

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the William J. Clinton
Presidential Library Staff.**

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff

Series/Staff Member: Harold Ickes

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 9158

FolderID:

Folder Title:

Oklahoma City Bombing - Apr 19 '95 [1]

Stack:

S

Row:

22

Section:

4

Shelf:

1

Position:

1

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	To Ickes, Harold re: [CNM Calls] (1 page)	06/12/1996	P5 DMS 3/14/2014
002. briefing paper	"Families" - Background information on survivors, families and victims of the Oklahoma City bombing (partial). (1 page)	n.d.	b(7)(C), b(7)(F)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Chief of Staff
Harold Ickes
OA/Box Number: 9158

FOLDER TITLE:

Oklahoma City Bombing - Apr 19 '95 [1]

2006-0326-F

eh42

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

6/12/96

Harold,

Laura Quinn called because she said Senator Daschle is "beating her up" about the POTUS making the CNM calls and that he is very ticked off that it has not happened yet. She knows that you called the 4 individuals which she is very thankful for. At least point, she thinks all the POTUS needs to do is to call both Eli and Erskine and encourage them to call the 4 individuals to set up the meeting. She does not feel that a call from you to Erskine and Eli will get them to "jump". She thinks that if the President does not call Eli and Erskine, it will send the wrong signal and that the Senators will think that the President does not care about the project. They will think that you made the calls not because the President asked you to do it, but because Quinn, Daschle and others "beat you up" to do it.



She thinks that the senators will greatly appreciate all your efforts, but unless the POTUS calls Eli and Erskine (or the 4 individuals), the senators + Eli and Erskine will NOT think the President is behind this project despite your reassurances.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 24, 1995

NOTE TO: LEON PANETTA

FROM: KITTY HIGGINS *Kitty*

You should be aware that an anonymous donor has contributed \$100,000 to the President's OKC Scholarship Fund.

cc: **Harold Ickes**
Erskine Bowles
Mike McCurry

OK City
o hldom
- with

Post-It Fax Note 7672

To: Hon. Ann D. McDonald
Company: White House
Location: Cabinet Affairs
Fax #: 202-456-6704
Comments:

FYI

Telephone # 202-456-2572

No. of Pages 1
From: Steve Bauer
Company: FEEA
Location: Littleton, CO
Fax #: 303-933-7587
Today's Date: 10/23/95
Time:
Dept. Charge:
Telephone #: 303-933-7580
Original Disposition: ☐ Destroy ☐ Return ☐ Call for pickup

The Scudder Charitable Foundation

Federal Employees Education and Assistance Fund -
The President's OKC Scholarship Fund
(FEEA - The President's OKC Scholarship Fund)
8441 West Bowles Avenue
Suite 200
Little Town, CO 80123

October 19, 1995

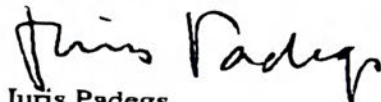
Gentlemen:

We are pleased to enclose our check for \$100,105.70 as a donation to the Federal Employees Education and Assistance Fund - The President's OKC Scholarship Fund.

This donation is being made at the suggestion of a donor who wishes to remain anonymous.

We would appreciate receiving an acknowledgement of your receipt of this donation.

Very truly yours,



Juris Padegs
Trustee

/pf

Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OCTOBER 24, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY HERNREICH

FROM:

KITTY HIGGINS 
LEEANN INADOMI

SUBJECT:

THE PRESIDENT'S OKC SCHOLARSHIP FUND

Attached is a copy of the letter which the Federal Employees Education and Assistance Fund (FEEA) recently received from the Scudder Charitable Foundation transmitting the anonymous donation of \$100,105.70 to the President's OKC Scholarship Fund.

The trustees of the Scudder Charitable Foundation are:

Juris Padegs, managing director of the Foundation
Kenneth Rossano, former vice president for charitable contributions
at the Bank of Boston
Sydney Whalan, attorney

Please advise if you would like us to draft a response from the President.

Thank you.

Anti-Terrorism Bill Gets Hung Up

House GOP Conservatives Object to Expansion of Federal Powers

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

The anti-terrorism bill that President Clinton wanted before Memorial Day will not arrive on his desk before Labor Day, and maybe not before Columbus Day.

The Senate approved its version of an anti-terrorism bill two months ago, but similar legislation drafted in the House Judiciary Committee based on Clinton administration proposals has been held up by conservative Republican opposition. A GOP leadership aide said the House, which recessed Friday until after Labor Day, would consider the bill this fall.

Two different groups of House Republican conservatives have written Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.) outlining their worries that federal law enforcement agents would use expanded powers authorized under the bill to violate civil liberties. The criticisms are shared by an unusual alliance of some liberal Democrats, the gun lobby and the American Civil Liberties Union.

"This is a classic bill where the center has to hold together because the wings are going to vote against it," said Rep. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), a liberal who supports the bill.

The complaints of the Conservative Opportunity Society and Conservative Action Team focus on the bill's broad definition of terrorism and proposed expansion of federal authority to use wiretaps to investigate suspected terrorists.

"We believe the bill goes too far in granting new powers to the federal government at the expense of the civil liberties," said Rep. Thomas W. Ewing (R-Ill.), chairman of the Conservative Opportunity Society.

"Now is not the time to be encouraging big government and intrusion into private lives under the guise of preventing terrorism. The government cannot legislate against all potential terrorist activities without sacrificing individual freedoms."

The group's letter to Hyde was signed by 43 Republicans, including 17 freshmen and Rep. John A. Boehner (R-Ohio), chairman of the House Republican Conference.

Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.), acting chairman of the Conservative Action Team, charged that various provisions amounted to "infringing on what we believe to be our civil and constitutional rights." Most of his group's 70 members agreed, Burton said, but he declined to release their letter to Hyde.

Hyde blamed the delay in floor action on the anti-terrorism bill, which the Judiciary Committee endorsed six weeks ago, on a heavy schedule of legislative and other business before the panel.

"Frankly, I've been overwhelmed with telecommunications stuff, Waco [hearings]. We've got immigration and . . . legal services [legislation] coming up," Hyde said last week.

But Rep. Bill McCollum (R-Fla.), chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee on crime, said conservative opposition was primarily responsible for delaying the anti-terrorism bill.

"I don't think we had the votes for it," he said. "That's why it didn't come up before Waco."

In May, right after the April 19 bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City, Hyde said the anti-terrorism bill had a higher priority than hearings into the 1993 federal assault on the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Tex. But attention to legislation to combat domestic and international terrorism has faded along with public memory of the crumbling federal building.

Clinton, who in the spring had been coaxing Congress to take quick action, has not mentioned the subject in weeks. House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), asked Friday about the anti-terrorism bill, said he had been focused instead on achieving financial savings in Medicare, the health program for the elderly and disabled.

In the House, the hangup is the bill's definition of terrorism, which Ewing complained would "include a very broad range of ordinary crimes." The bill would classify as a terrorist crime almost any assault with a gun that was not a robbery or some other type of attack aimed at financial gain.

Hyde said Thursday that he has drafted two narrower alternative definitions but had not yet shown them to anyone.

However terrorism is defined is unlikely to satisfy freshman Rep. Robert L. Barr Jr. (R-Ga.), a former federal prosecutor who voted against the bill in committee.

"I don't think we need a definition of terrorism," he said. "I don't think we need to be creating new categories of federal crime."

Critics also have objected to provisions that would permit emergency wiretaps for 48 hours without a court order and "roving" wiretaps that could be placed on various phones used by a suspected terrorist.

Wiretaps should be on "the person, not the phone," Barr said. "To me, that's a quantum leap in intrusive federal power."

Hyde suggested that the wiretap provisions were misunderstood and were particularly needed because of the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta and the pope's upcoming visit to the United States.

Other disputed provisions would allow the executive branch to develop a list of foreign terrorist organizations, ban domestic fund-raising for such groups and permit the Defense Department to assist in the investigation of crimes using weapons of mass destruction, creating an exception to the general ban on military involvement in criminal cases.

Both Hyde and McCollum said the disputes could be resolved.

"There's nobody who's given up on it," McCollum said. "I think we can come back in September and focus on it."

Burton and Barr said they were unsure their objections could be met. But so far this year, blocs of Republican dissenters eventually have relented rather than block major legislation.

Schumer doubted that GOP conservatives would kill the bill based on concerns more associated with liberal Democrats like himself. "They're new to civil liberties," he said. "We'll see how long they stick with it."

THE WASHINGTON POST
SUNDAY, AUGUST 6, 1995

Attitudes of Elderly Hold Key To Republican Medicare Plan

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

When David Hurwitz, 78, of Silver Spring retired in 1982, he joined Kaiser-Permanente, a health maintenance organization (HMO) to which he pays a fixed premium each year in return for whatever health care he needs—with almost no added charges.

"I'm happy with it," he said after major treatments for cancer and heart disease.

Sometimes he has had to wait several weeks for an appointment, and he has had to rely exclusively on doctors from Kaiser's panel of physicians. So far these practices and others like them designed to keep the HMO's costs down have not seemed burdensome. "My wife is happy with the service too," Hurwitz said.

That kind of attitude is music to the ears of Republican budget-cutters because their plans to reduce Medicare spending will work best if elderly people flock to HMOs and other managed care arrangements.

But, that kind of attitude is not universal.

For Victor G. Reuther, 83, a retired United Auto Workers Union official who lives not far from Washington National Cathedral and has belonged to another HMO here for 40 years, things have not worked out so well lately.

After his wife Sophie had surgery for stomach cancer three years ago, with a special tube inserted in her stomach so she could be fed with liquids, his HMO, then called Group Health Association, provided a home care aide for six hours a day.

But after Humana, a large provider of HMO services, took over the plan from GHA, which was beginning to fail financially, "we suddenly got notice" that Sophie's home care was not eligible for payment because it appeared to be "custodial care" rather than medical.

Reuther felt the aide was clearly providing medical services. "I raised hell about it." Eventually the service was restored, but only for 1½ hours a day.

Last year, when he took Sophie to a winter cottage they owned in Florida, he was told her bills for chemotherapy and oncology services there were not fully covered because she was using medical personnel not in the HMO's Washington area network of health service providers. "I was billed for thousands of dollars," he said, still feeling the shock of the unexpected expenses.

These contrasting attitudes toward managed care will become an increasingly important political issue as Congress moves deeper into debate over GOP plans to cut projected growth of Medicare spending by \$270 billion over the next seven years. Republicans argue bringing Medicare's growth down to 6.4 percent a year from the current 10 percent is essential to balancing the federal budget and saving the financially troubled system.

GOP proposals circulating on Capitol Hill would offer Medicare recipients a variety of choices, including a government-funded voucher to buy policies on the private market. But,

there would be substantial additional costs for those who chose to stay with traditional fee-for-service arrangements.

These additional fees are designed to provide an incentive for people to join HMOs and other managed care systems that typically provide medical services at reduced costs.

According to policymakers and experts, there are two great unknowns in this plan: Will large numbers of the elderly agree to join HMOs?

And, when such managed care systems have to deal with large numbers of elderly patients will they continue to provide adequate medical care at reduced costs?

Those who favor HMOs as a solution to Medicare's problems argue the current Medicare fee-for-service ap-

proach—in which a patient can go to any doctor he chooses, visit specialists as he wishes and choose any hospital—allows patients to overutilize medical services and permits doctors to pile on marginal services, each of which they are paid for. HMO supporters say the fee-for-service system has led to cost increases far exceeding the growth of national income and inflation.

An HMO, by contrast, is given a fixed annual fee and is not paid extra no matter how many services it performs, giving it incentive to reduce unnecessary services rather than pile them on.

The techniques used by HMOs to keep costs down can include things many people find bothersome, not just limits on which doctors can be seen, but getting the HMO's approval before going to a hospital; leaving the hospital when the HMO's guidelines say it is time to leave; and even sometimes needing the HMO's permission for emergency care to prevent needless expenses.

HMOs also save money by negotiating fee discounts or salary scales with hospitals and doctors and trying to change behavior of doctors who seem extravagant.

Steve Wiggins, chairman of Oxford Health Plans, an HMO system in the New York area, said, "We do computer runs on our docs—if we find that some give B-12 shots to a child with bronchitis" in most cases, "when only 6 percent of the doctors nationally do, we tell them about it and they usually self-correct."

The Republican plan assumes that if Medicare beneficiaries were offered a fixed payment by the government, in the form of a government-funded voucher or payment credit, and allowed to purchase their private-sector HMO or other health policies from a list of government-approved plans, the competition for their business would force the plans to improve efficiency, keeping costs down and saving billions.

One major question is, how much would the voucher/HMO strategy save?

Nobody knows, although studies based mainly on the under-65 population suggest the HMO techniques described permit well-run HMOs to provide quality care for less than traditional fee-for-service plans.

The Congressional Budget Office has estimated the most efficient HMOs—"staff and group" models, with their own buildings, panels of doctors and rules described in this story—can provide roughly the same quality of care as traditional no-restrictions fee-for-service plans for young and old with about 20 percent fewer

services per person. Other types of managed care and HMO hybrids save relatively little, the CBO said.

All this suggests Medicare could save big with HMOs if people opt for the most efficient types. But some experts believe these numbers are far too optimistic.

Although there are savings to be gained from HMOs, said Howard Berman, president of the Rochester (N.Y.) Blue Cross/Blue Shield, which runs a big HMO, "a 20 percent utilization reduction is too high in real life. Clearly there is more efficient utilization, but when you go from abstraction to the doctor-patient relationship, single-digit savings are more realistic in the long run."

Marilyn Moon of the Urban Institute said most studies showing HMO savings are based on HMOs serving people who are not elderly and in some cases may be healthier than average.

The elderly have more complex health problems and need more costly specialists, so it is not certain so much could be saved on the elderly.

The Group Health Association of America HMO umbrella group said new studies dispute Moon's line of reasoning.

But the issue is not settled. "Wholesale managed care for Medicare beneficiaries, who are older and sicker, is not a magic bullet," said Martha McSteen, president of the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare. "Only actual experience will tell us how such a plan will work."

One way to guarantee Medicare will save large amounts by moving people into private plans is to give them a voucher worth a fixed amount and then cap the annual increase in the voucher at some low level such as 5 percent to 6 percent. That is an option Republicans appear to favor, but Moon said if costs rise faster it could hurt the elderly severely by making them pay more money out of their pockets or accept reduced services.

Regardless of how much HMOs might save, they will not help solve Medicare's problems if the elderly will not opt for them because they fear the techniques HMOs use to save money—particularly requirements that people use only HMO-designated doctors.

Nobody knows how many Medicare beneficiaries would sign up instead of opting to remain in the current fee-for-service system. But so far only about 9 percent have signed up for an HMO option already available, although the number is growing.

THE WASHINGTON POST
SUNDAY, AUGUST 6, 1995

Oklahoma City
- work

OK City

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 5, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO LEON PANETTA
HAROLD ICKES
ERSKINE BOWLES
ALICE RIVLIN

FROM: MARCIA L. HALE *MLH*

SUBJECT: OKLAHOMA CITY PROJECTS

Attached is a memo I received from John Montgomery of the Oklahoma City office along with a letter sent to Representative Lucas by Mayor Norick and Governor Keating (a copy of this letter was sent to the President and the Vice President) and an Estimate of the Governor's Task Force for Damage Assessment for the Oklahoma City Bombing.

As you can see in Mr. Montgomery's memo, Oklahoma City is seeking assistance from the Administration in securing funding in a revised rescission bill if there is one. I would appreciate your guidance with regard to this request.

Thank you.



The City of
OKLAHOMA CITY

TO: Marcia Hale
Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Relations

FROM: John H. Montgomery *JHM*

SUBJECT: Oklahoma City Projects

DATE: May 31, 1995

Subsequent to our meeting with you, and over the past two weeks the City of Oklahoma City has been evaluating the problems it faces in attempting to restore its downtown area after the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.

One of our concerns is that there is a need for additional funds simply to repair and replace the damaged core of the city. As we discussed, a list of existing city projects was solicited from us by HUD and a letter written to Secretary Cisneros.

After that initial letter, the City has had the opportunity to review more closely the problems we face and to reform our list of priority requests for federal assistance. Probably our biggest problem is that the \$250 million in the rescission bill does not include any funds for the City to use directly. After speaking with the Oklahoma congressional delegation and having them speak with the House and Senate leadership, we are pursuing the idea of including some direct funding to Oklahoma City in a rewritten rescission bill after the anticipated Presidential veto. Attached is a copy of our letter to Congressman Frank Lucas and a short letter to Vice President Albert Gore which City Councilman Mark Schwartz gave him in Oklahoma City yesterday.

We would like to have the President's help in working with the House and Senate on the Oklahoma City request in the revised rescission bill. What do we need to do?



The City of
OKLAHOMA CITY

RONALD J. NORICK, Mayor

May 25, 1995

The Honorable Frank Lucas
House of Representatives
District 6
215 Dean A. McGee, Suite 109
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73102

Dear Representative Lucas:

During the past few weeks, you have provided able assistance and leadership to the Oklahoma City area following the recent disaster. Once again, we need your help.

As you are aware, the recently proposed Federal rescission package to assist Oklahoma City provides \$240 million for a variety of purposes, including a new federal building, increased national law enforcement capacity and FEMA emergency cost. However, there are no funds provided to assist the city, itself, in its recovery from the extensive damage that was incurred and the major difficulties it will face in the rehabilitation of a portion of the downtown area already under economic stress.

It is our understanding that President Clinton will likely veto the above referenced rescission bill. It appears financial relief efforts for Oklahoma City are to some extent caught up in the debate over the budget between the Administration and Congress. All members of the Oklahoma City Council serve in a non-partisan capacity, and as such take no position in the budget debate, but rather seek to rebuild our city in the wake of the disaster. We believe a resolution to this issue could be accomplished if legislation were introduced which would contain appropriations solely for Oklahoma City due to the April 19th bombing of the Murrah Federal Building.

As you are aware, our city has been moving to revitalize the downtown area. Last year the city embarked on a voter approved one-cent sales tax to raise \$280 million for downtown renewal programs with great anticipation and promise. In addition to this program, which we refer to as the Metropolitan Area Projects (MAPS), the City had committed to various other ancillary related projects to not only enhance the MAPS projects, but to revitalize downtown as well. Several of the major projects wherein we intended to use CDBG funds include the following:

1. Infrastructure and transportation linkages related to the MAPS in the estimated cost which have been attributed to authorized federal matching funds is \$7,250,000.
2. Hotel rehabilitation and development in the Central Business District is the key to returning business and jobs in the bombed area. The estimated cost for the rehabilitation of an historic existing hotel and city infrastructure for the construction of two new hotels generated by MAPS is \$13,000,000.

Honorable Frank Lucas

Page 2

May 25, 1995

3. Infrastructure, environmental, conservation restoration, cultural and improvements to the downtown business and MAPS area; estimated cost \$10,000,000.

The recent disaster does threaten the efforts identified in the above programs. Our previously committed funding for these projects will now have to be redirected to assist the rebuilding of the area surrounding the Murrah Building location. A majority of the business' that suffered significant damage as a result of the bombing are small entrepreneurial firms. We do not believe that the available funding through FEMA assistance will be sufficient to keep them in operation, due to the severe financial and structural losses most of those businesses suffered.

Many businesses have been forced to leave the area and may not choose or be financially able to return. As a result, a large area on the northern edge of downtown is now at risk. The negative image created by the bombing may result in further disinvestment in an area which was already suffering from deterioration and blight. This process needs to be reversed as quickly as possible.

If we are forced to reallocate our current CDBG funds, the downtown core will face lengthy delays to the benefits originally planned to coincide with the MAPS projects, or will ultimately lost.

Our problem is that The City of Oklahoma City does not have funds to meet any of these needs alone, and there are no new sources of potential funding in light of recently passed sales tax measures. We will need some outside help if we are going to be able to adjust to the impact of the bombing and stabilize the overall downtown area.

Immediately following the bombing, the Department of HUD requested that the city compile a list of projects which could be used to stabilize the downtown area. HUD's initial plan was that assistance might be provided through additional Community Block Grant Development funding which has the flexibility to meet a wide variety of redevelopment needs.

If funding were made immediately available to the city, it would enable us to begin programs that will allow our community to restore and rehabilitate the shattered downtown area. An executive summary of the KPMG Peat Marwick damage assessment report is attached.

In addition to the previously mentioned programs, we have identified essential funding issues which are necessary to start the rebuilding process in Oklahoma City. They include, but are not necessarily limited to the following:

1. Historic structure restoration projects and damaged structure restoration needs for properties in the proximity of the Alfred P. Murrah Building; estimated costs \$10,000,000. For your review I am attaching a list of historically significant properties, together with a map showing all properties damaged as a result of the April 19, 1995 bombing.
2. Assistance for the rehabilitation and planned new moderate income housing units

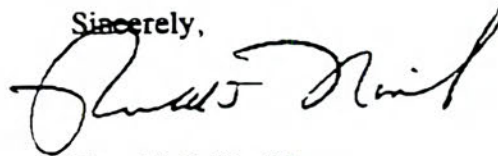
Honorable Frank Lucas
Page 3
May 25, 1995

in the areas around the former federal center and in the Central Business District;
estimated \$5,000,000.

As Mayor, I will make myself available to testify before Congressional committees or meet with members of Congress to discuss the need for this funding request. While Oklahoma City has suffered a tragic loss, the citizens of this nation have responded in a most humanitarian fashion. I would anticipate the citizens of our country would support Congress in this endeavor.

Thank you very much for your consideration and assistance with this request.

Sincerely,



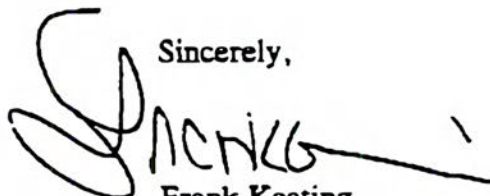
Ronald J. Norick
Mayor

Memo to Representative Lucas from Governor Keating:

Out of the tragedy on April 19, 1995, we, as a nation, proved that all levels of government can work together for the benefit of the citizens. Mayor Norick has enclosed a copy of my recently released damage estimates as prepared by Peat Marwick. Downtown Oklahoma City has suffered not only great physical losses, but psychological damage as well. I believe we need to continue to build upon the relationships between all levels of government.

Oklahoma City does not by itself have the resources to pay for many of the rebuilding efforts which are necessary as a result of the April 19, 1995 bombing. It is my understanding Secretary Cisneros has advised Mayor Norick that HUD has approximately \$35 million that could be reallocated to Oklahoma City this fiscal year. I join the Mayor and City Council in their request that legislation be introduced and quickly passed for Oklahoma City's specific needs.

Sincerely,



Frank Keating
Governor

cc: President Clinton
Majority Leader Dole
Speaker of House Gingrich

THE ESTIMATE OF
THE GOVERNOR'S TASK FORCE
FOR
DAMAGE ASSESSMENT
FOR
THE OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING
OF
APRIL 19, 1995

PREPARED FOR

OFFICE OF STATE FINANCE
THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

BY

KPMG PEAT MARWICK LLP - LEAD FIRM

ADJUSTERS INTERNATIONAL INC.

BARRETT CONSULTING GROUP

MAY 18, 1995

ESTIMATE OF DAMAGES AND COSTS INCURRED
(ESTIMATE)

2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building on April 19, 1995, resulted in a massive loss of life and injuries. In response to this catastrophe, an extraordinary mobilization of government, private sector, and volunteer disaster assistance providers was undertaken. As the scope of the tragedy increased and realization of the magnitude of extensive public and private sector economic losses became clearer, the Governor, working through the Office of State Finance, established the Governor's Task Force for Damage Assessment (Task Force), to provide a preliminary estimate of the costs and losses incurred due to the bombing. This estimate was requested to assist the State with its submissions to the Federal Government in compliance with the conditions of President Clinton's Declaration of National Disaster.

The Task Force consists of professionals from KPMG Peat Marwick LLP, the lead firm, Adjusters International Inc., and Barrett Consulting Group. The Task Force was engaged on April 28, 1995, and started work on-site on April 29, 1995. Assessment teams, comprised of accountants, engineers, architects, and loss adjusters, conducted fieldwork until May 9, 1995, inspecting all properties identified as damaged by the Oklahoma City Public Works Department. Other Task Force members focused on the cost of emergency services provided and those costs anticipated in the future by City, County, State, and private agencies and on all other losses to governments, businesses, and individuals caused by the bombing. The resulting estimates presented in this estimate should be considered as preliminary given the very short time frame available. The fact that many organizations have not completed calculations for their incurred cost and can only provide rough approximations of cost and damages, also impacts the estimate. Accordingly, our estimates are subject to change and those changes could be material.

The following is a summary of our findings of the Non-Federal damages and costs incurred:

- A. Losses to buildings, which were destroyed or damaged, are estimated to amount to \$96,466,000.
- B. Furniture, equipment, and personal losses incurred are estimated at \$29,358,000.
- C. Losses to office records, supplies, and files are estimated to be \$982,000.
- D. Losses to vehicles which were destroyed or damaged are estimated to amount to \$8,088,000.
- E. Estimated damage to streets, signs, and utilities amounts to \$1,035,000.
- F. Business losses due to shut down, interruption, or economic impact are projected at \$132,506,000.
- G. Relocation costs for both business and government are estimated at \$9,700,000.
- H. Displacement costs for individuals displaced from their homes are estimated to be \$2,735,000.

- I. The costs of State, County, and City emergency services provided, relating to law enforcement, safety, investigation, cleanup, victim aid, victim counseling, etc., are estimated to be \$36,959,000.
- J. The costs of medical services provided to victims of the disaster are estimated to be \$3,720,000.
- K. Losses of income for individuals due to death are estimated to be \$28,979,000. Losses of income and rehabilitation costs due to disability are estimated to be \$15,091,000. Other loss of income to individuals and family is expected to amount to \$4,979,000 for a total of \$49,049,000.
- L. Other costs and losses which we have identified including lost sales and income taxes, burial services, reduced property taxes, canceled special events, parking revenues, legal costs, increased security, costs to charitable and volunteer organizations, and losses of donations to other charitable organizations total \$35,682,000.
- M. In addition, \$20,314,000 has been included to allow for other expected losses that are not quantifiable at this point.

The total of all of the above categories of losses amounts to \$426,594,000. Preliminary Federal losses, costs, and projected expenditures relating to the bombing were estimated by Federal government offices to be \$225,000,000, resulting in an estimated total incident cost of \$651,594,000.

Of the total estimated damages of \$426,594,000, \$45,536,000 is expected to be sustained by the State of Oklahoma, \$12,924,000 by the City of Oklahoma City, \$156,000 by Oklahoma County, \$256,788,000 by private businesses, \$35,372,000 by private not-for-profit businesses, and \$55,504,000 by individuals.

Of the estimated \$426,594,000 in total damages, it is estimated that insurance will cover approximately \$105,430,000, and FEMA Grant Programs will cover approximately \$33,122,000, leaving an unfunded cost of approximately \$288,042,000. Other Non-FEMA Grant Programs or supplemental appropriations could not be quantified at this time and have not been incorporated in the final estimate.

In addition, Small Business Administration and FEMA loan programs are estimated to provide \$21,332,000 of potential loans to mitigate disaster impacts. Loan amounts have not been credited in this estimate against the total cost of the disaster because they do not represent a "replacement" funding source for the impacted agencies and individuals.

Following are three tables which summarize the overall assessment results. Table 1 presents a summary breakdown of damage costs, expenses, and potential funding for the various impact categories specified. Table 2 summarizes the impact categories individually for the State of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, the County of Oklahoma, private businesses, private not-for-profit businesses, and individuals. Table 3 presents a summary breakdown of funding sources as they may be applied to the categories of damage costs and expenses.



The City of OKLAHOMA CITY

Mark Schwartz
Councilman, Ward 2

May 30, 1995

HAND DELIVERED

Honorable Albert Gore, Jr.
Vice President
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Enclosed please find a copy of a letter to Representative Frank Lucas as signed by Oklahoma City Mayor Norick and Governor Keating. This letter was also sent to the President, Speaker Gingrich and Majority Leader Dole. Maps showing the damaged areas, together with the full Damage Assessment as issued by the Governor is also enclosed.

The letter requests separate legislation for Oklahoma City for relief funds, including additional CDBG funding as proposed by Secretary Cisneros. I drafted the letter based upon, in part, Leon Panneta's comments regarding separate legislation for disaster areas. The current recision bills as proposed by the House or Senate contain no funds for Oklahoma City itself.

John Montgomery (Marilyn's spouse) is Oklahoma City's representative in Washington. He advised me this past weekend that Representative Istook believes Congress will now be negotiating with the President regarding the recision bill. If that occurs, we would ask that additional CDBG funding be allocated in that bill. John further advises me that Representative Istook now appears willing to provide Oklahoma City with some additional CDBG funding, a departure from his previous position.

Mayor Norick is out of the city today and requested that I provide you with this latest information. We would appreciate it if you would share this information with President Clinton. Any assistance in the form of additional CDBG funding will help Oklahoma City rebuild our community.

On a personal note, let me express my sincere appreciation for the efforts of the administration for all of the support you have provided for the city.

Sincerely,

Mark Schwartz

MSS:lc

BUILDING INSPECTION AREA

LEGEND

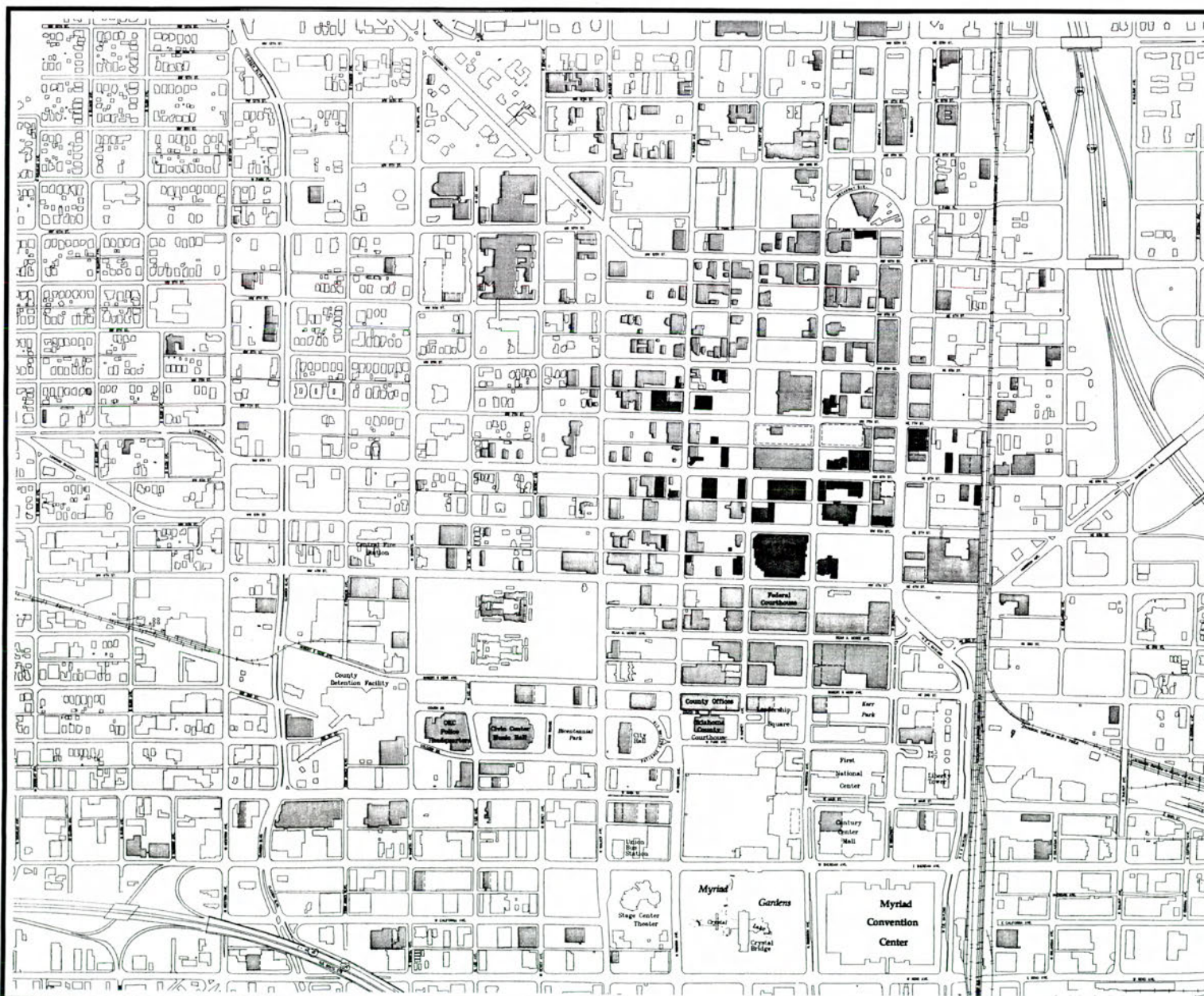
-  Broken Glass/Doors
-  Collapsed Structure
-  Structural Damage



The City of
OKLAHOMA CITY

Data compiled by Public Works Department
Map prepared by Geographic Information Systems

90000046 05/23/1995 DCW



FIRST PRIORITY ASSESSMENT

1. Central High School
700 Block N. Robinson
Original date:
11/17/76, A,C,76001570 NR status
F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Broken Windows
Unidentified source report: broken windows mostly at south, some interior damage.
2. India Temple Shrine Building, (Law Journal Record Building)
621 N. Robinson Ave.
Original date:
3/26/80, A,C,80003286 NR status
F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Structural Damage
OKC report 4-27-95 "unsafe" severe external and internal structural damage.
Unidentified source report: Further investigation of structure required, however historic plaster ornamentation is repairable. Minimal loss of exterior limestone ornamentation.
3. St. Paul's Cathedral
127 NW 7th St.
Original date:
4/11/77, A,C,a,77001096 NR status,
F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Structural Damage
Unidentified source report: Able to be occupied in part. Cathedral can be restored. Brick exterior loadbearing walls with pilasters supporting scissors trusses. Walls are out of plumb. South windows gone, many stained glass windows can be restored. South gable cross at top partially blown away. 3 gables on the west and 3 gables on the east have leaded glass/gone with window limestone trim gone. (Flat clay tile) roof intact but needs new fasteners. Not safe to look at rafters. Intact masonry alter, wood podium and pews.
4. St. Joseph's Cathedral
225 NW 4th St.
Original date:
1/30/78, A,C,a,78002253 NR status
F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Structural Damage
OKC report 4-27-95 "unsafe" garage at rear of rectory
519 N. Harvey
5. First United Methodist Church

4th and Robinson

Original date:

Oklahoma Landmarks Inventory

F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Structural Damage

Unidentified source report: Roof intact. Leaded glass skylight fallen but upper protective skylight intact. Rafters are split and broken but roof in place. Ceiling joists intact. Plaster on wood lath broken. Windows (Lincoln leaded glass) west side blown in. Pieces may be salvageable. Gable masonry laying on street. Roof gable ok. Plexiglas that protects the windows is hanging loose. All glass out on north side. Gable Masonry at north is leaning out. 1960 addition intact. Windows and ceiling are out. Drive-thru cover is ok. Fellowship Hall basement unaffected.

