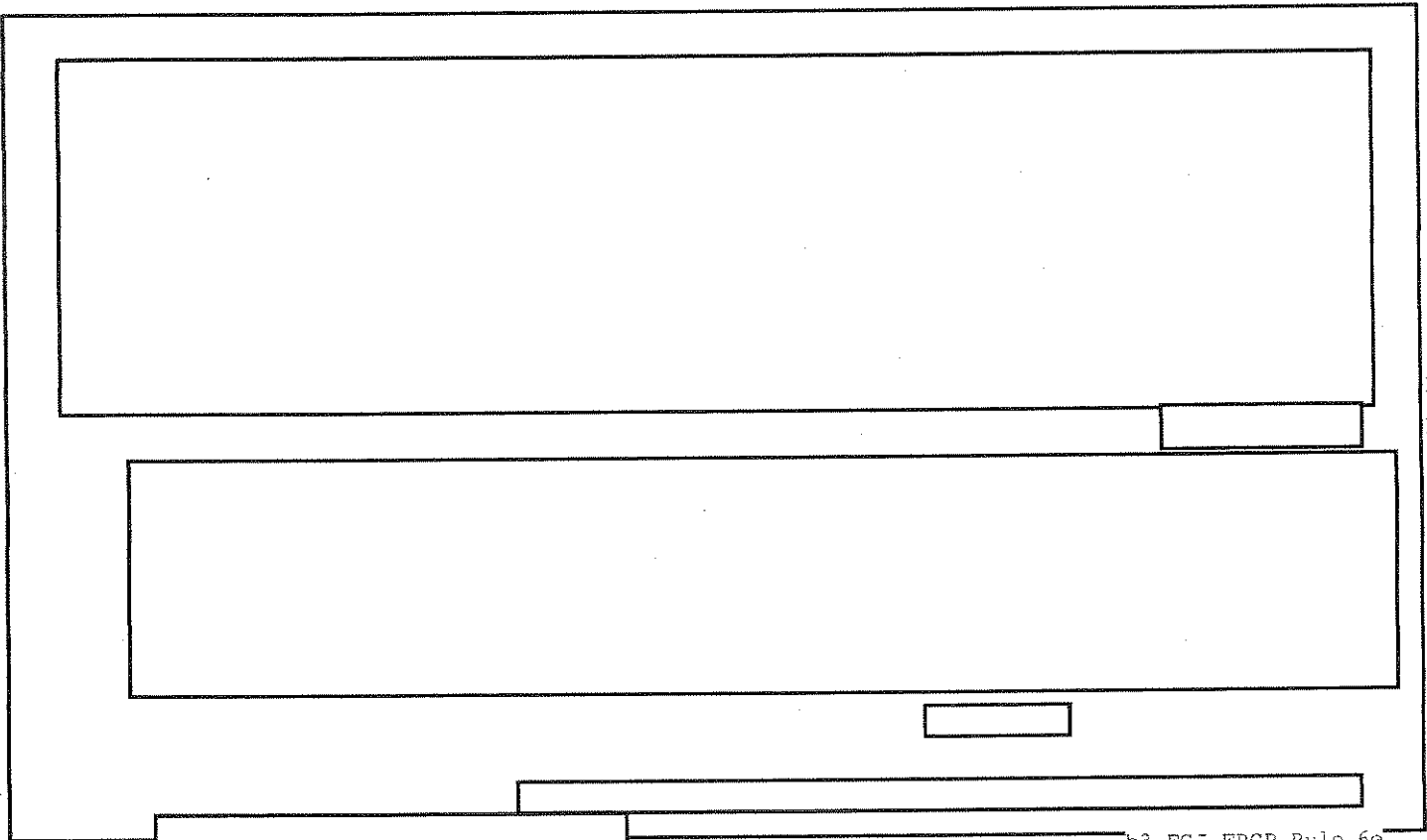
b6

b7C

OTHER outside scope

b7A

OTHER outside scope



b6  
b7C

b3 FGJ FRCP Rule 6e



CMQ:cmq

b6

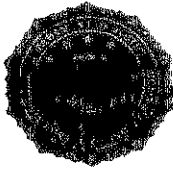
b7C

1 - Each DT/CPS UC  
1 - Each DTOU SSA/IOS

b6

b7C





(UNCLASSIFIED)

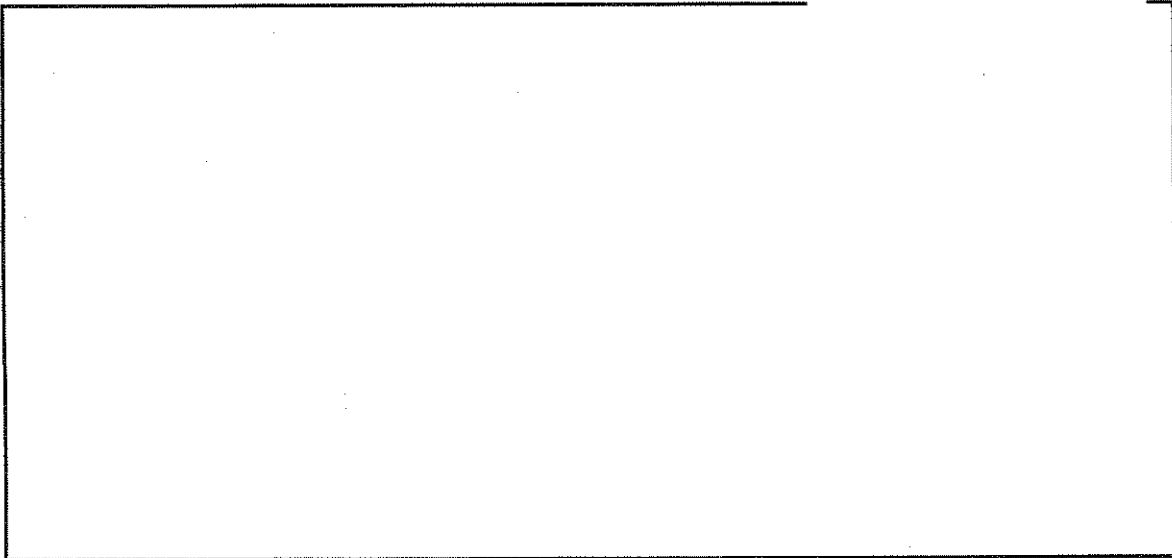
Counterterrorism Division  
Domestic Terrorism  
October 25, 2003, 6:00 A.M.

**EXECUTIVE NOTE**

**1. Bomb explodes at the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, Pleasanton, CA.**

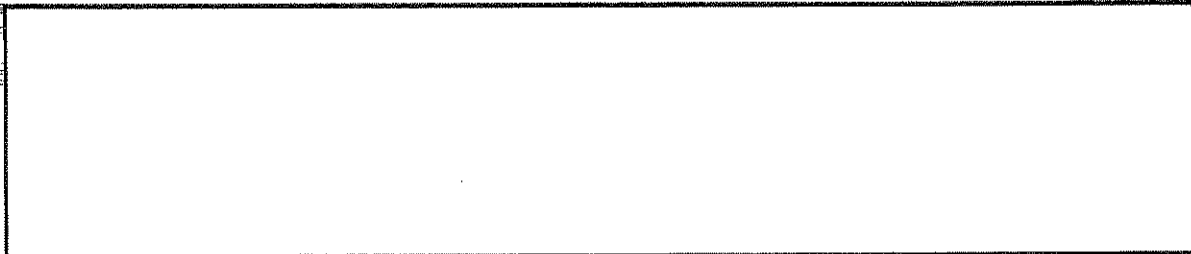
**SUMMARY:**

(U) FBI San Francisco reported information about a bomb that exploded at the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, Pleasanton, California. Shaklee conducts animal testing for cosmetic products and is a subsidiary of Yamamoto Pharmaceutical (YCI), a Japanese based corporation. OTHER outside scope



**Background Information:**

(U) On 09/26/03, at approximately 03:31 A.M. (PST) a bomb exploded outside the front lobby of the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, which is located at 4755 Willow Road, Pleasanton, California. Shaklee conducts animal testing during the making of cosmetic products and YCI has been a frequent target of the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) campaigns. OTHER outside scope





(UNCLASSIFIED)

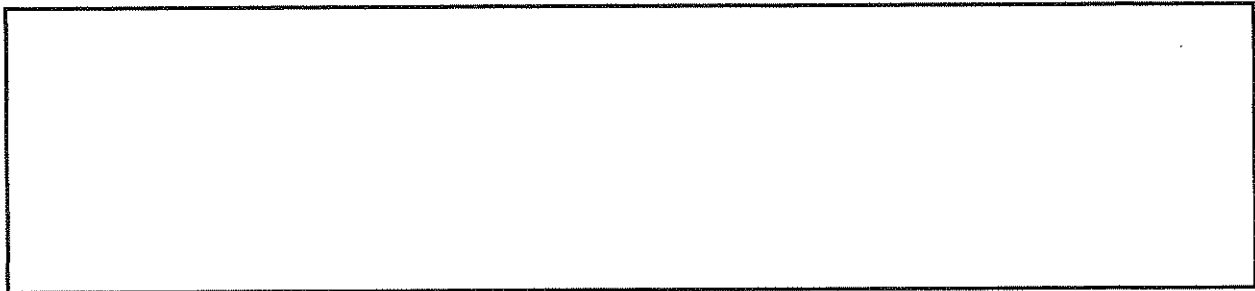
Counterterrorism Division  
Domestic Terrorism  
October 24, 2003, 6:00 A.M.

EXECUTIVE NOTE

1. Bomb explodes at the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, Pleasanton, CA.

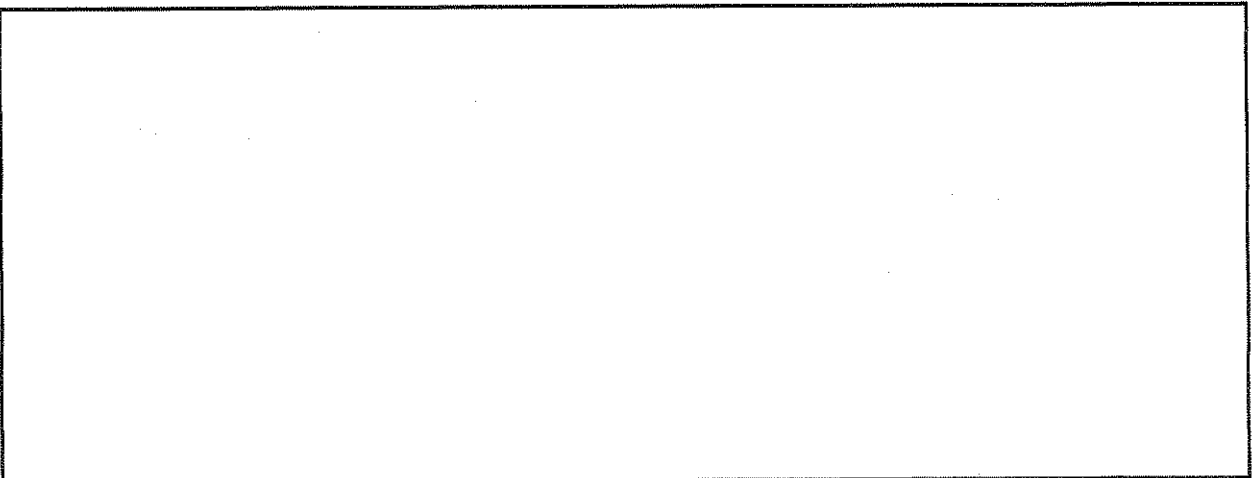
Summary:

(U) FBI San Francisco reported information about a bomb <sup>OTHER outside scope</sup> that exploded at the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, Pleasanton, California. Shaklee conducts animal testing for cosmetic products and is a subsidiary of Yamanouchi Pharmaceutical (YCI), a Japanese based corporation.



Background Information:

(U) On 09/26/03, at approximately 03:31 A.M. (PST) a bomb exploded outside the front lobby of the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, which is located at 4755 Willow Road, Pleasanton, California. Shaklee conducts animal testing during the making of cosmetic products and YCI has been a frequent target of the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) campaigns.



OTHER outside scope

000164



(UNCLASSIFIED)

Counterterrorism Division  
Domestic Terrorism  
October 23, 2003, 6:00 A.M.

EXECUTIVE NOTE

1. Bomb explodes at the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, Pleasanton, CA.

Summary:

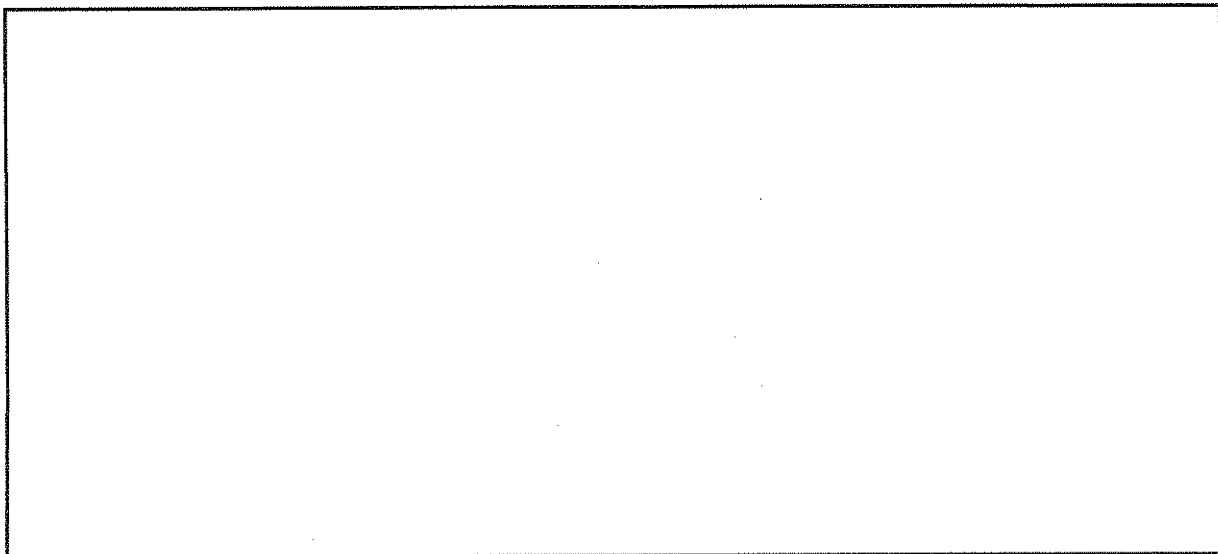
(U) FBI San Francisco reported information about a bomb that exploded at the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, Pleasanton, California. Shaklee conducts animal testing for cosmetic products and is a subsidiary of Yamanouchi Pharmaceutical (YCI), a Japanese based corporation.



Background Information:

OTHER outside scope

(U) On 09/26/03, at approximately 03:31 A.M. (PST) a bomb exploded outside the front lobby of the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, which is located at 4755 Willow Road, Pleasanton, California. Shaklee conducts animal testing during the making of cosmetic products and YCI has been a frequent target of the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) campaigns.



OTHER outside scope

000165



(UNCLASSIFIED)

Counterterrorism Division  
Domestic Terrorism  
October 10, 2003, 6:00 A.M.

EXECUTIVE NOTE

1. Bomb explodes at the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, Pleasanton, CA.

Summary:

(U) FBI San Francisco is reporting information about a bomb that exploded at the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, Pleasanton, California. Shaklee conducts animal testing for cosmetic products and is a subsidiary of Yamanouchi Pharmaceutical (YCI), a Japanese based corporation.

OTHER outside scope

Background Information:

(U) On 09/26/03, at approximately 03:31 A.M. (PST) a bomb exploded outside the front lobby of the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, which is located at 4755 Willow Road, Pleasanton, California. Shaklee conducts animal testing during the making of cosmetic products and YCI has been a frequent target of the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) and Persons for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) campaigns.

Investigative Plan:

000166



(UNCLASSIFIED)

Counterterrorism Division  
Domestic Terrorism  
October 28, 2003, 6:00 A.M.

**EXECUTIVE NOTE**

**1. Bomb explodes at the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, Pleasanton, CA.**

**Summary:**

(U) FBI San Francisco reported information about a bomb that exploded at the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, Pleasanton, California. Shaklee conducts animal testing for cosmetic products and is a subsidiary of Yamanouchi Pharmaceutical (YCI), a Japanese based corporation.

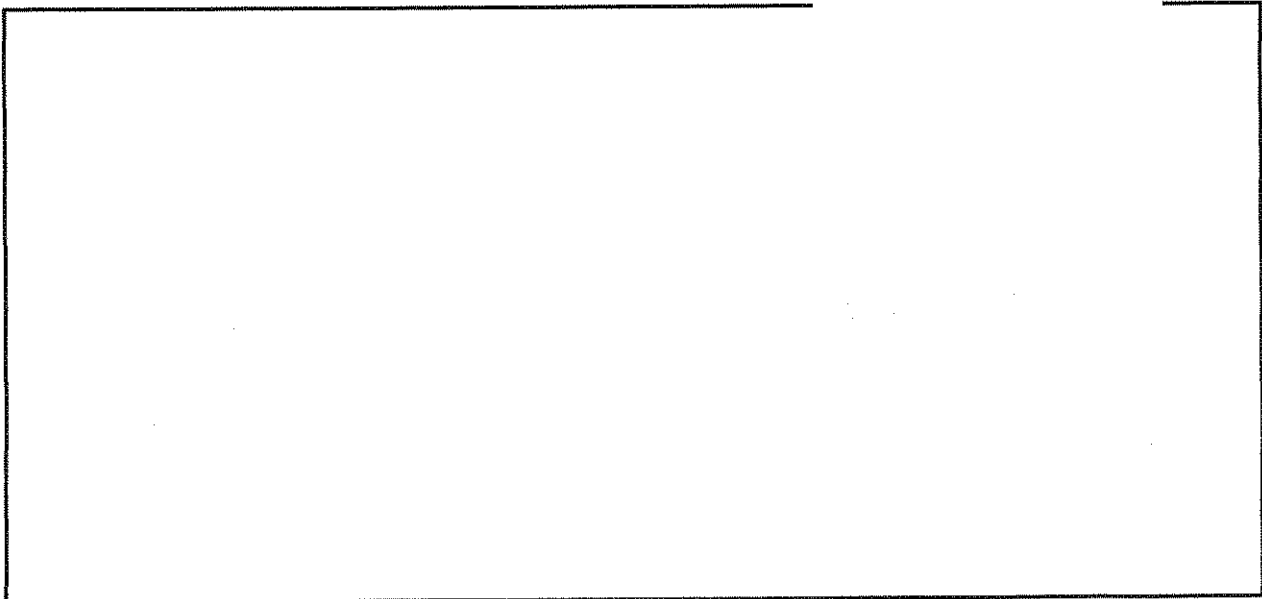
**New Developments:**

(U) No new information to report.

**Background Information:**

(U) On 09/26/03, at approximately 03:31 A.M. (PST) a bomb exploded outside the front lobby of the Shaklee Cosmetic Corporation, which is located at 4755 Willow Road, Pleasanton, California. Shaklee conducts animal testing during the making of cosmetic products and YCI has been a frequent target of the Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) campaigns.

OTHER outside scope



000167

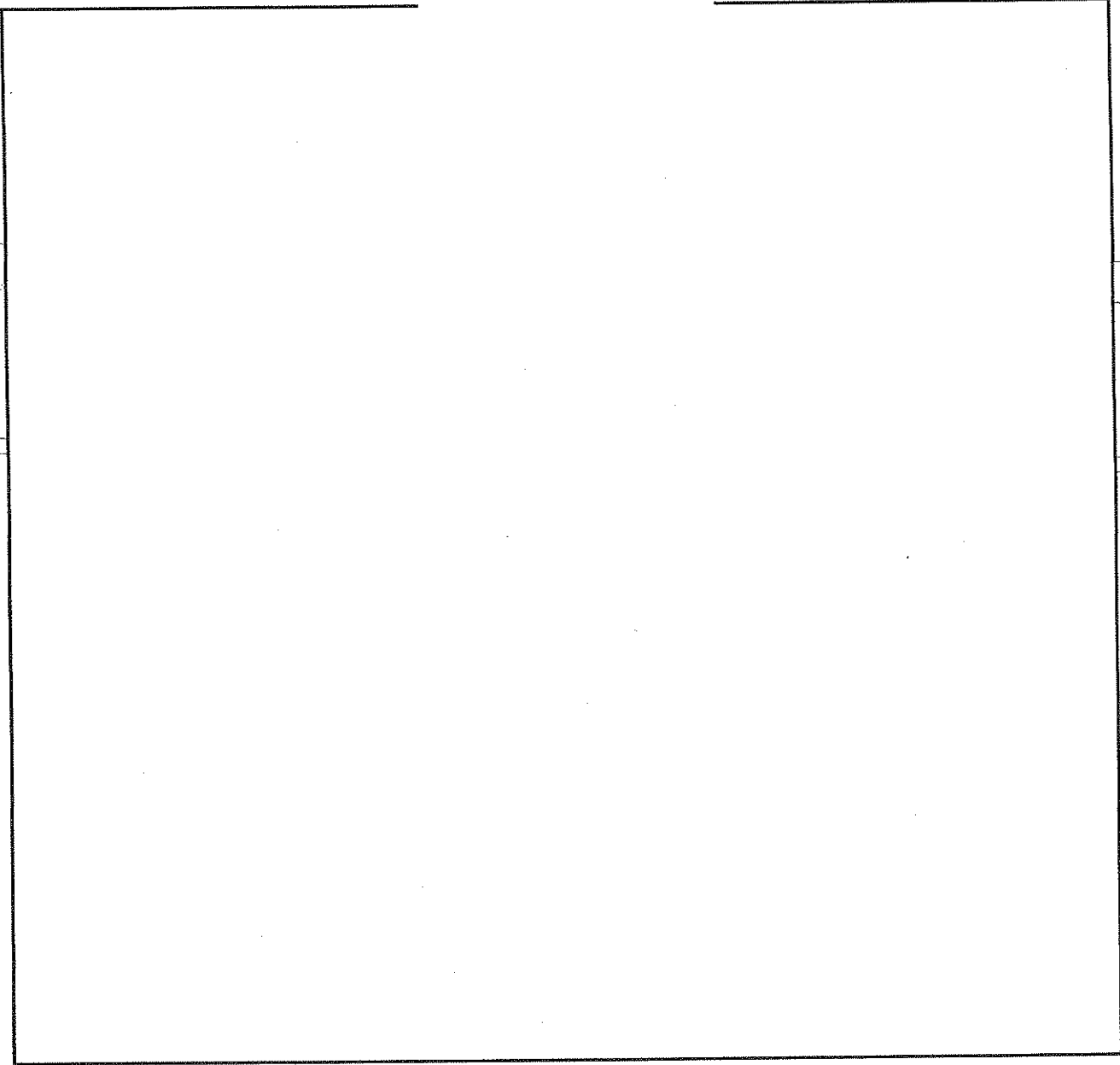


above-ground support groups such as the Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), and the North American Animal Liberation Front Support Group. These support organizations often act as conduits of information among cells, providing intelligence information to activists. The support groups do not condone violence, but they will not publicly condemn it either. Often, the support group acts as the public relations arm of the eco-terrorist movement, and will provide the media with information regarding eco-terrorist attacks. Support groups also will provide legal support to activists who are arrested. For example, PETA provided more than \$45,000 toward the legal defense of activist [redacted] who was incarcerated for the [redacted]

b6

b7C

OTHER outside scope



000168

OTHER outside scope

Office	01 Burn	02 Burn	03 Burn	04 Burn	Reason for Underburn	Addition	Justification
	FSL	FSL	FSL	FSL		FSL	

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LV	4.59/6	3.52/6	3.71/6	5.00/6.00			<p>2 Since 11/2003, Las Vegas has experienced 6 ALF/ELF-type incidents on 4 businesses. [REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED] ALF/ELF and some PETA representatives were present for the National Finals Rodeo during December 2003. Some individuals utilized black bloc techniques during the protests. [REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p>
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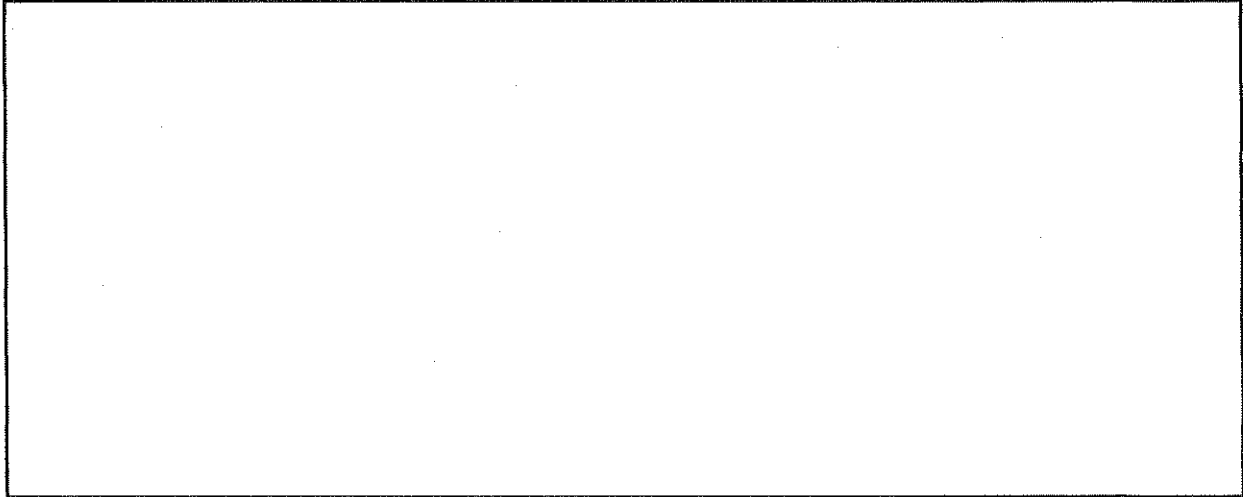
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OTHER Outside the scope