6. YMCA

NW 5th & Robinson Ave.

Original date:

Future eligibility potential

F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Structural Damage

OKC report 4-27-95 "unsafe" severe internal and exterior damage

7. C.R. Anthony

6th & Broadway

Original date:

Warrants further study for NR status

F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Broken Windows at commercial site
Structural Damage at Parking Garage &

Annex

OKC reported "unsafe" 4-27-95. Annex-twisted bar joists partial wall collapse.

8. First Christian Church / City Church

1104 N. Robinson Ave.

Original date:

Frank Uselton, Chair of Board, mailing address: 136 NW 10th
73103

3/8/84, C, a, 84003383 NR status

F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Broken Windows

Unidentified source report: Dome damage. Originally wood, request to replace with aluminum. Wants to restore using congregational contractor. Taking bids on stained glass

restoration. Wants to add glass block at basement windows. Refer to Diane Cohan. Has contacted Paul Meyer.

9. Post Office, Courthouse, and Federal Office Building
Robinson at 3rd St.

Original date:

8/30/74, C, G, 74001665 NR status

F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Broken Windows

Unidentified source report: Some loss of newly restored plaster ornamentation at interior gallery. Glass and frames gone. Ducts dangling. Historic marble and wood repairable. Roof good. Damage at loading dock entry. Lower suspended ceilings fell. West first floor arched windows broken. Front door warped. Mostly cosmetic damage. Temporary patching in process.

10. Auto Alley

Area including Broadway to Robinson, 9th to Park Place and south on Broadway

Original date:

Potential District, warrants further study

F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Broken Windows

unidentified source report: European Motors lost storefront and antique cars. Bolen Dealership at 10th and

Broadway suffered window damage and new interior partition damage. Generally these buildings are loadbearing masonry with wood joists. Mostly window damage.

11. Skirvin Hotel

1 Park Ave.

Original date:

10/10/79 B, C, 79002010 NR status

F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Broken Windows

12. Oklahoma County Courthouse [County Courthouses of Oklahoma TR]

321 Park Ave.

Original date:

3/5/92, C, 92000126 NR status

F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Broken Windows

13. Library

Original date:

Warrants further study for future eligibility

F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: unknown

9-6

14. Oklahoma Publishing Company Building
500 N. Broadway
Original date:
9/18/78, B, C, 78002249 NR status
F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Broken Windows
15. Municipal Auditorium (Civic Center) OK
200 Channing Square
Original date:
Individually Eligible for NR status
F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Broken Windows
unidentified source report: Windows at second floor east
facade have horizontal masonry cracks above and below, continuous.
Apparent mortar damage at limestone. Hall of Mirrors have
cracked mirrors at interior. Some loose historic ornamental
plaster at auditorium ceiling.
16. Kerr McGee
300 N. Robinson ?
Original date:
Warrants further study for NR eligibility
F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Broken Windows
17. First National Bank
120 N. Robinson
Original date:
Oklahoma Landmarks Inventory
F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: no damage reported
18. Magnolia Petroleum Building
722 N. Broadway
Original date:
10/4/79, A, C, 79002007 NR status
F.E.M.A. report 4-27-95: Structural Damage
unidentified source report: West ground windows out, only
one window lost at upper floor. North window blew out. Structure
unknown.

H

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4 July 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR MAGGIE WILLIAMS
MELANNE VERVEER

FROM: Harold Ickes 

SUBJECT: Flash Point - A Newsletter Ministry of Texe Marrs

Attached is a copy of the June 1995 of Flash Point: A Newsletter Ministry of Texe Marrs, as well as an order sheet, which includes Big Sister is Watching You: Hillary Clinton and the White House Feminists Who Now Control America - and Tell the President What to Do, which can be purchased for a mere twelve dollars.

There is also a sixty-minute video entitled Big Sister is Rising: Hillary's Hellcats, for a mere twenty dollars.

FLASHPOINT



A NEWSLETTER MINISTRY OF TEXE MARRS

"The Truth Shall
Make You Free"
John 8:32

LIVING TRUTH MINISTRIES

JUNE 1995

FASCIST TERROR STALKING AMERICA

"Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter. Ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you."
(James 5:5-6)

Although a vile and wicked man, he was elected to high office by the constitutional vote of a free people in a democratic country. However, this ungodly schemer realized that only a dramatic act of chaotic evil could catapult him toward total dictatorial power. Therefore, this national leader secretly ordered the tragic firebombing of a federal building. It was a brilliant and diabolical move.

Craftily, he blamed the fiery carnage on his enemies and cleverly inflamed public opinion against them by deft use of the media.

The national leader ordered law enforcement into action. Promptly they arrested an innocent man, disingenuously planted evidence to frame him, and smugly announced to the nation that a terrorist guilty of the firebombing was in custody. Swift justice would be his lot and the death penalty meted out, the national leadership assured the frightened and, by now, angry masses.

However, law enforcement authorities warned that the arrested terrorist was, in fact, only one of many participants in a broader, national conspiracy of anti-government plotters. These men and women, the government and the media explained, are professed "enemies of the state." What's more, if their bloody terrorist acts are to be prevented in the future, the people must now agree to give up some of their liberties in exchange for security.

Law and order, and respect for government, the national leader explained, will have to be the prime objective of the day. New, wide-ranging, anti-terrorist legislation must quickly be enacted. Constitutional prohibitions against illegal search and seizure must be relaxed. The federal government must be granted extraordinary investigative and police powers. Only this, he counseled, will enable federal law enforcement to put an end to these mad terrorists, these shameless enemies of government.

Some, of course, opposed this massive increase in government police power. But the national leader was not deterred. He cagily hinted that anyone who opposed the government's plan were "haters of humanity," accomplices to the bombing of the federal building; they, too, he said, are social and religious pariahs, aliens to law and order.

"We must purge the nation of this dark evil," trumpeted the national leader of this great democratic country. "Tighter gun control and firearms laws are necessary. Hate crime legislation is required. The negative, anti-government critics *must* be curbed—the voices of hatred and divisiveness *must* be silenced."



Texe Marrs

"Extremists who would overthrow the government and who defame its institutions must not find a safe haven ever again," said the increasingly popular national leader.

The people of the nation applauded. "Yes, everything will be set right by our national leader," they reasoned. "Our elected leader knows the best way. The anti-government protesters are, indeed, haters and anarchists. Riff-raff. They must be harshly dealt with, the sooner the better."

"Yes," they roared and echoed in unison. "More national police *are* needed. More and more laws restricting our constitutional rights *should* be passed. In fact, we *demand* more power be given to the government and to our national leader! After all, it is he who deeply loves us and feels our pain. It is he who wants only to protect us. He would never lie to us. We trust him. Let us, therefore, use our federal police powers to destroy our enemies, these terrorists, these horrible, firebombing fanatics."

A Tale of Two Cities

The above is a true story. Indeed, it is, to use a Charles Dickens' phrase, *A Tale of Two Cities*.

On February 27, 1933, Adolf Hitler, Germany's constitutionally elected leader, secretly ordered the firebombing of Berlin's Reichstag—a federal building roughly equivalent to our own nation's U.S. Capitol. The public outcry inevitably resulted in the dictatorial empowerment of the federal government. The SS Gestapo was created, and a hugely popular leader, Adolf Hitler, assumed virtually complete, totalitarian authority.

The people of Germany had gladly given up their constitutional rights and freedoms to a megalomaniac whom they unswervingly revered and trusted. He spoke flatteries to them. He was for good and against evil. He felt their pain and soothed their suffering.

Germany and the whole world entered a dark era of despair, horror, and death. Some 50 million perished in the flames of World War II and in concentration camps. *And it all started with the clandestine torching of a single federal building!*

He Who Forgets the Past

As Santayana once said, "He who forgets the past is doomed to repeat it." And so, on April 19, 1995, a federal building was firebombed in Oklahoma City. Bill Clinton, no doubt fully aware of Hitler's fantastic success with the same, outrageous scheme six and one-half decades prior, moved fast to follow in the Nazi fuhrer's footsteps. Clinton's own, Himmler-type agent, FBI Director Louis Freeh, in a speech in Oklahoma City, ranted about "enemies of the state" and "haters of humanity." (Yes, he actually used those very terms!)

(Continued on page 2)

Fascist Terror Stalking America (continued on page 1)



The destruction of the Reichstag in Berlin and the federal building in Oklahoma City followed similar patterns. Both Hitler and Clinton cynically used the tragedies to justify Gestapo campaigns against their enemies.

Clinton's own, Hess-like agent, Attorney-General Janet Reno, arrogantly goose-stepped forward to the podium to announce that a mad bomber, though just one cog in a nationwide, terrorist conspiracy, had promptly been arrested. Once convicted, said Ms. Reno, the evil Mr. Timothy McVeigh would pay the maximum penalty—death.

The American people, as the Germans before them, seem more than eager to oblige Clinton and his henchmen in their lust-filled grab for the ultimate in governmental power and authority. The media have assured the ignorant and trusting masses that Bill Clinton and his lovely wife, Hillary, would never lie to us. "Father" Bill and "Mother" Hillary adore and love our little children. Indeed, they love all of us. The government is only here to help you. Only believe... and you will remain safe and secure in your comfortable cocoons out in suburbia.

But distrust our national leader, they caution, and we will smash you. Criticize Big Brother, Big Sister, and their police state, and you may end up on the receiving end of an IRS or FBI investigation. Or worse.

The New Fascists Are Like the Old Fascists

It is fair to say that Bill Clinton is, in fact, a *fascist*. A fascist is a strange, hybrid creature who combines the most effective—and most virulent—strains of both Nazism and Communism. The fascist believes in a totalitarian government, but one ruled behind the scenes by a wealthy elite, such as the CFR and Trilateral Commission clique. The fascist despises God for he believes *himself* to be divine. The fascist deceitfully uses and manipulates the masses. From the rich he privately obtains his awesome power. From the deluded people he obtains his authority, which he wields with cruel and terrible effectiveness.

Yes, Bill Clinton is a fascist. And today it is the fascists who stalk America. The modern-day fascist tyrants, however, have not changed much from those of the past. Bill Clinton, like Hitler and Mussolini before him, tells outrageous lies. He lies about what really happened in Waco, and he cynically uses the Oklahoma City tragedy to arouse public fear and incite public anger toward perceived "enemies." Mr. Clinton manipulates this fear and anger to achieve the hidden agenda of the Illuminati elite: the granting of dictatorial police powers and the setting aside of our nation's Bill of Rights.

In London's *Daily Telegraph* newspaper, historian John Keegan recently penned an article under the title, "Who Says a Hitler Could Never Happen Again?" Keegan observed, "People... cannot tolerate chronic insecurity. They crave civil peace almost as much as they need food. If denied it, they will give their loyalty to anyone who can assure it; they will also sanction any measures this Leviathan—as Hobbes called this bringer of security—deems necessary to restore order."

"Hitler's genius," Keegan continues, "was for playing on the fears and anxieties of ordinary men and women" who, frightened and desperate for order, agreed "to the whole apparatus of social control that Hitler installed, when he achieved power—with *their votes*."

Keegan points out that the people, feeling themselves under pressure from a "collection of terrorists, fanatics, and criminals, assented to police state tactics, deprivation of civil rights, imprisonment without trial, judicial murder, and, eventually, mass extermination of the enemies of the people."

To those who say that it couldn't happen today, not with an enlightened media, Keegan responds by reminding us that, in fact, the *media* were the greatest promoters of Nazi fascism and were among the warmest advocates of Adolf Hitler's totalitarian program. "Hitler's real genius," says Keegan, "was in public relations... The German press, radio, and cinema applauded the Nazi assault on 'anti-social and criminal elements' every step of the way."

And so we return again to 1995, to Bill Clinton, and to an anxious and fearful America. Clinton's unconstitutional agenda, as was Hitler's, is applauded by the media. Even the gassing and burning to death of the 17 children inside the Branch Davidian compound in Waco is described as a righteous act by an honest and virtuous President and Attorney-General. The German people had their Reichstag. The Americans now have their Oklahoma City. Apparently, the devil never changes his ways, and neither do his fascist agents here on planet Earth.

Who Profits?

No one but an insane sadist—or a scheming totalitarian—would have participated in or applauded the Oklahoma City bombing. Who, then, *did* profit from this otherwise senseless act of sheer terror? You know, and I know, the answer. In a manner frighteningly reminiscent of Josef Stalin's purges in Soviet Russia and Hitler's propagandistic, Nazi era, Bill Clinton, Janet Reno, and their totalitarian comrades are cynically using this tragedy to demand special, dictatorial police powers.

How disgustingly convenient, how cruelly perfect, how devilishly advantageous to the long-cherished agenda of Bill Clinton and his New World Order superiors was this monstrous firebombing and massacre in Oklahoma City! Truly, God's Word is astute, for we read in Proverbs 8:36: "*All they that hate me love death.*"

Enemies of the State

Both the government and the media agree: certain, designated "enemies" must be stopped. Federal law enforcement agencies, we are told, must be given the maximum authority to shut the mouths of the dissidents. Republicans and Democrats alike in Congress seem determined to give to federal authorities dictatorial tools to end what the media describes as "the threat to public security posed by dangerous, anti-government factions."

America is being told that so-called "extremist, right-wing" groups *must* be thoroughly investigated, even if they are not suspected of actual crimes. For the good of the nation, they *must* be confronted with far-reaching, police state tactics. Among the extremist groups identified by the media and the government as threats to national security are the following. Look and see if *you* or someone you know could be on Big Brother's enemy hit list. Check to see if *you* are a designated "enemy of the state:"

- **Pro-llfers**, who oppose abortion, all of whom, the government and media claim, are guilty of a national conspiracy to firebomb abortion clinics and murder abortion doctors.
- **Christian fundamentalists**, especially those who believe in a coming apocalypse, a literal Armageddon, the last days' rise of Mystery Babylon, and the imminent return of Jesus Christ.
- **Conspiracy theorists**, especially those who warn of a "New world Order" or who criticize the United Nations.
- **Farmers and ranchers**, because they oppose the "wisdom" of new environmental regulations and the government's management of *their* lands and homesteads. (Of course, *only* the little farmers and ranchers are threats—the big, "agribusiness" titans are government-approved!)
- **Internet and fax users**, because they are supposedly guilty of spreading so-called "hate" messages by computer and over the fax lines.
- **Gun owners**, vilified because they allege that the Second Amendment to the Constitution guarantees to the citizenry "the right to keep and bear arms." This, we are told, is a dangerous and inflammatory idea.
- **Militia members**, targeted because they expose the heinous and murderous acts perpetrated by the FBI and BATF in Waco, things that the media and the government prefer the American people *not* find out.
- **Conservative talk show hosts**, because they provide forums where the enslaved working classes, American patriots, biblical Christians, and other anti-New World Order voices stir up discontent and distrust of Big Brother government—which, of course, is a decided no-no as far as the elitists are concerned.
- **Tax protesters**, because they simply don't understand that it is a "good thing" for our friends at the IRS to exercise such massive and unconstitutional police powers over the suffering and ever more paying citizenry. (How else can we pay for the police state, for all those much-needed government welfare programs, and for all that foreign aid?)
- **Constitutionalists**, because of their unacceptable belief that the

wording of the Bill of Rights is to be taken *literally*. Constitutionalists are also said to be extreme because they oppose the New World Order and warn of a coming, one world government system which would make obsolete the need for our "old and antiquated" national Constitution.

- **Tenth Amendment advocates**: Especially to be watched and beaten down are those who believe in the Tenth Amendment, which states that those powers not *specifically* delegated to the federal government, "are reserved to the states or to the people." This, say the media and the politicians in Washington, D.C., is a disturbing and revolutionary notion!
- **Patriots**, because they cherish the "old America"—the land that once belonged to the brave and the free, before today's socialist rot set in.
- **Armed Forces personnel**, because they despise their "heroic," draft-dodging, U.S. military-loathing, Commander-in-chief, Bill Clinton. These men and women oppose PDD-25, the government's directive to turn over command of the U.S. military forces to United Nations' controllers. Many uniformed personnel are also "America Firsters," and this presents a roadblock to the glorious, soon coming New Age of one-worldism.
- **Right-wing extremists**. All of the people in the above categories, plus many more "anti-government" agitators—for example, home

schoolers, objectors to homosexual conduct, etc.—are lumped together and labeled as "right-wing extremists." The nation is being encouraged to distrust, investigate, watch, despise, and quarantine these terrible people.

Stand Up for Truth!

In fact, there is probably not one, tender-hearted member of any of the groups described above who would not have sacrificed his or her own life in a brave effort to *prevent* the Oklahoma City tragedy.

My friends, do not allow the savage forces of a scheming elite to trample on the Constitution of the United States and to defame and persecute good and innocent people who believe in God and country. Stand up and be counted!

And please, always remember: It is *not* necessary to use bullets and bombs. True Christians would never return evil with evil. Let the Clintonista rabble-rousers and the power-hungry government agents employ lies and unleash waves of bloody violence and destruction. The only weapon we need—and how mighty it is!—is the *Truth*. The Word of God is mightier than the sword! Preach with conviction. Tell the Truth to as many people as you can. Get the facts out. Speak boldly; do not faint or grow weary.

Most important, pray unceasingly. Pray even for Bill Clinton and the others who hate and despicably use us. Depend solely on our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Trust Him completely. Worry not what men can do to you, for God is with you. He will never forsake you.

Frankly, I tremble for Bill Clinton and his New World Order cohorts when I consider the awesome justice of a vengeful God. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord." That, my friends, is Truth. It is power, and it is destiny.



Bill Clinton is following after Soviet dictators like Josef Stalin by targeting "Enemies of the State"

Our New Shortwave Radio Is In!

Finally, we have a new, electronic digital *Shortwave Radio* to offer our ministry friends. The "Sangean" *ATS 808* is in stock now and ready to ship! This high performance radio brings in AM/FM stations with stereo clarity. Continuous shortwave signals are received, from 150 KHz to 30,000 KHz—16 full bands of coverage. Now you can tune in to every station broadcasting *World of Prophecy*. The *ATS 808* has auto-scan tuning with 45 memory presets. It comes complete with a built-in telescoping antenna *plus* a portable exterior antenna. The "Sangean" *ATS 808* radio also comes with an AC adaptor, stereo headphones, a suede pouch, and a shortwave handbook.



The *ATS 808* Radio • For Your Gift Of \$139 (plus \$5.00 shipping and handling)

WORLD OF PROPHECY SCHEDULE

Join Texe Marrs each week on the radio. Radio times and broadcast stations for *World of Prophecy* are listed below.

DAY	STATION	FREQUENCY	LOCATION	TIME	DAY	STATION	FREQUENCY	LOCATION	TIME
Friday	WASB	AM 1590	Greater Rochester, NY	4-5 pm	Sunday	WRNO	7.355	International Shortwave	8-9 pm CST
Saturday	WWCR	5.065	International Shortwave	7-8 pm CST		WWCR	7.435	International Shortwave	9-10 pm CST
	WHRI	5.745	International Shortwave	9-10 pm CST		KKCM	AM 1530	Shakopee, MN	5-6 pm
	WCVZ	FM 92.7	Zanesville, OH	4-5 pm		WPDJ	AM 1300	Huntington, IN	9-10 am
	WTNN	AM 670	Knoxville, TN	4-5 pm		WTNN	AM 670	Knoxville, TN	4-5 pm
	WYEA	AM 1290	Sylacauga, AL	9-10 am		WRWB	AM 740	Harrogate, Cumberland Gap, TN	8-9 am



World of Prophecy Tapes Available

We are pleased to offer the following, 60 minute audiotapes of programs aired in the most recent month on Texe Marrs' international shortwave radio program, *World of Prophecy*. These audiotapes are available for your gift of \$7.00 each, or \$20 for the entire set of four tapes, plus postage.

New Age Occultism in Disney's Blockbuster Movie, "The Lion King": Texe Marrs interviews Dr. Joseph Chambers, founder of Paw Creek Ministries, Charlotte, North Carolina. Pastor Chambers exposes the incredible darkness—packaged as wholesome virtue—of Disney's popular "The Lion King." Find out how this movie secretly promotes homosexuality, New Age pantheism, spirit channeling, and other perversions.

Gods of the Lodge: Texe Marrs interviews Reginald "Bubba" Haupt, Jr., author of the stunning book, *Gods of the Lodge*. An attorney and founder of a Christian ministry for the homeless in Savannah, Georgia, Haupt reveals the disgusting, sordid facts about Freemasonry's secret worship of Lucifer.

United Nations Objective—To Make Nature Worship a State Religion: Texe Marrs examines the real reason—the prophetic and spiritual dimension—why the New World Order elite are

attempting to foist on us the Biological Diversity Treaty. Included: a revealing interview with Al Adask, publisher of *The AntiShyster*, a magazine devoted to unmasking the unfairness and corruption among lawyers and judges.

Making War in the Heavens: Texe Marrs interviews Pastor Bill Randles, author of the important new book, *Making War in the Heavens*. Pastor Randles takes a look at modern-day crazes and fads, such as holy laughing and demon spirit mapping. He compares the Bible's prescription for effective spiritual warfare with the devilish demonstrations we're seeing today in many charismatic and evangelical churches.

Please use the enclosed order form to request *World of Prophecy* tapes, or write to: *Living Truth Ministries*, 1708 Patterson Rd., Austin, Texas 78733. To use your Visa, MasterCard, or Discover card, phone toll free 1-800-234-9673.

Who Slaughtered the Innocents in Oklahoma City?

The bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City resulted in monumental carnage and suffering. Hundreds of innocent victims—many just children—were maimed, blown apart, or crushed to death by tons of unyielding concrete and steel. This was a wicked act of terror, a crime against humanity. *But who is responsible?* Was this a conspiracy by disgruntled and frustrated, anti-government protesters... or instead, **WAS THIS CRUEL AND BLOODY CRIME ACTUALLY PERPETRATED BY THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF?**

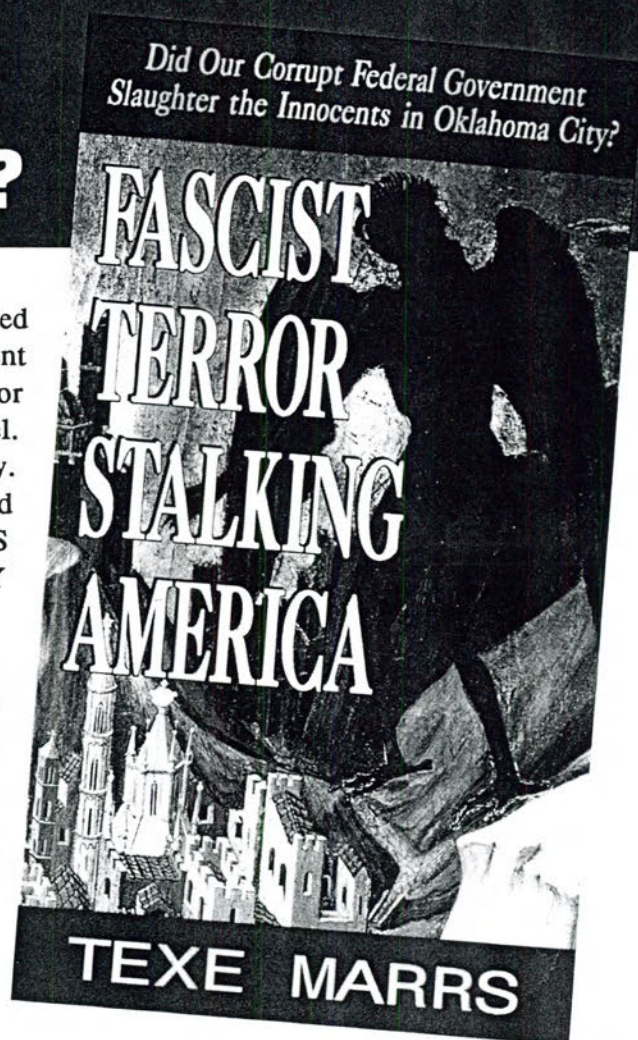
Now, Texe Marrs rips the mask off the fascist thugs who almost certainly planned and executed what has been called "one of the most notorious crimes of the 20th century." He presents compelling evidence that federal law enforcement authorities had the motive, the capability, and the occult frame of mind necessary to orchestrate the slaughter. Here is massive proof implicating the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF), and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the Oklahoma City massacre.

President Bill Clinton, too, is culpable. He is exposed as a heartless, New Age occultist—an occultist who has relentlessly used the full resources of the White House to slander, defame, persecute, and kill true Christians and American patriots.

Yes, there is a New World Order conspiracy, and as this video documents, it is aided and abetted by the unAmerican liars and propagandists who control the media. Texe Marrs further demonstrates that there is a *solid connection* between the Gestapo of Hitler's Nazi Germany, the Cheka and KGB of Stalinist Russia, and today's fascist New World Order plot. Fascists such as Stalin, Hitler, Clinton, and Reno have no conscience and feel no remorse for their hideous criminal behavior.

"If the White House, CIA, FBI, BATF, and other federal, Gestapo police agencies get away with the bloodshed and horrors done in Waco, Ruby Ridge, and now Oklahoma City, what will they do next? Could you and your loved ones already be high up on their hit list of designated Enemies of the State?"

—Texe Marrs



90 MINUTE VIDEO • FOR YOUR GIFT OF \$25

THE INTELLIGENCE EXAMINER

**Investigative Report
by Texe Marrs**

June 1995

The Bloodstained Hands of Big Brother Government

Did a secret government bomb squad engineer the massive blast that ripped apart the federal building in Oklahoma City—and ended the lives of almost 200 men, women, and children? Before you say, “No, it’s not possible. Our government would never do such a thing,” you *must* obtain a copy of this shocking, new video.

In *The Bloodstained Hands of Big Brother Government*, internationally known researcher and bestselling author Texe Marrs presents a mountain of evidence and documentation. He fingers federal government insiders as responsible for a wave of bloody bombings and assassinations and a pattern of lies, deception, and illegal spying and surveillance, extending from the 1930s to the carnage at Waco and the Oklahoma City tragedy. Texe Marrs reveals that an evil clique of unAmerican, money-hungry greedsters and murderers has grabbed the reins of such powerful groups as the CIA, FBI, DIA, DEA, DOD, and BATF. Their circle of influence reaches into the White House and controls the halls of Congress.

This is *The Octopus*. Its leaders abandoned our POWs/MIAs in Vietnam and injected experimental germs into our Persian Gulf war soldiers. From President Franklin D. Roosevelt to William

J. Clinton, its wicked leadership has secretly terrorized the nation. They’ve manipulated and used the media, covered up crimes, and framed innocent “patsies”—like Lee Harvey Oswald, blamed in the JFK assassination, and Admiral

Kimmel, falsely accused of malfeasance in 1941 over the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Are Timothy McVeigh and the Nichols brothers their latest patsies? More important, what vile act of human sacrifice and mass death is next? How much longer can we tolerate and endure the

bloodstained hands of Big Brother government?

Was Jonestown and Guyana a CIA concentration camp experiment?... Did the CIA and FBI plot the assassination of JFK?... Did Franklin D. Roosevelt know in advance about the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor?... Did Clinton and the feds commit mass murder in Waco and Oklahoma City?



65 minute audiotape—\$10 (Also on Video—\$20)

FLASHPOINT

Living Truth Ministries

Texe Marrs	President
Wanda Marrs	Vice President
Sandra Schappert	Business Administrator

Living Truth Ministries
1708 Patterson Road
Austin, Texas 78733-6507

Forwarding and Return Postage Guaranteed

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Austin, Texas
Permit No. 903

**INSIDE:
FASCIST TERROR
STALKING AMERICA**

HAROLD ICKES
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVE NW
WASHINGTON DC 20500

ORDER NOW!