[redacted] At [redacted] Agents seized a  
gas can, which is identical to the gas can previously identified by cooperating subject [redacted]  
a hammer, a hatchet, and miscellaneous PETA and ALF/ELF documents.

b6

b7C

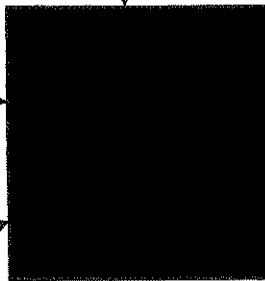
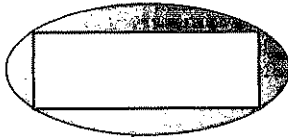
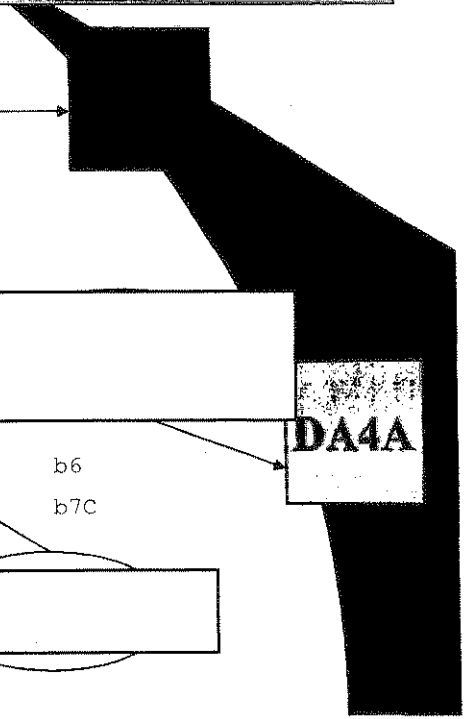
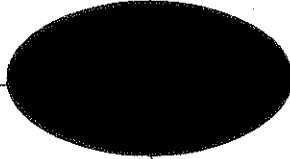


OTHER outside scope

# Minnesota

ALF

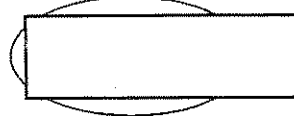
NAALF



DA4A

NAALFPO

b6  
b7C



OTHER Outside the scope

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6

b7C

**People of for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
(PETA), subject [Redacted] founded the**

[Redacted]

[Redacted]



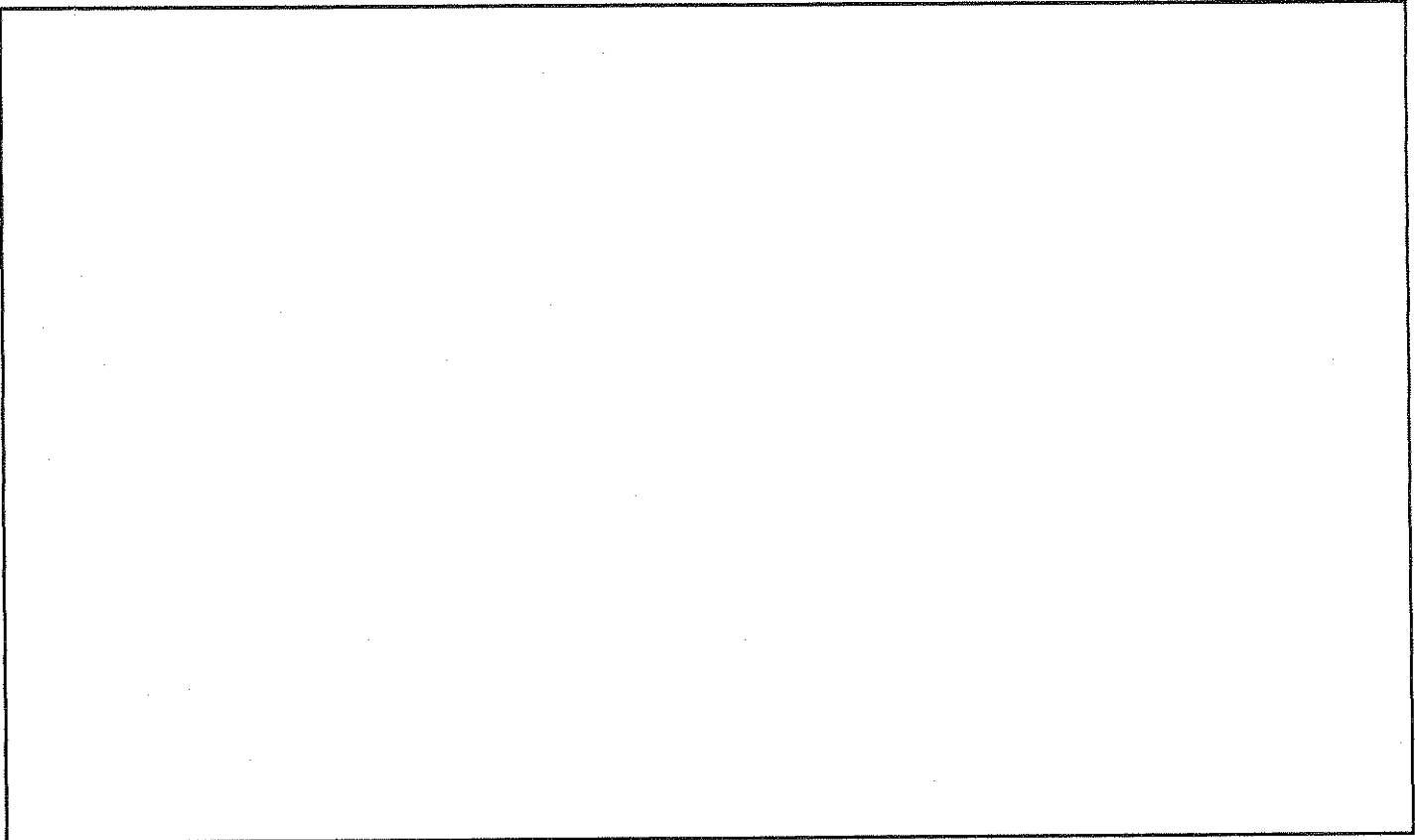
***FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION***

***FREEDOM OF INFORMATION / PRIVACY  
ACTS RELEASE***

***SUBJECT: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
PETA***

***FILE NUMBER / DOCUMENT: DTOU PETA Documents  
Section (s) 11***





b6

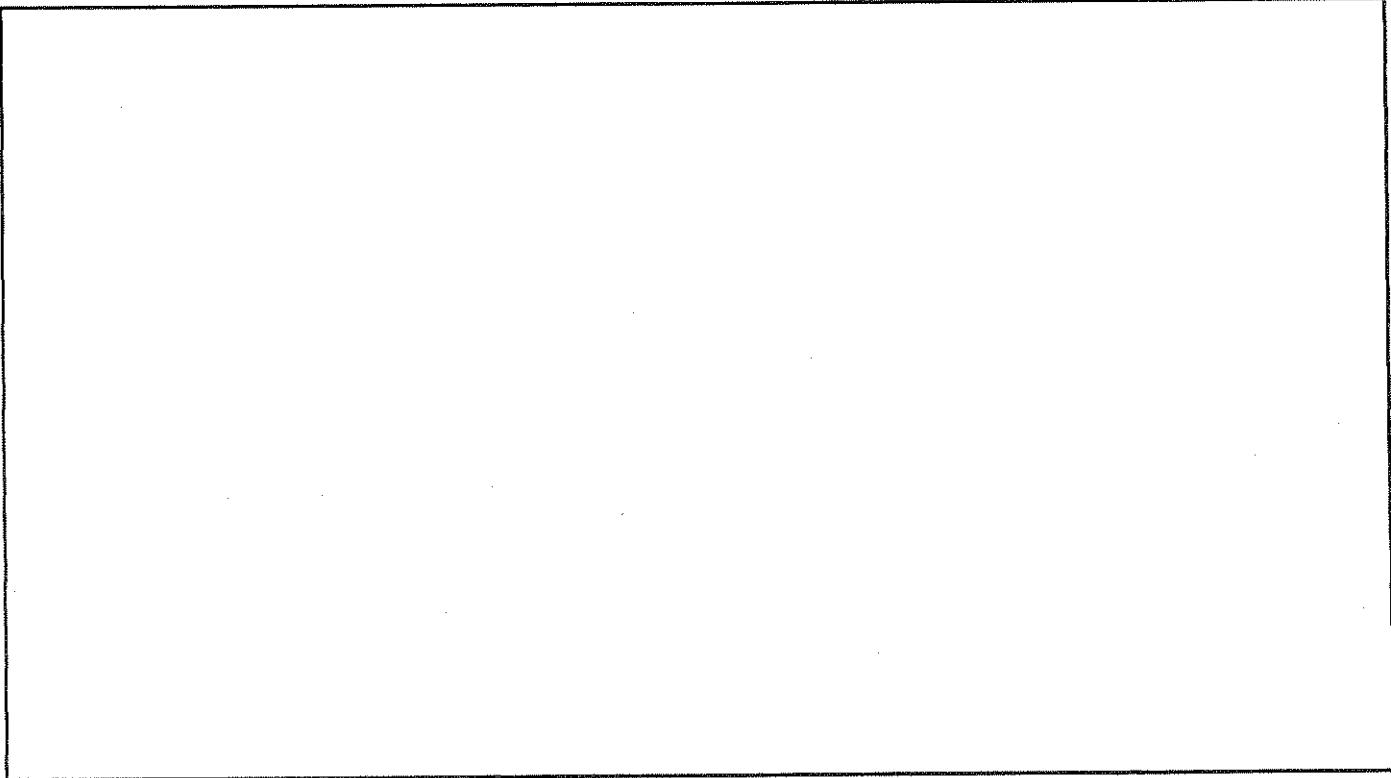
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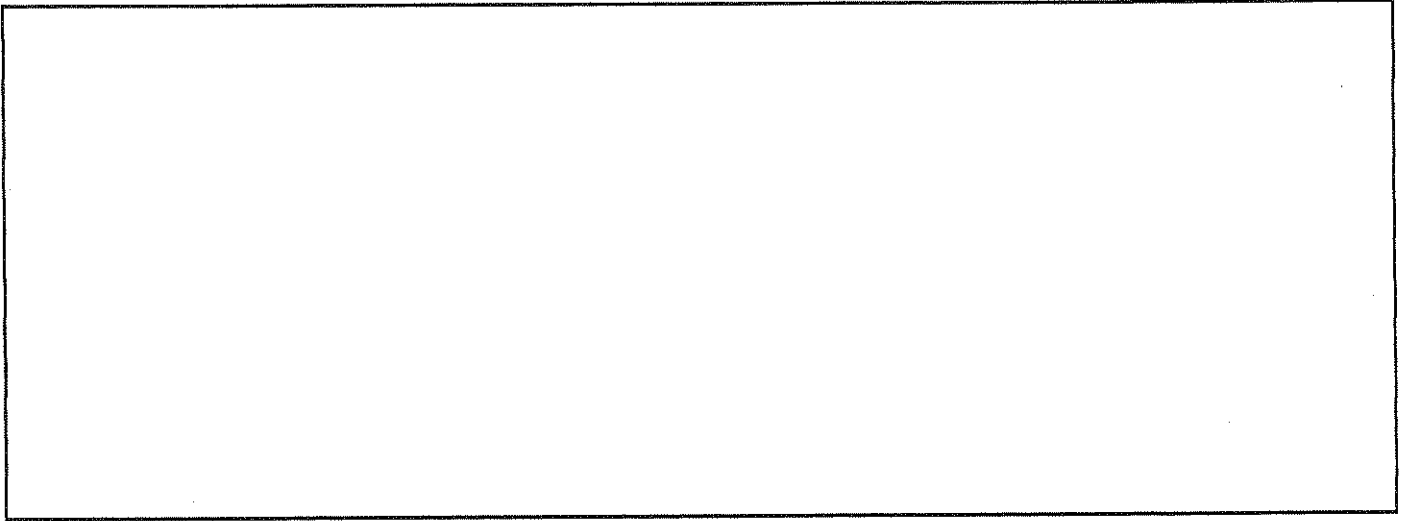


militant animal rights groups. In



with the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA)





Information received



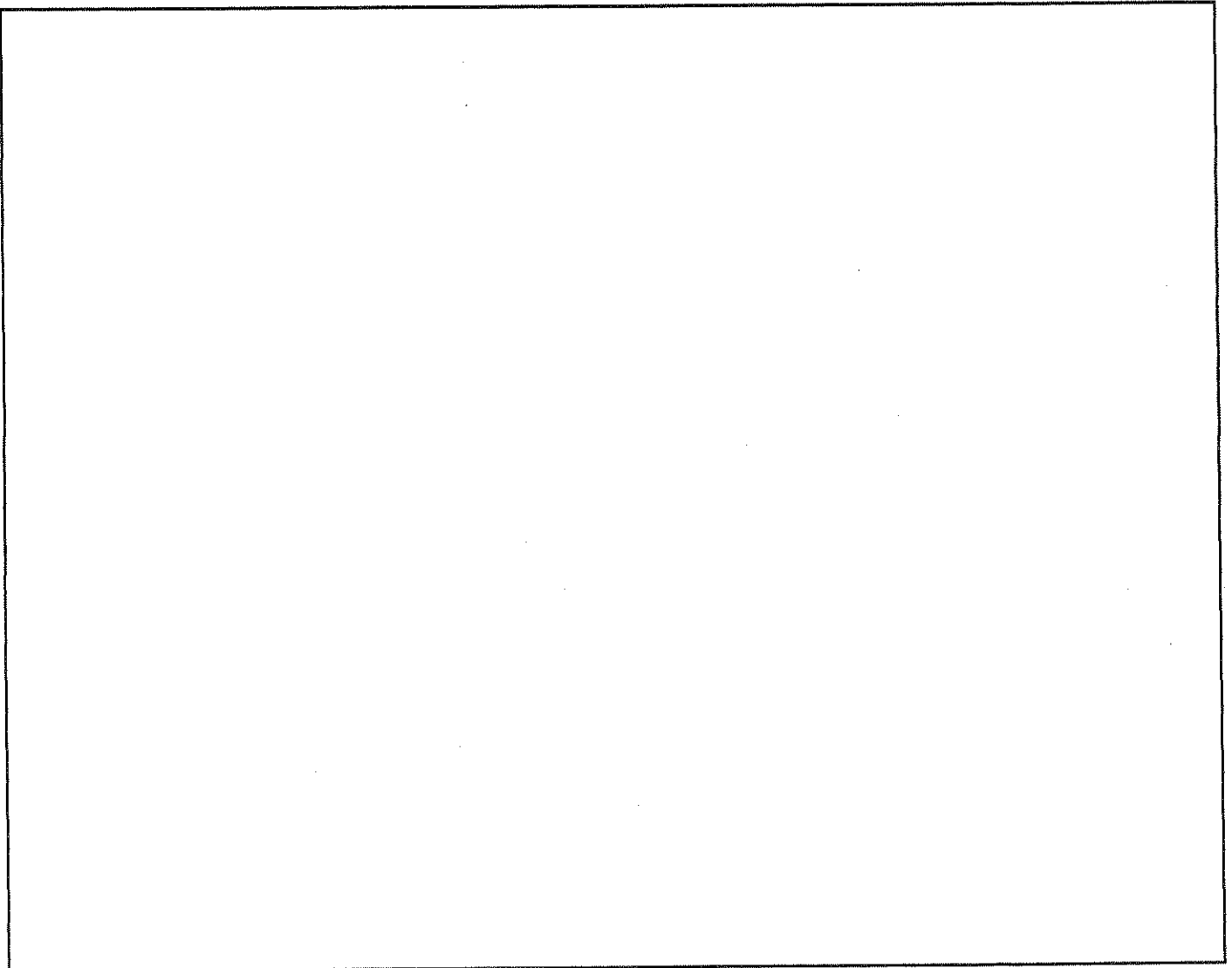
intern with

b6

PETA suggests

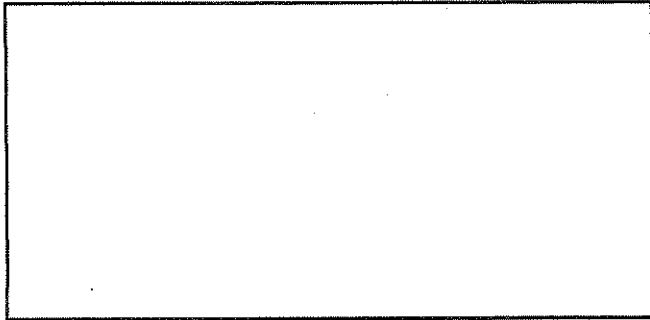
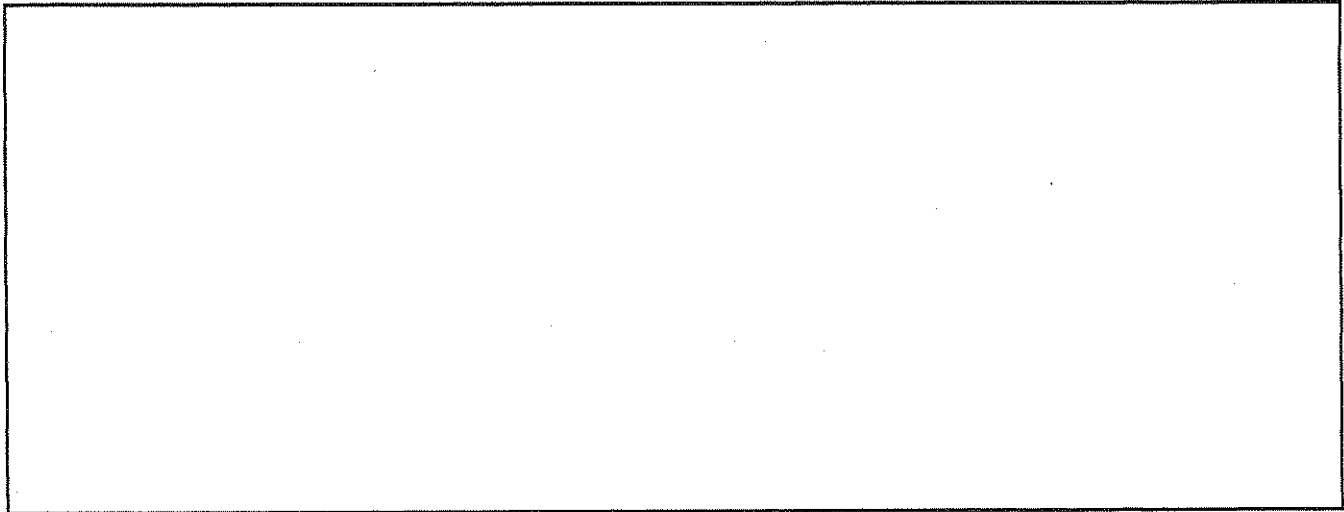


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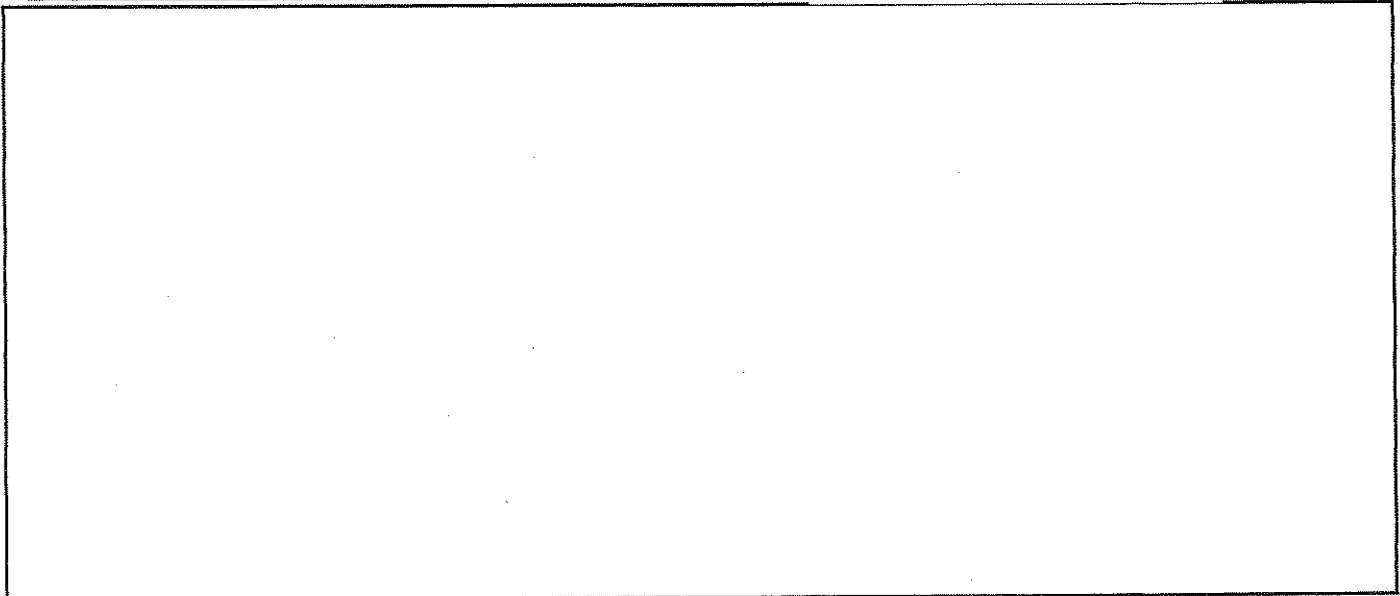


OTHER outside scope



OTHER Outside the scope

OTHER Outside the scope



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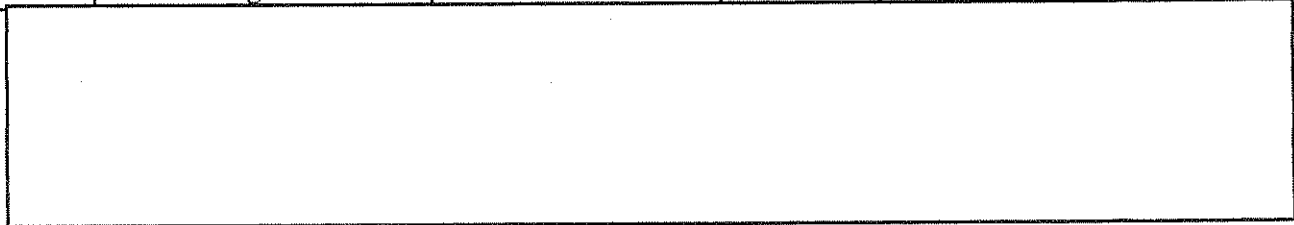
b7C

Predication



the animal rights movement

the animal rights organization, PETA



**DRAFT**

OTHER Outside the scope

Lake County

OTHER outside scope

[redacted], PETA, ELF, [redacted]  
[redacted] were active in the area. UUPD also  
advised that the single-issue groups listed above are involved in  
economic damage, intimidation, graffiti and vandalism, including  
thefts from fur farms. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

OTHER outside scope



***FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION***

***FREEDOM OF INFORMATION / PRIVACY  
ACTS RELEASE***

***SUBJECT: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
PETA***

***FILE NUMBER / DOCUMENT: DTOU PETA Documents  
Section (s) 12***



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Serial Description ~ COVER SHEET

12/08/2003

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 2  
Page 6 ~ b6, b7C  
Outside the scope  
Page 10 ~ b6, b7C  
Outside the scope

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X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X for this Page X  
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000177

AMO HOUGHTON, NEW YORK, CHAIRMAN  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT

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JERRY WELLS, ILLINOIS  
SCOTT McINNES, COLORADO  
MARK FOLEY, FLORIDA  
DAN ADRIANO, TEXAS  
PAUL RYAN, WISCONSIN  
ERIC CANTON, WISCONSIN

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GERALD D. RZEZKA, WISCONSIN  
MICHAEL R. MCGRATH, NEW YORK  
JOHN S. TAMMEL, TENNESSEE  
MAX SANDLIN, TEXAS

BY ORDER:  
BILL THOMAS, CALIFORNIA  
CHARLES S. RANGEL, NEW YORK

*Bill, Sec.*  
BILL THOMAS, CALIFORNIA, CHAIRMAN  
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

ALLISON H. DEAR, CHIEF OF STAFF  
KIRK E. WALDER, SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF DIRECTOR

JANICE HAYS, MINORITY CHIEF COUNSEL  
BETH RUNTZ VANCE, SUBCOMMITTEE MINORITY

Congress of the United States  
U.S. House of Representatives  
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT

FASCIMLE TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

From: Committee on Ways and Means, Subcommittee on Oversight

[Redacted box with checkmarks]

Telephone: [Redacted box]  
Fax: [Redacted box]

b6  
b7C

To: Will Moschella, Asst. Atty. Gen. for Leg. Affairs

Date: 12/8/03

Fax #: [Redacted box]

Pages: 26 (Including Cover Sheet)

RE:

*Will,  
Feel free to give me a call to discuss Chairman  
Thomas' request regarding PETA.  
Thank You.*

[Redacted box] *Dined* [Redacted box]

b6  
b7C

CONFIDENTIALITY NOTICE: The information contained in this message is legally private and confidential information intended only for the use of the individual or entity named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this facsimile message is strictly prohibited. If you have received this facsimile message in error, please notify us by telephone and return the original message to use at the address above via the Postal Service.

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CHAIRMAN

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E. CLAY SHAW, JR., FLORIDA  
NANCY L. JOHNSON, CONNECTICUT  
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JIM HISSLE, IOWA  
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PAUL RYAN, WISCONSIN  
ERIC CANTOR, VIRGINIA

ALLISON H. ORES,  
CHIEF OF STAFF

# Congress of the United States

## U.S. House of Representatives

### COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

1102 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
(202) 225-3825

Washington, DC 20515-6348

<http://waysandmeans.house.gov>

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STEPHANIE TURBS JOHNS, OHIO

JANICE HAYS,  
MINORITY CHIEF COUNSEL

December 8, 2003

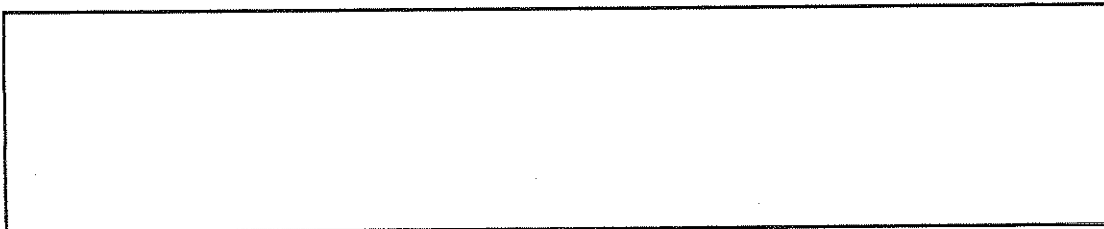
The Honorable William E. Moschella  
Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs  
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, DC 20530

Re: Request for Documents

Dear Assistant Attorney General Moschella:

The House Ways and Means Oversight Subcommittee, acting in its oversight capacity, is investigating the extent to which certain organizations that have been granted preferential tax-exempt status under 26 U.S.C. 501(c)(3) and (4) either have engaged or are engaging in conduct that violates the Internal Revenue Code and tax regulations with the force and effect of law. Most particularly, the Subcommittee is inquiring into certain reported conduct of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) that could constitute a violation of tax laws and regulations.

The Subcommittee therefore requests that the Department of Justice (the "Department") provide the Subcommittee as soon as practicable with all documents that fall within any of the categories described below that are within the possession or control of the Department (the "Document Requests").



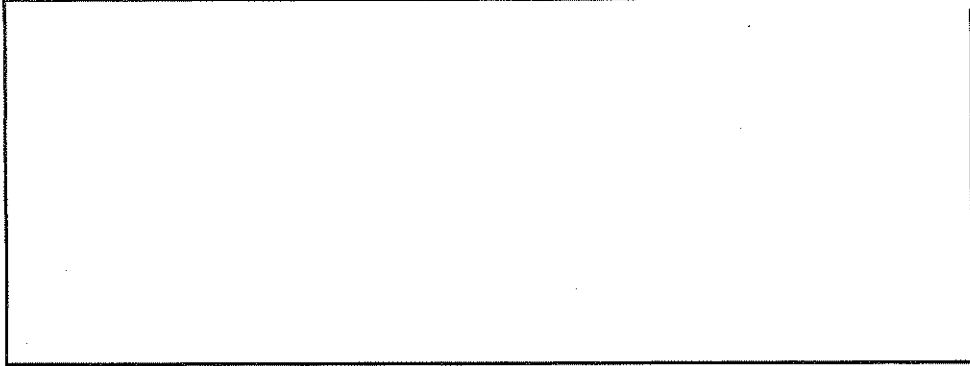
b6  
b7C

- Arson, burglary and massive property destruction that occurred on February 28, 1992 at Michigan State University (MSU).

000179

- A February 28, 1992 PETA press release entitled "Gruesome Mink Experiments Targeted in First ALF Action in Michigan" that credited the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) with making the criminal "attack" at MSU. See Sentencing Memorandum at 4-5.

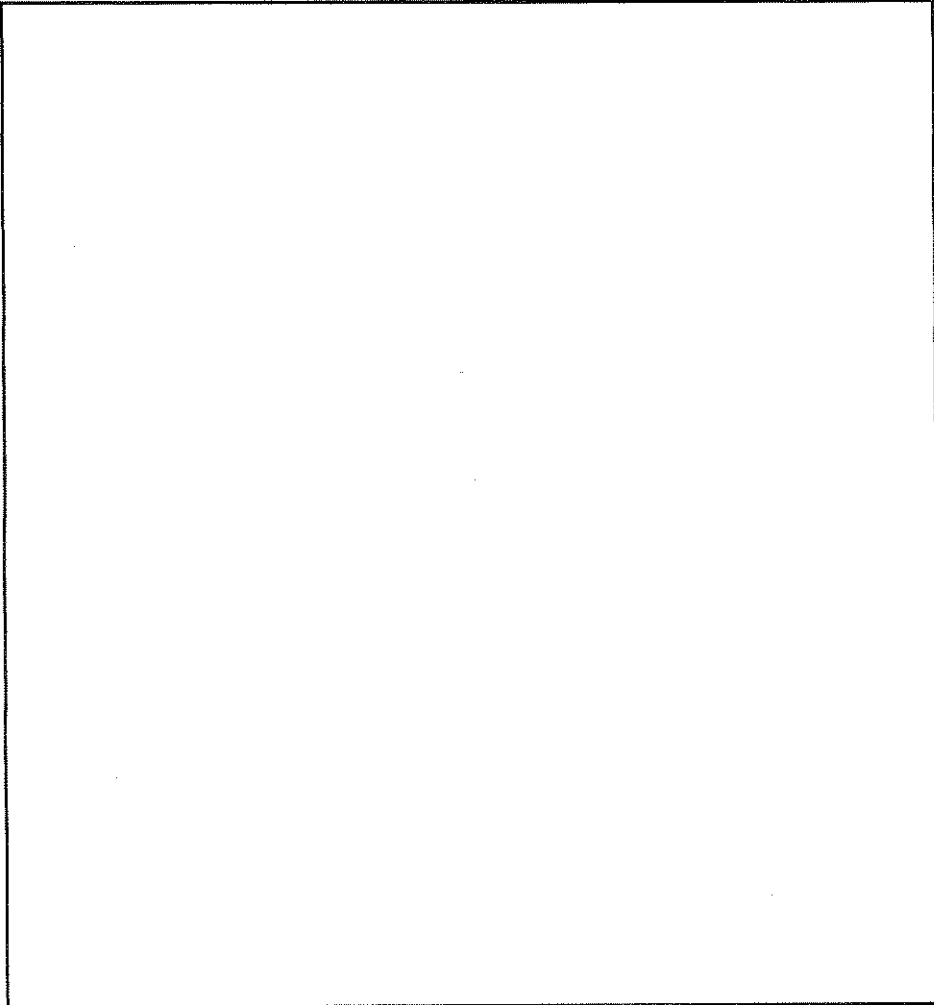
OTHER outside scope



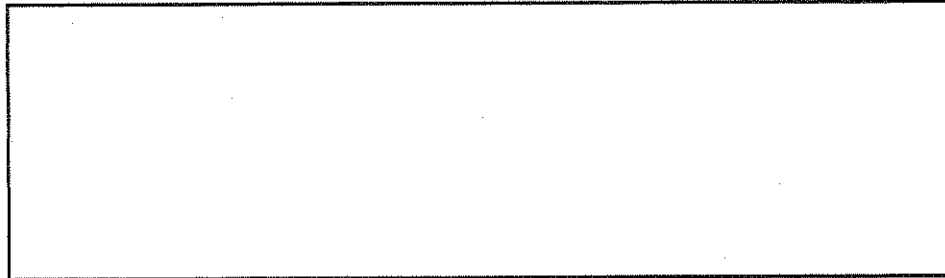
b6

b7C

OTHER outside scope



000180



b6  
b7C

In light of the foregoing, furtherance of the Subcommittee's oversight requires that the following categories of documents within the possession or control of the Department (including any of its components, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF), and also including any documents received from the U.S. Probation Service) be delivered to the Subcommittee staff at the earliest practicable moment.

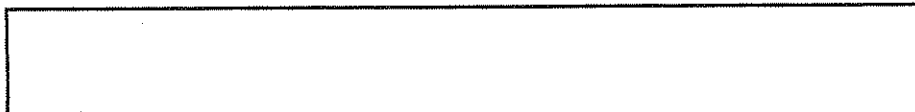
Please note that the Subcommittee is not seeking internal deliberative documents, such as Departmental prosecutive memoranda.

**Description of Documents Requested**

***Subject Matter of Request***

The subject matter of this request includes each of the following:

1.



by any person (including any organizations such as PETA, [redacted]) Included in the subject matter of this request are such crimes acts as conspiracy, attempts, accessory before the fact, accessory after the fact, and obstruction of justice.

b6  
b7C

OTHER Outside the scope



by any person (including any organizations such as PETA, [redacted]) Included in the subject matter of this request are such criminal acts such as conspiracy, accessory before the fact, accessory after the fact and obstruction of justice.

3. Any referrals by any office or agency of the Department of Justice to the Internal Revenue Service of any reports concerning the foregoing two subject matters.





***FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION***

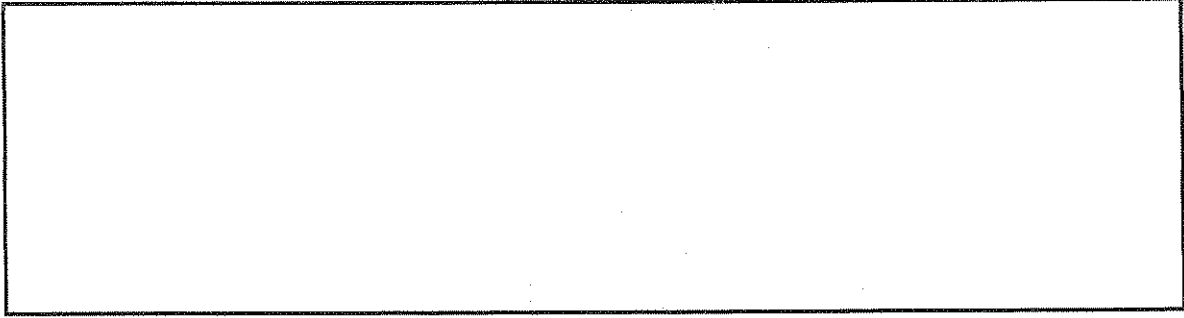
***FREEDOM OF INFORMATION / PRIVACY  
ACTS RELEASE***

***SUBJECT: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
PETA***

***FILE NUMBER / DOCUMENT: DTOU PETA Documents  
Section (s) 5***



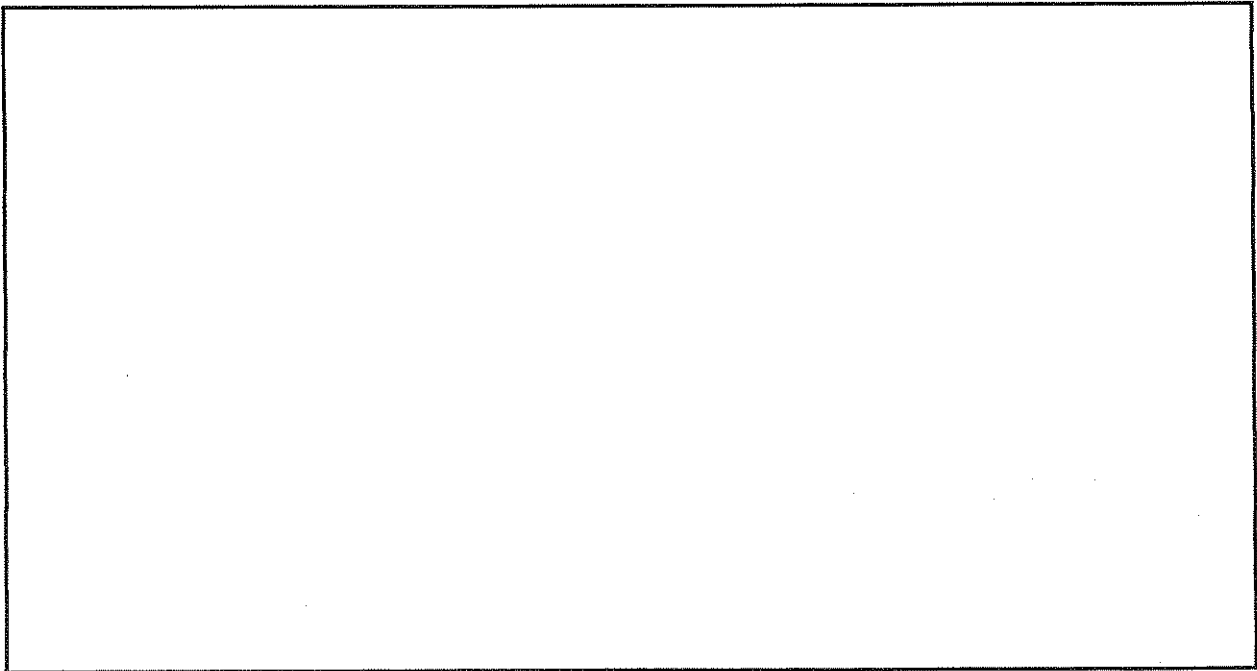
OTHER outside scope



**NORFOLK DIVISION** OTHER outside scope



**Comments:** Various businesses in the Norfolk, Virginia, area have been targeted by animal rights activists. Extremists have placed glue in store locks, sprayed graffiti on private property, and hung message posters from various fast food restaurants, including McDonald's, Hardee's, and Red Lobster. In addition, animal rights extremists are suspected of cutting the electrical circuits in a meat packaging plant in Chesapeake, Virginia, causing the storage facility to lose power. In each case, posters produced by the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), which is headquartered in Norfolk, were found pasted on the various establishments. Representatives of PETA deny any affiliation with ALF. OTHER outside scope



**FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

OTHER outside scope

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

OTHER outside

OTHER outside scope

[Redacted]

▶ Utah ALF members carefully select their targets for maximum media coverage with minimal risk of immediate arrest. For example, Sean Diener appeared on a local PBS radio program to discuss his actions at the Republican National Convention (RNC), where he dumped a truck load of manure on the steps of a building occupied by then-candidate George W. Bush. Diener boasted about being funded for the trip by PETA targeting the RNC. [Redacted]

OTHER outside scope

OTHER outside scope

[Redacted]

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[redacted]  
From: [redacted]  
Sent: b6  
To: b7C

Thursday, May 13, 2004 11:22 AM

Subject: FW: TRIM Document : 04/DO/2138 : People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals Foundation (PETA) alleges false and defamatory FBI statements against PETA



People for the Ethical Treatme...

UNCLASSIFIED

NON-RECORD

[redacted] We are working with Executive Staff on the response.

[redacted] Please keep in th eloop.

b6

b7C

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

From: [redacted] (FBI)

Sent: Thursday, May 13, 2004 10:48 AM

To: [redacted]

Subject: FW: TRIM Document : 04/DO/2138 : People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals Foundation (PETA) alleges false and defamatory FBI statements against PETA

UNCLASSIFIED

NON-RECORD

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

From: [redacted]

Sent: Monday, May 10, 2004 11:06 AM

To: [redacted]

(Div 13) (FBI)

Cc: [redacted]

Subject: FW: TRIM Document : 04/DO/2138 : People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals Foundation (PETA) alleges false and defamatory FBI statements against PETA

UNCLASSIFIED

NON-RECORD

Gentlemen, this letter from PETA was assigned to CTD for response. Has it been routed to DTOS yet? I would like to throw my hat in here (due 6/1/04). Thanks. [redacted]

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

From: [redacted]

Sent: Monday, May 10, 2004 10:22 AM

To: [redacted]

Subject: FW: TRIM Document : 04/DO/2138 : People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals Foundation (PETA) alleges false and defamatory FBI statements against PETA

b7C

b6

UNCLASSIFIED

NON-RECORD

FYI--but I see CTD is assigned to draft a reply.

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

b6

From: [REDACTED]

Sent: Monday, May 10, 2004 9:27 AM

b7C

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: FW: TRIM Document : 04/DO/2138 : People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals Foundation (PETA) alleges false and defamatory FBI statements against PETA

UNCLASSIFIED

NON-RECORD

fyi

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

From: ExecSec

Sent: Monday, May 10, 2004 9:13 AM

To: [REDACTED]

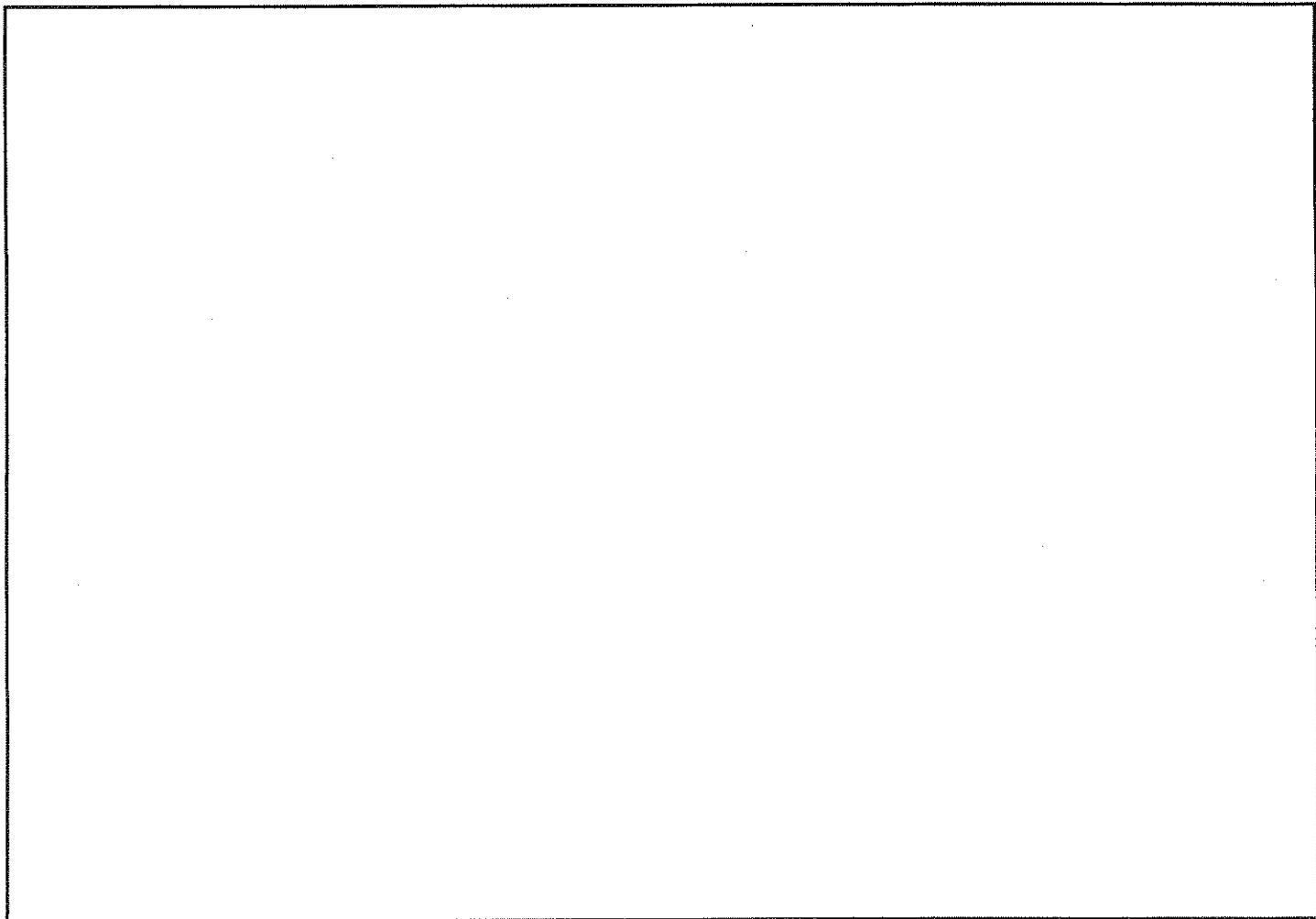
(Div13) (PBT)

[REDACTED]

b6

Subject: TRIM Document : 04/DO/2138 : People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals Foundation (PETA) alleges false and defamatory FBI statements against PETA

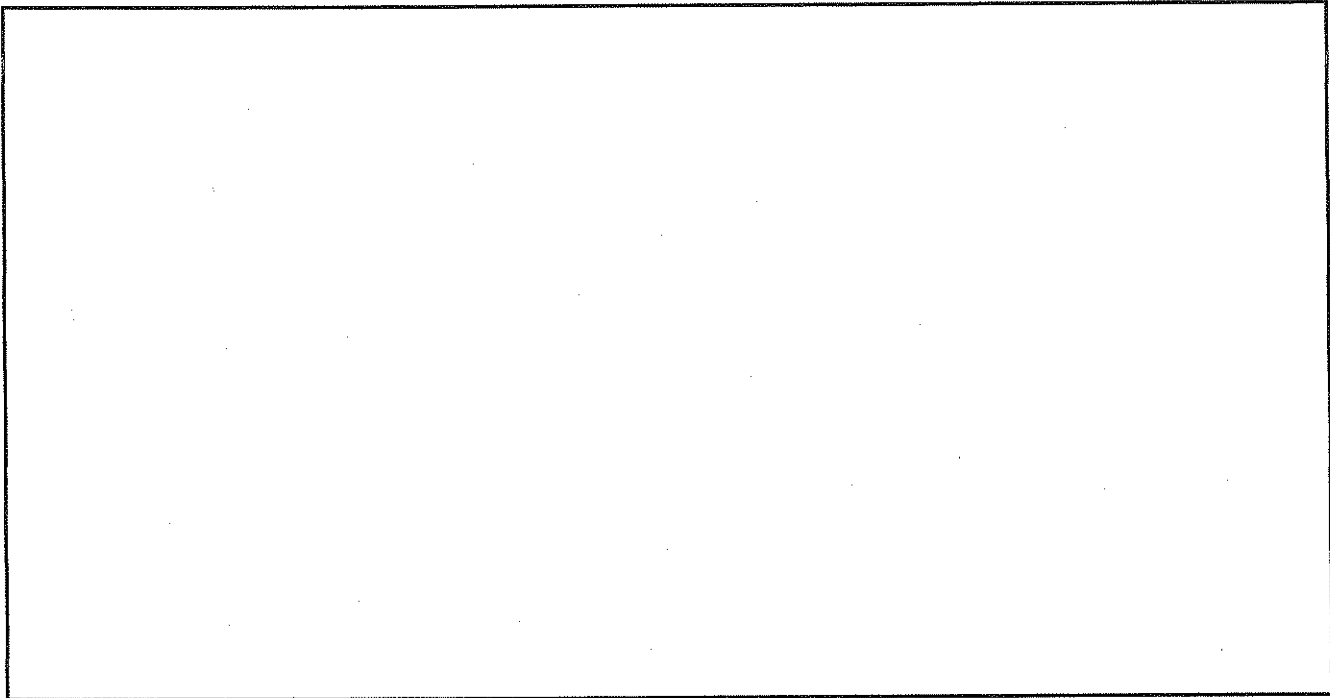
b7C



OTHER outside scope

b2

000185



b2

b6

b7C

b2

OTHER



April 22, 2004 (11:59AM)

-----< TRIM Record Information >-----

b6

Date Due : 6/1/2004 b7C

Action Office : [redacted] (Action Office)

Current Action : PREPARE RESPONSE PER INSTRUCTIONS (Responsibility of: [redacted])

[redacted] Due in 15 Days, 7 Hours, 53 Minutes)

All Contacts : [redacted] (Action Office); [redacted] (Info); [redacted] (Info)

Access DB or Workflow :  
From : [redacted]

Constituent :

Title : People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals Foundation (PETA) alleges false and defamatory FBI statements against PETA

Date of Communication : Friday, April 09, 2004

Notes :

Related Records :

UNCLASSIFIED


UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED



OTHER Outside the scope

Field Offices	Affiliation	Subjects	Nature of Investigation	Actions Underway	Comments
AL AQ AT BF CE CG DE DN HO IP LA LR LS MP MW MO NF NK NY OM PD PG PH PX RH SA SC SD SE SF SU					
	OTHER Outside the scope				
				b6 b7c b3	

000187

OTHER Outside the scope

OTHER outside scope

Field Offices	Affiliation	Subjects	Nature of Investigation	Actions Underway	Comments
AL AQ AT BF CE CG DE DN HO IP LA LR LS MP MW MO NF NK NY OM PD PG PH PX RH SA SC SD SE SF SU					PETA is sponsoring a national student animal rights conference on the campus of American University in Washington, DC, from November 7-9.