Phone Orders (Visa/MasterCard/Discover)
Toll Free 1-800-234-9673

Please return to: Living Truth Ministries, 1708 Patterson Road, Austin, TX 78733

☐ My check or money order is enclosed

Your Name _____

Charge my ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa ☐ Discover

Address _____

Card # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Exp. Date _____ Phone No. _____

QTY	TITLE	PRICE	AMT
BESTSELLING BOOKS BY TEXE MARRS			
—	Big Sister Is Watching You: Hillary Clinton and the White House Feminists Who Now Control America—And Tell the President What To Do (208 pages)	\$12	—
—	Dark Majesty: The Secret Brotherhood and the Magic of A Thousand Points of Light (288 pages)	\$12	—
—	Millennium: Peace, Promises, and the Day They Take Our Money Away (272 pages)	\$12	—
—	New Age Cults and Religions (352 pages)	\$12	—
—	America Shattered: Unmasking the Plot to Destroy Our Families and Our Country (128 pages)	\$10	—
—	New Age Lies to Women by Wanda Marrs (256 pages)	\$12	—
—	Ravaged by the New Age: The Plan to Destroy Our Kids (272 pages)	\$12	—
—	Dark Secrets of the New Age (287 pages)	\$12	—
—	Mystery Mark of the New Age (287 pages)	\$12	—

BOOKS BY OTHER AUTHORS			
—	Black Helicopters Over America, NEW! by Jim Keith (154 pages)	\$12	—
—	The Gods of the Lodge, NEW! by Reginald C. Haupt, Jr. (195 pages)	\$12	—
—	The Clinton Chronicles (320 pages)	\$15	—
—	Hidden Secrets of the Eastern Star: The Masonic Connection, by Dr. Cathy Burns (491 pages)	\$15	—
—	New Age Bible Versions, by G. A. Riplinger (690 pages)	\$15	—

AUDIOTAPES BY TEXE MARRS			
—	The Intelligence Examiner (65 minutes): June 1995: The Bloodstained Hands of Big Brother Government NEW!	\$10	—
—	The Treaty From Hell: The United Nations Plan to Make "Nature Worship" a State Religion (60 min.) NEW!	\$10	—
—	The Pope Over Jerusalem (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	Illuminata: The Secret New Age Occultism of Bill and Hillary Clinton (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	Report From Iron Mountain (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	New Age Politicians and the Plot to End American Sovereignty (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	Hidden Messages in the New Catholic Catechism—The Vatican Agenda Exposed (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	All Fall Down: The Plot to Crown the Pope the Prince of Peace (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	Strange Glory: Satan's Plan for a One World Bible (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	Black Science: The Age of Barbarism and Human Enslavement is Here, Now! (3 tape set)	\$10	—
—	The Late, Great U.S. Armed Forces (60 min.)	\$10	—

QTY	TITLE	PRICE	AMT
AUDIOTAPES BY TEXE MARRS (CONTINUED)			
—	Concentration Camps in America (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	Beware the Dead Sea Scrolls: Is There An Illuminati Plot to Pollute the Word of God? (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	Project Abaddon II: Bible Prophecy and UFOs—The Demonic Dimension (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	Hidden Occultism in the New Age Bible Versions and Unmasking the New Bible Versions: Texe Marrs Interviews Gail Riplinger (2 tape set)	\$10	—
—	America's Secret SS Establishment (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	The Masonic Plot Against America (60 min.)	\$10	—
—	The Last Days of Pope John Paul II: The Illuminist Scheme to Take Over the Vatican (2 tapes/120 min.)	\$10	—
—	The United Nations Plot: The Grand Scheme of the Bilderbergers (60 min.)	\$7	—
—	Pigs in the Parlor: Exposing the Trilateral Commission and the CFR (75 min.)	\$10	—

WORLD OF PROPHECY PROGRAMS (60 MINUTE AUDIOTAPES)			
—	New Age Occultism in Disney's Blockbuster Movie, "The Lion King"	\$7	—
—	Gods of the Lodge	\$7	—
—	United Nations Objective—To Make Nature Worship a State Religion	\$7	—
—	Making War in the Heavens	\$7	—
—	Set of All Four Programs Listed Above	\$20	—

VIDEOS			
—	Fascist Terror Stalking America: NEW! Did Our Corrupt Federal Government Slaughter the Innocents in Oklahoma City? (90 min.)	\$25	—
—	The Bloodstained Hands of Big Brother Government (65 min.) NEW!	\$20	—
—	The Pope Over Jerusalem (60 min.) NEW!	\$20	—
—	Satan's Fingerprints in the New Bible Versions (60 min.) NEW!	\$20	—
—	Concentration Camps in America (60 min.) NEW!	\$20	—
—	The Treaty From Hell (60 min.) NEW!	\$20	—
—	Why I Believe in the King James Bible (60 min.) NEW!	\$20	—
—	No I.D. Found: The Mark of the Beast System Revealed (93 min.)	\$25	—
—	America Under Siege (71 min.)	\$25	—
—	Mysterious Monuments to the Beast (45 min.)	\$20	—
—	The Alchemical Processing of Humanity (45 min.)	\$20	—
—	Unholy Bible Versions of the New Age (56 min.)	\$20	—
—	Big Sister Is Rising: Hillary's Hellcats (60 min.)	\$20	—

SHORTWAVE RADIO			
—	"Sangean" AM/FM/Shortwave Radio, NEW! ATS 808 ; with antenna, AC adapter and headphones	\$139	—

SUBTOTAL		
PLEASE ADD 10% FOR SHIPPING AND HANDLING (Add only \$5 for "Sangean" radio) Canada & Overseas please pay in U.S. dollar instruments and add 20% for postage and handling		
ADDITIONAL DONATION/OFFERING		
TOTAL ENCLOSED \$		

New Videos Document Power of Bible Prophecy

At the recent prophecy conference in Charlotte, North Carolina, Texe Marrs made these stunning presentations. Now, view the graphic proof for yourself including photographs, government materials, and other documentary evidence. Witness the astonishing evidence of conspiracy, Big Brother plots, and insider schemes. Be inspired as you realize that God, in His Holy Bible, prophesied these things would come to pass in the last days.

Concentration Camps in America

Reports of crematoria, foreign troops in America, and concentration camps are documented. Texe Marrs examines a new, high-tech "human tracking system." He heralds the rise of occult architecture and exposes the establishment of a Gestapo-like *National Security Office (NSO)* in Washington, D.C. Also revealed: top secret, classified plans for the arrest and incarceration of resisters to the New World Order.



THE POPE OVER JERUSALEM

Has the time come for the Pope to rule over Jerusalem? Discover the Vatican's secret plan to unite Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Learn about Pope John Paul II's contacts with top Jewish leaders and rabbis and discover the real reason why the Pontiff is now establishing diplomatic relations with Israel. Will the Pope move his Vatican headquarters to Jerusalem by the year 2000? Will he preach at a rebuilt Great Temple of the Jews and declare himself head of a unified world religion? (See II Thes. 2 and Rev. 17)

60 Minute Videos—\$20 each (Also on Audio—\$10 each)

THE TREATY FROM HELL: THE UNITED NATIONS PLAN TO MAKE "NATURE WORSHIP" A STATE RELIGION



President Bill Clinton has now sent to the U.S. Senate for ratification the *Convention on Biological Diversity*. Its purpose is said to be a good one—to transform America's entire body of laws so that the earth and its endangered species will be safe for future generations. But as Texe Marrs reveals in this shocking exposé, in fact, this is a deceptive *Treaty From Hell*. Once this treaty is approved, life as we know it will end. The paganization and occulting of America will escalate. Our constitutional rights will be ravaged. Innocent people will be driven from their homes and farms, their property confiscated. The Holy Bible will either become forbidden literature or key passages censored to conform with the state-approved "Mother Earth religion." A global dictatorship will be established as humanity descends into a satanic existence of savage and primitive nature. We must stop this *Treaty From Hell* before it's too late! (NOTE: With your order for this important audiotope, we will also send you the full text of the *ten United Nation's objectives this treaty fulfills*. You will be shocked to discover that one key objective is "To make nature worship a State Religion.")

The *Treaty From Hell* investigative report covers the following topics:

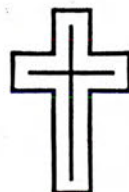
- * What are the "ten United Nations objectives" to be imposed by the proposed *Treaty on Biological Diversity*?
- * What was the plot of the elitist conspirators at Rio de Janeiro's, 1992 *Earth Summit*—including Russia's leaders Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, President George Bush, and UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali?
- * Are U.S. government agencies openly promoting this evil treaty? Has the Clinton administration already begun implementation, even before Senate ratification?
- * How do the provisions of this treaty tie in with the plan to arrest Christian and patriot dissenters and herd them into Concentration Camps? Was this prophesied in the Holy Bible?
- * Does the treaty require the formation of a *World Government*, complete with global taxation authority?
- * What is the meaning of the United Nations objectives which call for a "vision of One Earth, One Family" and "a new contract" of unity for all "peoples and nations"?
- * What frightening dimension underlies the United Nations objectives to (1) "Classify people as the enemy," and (2) "Create areas devoid of human presence"?
- * What is the purpose of the "UN Biospheres" now being established throughout the U.S.A.?
- * Does the treaty endorse Vice President Al Gore's belief that "nature is God"? What connections are there between Gore's adoption of the occultic, Mother Earth teachings of globalist Catholic priest Teilhard de Chardin and the *Treaty on Biological Diversity*?
- * Are the spiritual teachings of Billy Graham and other evangelical leaders in accord with the heretical goals of this foul treaty?
- * Has the environmental movement all along been a gigantic, scientific and spiritual hoax? Will this new treaty empower Big Brother to enslave humanity and usher in the demonic worship of animals, trees, and even the "spirits of the earth"?
- * What satanic symbols, blatantly used by U.S. government agencies in environmental publications, provide tell-tale evidence that official Washington, D.C. is now captive to occult forces?

60 minute audiotope—\$10 (Also on Video—\$20)

From:



Place
Stamp
Here



TEXE MARRS
LIVING TRUTH MINISTRIES
1708 PATTERSON RD
AUSTIN TX 78733-6507



Toxic Speech

As Clinton connects the bombing to right-wing hate radio, the resurgence of America's incendiary 'paranoid style' is finally under scrutiny

BY JONATHAN ALTER

LET'S ASSUME THAT PRESIDENT Clinton's attack on "loud and angry voices" and "promoters of paranoia" was motivated by political expediency. So what? His critics are so accustomed to impugning motives that they've lost sight of the substance of what he said. Clinton argued simply that these extremists "leave the impression, by their very words, that violence is acceptable." If anything, he was late on hate. The president might have taken a cue from his Sister Souljah triumph during the 1992 campaign and made denunciation of incendiary rhetoric on both the left and the right a regular feature of his presidency. Instead he once again backed off last week, as aides scammed to insist that the president wasn't really talking about right-wing talk radio.

Actually, he was. All week long on his radio show, Rush Limbaugh played the victim like a pro. But Clinton was really aiming at the likes of G. Gordon Liddy, the second most popular conservative talk-radio host. When Liddy tells listeners to murder agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms who enter their homes ("Head shots, head shots—kill the sons of bitches!") or laughs about using pictures of the Clintons as target practice; when self-styled "patriots" plot armed rebellion on short-wave radio or pass along bomb recipes on computer bulletin boards; when Bob Mohan of KFYI Phoenix says of handgun-control advocate Sarah Brady, "She ought to be put down. A humane shot at a veterinarian's would be an easy way to do it"; when gun shows sell bumper stickers

that say, FIRST LINCOLN, THEN KENNEDY, NOW CLINTON?—then it's time to draw a line. Now, finally, we're beginning to take a hard look at our whole Vulture Culture—the endless shouting and demonizing that doesn't necessarily lead to violence but coarsens and worsens us all.

The left has its share of vultures; their rancid words must be challenged, too. And it's cynical to tar all conservatives with the right-wing brush. But when Limbaugh says on the air that the Oklahoma City terror was perpetrated by anarchists, not right-wingers, he undermines his widely hyped powers of perceptions. Would Limbaugh and the Oklahoma GOP senators who echo him deny that the members of the Weather Underground of the late 1960s and early 1970s were left-wing extremists? These terrorists took mainstream liberal antiwar views and made them extreme left-wing views. From what we already know of the Oklahoma City crime, it's clear that the bombers took mainstream conservative ideas—resistance to gun control, the United Nations and a powerful federal government—and made them extreme-right views. All the defensive bombast in the world won't change that fact.

Perceived threats: The bully-boy right should, of course, be distinguished from what the late historian Richard Hofstadter called "the paranoid style in American politics." In his 1965 book of that name, Hofstadter argued that groups spouting overheated conspiratorial fantasies have always been with us. Some of the perceived threats—from Jews, internationalists, high government officials and gun control—have remained consistent for generations; others—from Masonic orders to fluoridat-

ed water—have changed with the times. Because the dark forces are seen as threatening "a nation, a culture, a way of life" and not just individuals who think someone is out to get them, the paranoia can find a wider audience.

Hofstadter argued that paranoid groups often ape the characteristics of those they fear. Thus the KKK, which attacks not just blacks and Jews but Roman Catholics, began dressing in vestments, and the John Birch Society, which saw communists everywhere, formed in cells. Today's militia movement, which sees its enemy as federal authority, takes the form of the most potent symbol of that authority—the army.

Sometimes the American strains of puritanism and paranoia combust; more often they just overlap and confuse. We've never before been quite so mixed up about the meaning of hurtful words, so simultaneously tolerant and intolerant of toxic speech. It's come to this: the same epithets that get you fired from a university get you hired on talk radio. Maybe it's a class thing—different standards for gown and town. A student at the University of Michigan mentions casually that he believes homosexuality is a disease that can be cured by therapy. He is immediately hauled before a disciplinary board. A custodian at the same university, Mark Koernke, repeatedly goes on short-wave radio describing how to kill government officials. He is almost totally ignored—until it turns out that one of the suspects in the Oklahoma City bombing may be a follower, at which point his short-wave program is finally yanked by the "Christian" station that was airing it.

It's strange: Mark Twain's masterpiece "Huckleberry Finn" is banned in many areas because it contains the word "nigger." At the same time, when a big-time radio talk-show host in New York, Bob Grant, helps promote neo-Nazis and white supremacists and tells a caller who disagrees with him about O. J. Simpson and Oklahoma: "What I'd like to do is put you against the wall with the rest of them, and mow you down with them," guess what happens to him? Capital Cities/ABC, which airs

'You have two choices. You can die under [ATF] bullets or



Early start:
A young
follower at
a white-
supremacist
rally

you can shoot back and try to defend your wife and family.'

—G. GORDON LIDDY



WALLY McNAMEE FOR NEWSWEEK

Memorial: Edye Smith clutches a picture of her dead sons. 'What do you say when people ask, "Do you have children?"' she mourned. 'I don't have any answers.'

Grant's show, defends him with a statement acknowledging that he "may be [emphasis added] controversial." Yes, ABC, and you may be in it for the money.

ABC's larger defense was that Grant shouldn't be "censored." This was the argument of choice for talk-radio hosts last week. They can call the president "Coward in Chief" and imply he killed Vincent Foster, but if he mildly criticizes them, it's censorship. Sorry. It would be censorship if the government tried to revoke their licenses or seize their studios. Clinton was talking about responsibility. That doesn't mean that hate purveyors are responsible for wackos' blowing up buildings, but that they—and everyone else—are responsible for trying to *prevent* such violence. Respon-

sibility is when people in positions of authority (including movie, TV, radio and recording executives) assess the possible social consequences of what they disseminate. This should be elemental and obvious, but it isn't.

And so we need to remind ourselves of what we were supposed to have learned years ago—the fourth "R." Responsibility is Neal Boortz, a conservative talk-show host at Atlanta's WSB, who, when a caller said recently that government was now the enemy, replied: "If you want a revolution, go to the ballot box." Responsibility is Bill McNulty, general manager of KCKC-AM in San Bernardino, Calif., who last week yanked Liddy's show from his station. "I felt that there was a sincere influence on

some of those unstable individuals," McNulty explained.

Liddy said last week that his listeners are smart enough not to take his violent talk seriously. But it was Liddy himself who, when working in the Nixon White House, took seriously Jeb Stuart Magruder's offhand remark that it would "be nice if we could get rid of" columnist Jack Anderson. He began plotting to kill Anderson before being restrained by Magruder. "If Liddy could misinterpret the words of a man who was sitting in the same room—a man he knew very well—and set off on an assassination mission, how could he not understand the potential danger of his remarks to strangers on the air?" asks columnist William Raspberry. Indeed, it was only last year that Francisco Duran, who listened to incendiary Colorado Springs radio host Chuck Baker, set off for Washington to try to kill Clinton.

Shouting sells: Maybe there's no connection. After all, Duran's deranged. And maybe there's no connection between the Oklahoma City bombing and voices of hate, either; terrorists shouldn't be able to "blame society" any more than gangbangers can. Repressing free speech in order to stop crime has never worked in the past, and it's not likely to work now. Besides, shouting sells, and selling is even more American than paranoia.

But before we let the Vulture Culture off the hook, remem-

ber: it may not have the power to demolish buildings, but it does have the power to erode faith in democratic life. As Roger Conner of the American Alliance for Rights and Responsibilities puts it, "A process dominated by extremes is a process that produces anger and withdrawal. People listening to all the shouting *know* that it's not all black and white. So they opt out; they say, 'If you have to know you're this certain of your beliefs in order to participate, count me out.'" Now *there's* a causal link: anger breeds withdrawal breeds profound alienation and a new, lonelier civic existence. If we lower our voices, we won't necessarily save any lives. But we may help save our ability to reason and govern together. ■

'In the face of death, let us honor life'

GO SHANGHAI. VOICE-OVER FEVER. COOL SUMMER DRESSES.

Los Angeles Times Magazine

JUNE 18, 1995

AMERICA, THE ENEMY

DO THE BOMBERS OF THE '60S AND THE '90S SHARE MORE THAN THEIR HATRED FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT? INSIDE THE ZEALOUS WORLDS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE, LEFT AND RIGHT.
BY NINA J. EASTON



THEIR POLITICS ARE LIGHT YEARS
APART, BUT THE BOMBERS OF THE '60S
AND '90S SHARE VOLATILE RHETORIC,
TANGLED PARANOIA AND A BELIEF THAT
VIOLENCE IS A LEGITIMATE WEAPON.



A M E R I C A

There's nothing like a bathtub concoction of fuel oil and fertilizer to dramatize the wild-eyed anger in America that no voting booth can assuage. The ingredients are easy to buy, the bomb easy to plant in an open society and, with some careful planning, an explosion can be targeted at the symbols of political rage without any human blood tainting the message. • In the wee hours of March 12, 1970, when bombs tore through the insides of three Manhattan sky-

scrapers, a warning call had given police half an hour to evacuate the night-shift cleaning crews. That left members of Revolutionary Force 9 free to make their point, without being labeled murderers, that the corporations housed in those buildings were "enemies of all life" in "death-directed Amerika." In press accounts, those three explosions fell in the category of "extensive damage, no injuries," which, along with "minor damage, no injuries," was the predominant label for the hundreds of bombs that rocked the nation between 1969 and 1971. In California

alone, 20 explosions a week rocked the state during the summer of 1970.

But it was a handful of fatalities that did the most damage to the cause of leftist radicals intent on "bringing the war home." Days before the skyscraper bombs, an explosion destroyed a fashionable Greenwich Village townhouse, leaving dead two men and a young woman, Diana Oughton, her headless body riddled with the nails she and her fellow radicals had apparently poured into the bombs they were manufacturing in the basement. "The police claimed, and the Weathermen never denied, that the



TAKING UP ARMS

Activists in the anti-war and civil rights struggles of the 1960s believed that they were on the verge of armed conflict with their government. Far left, sentries of the Black Panthers guard the group's headquarters in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1969. The Panthers broke ranks early with the rest of the Left, saying they needed armed defense. More than 20 years later, the militia movement sees itself as the real defenders of the people. Here the Michigan Militia is shown training at Brutus, Mich., in 1994.

THE ENEMY

roofing-nail bombs were intended for use at Columbia University," according to '60s historian Todd Gitlin. That same spring, two black militants were killed in a Maryland car bomb explosion; a police officer died in the bombing of his San Francisco precinct station.

In August of the same year, Bob Fassnacht, a promising 33-year-old red-haired physicist working overtime to crack the secret of superconductivity, was blown face-down, his internal organs crushed by a fireball force, when a stolen van packed with farm fertilizer and fuel oil exploded outside his

lab at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. The New Year's Gang had given the "pigs" a five-minute warning before blowing out the guts of the building housing the controversial Army Mathematics Research Center. But the bomb went off prematurely, and Fassnacht, who opposed the war his killers were protesting, never returned to his wife and three small children.

A quarter of a century later a different political movement has spawned its own brand of dangerous revolutionary, one whose reality is also shaped by in-

sularity, an intense hatred of government authority and a searing apocalyptic vision. Violent radicals from both eras share much common ground: "Both are moralists," says Allen J. Matusow, dean of humanities at Rice University and author of "The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s." "They believe the government is perpetrating evil . . ." and that one must carry out guerrilla acts if necessary. "These are moral extremists."

BY NINA J. EASTON

Regardless of whether the murder of 168 children and federal office workers starting their day in downtown Oklahoma City turns out to

have been a political act—and many signs suggest that it was—there is unnerving evidence elsewhere of rising political violence from the right: the bombings of abortion clinics and the murders of five medical workers; heavily armed militia members engaged in standoffs with federal officials attempting to enforce environmental, child support and gun-control laws; the shooting of a Missouri highway patrolman in apparent retaliation for the arrest of an anti-government activist. Just as the peace and civil rights

movements were forced to confront fringe radicals carrying out terrorist acts in its name, so, too, the small-government and anti-abortion movements now face the emergence of like-minded activists who view violence as a legitimate political tool. As in the '60s, the '90s fringe players are few, but by talking of violence in a country where speech is free and dissent protected, they sit like 800-pound elephants on the wings of broad political movements.

Today, the spotlight is on Rush Limbaugh for warning that violent revolution was imminent; on G. Gordon Liddy for on-the-air descriptions of how to shoot to kill armed federal agents who might storm through the door; on anti-abortion activists who support the "taking of all godly action necessary to defend innocent human life, including the use of force"; on publications like *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, which warned in its April issue, ominously on target with the Oklahoma bombing, that "in 1994 America resorted to the ballot box for change. Hopefully the cartridge box will not be necessary."

But by the late 1960s, violent talk among movement leaders on the left had become as casual as smoking pot. From black militant H. Rap Brown: "Do what John Brown did, pick up a gun and go out and shoot our enemy." From Tom Hayden, then a leader of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS): "There's coming a time when the American movement will become more violent for defensive and survival reasons." From James Forman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who urged that in the event of his own assassination, "10 war factories destroyed... one Southern governor, two mayors and 500 racist white cops dead." Today, Democratic Sen. Dianne Feinstein worries about bomb manuals on the Internet; in the 1960s, the widely available "The Anarchist Cookbook" offered similar recipes for disaster.

The debate now raging in Congress over how to craft a law-enforcement response to terrorist attacks shows the American political system doing what it does best: forging imperfect compromise, this time between public safety and personal liberty, between the right to drop our children off at the downtown day care, assuming they will be safe, and the right to join in political dissent without worrying that the phone is tapped.

What continues to paralyze and deeply divide the country, 25 years after waves of bombings set back the New Left, is not law enforcement's obligations but our own: How does the nation fashion a political response to anti-government threats and acts of violence? Do political leaders attempt to address the underlying frustration, to examine the rage? Does Congress agree to hold hearings on the actions of federal agents during the siege at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco or the federal assault on white supremacist Randy Weaver and his family in Ruby Ridge, Ida., without a corresponding look at threats against government agents? Or does that grant legitimacy to the purported motivations behind a bombing that seemed calculated to take place on the anniversary of the Waco fire, an attempted government raid on Weaver, and the execution date of convicted murderer-"patriot" Richard Snell?

When the *New Republic*, pondering the motivation behind a series of bombings in 1970, editorialized that "the unstable are the first to explode, but even the emotionally sturdy can't take it forever," was it suggesting that there are sound reasons behind the death and mayhem? And what responsibility do political leaders and opinion-makers bear for creating an atmosphere that fosters violence among "the unstable" in the first place?

In "Rads," his book recounting the fatal Madison bombing, journalist Tom Bates details how radical activist Karl Armstrong was influenced not only by a student underground paper urging the bombing but also by the "mainstream" campus paper. The *Daily Cardinal* editorialized that "if acts [of violence] are needed to strike fear into the bodies of once fearless men and rid this campus... of repressive and deadly ideas and institutions then so be it."

Staff writer Nina J. Easton's last article for the magazine examined the Republican revolution on Capitol Hill. Contributing research to this piece were Emily Gest, Maloy Moore and Caleb Gessner.



When Armstrong was arrested in Toronto a year later, activists rallied to his side, and prominent leftists testified in his defense. Twenty-five years later, a cadre of anti-abortion extremists took up the cause of Paul Hill, convicted of murdering a doctor outside an abortion clinic. One a death by incident, the other a death by design. Both a part of the American political landscape.

THE WAY IT WAS

Tom Hayden, California state senator and former gubernatorial candidate, is angry. Across the phone lines, he returns again and again to make the same point: "I'm offended by the comparison" between the violence of the '60s and that of the '90s, he says. "The world of journalism can't be that small.... It just shows that the critics of the '60s won't stop." Hayden rummages through his own files of statistics to make the point that arrests were high and fatalities low in the leftist violence during that turbulent period.

"It's perfectly true there was violence by radicals," says Hayden, one of the founders of SDS, the leftist student group that gave birth to the Weather Underground. Originally named Weatherman—for the line "you don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows" in Bob Dylan's "Subterranean Homesick Blues"—the Leninist splinter group called for violent overthrow of the American government and took credit for at least 19 bombings. In the late 1960s, Hayden called the Weathermen "the natural final generation of SDS, the true inheritors of everything that happened from 1960 on."

Leftist violence, he says today, "was directed primarily at property and was concentrated in the 1969 to 1971 period when society was most on the threshold of breakdown and many believed that most electoral means [of change] had been exhausted." Hayden says today's well-armed right wing should be compared to the Ku Klux Klan, the Minutemen and other rightist groups whose assaults and bombings terrorized Southern blacks and others during the '50s and '60s. He adds: "The [leftist] activists of the '60s were against the Establishment because we saw it as a



'60S—THE WAR AT HOME

1970 FBI poster identified eight suspected bombers, members of the militant Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, top left.

Many activists saw the Kent State shootings in May, 1970, as part of a pattern of law enforcement abuses. State Sen. Tom Hayden, seen here in 1969, helped found the SDS. Far left, then-FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover vowed to "neutralize" New Left activists.

bastion of racial and economic privilege. The militias don't think it's enough of a bastion."

Because the militants of the '60s and '90s are political antipodes, comparisons of the two eras inevitably draw some disdainful replies. How can radicals led by children of the elite, trashing their graduation degrees from Columbia and Swarthmore in favor of posters of Che Guevara and Mao, be compared with janitors and Army veterans publishing half-literate newsletters under the logos of American Revolutionary soldiers? One revolution was run from the cities; the other has rural roots and distrusts urban centers. One claimed to fight racism in every form; the other is tinged with white supremacy.

To Rice's Matusow, the comparison between extremists of both eras is a natural one. "I've used the description 'imperialist hypothesis and guerrilla fantasy'" to describe the '60s radicals, he says. "Contemporary radicals have a hypothesis of a government plot against them and a guerrilla fantasy."

The violent factions of the '60s Left, particularly the Black Panthers and the

"Members of the Weather Bureau saluted each other with three upraised fingers—the sign of the serving fork that had been stuck in the stomach of Manson victim Robert La Bianca," Matusow writes. "And they celebrated the death of Sharon Tate in her eighth month of pregnancy because no white baby born in the mother country of the empire deserved to live." Until the Greenwich Village explosion killed three comrades and forced them to rethink their strategy, Weathermen were considered willing to carry out deadly attacks.

If some New Left leaders walked a fine line between explaining these unnerving excesses and justifying them, many of today's opinion-makers on the Right turn a blind eye to their own fringe. Conservative opinion-makers, from talk show hosts to National Rifle Assn. officials to far-right members of Congress, dismiss any connection between their own heated rhetoric and deadly acts by like-minded partisans. But when abortion is "murder," when the NRA likens federal agents to Nazi "storm troopers," when Atty. Gen. Janet Reno is denounced as a "baby-burner" (a reference to the death of children at Waco),

demented extremists are handed opportunities to become political martyrs.

The NRA "might as well have been the Weathermen or the Students for a Democratic Society the way they were talking . . . [that] cops are bad, cops are the enemy," William J. Bennett, "Book of Virtues" author, said in a TV interview. In a country weaned on guns and violence, angry denunciations of federal agents and agencies can slip toward assertions that the government lacks legitimacy and may even be the enemy—as these homemade signs along the San Joaquin Valley's Highway 99 assert: "Less Government, More Body Bags," "I.R.S. in Range to Shoot" and "Pigs and Judges Aren't Bulletproof."

Today's militant Right urges its followers to take up arms in "self-defense" against the government and stresses a need to return America to its roots. While the Weather Underground spoke of the oppression of imperialism, the militia talk of the oppression of government regulation, taxes and gun control, though both seem driven by fear and economic uncertainty. While the militant Left talked of saving the lives of children subjected to napalm in Vietnam, the cause of militant anti-abortion activists of the '90s is "saving the lives" of the unborn.

Rage at government authority fuels both ends of the political spectrum. At these outer banks of American politics, separated by a quarter-century of accumulated distrust of politics, the government is not "of" the people but "on" the people—an alien, tyrannical beast that has no business in their lives. Yesterday's "pigs"—the Black Panther label for police they considered ill-natured beasts with no respect for law and order—have been replaced by today's "jack-booted government thugs," the NRA's description of lawless agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (who are, not coincidentally, the nation's chief gun-control enforcers).

What else to do against the force of lawless law but to take up arms? That's what the Black Panthers did, breaking ranks early with the rest of the Left in 1966 by proclaiming that the black community needed armed self-defense groups. In 1967, rifle-toting Panthers stormed the California Capitol building, protesting a proposed weapons law. "Off the Pig!" was the Panther battle cry. In a three-year war with police, 11 officers and five Panthers were killed.

If the Panthers swaggered through city streets in their black berets and black leather jackets—a symbol of cool to the white radicals who embraced them—today's heavily armed white radicals romp through forests in their cammies and boots, also playing at paramilitary prowess. Threats of violence against government officials are open proclamations. As with the Panthers, owning guns has become a political act within the radical Right. Congress' ban on assault weapons and the Brady Law requiring background checks on handgun buyers are hot buttons with the militias. "Once you have the power to overthrow the government, the government becomes very friendly," explains Nick Hull, a 56-year-old Tennessee farmer who is using the Internet to organize "Committees on Correspondence"—a reference to the colonial communication network formed prior to the American Revolution to foster wartime solidarity. "That's the only way to keep a check on government."

Former radicals reject comparisons with the '90s in part because they say

Continued on Page 28



Weathermen, were motivated by such broad social causes as the Vietnam War, racism and poverty. "The treacherous nature of U.S. power was revealed as we began to comprehend Hiroshima, napalm, slavery, lynching, capital punishment, rape, Indian reservations," the Weather Underground stated in its political proclamation, "Prairie Fire."

Members of the Weather Underground were romantic revolutionaries for a generation of student radicals. Sons and daughters of the wealthy, "they seemed to many people to be more extreme than extreme, very brave. And [Weather Underground leader] Bernadine Dohm was a movement sex symbol," recalls cultural critic Greil Marcus. But this picture of gallant guerrillas in the good fight against the evils of capitalism and imperialism doesn't capture the movement's ugly underside.

Obsessed with death and hate, the Weathermen professed admiration for such figures as assassin Sirhan Sirhan and mass-murderer Charles Manson.

'90S—THE LEGACY OF WEAVER AND WACO

Bombing suspect Timothy J. McVeigh, left, en route to an Oklahoma City jail. McVeigh is said to be gripped by the 1993 fire at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Tex. That confrontation, along with the 11-day Idaho standoff and shootout between federal agents and white supremacist Randy Weaver, below, in 1992, has become a symbol to many of the government's heavy hand. One object of their ire: Atty. Gen. Janet Reno.



sauce boat of good Hollandaise, but the poor spinach is tricked up with sugar.

Morton's extensive wine list is strong on red wines, especially California Cabernets. A deep, rich Cabernet or a big Bordeaux with steak is one of the great foolproof food and wine matches. Still, the wine list offers few bargains.

Proceed to dessert at your own peril. If you have cleaned your plate, you won't have room. But if you forge ahead anyway, you'll surely be disappointed. Key lime pie, which sounds light and refreshing after all that meat, tastes more of cornstarch and sugar than lime. Cheesecake is ordinary; apple "crumble" dreary and ice cold. And the signature soufflés? Merely dull.

As formulaic and interchangeable as airports, the experience at this and every other Morton's I've visited is remarkably consistent. What they do well, they do very well. And where they fall short, they fall consistently short. The best strategy is to pass up the frills and keep your eyes on the prize: steak.

'60s and '90s

Continued from Page 11
much violence 25 years ago was provoked by abusive law enforcement such as the National Guard killings of four young people at Kent State and the fatal shooting of Panther leader Fred Hampton in his bed during a pre-dawn raid.

But today's Right has its own laundry list of claimed abuses, starting with Waco, where an attempt to seize illegal weapons from a cult compound led to a shootout in which four ATF agents were killed. The 51-day-long siege that followed ended with the fiery deaths of about 80 men, women and children. A second flash point was the shootout with white supremacist Randy Weaver, who hid out in a Northern Idaho cabin to avoid arrest on a weapons charge. Weaver's wife and 14-year-old son were killed. Militias and NRA officials cite many other examples of injuries and deaths they say were caused by overzealous

law enforcement.

The NRA, recently attempting to distance itself from the militias, nevertheless has tried to capitalize on such incidents by fostering fear of law enforcement among its members. "Your rights and your home next?" is the caption under a photo of the Davidian compound in flames on the front page of a special NRA report on the siege.

Patriots of America, Not the World

Today's militants view themselves as "patriots" of America, not vanguards of world revolution. They are intent on saving America from the world, not saving the world from America, as '60s radicals hoped to do. Yet they feel estranged from the power structure in much the same way. As '60s radicals railed against a "bourgeois elite," today's see a "liberal elite" embodied in a press and political establishment that appears indifferent, even hostile, to their needs.

Now that some of the Left's liberal sentiments are embedded in the nation's culture, much of the Right believes its values have been shoved off the American agenda. Little wonder that the militia movement swirls with wild conspiracy theories about murders allegedly orchestrated by a baby-boomer U.S. President who embodies that power shift.