OTHER Outside the scope

000188





***FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION***

***FREEDOM OF INFORMATION / PRIVACY  
ACTS RELEASE***

***SUBJECT: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
PETA***

***FILE NUMBER / DOCUMENT: DTOU PETA Documents  
Section (s) 10***



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Serial Description ~ COVER SHEET

11/21/2003

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 10

Page 1 ~ b3, b6, b7C

Page 2 ~ b3, b6, b7C

Page 3 ~ b3, b6, b7C

Page 4 ~ b3, b6, b7C

Page 5 ~ b3, b6, b7C

Page 6 ~ b3, b6, b7C

Page 7 ~ b3, b6, b7C

Page 8 ~ b3, b6, b7C

Page 9 ~ Duplicate

Page 10 ~ b3, b6, b7C

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000189

**Tax Exempt Groups Funding Domestic Terrorism  
Talking Points**

**Role of Tax Exempt Groups Funding Domestic Terrorism**

- The animal rights group, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals has provided funding for the legal defense of noted animal rights activists in the past. Specifically, in 1992, PETA provided in excess of \$45,000 for the legal defense of [redacted] b6  
after he was arrested and charged in connection with [redacted] b7C  
[redacted] PETA further provided funds for the legal defense of [redacted] a noted  
animal rights activist.

OTHER Outside the scope

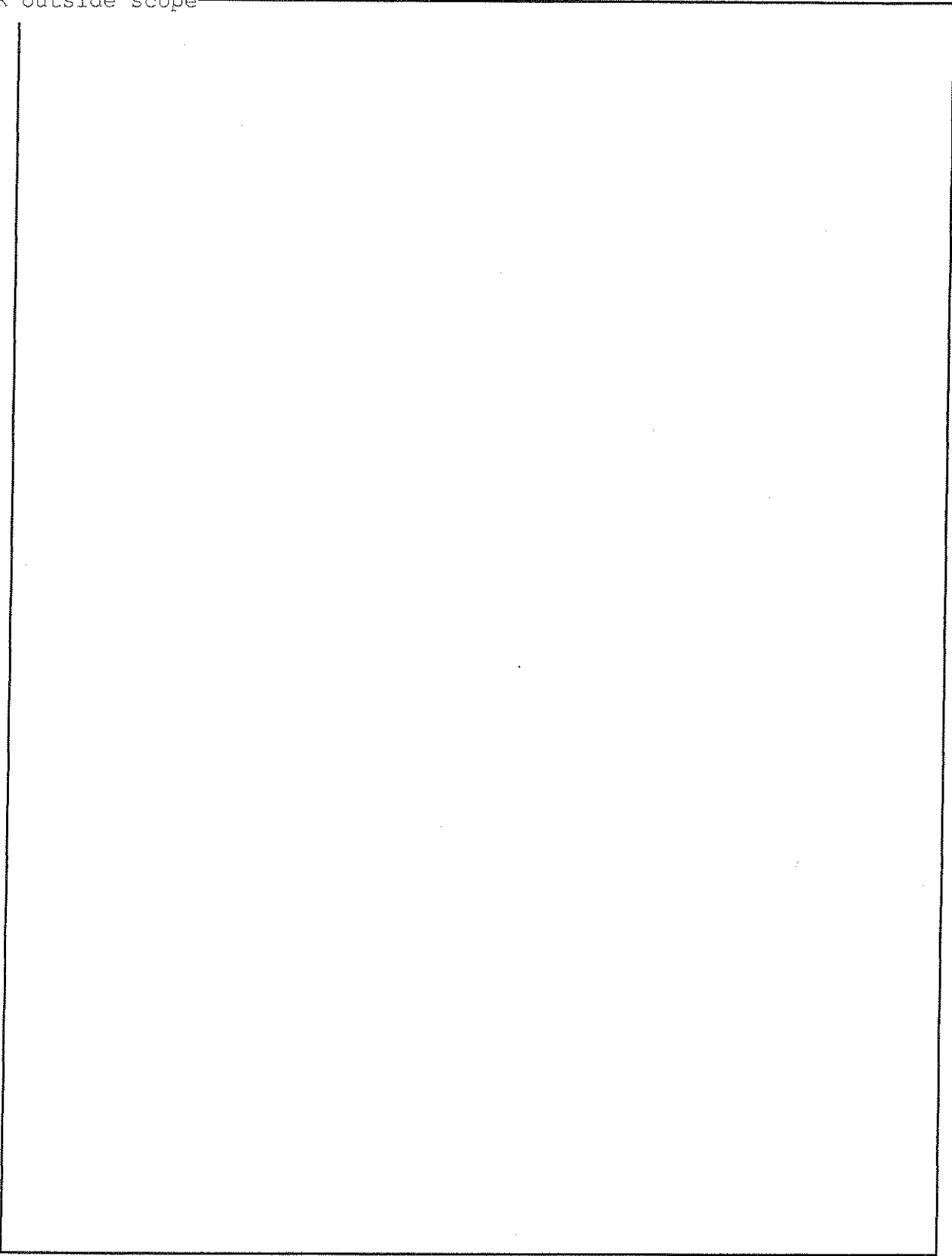
FBI investigation has determined that in 2001, [redacted] b3  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

OTHER outside scope [redacted]  
[redacted]

000190

b7C

OTHER outside scope



000191

[Redacted]

b6

OTHER Outside the scope

[Redacted]

has been

b7C

erenced as a PETA activist in a Norfolk case

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

OTHER outside scope

[Redacted]



***FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION***

***FREEDOM OF INFORMATION / PRIVACY  
ACTS RELEASE***

***SUBJECT: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
PETA***

***FILE NUMBER / DOCUMENT: DTOU PETA Documents  
Section (s) 13***



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Serial Description ~ COVER SHEET

11/11/1111

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Page 5 ~ Referral/Direct  
Page 6 ~ Referral/Direct  
Page 7 ~ Referral/Direct  
Page 20 ~ b2, b5, b6, b7C  
Page 44 ~ b2, b5, b6, b7C, b7D  
Page 45 ~ b2, b5, b6, b7C, b7D  
Page 46 ~ b2, b5, b6, b7C, b7D  
Page 47 ~ b2, b5, b6, b7C, b7D  
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Page 83 ~ b2, b5, b6, b7C, b7E  
Page 91 ~ b6, b7C, b7D  
outside scope

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X for this Page X  
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000193

NORFOLK

b2

Subject: [redacted]  
TEI - PI  
100A-NF-35558

**New Information:** Norfolk SAC granted a second 90 day extension for this TEI-PI on 05/28/2004. This Preliminary Inquiry is now set to expire on 08/28/2004.

**Background:** On 08/29/2003, Norfolk initiated a Terrorism Enterprise Investigation (TEI)-Preliminary Inquiry on People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), Inc., headquartered in Norfolk, Virginia. PETA is suspected of providing material support and resources to known domestic terrorist organizations such as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the F<sup>rat</sup> Liberation Front (ELF) [redacted] b2

[redacted]

As part of its financial investigation, Norfolk has subpoenaed [redacted] records. Of special interest was a [redacted] dated 04/25/2001, which was endorsed and deposited into [redacted] personal account. [redacted] Norfolk has [redacted] Legat London b6 advised that [redacted] consultants. b7C The directors are [redacted] who is associated with [redacted] b2 b7E [redacted] PETA.

b3

In an attempt to develop a cooperating source, Norfolk has concentrated on identifying former disgruntled PETA employees. One such person, [redacted] was interviewed by [redacted] on 01/29/2004. [redacted] was [redacted] PETA from [redacted] [redacted] was required to [redacted] entrance to arenas where the circus was performing. PETA also pressed [redacted] b6 b7C b7D [redacted] personally b7C requested her to participate in this. [redacted] advised that PETA [redacted] b7D [redacted] observed references to the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) [redacted] [redacted] Norfolk is awaiting the results of New York Division's interview of [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D  
  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

On 03/16-19/2004, Norfolk agents along with a DTOU supervisor debriefed [redacted] (protect identity), [redacted] [redacted]



[redacted] made statements suggesting that PETA was formed as a cover for the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and PETA and ALF were one in the same. Names of several former disgruntled PETA employees were provided and Norfolk will attempt to locate and interview any such persons in the hopes of developing a cooperating source. A lead was set for Colorado Springs RA to locate and interview [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Several FBI Divisions have observed apparent links between PETA and animal rights extremists. Los Angeles Division advised that [redacted] a PETA employee, was detained

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted]

b7a

[redacted] a vehicle registered to PETA was observed parked in the driveway. This was the day after FBI Newark executed a search on SHAC's old house in Somerset. A Pen register on [redacted] revealed [redacted]

b2

[redacted]

b3

b6

b7C

b7D

**Department of Justice  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
CONTROL SHEET**

**DATE OF DOCUMENT:** 12/08/2003  
**DATE RECEIVED:** 12/09/2003

**WORKFLOW ID:** 494589  
**DUE DATE:**

**FROM:** The Honorable William M. Thomas  
U.S. House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

**TO:** OLA

**MAIL TYPE:** Congressional Priority

**SUBJECT:** (Fax rec'd from OLA) Ltr from the Chmn, Comte on Ways and Means, advising that the Oversight Subcomte is inquiring into certain reported conduct of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) that could constitute a violation of tax laws and regulations. On behalf of the Subcomte, requests that DOJ provide the Subcomte with specific documents and information by 12/30/2003. By way of the context for the document requests, [REDACTED]

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**DATE ASSIGNED**  
12/09/2003

**ACTION COMPONENT & ACTION REQUESTED**  
Executive Office of United States Attorneys  
Prepare response for AAG/OLA signature.

**INFO COMPONENT:** OAG [REDACTED] ODAG, OASG, FBI, TAX, OLA

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**COMMENTS:** 2/6/04: OLA replied by 2 ltrs dtd 2/3/04. cc: CG files

**FILE CODE:** CHMN

**EXECSEC POC:** [REDACTED]

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~~NO CASE ASSOCIATED~~

~~SECRET//NOFORN//X-1~~

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## SALT LAKE CITY DIVISION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE



DATE: 09-12-2005  
CLASSIFIED BY 65179 dmh/tcg  
REASON: 1.4 (c)  
DECLASSIFY ON: 09-12-2030

05-CV-1004

X-3

### FBI OLYMPIC COUNTERTERRORISM INTELLIGENCE SECTION

### 2002 OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES THREAT ASSESSMENT BY ENTITY

JANUARY 4, 2002

~~SECRET//NOFORN//X-1~~

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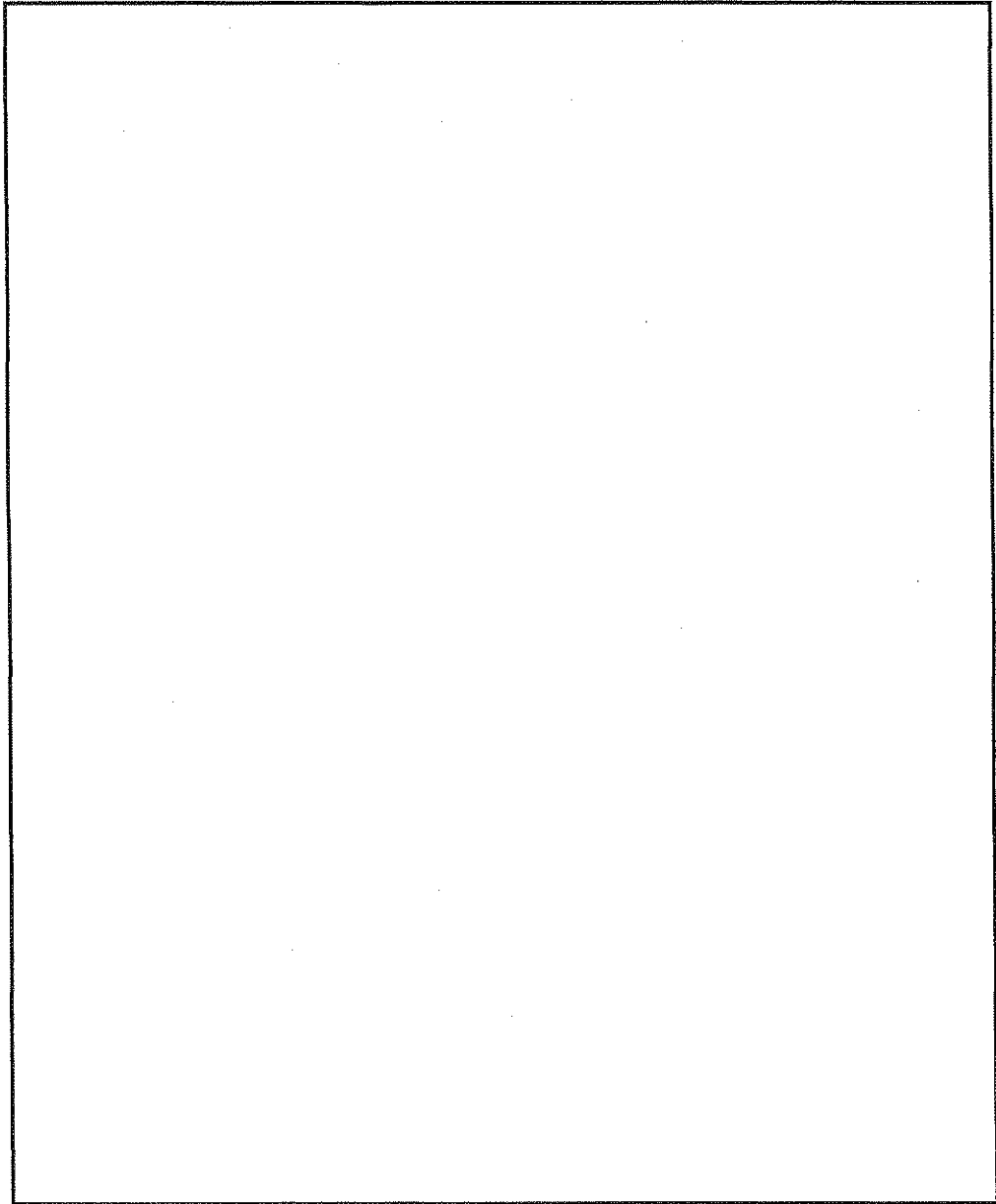
*Pch*

OTHER Outside the scope

**1.1.7. (LES) Utah Animal Rights Coalition (UARC)**



(LES) UARC is associated with the Salt Lake City Animal Defense League (ADL-SLC), People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), Anarchists, Showing Animals Kindness and Respect (SHARK), and Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty (SHAC).



OTHER outside scope

OTHER outside scope

~~SECRET//NOFORN//X-1~~

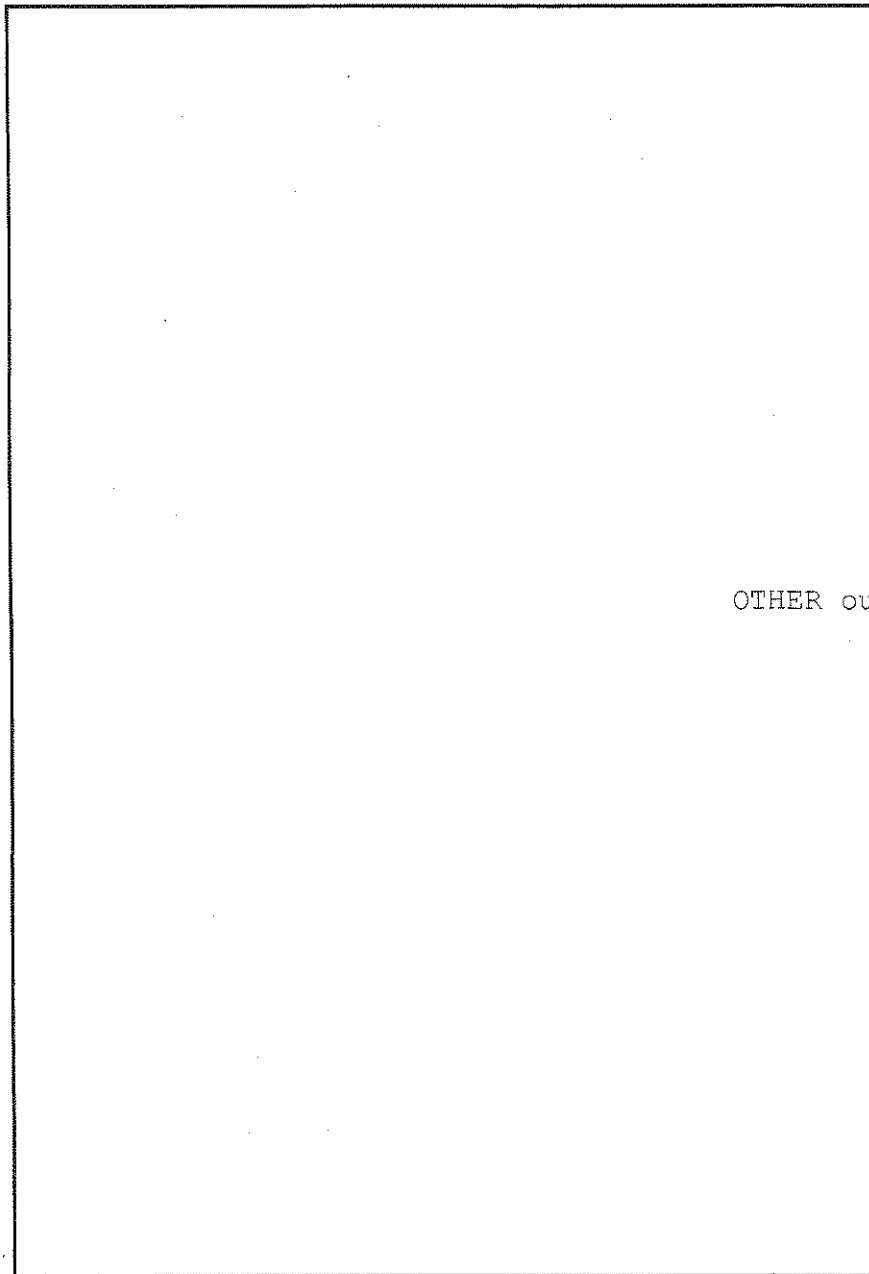


(LES) [redacted] has been associated with ALF-related activity is from Portland, Oregon, area. [redacted] was observed in Park City, Utah, during a PETA-sponsored "Wear Your Own Skin" protest in early 2001.

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1.4



OTHER outside scope

~~SECRET//NOFORN//X-1~~

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From: ☹ "enidbrea" <[queeniefound@h...](mailto:queeniefound@h...)>

Date: Mon Mar 17, 2003 7:02 pm

Subject: A message from Ingrid Newkirk

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Recently, animal rights groups and even our own staff have reported incidents of harassment and information gathering expeditions by the FBI and Homeland Security, even by local police.

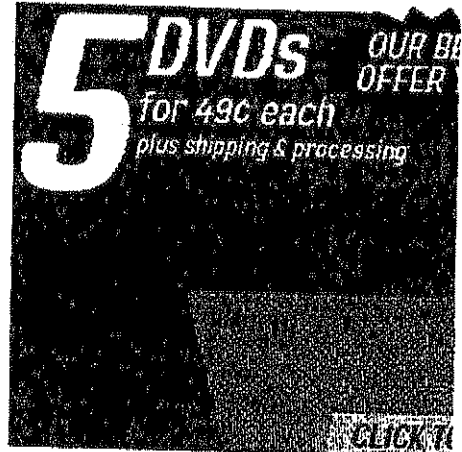
The incident below shows one way this works:

An FBI agent, who at first did not identify himself as such, made a call to one of our staff whose name he had simply read in the paper, assuring her that she was "not in any trouble" and asking her to call him back.

Quite properly, she did not. It is dangerous to engage in even the most innocuous-seeming discourse with the FBI/ Homeland Security/ a local detective for, rest assured, if you do, you will become a notation in a federal file! The next day, the agent called her at home on her private number at 7:45 a.m. "to chat." She properly told him she had nothing to chat with him about and told him not to call her at work or home again. That ended it.

As you may know, the FBI has a massive current investigation into the ALF and ELF and, by default, as with McCarthyism, into the entire animal rights community. As new Homeland Security laws make clear, law enforcement is using the climate of fear of real domestic terrorists to collect information on perfectly law-abiding animal rights activists. We should not allow this to happen in what is still supposed to be a free country. There is now a central data bank set up as a resource in the event of any break-in or liberation, i.e. to use to conduct a witch hunt, to harass and intimidate ordinary people. Don't think this can't happen, because it already has. Most importantly, please don't contribute to it.

ADVERTISEMENT



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Many scholars have written regarding social cause movements, like the civil rights movement and the peace movements and the FBI's crude and sometimes downright illegal tactics in dealing with them. PETA itself has a history of FBI and ATF harassment. We suffered through (successfully) defeating subpoenas to examine our membership and volunteer lists, and many of us were compelled to give handwriting samples and photographs and to appear before grand juries without lawyers present. Wire taps were put on our telephones (dollars to doughnuts they are there again now, and that's not being paranoid, just practical), our telephone records were seized at source, and the postal authority turned over our mail for pre-sorting. All this happened because, unable to come up with real evidence and pinpoint anyone in particular, the FBI set out to "troll" through the most outspoken animal rights group and see if they turned up anything. Doesn't sound very much like the America we know and love, but there you are.

I don't say any of this to alarm you, for you will probably never receive any communication from the FBI/Homeland Security/local law enforcement but to warn you that if you do, it is not at all smart to think you can outwit them, convert them, or just give them "harmless" information and they'll go away. By allowing an FBI agent to write in his book, "Spoke for 20 mins to (your name here)." instead of "She has nothing to say," you have helped keep the chain alive. If you talk to them, they write things like "(your name here) confirmed that she 'knows all about the ALF' and is familiar with the recent mink liberation," when, in fact, you simply answered "Yes" to the question "Do you know what the ALF is?" and "Yes, I read about it in a newspaper clipping" to the question "What do you know about the mink liberation?" If you invite them in, talk to them, and so on, you will almost certainly be used in the future.

One reason people disregard this advice is because the first reaction most of us have is to think "well, we have nothing to hide, so what's the harm?" Or, my favorite, "But, they seemed so nice!" How far would they get with us if they said, "I hate animals" or "I'm out to get you?" One of our staff recounts how an FBI agent came and sat next to him when he was detained after a protest. The agent was very friendly, slouched in his chair and called the police who had been at the demo, "jerks." He acted as if he and our staffer were old friends and casually asked our fellow for his name, his age, how long he'd worked at PETA, if he traveled much in his work, if "higher ups" decided how a demo was going to go. When our person said he wasn't answering and would need to speak to an attorney, the FBI agent acted offended and said, "Wow, we were just having a conversation here." He then told our staffer that he'd heard him on the radio and that "you were articulate, fantastic. That one caller - he was an idiot." When it was clear he wasn't going to get answers, he left the room.

Here is exactly what seasoned attorneys suggest most strongly that you do if approached by an FBI agent, other Homeland Security or other law enforcement officer: who wants to "just chat:" Say politely but firmly and without hesitation, "I have nothing to say" and then hang up, walk away, close the door. Do not be coerced or charmed into helping them by "just answering a few easy questions." If anyone tries to detain you, ask "Am I under arrest?" If they cannot say "yes," you are free to go. Walk or drive away.

If they ring or knock or approach you again, say "Please leave me

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alone. You are harassing me." Say nothing more. It seems rude, but law enforcement officers are used to hearing it and won't take it personally. They will go away. If you converse with them you will be called/visited again.

In light of the constitution, you have the freedom to associate with whomever you choose, and the right to say what you believe in without fear of reprisal, and they have no right to harass those who object to exploitation, war, racial discrimination, animal slavery and the like.

Thank you.  
Ingrid Newkirk

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The New Yorker

April 14, 2003

**SECTION:** FACT; Content; Pg. 52**LENGTH:** 11166 words**HEADLINE:** THE EXTREMIST;

The woman behind the most successful radical group in America.

**BYLINE:** MICHAEL SPECTER**BODY:**

Each year, Victoria's Secret puts on a show in which two dozen of the world's most alluring models stroll down the runway dressed in nothing but stilettos and lingerie. Last November, the spectacle was held at New York City's Lexington Avenue Armory, and scalpers were selling tickets for five hundred dollars. Celebrities like Donald Trump, Susan Lucci, and Woody Harrelson were there that night, and eleven million people watched on network television. Security was unusually tight: New York City police were on hand in large numbers, as were many private bodyguards, along with a highly experienced team hired by Victoria's Secret. To enter the armory, guests had to wait half an hour, then file through a checkpoint where their bodies were scanned and their bags searched with great care. None of that prevented four members of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals from infiltrating the audience. As the Brazilian model Gisele Bundchen made her way down the catwalk, dressed in a beaded bra and black panties, the women leaped onto the stage, unfurling signs that said "Gisele: Fur Scum." The women from [peta](#), as the animal-rights organization is always called, were gone in less than thirty seconds—dragged off the runway, then arrested, arraigned, and deposited in the Tombs. Gisele, the world's most highly paid model, and the current face of the Blackglama fur ad—"What becomes a legend most?"—seemed unfazed by the commotion; CBS shot the segment again, and the show went on. But film clips and news stories about the attack appeared throughout the world, dominating coverage of the show and infuriating Victoria's Secret.

It was not the first such event that [peta](#) had disrupted, of course. There have been hundreds—in the United States, Europe, once even in Beijing. [peta](#) activists have crawled through the streets of Paris with leg-hold traps around their feet; they have dumped buckets of money soaked in fake blood on audiences at the International Fur Fair. Recently, the group ran ads comparing the deaths of women murdered and dismembered by a serial killer to those of animals killed for meat. Officially, [peta](#) does not engage in violence, but its leaders wholeheartedly defend and encourage guerrilla groups like the **Animal Liberation Front**. In fact, Bruce Friedrich, one of [peta](#)'s most prominent leaders, says in a speech that is readily

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available on the Internet, "I think it would be a great thing if, you know, all these fast food outlets and these slaughterhouses and these laboratories and the banks that fund them exploded tomorrow."

One of **peta's** best-known slogans is "I'd rather go naked than wear fur," and the group has made good publicly on that promise so many times that the fashion community has come to expect it. Not long after the Victoria's Secret show, I called Gisele's manager, to ask about the episode. She told me that it was important to know that "in real life Gisele doesn't wear fur. It's just not who she is. You will never run into her on the street in fox or mink. Never.

"Gisele did the Blackglama ad because of its history," she continued. "She saw Marlene Dietrich and Bette Davis and Maria Callas, and they were legends. And that is the motto. Gisele saw it that way and so did I. We did not see this as a product." (Neither Blackglama nor Victoria's Secret was willing to talk about the show, **peta**, the unwanted publicity, or the ads.)

A few days later, *Us Weekly* reported that Ben Affleck had bought a chinchilla coat in Las Vegas for Jennifer Lopez. **peta's** special-projects coordinator, Carrie Beckwith, immediately sent Affleck a letter in which she noted that it takes as many as a hundred chinchillas to make such a coat, and she described the process. "The preferred method of killing chinchillas is by genital electrocution: a method whereby the handler attaches an alligator clamp to the animal's ear and another to her genitalia and flips a switch, sending a jolt of electricity through her skin down the length of her body. The electrical current causes unbearable muscle pain, at the same time working as a paralyzing agent, preventing the animal from screaming or fighting.

"You've been so good to animals in the past," the letter stated. "Now more than ever they need you on their side." To help make her point, she included a graphic video. Affleck replied at once. "You have opened my eyes to a particularly cruel and barbaric treatment of animals," he wrote. "I can assure you I do not endorse such treatment and will not do anything in the future that supports it. . . . I thank you for your letter. . . . A contribution to your organization is forthcoming."

Neither Gisele Bundchen nor Ben Affleck is likely soon to forget their experiences with fur—and that is exactly what **peta** had in mind. "There is no secret about why we attacked those people," Ingrid Newkirk, who is **peta's** leader, told me later. Newkirk is a fifty-three-year-old woman with sharp blue eyes, an oval face, and a bowl of tidy hair that has recently begun to gray. She often wears sporty, casual clothes, and at first glance looks more like a soccer mom than one of the country's more widely reviled political activists. Newkirk founded **peta** two decades ago out of a room in her suburban Maryland home, and it has remained very much under her control as it has grown into the world's largest and best-known animal-rights organization.

"Gisele is a famous, beautiful model," she continued. "Ben is one of the most popular movie stars alive. People pay attention to them and want to be like them. So they needed to be reminded that if they make horrible, cruel decisions there will be unpleasant consequences. Humans need to know that. They need to understand that if they support the torture and misuse of other animals they will be made to pay. The animals are defenseless. They can't talk back, and they can't fight back. But we can. And, no matter what it takes, we always will."

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals describes itself as an "abolitionist organization," and its thirteen-word mission statement, while simple, is breathtaking in its ambition: "Animals are not ours to eat, wear, experiment on or use for entertainment." **peta** believes that animals—and by this it means all animals, from crustaceans to chimpanzees—are on earth to occupy themselves and for no other reason. That humans take advantage of other animals

in any way, simply because we are stronger or smarter, **peta** sees as the abiding moral outrage of our time. The organization has offended so many people in the two decades since it was founded, by Newkirk and a former colleague, Alex Pacheco, that just to hear the word **peta** is enough to make many people shudder-from fear, disgust, or simply weariness.

The group's tactics are often repulsive, but it has a Barnum-like genius for attracting attention. To protest the use of fur in the pages of *Vogue*, **peta** once deposited a dead raccoon on the plate of Anna Wintour, the magazine's editor, while she was eating lunch at the Four Seasons in Manhattan. It deployed its own version of the well-known dairy-industry slogan "Got Milk?" to suggest-without a bit of evidence-that the fat in milk somehow caused Rudy Giuliani's cancer. ("Got prostate cancer?" said the billboard, which also had a picture of Giuliani wearing a milk mustache. "Drinking milk contributes to prostate cancer.") Recently, the organization used a similar approach to appeal to a much younger crowd: "Got Beer?" ads have run in many college newspapers throughout the country. ("Better than milk. Find out more at milksucks.com.")

Nutritionally, **peta** has a point. Yet alcohol abuse has become such a serious problem on college campuses that the ad enraged thousands of people. "It's an irresponsible, recycled publicity stunt that literally puts cows before kids. It's appalling," Wendy Hamilton, the president of Mothers Against Drunk Driving, said. "For Christ's sake, lighten up," Newkirk replied, when I asked her about the campaign. "We simply said that milk is so pathetic that there are even more nutrients in beer. madd should be happy-they got more press than they ever could have hoped for. We didn't know they would come after us, but I am glad they did. We are always disappointed when people don't come after us."

That is rarely a problem. **peta's** publicity formula-eighty per cent outrage, ten per cent each of celebrity and truth-insures that everything it does offends someone. At the end of February, the group began travelling with what may be its most vilified exhibit yet. "Holocaust on Your Plate" compares in great detail what humans routinely do to other animals to Hitler's systematic annihilation of six million Jews. By the end of the first week, the Holocaust Memorial Museum demanded that **peta** stop using its photographs; the Anti-Defamation League and hundreds of others denounced it. The exhibit has been vandalized, and **peta** members in charge of it have been assaulted. (Like most of **peta's** material, the display can be found on-line, at masskilling.com.)

There is never a shortage of stars willing to lend their names to the cause: Alicia Silverstone, Alec Baldwin, Drew Barrymore, and Bill Maher have all appeared in **peta** ads. So has Stella McCartney, the only major designer to reject both fur and leather completely. Sir John Gielgud once made a public-service announcement condemning foie gras just by explaining, in powerful detail and at great length, how it is made. (Metal tubes are shoved down the throats of millions of male ducks and geese; they are then force-fed until their livers swell to at least four times their normal size. At that point, the tubes are withdrawn, the birds are killed, and the livers are on their way to the table.)

Naked women also play a central role in **peta's** demonstrations and advertisements, and if a political organization can be said to have a muse, then the actress Pamela Anderson is **peta's**. In March, she appeared on a gigantic new billboard in Times Square, wearing three strategically placed lettuce leaves. ("People enjoy sex," Newkirk explained. "It's a big part of human nature. So we appeal to that as often as we can. And who could ask for anyone better than Pam? People drool when they look at her. Why wouldn't we use that? We need all the drooling we can get.") In February, Anderson travelled to Vienna, where she had been invited to the annual Opera Ball. When the matrons of Viennese society learned that Anderson's date for the evening would be Dan Mathews, **peta's** vice-president of campaigns, they suddenly began cancelling their reservations, fearing what he might do to their furs. The situation got so bad that Mathews, who had taken dance lessons to prepare for the ball, had to fax the organizers to assure them he had no intention of throwing red paint-or anything else-on their

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clothing. "I plan to use waltzing as a weapon to charm the women out of their furs," Mathews, who functions as the **peta** ambassador to the glamour crowd, said. "Special occasions require special tactics."

**peta** owns a seemingly limitless supply of Web sites, and none of them are subtle. Scientists who experiment on animals have come under particular attack ([marchofcrimes.com](http://marchofcrimes.com), [stopanimaltests.com](http://stopanimaltests.com)), and, throughout America, at least in part thanks to **peta**, most investigators who work with animals in the laboratory-and there are thousands-are now reluctant even to discuss their work in public. "**peta** and the other extremists in the **animal-liberation** movement believe they have to do spectacular things to gain attention," Donald Kennedy, a former commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration and a retired president of Stanford University, told me. "I am sympathetic to that as a philosophy, and certainly we are all more sophisticated about our use of animals than we were twenty years ago. But they are simply wrong when they say you don't ever need to use an animal to develop a drug, design therapies, or study the course of disease. They have harassed legitimate scientists, frightened them, even driven people from the field. Does that really further their cause?"

**peta** objects not only to the use of animals in science, and to anything having to do with fur ([furismurder.com](http://furismurder.com), [furshame.com](http://furshame.com)), but also to zoos ([wildlifepimps.com](http://wildlifepimps.com)), fishing ([fishinghurts.com](http://fishinghurts.com), [lobsterlib.com](http://lobsterlib.com)), and tobacco companies that still test their products on animals ([smokinganimals.com](http://smokinganimals.com)). These days, the **peta** leadership devotes much of its energy to the issue that it sees as responsible for the most abuse of animals by far: the way American corporations turn billions of cows, pigs, and chickens into meat each year. ([kentuckyfriedcruelty.com](http://kentuckyfriedcruelty.com) and [murderking.com](http://murderking.com) are just two of many examples; there are also [wickedwendys.com](http://wickedwendys.com) and [shameway.com](http://shameway.com).)

Because circuses appeal so widely to the young, they arouse **peta's** particular wrath ([circuswatch.com](http://circuswatch.com)). One night in December, I stood in front of the Savannah Civic Center when the Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Circus came to town. Newkirk and several colleagues were there, and they spent the evening bearing placards, dodging police, and hectoring scores of families who were entering the coliseum with young children. ("Elephants are mammals!" they shouted. "Mammals have hair. Do you know how trainers remove that hair so the elephants will look good for you tonight? They burn it off with blowtorches. Please make this your last visit to the circus.") The **peta** video truck was parked nearby. With elegiac music playing in the background, a continuous loop of clandestinely shot footage ran on the truck's two giant screens, each showing trainers beating, shocking, whipping, and even shooting elephants. The children who saw the video were horrified, and their parents were furious.

In 1972, Ingrid Newkirk was twenty-two years old, living in Poolesville, Maryland, and studying to become a stockbroker. Her favorite food was liver. One day, her next-door neighbor moved away and abandoned nearly a dozen cats. "They were coming onto my property and having kittens," Newkirk told me during one of our many conversations over the past six months. She looked in the Yellow Pages for the address of the nearest animal shelter, then gathered up the cats and drove over. "When I arrived at the shelter, the woman said, 'Come in the back and we will just put them down there,' " she said. Newkirk was born in England and reared mostly in India. She had only recently moved to the United States, and the phrase "put them down" meant nothing to her. "I thought, How nice-you will set them up with a place to live. So I waited out front for a while, and then I asked if I could go back and see them, and the woman just looked at me and said, 'What are you talking about? They are all dead.'

"I just snapped when I heard those kittens were dead," Newkirk told me. "The woman was so rude. The place was a junk heap in the middle of nowhere. It couldn't have been more horrible. For some reason, and even now I don't know what it was, I decided I needed to do something about it. So I thought, I'm going to work here. I went to see the manager, and he

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said, 'We have one opening in the kennel.' I asked to have it. He said, 'What have you been doing?' and I said, 'Well, actually, I am studying for the brokerage.' " He laughed and told her she was perhaps a bit overqualified, but she begged him to let her try, and, reluctantly, he agreed. The following day, Newkirk gave notice at the brokerage and started a new career.

What she saw at the shelter affected her profoundly. "I went to the front office all the time, and I would say, 'John is kicking the dogs and putting them into freezers.' Or I would say, 'They are stepping on the animals, crushing them like grapes, and they don't care.' In the end, I would go to work early, before anyone got there, and I would just kill the animals myself. Because I couldn't stand to let them go through that. I must have killed a thousand of them, sometimes dozens every day. Some of those people would take pleasure in making them suffer. Driving home every night, I would cry just thinking about it. And I just felt, to my bones, this cannot be right. I hadn't thought about animal rights in the broader sense. Not then, or even for a while after. But working at that shelter I just said to myself, 'What is wrong with human beings that we can act this way?' "

For many years, while her father worked in New Delhi as a navigational engineer, Newkirk attended convent boarding schools. "It was the done thing for a British girl in India," she said. "But I was the only British girl in this school. I was hit constantly by nuns, starved by nuns. The whole God thing was shoved right down my throat." When she was eighteen, with the Vietnam War raging, her father was seconded to the United States Air Force and moved to Florida, where he helped design bombing systems for airplanes and ships.

Ingrid went along with him, and it was there that she met her husband, Steve Newkirk, while pursuing her hobby of auto racing, which remains one of her few genuine passions (sumo wrestling is another). Steve took her to Watkins Glen and introduced her to the baroque world of Formula One; Newkirk has been a fanatic ever since. (The two were divorced in 1980 but are still friendly.) Newkirk thinks nothing of staying up half the night to watch races in Australia or Malaysia. Her office floor, in addition to being covered with welcome mats for cats, and with magazines like *Animal Times* and *Meat & Poultry News*, is strewn with the latest issues of *Car & Driver* and *AutoWeek*.

Ingrid Newkirk is the only person I have ever met-and quite possibly the least likely-to have asked me "Do you know Monte Carlo?" She has been there during racing season, and there is a picture of her hero, the German champion Michael Schumacher, prominently displayed in her office. "I can still remember the smell of the first trip to Watkins Glen," she told me over lunch one day, with a gleam of pure pleasure in her eyes. "At that time you had to use Castrol motor oil. And the smell of that oil was just divine. They don't use that formula anymore. But I wish they did." I asked her what, exactly, she found so exciting about auto racing. She stared at me as if I were out of my mind. "It's sex," she said. "The first time you hear them rev their engines, my God! That noise goes straight up my spine. It's so electrifyingly glorious."

Newkirk and her husband moved to Maryland in 1970, and after her brief time at the shelter she became a deputy sheriff who focussed on animal-cruelty cases for Montgomery County. By 1976, she had been placed in charge of the animal-disease-control division of the District of Columbia Commission on Public Health. "I loved meat, liver above all," she told me. If liver were somehow morally permissible, I asked her, would she eat it again? "My God, I would eat it tomorrow. Now. I would eat roadkill if I could.

"I'd eat burgers, steak, anything. I love car racing and meat. I am a boy at heart, I am my father's son. When I worked at the Washington humane society, I stayed upstairs, slept in my clothes with my shoes on, after working my day job at the sheriff's office, and then I would be on call at night. On my way down into the District, I would stop in Potomac and pick up triple-ground prime meat. In my refrigerator I had ketchup, Worcestershire sauce,

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and I would keep eggs. I would break a raw egg and take onions and capers and I would mix it all, and I would go about checking on the animals while eating this raw food right out of my hand.

"I am just a raw-oyster, raw-meat-eating person who happened to find out what happened in the meat industry, and I just can't support it," she continued. "It's so ghastly. So vast and wrong and ghastly."

It was at about this time that Newkirk decided that it was morally impossible to draw a distinction between mistreating a pet and mistreating a pig or a chicken that we will never see until it appears on our plate. By 1980, she had come to believe that it wasn't enough merely to empathize with animals; she had decided that it was unacceptable for humans to use them in any way. From the start, **peta** was more radical than any of the established animal-welfare organizations. In 1981, the group's investigation of the treatment of experimental monkeys in a Maryland laboratory, carried out by Alex Pacheco with walkie-talkies and hidden cameras, resulted in the first police raid of any American research laboratory on suspicion of animal cruelty. The Silver Spring Monkeys, as the case came to be called, made headlines throughout the country.

Newkirk loved the notoriety, and still does; jousting with the media thrills her. "We are complete press sluts," she told me. "It is our obligation. We would be worthless if we were just polite and didn't make any waves." On several occasions during our interviews, she asked if I was looking for any particular kind of quote or theme. I didn't understand what she meant, so she explained: "Well, you know, that Reuters reporter was so thrilled when I told him my position on hoof-and-mouth disease. Don't you need something like that, too?" (Two years ago, when an epidemic of hoof-and-mouth disease terrified Europe and forced farmers to kill millions of animals, Newkirk made no effort to hide her delight. "I openly hope that it comes here," she said. "It wouldn't be any more hideous for the animals—they are all bound for a ghastly death anyway. . . . It will bring economic harm only for those who profit from giving people heart attacks and giving animals a concentration-camp-like existence.")

Newkirk is well read, and she can be witty. When she is not proselytizing, denouncing, or attacking the ninety-nine per cent of humanity that sees the world differently from the way she does, she is good company. After years of detestable public behavior, however, she has the popular image of a monster. Whenever I mentioned her name to friends, they would recoil. And she becomes more disliked with every **peta** stunt; she can't walk through an airport without accosting any woman who is wearing fur. She no longer takes vacations in tropical or poor countries like Mexico, because "I spend the whole time rescuing animals from their horrid owners." Some of her actions seem like "Saturday Night Live" skits. On January 26th, for instance, a bomb-dispatched by Palestinian terrorists—exploded on the road between Jerusalem and the West Bank settlement of Gush Etzion. Nobody was seriously injured, but the explosives were strapped onto a donkey and detonated remotely. The donkey was killed. The following week, Newkirk wrote to Yasir Arafat.

"Your Excellency," the letter began. "All nations behave abominably in many ways when they are fighting their enemies, and animals are always caught in the crossfire. The U.S. Army abandoned thousands of loyal service dogs in Vietnam. Al-Qaeda and the British government have both used animals in hideously cruel biological weaponry tests. We watched on television as stray cats in your own compound fled as best they could from the Israeli bulldozers." Newkirk ended the letter by asking Arafat to leave the animals out of the conflict. She made no mention of the vast human toll the violence in the Middle East has taken. "We are named People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals," she told me when I asked about it. "There are plenty of other groups that worry about the humans." A couple of days later, Newkirk sent me a satirical story that ran in the *Union* headlined, "heroic **peta** commandos kill 49, save rabbit." She thought it was hilarious.

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In her idiosyncratic way, Ingrid Newkirk is a perfectly logical woman: when I asked her about the dangers associated with the rapid proliferation of deer in American suburbs, and suggested that surely their enormous population needed to be culled, she replied by saying, "Deer are native Americans. We are not." She regards the use of Seeing Eye dogs as an abdication of human responsibility and, because they live as "servants" and are denied the companionship of other dogs, she is wholly opposed to their use. She has had at least one dog taken from its owner. Among her most frequently cited statements is: "When it comes to feelings like hunger, pain, and thirst, a rat is a pig is a dog is a boy." Once, after an hour of frustrating debate on the morality and merit of using animals in scientific research, I asked whether she would remain opposed to experiments on, say, five thousand rats, or even five thousand chimpanzees, if it was required to cure AIDS. "Would you be opposed to experiments on your daughter if you knew it would save fifty million people?" she replied. Medical progress in scores of areas-vaccine development, cancer treatment, genetics, and AIDS, among others-would stop if we began to equate the lives of rats with those of humans. Newkirk doesn't care. "For you this is just a passing issue, a story," she said. "For me it's real. It's a horror I live with every day."

Since November, I have received hundreds of e-mails from Newkirk. Many are informational, some chatty, and others simply absurd. More than a few, though, are heartfelt attempts to explain her particularly bleak view of the universe. When we were in Savannah, she told me, in the most unequivocal terms, that the world would be an infinitely better place without humans in it at all. I must have shown my astonishment, because by the time I got back to New York, later that day, she had already written thousands of words to me, of which this is only a sample:

There are a billion mean tricks of Nature. And human beings, who aren't "a thing apart" but part of nature, are cruel, out of sheer obliviousness if nothing else, but often out of malice or selfishness. A few clothes and a Jag and being able to read the NYT don't separate "us" from or elevate "us" above the other species! . . . Why does feeling superior mean being able to treat those "beneath us" with contempt? That's what the Nazis did, isn't it? Treated those "others" they thought subhuman by making them lab subjects and so on. Even the Nazis didn't eat the objects of their derision.

The first time we met, I told Newkirk that I was not a vegetarian and not likely to become one. She made it one of her goals not only to change that but to transform me into a vegan. (A vegan does not use, wear, or eat animal products of any kind: no leather shoes, no milk, no eggs-not even honey. Newkirk has had vegan meals from New York City's Candle Cafe delivered to my office, and she even had a mock beef Wellington FedExed to me.) When I was with Newkirk, I usually ate what she ate-often a delicious mixture of highly spiced vegetables and tofu. Once or twice, however, I transgressed; tears filled her eyes the day I ordered a Cobb salad for lunch. "What does it take, tell me, what does it take to get somebody like you on our side?" she said to me later that afternoon. "I am asking you. This is my chance. You fancy yourself as a decent, socially conscious, well-educated, literate person. How can I reach you? Where am I going wrong?"

peta is not an easy place to work-Newkirk often starts before dawn, and when she returns home, late, she fires off e-mails for hours. She demands nearly as much from her colleagues. Newkirk is not merely the boss; since 1999, when Pacheco decided to leave to pursue other goals, she has been the monarch. peta has a board, but only because its tax-exempt status requires one; the board does whatever Newkirk tells it to do. "This is not a democratic organization," she said. "I never pretended that it was. I don't know where exactly it would go if it were a democracy. And I am not willing to give it a try."

Most of the people who work at peta see Newkirk as flexible and open to suggestions. From time to time, she will even approve actions and campaigns she herself would never undertake. Yet her singular reign has led many in the animal-welfare movement, including

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former employees, to refer to **peta** as Ingrid Newkirk's cult. When I asked her about this, she went white. "That's a very nasty and bad word and it shouldn't be in the article. I can't stand to hear that word. If you put that cult stuff in, nobody will take what we do seriously." She sat silent for a few moments, visibly disturbed. "I am just trying to make the best possible case for the animals. That is clearly what I have been put on earth to do. Even after I am gone I will try to continue." A few days later, she sent me a copy of her will-which previously she had shown only to her attorney. Like nearly everything else Newkirk does, it contains an element of shameless hucksterism, a lot that is hard to take seriously, and a hint, perhaps, of something significant:

While the final decision as to the use of my body remains with **peta**, I make the following suggested directions:

- a. That the "meat" of my body, or a portion thereof, be used for a human barbecue, to remind the world that the meat of a corpse is all flesh, regardless of whether it comes from a human being or another animal and that fleshfoods are not needed;
- b. That my skin, or a portion thereof, be removed and made into leather products, such as purses, to remind the world that human skin and the skin of other animals is the same and that neither is "fabric" or needed;
- c. That my feet be removed and umbrella stands or other ornamentation be made from them, as a reminder of the depravity of killing innocent animals, such as elephants, in order that we might use their body parts for household items and decorations;
- d. That my eyes be removed, mounted and delivered to the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency as a reminder that **peta** will continue to be watching the agency until it stops poisoning and torturing animals in useless and cruel experiments;
- e. That my pointing finger be delivered to Kenneth Feld the owner of Ringling Brothers or to a circus museum, to stand as the "Greatest Accusation on Earth" on behalf of the countless animals who have been deprived of all that is natural and pleasant to them, abused and forced into involuntary servitude for the sake of cheap entertainment.

In 1996, Newkirk moved **peta** from the Maryland suburbs to Norfolk, Virginia, principally because it's a cheap place to live. Norfolk is the home of the Atlantic Fleet and not exactly a hotbed of animal activism, but for two million dollars the group acquired a big building on the Elizabeth River, and more than a hundred people work there. The waterfront is dotted with shipyards, and the shimmering metal-and-glass offices are only a ten-minute walk from the Hampton Roads Naval Historical Museum and the battleship Wisconsin. The place has a Northern European feel to it: steely and gray but soothing, too, with the sun bouncing off the water and onto the building at strange angles. The day I arrived, I watched as a series of the Navy's amphibious assault ships, filled with sailors and marines headed for the Persian Gulf, edged out into the mouth of Chesapeake Bay.

Inside, the building could have been designed by Dr. Doolittle. There is a quotation from Leonardo da Vinci chiselled into the lintel above the reception area: "The day will come when men such as I will look upon the murder of animals the way they now look upon the murder of men." Dogs and cats roam the halls. There are cat ladders throughout the offices, and animals are constantly leaping on and off them. At lunch, dozens of employees slip out to spend some time with their companion animals. (Nobody at **peta** would ever use the word "pet.")