Today, it is the liberal side of the political spectrum calling for law enforcement to crack down: Sen. Feinstein seeks policing of the Internet to prevent the dissemination of instructions on explosives; President Clinton calls for added investigative powers and 1,000 more counterterrorism agents. Leaders on the Right, who condemn these moves as government overkill, are the nation's newfound civil libertarians.

In the '60s and '70s, the Left saw the FBI as the chief villain, a reputation gained primarily by its pursuit of J. Edgar Hoover's notorious 1968 directive to "expose,

disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of various New Left organizations." Today, liberals encourage the FBI's efforts at halting abortion clinic murders and bombings. But among the rightist militias, it is known as the "Federal Bureau of Incineration," for the fire resulting from its assault on the Branch Davidian compound.

Richard Flacks, professor of sociology at the UC Santa Barbara, is another former New Left leader who resists comparing the two eras. Still, he says they can occupy the same historical continuum of a flagging public faith in a government that provides "the legitimate framework for solving problems and dealing with society."

He adds: "A lot of roots are in the Vietnam War and the way we conducted that war—with deceit and without the consent of the society. I don't think the national government has ever been able to recapture the kind of trust that existed leading up to the war. People of all ideologies have far more mistrust of government. The Vietnam War showed we don't have the kind of democracy we thought we had."

Yet at the fringes of these movements, insularity breeds myth and paranoia out of proportion with the actual sins of political leaders. Today, confrontation radio has replaced civil disobedience, a '90s-version of the sit-in that the enraged can join in from comfort of the car, living room or office. As in '60s demonstrations, these sessions are orchestrated as diatribes against the system by like-minded participants. Dis-sent is not encouraged.

In the late 1960s, an ominous, apocalyptic sense of impending fascism or civil war infected the Left, heightened by evening news shots of street battles between students and police, abusive crackdowns by police and federal authorities, bombings by leftists and an intractable, deadly war overseas.

Inside the cells of self-

proclaimed revolutionaries such as the Weather Underground in the '60s and early '70s, that picture of a government near collapse fed on itself. "The trouble with that kind of underground is that it is a closed framework that reinforces those views," Flacks says. "From the outside it looks totally irrational. From inside it looks like the logical path to follow."

Today, that same insularity is feeding another apocalyptic vision, this time among the militias, who fear that the federal government is attempting to disarm the population and foster a new world order. Sightings of black helicopters and training tanks are taken as evidence of a surreptitious foreign coup d'état about to take place. Militias are arming against foreign threats, threats from their own government, threats from neighbors they consider alien because of the color of their skin or the country of their birth. "We're talking about a situation where armed conflict may be inevitable if the country doesn't turn around," Norman Olson, a Baptist minister and gun shop owner who serves as regional militia commander in northern Michigan, has told his followers.

There is fear that the cities are about to erupt and the government will be unable or unwilling to protect outlying communities. "I am afraid that a financial collapse resulting in the government's inability to maintain the welfare system will lead to an increase in crime and social unrest," writes Robert Bradley in his handbook for militias, "Citizen Soldier: A Manual of Community Based Defense." "I am afraid that government bureaucrats faced with losing their power and paychecks will take desperate measures to hold onto that power. I am afraid that an America weakened economically by financial upheaval and socially by political opportunists will be an inviting target...."

Bradley, who writes that he left the Army in 1992 after seven years of service,

urges military-type discipline on militias, warning that vigilantism should not be tolerated. But he provides detailed instructions on how to escape a violent mob and shoot its leader, if necessary, in self-defense. His manual brims with the same kinds of survivalist tips that were popular reading in the '60s. But these have a '90s twist: Readers, for example, learn how to build roadblocks to keep mobs out of their neighborhoods and how to ransack their own houses so potential looters will move on.

As in the '60s, when leftist groups believed that the government engineered political bombings to discredit them, conspiracy theories are rife within the militia movement. The Oklahoma City bombing is widely believed to have been the work of the federal government. Neal Knox, columnist for "The Shotgun News," published in Nebraska, suggests that incidents such as Patrick Purdey's spraying of a Stockton school yard with an AK-47, killing five children, were manufactured by nefarious government forces trying to disarm the population by building support for gun control. "Is it possible that some of those incidents could have been created for the purpose of disarming the people of the free world?" Knox asks. "With drugs and evil intent, it's possible. Rampant paranoia on my part? Maybe. But there have been far too many coincidences to ignore."

With radicals predicting, as their leftist counterparts did in the '60s, that fascism is right around the corner, references to Nazi Germany are sprinkled generously through militia theories and proclamations. Just as the Waco siege has been likened to a Nazi invasion, so, too, did protesting students in the '60s greet riot police with a hearty "Sieg Heil!"

Conspiracy theories involving world takeover typically go hand-in-hand with anti-Semitism, since Jews are typically placed at the

center of whatever cabal is supposedly taking over the world, notes Thomas Halpern, a researcher at the Anti-Defamation League who has studied the militias. Anti-Semitism was a strong element of the Black Panthers' world vision. And it fuels much of the frightening world view in "The Turner Diaries," a fictional account of a white supremacist overthrow of the U.S. government that is making the rounds among some militias with racist leanings.

An ADL study of the militias found some with ties to the Aryan Nation and other white supremacist groups. But some others don't appear to be driven by racism: Halpern notes that blacks can be found within the leadership of a handful of groups. Instead, what ties the tens of thousands of militia members together, he says, is a fear and loathing of the federal government, particularly its potential ability to confiscate their weapons.

For all the parallels that can be drawn between the '60s and '90s radicals, Hayden is right about one thing: The death toll isn't comparable. There was no warning before the Oklahoma City massacre. "The Turner Diaries," which suspect Timothy J. McVeigh reportedly read, offers this eerie gloat after its protagonist blows up the FBI headquarters in Washington, killing 700: "All the bombings, arsons, and assassinations carried out by the Left in this country have been rather small-time in comparison."

But it would be a mistake

to assume that only the Far Right is capable of deadly violence: One of the worst acts of domestic terrorism in this century, the 1920 bombing of a Wall Street bank that claimed more than 30 lives, was believed the work of anarchists connected with the European left. And who were those roof nails that backfired into the bodies of three Weather Underground radicals in 1970 really meant for?

When Anger Rules

Earlier this year, Hayden took the floor of the state Senate in Sacramento to condemn extremist violence at abortion clinics and to propose legislation seeking beefed-up security and improved police training on maintaining access to these sites. He says he was particularly appalled to see a petition, signed by 32 anti-abortion activists, that labeled the five murders at abortion clinics "justifiable homicide."

Hayden brings up this subject, about which he feels quite passionately, at the end of a long discussion about violence in the '60s. During those years, Hayden made a number of comments condoning—or at least explaining—the use of violence for political ends. After the 1967 Newark riots, he warned about the emergence of the "conscious guerrilla" in the ghetto who could divert police from looters during riots, set fire to white neighborhoods and businesses and, "if necessary... shoot to kill."

Asked about these kinds

of comments, Hayden says, "It's easy in hindsight to say it was wrong.... Part of what I take blame for is the anger. Anger colors judgment. But, then, why was I angry?"

Partisan politics, as much as anger, seems to color Hayden's comments today. But he's not the only one: 25 years ago, the conservative National Review condemned pervasive talk of violence: "No one has to issue an explicit order for a nationwide campaign of bombings or shootings.... An individual new-style revolutionist or a small group... gets the same messages from revolutionary books and teachers on campus, sees on TV and in the newspapers what everyone else is doing. Quite naturally and 'spontaneously' many individuals and groups come to the same conclusions—to set the explosives, to fire the guns."

Now that the violence is coming from the Right, the National Review has changed its tune. Concerns that the inflammatory rhetoric of talk show hosts and groups like the NRA is creating an atmosphere conducive to acts of violence are dismissed by the magazine's editorialists as "slipshod reasoning" and "liberal paranoia."

In a country born of violence, where revolutionary soldiers took up arms against a king who wanted to collect taxes, committed ideologues send out confused messages. When the violent acts emanate from their political opponents, condemnation is swift and sure. When they spring from allies, there is, too often, a pregnant pause.

However, just as Hayden says his own anger about government arrogance and the Vietnam War should have been examined, he believes that the root causes of today's violence deserve attention. "The role of the government is to siphon off the anger through compassionate populism," he says, adding that rightist activists facing the economic collapse of their world are looking outside for scapegoats. "If you think of it as a

law-and-order problem, you're not hearing the other half."

Scholars such as Matusow agree that legitimate grievances usually underpin illegitimate acts. "Whenever you have radical attacks, they are the symptom of real problems," he says. That the radicals act insanely "doesn't mean the underlying problems aren't real."

On that note, Congress will press forward with hearings on Waco and Weaver and other alleged abuses by federal law enforcement that have come into the spotlight since the Oklahoma bombing. But it will do so without providing the nation the comfort of a sure and unanimous view toward threats of political violence.

In mid-May, House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) scoffed at New York Democrat Charles E. Schumer's suggestion to expand the Waco/Weaver hearings to include an examination of threats against federal employees. "Would he like to bring in people who demonstrated in front of American embassies?" Gingrich responded in an interview with the Washington Times. "Would he like to bring in people who urinated on the Pentagon? Would he like to bring in people who insulted American soldiers in uniform? I mean, who does Schumer want to go after? Exactly which elements of the government does he most want to protect?"

Gingrich's comments reflect the mixed signals that leaders on both sides of the political spectrum continuously send out—signals that can be picked out of the air by a troubled soul looking for his day in the sun.

Those who waver in their view that anger does not justify violence or threats of violence in a free and open democracy, whatever its failings, only feed a long and deadly tradition in America. With leaders like that, the great game of politics is sure to become, as Irving Kristol wrote so presciently in 1966, "the most dangerous game of all."

Shanghai

Continued from Page 17

make more money working construction jobs or doing piece work in coastal cities than in their grindingly poor home villages, it would not take much of an economic downturn to put millions out of work. Even now, one sees numerous beggars jingling cups as their ragamuffin children tug at the cuffs of passersby for alms.

DESPITE THESE PROBLEMS, both the reality and the illusion of prosperity continue to provide powerful fantasies of upward mobility. With so many tall buildings, luxurious five-star hotels, glittering nightclubs, expensive boutiques, gleaming foreign cars and fashion-conscious people, it is tempting to imagine that Shanghai is not only economically booming but also regaining its legendary past as a city of high finance and political and cultural sophistication.

Such a conclusion is all the more tempting when one runs into someone like Zhou Xiaoyan, who is of that earlier generation of cosmopolitan Chinese whose lives embraced a synthesis of East and West. At 78, she is still spry and vigorously continuing her first love: teaching voice.

To enter the apartment where she lives with her film director husband is to be in a world that seems as out of place in Shanghai as the old Art Deco buildings along the Bund. A piano is heaped with scores of music, and shelves are stacked with books. She fixes coffee, then in a combination of Chinese, French and English, recounts how she grew up in a wealthy banking family in Wuhan, where she attended an Italian Catholic school.

"China desperately needed talented people, and since I wanted to help save our country, I thought that I'd better really learn something," she explains with a mixture of defiance and wistfulness. "In 1940, my father sent me to study music in Paris at the Conservatoire Russe, and then the Nazis

SAVE A CHILD'S LIFE

IF YOU OWN A POOL, CALL US NOW!



California's Oldest, Largest,
and Best Removable
Fence Company.

More parents put their trust in

PROTECT-A-CHILD.
POOL-FENCE-CO.

CALL FOR FREE VIDEO BROCHURE

800-428-1156



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Militia
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN *5/15*

95 MAY 9 48:09

5 May 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
LEON PANETTA

FROM:

Harold Ickes *HP*

SUBJECT:

Militia groups

On 4 May, I spoke with Ron Goldfarb (202-466-3030) who represents 2 men who are experts in right-wing militia groups.

One is Leonard Zeskind, who has infiltrated 1 or more of these groups, and has written an about-to-be published book about them. Apparently he lives under an assumed name.

The other is Danny Levitas, who is currently living in Atlanta working for the Center for Democratic Renewal. He also has extensive knowledge about, and dealings with, right-wing groups.

Both would be interested in talking with anyone at the White House about these groups.

Let's discuss.

V. Ickes
Let's discuss Monday

Witness Says Suspects' Friend Gave Away Stolen Firearms

By JO THOMAS

OKLAHOMA CITY, July 5 — A witness scheduled to appear before the grand jury hearing evidence in the bombing of the Federal Building here says that an old army buddy of the two main suspects tried to make him an unwitting accomplice in disposing of loot from a robbery.

The witness, James Rosencrans, came to the attention of Federal investigators when they discovered that he had recently pawned a rifle that had been stolen in a robbery to which one of the suspects, Terry L. Nichols, had been tied earlier.

Mr. Rosencrans, who was scheduled to appear before the grand jury today, told The Dallas Morning News that the rifle was one of three firearms that he had been given by his next-door neighbor in Kingman, Ariz., Michael Fortier. Mr. Fortier had served in the army with both Mr. Nichols and the main suspect in the case, Timothy J. McVeigh.

"I believe he was trying to stick me with the rifle," Mr. Rosencrans said of Mr. Fortier. "I feel like I'm being played. I thought he was my friend."

He also told The Morning News that he knew "at least six people" in Kingman, who had also got guns from Mr. Fortier. Mr. Rosencrans described them as "normal, everyday citizens," who are "afraid of getting sucked in."

The rifle was among \$60,000 worth of guns, jewels, silver bars and gold coins stolen last November from the Royal, Ark., home of Roger E. Moore, a gun collector. The robbery first assumed prominence in the investigation last month when documents in Federal court in Detroit

revealed that a key to a bank safe-deposit box taken during the robbery had been found in the search of the Kansas home of Mr. Nichols. Several guns found at Mr. Nichols's home also appeared to be similar to guns stolen in the robbery.

Mr. Moore told the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he had met Mr. McVeigh several times on the gun show circuit. An affidavit filed in Federal court said that Mr. Moore thought Mr. McVeigh might have been involved in the robbery.

Mr. Rosencrans told the Reuters news agency that Mr. McVeigh called Mr. Fortier about a month before the bombing to ask if Mr. Rosencrans could drive Mr. McVeigh for "maybe five or 10 hours" to an unspecified place and drop him off. Then, Mr. Rosencrans was to go to the nearest airport and "leave the car there."

"I said, 'Leave the car there? What the hell for? Why don't I just keep it?'" Mr. Rosencrans told Reuters. He added that he had not agreed to drive Mr. McVeigh.

Today in Federal Court here, Mr. McVeigh's lawyers accused Federal prosecutors of leaking grand jury information to the news media and of silencing key witnesses in the case.

The defense lawyers were particularly upset about their inability to interview Eldon Elliott, the owner of Elliott's Body Shop in Junction City, Kan., where the Ryder truck that carried the bomb had been rented. Body shop employees have identified Mr. McVeigh as the person who rented the truck.

According to an affidavit from Richard Reyna, an investigator for the defense, Mr. Elliott said that the F.B.I. had told him not to speak with anyone about the facts of the case.

"The right of Timothy McVeigh to a fair trial is being sacrificed," his lawyers argued in a motion filed with the United States District Court for the Western District of Oklahoma. They asked the court to stop the leaks and to give Mr. McVeigh a transcript of the testimony of the witnesses who have appeared before the grand jury within 10 days of a return of an indictment.

The motion is similar to one filed by lawyers for Mr. Nichols, who also accused the Government of hindering defense lawyers' access to witnesses. That motion was denied.

Administration Tries to Blunt Hearing on Raid on Texas Sect

Fears the Impact on Paramilitary Groups

By TIM WEINER

WASHINGTON, July 5 — Trying to blunt a potentially embarrassing inquiry, members of the Clinton Administration and some of its supporters in Congress are warning that scheduled Congressional hearings on the Government raid on the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Tex., might undermine Federal firearms laws and shore up support for paramilitary groups.

Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin said in a letter today that he was "worried that investigating events at Waco, without investigating the extreme activities of some militias, seems to suggest that law-enforcement agencies are the real threat to the safety of American citizens." Mr. Rubin oversees the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, which conducted the initial assault on the compound in 1993.

The Treasury Secretary said the hearings "cannot be understood properly outside the context of Oklahoma City," where 167 people died in the bombing of the Federal Building on April 19. "The Oklahoma City investigation focused public attention on the paramilitary movement and the potential threat presented by some of its adherents," he said.

Mr. Rubin's letter said that the hearings, scheduled to begin on July 19, might damage "public confidence in the men and women who enforce" firearms laws.

It also touched on issue that Administration officials suspect is a part of the Republicans' motive in scheduling the hearings more than two years after the fiery conclusion of the Branch Davidian standoff. "Some," Mr. Rubin warned, "may try to use these hearings to serve another agenda: to erode public support for Federal firearms laws."

The Branch Davidian assault became a rallying cry for anti-Government and pro-gun groups, and enraged Timothy J. McVeigh, the principal suspect in the Oklahoma City bombing.

Four agents of the firearms bureau were killed in a botched raid on the compound on Feb. 28, 1993, after they tried to serve arrest and search warrants on the sect's leaders, whom they suspected of explosives and firearms violations.

Then, after a two-month standoff, nearly 80 members of the sect died in the fire that began after an assault on the building led by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Subcommittees of the House Judiciary Committee and the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, with the blessings of Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia, have

planned hearings on the assaults that could last a week or longer. The hearings, which will include subpoenaed witnesses and sworn testimony, will focus on the Government's conduct in the raids.

Mr. Rubin said his letter was sent to news organizations to prevent "misinformation about what happened at Waco" from being spread by "opponents of law enforcement."

Investigation of the raid by the Treasury Department, of which the firearms agency is a part, led to the replacement of some top-level managers at the agency two years ago. The inquiries, while essentially absolving senior Clinton Administration officials, said the firearms bureau had been too hasty in deciding on an all-out raid in February 1993 and in giving up on plans to capture the sect's leader away from the compound.

In another effort to blunt the potential impact of the hearings, Representative Charles E. Schumer, Democrat of Brooklyn, said he would hold a "public forum" next week at which he would present public officials and private citizens whose lives have been threatened by members of paramilitary groups.

Mr. Schumer said that earlier Senate hearings on the groups had not fully focused on their anti-social conduct. Mr. Schumer and more than 50 other House Democrats who had sought formal hearings on the paramilitary groups were rebuffed by Mr. Gingrich. Instead, the Speaker backed the Judiciary and Government Reform Committees' plans for hearings on the Branch Davidian raids.

Mr. Schumer said: "These hearings are getting more staff time and more money than any since we started this session. It's pandering to a paranoid fringe in America that wants to believe that Waco was a conspiracy."

"What needs investigating at least as much and probably a lot more are some of these militias. The extent of their intimidation of citizens and government officials in some parts of America is very, very troubling."

Among those Mr. Schumer has invited to speak at his forum are a Montana judge whose life was threatened after she presided over a traffic case involving the son of a member of a paramilitary group, and a member of a local Audubon Society chapter in Washington State who was confronted by a group member waving a hangman's noose.

WACO

— waco

A SPIRITUAL LEADER

One Man's Journey From Academia to Extremism

By MICHAEL JANÓFSKY

For nearly two decades, as leader of a white supremacist organization called the National Alliance, William L. Pierce of Mill Point, W.Va., has held a prominent position among Americans with strong racist, anti-Semitic or anti-government views.

A former professor of physics and research scientist, he became a leader of the America Nazi Party and, in 1978, wrote a novel, "The Turner Diaries," that quickly became a favorite of right-wing fringe groups around the country. In graphic detail, the story tells how an underground group kills Jews and blacks as part of an overthrow of the Government.

"He's become a spiritual leader," said Jerry Dale, the former sheriff of Pocahontas County, W.Va., who monitored Dr. Pierce, a county resident, for years. "He's not a nut. Looking at him and talking to him, you don't get a feeling he's crazy. He's not violent. But the way he incites people, to me, that is frightening."

From a 400-acre wooded and fenced-in farm compound beside the Allegheny Mountains that he has owned since 1984, Dr. Pierce operates an information network that includes books, periodicals, fliers and a radio program broadcast in nearly a dozen states.

Whatever the medium, his message is essentially the same: white culture in the United States is being destroyed by ethnic diversity, and the nation "needs to go back to the white, European society we had prior to World War II," as he said in a telephone interview last week.

A native of Atlanta, Dr. Pierce, 61, lived in Virginia and Alabama before attending Rice University in Houston and the University of Colorado, where he received a Ph.D. in physics in 1962.

After teaching physics for the next three years at Oregon State University and then working briefly as a research scientist, he joined George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party. He moved into a leadership position a year later after Mr. Rockwell was assassinated.

But in 1970, Dr. Pierce and others from the Nazi Party left it to join another white supremacist group, the National Youth Alliance, later renamed the National Alliance. He has run it almost ever since.

Asked why he had left academia to embrace racist extremism, Dr. Pierce traced his metamorphosis to the early 1960's and the civil rights movement.

"This was the period they used sit-ins and walk-ins to call attention to themselves," he said of



William L. Pierce

civil rights advocates. "It caused me to sit up and take notice. I became concerned with the general abandonment of standards and long-accepted values. The standards of excellence that had prevailed at most universities were becoming abandoned ideas that were in the way of social progress for people of color. The old-fogey standards had to go, and now we had to judge students and professors by the new standards of social relevance and performance. That concerned me a lot."

He began discussing his feelings with colleagues, he said, and quickly learned that to speak out

was inappropriate.

"People felt intimidated," he said. "They were afraid to take a public position. Eventually, I decided I had to speak out."

"The Turner Diaries," which Dr. Pierce sells through the mail for \$4.95, has sold more than 185,000 copies, he said.

Among the products marketed by the National Alliance, which Dr. Pierce said now includes "several hundred activists and a great many more supporters," are a 1990 sequel to "The Turner Diaries" called "Hunter," a series of comic books called New World Order Comix, and a flier called "Who Rules America?" which argues that "this Jewish control of the American mass media is the single most important fact of life, not just in America, but in the whole world today."

Other National Alliance material is available through the Internet, Dr. Pierce said, adding, "We're hoping to move into video networks soon."

But despite his writings, like a passage in "The Turner Diaries" describing how members of the underground destroy a Federal building using a fertilizer bomb in a van, Dr. Pierce insisted that he did not advocate violence.

"That's a standard terrorist bomb that any knowledgeable terrorist is familiar with," he said.

'Blame the Bombers—Only'

Talk-show host Rush Limbaugh argues that criminals alone are responsible for the Oklahoma City attack

AS A MEMBER OF THE NEW MEDIA, I HAVE MANY responsibilities that the Old Media—the networks and big national newspapers—no longer seem to shoulder. One of these is to learn the facts before reaching conclusions. The Old Media assumed that Mideast terrorists were to blame for the tragic bombing in Oklahoma City. Then they switched gears and placed the blame on “right-wing extremists.” Make no mistake: What we have in Oklahoma City, very simply, is a gaggle of bad people who did a bad thing. At this writing, we haven’t yet caught all the perpetrators. We don’t know the organizational hierarchy. We don’t even have all the details. But nevertheless, guess what we do have, according to the mainstream media and some liberals. We’ve got the demons. By golly, it’s right-wing extremists.

Do those three words, “right-wing extremists,” have a special ring? Remember hearing them since November, when Republicans won at the polls, and since January, when they began implementing the Contract With America? From Vice President Al Gore on down to various liberal Democrats in Congress and into the media, we have heard that “right-wing extremists” are going to starve American children and eliminate social security; we’ve heard that tax cuts and devolving power to the states are nothing but racist code words by “right-wing extremists”; and now “right-wing extremists” are responsible for what happened in Oklahoma City.

Folks, we’re in danger here. And I would argue that this could ultimately be an even greater danger to the nation than the bombing: we’re in danger of losing the language—the words that convey thoughts, that lead to ideas, that produce progress. I’m almost embarrassed to have to say this, but: *There is a difference between limited government and no government. There is a difference between less taxes and no taxes. There is a difference between dissent and hate.*

Why do some liberals want to ignore facts and instead speculate about the bombers’ supposed motivation? It’s because they are consistent. They refuse to blame those who are actually responsible. As far as some liberals are concerned, people are incapable of doing evil on their own. Thus those who make excuses for rioters and looters in Los Angeles now seek to blame people who played no role whatsoever in this tragedy. We go out of our way in this country to absolve the guilty of any blame; furthermore, we try to make victims of them. Oh, they were abused; oh, they were motivated by “right-wing extremists.”

Since the beginning of our nation, citizens have been debating

the size, scope, and role of federal government. Now, suddenly, in 1995, it is claimed that this two-century-old argument caused the Oklahoma tragedy. The suggestion is irresponsible and vacuous; such insinuations can only have a chilling effect on legitimate discussion. That’s what some on the left apparently intend, as they attempt to exploit this tragedy for pure political gain.

Do not be confused by all the talk about right-wing extremists. To liberals, anybody who’s not a liberal is a right-wing extremist. There is no mainstream conservatism as far as they’re concerned. And it’s not just those of us who host talk-radio programs and talk-TV programs who are seen as right-wing extremists. It’s all who listen or watch such programs.

Now let me be clear and let us be civil. People who advocate

the violent overthrow of the U.S. government are not right-wing anything; they’re anarchists. Those who act on such impulses are not part of American political discourse; they’re criminals. To link law-abiding citizens who believe in limited government—the time-honored American ideal, bequeathed by our Founding Fathers—with these barbarians is immoral.

Whenever I am attacked as a purveyor of “hate” or as somebody who spreads a so-called “climate of anger,” the same charges extend to my audience. But let me tell you who my audience is. My audience is the rescue teams who tried to save lives in Oklahoma; my audience is the law-enforcement officials who are trying to bring the lunatics who blew up the building to justice; my audience is made up of people who’ve lost loved ones, who’ve had members of their families injured.

The people who make up my audience are mainstream Americans who are as repulsed by this act of insanity as anyone else. And in the first few days after the tragedy, we stood in solidarity with the president in his call to bring these terrorists to justice, and to mete it out as quickly and as firmly as possible. But we will not join the president in seeking to gain political advantage at the expense of those who died or were hurt in Oklahoma. We’re going to lay blame solidly on the criminals who committed this crime, and we will support whatever the American justice system determines they are due, and that’s as far as it will go.

Frankly I’ve been offended that we’ve spent the last week talking about people who weren’t even there, who had nothing to do with what happened. Our focus should not be on the politicians, not on the media, not on the pundits. We should be talking about the people of Oklahoma, forever scarred by this enormous tragedy. Our hearts and prayers are with them; they are the people who make this country work.



TIMOTHY WHITE—ONYX

Code words: The talk-show host warns of the danger of ‘losing the language’

Who Is He?

The Unabomber struck again—offering a fresh set of clues

IT WAS SHORTLY AFTER 2 P.M. ON A typical workday in Sacramento last week when Gilbert R. Murray, president of the California Forestry Association, went to the receptionist's desk to sort the incoming mail. Three of his staffers were there, and all of them noticed the mystery package. About 10 inches square and six inches thick, it was wrapped in brown paper and sealed with filament packing

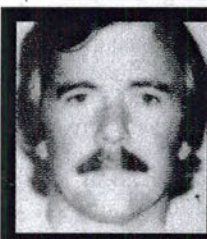
tape. Someone picked it up and commented that it was pretty heavy. The employees took their mail back to their offices while Murray, a genial, balding father of two, fiddled with the box. The explosion came seconds later, wrecking the association's outer office, filling the air with smoke and plunging the entire building into darkness. Murray, who was probably holding the box in his hands, was killed instantly.

The Unabomber, a murderous crank who

has eluded one of the most extensive investigations in FBI history, had struck for the 16th time in 17 years—and this time, since the package was addressed to Murray's predecessor at the Forestry Association, may have killed the wrong man. It is unlikely that America's most notorious lone-wolf terrorist cared who his latest victim was. For in the wake of the much more dramatic and lethal bombing in Oklahoma City, the Unabomber now has competition in a grisly

The Trail of the Unabomber

Since 1978, the Unabomber has struck 16 times. In each case, the bomb parts were meticulously hand-crafted, and in three the results were deadly.



**Dec. 11, 1985
Sacramento, Calif.**
Computer-store owner Hugh Scrutton is killed by a bomb in a paper bag found behind his store

**June 22, 1993
Tiburon, Calif.**

A padded mailer sent to the home of Charles Epstein, a geneticist at the Univ. of California, San Francisco, blows up in his hands

**July 2, 1982
Univ. of California, Berkeley**

Professor of engineering Diogenes Angelakos picks up a metal cylinder thinking it is a student project, and it explodes

**9 June 13, 1985
Boeing Co.
Auburn, Wash.**

A package mailed to the Boeing fabrication division on May 8 is discovered and safely disarmed

**Feb. 20, 1987
Salt Lake City, Utah**

A bomb, shaped like two two-by-fours studded with nails, explodes when the owner of a nearby computer store kicks it

**Oct. 8, 1981
Univ. of Utah
Salt Lake City**

A maintenance worker finds a bomb in a business-administration building. The police defuse it.

**June 10, 1980
Lake Forest, Ill.**

Percy Wood, president of United Airlines, is wounded by a bomb concealed in a book mailed to his home; the first bomb engraved with the initials FC

**May 9, 1979
Northwestern Univ.
Evanston, Ill.**

A bomb left in a common area of the university's Technological Institute injures a student

**Nov. 15, 1985
Ann Arbor, Mich.**

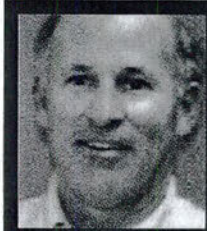
A package mailed to the home of Univ. of Michigan psychology professor James McConnell explodes on opening, injuring his research assistant

**May 25, 1978
Northwestern Univ.**

A bomb in a package returned to the school explodes, injuring a security guard

**May 5, 1982
Vanderbilt Univ.
Nashville, Tenn.**

A wooden box addressed to computer-science professor Patrick Fischer explodes when his secretary, Janet Smith, opens it. She is injured by the shrapnel.



**April 24, 1995
Sacramento, Calif.**
Timber-industry lobbyist Gilbert Murray is killed by a bomb sent to his predecessor at the California Forestry Association

'We call ourselves anarchists. Our more immediate goal

PURVEYORS OF HATE

CONTENTS

- 1) Document on purveyors
- 2) NRA Anti-ATF Advertisement
- 3) NRA/GOP letters re: militias and ATF
- 4) FAIR reports and press releases on hate radio

TALK RADIO

G. Gordon Liddy: How to Make a Bomb at Home and "Kill the sons of bitches"

- **"Kill the sons of bitches":** Liddy, who has expressed sympathy for right-wing militias, told his listeners how to kill federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents: "They've got a big target on there - ATF. Don't shoot at that because they've got a vest on underneath that. Head shots, head shots." Later in the program, Liddy said: "Kill the sons of bitches." [Minneapolis Star-Tribune, 2/24/95]
- **Liddy Tells Radio Audience to "Shoot Back":** On April 19, Liddy said that, although he is a longtime critic of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), he has never advocated violence against the federal agency. However, Liddy said he does believe people should "shoot back" if they are subject to an attack by the ATF.

"Anybody who has listened to me knows that I have not advocated at any time blowing up the ATF, the building they're in, or anything else like that. What I have said is that if you are subject to a lethal attack... by the ATF, have a prearranged cellular call for members of the militia who can come and protect you. And if they shoot, try to kill you, shoot back. Save your life. That's obvious."

Liddy also said that if any connection is established between the Branch Davidian anniversary and the Oklahoma City bombing it should "wake up Congress" to hold oversight hearings on the role of the ATF. Such hearings would "get to the bottom of Waco... and the war against the American people," he said, especially "if they're going to sit there and twiddle their thumbs when they should be holding hearings to get to the bottom of Waco... and the war against the American people." [Dallas Morning News, 4/20/95]

- **Liddy Supports "militias":** Liddy told the Dallas Morning News that callers to his show have expressed interest in forming local militias to help protect against attacks by federal agents.

"And what I said is that if you're going to make an arrangement like that, you should have a pre-authorized signal that you can use via a cellular telephone, so that if they cut your phone wires, you can be in touch with your friends in the militia. And if you're under assault by these people, the militia can come and surround them and force them to cease and desist." [Dallas Morning News, 4/20/95]

- **Liddy Tells Audience How to Make Bombs at Home:** Liddy also described for listeners how to construct a bomb - using ammonium nitrate, diesel fuel and dynamite.

"And that would do enormous work, the work would be either take out a wall of a quarry, or take out that building," he said. After the show, Mr. Liddy defended those remarks: "That is common knowledge. Have you ever heard of anything called The Anarchist Cookbook? I can tell you how to make an atomic bomb, too." [Dallas Morning News, 4/20/95]

- **North Carolina "Militia" Group Quotes Liddy's "Meet Force with Force":** North Carolina militia leader Albert Esposito has repeated Liddy's alleged statement about the new crime law's assault weapons ban: "[Liddy] said, 'If they pass it, don't obey it. And if they come after you, meet force with force.'"