Besides Newkirk, the best-known members of the group are Bruce Friedrich and Dan Mathews. It would be hard to find three people who seem to have less in common. Newkirk considers herself a feminist and an atheist. Friedrich, whose title at **peta** is director of vegan

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outreach, functions to some degree as the organization's chief ideologist. He is a soft-spoken man, who, Newkirk once told me, "lives like Christ"; he spent years working in soup kitchens in Washington, where, most of the time, he lives. Friedrich is a devout, even militant, Catholic, who gives twenty per cent of his meagre income to the Church and other charities and is as comfortable marching in an anti-abortion rally as Newkirk is talking about why, at the age of twenty-two, she was sterilized. ("I am not only uninterested in having children. I am opposed to having children. Having a purebred human baby is like having a purebred dog; it is nothing but vanity, human vanity.")

Mathews, the third member of the triumvirate, is openly gay. He was raised in California's Orange County, where, as a fat gay boy, he decided that being detested by most people around him wasn't as painful as living a lie. Mathews is six feet five, and zips around Norfolk in a green Suzuki sidekick that he bought used, from a sailor. These days, he looks more like a male model than the chubby teen-ager he once was. Mathews is often Pamela Anderson's "date," and while many of his colleagues live rather ascetic lives, he is just as likely to turn up at a club in Paris or New York as in Norfolk.

**peta** is by far the most successful radical organization in America, raising more than fifteen million dollars a year, most of it in small contributions from its seven hundred and fifty thousand members and supporters. Newkirk believes in spending as much of that as she can. There are departments devoted to wildlife, companion animals, investigations, advertising; and, particularly lately, kids, who are more susceptible to the message-that vegetarianism makes sense on nutritional and ecological grounds. For the most part, children do not hold **peta** in the same negative regard as do many of their parents. (One of the most heavily visited **peta** Web sites, **peta2.com**, is dedicated to youngsters.) The network of eight thousand activists between the ages of thirteen and twenty-four has message boards, contests, and games. It is run by Marci Hansen, an eager and articulate thirty-four-year-old woman whose last job was as a marketing manager at Amazon.com. Hansen can talk endlessly about skateboarders, snowboarders, Pink, and surfing publications. "We are after the kids who are looking and searching for something," she told me. "Teens want the truth. We walk the talk. You cannot call us hypocrites."

It has been argued many times that in any social movement there has to be somebody radical enough to alienate the mainstream-and to permit more moderate influences to prevail. For every Malcolm X there is a Martin Luther King, Jr., and for every Andrea Dworkin there is a Gloria Steinem. Newkirk and **peta** provide a similar dynamic for groups like the Humane Society of the United States, which is the biggest animal-welfare organization in the country and far more moderate than **peta**. When I asked Newkirk why she didn't enter political campaigns for animal action and lobby more vigorously on Capitol Hill for her positions, she laughed: "Are you kidding? Dear boy, we are the kiss of death. If we are involved, the legislation is automatically dead. We have members yelling at us, 'Why are you not working on these issues?' But activists just beg us to stay the hell out."

That raises the question of whether **peta's** shock tactics and abrasiveness might be so unsavory that they offend many of the very people the group wishes to attract. One day, I put that question to the philosopher Peter Singer, whose book "**Animal Liberation**" (1975) is often credited with inspiring the modern animal-rights movement; Newkirk told me that it persuaded her to start **peta**. "Publicity is a tactic that has worked well for them," Singer said. "Ingrid constantly risks offense, but she seems to feel it does more good than harm." In fact, Newkirk seems openly to court the anger even of people who share her views. "I know feminists hate the naked displays," she told me. "I lose members every time I do it. But my job isn't to hold on to members, as much as I'd like to-it's to get people who just don't give a damn about this issue to look twice." The truth is that extremism and outrage provide the fundamental fuel for many special-interest groups. Nobody ever stopped hunting because the National Rifle Association supports assault weapons; many of those who oppose abortion are appalled that people in their movement commit acts of violence, yet they are not appalled

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enough to support abortion. The same is true with **peta**, and Newkirk knows it; a vegan isn't going to start eating meat or wearing fur simply because she disapproves of a naked calendar.

Each week, Newkirk holds a kind of war council: she gathers two dozen of her top strategists around a square table in the second-floor conference room to plot their next moves, and while I was in Norfolk she invited me to join them. Jason Baker, who runs the **peta** operation in Hong Kong (there are also offices in England, Germany, Holland, and India), presented a slide of a new advertisement he was preparing for the Asian market to publicize the plight of elephants. It is a picture of a naked woman, shackled and in chains. (The woman, Imogen Bailey, was recently voted Australia's sexiest model.) "We are going to put whip marks on her back," Baker explained to approving mutters, "and, if it works visually, tears in her eyes." Newkirk stared at the picture for a minute and then shook her head. "She looks like she's pouting," she said. "It's too sexy. We need to make her look terrified." Baker promised to take care of it.

Next on the agenda: the case of Charlton Heston. Heston has fallen ill with Alzheimer's, a disease with symptoms that can resemble those of Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease, or CJD, the human form of mad-cow disease. Deer have a chronic wasting syndrome similar to that found in cattle, and, tenuous though it is, the link presents **peta** with an opportunity to, as Newkirk put it, "toy with the idea that both Alzheimer's and CJD are related to meat consumption."

"We can flaunt the idea that his disease is from deer meat!" somebody shouted. "He has to hunt. He's a gun freak," another person said. The group started to talk about his famous relationship with the National Rifle Association and complain about the gun lobby, but Newkirk cut them off. "We are not anti-gun, we are pro animals. Don't lose the thread, people." She then suggested renting billboards that would display a large picture of a gaunt Charlton Heston foaming at the mouth. Most of the people in the room were thrilled by the idea. But Joe Haptas, a campaign coordinator, was not among them. "Are you kidding?" he shouted. "That is just mean-spirited. He is an American icon. You can't do this." Newkirk snapped back: "Who said you can't pick on an icon? He is like Anita Bryant. He is pro hunting. He has made his own bed."

Haptas was horrified: "My God, you are talking about Moses. We are going to pick on Moses? It will alienate half our members and most of the known world." Newkirk rolled her eyes and whispered, in a way meant for everyone in the room to hear, "So what?"

The **peta** strategy session resembled the pitch meeting of a very bizarre Madison Avenue advertising agency. Nothing was too kooky or unkind to think about. "Should we put somebody on the Atkins cruise?" one person wondered. The Atkins Diet, which is perhaps the most heavily meat-based meal plan in America, was sponsoring a cruise; it would be a meat-eater's paradise, and the idea of crashing it seemed like mischievous fun. But Tracy Reiman, who is in charge of international campaigns, quickly brought the group to its senses: "Some people are paying thousands of dollars to go on the cruise. Do you really think we are going to win even one of them over? It would be a waste of time. And, by the way, it would be horrible for whoever gets stuck on that boat with those people. Can you imagine it? They would probably be thrown overboard." The idea was abandoned.

Then it was on to an action planned for one of the Nordstrom department stores. "You know they have a policy where they will take anything back for any reason," Reiman said. "One of our people in Seattle is going to return a dead fox." After that, the eternal question arose: How do you deal with the running of the bulls at Pamplona? **peta**, of course, is opposed to it, as it is to bullfighting. So it has decided to sponsor a giant naked race two days before the running of the bulls, in the hope that it will compete for attention ([runningofthenudes.com](http://runningofthenudes.com)).

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peta's big foray into the world of high fashion came next: the New York collections were coming up, and the group was sponsoring a show by Gaelyn and Cianfarani, who design clothes made from natural fibres, recycled bicycle inner tubes, and sheets of latex. The sponsors agreed to give peta space in the main exhibition tents during Fashion Week, but there was a price: the group was expected to leave everyone else alone. "We just did the Gisele thing, and now we have to behave ourselves," Mathews announced sternly. "That's the deal we made. Agreed?"

The group devoted the biggest block of time to its most important current action: the campaign against KFC. According to the company's Web site, last year the chain served seven hundred and thirty-six million chickens. If the chickens served in its restaurants in 2002 were laid head to claw, they would circle the equator more than eight times. Somebody suggested making Colonel Sanders action figures, or having people go to Louisville basketball games dressed only in a bucket. Another person said that perhaps they ought to commit civil disobedience at KFC restaurants; getting arrested is always good for the cause. Newkirk quickly rejected that idea. "No," she said. "Once you start, you have to continue, and I don't think we have the resources or the support yet." Everyone agreed that they had to attack the image of the Colonel. "He is loved in Louisville, and he is buried there," someone said. Newkirk's eyes lit up. "Why not find out when his birthday is, call the newspapers, and go dance on his grave?" she said. Then Dan Mathews spoke up again. "I have some great news," he said. "Do you know that fat little guy from 'Seinfeld'? He has become the main pitchman for KFC. Jason Alexander. And beginning in May he is going to star in the West Coast production of 'The Producers.' It's made for us. We can be slamming him as the play opens. If we do this properly, he will wish he never saw a chicken."

When you drive south along the flats of the Eastern Shore of the Delmarva Peninsula, past Salisbury, Maryland, and down Route 413 or any of the back roads near Crisfield, there are stretches where you will see almost nothing but series of low sheds, each about three hundred yards long. This is poultry country, and it is where many of the chickens we eat spend their lives. I went there for a couple of days this winter, hoping to meet some farmers and visit a processing plant. It wasn't as easy as I had expected. For one thing, nobody was home at most of the places that I visited. Few of those who are under contract to raise chickens can live solely on what they make from the big poultry concerns like Perdue and Tyson, so, during the day, most of the workers are out at other jobs.

Except for the low hum of a ventilation system, the sheds that I approached were quiet. Every window was covered with thick blackout curtains, and it seemed as if nothing at all were inside. After a few stops without finding a farmer at home, I decided to try one of the doors. It wasn't locked, so I unfastened the latch, swung it open, and walked inside. I was almost knocked to the ground by the overpowering smell of feces and ammonia. My eyes burned and so did my lungs, and I could neither see nor breathe. I put my arm across my mouth and immediately moved back toward the door, where I saw a dimmer switch. I turned it up.

There must have been thirty thousand chickens sitting silently on the floor in front of me. They didn't move, didn't cluck. They were almost like statues of chickens, living in nearly total darkness, and they would spend every minute of their six-week lives that way. Despite the ventilation system, there wasn't much air in the room, and I fled quickly. I drove down Route 13, past trailer homes and one-room shacks, each of which seemed to have a dog chained to a stake in the ground. Eventually, I came upon a nice-looking farm, with a couple of big chicken sheds. There was a slightly incongruous sign out front that said "Marshall's Seafood." Phillip Marshall was sitting on his Bobcat cleaning out a chicken shed—a crop had just been taken to market. On top of the dirt pile, about to be dropped into a Dumpster, a six-week-old chicken was writhing, its head mangled and its bones visibly crushed. But its vastly oversized chest was heaving up and down and its beak dug slowly at the dirt. After a few minutes, Marshall dumped the load and I introduced myself.

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Marshall is a plain, soft-spoken man who has spent his entire life on the Delmarva Peninsula, and for thirty years he has been raising chickens, as his father did before him. For a long time he was under contract to Perdue, but now he works with Mountaire. "It's getting harder and harder to make a living," he told me. The company had just come to collect fifty thousand or so chickens, and he was expecting a delivery of new chicks within the week. The poultry manufacturers provide everything: the chicks, the food, the antibiotics, and all the information required to raise the chickens properly. "It's a formula," Marshall told me. "And these days you really have to stick to it or get out of the business."

Obviously, you can't raise eight billion chickens a year in the quaint pastoral farming system that most Americans still have in their mind's eye. There aren't many places today where cows roam free and chickens lay eggs on a haystack. Less than two per cent of the American population is involved in producing food. American agricultural technology has managed to transform farms into factories, and animals are, as Wayne Pacelle, a senior vice-president of the Humane Society of the United States, put it in an op-ed piece that appeared recently in the *Los Angeles Times*, really nothing more than incredibly efficient "meat-, milk- and egg-producing machines." The only encounters many of us have with animals are when they appear on our plate. Most of these animals never see a day of natural light or spend even an hour free with other members of their species. Chickens live in a constant state of dismal twilight; the darkness makes them lopy and encourages them to eat more and move less, both of which help them to grow more rapidly. "That's what the companies call feed conversion," Marshall told me. "It's the amount of feed you need for the weight gain you want. Obviously, you look to use as little food as you can. That's why you don't want them moving around. It just wastes a bunch of calories."

Marshall took me to a nearby plot of land where he maintains more chicken sheds; they were occupied. He pointed out the computer system that regulates the levels of heat, oxygen, and the nutrients in the food. "We have to pay for it, and it's a major expense," he told me. "But the companies push you to do it because it's better for them, more efficient, and it really turns raising these chickens into an assembly-line process. We can program it for everything."

Thin metal pipes that look like sprinkler valves run the length of each chicken shed. When the chickens are thirsty, they can drink from these "water nipples." "It's a revolutionary thing," Marshall said. "You used to have to use a trough, and every other day you were in there for hours cleaning them. They would get stopped up, and you would have to fix them or the chickens would die of thirst." We went into one of the sheds-again, the smell was overpowering-and he explained that when the time comes to send the chickens to the factory, crews consisting of eight men show up with big trucks and tons of cages. They drive the trucks right into the shed and put the cages on a forklift. Then they begin to herd, collect, and throw the chickens into the cages. "They can get to throwing those birds around a bit," Marshall said. "It's a tough job." I asked him if he misses the old days on chicken farms. "Personally, of course I do. It was nicer. But as a business it's hard to argue. Factories are what work best in this country. It's sad that you can't see chickens running around in the yard laying eggs. We could raise them free range, but the mortality would be higher, and if you have more than two per cent mortality you lose money. And nobody wants that."

American meat producers have become remarkably specialized and economically adept. Since the animals are seen as widgets, their welfare has never been much of a priority. The guiding imperative is efficiency and economy, and of course you can raise many more chickens, pigs, and cows if you cram them into an aluminum shed or a crate rather than let them wander around the farm. A pig living in a concrete crate that is two feet wide can't move, and that's the point. In 1994, according to the United States Department of Agriculture, seventy-three per cent of the pigs raised in America were on small farms and twenty-seven per cent were on large industrial farms; by 2001, those figures had been

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reversed.

Litters are bigger and more frequent now, so industrial farms have to pack the animals in as tightly as possible. Pigs have a four-month gestation period. Before giving birth, the sows are moved from the gestation crates to farrowing crates, which have just enough extra room for the piglets to emerge. When they are taken from the mothers-after three weeks-the sows are immediately impregnated again (through artificial insemination) and returned to their gestation crates. On factory farms, any sow that isn't pregnant or lactating isn't doing her job.

Calves are usually taken from their mothers the day they are born. The females are raised to replace dairy cows, and the males, since they can never produce milk, are raised for meat. Most are killed for beef, but about a million are used for veal in the United States every year. (The veal industry was created solely to take advantage of the large supply of unwanted male calves.) Farmers pack them into crates so small that sometimes they can neither lie down nor turn around. The calves are fed a milk substitute that is deficient in iron and fibre and is designed to make them anemic. It is the anemia that produces the light-colored flesh for which veal is so highly prized.

Raising meat in America has become such an exact science that, through genetic selection and better knowledge of nutrition, researchers have been able to alter the physical composition of most of the animals we eat. Poultry companies, for example, have reduced the time it takes a chicken to reach its final four-to-five-pound weight from seventeen weeks, in the nineteen-fifties, to six weeks today.

There used to be only one type of chicken in America. Now there are two: egg layers and broilers (the ones we eat). Broiler chickens came into being only in the nineteen-fifties, and over the years they have been genetically selected so that they grow rapidly. The economic success of the system is hard to dispute. The people at Perdue, which has its headquarters in Salisbury, told me with a great deal of pride that their chickens have "a higher meat to bone ratio than any other in the industry." I asked Joy Mench, a professor in the Department of Animal Sciences at the University of California at Davis, if that was entirely a good thing. Her particular area of research focusses on the effects that leg deformities have on the birds. "The chickens we eat today have been genetically selected for fast growth," she said. "And the skeleton quickly bends and sometimes breaks under the weight of the muscle mass. The way they are raised, in those crowded conditions with no exercise, makes it worse."

Whereas pigs are acknowledged to be smart and social animals capable of making decisions and performing complicated tasks, it is often asserted that chickens are stupid; that if they do feel pain, it is not in any of the ways we would understand, because their brains are not complex enough. Studies have demonstrated that none of that is true. "Chickens show sophisticated social behavior," Mench told me. "That's what a pecking order is all about. They can recognize more than a hundred other chickens and remember them. They have more than thirty types of vocalizations." They also, quite obviously, know all about pain. Scientists have carried out a variety of studies to see whether a chicken will alter its behavior to avoid or alleviate pain. In one such study, at Bristol University, in England, chickens with leg problems were offered two feeders containing identical amounts of the same food. One of the feeders, however, included an analgesic. It didn't take long for the birds to understand their choices. "The chickens will take the analgesic every time," Mench said. "They will do what they can to lessen their pain."

Ingrid Newkirk once told me, with genuine conviction, that McDonald's-which feeds hamburgers and chicken nuggets to twenty million people a day in the United States alone-would stop serving meat in her lifetime. Americans kill nine billion animals each year, mostly for food, so her assessment seemed unrealistic, to say the least. After all, we routinely starve, force-feed, and mutilate animals in order to enjoy a more pleasant, affordable, or

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exotic meal. Humans wear the skin of other animals in every possible configuration-and on every part of their bodies. Animal experiments, with everything from macaques to mice, which are manufactured by the million and sold like commodities, are carried out at nearly every major university and scientific institution. And, largely for fun, millions of Americans train shotguns, rifles, and arrows on tens of millions of birds, deer, elk, and rabbits each year, and sportsmen go after lions, elephants, and other big game. For that matter, what child doesn't love to see a bear riding a bicycle or a monkey dressed in a miniature tuxedo at the circus?

After looking at the lives of farm animals and watching **peta** work for a while, it seemed to me that the animal-rights movement was going nowhere; it was certainly a long way from the finish line. One day, I asked Bruce Friedrich how he manages to stay undeterred by facts he faces each day. "I do get dispirited at times," Friedrich said. "But let's think historically for a minute. Just a hundred and fifty years ago, many people still owned other people in this country. We didn't even have any child-abuse laws. And it wasn't until 1920, after a vigorous debate in the United States Congress, that the country went about giving those irrational creatures called women the right to vote. And now look around. Women and blacks live in a vastly different world. We all do. There are child-protective services in every county in America. There has just been a sea change in our consciousness about how other people should be treated. Every assumption about human beings has changed.

"So the challenge for us," he continued, "is never to look back and say, 'What are the wrongheaded things that happened a hundred years ago?' It is to say, 'What will society look back upon a hundred or so years from now and think of with equal horror to the way blacks were treated until the middle of the nineteenth century?' In that context, I would have to say we have made remarkable moral progress. In fact, the advances of just the last few years have been staggering. So I don't think it is at all unlikely to conceive of a time when people will recognize that other animals simply do not deserve the treatment they are getting from us."

Could that time be closer than it seems? Between 1940 and 1990, just one animal-protection measure was passed in the United States, but today it is illegal almost everywhere to abuse dogs or cats in any way; people have gone to jail for it. Several cities, including Boulder and San Francisco, have even adopted laws that changed people from pet "owners" into pet "guardians."

Twenty years ago, few Americans knew a vegetarian. American children today are the first generation to live in a culture where vegetarianism is common. By most counts, as many as twenty per cent of all college students identify themselves as vegetarians-and in almost any city one can now find a vegetarian restaurant, or at least eat a decent vegetarian meal. So many teen-agers have given up meat-the number is often put at a million, with one in four teen-agers saying that vegetarianism is "cool"-that the National Cattlemen's Beef Association recently felt compelled to launch a Web site to appeal directly to young girls, who are becoming vegetarians in the greatest numbers (cool-2b-real.com). "Real girls are 'keepin' it real' by building strong bodies and strong minds . . . and they're feeling great about themselves!" the site proclaims. The implication is simple enough: the girls are keeping it real by eating plenty of meat.

For animals, the biggest changes by far have come from corporate America. In August, 2000, after a withering publicity campaign by **peta**, McDonald's became the first major company in the history of the United States to require that all its suppliers meet a set of minimum standards for treating hens. The company said it would no longer work with producers who cut or seared the beaks off chickens (a common practice among farmers trying to keep the hens they cram together in tiny cages from pecking each other to death). McDonald's serves hundreds of millions of eggs each year, and it no longer buys them from suppliers who starve their hens. This practice, called forced molting, shocks the hens into laying extra eggs; it has

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been standard at thousands of farms. More important, though, McDonald's decided to audit each of the slaughterhouses that supply its food, and the company has walked away from suppliers who failed to live up to the new demands.

Finally, last November, after a campaign led by the Humane Society of the United States, voters in Florida altered the state constitution to forbid people who raise sows from confining them in concrete or metal gestation crates. The crates are so cramped that, throughout the entire course of their lives, millions of pigs are never able to turn around or even nuzzle their young. It was the first such measure in America to address the means of confinement for animals on farms, and many in the animal-welfare movement have seized on it as a turning point in the long effort-put perhaps most compellingly more than two hundred years ago by the utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham-to recognize that animals are, perhaps, not as different from us as we try to pretend they are:

It may come one day to be recognized that the number of the legs, the villosity of the skin, or the termination of the *os sacrum*, are reasons insufficient for abandoning a sensitive being to the caprice of a tormentor. What else is it that should trace the insuperable line? Is it the faculty of reason, or perhaps the faculty of discourse? But a full-grown horse or dog is beyond comparison a more rational, as well as a more conversable animal, than an infant of a day, a week, or even a month old. But suppose the case were otherwise, what would it avail? The question is not, Can they reason? nor, can they speak? but, can they suffer?

Early on the morning of February 27th, in the Regency Ballroom of the Crown Hyatt in Kansas City, the many members of the American Meat Institute Foundation gathered for an extraordinary two-day session. The Institute invited groups like the National Council of Chain Restaurants, the National Chicken Council, the National Pork Board, and the Milk Producers Federation to help sponsor the meeting. All the big fast-food restaurants like McDonald's, Burger King, KFC, and Wendy's buy their food from institute members-in other words, everyone in America who raises, butchers, sells, or serves meat was represented there. The occasion was the group's Animal Care and Handling Conference, and the reason for the overflow audience was simply that, as the institute put it, "over the last twelve months issues related to the humane care and handling of livestock and poultry intended for food have moved to center stage." There was a clear understanding that everyone from McDonald's to the United States government was now beginning to take animal welfare more seriously.

There were geneticists in the audience, as well as breeders, kill supervisors, quality-assurance managers, auditors, economists, harvest directors, engineers, physiologists, and several slaughter-floor group leaders. They came to hear talks like "Customer Attitudes and Expectations About Animal Welfare" and "Creating an Animal Welfare Mindset In Your Company." The focus on improving the lives of the animals we eat was evident.

But why all the fuss? Data presented at the meeting showed that most Americans still don't pay much attention to how their meat lives, is raised, or dies. As one speaker said, "the disconnect between an animal in the farmland and the cellophane at the grocery store is nearly complete." Many reasons were offered for the increased interest in animal welfare. But Adele Douglass, who delivered the keynote address, told me that it is really simple. "The activists are beginning to win," she said. "And these guys know it." Douglass is the executive director of Humane Farm Animal Care. She began her speech with the formation of the A.S.P.C.A., in 1866-at the time, it protected children as well as animals-and recounted how horses, the trucks of the nineteenth century, were constantly whipped and starved. She noted that by 1877 animals were being shipped by rail, but species were mixed together in open cattle cars; many turned on each other or froze to death. She ended with the creation of *peta*, in 1980, and she said, to a silent audience, "Come on, we have to give them a little credit for all this."

The comments hung over the group like a leaden cloud. As Douglass said to me later, "Ingrid

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is the Devil to these people. She is what they dream about when they have nightmares." It can't be all that easy for a company that makes meat, and has been boycotted, assaulted, and denigrated in every way, to give credit to such implacable foes. "Good animal treatment is a basic value," Bob Langert, who is the senior director for social responsibility at McDonald's, told me. "There is more to life than just the products we use and buy. People want to know they are visiting a company that stands for something, that cares about the world. . . . And standards of decency matter." He and his company certainly have put a lot of money and effort behind those sentiments. When I asked him whether he felt that *peta* had anything to do with this shift in priorities, he declined to say. Langert is a particularly open and forthcoming man, yet he couldn't bring himself to utter the name of the group at all.

Still, as I watched three hundred and fifty of America's leading meat manufacturers wander around the Hyatt, gobbling hors d'oeuvres while getting their first look at the latest advance in animal-stunning technology-the Jarvis pneumatic stunner, which promises "better stunning for improved meat quality"-it was pretty clear that something had changed. And it would be hard to attribute that shift solely to the desire of large corporations to treat animals more gently during their brief, fully programmed lives.

"If you had told me ten years ago that any of this would happen, I would have laughed in your face," Temple Grandin told me. Grandin has spent decades attempting to improve animal welfare at slaughterhouses and processing plants. She is without question the most influential person in the American meat industry today. Grandin gave several presentations in Kansas City, including one entitled "Inside the Mind of a Steer," in which she got down on all fours, in front of the leaders of the beef industry, and told them they would never understand what might frighten an animal unless they went through the slaughter chutes on their hands and knees and saw it for themselves.