According to the Anti-Defamation League, Esposito's Citizens for the Reinstatement of Constitutional Government is a mixture of anti-government, religious and conspiratorial ideas -- supporting the Bible and the Constitution, while resisting the New World Order and removing "treasonous politicians and corrupt judges". The group is encouraged to amass caches of the "Four B's": Bibles, bullets, beans and bandages. Many members own semiautomatic weapons, including AR-15s and AK-47s. [Anti-Defamation League report, "Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government"]

Chuck Baker: "Armed Revolution" Ideas Prompt Duran Attack on White House

- **Chuck Baker speaks to "Patriot" movement:** Chuck Baker is a Colorado Springs, CO radio talk show host. His show follows Rush Limbaugh for three hours on KVOR in Colorado Springs. As the Minneapolis Star-Tribune described it, "While Limbaugh speaks to the conservative movement, Baker speaks to the 'patriot' movement about forming guerrilla squadrons and taking out the 'slimeballs' in Congress. [Minneapolis Star-Tribune, 2/24/95]"
- **Duran Allegedly Inspired by Baker:** Francisco Martin Duran's defense forensic psychiatrist Neil Blumberg testified in court that Duran attacked the White House in part due to revolutionary ideas about the government Duran heard from radio talk show hosts Rush Limbaugh and Chuck Baker. [States News Service, 3/27/95]
- **Baker Backs "Armed Revolution" Against U.S. Government:** Last August, Linda Thompson of the "Unorganized Militia of the United States" came on Baker's show to advocate an armed march on Washington to remove the "traitors" in Congress: "We have 2 million U.S. troops, half of them are out of the country . . . All of the troops they could muster would be 500,000 people. They would be outnumbered 5 to 1 if only 1 percent of the country went up against them."

Baker, broadcasting from a gun shop, responded positively - telling his guest that soldiers "would come over to our side."

A week later, a caller urged the formation of organized militias and asked, "Who do we shoot? Other than Kennedy, Foley and Mitchell, the others are borderline traitors. They're the kingpins right now, besides the Slick One (Clinton)... You've got to get your ammo."

Baker's response was sympathetic: "Am I advocating the overthrow of this government?... I'm advocating the cleansing." Citing the power of the "masses in rebellion," he asked: "Why are we sitting here?"

Later that day, a caller accused Baker of advocating "armed rebellion." The talk host corrected her: "An armed revolution."

Inspired by Baker, Baker listener Duran and scores of other listeners called a local Congressional office in August to oppose an assault weapons ban. So many calls were irate or obscene that Duran's threat to "go to Washington and take someone out" went unnoticed.

Weeks later, in October, Duran fired nearly 30 bullets at the White House. [Minneapolis Star-Tribune, 2/24/95]

- **Baker Takes Leave, Not Responsibility:** After the Denver Post reported unsubstantiated

rumors that Duran was inspired by Baker's show, the radio host took a leave of absence this month.

Talking about his decision on the air, Baker was quoted by the Denver paper as saying: "So what if the jerk, the wacko, the creep that shot the White House said that? If this man thinks I or Rush Limbaugh are the reason he went out there, he needs psychiatric counseling in the first degree."

KVOR general manager Donn Seidholz said, "We have no proof whatsoever that Duran listened to the show." He acknowledged, however, that "we could have influence on people's behavior." "Do we take responsibility for it? No," Seidholz said. [The Sunday Gazette Mail, 11/27/94]

Bob Grant: MLK a "scumbag", welfare moms "maggots"

- **Minorities are a "bad thing":** "Minorities are the Big Apple's majority, you don't need the papers to tell you that, walk around and you know it.... To me, that's a bad thing. I'm a white person."
- **African-American rioters as "savages":** Calls blacks "mutants" and "savages", particularly calling black rioters "these screaming savages in the African Methodist A.M.E. church or running in the streets."

Note: Grant says his use of the term "savages" referred only to the people (of any race) who rioted in Los Angeles.

However, Grant regularly refers to African-Americans as "savages":

- On a black fraternity party: "You know, the savage mind, the primitive, primordial mentality will respond to authority.... But as far as that stretch of beach there at Belmar, it's being written of by, shall we say, civilized people."
- On a City College basketball game featuring rap stars as players: "The three thousand to five thousand savages who showed up for the rap star's basketball game on -- what was it December 28th?"
- **Called MLK a "phony" and "scumbag":** Has referred to Martin Luther King as "scumbag", "bum", "fake", "phony", and "a fraud". On another occasion, deploring President Bush's meeting with Coretta Scott King, Grant fumed that her late husband, Martin Luther King Jr., was "nothing" and that Coretta was "less than nothing." Said it would be "a great idea" to fly the Confederate flag on the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday.
- **Other racial issues:** During a monologue about racial issues, he says: "I guess our group has evolved too far. I guess that's the price we pay for being higher up on the evolutionary scale." Calls the policies of a New York black US Congressman "pygmy-like" Called former black Democratic mayor David Dinkins a "men's room attendant".
- **Called Patricia Ireland "that ugly dyke":** Called Patricia Ireland, president of the National Organization of Women, "that ugly dyke".
- **Mandatory sterilization for welfare mom "brood cows", "maggots":** Often promotes his "Bob Grant Mandatory Sterilization Plan" for welfare mothers, "My idea of mandatory sterilization would be much cheaper and much more effective for everyone, including those brood cows who keep bringing illegitimate children into the welfare system." Called single mothers on welfare "maggots".
- **Anti-nuclear protestor "should be executed":** In response to a caller's question, Grant said that an anti-nuke protestor who disrupted a speech by former President Reagan "should be

- **Mandatory sterilization for welfare mom "brood cows", "maggots":** Often promotes his "Bob Grant Mandatory Sterilization Plan", for welfare mothers, "My idea of mandatory sterilization would be much cheaper and much more effective for everyone, including those brood cows who keep bringing illegitimate children into the welfare system." Called single mothers on welfare "maggots".
- **Anti-nuclear protestor "should be executed":** In response to a caller's question, Grant said that an anti-nuke protestor who disrupted a speech by former President Reagan "should be executed."
- **Called Haitians "subhuman scum":** Called Haitian boat people "subhuman scum".
- **Italian-American "sfaccimm" low-life:** Americans of Italian descent he doesn't care for, such as Mario Cuomo, represent "the sfaccimm" - an Italian term for low life.
- **Called Democrats "sleazebags":** Democratic politicians generally are "worms", "weasels", or "sleazebags".
- **Calls gays and lesbians "perverts" who deserve "total retribution":**
 - "It is a perversion..." And, to a gay caller: "Go to your mirror, look at yourself in the mirror and repeat after me, 'I am a perverted misfit.'"
 - On a gay pride march: "Ideally, it would be nice to have a few phalanxes of policemen with machine guns and mow them down."
 - Caller told Grant that the 20th chapter of Leviticus says "you must kill the homosexual". Grant responded, "Well, of course it goes beyond that, it goes to total retribution. That is why those cities were destroyed." [The Houston Chronicle, 10/29/94; Inside Media, 4/29/92; The Independent, 10/31/94; FAIR press release, 10/25/95]

Rush Limbaugh: Second Violent Revolution Is Coming

- **Second Violent Revolution:** Two months ago, Limbaugh (while talking about property rights and "environmental wackos" said that the "second violent American revolution is just about - I got my fingers about a quarter of an inch apart -- is just about that far away. Because these people are sick and tired of a bunch of bureaucrats in Washington driving into town and telling them what they can and can't do with their land." [Washington Post, 4/25/95]

Jay Diamond:

- **Genetic inferiority of African-Americans:**
 - "You know there is some kind of genetic flaw in certain females that when I want to get in one word, when I just want to talk, there are certain types of females who when I want to talk to them, to answer them, they begin to become hysterical. And this is because 300 years ago if they opened their mouths they were shut up. Some ancient ancestor of Tricia wasn't allowed to speak so she feels she has to compensate for that ancestor.... Particularly at all costs when she's speaking to a man on a vastly higher intellectual plane than she is.... [Imitating a black woman:] 'I'm going to shout and scream... so Jay doesn't get to show the world what a real leech I am!'"

- Responding to a caller comparing President Clinton's morality to the morality of black suspects in a rape case: "Well, whatever Bill Clinton is, I haven't heard of any time when he went out with five others and inflicted anal sodomy on an innocent woman.... It's not programmed into him the way it is programmed by nature into the feral children to carry out that mission... You are dealing with a different species of individual here than a conventional human being."

• **Encouraging Violence:**

- "I would like to see the surface of Iraq, I would like to see a terrain map of Iraq look like a smooth piece of glass. I would like to see Iraq nuked. I could care less for any of the innocent civilians there."
- Told that attorney William Kunstler said the wrong person was arrested in the World Trade Center case: "That's all right. We'll kill him and then we'll find the right guy."
- To a police officer/caller: "If you happen to catch those two guys who put the bullet into Bonnie Bear? It would be a real tragedy if those guys happened to commit suicide in custody." and also on another case, "Gee, it would be terrible if they were all found dead from suicide in prison.... You could put me in jail and I could witness that suicide. I would faithfully report it as suicide." [FAIR press release, 10/25/94]

Curtis Sliwa: Hit the black guy in the kneecap

- Red Beret leader Curtis Sliwa had a talk show in New York. He once told a caller, "Just as a matter of reference. When blacks would chase us with the bats, they knew, hit the white boys in the face because they're gonna immediately, emotionally break up if they bleed, if they get a nosebleed. Meantime, we knew, don't hit the black guy in the head. He's strong. Hit him in the kneecap. So you see out there. If you're ever wielding a bat, I've just given you some ethnic and racial advice as to how to take your opponent down." [FAIR, 10/25/94]

Talk Radio Encouraging Violence Against Sarah Brady, Liberals and Immigrants:

- **Sarah Brady should be "put down" like an animal:** In Phoenix, KFYI "hot talk" host Bob Mohan declared that gun control advocate Sarah Brady "ought to be put down. A humane shot at a veterinarian's would be an easy way to do it."
- **"Lynch a few liberals":** In liberal San Francisco, KSFO - owned by ABC/Capital Cities - recently abandoned its diverse lineup of talk hosts and switched to "hot talk." It's all right, all the time. Now San Franciscans can hear hosts who speak of "lynching a few liberals" and encourage listeners to "shoot illegal immigrants who come across the border" for reward money. [Minneapolis Star-Tribune, 2/24/95]

Dave Dawson: Israel is a "terrorist government"

- **Israel is a "terrorist government":** Dave Dawson had a highly controversial five-year stint at San Diego's KSDO before departing for Kansas City in 1986. Since then, he's worked at New York talk giant WABC/AM, to which he commuted from his Missouri farm. In recent years, he has twice come out of retirement from radio. Late last year, he retired again, but KOGO persuaded him to unretire a third time, no doubt hoping Dawson will renew his provocative agenda, including his claim that Israel is a "terrorist government." Such remarks raised quite a ruckus here in the early '80s. [San Diego Union-Tribune, 5/3/94]



TELL THE CLINTON WHITE HOUSE TO GET OUT OF YOUR HOUSE

**THE BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO
AND FIREARMS HAS NOT ONLY LOST
PUBLIC TRUST, BUT DESERVES
PUBLIC CONTEMPT.**

From news media and our 3.5 million members have come reports of ATF abuse that range from intimidation and harassment to confiscation or destruction of property, entrapment, fabrication of criminal charges, even deadly assault.

This threat to civil liberties is compounded by the President's proven willingness to condone warrantless search and seizure, and by the Attorney General's proven willingness to use lethal

force against innocents.

Worse yet, there's good reason to fear that broad new powers under the Clinton Crime Bill

could lead ATF to intensify its reign of storm-trooper tactics.

The ATF's tyrannical record of misconduct and abuse of power under the Clinton Administration reveals a contempt for civil rights, especially firearm ownership, that should alarm every American.

No freedom-loving person can condone a bureaucracy whose mission is to make gun ownership a

definition a suspicious act and gun owners by class suspected criminals.

We call upon the Clinton Administration to **1: regain control of the ATF, 2: expose and prosecute those guilty of civil rights abuses, and 3: institute strict policies that honor the Bill of Rights.**

If the Clinton Administration does not rein in this rogue agency, then Congress should step in and abolish it altogether.

Only the loud voice of honest citizens separates a free state from a police state.



**A PROTEST IN THE SPIRIT OF
PATRIOTISM FROM THE MEMBERS
OF THE NATIONAL RIFLE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.**

Washington Post 3/1/95

UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 7, 1995

Honorable Janet Reno
U.S. Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Attorney General Reno:

We would appreciate your help in verifying and clarifying some reports we have heard recently concerning military training of federal law enforcement personnel.

Is such training being given to federal law enforcement agencies? In particular, have there been such training activities by Joint Task Force Six, headquartered at Fort Bliss, Texas?

If the answer to either question is yes, we would like a detailed description of these training activities, including: who authorized the training, how participants were chosen, who they were, why the training was given, what skills or information were covered and what authority supports the legality of such training.

You are doubtless aware of the concerns being raised in many quarters about what is perceived as the growing militarization of our domestic law enforcement agencies. Your assistance in providing this information would help to respond to these concerns both inside and outside Congress.

Thank you for your earliest possible attention to this request.

Sincerely,

Larry E. Craig
United States Senator

Lauch Faircloth
United States Senator

--
This information is presented as a service to the Internet community by the NRA/ILA. Many files are available via anonymous ftp from [ftp.nra.org](ftp://ftp.nra.org), via WWW at <http://www.nra.org>, via gopher at [gopher.nra.org](gopher://ftp.nra.org), and via WAIS at wais.nra.org

Be sure to subscribe to the NRA mailing lists. Send the word help as the body of a message to listproc@NRA.org

Information can also be obtained by connecting to the NRA-ILA GUN-TALK BBS at (703) 934-2121.

March 23, 1995

As early as January of this year, NRA-ILA became aware of rumors of pending raids by the federal government on citizen militia units. The rumors, circulated through various computer networks, indicated that raids were to take place March 25, 1995.

NRA-ILA began gathering all available information on the rumored raids and initiated several quiet attempts to either confirm or disprove the rumors. These attempts included correspondence with key U.S. Senators and Representatives asking for their assistance in investigating the rumors and a direct request to BATF on February 23, 1995.

In short, both the NRA and elected representatives gave federal agencies ample time to squelch rumor or confirm that valid law enforcement actions against criminal activity precluded further comment. To date, there has been no response from either the Justice Department or the Treasury Department (BATF) to repeated inquiries.

NRA is at the vanguard of national citizen organizations calling for swift enforcement of laws against criminal activity. NRA is also active in calling for a thorough review of the use of excessive force on the part of certain federal agencies.

The NRA has not been involved in the formation of any citizen militia units, and NRA neither encourages nor discourages participation in citizen militia organizations. The Second Amendment guarantees an individual's right to arms; participation in a citizen militia organization does not make that right more valid nor any stronger.

Following please find a letter from Congressman Steve Stockman to U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno requesting an immediate response on this issue. Also attached is the February 23 letter from Tom Wyld, Director, NRA-ILA Public Relations & Communications, to the Chief of Public Affairs for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

March 22, 1995

United States Attorney General
The Honorable Janet Reno
10th Street and Constitution Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Attorney General Reno:

It has come to my attention through a number of reliable sources that an impending raid, by several Federal agencies, against the "citizen's militias" groups, is scheduled for March 25 or 26 at 4:00 A.M. A paramilitary style attack against Americans who pose no risk to others, even if violations of criminal law might be imputed to them, would run the risk of an irreparable breach between the Federal government and the public, especially if it turned out to be an ill considered, poorly planned, but bloody fiasco like Waco.

While information is scarce, it is known that Joint Task Force Six, with headquarters at Fort Bliss, Texas, is co-ordinating the military training, including the use of tanks and other armored vehicles, for certain Federal Law Enforcement agencies in possible violation of the Posse Comitatus Law, 18 U.S.C. 1385. Any possible impending military action against American citizens might be forestalled by, among other things, simply asking for a complete explanation of all training activities of JTF-6 for the last three years, including the individuals, agencies, who authorized the training, what military equipment was used, what apparent purpose was served by the training, and copies of all legal opinions as to the legality of such training.

I will be eagerly awaiting your response to these questions,

Sincerely,

Steve Stockman
Member of Congress

SS:dn

=====

DELIVER ASAP VIA COURIER

February 23, 1995

Ms. Susan McCarron
Chief of Public Affairs
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms
Room 8290
650 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20226
(202-927-8500)

Dear Ms. McCarron:

I appreciated the good lines of communication we established during the media hysterics concerning "Black Rhino," and I was hoping that I could rely on those same lines of communication again.

The "INTERNET" and other forms of electronic communication are rife with rumors about cancellation of leave of agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, special training and/or planning relating to some sort of coordinated action against so-called citizen militia groups. The dates one hears for this alleged action range from "late March" to specific dates of March 24 through March 27. Most recently, an NRA member called to alert us that a talk show host on KTSA, a popular radio station in San Antonio, yesterday predicted that a raid or raids would occur March 24th.

I would appreciate any information you can provide in commenting on these rumors. Hopefully, what we have here is another "Black Rhino" -- another fiction. It may also be advisable to offer comment to KTSA directly.

We would appreciate a letter in response, so that we can make this available to inquirers here. You may send the reply to me via fax at 703-267-3973.

Welcoming your earliest reply, I remain,

Sincerely,

Thomas C. Wyld
Director, PR & Communications

AM ARMIES

TALKSHOW HOSTS LIKE CHUCK BAKER HAVE URGED LISTENERS TO STOCKPILE WEAPONS, JOIN PRIVATE MILITIAS AND MARCH ON WASHINGTON. ONE OF BAKER'S LISTENERS WAS ARRESTED FOR TRYING TO KILL THE PRESIDENT.

BY LESLIE JORGENSEN

Tired of easy listening? If you're in Colorado Springs, you can tune into **KVOR**, where talkshow host Chuck Baker mimics the sound of a firing pin—"kching-kching"—as he raves against the government and talks to listeners about shooting members of Congress and forming guerrilla cells.

Baker's three-hour talk show piggy-backs Rush Limbaugh, forming a solid bloc of conservative talk five days a week. But Baker's show took a radical turn to the right last summer, when he found that more callers were associated with the "patriot" movement than the Republican Party.

"Patriot" is a generic term for an anti-government movement that unites divergent groups across the country in a war against the "New World Order," seen as a conspiracy to create a single global government rooted in socialism. The movement ranges from Christian Coalition members, who are fed up with public education and legalized abortion, to AK-47-shooting militia members who believe that Clinton and liberals are disarming Americans to leave them defenseless against "Big Brother." (See *Denver Post*, 1/22/95.)

Suddenly, Baker began discussing the need for an armed revolution to take out the "slime balls" in Congress and bureaucrats "who are too stupid to get a job." The topics Baker addresses are the "patriot" movement's obsessions: the raid on the Branch Davidian Compound in Texas; the FBI's assault on Idaho tax-resister Randy Weaver; a secret national police force under Janet Reno's command; spying black helicopters, microchips planted in babies, fingerprinted drivers' licenses.

Baker's guests read like a who's who of the armed right, including Linda Thompson, "adjutant general" of the Unorganized Militia of the United States; Arizona's Graham County Sheriff Richard Mack, waging a legal battle against

the Brady Bill; Larry Pratt, head of Gun Owners of America; Colorado legislator Charlie Duke, a self-proclaimed part-time revolutionary; and Rev. Pete Peters, who believes God wants gays condemned to death and warns against mixing with Jews and minority races.

Government "Cleansing"

Gloating over Sheriff Mack's lawsuit against the Brady Bill, and already counting on victory, Baker said, "We're not going to rest on that, and be assured that creeps like Metzenbaum and Kennedy are going to think that we're sitting back thinking, 'Well the Brady law has been defeated or declared unconstitutional.' You know how these slime balls

operate. The only way you're ever going to get rid of Metzenbaum is when you're finally at a point that you can stand over there, put the dirt on top of the box and say, 'I'm pretty sure he's in there.'"

Baker discussed with callers the pros and cons of forming six- to eight-man militia cells for urban and rural guerrilla warfare; the host provided the phone number of the 500-member Save America Militia (now the El Paso County Militia). Since June, at least five militias have formed in Colorado Springs, along with the statewide Colorado Free Militia.

On Baker's show (8/29/94), Linda Thompson promoted her (later aborted) armed march on Washington to remove "traitors" from Congress: "We have 2 million U.S. troops, half of them are out of the country. Of the remaining half, half of them are not combat-trained. The best they could come up with all of the troops they could muster would be 500,000 people. They would be outnumbered five to one, if only 1 percent of the country went up against them."

"Linda, I've been told by every military person I've talked to that they would not stand there and take the side of government," Baker responded, broadcasting from the Monument Gun Shop. "They would come over to our side."

After the passage of the omnibus crime bill, callers on Baker's show raged against the restrictions on semiautomatic rifles. "The problem we have right now is who do we shoot," a caller named Jacques said (9/6/94). "Other than Kennedy, Foley and Mitchell, the others are borderline traitors. They're the king pins right now, besides the Slick One

Ginsberg ("child molesters' best friend").

Watergate felon and talk radio host G. Gordon Liddy has expressed sympathy for the militias. An FCC complaint filed against Liddy charged that he had instructed listeners (8/26/94) in how to kill Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) agents: "They've got a big target on there, ATF. Don't shoot at that because they've got a vest on underneath that. Head shots, head shots.... Kill the sons of bitches." (*Indianapolis News*, 9/2/94)

As for Rush Limbaugh, he has been characterized as too liberal by the growing "patriot" movement. In December, Denver **KNUS** talkshow host Peter Boyles featured John Schlosser, commander of the Colorado Free Militia and a former news director of the **USA Patriot Network**. Agreeing with a caller who deemed Limbaugh "a Judas goat," Schlosser said Limbaugh is an entertainer, too commercial, and too cozy with the Washington establishment and corporate sponsors.

Who would have ever thought Limbaugh would be tossed into the den with liberal mainstream media? A favorite target of the right, the media are accused of perpetuating the New World Order, unfair reporting and skewing the truth. Because journalists can't be trusted, the patriot movement is turning to conservative radio talkshows on AM and short-wave stations for the "facts."

Groups like Citizens Project in Colorado Springs, which monitors Baker's show, have considered filing a complaint against Baker and **KVOR** with the FCC. But the First Amendment offers broad protection for speech: the FCC cannot take action unless it can be proven that "speech is directed toward inciting imminent lawless action, and is likely to produce such action." (letter from FCC to Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith)

According to NARTSH's Nashe, there are no professional guidelines stricter than whatever the law allows. "FCC has guidelines regarding swearing or saying things inappropriate on the air. Our association does not set guidelines because we are proponents of the First Amendment," said Nashe. "I don't think they're talking about the overthrow of the government. I think they're having fun!" □

Leslie Jorgensen is a contributing editor for the *Colorado Statesman* newspaper.

THEY WATCH THE RIGHT:

A FEW OF THE MANY ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS WITH INFORMATION ON THE RIGHT WING.

AMERICANS UNITED FOR THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Monitors religious right media; publishes the magazine Church & State
1816 Jefferson Pl. NW
Washington, DC 20036
202-466-3234
Fax: 202-466-2587

FRONTLINES RESEARCH

Affiliated with Planned Parenthood, this newsletter documents connections between anti-abortion extremists and other far-right movements.
c/o PPFA
810 7th Ave.
New York, NY 10019
212-261-4721

CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

A national clearinghouse on information on hate groups and hate crimes.
P.O. Box 50469
Atlanta, GA 30302
404-221-0025
Fax: 404-221-0045

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

Supports grassroots organization against the right.
P.O. 26656
Los Angeles, CA 90026
213-243-7598
Fax: 213-653-1737

CITIZENS PROJECT

A grassroots organization opposing the religious right's mobilization in Colorado Springs.
P.O. Box 2085
Colorado Springs, CO 80901
719-520-9899
Fax: 719-520-0118

NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE

Sponsors a "Fight the Right" project opposing anti-gay initiatives.
2320 17th St. NW
Washington, DC 20009
202-332-6483
Fax: 202-332-0207

FLUSH RUSH

A newsletter devoted to monitoring—and mocking—Rush Limbaugh.
P.O. Box 270525
San Diego, CA 92198

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

Monitors and opposes efforts to suppress free expression.
2000 M St. NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036
202-467-4999
Fax: 202-293-2672

INSTITUTE FOR FIRST AMENDMENT STUDIES

Publishes Freedom Writer, an outstanding newsletter covering the religious right.
P.O. Box 589
Great Barrington, MA 01230
413-528-3800
Fax: 413-528-4466

POLITICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

A leading clearinghouse for information on the far right.
678 Massachusetts Ave. # 205
Cambridge, MA 02139
617-661-9313
Fax: 617-661-0059

50,000 WATTS OF HATE:

BIGOTRY IS
BROADCAST ON
ABC RADIO'S
FLAGSHIP

BY JIM NAURECKAS

Would it surprise you that the most listened-to talkradio station in the country, owned by one of the most important media companies, has as its highest rated host a man who sounds like a recruiter for the Ku Klux Klan?

The station is New York City's **WABC**, flagship of the **ABC** Radio Network, and the host is Bob Grant. Grant is an important player in regional politics; conservative politicians like U.S. Sen. Al D'Amato, New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and New York Governor-elect George Pataki have called in to Grant's show to thank him for his support, often saying that it made a crucial difference in their elections.

Grant's embrace of a candidate became an issue in New Jersey's U.S. Senate race, with Democratic incumbent Frank Lautenberg running ads criticizing Republican challenger Chuck Haytaian for accepting the support of a racist. While Governor Whitman briefly distanced herself from Grant, other political allies rallied around him, denying that the talkshow host was bigoted.

But Grant's racism is not particularly hard to decode. "Minorities are the Big Apple's majority, you don't need the pa-

pers to tell you that, walk around and you know it," he has declared (quoted in *Newsday*, 6/2/92). "To me, that's a bad thing. I'm a white person." Grant repeatedly expresses his belief in the scientific form of racism called eugenics, and frequently promotes the "Bob Grant Mandatory Sterilization Program."

One of Grant's favorite words for African-Americans is "savages": The U.S., he said (1/6/92), has "millions of sub-humanoids, savages, who really would feel more at home careening along the sands of the Kalahari or the dry deserts of eastern Kenya—people who, for whatever reason, have not become civilized." He declared (10/15/93) that "if they didn't observe Martin King Day, there would be trouble from the savages."

Apologists for Grant say that he only uses "savages" to refer to rioters and criminals (as if applying racial stereotypes to criminals were not racist). But it isn't true: Grant has referred to black churchgoers as "screaming savages" (4/30/93); he's

would have been nice to have a few phalanxes of policemen with machine guns and mow them down."

Grant's expression of hatred for various groups is protected by the First Amendment. (**ABC**, of course, also has the right to decide it does not want to broadcast hate speech.) Sometimes, however, Grant approaches the line separating free speech from advocacy of violence.

Once a listener, obviously distraught, called Grant's show looking for advice (3/18/94): "What could I do as a citizen of this country, which I believe in and have seen fall apart as I've been growing up?"

"Well, get a gun and go do something then, OK?" was Grant's response.

Jay Diamond, a protege of Grant who also has a show on **WABC**, has repeatedly talked to police officers on the air, urging them to arrange for criminal suspects to "commit suicide in police custody." "You know, guys get depressed in prison sometimes and they sometimes put a bullet in the back of their own head," he told one of

GRANT'S RACISM IS NOT PARTICULARLY HARD TO DECODE. ONE OF GRANT'S FAVORITE WORDS FOR AFRICAN-AMERICANS IS "SAVAGES."

said (7/15/93) that black fraternity members represent "the savage mind, the primitive, primordial mentality." After overcrowding at a charity event led to deaths, Grant referred to the crowd (1/6/92) as "the 3,000 to 5,000 savages who showed up for the rap stars' basketball game."

He denounced a federal judge for being "one of them" (6/9/93): "You know Sterling Johnson has been made a federal judge only because he had that marvelous commodity called melanin." Grant says he's been praying for the death of Magic Johnson (10/1/92): "Why is it taking so long for the HIV to go into full-blown AIDS?"

Haitian refugees are "swine" and "sub-human infiltrators" who multiply "like maggots on a hot day" (3/20/92). AIDS in Haiti, according to Grant (6/28/94), is "not prevalent enough; there's too many of them."

African-Americans are not the only target of Grant's bile: He remarked after a gay pride parade (6/29/94), "Ideally, it

ficer (9/29/93). "You're absolutely right, Jay," was the officer's response.

Bob Grant's repeated slurs have inspired African-American clergy and others to stage protests at **WABC** and to call for sponsors to boycott his show. An obviously worried Grant has toned down his rhetoric, expressed his respect for Nelson Mandela (whom he used to denounce as a "terrorist"), and generally tried to display his warm and fuzzy side.

But the old Bob Grant had simply denied that it was possible for whites to express racism, saying that it wasn't allowed (12/13/93): "If they did allow it the thugs, the savages, the refugees from the Kalahari would tear the place apart. But I guess our group has evolved too far. I guess that's the price we pay for being a little higher up on the evolutionary scale."

In fact, the Grant controversy shows that it is possible for major media corporations to air blatant racism. All they have to do is deny that that's what they're doing.

FAIR

Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting

130 W. 25th St. • New York, NY 10001 • Tel: (212) 633-6700 • Fax: (212) 727-7666

For Immediate Release: October 25, 1994

Contact: Steven Rendall

SINGLE STANDARD ON BIGOTRY NEEDED: WABC HATE WARRANTS SCRUTINY

Despite New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman's criticism of talkshow host Bob Grant, many New York and New Jersey politicians still maintain close relations with WABC radio personalities who promote racism, hatred and violence.

Tapes of broadcasts by both Bob Grant and Jay Diamond reveal a pattern of racial bigotry, with references to African-Americans as "savages" or "feral children," "subhumanoids" or "shoeshine boys." Both frequently engage in violent fantasies about black leaders and minority groups.

When similar hate politics were expressed by leaders of the Nation of Islam, politicians -- as well as media figures -- were quick to denounce bigoted remarks. "Some of the things that Louis Farrakhan says and some of the things he stands for are so odious and obnoxious, of course I wouldn't sit down with a representative of Louis Farrakhan," New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani told WNET-TV.

But with Grant and Diamond, who broadcast on the largest talk station in the country, not only have most political leaders been silent, but many have appeared on the WABC hosts' shows and benefitted from their enthusiastic support. Even after Grant's racism was publicized in a New York magazine cover story, only Whitman and Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D.-N.J.) have spoken out.

Where is Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R.-N.Y.), who co-sponsored the Senate resolution denouncing the Nation of Islam's Khalid Abdul Muhammad? D'Amato is a regular, friendly guest on Grant's program, once saying on the show that former New York City Mayor David Dinkins should go to Africa and stay there.

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who has guested on Grant's show, has not condemned the flow of hate from WABC. "The mayor is very comfortable with his relationship with Bob Grant," a spokesperson told the New York Times. Nor has New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, who appears occasionally as a guest host on WABC, spoken out. Candidates like George Pataki, a Republican running for governor of New York, continue to accept political support from Grant and Diamond.

FAIR calls on politicians and journalists to demonstrate a consistent standard on bigotry. If one kind of bigotry is deplorable, than all must be deplored. As Whitman said about Khalid Abdul Muhammad: "When racism or hatred speak, it is incumbent upon the rest of us -- the vast majority...who believe in tolerance, in diversity and equality -- to exercise our First Amendment rights to confront these issues head-on."

FAIR will participate in a demonstration at WABC studios at 4:00 P.M. today.

QUOTES FROM BOB GRANT:

"Minorities are the Big Apple's majority, you don't need the papers to tell you that, walk around and you know it.... To me, that's a bad thing. I'm a white person."

One of Grant's favorite words for African-Americans is "savages":

Commenting on an incident at New York's City College, in which nine people were crushed to death in a crowd there to attend a basketball game featuring well-known rap stars as players: "We have in our city, we have in our state of New York, we have in our nation, not hundreds of thousands but millions of sub-humanoids, savages, who really would, would feel more at home careening, careening along the sands of the Kalahari or the dry deserts of eastern Kenya - people who, for whatever reason, have not become civilized. Am I the only one who makes that observation? No, certainly not. Perhaps I express it more directly, more candidly, far less euphemistically than politicians would."

Later, Grant describes the crowd: "The three thousand to five thousand savages who showed up for the rap star's basketball game on -- what was it december 28th?"

* * *

"I can't take these screaming savages, whether they're in that African Methodist Church, the AME church, or whether they're in the streets, burning, robbing, looting. I've seen enough of it."

* * *

Referring to a black fraternity party at Belmar Beach, New Jersey: "You know, the savage mind, the primitive, primordial mentality will respond to authority if they are convinced that that authority is serious. But on the other hand, being immature, anything they think they can get away with they will press and press and press, which of course is what they've been doing all over the United States of America.... But as far as that stretch of beach there at Belmar, it's being written off by, shall we say, civilized people."

Grant espouses a "scientific" form of racism known as eugenics, and frequently promotes the "Bob Grant Mandatory Sterilization Plan":

"There is no hope. The only hope we have is something that we're not brave enough to do. But if there is a brave new world of tomorrow, they will enact the Bob Grant Mandatory Sterilization Plan. I wonder if they've ever figured out how they multiply like that. It's like maggots on a hot day. You look one minute and there are so many there, and you look again and wow, they've tripled!"

* * *

On whether "mankind will learn to live together in peace": "I have a very startling, very radical, to some people repugnant answer to your question.... The answer is something that is so repugnant to most people because they are prejudiced, not because of intellectual problems, but because of emotional problems. Eugenics. We have been outbreeding the worst of us, and we have not been breeding the strain.... Why not apply the laws of eugenics, the laws of heredity, as discovered or proven out by Gregor Mendel, why not take those laws and use them on the most important species of all?"

* * *

Caller: "Well, like you say, we'll become a Third World, another, I think you know in another 50 or 60 years where everybody is half black, half white, and the mentality has gone down around 10 IQ points."

Grant: "By the way, we're not supposed to talk about genetics in all of this. And I've been called a lot of names because I do believe in the science of genetics. As a matter of fact, Mendelian law is called Mendelian law because it holds up."

* * *

On why black youths will never become "viable, productive citizens": "I'll tell you why it wouldn't work. You can't fool mother nature, you get it?... Yeah, those genes are very powerful."

Grant has a particular hatred for Haitian refugees:

"I don't understand, they pick them up and then they want to deport them. Don't pick them up. The ideal situation, you know what the ideal situation would be, if they drowned, then they would stop coming in."

* * *

"And who was the judge that said it's an insult keeping them in those prisons? Is he an Eskimo, a Norwegian? Or is he one of them? Well, you know full well Sterling Johnson is one of them. You know Sterling Johnson has been made a federal judge only because he had that marvelous commodity called melanin."

* * *

Objecting to HIV-positive Haitians being allowed into the U.S. "for treatment": "Now get a load of that word 'for treatment.' There is no treatment. It makes, it sounds like these people, these

swine, these sub-human infiltrators are coming in for to be saved."

* * *

Responding to a caller who says AIDS is prevalent in Haiti: "Yeah, it's not prevalent enough, there's too many of them."

Grant's racism often prevents him from talking to callers:

Mimicking a caller with an accent: "I think you da da da, you know, I can't stand the way you talk, how come you talk so funny, how come? Get off my phone, you creep, we don't need the toilets cleaned right now."

* * *

Grant: "By the way, where are you from, sir?"

Caller: "I'm from Kenya."

Grant: "Kenya?"

Caller: "Yeah, if you know where that is."

Grant: "Yeah, unfortunately I do. So long, pal." [Hangs up.]

Grant frequently hopes for the death of those he hates -- sometimes going so far as to suggest that callers commit murder:

On Magic Johnson: "Unfortunately, all he has is the HIV virus and he could last for a long time.... And why is it taking so long for the HIV to go into full-blown AIDS. For crying out loud, I'm making novenas.... But if the guy would go into full-blown AIDS he could make a contribution because there's an old Hindu expression: He teaches best who teaches by example. So give us an example, Magic!"

* * *

Caller: "They're on the street, no matter what block you go on they're there. I mean, if you took care of every guy with a squeegee in his hand on every corner you'd wind up going broke before you got home."

Grant: "Well, why not take care of them another way?"

Caller: "Well, I gotta be honest with you Bob, I got mace in my car, I really am tempted to use it, I gotta be honest with you."

Grant: "Yeah, but mace isn't fatal."

* * *

Caller: "I just wanted to call and vent the hurt and anger I'm experiencing now, and to ask, you know, what could I, I know it's a hard thing, but what could I do as a citizen of this country, which I believe in and have seen fall apart as I've been growing up. I don't know, Mr. Grant - can you tell me some sort of a -- something I can do?"

Grant: "In what regard?"

Caller: "I don't know. I'm just very shaky, I'm just so upset about this -- about that festering little maggot [a criminal defendant] getting -- you said he got off free from?"

Grant: "Yeah, he was out on zero bail. Yeah."

Caller: "I don't, I'm sorry to--"

Grant: "Well, get a gun and go do something then, okay? Alright, thank you."

Grant feels that white racists are victims of a double standard:

"As long as they're black, they can say anything they want. There's a double standard. If they got a white bigot, a white hater comparable to Farrakhan's stooge or comparable to Leonard Jeffries, first of all, they wouldn't allow it. Secondly, if they did allow it, the thugs, the savages, the refugees from the Kalahari would tear the place apart. But I guess our group has evolved too far. I guess that's the price we pay for being a little higher up on the evolutionary scale."

QUOTES FROM JAY DIAMOND:

Caller: "You can't take the truth, can you dear?"

Diamond: "And you know something? You're a black bitch!"

Like Grant, Diamond also promotes the idea of genetic inferiority:

"You know there is some kind of genetic flaw in certain females that when I want to get in one word, when I just want to talk, there are certain types of females who when I want to talk to

them, to answer them, they begin to become hysterical. And this is because 300 years ago if they opened their mouths they were shut up. Some ancient ancestor of Tricia wasn't allowed to speak so she feels she has to compensate for that ancestor who wasn't allowed to speak and she's going to start speaking now and never finish. Particularly at all costs when she's speaking to a man on a vastly higher intellectual plane than she is and...she behaves like all the other Tricias in the world and reverts to the one technique that her ilk has perfected, which is to scream and shout the other person down so the subversive words, i.e. the truth, cannot be heard by the outside world. [Imitating a black woman:] 'I'm going to shout and scream...so Jay doesn't get to show the world what a real leech I am!'"

* * *

Responding to a caller comparing President Clinton's morality to the morality of black suspects in rape case: "Well, whatever Bill Clinton is, I haven't heard of any time when he went out with five others and inflicted anal sodomy on an innocent woman.... It's not programmed into him the way it is programmed by nature into the feral children to carry out that mission... You are dealing with a different species of individual here than a conventional human being."

* * *

Imagining a conversation with an accused black rapist: "Why are you really enraged? Because you sense your ineptitude? You sense your inability to deal with a world populated by human beings, and you're a little bit jealous, you're a little bit envious of looking around at the world and feeling and sensing that there are people more well-equipped to cope with life than you are, so that makes you angry. What's that? It makes you angry that your mother gave birth to you when she was 12 and that maybe she's a prostitute? It makes you feel a lot of rage that in your 16 years your mother's brought home 500 different men to sleep with her at night?..."

"But the fact is, Tyrone, you've been souped up by guys like Al Sharpton, guys like Sonny Carson. You've been souped up by activists to think that you have every right to that anger that you feel because they don't tell you the truth. That anger comes out of envy and jealousy, and a very real and valid envy and jealousy it is, because you are not as good as those other people. Yeah, I'm here to tell you that. You do not have the assets -- the intellectual or emotional equipment to deal with this life as well as other people."

Like Grant, Diamond often expresses violent fantasies about the targets of his hatred:

"I think Al Sharpton said he would lie down in front of the cars that are bringing workers to the Daily News. Well, I would like Al Sharpton to lie down in front of my car. That would be the last car he'll ever lie down in front of."

* * *

"I would like to see the surface of Iraq, I would like to see a terrain map of Iraq look like a smooth piece of glass. I would like to see Iraq nuked. I could care less for any of the innocent civilians there."

* * *

To a caller from Pakistan: "You thought you could come here and kiss my ass and get away with something, but see, you're talking to an American now. When you go back to your own country you'll be able to out-reason those very rudimentary beings who reside there. But right now you're speaking to an American who is always going to be able to triumph over you.... Get back on your magic carpet and go back where you came from.... Why don't you go back to the ghetto in which you were spawned, back in Pakistan, O.K. For my money, I hope India someday launches a nuclear attack on your particular town."

* * *

Told that William Kunstler said that the wrong person had been arrested in the World Trade Center bombing case: "That's all right. We'll kill him and then we'll find the right guy."

Diamond has had a series of conversations with callers who identify themselves as active-duty police officers, suggesting that suspects be arranged to "commit suicide in custody" - plainly encouraging law enforcement personnel to commit murder. In at least two cases, the officer was quite receptive to the idea:

Diamond: "Well, Tony, you're an officer, is that right?"

Caller: "I've been a cop for 10 years."

Diamond: "Listen, Tony, I don't know where you work, but if any of your colleagues work in the 7th precinct, downtown in Tribeca --"

Caller: "Right."

Diamond: "If you happen to catch those two guys who put the bullet into Bonnie Bear? It would be a real tragedy if those guys happened to commit suicide in custody."

Caller: "Right. Unfortunately, something like that happens, they'll come after us with a vengeance."

Diamond: "Yeah, well it would be terrible if they happened to commit suicide while they were in custody. Or perhaps, maybe if you found them and they had already committed suicide."

Caller: "Right, right."

* * *

Caller: "The case itself is a very weak case, due to the fact that the witnesses could not pick out anybody in a lineup."

Diamond: "Gee, it would be terrible if they were all found dead from suicide in prison."

Caller: "Well, I'd really like to say that we hope something like that might happen."

Diamond: "Yeah, you know guys get depressed in prison sometimes and they sometimes put a bullet in the back of their own head."

Caller: "That's right, Jay."

Diamond: "It would be too bad if they all decided to do that. All the guys responsible for killing O'Sullivan."

Caller: "You're absolutely right, Jay. And one other comment, Jay--"

Diamond: "I could be a witness to that suicide, myself."

Caller: "Well, Jay, we'd like to have you there."

Diamond: "You could put me in the jail, and I could witness that suicide. I would faithfully report it as a suicide."

* * *

Caller: "Law enforcement prays for the empowerment that Rudy Giuliani will hand to police in New York. Do you realize, Jay, that every 30 hours a New York City police officer is either shot, stabbed, bludgeoned or beaten severely in New York City, in the five burroughs? And moreover--"

Diamond: "Be too bad if a lot of those people doing that were to commit suicide in police custody."

Caller: "Yeah."

Diamond: "Hint."

Caller: "Well-noted. Well-noted."

QUOTE FROM CURTIS SLIWA:

Sliwa: "Just as a matter of reference. When blacks would chase us with the bats, they knew, hit the white boys in the face because they're gonna immediately, emotionally break up if they bleed, if they get a nosebleed. Meantime, we knew, don't hit the black guy in the head. He's strong. Hit him in the kneecap. So you see out there. If you're ever wielding a bat, I've just given you some ethnic and racial advice as to how to take your opponent down."

Caller: "No, I heard if you hit a black guy underneath the nose, it was his weakest part."

Sliwa: "Never. Forget that. I mean, look at the great fighters. You could hit 'em 52 times and they don't drop, except for Floyd Patterson."

###

FAIR

Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting

130 W. 25th St. • New York, NY 10001 • Tel: (212) 633-6700 • Fax: (212) 727-7668

Bob Grant On Gay Men and Lesbians:

WABC talkshow host Bob Grant preaches hatred and violence toward gay men and lesbians just as loudly as he preaches bigotry toward non-whites.

"It is a perversion, do you want to tell me that homosexuality is not a perversion?"

To a gay caller: "Go to your mirror, look at yourself in the mirror and repeat after me, I am a perverted misfit."

To another gay caller: "You're not capable of looking at yourself in the mirror and saying, I am a fag, I am a queer, I am a perverted individual."

Grant: "It's an insult to the vast majority of New Yorkers who do not have the perversion you are afflicted with."

Caller: "Which I don't regard as a perversion, sir."

Grant: "Well, of course you wouldn't regard it as a perversion. Do you want to look in the mirror and say, I, Julie, am a dyke, I, Julie, am a sickola, I, Julie, am a freak? You don't want to say that and I don't blame you."

"You can't be a fagola and be family-oriented. It's a contradiction in terms."

"If an employer doesn't want to have homosexual employees, I think he ought to have that right."

Grant: "The discrimination, whatever it is, is based on the need for society in general to protect itself from the encroachment of a perverted warped minority. If a person hates a homosexual,

I think he has a right to hate whomever he wants to. What are we going to do, brainwash people? Give them a laser treatment to get rid of their hatred?"

Caller: "They cannot discriminate."

Grant: "Oh, yes they can. If they don't want them teaching their children in school, they should be able to protect themselves from having a queer teach their children in school. If they don't want them in their apartment, they should be able to keep them out of their apartment."

Dr. Paul Cameron (a notorious homophobe appearing on Grant's show): "There's certain kinds of things, such as murder, and I would contend, such as homosexual acts, that absolutely disqualify a person as being a responsible citizen."

Grant: "That's Dr. Paul Cameron, we're going to take telephone calls with Dr. Cameron right here in our WABC studios in just a moment...."

Cameron: "All over the United States now, homosexual males are defanging and declawing small animals, often hamsters, gerbils, inserting them into their rectum. And then the animal in its death throes, you know it's frantically, it's in terrible pain, it's scurrying back and forth trying to escape, and this apparently causes a great sexual rush among those who practice this abhorrent destruction of animal life."

Grant: "If there's anybody on the sidelines thinking that homosexuality is a minor deviation from the norm, that story should convince even the dummies in the audience that we're talking about sick, sick perverted people. Right?"

Cameron: "I think so."

Caller: "In the Bible, let him read, and I don't think he has, the 20th chapter of Leviticus, he talks about homosexuality in the Bible as condemnation. No, no, no, no, it goes more than condemnation. If you read the 20th chapter of Leviticus, it says you must kill the homosexual."

Grant: "Well, of course it goes beyond that, it goes to total retribution. That is why those cities were destroyed."

Caller: "What do you think of this \$3 billion were supposed to send on AIDS?"

Grant: "What is the expenditure supposed to be on since we have been told there's no cure in sight, as a matter of fact, one Ph.D., biochemist, M.D. said it was impossible to cure AIDS."

Caller: "I know, and do you know any normal people that have it?"

Grant: "No."

Caller: "No, I know, so why do us normal people have to pay for it?"

Grant: "Good question."

Caller: "It's ridiculous."

On a gay pride march: "Ideally, it would have been nice to have a few phalanxes of policemen with machine guns and mow them down."

important priorities for Clinton.

White House spokesman Mike McCurry, saying that the president was "deeply troubled by the cuts," suggested Tuesday that a veto is still a possibility. While the president does not sign the budget resolution, the veto threat will hover over every one of the 13 spending bills that will make up the 1996 budget.

House Approves Overhaul of Clean Water Act By Earl Lane= (c) 1995, Newsday=

WASHINGTON The House passed a sweeping and controversial overhaul of the federal Clean Water Act Tuesday, giving industry more flexibility to comply with pollution standards and rejecting efforts to retain some existing protections for millions of acres of wetlands.

While the bill, which passed by a 240-185 vote, faces an uncertain future in the Senate and a likely presidential veto, the Republican-controlled House made clear its determination to sharply modify some of the nation's major environmental laws.

During floor debate, Republicans and their conservative Democratic allies referred repeatedly to the need for less red tape, more flexibility and greater attention to landowners' rights in the enforcement of such laws.

Critics said the rewrite of the 1972 Clean Water Act could roll back years of progress in cleaning up the nation's waterways and protecting vital wetlands from development.

"It stops 20 years of progress dead in its tracks," said Rep. David Bonior, D-Mich., the House Democratic whip. White House spokesman Michael McCurry said the Environmental Protection Agency and other federal agencies have recommended that President Clinton veto the legislation in its present form.

But Rep. Bud Shuster, R-Pa., a principal sponsor of the clean water overhaul, called it "a balanced environmental bill."

The most controversial provision is one that would more narrowly define "wetland." The bill includes a "takings" provision to compensate some property owners whose land loses value because of wetlands regulation.

Sen. John Chafee, R-R.I., chairman of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, already has said the clean water law does not need the sort of wholesale overhaul pursued in the House.

Christian Coalition to Present Its Own 'Contract' By Charles V. Zehren= (c) 1995, Newsday=

WASHINGTON Ralph Reed, the executive director of the politically powerful Christian Coalition, drew fire from some of his members in January when he agreed not to press their conservative social causes in Congress until House Speaker Newt Gingrich had a chance to push through his "Contract With America."

But Reed knew that to reap, you must sow. The 33-year-old former Republican operative spent \$1 million of his organization's money, and mobilized its 1.6 million members, on a campaign in favor of Gingrich's agenda even though it addressed budgetary and economic concerns instead of school prayer, abortion and other social issues. "The pro-family cultural agenda can only succeed if we gain momentum by passing and gaining the contract," Reed said at the time.

Most of the contract passed the House, with critical support from the coalition, which was founded by Pat Robertson. And now Reed is slated to go to Capitol Hill Wednesday and give his bill to the Republicans in the form of his own "Contract With the American Family."

The centerpiece of Reed's legislative package will be a proposed "Religious Equality Amendment" to the

Constitution allowing voluntary school prayer and the use of religious symbols in public.

In addition, the coalition's contract will call for giving local school boards more power and spending \$30 million to fund pilot programs for public and private school choice.

"Ralph Reed is coming to collect for the loyalty his organization showed to the Republican Party," said Mathew Freeman of the People for the American Way, an organization opposing the coalition. "Now they want Congress to support the far-right agenda."

(Begin optional trim)

Under Reed's plan, Washington would also:

Eliminate federal funding for the National Endowment for the Arts, the Legal Services Corporation and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Adopt a \$500 tax credit for children and allow a tax-free \$2,000 annual IRA contribution as part of a "Mothers and Homemakers Rights Act."

Outlaw late-term abortions, enact legislation to protect children from exposure to pornography on the Internet, cable television and videos, ensure parental rights and require criminals to make restitution to their victims.

"Enhance" the opportunities for private contributions to charities that emphasize "faith-based compassion."

(End optional trim)

Prominent Republicans, including presidential hopefuls Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., and Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, have aggressively courted support from Reed and the Christian Coalition. Their advisers as well as other Republican political consultants say no one in their party can win the nomination or the presidency without support from Reed and the Christian right.

Sen. Rick Santorum, R-Pa. one of the most conservative members of Congress said the Christian right is "an important constituency in America. Millions of people find these issues important to them. And there's a place up here (in Congress) to have them debated."

Privately, however, a number of Republican lawmakers expressed their concern that the coalition's controversial social agenda will only worsen tensions within the party. "Don't get me in the middle of that," one ranking Republican said.

The American Civil Liberties Union sent a letter to President Clinton last week warning that the Christian Coalition was planning a direct attack on Americans' constitutional freedoms.

And Sen. Paul Wellstone, D-Minn. a liberal Democrat who the Republicans have targeted for defeat as he seeks re-election next year said Tuesday that the Republicans risk alienating voters by lending support to the coalition's contract, which "will be viewed as too extreme by people."

Lawmakers Seek Study of Ties Between Militias, Abortion Foes By Saul Friedman= (c) 1995, Newsday=

WASHINGTON Two Democratic lawmakers and several abortion rights groups called Tuesday for congressional hearings into links between radical anti-abortion groups and militias that may threaten violence against abortion clinics.

Rep. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., emphasized he was not suggesting that most anti-abortion groups or militias were

violent, but he told a news conference that there is evidence of links between some "right-wing paramilitary militias and radical, anti-abortion forces."

Rep. Louise Slaughter, D-N.Y., added that Congress has for too long ignored the individuals, the groups and the funding behind the growing violence against abortion facilities, which has included murder, arson and bombing.

Schumer, in a letter to Rep. Bill McCollum, R-Fla., chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee on crime, suggested one full day of hearings on "militia groups and their connections with ideological violence."

He was supported by several abortion rights groups, including the Planned Parenthood Federation, which has investigated some of the sources of violence and threats against its clinics. Its evidence of links between militias and the more aggressive anti-abortion groups included a chilling videotape of a convention session in May 1994 of the U.S. Taxpayers Party, based in Vienna, Va.

One convention seminar heard the Rev. Matthew Trehwella, founder of Milwaukee's Missionaries to the Pre-Born, formerly associated with Operation Rescue, talk of forming militias and teaching children to know which was their trigger finger.

He suggested buying children semiautomatic rifles and 500 rounds of ammunition for Christmas presents. He has also distributed manuals on organizing militias to oppose abortion and gun control.

The Rev. Patrick Mahoney, the former spokesman for Operation Rescue who attended the news conference, said, "There may be militia people who oppose abortion, but to try to link them to the anti-abortion movement is utterly despicable ... Violence has no connection to Operation Rescue."

(Begin optional trim)

Dr. Pamela Maraldo, president of Planned Parenthood, who presented the video, cited other evidence linking Trehwella's organization to militia advocates and gun owner organizations. And she noted that leaders of the Michigan Militia have created anti-abortion units active throughout the state.

In addition, a Nebraska militia group called "The Plainsmen" has harassed and threatened a Planned Parenthood affiliate in Lincoln, Maraldo said. And the National Abortion Federation said members of a fundamentalist group that operates a militia compound in Texas have frequently picketed in full camouflage gear outside an abortion clinic in Shreveport, La.

"Hate rhetoric is deliberately used to incite violence," Maraldo said. Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, called it "political terrorism."

(End optional trim)

McCollum has not replied to Schumer's call for a hearing.

prison where he is being held on immigration charges.

"I was trying to make contact with officials in Washington," Constant said. "I wrote to President Clinton and he answered me."

The administration of Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has said it wants Constant extradited so he can stand trial for murders attributed to his paramilitary group, the Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti.

Constant fled to the United States Dec. 24, 1994, after Haitian authorities issued a warrant for his arrest. U.S. Embassy officials in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, have said they did not know Constant's whereabouts in January and could not confirm that he was in the United States.

Newsday has obtained a copy of the White House letter, dated Jan. 12, thanking Constant for "your interest in my efforts to restore democracy to Haiti."

"I appreciate your taking the time to share your views on this important issue," said the letter addressed to the alleged terrorist chief.

A White House official said Constant had sent Clinton "a note praising the president for his Haiti policy, and a form letter was sent in response."

The official maintained that government agents later checked the address and that Constant was not there. But the college professor who hosted Constant there says no one from the government ever tried to confirm that he was there.

Tuesday, the professor asked that her name not be used, saying she has received threats from people who have learned Constant stayed with her.

"People in my job hate me," she said, crying. "They are accusing me of working with the CIA."

In the past, Constant supplied information to U.S. intelligence agents, U.S. congressional sources have said.

Sometime in January, Constant left the professor's southwest Washington home and took up temporary residences in New York City, associates have said. Haitians in the New York area said they saw Constant numerous times.

Port-au-Prince complained to Washington, and Constant's visa was revoked.

An embarrassed Secretary of State Warren Christopher declared in March that Constant's presence was "compromising compelling U.S. foreign policy interests." The Justice Department then ordered his arrest. Acting on a tip, immigration agents seized Constant May 10 outside a home where he was staying with relatives in New York City.

White House Sent Letter to Haitian Suspect While Searching for Him By Ron Howell= (c) 1995, Newsday=

Back in January, when U.S. officials supposedly didn't know that Haitian terrorist suspect Emmanuel Constant was in the United States, the White House sent him a "Dear Emmanuel" letter signed by President Clinton and addressed to a Washington, D.C., home Constant was using at the time.

Constant was traveling openly through the nation's capital at the time, he said during a weekend interview at the Maryland

Paramilitary Group Leaders Try to Burnish Their Image

By MICHAEL JANOFFSKY

WASHINGTON, May 25 — They came to participate in the Government they so often disparage, vowing to answer every question and even to take a polygraph test if requested.

But when Senator Arlen Specter postponed the subcommittee hearing in which they were to testify today, leaders of right-wing paramilitary groups, who had come from as far away as Montana, lost their chance to tell Congress their side of things, including their contention that up to 10 million Americans now belong to militant "patriot" organizations around the country.

Instead, they held a news conference.

"This is a political movement in birthing," said John DeCamp, a former Nebraska state senator who is a legal counsel for leaders of several paramilitary groups. He appeared with a small group of leaders of the groups, including two from Montana, John Trochmann and Robert Fletcher, and Mark Koernke, better known as "Mark From Michigan," the host of a far-right-wing radio talk show.

"Like the beginning of all political movements, it's painful, joyous, confusing and exciting," Mr. DeCamp said. "But there are some very legitimate concerns they have."

The men, who held a "militia summit" here on Wednesday night, had been scheduled to appear before the Senate Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on terrorism, technology and government information. The witness list included officials from the agencies that leaders of the militant groups have denounced as repressors: the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Bureau of Alco-

hol, Tobacco and Firearms. Another witness was to be Representative Helen Chenoweth, Republican of Idaho, who has expressed suspicion of armed Federal officials and sympathy for causes espoused by paramilitary groups.

But with a heavy voting schedule in the Senate, Mr. Specter met only briefly with the groups' leaders in his office and told them he was postponing the hearing until June 8.

At the news conference, leaders of the militant groups asserted that they had been vilified in the press and that they were merely patriots who adhered to a strict interpretation of the Constitution.

While participants in the right-wing paramilitary movement vary in their degree of hostility to Government, many contend that President Clinton and other elected officials are involved in a secret, unstated conspiracy to erode freedoms so that a world government under the United Nations can subsume the United States. Part of that conspiracy, they believe, is involvement by the Government in the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City last month.

In that context, Mr. Fletcher said, the paramilitary movement is less concerned with politics and political parties than with "good guys and bad guys."

Mr. Trochmann, a founder of the Militia of Montana and a member of Aryan Nations, an anti-Semitic white supremacist group in Idaho, said the Federal Government was engaged in a vast campaign to create "a terrorist atmosphere" that included involvement in the Oklahoma City bombing and a decision to block off Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House.

Oklahoma City

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
RAHM EMANUEL
MARK GEARAN

CC: HAROLD ICKES ✓
FROM: KITTY HIGGINS *Kitty*
SUBJECT: Event Honoring Heroes Of The Oklahoma City Bombing / Speech To
All Federal Employees

Attached is a scheduling request for the President and First Lady to participate in a Rose Garden Ceremony honoring the heroes of the Oklahoma City bombing. This event would also give the President the opportunity to speak directly to all federal employees at satellite gatherings hosted by Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet Members around the country.

Please return your thoughts/comments to me as soon as possible.

05/08/95

TO: William Webster
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director of Scheduling and Advance

FROM: Kitty Higgins *Kitty*
Assistant to the President and Secretary to the Cabinet

REQUEST: Rose Garden Ceremony Honoring the Heroes of the Oklahoma City
Tragedy. Heroes would consist of representatives from:

- Oklahoma City Fire Department
- 11 Search and Rescue Teams sent to Oklahoma City from
across the country
- Some of the "real people" who assisted in the rescue
effort

This event would also give the President the opportunity to speak
directly to all Federal Employees. The President's remarks would be
broadcasted to gatherings of Federal Employees -- hosted by Cabinet
and Sub-Cabinet officials -- throughout the country. FEMA has
capacity to broadcast to every fire department headquarters in the
country.

PURPOSE:

- 1) To honor the heroes of the Oklahoma City tragedy.
- 2) To thank federal employees for their public service and comfort
them in the wake of the Oklahoma City tragedy.

BACKGROUND: The Oklahoma City bombing was a direct attack at public service. This
event would emphasize that public service is to be commended, not
condemned. The event would also highlight the heroism of Oklahoma
City -- honoring the nation's "coming together" during this time of
crisis.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION:

DATE and TIME: TBD

DURATION: 1 hour

LOCATION: The Rose Garden
The White House

PARTICIPANTS: Members of the Cabinet
FEMA Director, James Lee Witt
Representatives from:

- Oklahoma City Fire Department
- 11 Search and Rescue Teams sent to Oklahoma City from
across the country
- Some of the "real people" who assisted in the rescue
effort

OUTLINE OF EVENTS:

TBD

REMARKS REQUIRED:

Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE:

Open Press

PROPOSED ATTENDANCE:

☒	President
☐	Vice President
☒	1st Lady
☐	2nd Lady

RECOMMENDED BY:

Kitty Higgins

CONTACT:

Jason Goldberg
456-2572

OK City

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 25, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO LEON PANETTA
HAROLD ICKES
PAT GRIFFIN
MIKE MCCURRY
KITTY HIGGINS

FROM: MARCIA L. HALE *MHA*
SUBJECT: LETTER FROM MAYOR NORICK OF OKLAHOMA CITY

I have attached for your review a letter from Mayor Norick of Oklahoma City to Representative Frank Lucas requesting that legislation be introduced which would contain appropriations solely for Oklahoma City. I was told by Councilman Mark Schwartz that the Mayor will be releasing this letter in a press conference tomorrow morning.

As you will note at the bottom of the letter, a copy was sent to the President. I wanted to make sure you were aware of this should the White House be contacted tomorrow for comments.

Please do not hesitate to contact me regarding this matter.



The City of
OKLAHOMA CITY

RONALD J. NORICK, Mayor

May 25, 1995

The Honorable Frank Lucas
House of Representatives
District 6
215 Dean A. McGee, Suite 109
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73102

Dear Representative Lucas:

During the past few weeks, you have provided able assistance and leadership to the Oklahoma City area following the recent disaster. Once again, we need your help.

As you are aware, the recently proposed Federal rescission package to assist Oklahoma City provides \$240 million for a variety of purposes, including a new federal building, increased national law enforcement capacity and FEMA emergency cost. However, there are no funds provided to assist the city, itself, in its recovery from the extensive damage that was incurred and the major difficulties it will face in the rehabilitation of a portion of the downtown area already under economic stress.

It is our understanding that President Clinton will likely veto the above referenced rescission bill. It appears financial relief efforts for Oklahoma City are to some extent caught up in the debate over the budget between the Administration and Congress. All members of the Oklahoma City Council serve in a non-partisan capacity, and as such take no position in the budget debate, but rather seek to rebuild our city in the wake of the disaster. We believe a resolution to this issue could be accomplished if legislation were introduced which would contain appropriations solely for Oklahoma City due to the April 19th bombing of the Murrah Federal Building.

As you are aware, our city has been moving to revitalize the downtown area. Last year the city embarked on a voter approved one-cent sales tax to raise \$280 million for downtown renewal programs with great anticipation and promise. In addition to this program, which we refer to as the Metropolitan Area Projects (MAPS), the City had committed to various other ancillary related projects to not only enhance the MAPS projects, but to revitalize downtown as well. Several of the major projects wherein we intended to use CDBG funds include the following:

1. Infrastructure and transportation linkages related to the MAPS in the estimated cost which have been attributed to authorized federal matching funds is \$7,250,000.
2. Hotel rehabilitation and development in the Central Business District is the key to returning business and jobs in the bombed area. The estimated cost for the rehabilitation of an historic existing hotel and city infrastructure for the construction of two new hotels generated by MAPS is \$13,000,000.

Honorable Frank Lucas

Page 2

May 25, 1995

3. Infrastructure, environmental, conservation restoration, cultural and improvements to the downtown business and MAPS area; estimated cost \$10,000,000.

The recent disaster does threaten the efforts identified in the above programs. Our previously committed funding for these projects will now have to be redirected to assist the rebuilding of the area surrounding the Murrah Building location. A majority of the business' that suffered significant damage as a result of the bombing are small entrepreneurial firms. We do not believe that the available funding through FEMA assistance will be sufficient to keep them in operation, due to the severe financial and structural losses most of those businesses suffered.

Many businesses have been forced to leave the area and may not choose or be financially able to return. As a result, a large area on the northern edge of downtown is now at risk. The negative image created by the bombing may result in further disinvestment in an area which was already suffering from deterioration and blight. This process needs to be reversed as quickly as possible.

If we are forced to reallocate our current CDBG funds, the downtown core will face lengthy delays to the benefits originally planned to coincide with the MAPS projects, or will ultimately lost.

Our problem is that The City of Oklahoma City does not have funds to meet any of these needs alone, and there are no new sources of potential funding in light of recently passed sales tax measures. We will need some outside help if we are going to be able to adjust to the impact of the bombing and stabilize the overall downtown area.

Immediately following the bombing, the Department of HUD requested that the city compile a list of projects which could be used to stabilize the downtown area. HUD's initial plan was that assistance might be provided through additional Community Block Grant Development funding which has the flexibility to meet a wide variety of redevelopment needs.