"Since 1999, I have seen more change in the way animals are treated in this country than I did in the previous thirty," Grandin, who is not a vegetarian, told me at the meeting. "McDonald's is the symbol of food in America. For them to have done what they did has changed everything in every way." In fact, since McDonald's adopted its new standards, so have Burger King, Safeway, and Wendy's. Burger King now even offers veggie burgers at each of its eight thousand restaurants in the United States. And in New York, as well as in many other markets, so does McDonald's. *peta*, which once picketed Burger King, has actually given the company a pop-up ad on its Web site. Grandin has designed what most people regard as the best slaughterhouses in the world-places where the animals are not bored or beaten, and where they never know they are dying until it's too late to be frightened. Ingrid Newkirk once told me, "Temple Grandin has done more to reduce suffering in the world than any other person who has ever lived." It was a remarkable comment coming from a prophet of absolutism. There is no nuance about her position: as *peta* sees it, animals have rights just as we do, and that is why they should not be harmed, imposed upon, or used in any way. Newkirk certainly can see that easing suffering is a worthy objective, but it is never her goal-just a stop along the way. Grandin has a completely different view. After all, she designs death camps for cattle. But, like Jeremy Bentham, Peter Singer, and millions of others, she strives for a way to eliminate needless suffering.

Lately, however, Newkirk seems to understand, and even welcome, compromise. How else could she say nice things about Burger King only because it serves *one* sandwich that isn't based on meat? Why did *peta* participate in Fashion Week instead of trying to disrupt it? I asked Newkirk if it was possible that she was softening or changing her approach. She shook her head twice and laughed. But then she said, "You can't pave the road. You have to put down a little gravel. Then somebody else comes and puts down some more gravel. And one day, someday, you have a paved road." She smiled slyly. "In the meantime, it doesn't mean you shouldn't be the biggest nag on earth."

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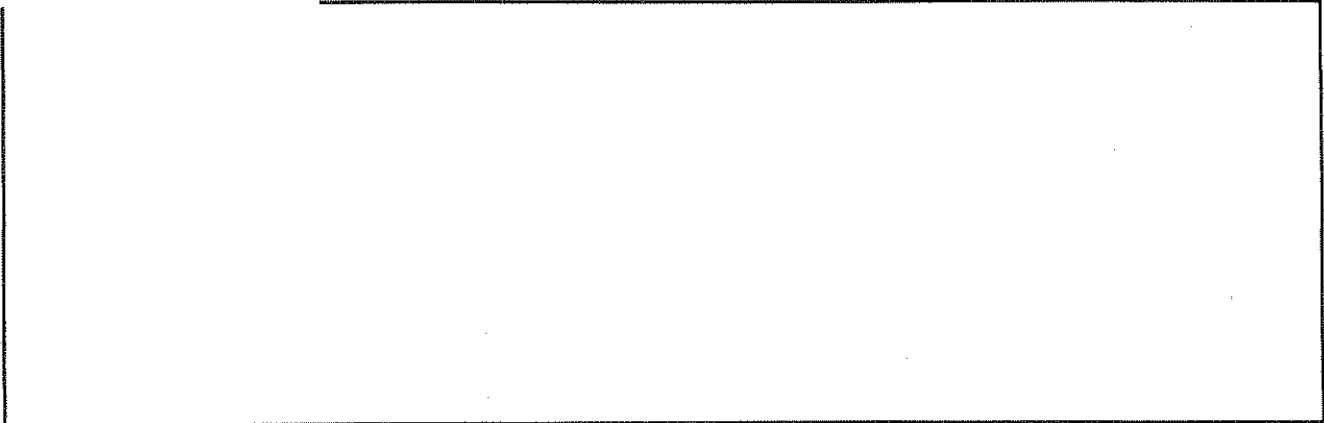


Source: [News & Business](#) > / . . . / > News Group File, Most Recent 60 Days ⓘ  
Terms: [peta](#) or (in w/1 defense w/1 animals) or (friend w/1 animal) or (animal w/1 liberation) or (fund w/1 animal) or (buav) and date aft 06/16/00  
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Date/Time: Friday, April 18, 2003 - 8:51 AM EDT

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**NORFOLK**

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**Subject:**



TEI - PI  
100A-NF-35558

**New Information:** Norfolk SAC granted a second 90 day extension for this TEI-PI on 05/28/2004. This Preliminary Inquiry is now set to expire on 08/28/2004.

**Background:** On 08/29/2003, Norfolk initiated a Terrorism Enterprise Investigation (TEI)-Preliminary Inquiry on People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), Inc., headquartered in Norfolk, Virginia. PETA is suspected of providing material support and resources to known domestic terrorist organizations such as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). A 90-day PI extension was granted on 02/28/2004 which expired on 05/28/2004.

As part of its financial investigation, Norfolk has subpoenaed



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dated 04/25/2001, which was endorsed and deposited

personal account.

Norfolk has traced funds

Legat London advised that

consultants. The directors are



PETA.

In an attempt to develop a cooperating source, Norfolk has concentrated on identifying former disgruntled PETA employees. One such person, was interviewed by RA, on 01/29/2004. PETA Soon after

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1. DTOU Weekly Report found at\_S: / DTCS/DTOU 70504WR.WPD
2. Not to be disseminated outside DTOU without permission of DTOU Unit Chief

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performing. PETA also pressed [redacted]  
[redacted] personally requested her to participate in this. [redacted]  
[redacted] advised that PETA [redacted]  
[redacted] observed references to the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) in many articles and  
paperwork at PETA's office. [redacted]  
[redacted] Norfolk is awaiting the results of New York Division's interview of [redacted]

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On 03/16-19/2004, Norfolk agents along with a DTOU supervisor debriefed [redacted]  
(protect identity), [redacted]  
of vandalism targeting fast food restaurants, butcher and fur shops, committed by PETA employees  
and encouraged by President Ingrid Newkirk. [redacted] statements  
suggesting that PETA was formed as a cover for the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and PETA and  
ALF were one in the same. Names of several former disgruntled PETA employees were provided and  
Norfolk will attempt to locate and interview any such persons in the hopes of developing a cooperating  
source. A lead was set for [redacted] to locate and interview former employee, [redacted]  
[redacted]

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Several FBI Divisions have observed apparent links between PETA and animal rights  
extremists. Los Angeles Division advised that [redacted] a PETA employee, was detained in

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[redacted]

[redacted] b7(e)  
[redacted] a vehicle registered to PETA was observed parked in the driveway. This was the day after  
FBI Newark executed a search on SHAC's old house in Somerset. A Pen register [redacted]

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[redacted] revealed [redacted]  
[redacted]

OTHER outside scope

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1. DTOU Weekly Report found at \_S: / DTCS/DTOU 70504WR.WPD
2. Not to be disseminated outside DTOU without permission of DTOU Unit Chief

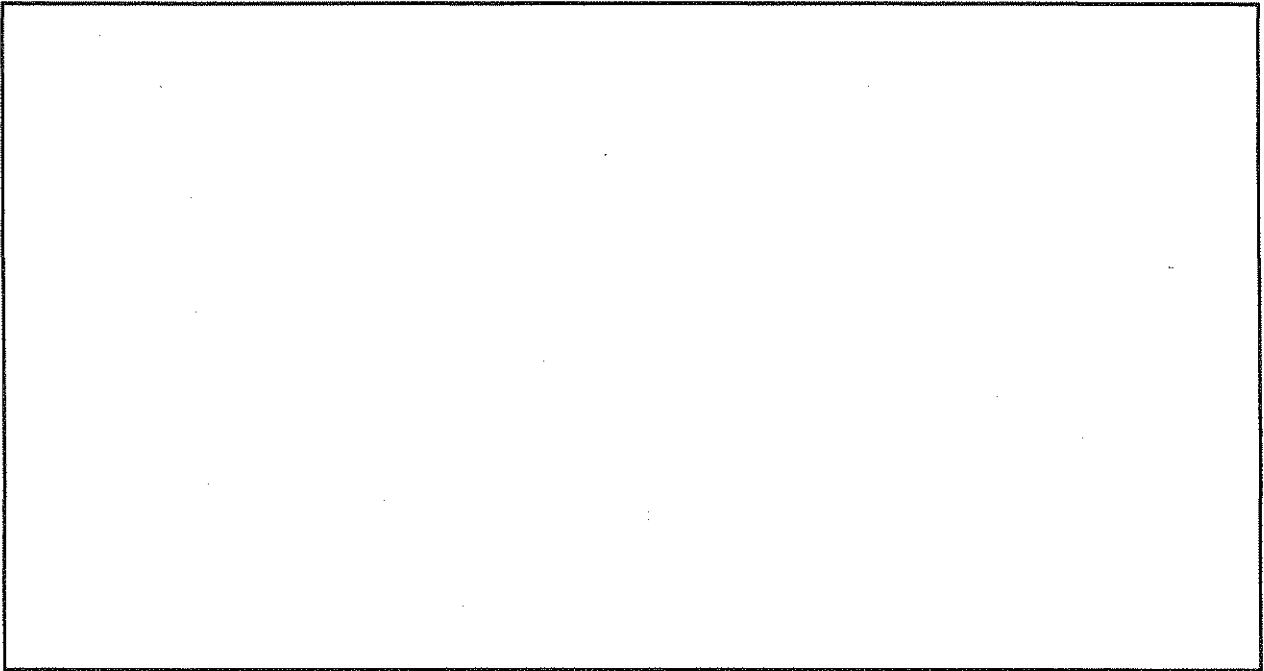
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OTHER outside scope



In the portion of your article entitled "The PETA Link" you accurately state that the FBI does not consider PETA a terrorist organization. Unfortunately, that is the only accurate statement in that section. At no time did SA [redacted] or SA [redacted] "...recount financial dealings between PETA and ELF" or make the statements you attribute to them on that subject during their presentation or at any other point. In fact, when told that you had information through your own investigation that PETA was contributing money to ELF, these agents simply acknowledged that the same information was available on public internet sites and was not of investigative concern to the FBI. Apparently that answer was not what you were hoping for.

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OTHER outside scope

Jeffrey S. Kerr  
General Counsel and  
Director of Corporate Affairs  
Ext. 8303  
E-mail: JeffK@fsap.org

April 9, 2004

The Honorable Robert S. Mueller, III  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
J. Edgar Hoover Building  
935 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington DC 20535-0001

Re: False and Defamatory FBI Statements against PETA

Dear Director Mueller:

I am general counsel to People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, Inc. (PETA), a non-profit charitable organization and the largest animal rights group in the world with more than 800,000 members and supporters. The purpose of this letter is to inform you of what appears to be a disturbing pattern of illegal conduct by FBI agents in violation of PETA's constitutional rights. I ask that you undertake an immediate investigation into this situation and I seek your assurance that such conduct will be corrected, including suitable punishment, and will not be allowed or tolerated again by the FBI, and that we be informed of what measures are taken toward this end.

**Improper Conduct**

According to an excerpt of a March 31, 2004, article by Daniel Yovich appearing on the Internet web site Meatingplace.com, two FBI agents assigned to the Bureau's domestic terrorism division and appearing at a conference sponsored by the North American Meat Processors Association, falsely and maliciously accused PETA of having financial dealings with the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). Special Agent Jeremy Ashcroft is quoted as saying, "One of their [ELF] biggest supporters is PETA." Special Agent Christopher Hilgers is quoted as saying that the Bureau has been able "to backtrack [funding] of \$3,000 to \$4,000 per month" from PETA to ELF members, "and nobody can explain why PETA is giving them the money." These statements are categorically false and they were either made up by the agents or came from false sources and we request the source of the information. Indeed, the comments are libelous per se and subject to civil claims if we cannot otherwise resolve this outrageous conduct. PETA's expenditures always have been, and always will be, solely and entirely consistent with PETA's charitable mission of speaking out against animal exploitation.

**PETA**  
FOUNDATION

PEOPLE FOR THE ETHICAL  
TREATMENT OF ANIMALS  
FOUNDATION

501 PETA ST  
SUITE 1000  
1000 PETA ST  
FARMINGTON, CT 06030  
PHONE: 860-646-2500

501 PETA ST  
SUITE 1000  
1000 PETA ST  
FARMINGTON, CT 06030  
PHONE: 860-646-2500

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The Honorable Robert S. Mueller, III  
April 9, 2004  
Page 2

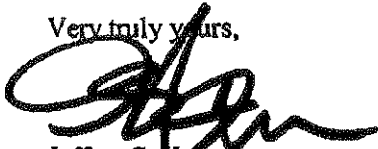
Moreover, I request an explanation of the circumstances by which FBI agents came to speak about such matters before a meat-industry trade group engaged in the very conduct against which many of PETA's charitable educational campaigns are directed. Such actions and statements demonstrate a disturbing bias against PETA based not on any facts, but upon improper industry influence and clearly malicious intent based upon false statements. For such defamatory statements to be made by FBI agents, carrying the full force of their law enforcement authority, is particularly odious given the potential chilling effect such statements can have on the willingness of people to associate with PETA or to assist in our efforts to curtail animal suffering. As you can readily see, this course of conduct carries dire constitutional implications.

Even more ominously, this appears to be part of a disturbing pattern of FBI activity reminiscent of the infamous COINTELPRO days. Recently, during an investigation entirely unrelated to PETA, an agent from the Bureau's San Francisco office made similarly defamatory statements against PETA directly to a person who had been identified as a PETA donor. A copy of my complaint letter dated March 11, 2004, to Special Agent in Charge Mark J. Mershon is enclosed for your reference. In addition, FBI agents have begun harassing current and former PETA employees about matters that are wholly unrelated to PETA and have nothing whatsoever to do with PETA's charitable mission.

Please understand that we fully support the FBI's difficult task of investigating and preventing terrorist acts. PETA itself has been the frequent target of terrorist threats of which we have informed the FBI, local law enforcement, and the postal authorities on previous locations. What we do not support, and will not abide, is being defamed by law enforcement personnel who are sworn to uphold and protect the Constitution, not subvert it by using their office to smear entirely lawful and peaceful organizations like PETA.

Thank you for your consideration and I look forward to hearing from you that this matter is being thoroughly investigated and that such offending conduct against PETA will cease immediately.

Very truly yours,



Jeffrey S. [unclear]

Enclosure

000224

Jeffrey S. Kerr  
General Counsel and  
Director of Corporate Affairs  
Ext. 8303  
E-mail: JeffK@fsap.org

March 11, 2004

**VIA FACSIMILE: (415) 553-7674  
AND FIRST CLASS MAIL**

Mark J. Mershon  
Special Agent in Charge  
FBI, San Francisco  
450 Golden Gate Avenue, 13<sup>th</sup> Floor  
San Francisco CA 94102

Re: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, Inc. (PETA)

Dear Special Agent Mershon:

I am general counsel to PETA and I am writing to request an immediate investigation into reportedly improper statements made against PETA by agents from the FBI's San Francisco office in the course of investigating the September 26, 2003 explosion at Shaklee Corporation's offices. Specifically, Mr. Howard Goldberg, a YCI employee (supporting the Shaklee business), who we believe was identified as a PETA contributor through his company's matching gift program, was questioned by Agent Steve Robinson and another agent on November 3, 2003. During that questioning, the agent(s) equated PETA to Middle East charities that unlawfully funnel contributions to terrorists and related that PETA is not worthy of his support. The agent(s) also twisted a story about PETA expenditures in defense of fundamental constitutional liberties into false innuendo that those expenses served an improper purpose. This conduct is outrageous and will not be tolerated. Please provide both agents' name, rank and badge number.

While we acknowledge the FBI's legitimate investigative responsibilities, it is wholly inappropriate for FBI or any other law enforcement personnel to knowingly disparage PETA or any other charity by pressing the FBI's or their personal point of view to PETA contributors in the course of such activities. It is bad enough that it appears Mr. Goldberg was singled out for interrogation because of his constitutionally-protected freedom of association with PETA and other animal protection activities and organizations, but to defame PETA and attempt to dissuade him from continuing this association in the context of a criminal investigation crosses the line into state coercion and suppression of free speech and free association and harkens back to the nefarious days of COINTELPRO.

**PETA**  
FOUNDATION

PEOPLE FOR THE ETHICAL  
TREATMENT OF ANIMALS  
FOUNDATION

401 4000 St  
4000 Ave, San Fran  
CA 94118-3442  
415 767-6100/03  
Fax: 415-767-6100  
415 767-6100  
SAN FRANCISCO CA 94118  
Tel: 415-767-6100  
Fax: 415-767-6100  
E-Mail: info@peta.org  
The Foundation for the Ethical  
Treatment of Animals  
PO Box 289, Berkeley, CA  
94701-0289

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Mark J. Mershon  
Special Agent in Charge  
FBI, San Francisco  
March 11, 2004  
Page 2

Please provide me with written confirmation of the manner in which this deplorable situation will be immediately investigated and your assurance that similar actions will not be tolerated in the future. I look forward to your prompt response.

Very truly yours,



Jeffrey S. Kerr

000226



JUN 10 2004

Mr. Jeffrey S. Kerr  
General Counsel and Director  
of Corporate Affairs  
People for the Ethical Treatment  
of Animals  
501 Front Street  
Norfolk, VA 23510

Dear Mr. Kerr:

I am writing in response to your April 9, 2004 letter to FBI Director Robert Mueller, in which, you highlighted statements that were allegedly made by FBI agents during a presentation at the North American Meat Processors Association meeting in March, 2004.

Representatives from the FBI's Chicago Division did provide a presentation to the annual meeting of the North American Meat Processors Association on March 31, 2004. This presentation was requested by the Association due to meat processors being targeted by the animal rights extremist movement in the past. Tactics used in the past against Association members have included vandalism, theft, and arson.

The presentation was an overview of animal rights extremism that addressed targets and tactics. There was no reference made to criminal activity by PETA during this presentation. After the formal presentation, Mr. Daniel Yovich approached the agents and informed them of independent research he was currently conducting related to PETA. When pressed for comment, the agents acknowledged that information similar to what Mr. Yovich was researching could be found in public Internet sites. The agents further indicated that the information being researched by Mr. Yovich was not an investigative interest of the FBI.

1 - SAC, Chicago - Encs.

1 - SAC, San Francisco - Encs.

1 - [redacted] DTOS, Rm. 11741

Re 5/17/04 e-mail from [redacted] Executive Staff.

1 - [redacted] Rm. 5012

1 - [redacted] Rm. 4330

1 - [redacted] Rm. 4981

1 - FBI, Exec Sec, Rm. 6236 (TRIM DO/2138)

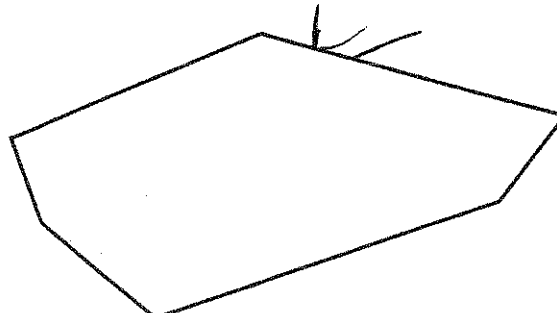
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62F-HQ-1077231

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Mr. Jeffrey S. Kerr

On April 1, 2004, the FBI was made aware of an article that was posted to the Meatingplace.com Internet web site. The article was written by Mr. Yovich. After reviewing the article, the FBI determined that Mr. Yovich had inappropriately attributed statements to FBI agents. Mr. Yovich further misquoted statements made by the agents in other parts of the article. In response, the Special Agent in Charge (SAC) of the FBI's Chicago Division sent a letter to Mr. Yovich admonishing him for the inaccurate statements attributed to the FBI in his article and clarifying the FBI's position. For your benefit, I have attached a copy of the correspondence, which accurately states the FBI's position regarding this matter.

Regarding your March 11, 2004, letter to SAC Mark J. Mershon of the FBI's San Francisco Office, a check of our records reveals that SAC Mershon responded to your concerns by letter dated April 12, 2004.

In conclusion, I am unable to find any basis for your concern over the violation of PETA's constitutional rights. Be assured that while the FBI must aggressively pursue legitimate investigative goals in a manner that effectively protects the Nation against terrorism and other criminal acts, it must do so in a manner that comports with the letter and spirit of the Constitution and federal law.

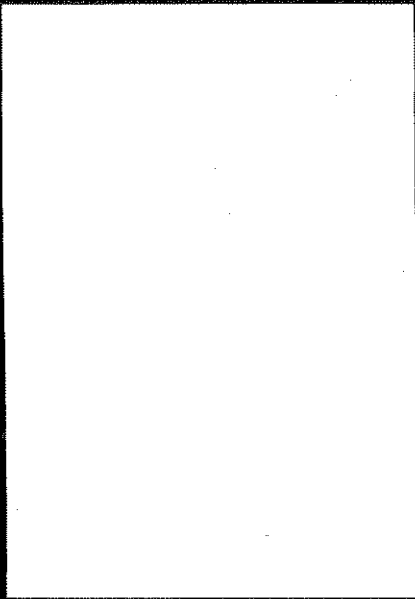
I hope this information serves to allay some of your concerns.

Sincerely yours,

Gary M. Bald  
Assistant Director  
Counterterrorism Division

Enclosure

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**Affiliation: PETA**

**Law Enforcement Sensitive**

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

**Affiliation: PETA,  
CAFT,  
SHAC**

**Law Enforcement Sensitive**

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

**Affiliation: PETA,  
ADAPTT  
(former)**

**Law Enforcement Sensitive**

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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**Affiliation: PETA**

**Law Enforcement Sensitive**

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

**Affiliation: PETA**

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**Law Enforcement Sensitive**

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

**Affiliation: UARC,  
PETA, ADL**

**Law Enforcement Sensitive**



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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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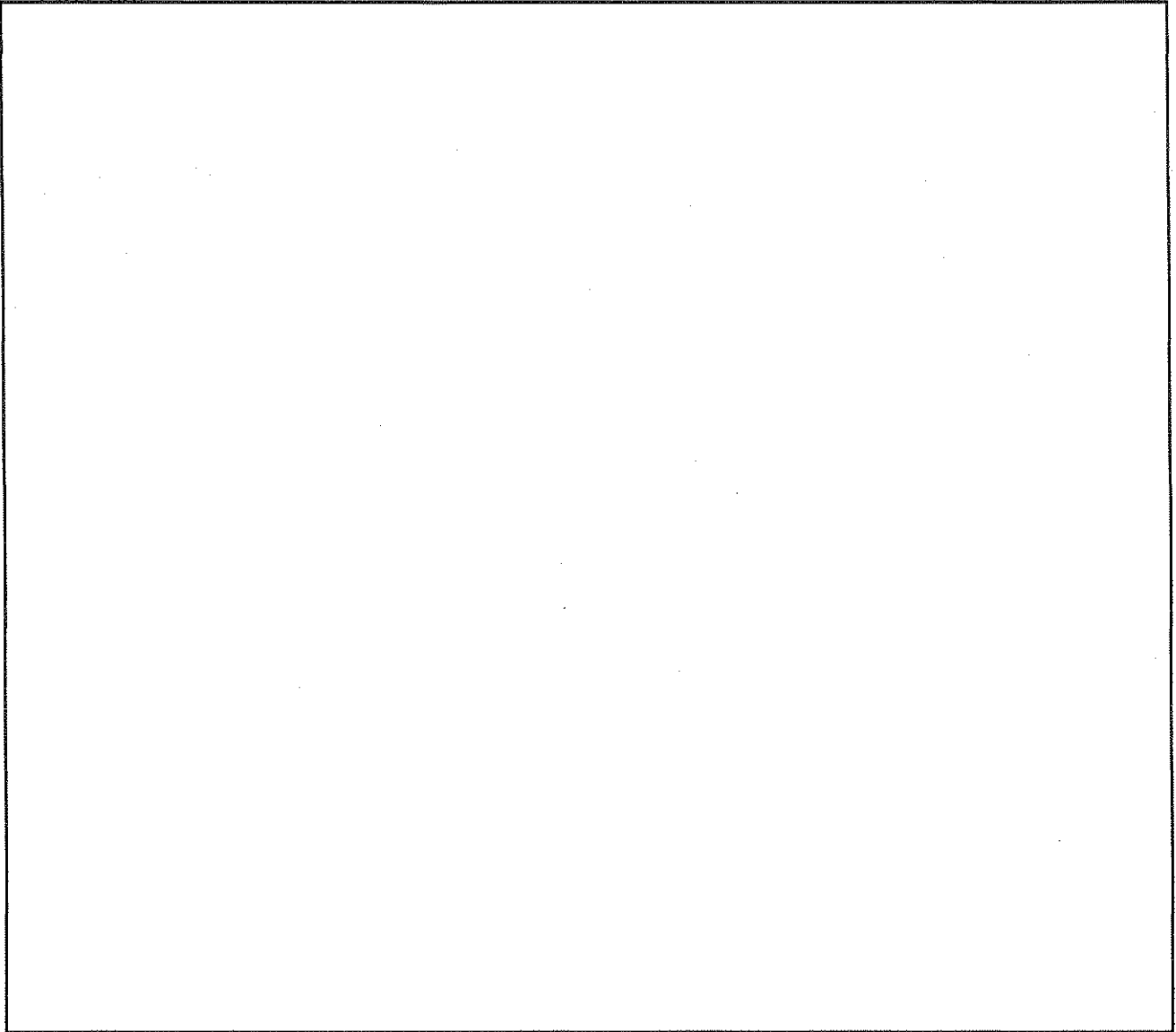
**Affiliation: PETA**