If funding were made immediately available to the city, it would enable us to begin programs that will allow our community to restore and rehabilitate the shattered downtown area. An executive summary of the KPMG Peat Marwick damage assessment report is attached.

In addition to the previously mentioned programs, we have identified essential funding issues which are necessary to start the rebuilding process in Oklahoma City. They include, but are not necessarily limited to the following:

1. Historic structure restoration projects and damaged structure restoration needs for properties in the proximity of the Alfred P. Murrah Building; estimated costs \$10,000,000. For your review I am attaching a list of historically significant properties, together with a map showing all properties damaged as a result of the April 19, 1995 bombing.
2. Assistance for the rehabilitation and planned new moderate income housing units

Honorable Frank Lucas

Page 3

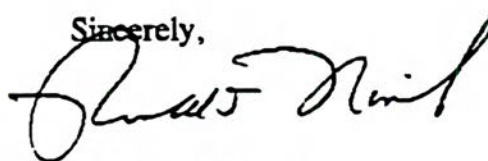
May 25, 1995

in the areas around the former federal center and in the Central Business District; estimated \$5,000,000.

As Mayor, I will make myself available to testify before Congressional committees or meet with members of Congress to discuss the need for this funding request. While Oklahoma City has suffered a tragic loss, the citizens of this nation have responded in a most humanitarian fashion. I would anticipate the citizens of our country would support Congress in this endeavor.

Thank you very much for your consideration and assistance with this request.

Sincerely,



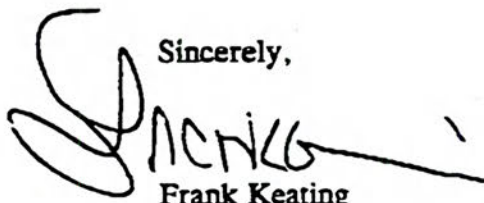
Ronald J. Norick
Mayor

Memo to Representative Lucas from Governor Keating:

Out of the tragedy on April 19, 1995, we, as a nation, proved that all levels of government can work together for the benefit of the citizens. Mayor Norick has enclosed a copy of my recently released damage estimates as prepared by Peat Marwick. Downtown Oklahoma City has suffered not only great physical losses, but psychological damage as well. I believe we need to continue to build upon the relationships between all levels of government.

Oklahoma City does not by itself have the resources to pay for many of the rebuilding efforts which are necessary as a result of the April 19, 1995 bombing. It is my understanding Secretary Cisneros has advised Mayor Norick that HUD has approximately \$35 million that could be reallocated to Oklahoma City this fiscal year. I join the Mayor and City Council in their request that legislation be introduced and quickly passed for Oklahoma City's specific needs.

Sincerely,



Frank Keating
Governor

cc: President Clinton
Majority Leader Dole
Speaker of House Gingrich

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. briefing paper	"Families" - Background information on survivors, families and victims of the Oklahoma City bombing (partial). (1 page)	n.d.	b(7)(C), b(7)(F)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Chief of Staff
Harold Ickes
OA/Box Number: 9158

FOLDER TITLE:

Oklahoma City Bombing - Apr 19 '95 [1]

2006-0326-F

eh42

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

POTUS

FAMILIES

Treasury

4 Treasury bureaus were housed in the Murrah Building: ATF, Customs, IRS and Secret Service.

ATF

All ATF employees have been accounted for. The following individuals join you today:

(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(f) Investigative Assistant, was treated and released from the hospital immediately after the bombing. She has returned to the site to assist in the investigation.

(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(f) Special Agent

(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(f) Group Supervisor Resident Agent in Charge (b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(f) was caught in an elevator with a DEA agent and fell six floors.

(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(f) Special Agent, suffered minor injuries. (b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(f) was stranded on the 9th floor and had to be air-lifted to the hospital.

Customs

6 employees worked in the building. 2 are still missing and 1 remains hospitalized. The other 3 people were out of the building during the bombing. (b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(f) and (b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(f) both Special Agents, will represent their bureau.

IRS

Several relatives of IRS employees are still missing. The director of the Day Care Center was the niece of an IRS employee and she and her child are both considered missing. The following individuals join you today:

note
→ **Edye Smith** lost two children, Colton, 2, and Chase, 3, in the bombing. Edye has worked for the IRS for 3 years and her mother, **Kathy Graham**, has been with the IRS for approximately 8 years.

→ **Claudia Denny**, and her husband, **Jim**, have two children who were in the Day Care Center. Their 3-year old son, Brandon, suffered severe head injuries and doctors had to remove a portion of his brain; his younger sister, Rebecca - age 2, was found in the hospital with a broken arm and lacerations on one side of her body. Early Saturday afternoon, doctors informed the Dennys that Brandon had just passed a

only 2 children to survive

critical period and improvements were being seen. The Dennys would like to share photos of their children with you and Mrs. Clinton

USSS

13 people worked in the Oklahoma field office. 5 agents are confirmed dead, 1 has yet to be found. The other 7 staff members were not in the building at the time of the explosion. You are participating in a separate meeting with Secret Service families.

DOD

Army and Marine recruiting offices were housed in the building. The following Tinker AFB personnel had family members inside the Murrah Federal Building at the time of the bombing and are still missing:

SrA Shane McRaven, Combat Communications Squadron. His wife Cartney (A1C). She went to the Social Security office on Wednesday morning to do paperwork to change her name.

SrA Damon W. Burgess, Oklahoma City Logistics Center, Directorate of Technology. His wife Kimberly, worked as a bank teller on the third floor of the building. They had no children.

Corey D. Levy. His wife Lakesha Levy (A1C, 82nd Medical Training Group) was on active duty training with the 72nd Medical Group. Mrs. Levy went to the Federal Building on personal business. Their son **Corey D. Levy II**, 2, will accompany his father.

Michael Sanders, 552nd Logistics Group, member Eagle Team (Civil Engineer Team). His wife Sonja Sanders, worked at the Federal Credit Union.

USDA/APHIS

21 people were in the building at the time of the explosion. Of those, 7 people are still unaccounted for and 3 remain hospitalized.

Jack Gobin is the Officer-in-Charge for the Plant Protection and Quarantine Program and has been with the agency for 29 years. **Cynthia Dokrey-King** is Mr. Gobin's secretary.

HUD

HUD had 126 staff members in the building. There are 28 people still unaccounted for, 8 persons in critical condition and 3 are confirmed dead.

Susan Hunt, a 5-year Administrative Officer at the HUD Oklahoma state office. Immediately after the explosion, Susan helped several of her colleagues out of the building, including one that was buried below debris. Since then, Susan has been assisting in the accounting of HUD employees, working tirelessly at the HUD assistance center. Susan has said, "When we look at the building, we don't see a hole. We see the faces of those who sat there and are our friends and families."

GSA

26 staff members were assigned to the Murrah Building. Of those, 2 remain unaccounted for 1 child of GSA employee is also still missing, 4 remain hospitalized.

Don Rogers is GSA's local management official for the State of Oklahoma. Don had just walked out to the elevator lobby seconds before the explosion occurred. The GSA office, located directly above the explosion site, was totally destroyed. Don sustained only minimal injuries and immediately assisted in the rescue efforts. He and his staff led rescue workers to areas where they knew Federal Workers would be located.

Though repeatedly instructed by the rescue workers to evacuate the building due to the threat of additional explosives, Don and his staff stubbornly refused to abandon the site. Feeling responsible for the safety and well being of their friends, fellow Federal workers and other individuals in the building they held steadfast to their conviction to find and rescue the injured. It is unknown how many rescues were made by Don and his staff but their heroic efforts made a significant difference to many who otherwise might have been left abandon.

Robert Dennis, Clerk of the Federal District Court, had just finished a meeting with Don Rogers when the blast occurred.

SSA

Of the 60 SSA employees and 1 senior citizen volunteer working, 46 have been accounted for and 15 have not been located. 8 individuals required hospitalization and 2 remain in serious condition. There were between 30 - 40 non-personnel in the office reception area at the time of the explosion.



Brett Thompson is 12-years old. His father, Michael, a Social Security Field Representative in the Oklahoma City Office, is missing. His father was scheduled to be out of the office that day doing claims, but had not left before the bombing.

Joann Thompson is Brett's mother and Michael's wife. Although Brett is only 12, many on the ground have been impressed with his courage and maturity. He is seen as the leader of the SSA survivor group.

Dennis Purifoy is the Assistant District Manager of the Oklahoma City Social Security Office. He helped several employees get out of the building following the bomb blast.

Shera Gamble is a Claims Representative. She has some serious injuries. She may need some assistance. She fell through the first floor into the garage. Her desk protected her from falling debris. She was trapped for nine hours. She thought she was going to drown. When she was rescued, the water level was to her chest. She is the last Social Security employee to be rescued to date.

Richard Dean is a Claims Representative. He spent a lot of time in the building helping other Social Security employees get out.

Eric McKisick, Administrative Assistant, although in the building at the time of the blast, was able to assist others getting out.

DOT

DOT had 31 people in the building. Of those, 10 individuals are still unaccounted for and 2 are in critical condition.

Ronota Woodbridge, a highway engineer in the Federal Highway Administration, is missing. Members of her family will be attending: **Gary Woodbridge**, husband, **Ronald Newberry** and **Nora Newberry**. Mr. and Mrs. Newberry are natives of Batesville, AR.

Michael Carrillo, State Director of the Office of Motor Carriers, has not been seen since the explosion. He has three children, **Amber**, 17, and **Michael**, 15, and **Jimmy**. Their mother died last year from kidney failure. Michael's companion, and now the children's guardian, **Karen Wiyninger** and her daughter, **Brandy**, will accompany the children.

VA

VA had 12 casualties in the bombing. 2 children of VA employees were treated at Children's Hospital; 3 suffered serious injuries.

George Denker, a Veterans Benefit Loan Guarantee Staff Appraiser, received a serious blow to his head.

Diane Dooley, a Vocational Rehabilitation Specialist, suffered a broken arm, wrist and toe.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Incident Background

Divider Title: _____

OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING

Wednesday, April 19, 1995



BRIEFING BOOK

FEMA-3115-EM

Oklahoma City Bombing

Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building

April 19, 1995

FEMA-3115-EM

- **Responding Federal Agencies:**
 - **Federal Bureau of Investigation -- Lead Federal Agency for Law Enforcement**
 - **Federal Emergency Management Agency -- Lead Federal Agency for Consequences Management**
 - American Red Cross
 - U.S. Department of Agriculture
 - Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms
 - U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
 - National Communications Service
 - U.S. Department of Defense
 - Federal Aviation Administration
 - U.S. General Accounting Office
 - U.S. General Services Administration
 - U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
 - U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
 - U.S. Department of the Interior
 - U.S. Department of Justice
 - U.S. Department of Labor
 - Office of Personnel Management
 - Federal Protective Service
 - U.S. Public Health Service
 - U.S. Social Security Administration
 - U.S. Department of Transportation
 - U.S. Department of the Treasury
 - U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs
 - U.S. Department of Commerce
 - National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, National Weather Service

Oklahoma City Bombing

FEMA-3115-EM
Status as of April 23, 1995

The Incident

In Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, at 9:05 am on April 19, 1995, one car bomb destroyed the Alfred Murrah Federal Building, a structure owned by the General Services Administration. The building normally houses about 600 people. Officials estimate that there were 250 visitors at the time of the bombing.

About 75 other buildings in the vicinity of the bombed building sustained some damage.

The following Federal agencies were occupants of the Alfred Murrah Federal Building at the time of the explosion.

- Department of Defense
- General Accounting Office
- General Services Administration
- Housing and Urban Development
- Department of Labor
- Department of Treasury
- U.S. Department of Agriculture
- Department of Transportation
- Social Security Administration
- Department of Health and Human Services
- Department of Justice
- Office of Personnel Management
- U.S. Army, Air Force, and Marine Recruiting
- Department of Veterans Affairs

In addition, a day care center, America's Kids, occupied the second floor.

Casualties

As of 7:06 p.m. April 22, the US Public Health Service confirmed ⁷¹~~78~~ dead (including 12 children) and 467 injured. According to unconfirmed figures, there are still 158 persons missing. The casualty count is expected to go higher as the search of the building continues.

Emergency Declaration

On April 19, 1995, President William Clinton signed Emergency Declaration FEMA-3115-EM.

Unlike a disaster declaration requested by a Governor for a natural disaster, this declaration provides limited assistance for individuals. However, in support of victim rescue and building safety, the Federal government has deployed major resources to assist State and local government. A list of mission assignments and of the Mobile Emergency Response Support (MERS) is provided below. MERS supports the FBI incident command post with additional communications capability.

Initial Federal Response

Federal response operations in Oklahoma following the car bombing had two major aspects. The President sent a Crisis Management Team under the leadership of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to handle the criminal and legal aspects. The team included representatives from the Department of Justice (DOJ) and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF).

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) coordinated the emergency response effort. Within hours FEMA Director James Lee Witt and senior staff went to Oklahoma to meet with FEMA Regional Director Buddy Young and other State and local officials. The Regional Operating Center (ROC) opened at 10:00 am April 19. FEMA personnel began providing coordination and support to the State of Oklahoma and its Department of Civil Emergency Management.

The emergency operations focussed on four immediate areas: medical assistance to the victims; providing for the human needs of the citizens living nearby displaced by the incident; search and rescue activities for those still missing and presumed trapped; and mental health assistance to the victims and their families as well as to the responders.

At the same time FEMA activated an Emergency Support Team (EST) at FEMA Headquarters. It included an EST Director, Emergency Support Functions (ESF) 5 (Information and Planning) and 9 (Urban Search and Rescue). ESF 9 has coordinated the deployment and activities of the search and rescue teams. Both ESFs expect to function continuously 24 hours a day until further notice.

During the first hours following the Oklahoma City explosion on April 19, FEMA alerted and activated two National Urban Search and Rescue (US&R) Task Forces from Phoenix and Sacramento. These task forces deployed to support the search efforts of local firefighters and other emergency responders from Oklahoma City and surrounding communities.

The following day, four more US&R task forces (Virginia Beach, New York City, Montgomery County, MD and Los Angeles County) were activated and deployed to Oklahoma City. Since then two additional US&R Task Forces have been activated: Metro Dade, FL US&RTF and Fairfax County, VA US&RTF. They are expected to arrive early Sunday afternoon. An Incident Support Team was also deployed. They will augment the well over 300 personnel and canines currently on scene.

On April 21, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers augmented US&R efforts on-site by providing two additional structures specialists, two technical search specialists, and two four-person Systems to Locate Survivors (STOLS) Teams from Kansas City, MO and Albuquerque, NM. Three of the remaining eight STOLS Teams, and additional structural specialists, remain on alert for deployment if needed.

The Disaster Field Office (DFO) opened on April 23 within blocks of the disaster site to provide a base for FEMA and other non-law enforcement Federal agency support to the response effort. At the request of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, the State of Oklahoma Office of Civil Emergency Management and FEMA are assisting the city in the development of a Multi-agency Coordination Center.

In response to the bombing, FEMA Region VI activated seven ESFs. They are: Communications (2); Public Works and Engineering (3); Information and Planning (5); Mass Care (6); Resource Support (7); Health and Medical (8); and Urban Search and Rescue (9).

The MERS from Denton, TX arrived in Oklahoma City to assist the FBI with additional communications. The Denver (Region VIII) MERS was on stand-by.

Staff at other Federal offices in the Washington area worked at their respective emergency operations centers. The FBI established a 24-hour operations center with representatives from other Federal agencies as appropriate, including FEMA.

As of April 23, the military had over 350 persons deployed including 282 from the Oklahoma Army National Guard and 34 from the Oklahoma Air National Guard.

In the immediate future, FEMA will continue with the following priorities:

- Using urban search and rescue personnel;
- Maintaining heightened security at Federal buildings and installations;
- Using military personnel including the National Guard for casualty assistance and the Corps of Engineers for structural engineering and locating survivors;
- Providing various resources needed to support recovery operations.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Situation Report

Divider Title: _____

Talking Points: Oklahoma City Car Bombing

April 23, 1995

SITUATION:

- The Public Health Service and the Oklahoma City Fire Chief have confirmed ⁷¹~~78~~ dead (including 12 children) and 467 injured. Approximately 150 people remain unaccounted for.
 - The number of dead is expected to continue to rise today, as Urban Search and Rescue personnel focus their efforts on the collapsed lower levels of the building.
 - It is becoming increasingly unlikely that victims will be found alive in the rubble, however US&R teams report that additional live saves are possible.
- While the most notable damage was to the Alfred P. Murrah Federal building, the blast caused damage to approximately 75 area buildings. Extensive repair will be necessary before business can be resumed in them. This will have economic repercussions for the area.
 - Late on April 22, a roof collapsed in a commercial occupancy building three blocks from the blast area, temporarily entrapping three individuals. Oklahoma City firefighters responded to the incident, and all three people inside were removed with only minor injuries. At this time, officials suspect that the roof collapse was caused by a combination of damage by the shock associated with the bomb blast, and the excessive water weight on the roof from recent rains.
- Weather is becoming problematic in the search and rescue effort. There is concern that the showers and occasional thunderstorms that have occurred over the weekend may begin to impact the already weakened structure, which could make work conditions more hazardous and slow operations.
- Six Urban Search and Rescue (US&R) Task Forces are still on site in Oklahoma City assisting the Oklahoma City Fire Department. Two additional Task Forces have been activated (Metro Dade, FL and Fairfax County, VA), and are expected to arrive early afternoon on April 23.
 - Due to the dangerous nature of US&R operations in the collapsed building, several rescue workers and canines have required medical care for lacerations and other minor injuries. No major injuries have occurred, however. Additional injuries are likely to occur as US&R teams move deeper into the rubble from the building.
- The American Red Cross (ARC) has 60 to 70 mental health workers providing crisis interventions at various locations. In addition, 250 mental health volunteers and a number of area counseling organizations have responded to the disaster, and the General Services Administration has activated its Employee Assistance Program (EAP) counselors to assist survivors of the incident.
- Thousands of volunteers and personnel from private non-profit organizations continue to provide invaluable assistance in this crisis.

- President Clinton yesterday addressed children in his update this morning at the Oval Office. He asked that children across the United States write to children in Oklahoma City. The Oklahoma City Mayor's Office has agreed to receive and forward such letters.
- U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich, Mrs. Gingrich, and U.S. Representatives Dan Lucas and Ernest "Jim" Istook (both from Oklahoma) received a briefing and toured the explosion site with FEMA Director Witt and Oklahoma City Fire Chief Marrs during the early morning of April 22, 1995.
- Preparations continue in the Governor's Office for the memorial service for those who have died or are missing as a result of this explosion. The event is scheduled for Sunday, April 23, and will be attended by the President and numerous Cabinet-level officials.

STATUS OF FEDERAL OPERATIONS

- FEMA Director Witt continues to coordinate Federal response activities on-scene.
 - To date, FEMA has provided a total of approximately \$8 million for Urban Search and Rescue, and mission assignments to other Federal department and agencies and the American Red Cross to conduct response activities. This amount is in addition to that expended by agencies under their own authorities.
- The Disaster Field Office (DFO) for this disaster is expected to be operational this morning at 420 West Main Street, in Oklahoma City. Operational control will transition from the Regional Operations Center to the DFO at that time.
- The Federal Bureau of Investigation, supported by Urban Search and Rescue teams and a number of other Federal, State and local agencies, is taking measures to protect the crime scene and preserve evidence from potential damage by weather.
- Military support for this operation has been critical. At this time, the total number of military personnel deployed is 361. The Oklahoma National Guard comprises the majority of this total, with 282 personnel on-scene.
- Under mission assignment, the Public Health Service (PHS) is supporting the office of the local Medical Examiner with refrigerated trailers, a portable morgue, and a portable x-ray machine. An additional six x-ray machines are to be provided by the Veterans Administration, and are expected to arrive on-scene late on April 23.
 - A 15 member Disaster Mortuary Team (DMORT) has also been activated and deployed to Oklahoma City to assist with victim identification. This team is being augmented by 30 volunteer morticians under the supervision of the DMORT Commander.
- At the request of the Oklahoma City officials, FEMA and the State Civil Emergency Management Office are assisting the city in the development of a Multi-Agency Coordination Center. This center will be the central command and control center for the debris response and recovery effort. This center will be located at the Myriad Convention Center, and will be opened sometime today.

- Operational priorities for the remainder of April 23 are as follows:
 - Continue victim removal and debris search;
 - Provide for safety of all personnel;
 - Continue to support the Oklahoma Fire Department;
 - Continue debris removal on the north exterior debris pile and other concentrated areas (weather permitting).
 - Assess conditions for future requirements;
 - Plan for the deactivation of US&R teams from Tinker Air Force Base back to home stations;
 - Assist in final preparations for the memorial service to be held Sunday.

DONATIONS AND VICTIM INFORMATION:

- The State of Oklahoma has requested donations management assistance from FEMA. A toll-free donated goods and volunteer services number 800-284-0609 will be operable between 9:00 a.m. and 9:00 p.m. each day, beginning Saturday April 22. The purpose of this number is to support the continued overflow of calls from the public interested in how they can help relief workers and the families of the bomb victims.
 - In addition, a donations coordination support team has been deployed to Oklahoma City. This team will assist the State as necessary in handling unsolicited donations, and to fully meet State needs.
- According to the Oklahoma Emergency Management Agency and the American Red Cross (ARC) in Oklahoma, there is no need for any outside assistance of any kind at this time. No donated goods or volunteers are required. The public is encouraged to support the voluntary agencies through cash donations.
 - The American Red Cross has a national toll-free number to call to offer donations: 1-800-435-7669 (1-800-HELP-NOW, or 1-800-257-7575 for Spanish speakers). Credit cards are accepted.
- The local ARC number to check on relatives is 405-232-7121. *People outside of the Oklahoma City area who want information on friends and relatives who may be victims of the bombing should contact their local ARC chapters.*

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

US&R Background

Divider Title: _____

Background on the The National Urban Search and Rescue Response System

Following the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake in California and Hurricane Hugo in South Carolina, Congress asked the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to develop a nationwide network of emergency specialists who could work together to quickly locate and rescue victims trapped in collapsed structures in the aftermath of a disaster. Particularly in an urban setting where rescuers must find and extricate people from the unstable rubble of damaged or collapsed buildings, search and rescue efforts demand extraordinary skills, equipment, training, and cooperation.

The National Urban Search and Rescue (US&R) Response System is built around a core of 26 task forces, located in 17 states across the United States. These task forces are staffed primarily by local fire department and emergency services personnel, experienced and trained in search and rescue operations. FEMA provides planning guidance, training, coordination-assistance, readiness evaluations, and funding for specialized equipment.

Each US&R task force is comprised of 56 personnel. The task force consists of two identical units, each managed by a task force leadership element and four functional teams:

- Technical Team -- Specialists who evaluate on-site hazards, assess structural integrity, stabilize damaged areas to prevent further collapse and injury, and coordinate task force resources and information.
- Search Team -- Experts who locate victims within collapsed structures using physical search techniques, probing cameras, sound and motion-sensing equipment, and specially trained dogs.
- Rescue Team -- Personnel who remove or secure debris, reach injured victims, and extract them from collapsed or confined areas using specialized tools and techniques.
- Medical Team -- Physicians and emergency medical technicians who provide initial life saving and stabilization treatment for injured victims and other task force members in confined areas.

If alerted to deploy, US&R task force members can be assembled and prepared for departure within 6 hours. Each task force operates around the clock in 12-hour shifts, and carries with it sufficient food, supplies, and equipment to be self-sustaining for up to 72 hours -- the so-called "golden hours" during which trapped victims stand the greatest chance of surviving their injuries and exposure.

In addition to task forces, the National US&R Response System includes two other types of response assets: an Incident Support Team that deploys to assist the task forces in logistics coordination and situation assessment, and US&R program staff, based at FEMA Headquarters, who provide program management services.

The 26 task forces which make up the National US&R Response System are based in the following areas:

- Phoenix, AZ
- Los Angeles, CA (2)
- Menlo Park, CA
- Oakland, CA
- Orange County, CA
- Riverside, CA
- Sacramento, CA
- San Diego, CA
- State of Colorado
- Dade County, FL
- Miami, FL
- Marion County, IN
- Montgomery County, MD
- Beverly, MA
- Lincoln, NE
- Clark County, NV
- State of New Mexico
- New York City, NY
- Jefferson County, OH
- Commonwealth of Pennsylvania
- Memphis/Shelby County, TN
- State of Utah
- Fairfax County, VA
- Virginia Beach, VA
- Puget Sound, WA

FEMA has deployed National US&R Response System task forces during a number of recent disasters, including Hurricane Andrew in Florida, 1992, and the Northridge Earthquake in California, 1994.

Urban Search and Rescue Efforts in Oklahoma City

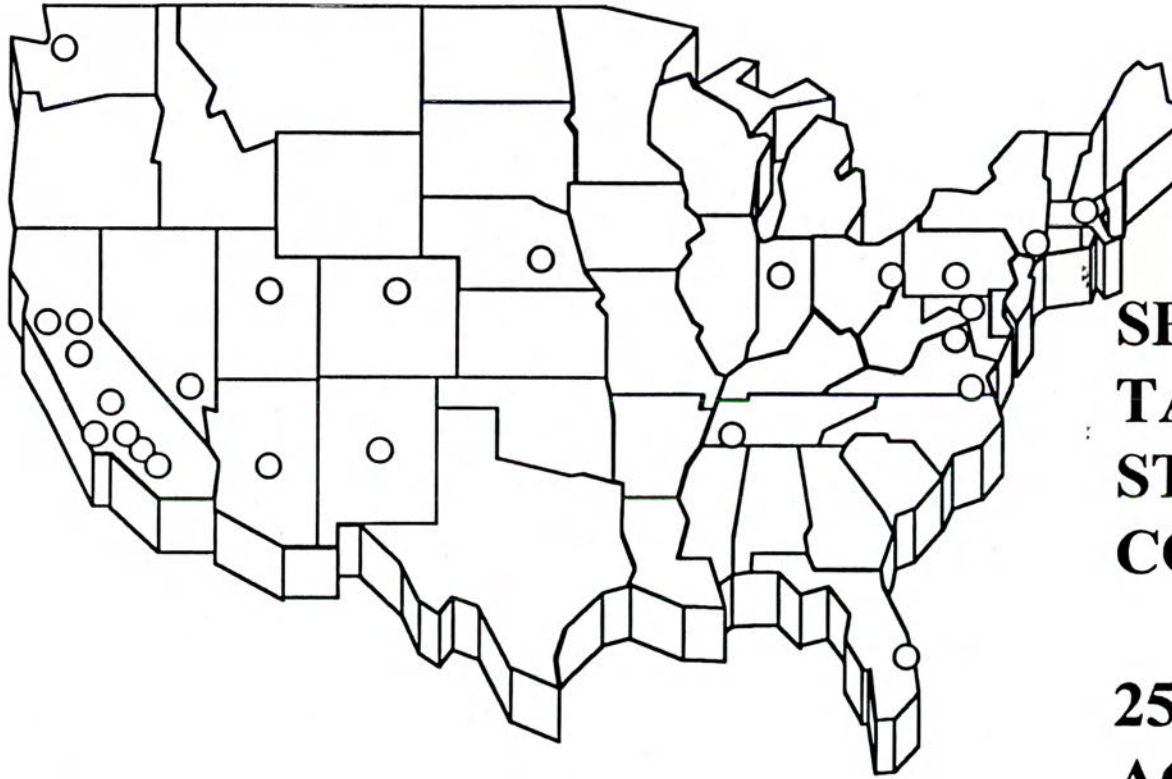
During the first hours following the Oklahoma City explosion on April 19, FEMA alerted and activated two National US&R task forces from Phoenix and Sacramento. These task forces deployed to support the search efforts of local firefighters and other emergency responders from Oklahoma City and surrounding communities.

The following day, four more US&R task forces (Virginia Beach, New York City, Montgomery County, MD, and Los Angeles County) were activated and deployed to Oklahoma City. An Incident Support Team was also deployed -- in total more than 300 personnel and canines -- are onscene.

As of April 21, US&R personnel completed searching all nine floors of the east and west ends of the Murrah Federal Building. Search operations are continuing in three areas of the building: the collapsed debris on the north exterior of the building; the east interior basement area; and the south interior basement area. Debris removal operations continue.

On April 21, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers augmented US&R efforts on-site by providing two additional structures specialists, two technical search specialists, and two four-person Systems to Locate Survivors (STOLS) Teams from Kansas City, MO and Albuquerque, NM.

URBAN SEARCH & RESCUE



**SPECIALIZED
TASK FORCES FOR
STRUCTURAL
COLLAPSE RESCUE**

**25 TASK FORCES
ACROSS U.S. ARE
LOCALLY
CO-SPONSORED**

US&R

Searching for victims

Six rescue teams were working around the clock to find survivors of Wednesday's car bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma City. The teams of 56 people each are using special search cameras and listening devices to help locate victims.

Case:
18 x 12
inches

Headphones

Battery pack

What they use

Search cameras

Two types: A large probe with a monitor to view large areas, and a snake-like probe to view smaller areas.
Features: Light optics allow viewing in darkness. Universal joints let worker angle, extend and retract probe.

Video monitor

Probe

Sound detector

Jackhammer

Listening devices

Acoustic and seismic sensors to hear breathing, taps, shifting debris.

Features: Equipped with microphone so rescuers can talk to victim.

Other rescue tools

- ▶ Drills and demolition hammers
- ▶ Circular and chain saws
- ▶ **Features:** Most are lightweight and electric or rechargeable to limit noise

How they search

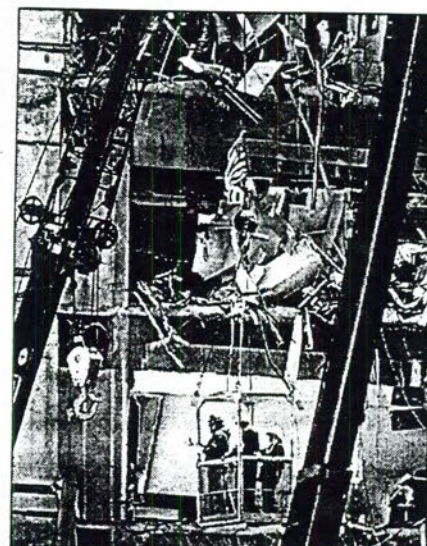
1. Structural engineers determine whether area is safe to search.
2. Technicians sift through debris or drill holes in concrete to insert cameras and listening devices.
3. German shepherds, bloodhounds, Labrador retrievers, other dogs sniff for human scents.
4. If victim is located, rescue teams use tools to bore through concrete and clear path to person.
5. Medical team determines how to remove, stabilize victim.



Removing survivors

- ▶ Once a victim is located, rescue teams carefully cut and lift out debris to keep pieces from falling onto victim or destroying evidence.
- ▶ When they reach a victim, medical teams try to give intravenous fluids to prevent 'crush syndrome' or 'smiling death' — when a victim may appear fine but can go into shock from being moved after lying in one position for so long.

Sources: Fairfax County (Va.) Fire and Rescue: Capt. Chuck Jarrell, master technician Michael Regan, technician Tim Swartz; Bob Wright, Locke Wright Associates
USA TODAY research by Linda Kanamine, Paul Hoversten, Robert Davis, Mike Chesnick and Gary Visgaitis



By Anne Ryan, USA TODAY

SURVIVOR SEARCH: Workers in a basket look for bombing survivors Thursday.

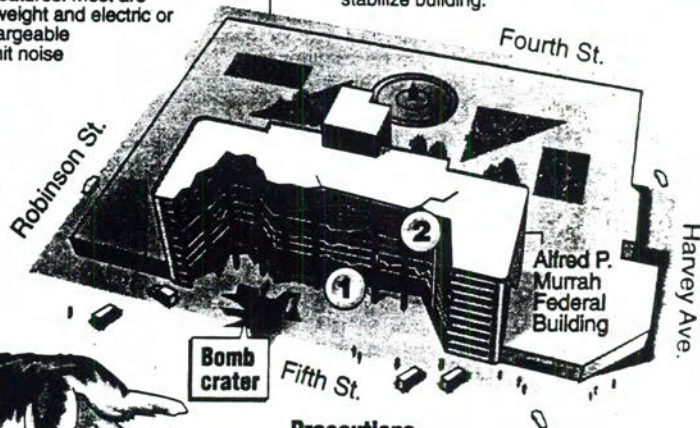
Where they're looking

Basement and ground level:

- 1 Search is concentrated on lower levels because of heavy amount of debris. Teams break up materials with hammers and form a human chain to move pieces outside. FBI checks for evidence.