**Law Enforcement Sensitive**

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OTHER outside scope

PRO: pro



On 6/16/2000, [redacted]



[redacted] 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

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OTHER outside scope

[Redacted]

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

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] 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. [Redacted]

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OTHER outside scope

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[Redacted]

OTHER outside scope

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[Redacted]

7/14/2000

[Redacted]

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**RECENT DEVELOPMENTS**

[Redacted]

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OTHER outside sc

OTHER outside scope

**BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

[Redacted]

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

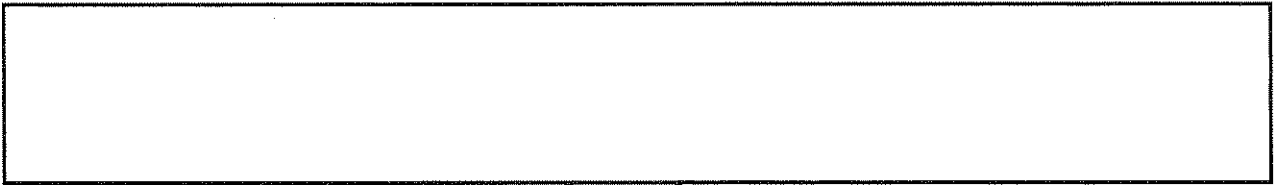
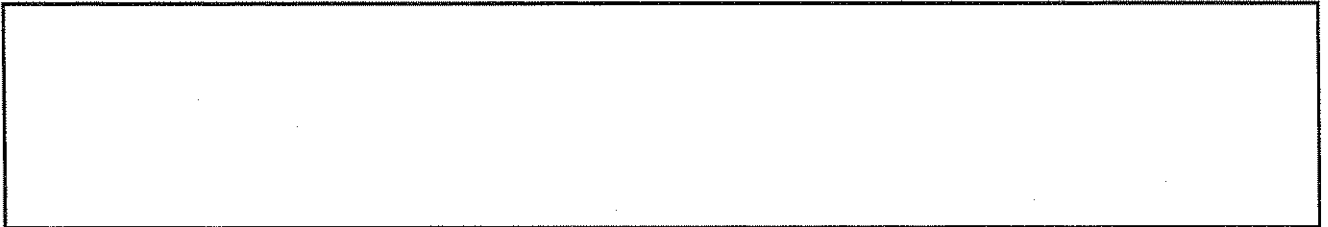
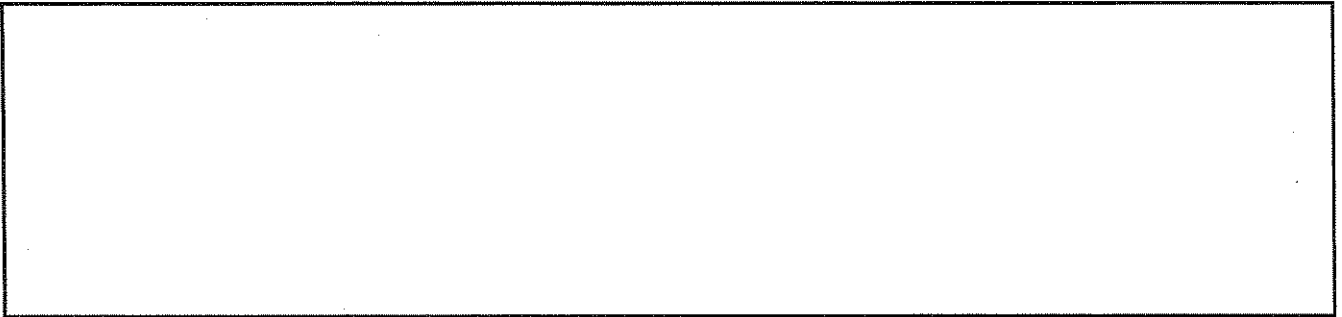
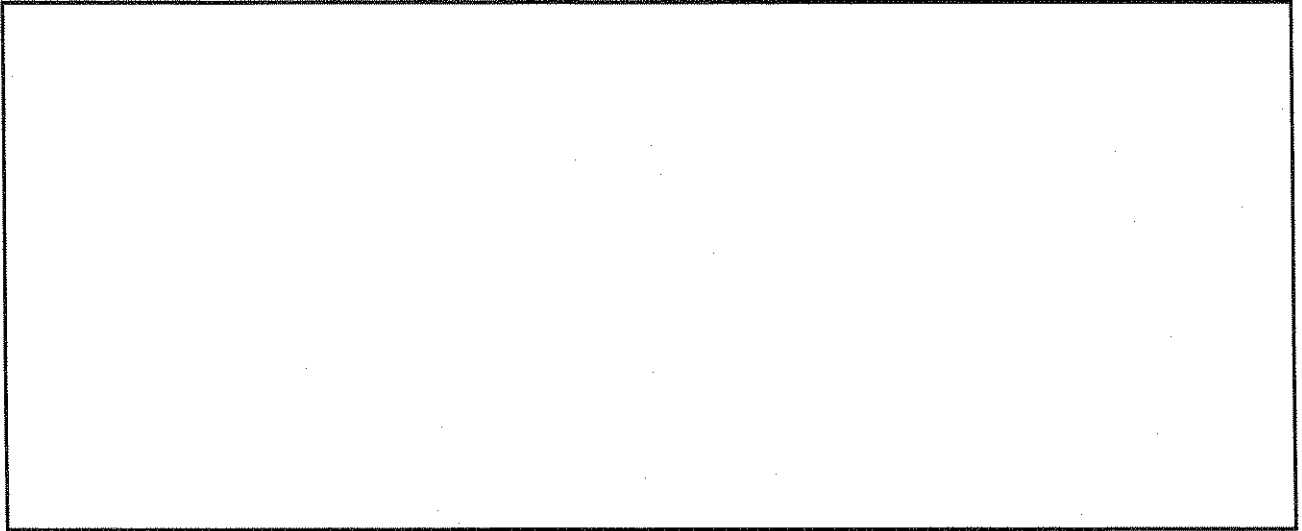
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- 1 - each SSA DTOU
- 1 - each IOS DTOU
- 1 - each DT/CPS Unit Chief
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]

PRQ: prq

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OTHER outside scope



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

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[redacted] invited 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.

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OTHER outside scope

[REDACTED]

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

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] 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. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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]

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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]

[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]

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- 1 -
- 1 -
- 1 -
- 1 -
- 1 -

PRQ: prq

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

*Peta*



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OTHER outside scope

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

[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.

OTHER outside scope

000243

Source: <http://www.geocities.com/healgathering/>

The Human Earth and Animal Liberation Gathering  
August 17th 18th and 19th, 2001

[Click Here For A List Of Events For the Gathering](#)

[Click Here For Info On Housing/Transportation](#)

[Click Here To Pre-Register For the Gathering](#)

[Click Here For Location Information](#)

[Click Here For Carpool Information](#)

[Click Here To Contact AGC](#)

[Click Here For Info On the CONFLICT show at the Palace in Hollywood, August 17th](#)

The Human Earth and Animal Liberation Gathering is being organized by the Alternative Gathering Collective, along with many people and groups who worked to put on the North American Anarchist Conference last August, as well the West Coast Food Not Bombs Gathering and the many Solidarity Festivals that have taken place here in Southern California over the past few years.

The name of this gathering was chosen to represent all the various aspects of our collective struggles:

**Human:** We are struggling for a world where humans are truly liberated and free from all forms of oppression and domination. To achieve this ultimate goal we wish to build solidarity with various groups who are working towards a vision of a free society. In order to build these bonds of solidarity many different groups will be present at the gathering including groups concerned with: anti-police brutality struggle, womens empowerment, gay and lesbian rights, indigenous rights issues, political prisoner support, workers rights, and many more.

**Earth:** The struggle to preserve what is left of our natural environment is a very important part of the struggle for Human liberation, without a healthy earth human existence will be impossible. Ecological Armageddon is fastly approaching and we must fight with all our collective power to prevent this from occurring. From the skies filled with breath chocking smog, to the clear cutting of the Forests in the North West, to the pollution of our water, to the genetic engineering of our foods, we have a lot of work to do. At the gathering many groups who are concerned with these issues will be present to share their knowledge and discuss various means of struggle that will empower us all to take direct action to stop the raping of the earth.

**Animal:** And lets not forget that humans are not the only life form on this

000244

earth. We share this planet with millions of animals that deserve to live lives free from exploitation and domination just as humans do. At the gathering we will discuss ways in which we can live our lives without the exploitation of animals. Groups will be present to provide information about the meat industry, health issues concerning meat consumption, and the struggle against vivisection.

Many different groups will be present at the Human, Earth, and Animal Liberation Gathering. We wish to build a bond of solidarity amongst a wide range of groups struggling for similar ends. This means that all the groups attending and sharing information at the gathering will have the ultimate goal of the total liberation of all life on earth and the healing of the planet. We do not wish to work with sectarian or authoritarian organizations including groups with sexist, homophobic, racist, or other authoritarian tendencies.

Workshops, speakers, study groups, plays, live bands, and much more... For more info write to Alternative Gathering Collective, P.O. Box 17546 Los Angeles, CA 90017-0546. Voicemail: 213-401-2101 ext.3057  
Email: [agcollective@disinfo.net](mailto:agcollective@disinfo.net)  
[AGCnoche@aol.com](mailto:AGCnoche@aol.com)

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Source: <http://www.geocities.com/healgathering/tables.html>

#### Tables

The following will each have tables set up at the gathering. Check back soon for updates.

- \*AK Press
- \*Catchphraze/Catalyst Distribution
- \*Mass Media Distro
- \*Animal Defense League
- \*Anarchist Black Cross
- \*Green Anarchy
- \*PART-People Against Racist Terror
- \*Earth Save
- \*Riot Grrrl
- \*PETA-People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals

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#### Workshops

000245

Below are some of the confirmed workshops for the gathering. Please check back soon for added workshops and a more detailed schedule. If you would like to host a workshop, please Contact us with your name and workshop title and we'll get back to you.

- \*The History and Activism of CONFLICT by Colin Jerwood and Francisco Cerreno
- \*Workshop by John Zerzan
- \*Feminism in Vegetarianism by Pam
- \*Vivisection, HLS and Bank of NY Campaign by Shannon
- \*Knitting Basics (including instructions for knitting balaclava) by Andy
- \*Direct Action / Civil Disobedience
- \*Representatives of Leonard Peltier Committee
- \*Micro Radio by John Martines
- \*Kill Radio by Jon Rodgers
- \*Black Riders Liberation Party and Anarcho-punks by T.A.C.O. and J. Lee
- \*Prison Politics and Prison Gangs by T.A.C.O.
- \*Endangered Habitats League Slide Show by Zhetonia
- Brief history of the Sage Brush Scrub habitat
- Development destroying it
- People protecting it
  
- \*Anarcho-Judaism: Then and Now by Aaron
- \*Micro Radio by John Rodgers
- \*Food Not Bombs discussion
- \*Basic Chemistry by J.O.N.
- \*Dealing with Cops by Nick
- \*Jericho (Supporting Political Prisoners) By Dan
- \*Riot Grrrl
- \*Self Defense for Womyn by Mandy
- \*Holistic Medicine by Sandra
- \*Primitivism by Heather
- \*Anarchist discussion group
- \*Kill Radio by Jon Rodgers
- \*Starting a Zine by Joe C.
- \*Home Brewing by Aaron
- \*Open Relationships by Whitney
- \*Raising Your Children Vegan
- \*Health Aspects of Veganism and Vegetarianism by Jerry
- \*Radical Environmentalism
- \*Youth Panel
- \*Linda Evans (former Political Prisoner)
- \*Black Bloc-Stay Smart, Stay Free / Open Discussion
- \*Anarchist Dating Game
- \*Aids and Animal Research
- \*Anti-Colonialism and Anti-Imperialism to Struggles for Human, Earth and

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Animal Liberation by Michael Novick

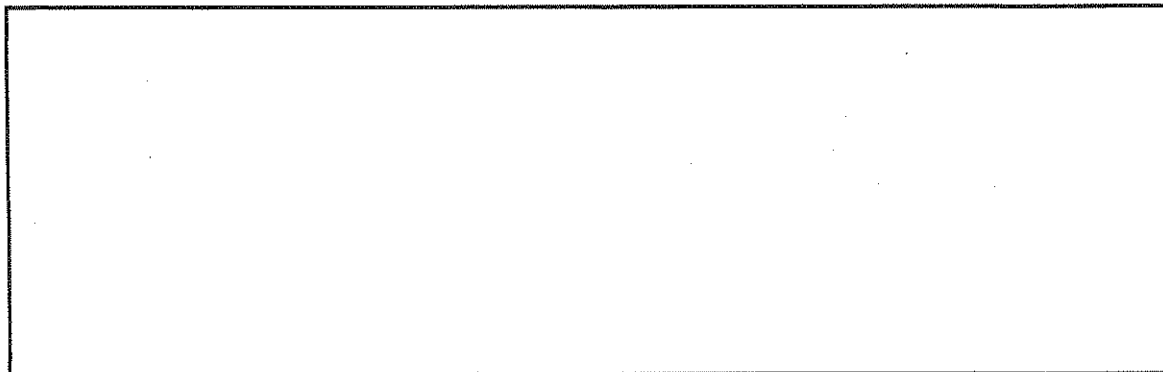
\*Committee for Democracy in Mexico

\*Anarchist Black Cross by Matt

\*Reindigenization, Alternative Health Care, Improvisational Movement by  
Unleash

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### Response to PETA 4/9/04 Correspondence



- DTOU provided a suitable Powerpoint presentation for this event. This presentation was standard unclassified version that has been used at various events around the country. The presentation as prepared by FBIHQ did not contain any references to PETA.
- The article that was quoted in the PETA correspondence was retrieved by FBIHQ on 4/1/04. The article was posted on the following website: [www.meatingplace.com](http://www.meatingplace.com), by Daniel Yovich on 3/31/04. On 4/1/04, DTOU had a conference call with the Chicago Division to address the issues raised by the article.
- During the call with the Chicago Division, SA [redacted] stated that neither he or SA [redacted] made the statements that were quoted in the article. Chicago Division agents do recall talking to Yovich, but assert that the statements quoted were not made.
- In order to respond to the issues raised by the article, DTOU requested and the Chicago Division agreed to send a letter to Yovich requesting that he retract the statement that he had inaccurately attributed to SA's [redacted]
- On 5/11/04, SAC Kneir sent a response to Daniel Yovich. In his letter, the SAC highlighted the inaccuracies in the article and stated the FBI's position regarding PETA. SAC Kneir further requested that Yovich communicate the FBI's position to his readers, and authorized Yovich to post his response on the Internet.

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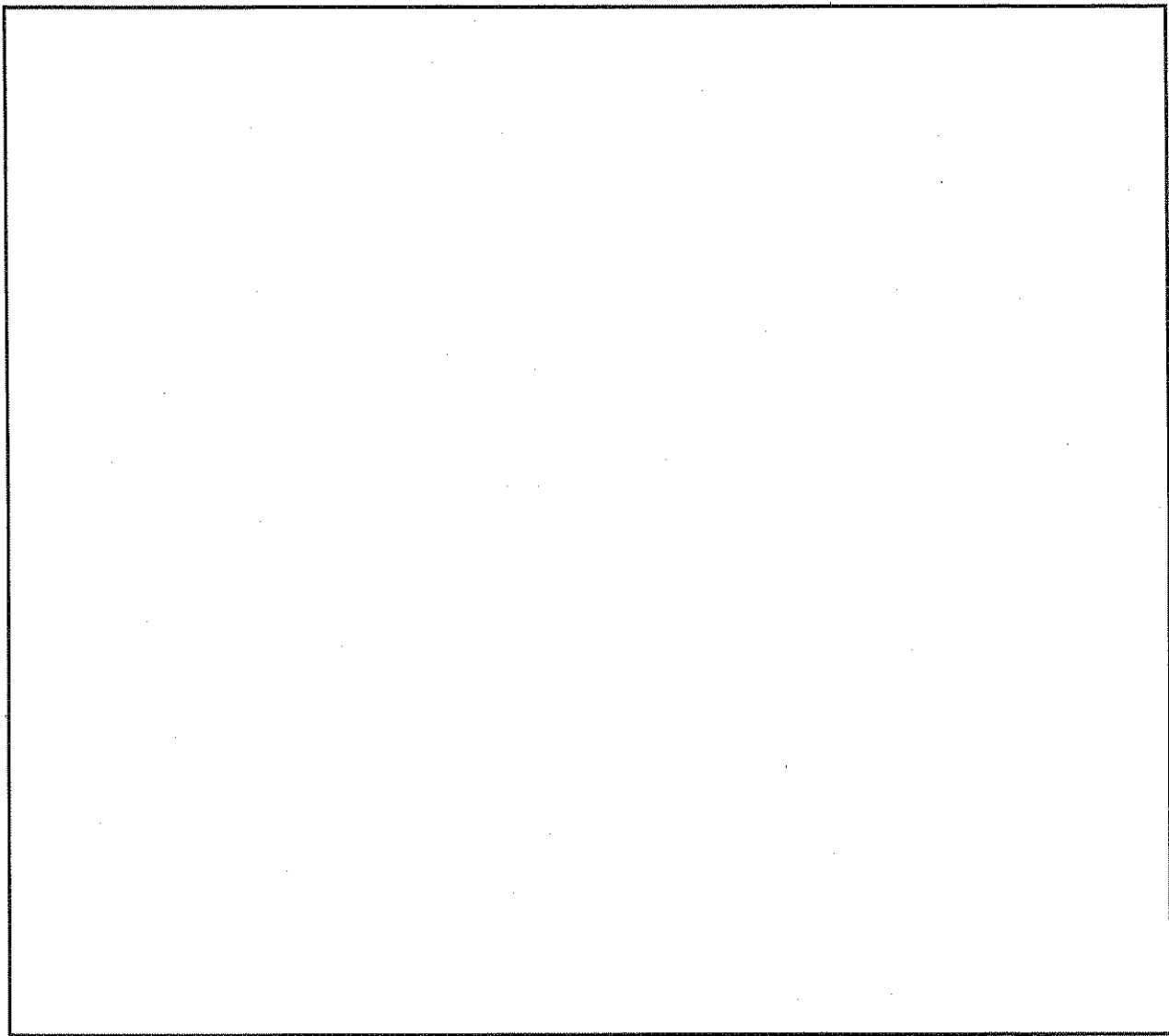
Analysis of Protest Related Arrests  
Domestic Terrorism/Civil Rights Intelligence Unit

Also of note is Sean Diener, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He was arrested at both the RNC and DNC for charges relating to the dumping of manure which was aimed at blocking streets. [REDACTED]

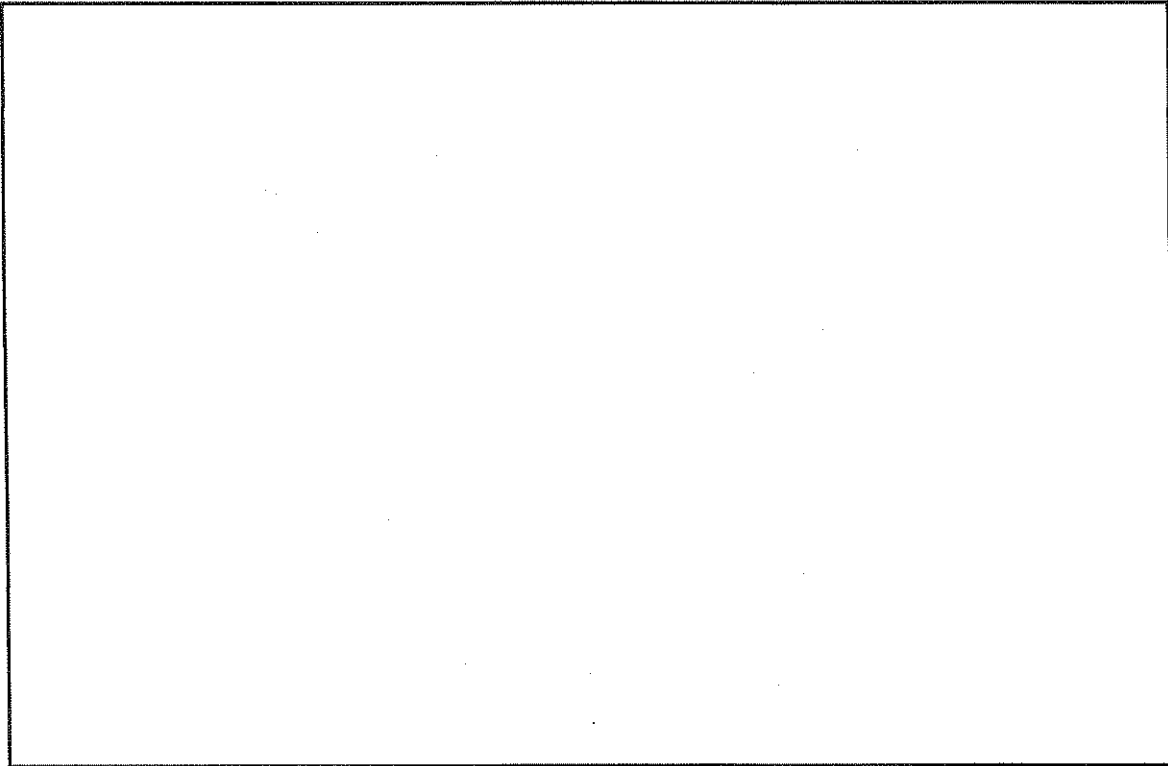
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According to an interview with National Public Radio, he was acting on behalf of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), which paid for his travel to and from the protest, for the rental of the dump truck, and for his bail. OTHER outside scope

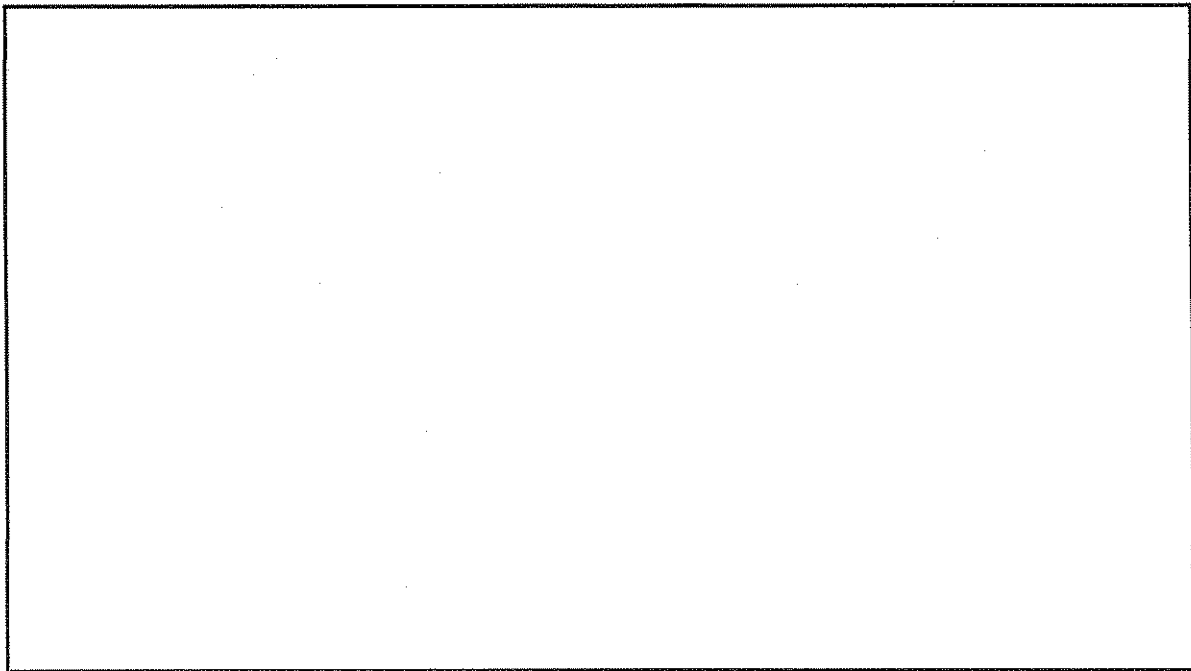


LAW ENFORCEMENT SENSITIVE -- DO NOT COPY -- DO NOT DISSEMINATE

OTHER Outside the scope



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[Redacted]

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3/19/01

OTHER Outside the scope

[Redacted]

For the past several years, HLS and its facilities have been targeted by animal rights advocates to include Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) in the UK and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) in the U.S. Tactics have included infiltration operations which damaged HLS's business reputation as they exposed employees mistreating animals and failing to abide by established industry regulations.

[Redacted]

OTHER outside scope

[Redacted]

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for info)

1-Each DTOU SSA

[Redacted]

1-Note File

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Pete