Upper floors:

- 2 Supported by a crane, workers in a basket move up and down front of building looking for promising spots to search for survivors. They also are welding framework to stabilize building.



Precautions

Because debris acts as a support system for the building, workers must be careful when removing materials. One method: Placing pieces of wood under beams and ceilings with metal braces, similar to a car jack.

By Gary Visgaitis, Kevin Rechin, Bob Laird and Cliff Vancura, USA TODAY







Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

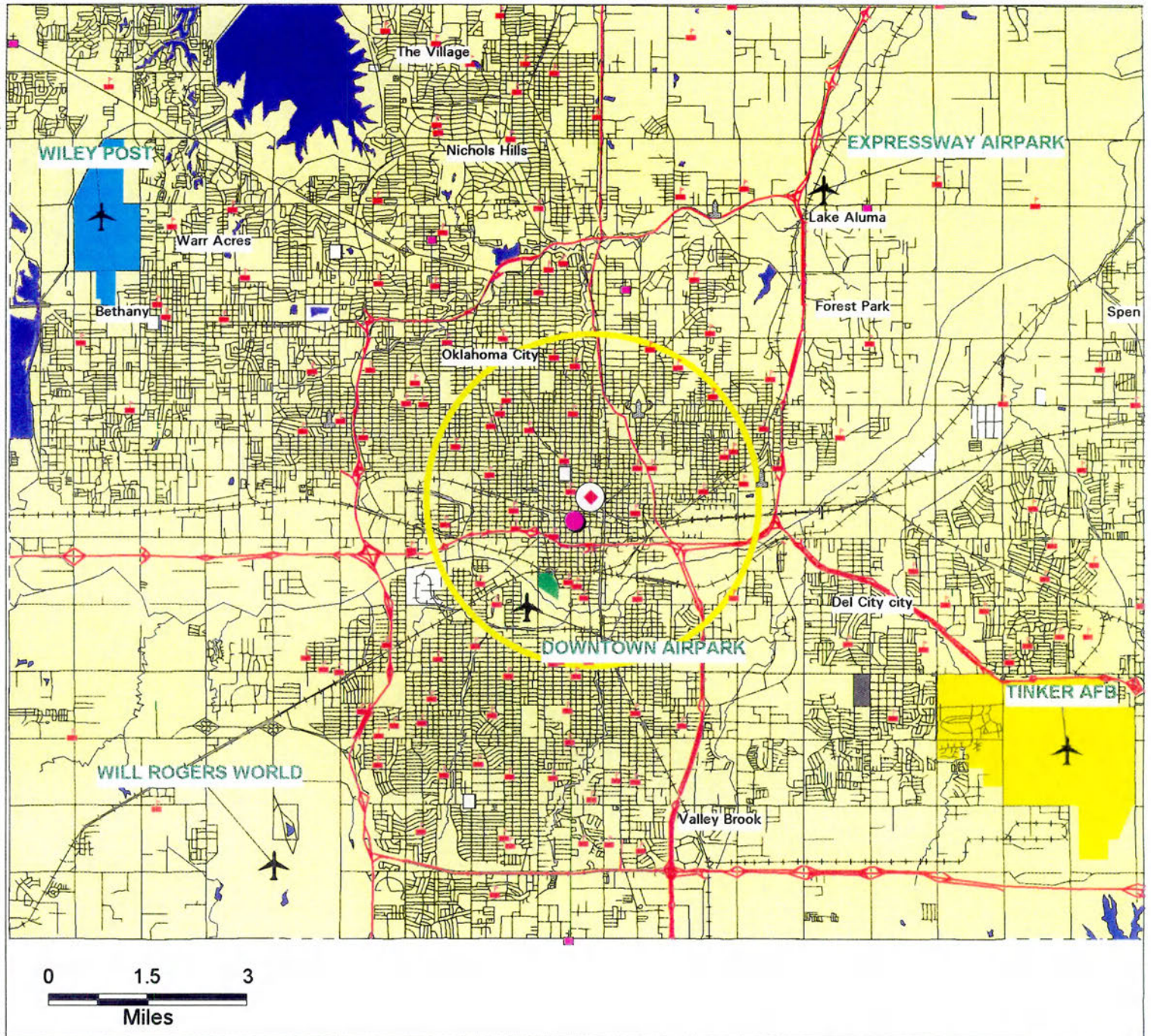
This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

GIS Maps

Divider Title: _____

Oklahoma City, OK

Alfred Murrah Federal Building Bombing

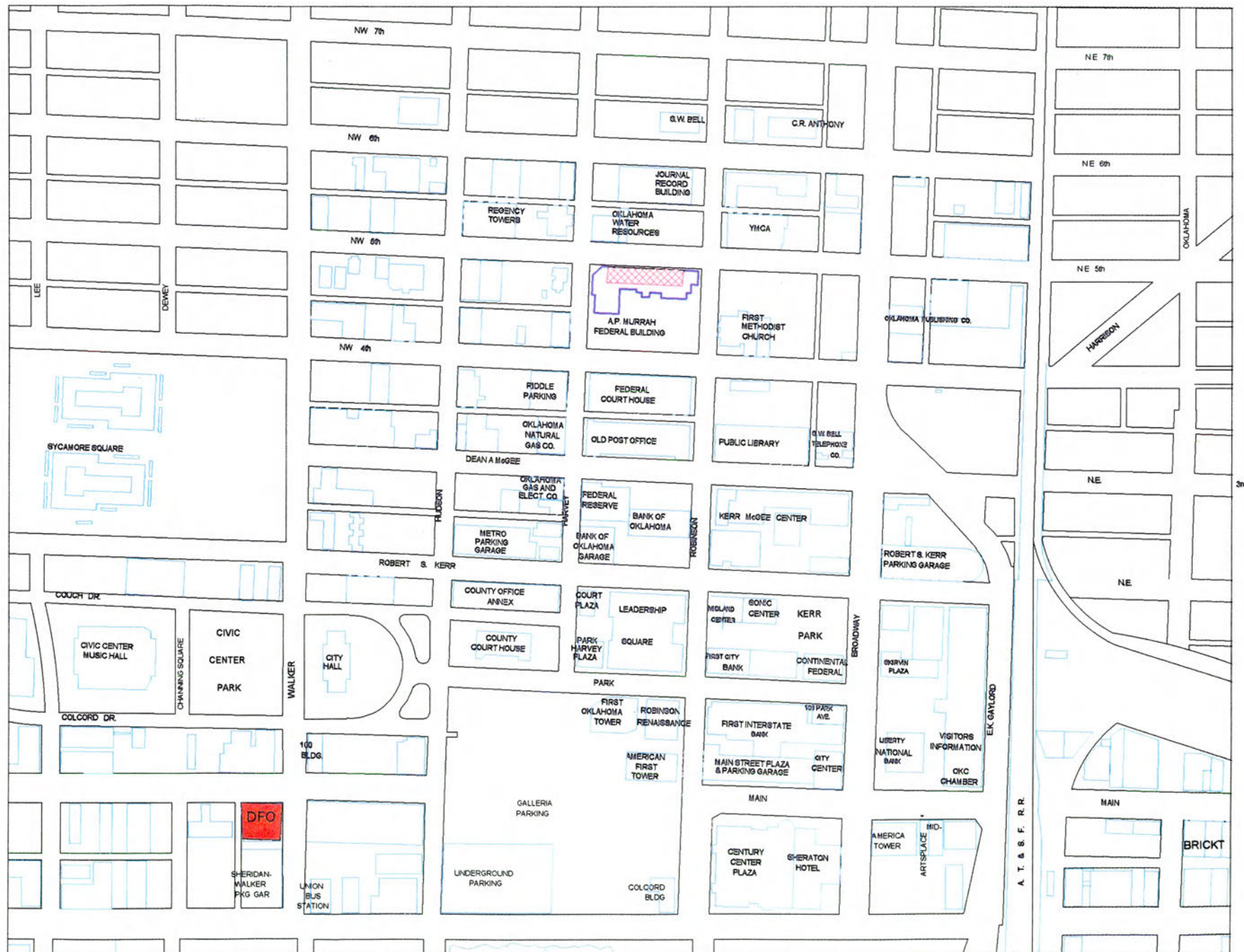


FEMA- GIS, Washington, DC
 1200 Hrs April 21, 1995
 dfo.wor



- DFO 420 W. MAIN ST
- ✈ Airport
- ✖ School
- ✖ Oilfield
- Hospital
- ✖ Church
- ✖ Building
- 5 Mile FAA imposed Flight Restriction Radius

Downtown Oklahoma City



Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Available Assistance

Divider Title: _____

Oklahoma City Federal Building Bombing

Federal Assistance Available Under Presidential Emergency Declaration FEMA-3115-EM

April 22, 1995

Assistance for the Oklahoma City Bombing is being provided under an emergency declaration made by the President under the authority of Section 501(b) of the Stafford Act. This permits the Federal Government to provide **emergency** assistance to save lives, protect property and public health and safety, and to lessen or avert the threat of further damage. This authority was created by the Congress to allow the President to provide immediate assistance for an "emergency involving Federal primary responsibility." The use of this authority is based on the fact that the explosion occurred at a Federally-owned facility.

Assistance provided under Section 501(b) differs from that provided under a major disaster declaration. A major disaster allows the broad spectrum of Federal assistance to be provided, not only for the response but also for the recovery period. During a Section 501(b) emergency declaration however, the Federal Government is limited to providing assistance for disaster response.

In the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah building in Oklahoma City, the President's declaration makes available emergency assistance, to include personnel and resources to support response activities such as:

- Urban Search and Rescue;
- demolition of the building and/or debris clearance;
- provision of needed equipment and supplies (for example, plastic sheeting, mortuary equipment, emergency medical supplies, etc.);
- mass care (feeding, shelter, mental health services, etc.);
- overtime costs for State and local governments to support the emergency response;
- telecommunications support to on-scene Federal departments and agencies involved in the response.

Under the Federal Response Plan, FEMA may provide mission assignments to other Federal departments and agencies and the American Red Cross to provide necessary **emergency** assistance. This does not include long-term recovery activities or assistance to individuals and businesses. Agencies with existing authorities, either for the response or recovery period, are not restricted in providing assistance under those authorities. However, reimbursement for the cost of such activities will not be made out of the President's Disaster Relief Fund.

Should a major disaster declaration be requested by the Governor and declared by the President, the scope of assistance available would change.

PURVEYORS OF HATE

CONTENTS

- 1) Document on purveyors
- 2) NRA Anti-ATF Advertisement
- 3) NRA/GOP letters re: militias and ATF
- 4) FAIR reports and press releases on hate radio

TALK RADIO

G. Gordon Liddy: How to Make a Bomb at Home and "Kill the sons of bitches"

- **"Kill the sons of bitches":** Liddy, who has expressed sympathy for right-wing militias, told his listeners how to kill federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents: "They've got a big target on there - ATF. Don't shoot at that because they've got a vest on underneath that. Head shots, head shots." Later in the program, Liddy said: "Kill the sons of bitches." [Minneapolis Star-Tribune, 2/24/95]

- **Liddy Tells Radio Audience to "Shoot Back":** On April 19, Liddy said that, although he is a longtime critic of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), he has never advocated violence against the federal agency. However, Liddy said he does believe people should "shoot back" if they are subject to an attack by the ATF.

"Anybody who has listened to me knows that I have not advocated at any time blowing up the ATF, the building they're in, or anything else like that. What I have said is that if you are subject to a lethal attack... by the ATF, have a prearranged cellular call for members of the militia who can come and protect you. And if they shoot, try to kill you, shoot back. Save your life. That's obvious."

Liddy also said that if any connection is established between the Branch Davidian anniversary and the Oklahoma City bombing it should "wake up Congress" to hold oversight hearings on the role of the ATF. Such hearings would "get to the bottom of Waco... and the war against the American people," he said, especially "if they're going to sit there and twiddle their thumbs when they should be holding hearings to get to the bottom of Waco... and the war against the American people." [Dallas Morning News, 4/20/95]

- **Liddy Supports "militias":** Liddy told the Dallas Morning News that callers to his show have expressed interest in forming local militias to help protect against attacks by federal agents.

"And what I said is that if you're going to make an arrangement like that, you should have a pre-authorized signal that you can use via a cellular telephone, so that if they cut your phone wires, you can be in touch with your friends in the militia. And if you're under assault by these people, the militia can come and surround them and force them to cease and desist." [Dallas Morning News, 4/20/95]

- **Liddy Tells Audience How to Make Bombs at Home:** Liddy also described for listeners how to construct a bomb - using ammonium nitrate, diesel fuel and dynamite.

"And that would do enormous work, the work would be either take out a wall of a quarry, or take out that building," he said. After the show, Mr. Liddy defended those remarks: "That is common knowledge. Have you ever heard of anything called The Anarchist Cookbook? I can tell you how to make an atomic bomb, too." [Dallas Morning News, 4/20/95]

- **North Carolina "Militia" Group Quotes Liddy's "Meet Force with Force":** North Carolina militia leader Albert Esposito has repeated Liddy's alleged statement about the new crime law's assault weapons ban: "[Liddy] said, 'If they pass it, don't obey it. And if they come after you, meet force with force.'"

According to the Anti-Defamation League, Esposito's Citizens for the Reinstatement of Constitutional Government is a mixture of anti-government, religious and conspiratorial ideas -- supporting the Bible and the Constitution, while resisting the New World Order and removing "treasonous politicians and corrupt judges". The group is encouraged to amass caches of the "Four B's": Bibles, bullets, beans and bandages. Many members own semiautomatic weapons, including AR-15s and AK-47s. [Anti-Defamation League report, "Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government"]

Chuck Baker: "Armed Revolution" Ideas Prompt Duran Attack on White House

- ***Chuck Baker speaks to "Patriot" movement:*** Chuck Baker is a Colorado Springs, CO radio talk show host. His show follows Rush Limbaugh for three hours on KVOR in Colorado Springs. As the Minneapolis Star-Tribune described it, "While Limbaugh speaks to the conservative movement, Baker speaks to the 'patriot' movement about forming guerrilla squadrons and taking out the 'slimeballs' in Congress. [Minneapolis Star-Tribune, 2/24/95]"
- ***Duran Allegedly Inspired by Baker:*** Francisco Martin Duran's defense forensic psychiatrist Neil Blumberg testified in court that Duran attacked the White House in part due to revolutionary ideas about the government Duran heard from radio talk show hosts Rush Limbaugh and Chuck Baker. [States News Service, 3/27/95]
- ***Baker Backs "Armed Revolution" Against U.S. Government:*** Last August, Linda Thompson of the "Unorganized Militia of the United States" came on Baker's show to advocate an armed march on Washington to remove the "traitors" in Congress: "We have 2 million U.S. troops, half of them are out of the country . . . All of the troops they could muster would be 500,000 people. They would be outnumbered 5 to 1 if only 1 percent of the country went up against them."

Baker, broadcasting from a gun shop, responded positively - telling his guest that soldiers "would come over to our side."

A week later, a caller urged the formation of organized militias and asked, "Who do we shoot? Other than Kennedy, Foley and Mitchell, the others are borderline traitors. They're the kingpins right now, besides the Slick One (Clinton)... You've got to get your ammo."

Baker's response was sympathetic: "Am I advocating the overthrow of this government?... I'm advocating the cleansing." Citing the power of the "masses in rebellion," he asked: "Why are we sitting here?"

Later that day, a caller accused Baker of advocating "armed rebellion." The talk host corrected her: "An armed revolution."

Inspired by Baker, Baker listener Duran and scores of other listeners called a local Congressional office in August to oppose an assault weapons ban. So many calls were irate or obscene that Duran's threat to "go to Washington and take someone out" went unnoticed.

Weeks later, in October, Duran fired nearly 30 bullets at the White House. [Minneapolis Star-Tribune, 2/24/95]

- ***Baker Takes Leave, Not Responsibility:*** After the Denver Post reported unsubstantiated

rumors that Duran was inspired by Baker's show, the radio host took a leave of absence this month.

Talking about his decision on the air, Baker was quoted by the Denver paper as saying: "So what if the jerk, the wacko, the creep that shot the White House said that? If this man thinks I or Rush Limbaugh are the reason he went out there, he needs psychiatric counseling in the first degree."

KVOR general manager Donn Seidholz said, "We have no proof whatsoever that Duran listened to the show." He acknowledged, however, that "we could have influence on people's behavior." "Do we take responsibility for it? No," Seidholz said. [The Sunday Gazette Mail, 11/27/94]

Bob Grant: MLK a "scumbag", welfare moms "maggots"

- **Minorities are a "bad thing":** "Minorities are the Big Apple's majority, you don't need the papers to tell you that, walk around and you know it.... To me, that's a bad thing. I'm a white person."
- **African-American rioters as "savages":** Calls blacks "mutants" and "savages", particularly calling black rioters "these screaming savages in the African Methodist A.M.E. church or running in the streets."

Note: Grant says his use of the term "savages" referred only to the people (of any race) who rioted in Los Angeles.

However, Grant regularly refers to African-Americans as "savages":

- On a black fraternity party: "You know, the savage mind, the primitive, primordial mentality will respond to authority.... But as far as that stretch of beach there at Belmar, it's being written of by, shall we say, civilized people."
- On a City College basketball game featuring rap stars as players: "The three thousand to five thousand savages who showed up for the rap star's basketball game on -- what was it December 28th?"
- **Called MLK a "phony" and "scumbag":** Has referred to Martin Luther King as "scumbag", "bum", "fake", "phony", and "a fraud". On another occasion, deploring President Bush's meeting with Coretta Scott King, Grant fumed that her late husband, Martin Luther King Jr., was "nothing" and that Coretta was "less than nothing." Said it would be "a great idea" to fly the Confederate flag on the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday.
- **Other racial issues:** During a monologue about racial issues, he says: "I guess our group has evolved too far. I guess that's the price we pay for being higher up on the evolutionary scale." Calls the policies of a New York black US Congressman "pygmy-like" Called former black Democratic mayor David Dinkins a "men's room attendant".
- **Called Patricia Ireland "that ugly dyke":** Called Patricia Ireland, president of the National Organization of Women, "that ugly dyke".
- **Mandatory sterilization for welfare mom "brood cows", "maggots":** Often promotes his "Bob Grant Mandatory Sterilization Plan" for welfare mothers, "My idea of mandatory sterilization would be much cheaper and much more effective for everyone, including those brood cows who keep bringing illegitimate children into the welfare system." Called single mothers on welfare "maggots".
- **Anti-nuclear protestor "should be executed":** In response to a caller's question, Grant said that an anti-nuke protestor who disrupted a speech by former President Reagan "should be

- **Mandatory sterilization for welfare mom "brood cows", "maggots":** Often promotes his "Bob Grant Mandatory Sterilization Plan" for welfare mothers, "My idea of mandatory sterilization would be much cheaper and much more effective for everyone, including those brood cows who keep bringing illegitimate children into the welfare system." Called single mothers on welfare "maggots".
- **Anti-nuclear protestor "should be executed":** In response to a caller's question, Grant said that an anti-nuke protestor who disrupted a speech by former President Reagan "should be executed."
- **Called Haitians "subhuman scum":** Called Haitian boat people "subhuman scum".
- **Italian-American "sfaccimm" low-life:** Americans of Italian descent he doesn't care for, such as Mario Cuomo, represent "the sfaccimm" - an Italian term for low life.
- **Called Democrats "sleazebags":** Democratic politicians generally are "worms", "weasels", or "sleazebags".
- **Calls gays and lesbians "perverts" who deserve "total retribution":**
 - "It is a perversion..." And, to a gay caller: "Go to your mirror, look at yourself in the mirror and repeat after me, 'I am a perverted misfit.'"
 - On a gay pride march: "Ideally, it would be nice to have a few phalanxes of policemen with machine guns and mow them down."
 - Caller told Grant that the 20th chapter of Leviticus says "you must kill the homosexual". Grant responded, "Well, of course it goes beyond that, it goes to total retribution. That is why those cities were destroyed." [The Houston Chronicle, 10/29/94; Inside Media, 4/29/92; The Independent, 10/31/94; FAIR press release, 10/25/95]

Rush Limbaugh: Second Violent Revolution Is Coming

- **Second Violent Revolution:** Two months ago, Limbaugh (while talking about property rights and "environmental wackos" said that the "second violent American revolution is just about - I got my fingers about a quarter of an inch apart -- is just about that far away. Because these people are sick and tired of a bunch of bureaucrats in Washington driving into town and telling them what they can and can't do with their land." [Washington Post, 4/25/95]

Jay Diamond:

- **Genetic inferiority of African-Americans:**
 - "You know there is some kind of genetic flaw in certain females that when I want to get in one word, when I just want to talk, there are certain types of females who when I want to talk to them, to answer them, they begin to become hysterical. And this is because 300 years ago if they opened their mouths they were shut up. Some ancient ancestor of Tricia wasn't allowed to speak so she feels she has to compensate for that ancestor.... Particularly at all costs when she's speaking to a man on a vastly higher intellectual plane than she is.... [Imitating a black woman:] 'I'm going to shout and scream... so Jay doesn't get to show the world what a real leech I am!'"

- Responding to a caller comparing President Clinton's morality to the morality of black suspects in a rape case: "Well, whatever Bill Clinton is, I haven't heard of any time when he went out with five others and inflicted anal sodomy on an innocent woman.... It's not programmed into him the way it is programmed by nature into the feral children to carry out that mission... You are dealing with a different species of individual here than a conventional human being."

- ***Encouraging Violence:***

- "I would like to see the surface of Iraq, I would like to see a terrain map of Iraq look like a smooth piece of glass. I would like to see Iraq nuked. I could care less for any of the innocent civilians there."
- Told that attorney William Kunstler said the wrong person was arrested in the World Trade Center case: "That's all right. We'll kill him and then we'll find the right guy."
- To a police officer/caller: "If you happen to catch those two guys who put the bullet into Bonnie Bear? It would be a real tragedy if those guys happened to commit suicide in custody." and also on another case, "Gee, it would be terrible if they were all found dead from suicide in prison.... You could put me in jail and I could witness that suicide. I would faithfully report it as suicide." [FAIR press release, 10/25/94]

Curtis Sliwa: Hit the black guy in the kneecap

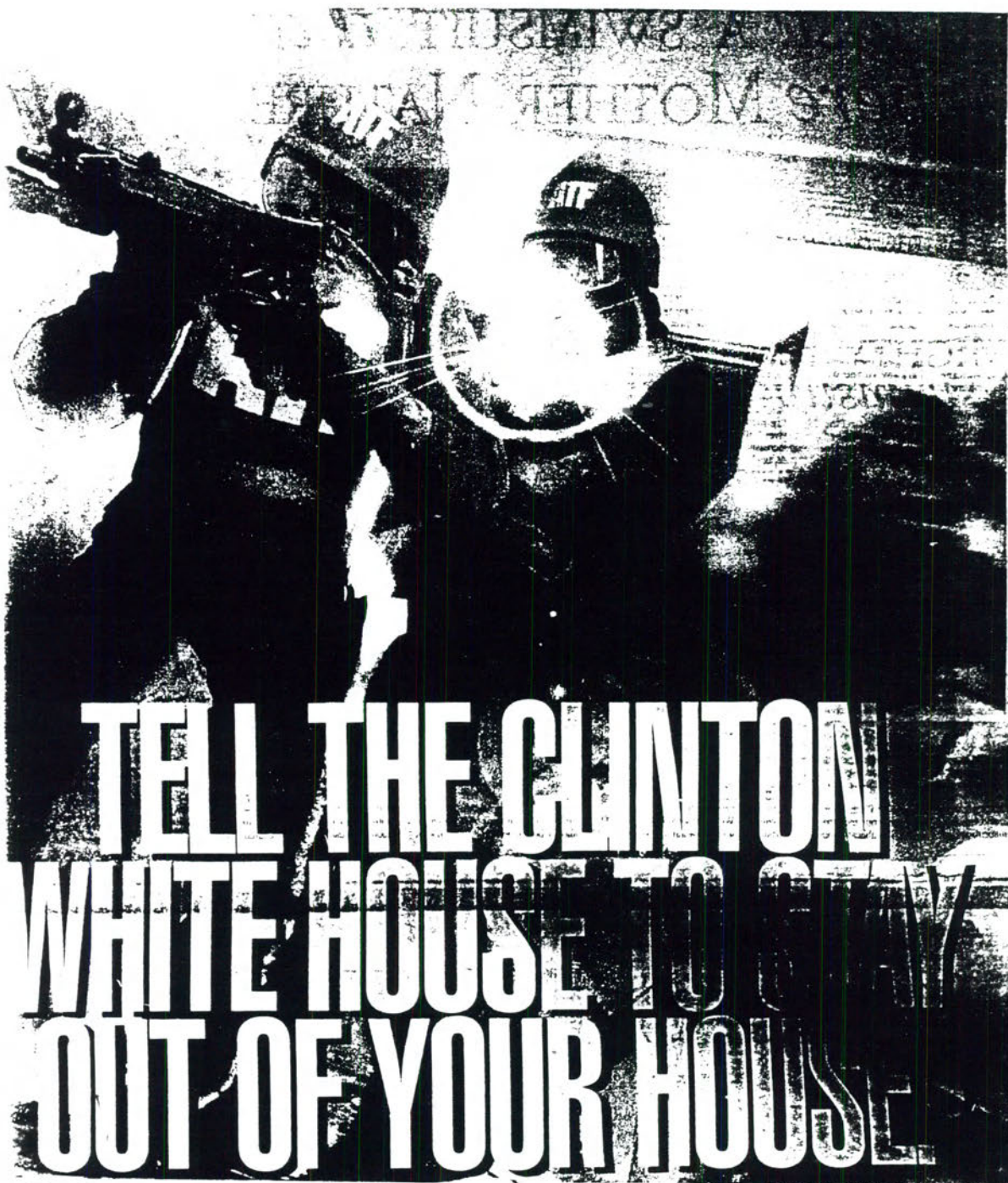
- Red Beret leader Curtis Sliwa had a talk show in New York. He once told a caller, "Just as a matter of reference. When blacks would chase us with the bats, they knew, hit the white boys in the face because they're gonna immediately, emotionally break up if they bleed, if they get a nosebleed. Meantime, we knew, don't hit the black guy in the head. He's strong. Hit him in the kneecap. So you see out there. If you're ever wielding a bat, I've just given you some ethnic and racial advice as to how to take your opponent down." [FAIR, 10/25/94]

Talk Radio Encouraging Violence Against Sarah Brady, Liberals and Immigrants:

- ***Sarah Brady should be "put down" like an animal:*** In Phoenix, KFYI "hot talk" host Bob Mohan declared that gun control advocate Sarah Brady "ought to be put down. A humane shot at a veterinarian's would be an easy way to do it."
- ***"Lynch a few liberals":*** In liberal San Francisco, KSFO - owned by ABC/Capital Cities - recently abandoned its diverse lineup of talk hosts and switched to "hot talk." It's all right, all the time. Now San Franciscans can hear hosts who speak of "lynching a few liberals" and encourage listeners to "shoot illegal immigrants who come across the border" for reward money. [Minneapolis Star-Tribune, 2/24/95]

Dave Dawson: Israel is a "terrorist government"

- ***Israel is a "terrorist government":*** Dave Dawson had a highly controversial five-year stint at San Diego's KSDO before departing for Kansas City in 1986. Since then, he's worked at New York talk giant WABC/AM, to which he commuted from his Missouri farm. In recent years, he has twice come out of retirement from radio. Late last year, he retired again, but KOGO persuaded him to unretire a third time, no doubt hoping Dawson will renew his provocative agenda, including his claim that Israel is a "terrorist government." Such remarks raised quite a ruckus here in the early '80s. [San Diego Union-Tribune, 5/3/94]



THE BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS HAS NOT ONLY LOST PUBLIC TRUST, BUT DESERVES PUBLIC CONTEMPT.

From news media and our 3.5 million members have come reports of ATF abuse that range from intimidation and harassment to confiscation or destruction of property, entrapment, fabrication of criminal charges, even deadly assault.

This threat to civil liberties is compounded by the President's proven willingness to condone warrantless search and seizure, and by the Attorney General's proven willingness to use lethal

force against innocents. Worse yet, there's good reason to fear that broad new powers under the Clinton Crime Bill

could lead ATF to intensify its reign of storm-trooper tactics.

The ATF's tyrannical record of misconduct and abuse of power under the Clinton Administration reveals a contempt for civil rights, especially firearm ownership, that should alarm every American.

No freedom-loving person can condone a bureaucracy whose mission is to make gun ownership by

definition a suspicious act and gun owners by class suspected criminals.

We call upon the Clinton Administration to **1: regain control of the ATF, 2: expose and prosecute those guilty of civil rights abuses, and 3: institute strict policies that honor the Bill of Rights.**

If the Clinton Administration does not rein in this rogue agency, then Congress should step in and abolish it altogether.

Only the loud voice of honest citizens separates a free state from a police state.



A PROTEST IN THE SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM FROM THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

Washington Post 3/1/95

UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 7, 1995

Honorable Janet Reno
U.S. Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Attorney General Reno:

We would appreciate your help in verifying and clarifying some reports we have heard recently concerning military training of federal law enforcement personnel.

Is such training being given to federal law enforcement agencies? In particular, have there been such training activities by Joint Task Force Six, headquartered at Fort Bliss, Texas?

If the answer to either question is yes, we would like a detailed description of these training activities, including: who authorized the training, how participants were chosen, who they were, why the training was given, what skills or information were covered and what authority supports the legality of such training.

You are doubtless aware of the concerns being raised in many quarters about what is perceived as the growing militarization of our domestic law enforcement agencies. Your assistance in providing this information would help to respond to these concerns both inside and outside Congress.

Thank you for your earliest possible attention to this request.

Sincerely,

Larry E. Craig
United States Senator

Lauch Faircloth
United States Senator

--
This information is presented as a service to the Internet community by the NRA/ILA. Many files are available via anonymous ftp from [ftp.nra.org](ftp://ftp.nra.org), via WWW at <http://www.nra.org>, via gopher at [gopher.nra.org](gopher://gopher.nra.org), and via WAIS at wais.nra.org

Be sure to subscribe to the NRA mailing lists. Send the word help as the body of a message to listproc@NRA.org

Information can also be obtained by connecting to the NRA-ILA GUN-TALK BBS at (703) 934-2121.

March 23, 1995

As early as January of this year, NRA-ILA became aware of rumors of pending raids by the federal government on citizen militia units. The rumors, circulated through various computer networks, indicated that raids were to take place March 25, 1995.

NRA-ILA began gathering all available information on the rumored raids and initiated several quiet attempts to either confirm or disprove the rumors. These attempts included correspondence with key U.S. Senators and Representatives asking for their assistance in investigating the rumors and a direct request to BATF on February 23, 1995.

In short, both the NRA and elected representatives gave federal agencies ample time to squelch rumor or confirm that valid law enforcement actions against criminal activity precluded further comment. To date, there has been no response from either the Justice Department or the Treasury Department (BATF) to repeated inquiries.

NRA is at the vanguard of national citizen organizations calling for swift enforcement of laws against criminal activity. NRA is also active in calling for a thorough review of the use of excessive force on the part of certain federal agencies.

The NRA has not been involved in the formation of any citizen militia units, and NRA neither encourages nor discourages participation in citizen militia organizations. The Second Amendment guarantees an individual's right to arms; participation in a citizen militia organization does not make that right more valid nor any stronger.

Following please find a letter from Congressman Steve Stockman to U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno requesting an immediate response on this issue. Also attached is the February 23 letter from Tom Wyld, Director, NRA-ILA Public Relations & Communications, to the Chief of Public Affairs for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

=====

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

March 22, 1995

United States Attorney General
The Honorable Janet Reno
10th Street and Constitution Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Attorney General Reno:

It has come to my attention through a number of reliable sources that an impending raid, by several Federal agencies, against the "citizen's militias" groups, is scheduled for March 25 or 26 at 4:00 A.M. A paramilitary style attack against Americans who pose no risk to others, even if violations of criminal law might be imputed to them, would run the risk of an irreparable breach between the Federal government and the public, especially if it turned out to be an ill considered, poorly planned, but bloody fiasco like Waco.

While information is scarce, it is known that Joint Task Force Six, with headquarters at Fort Bliss, Texas, is co-ordinating the military training, including the use of tanks and other armored vehicles, for certain Federal Law Enforcement agencies in possible violation of the Posse Comitatus Law, 18 U.S.C. 1385. Any possible impending military action against American citizens might be forestalled by, among other things, simply asking for a complete explanation of all training activities of JTF-6 for the last three years, including the individuals, agencies, who authorized the training, what military equipment was used, what apparent purpose was served by the training, and copies of all legal opinions as to the legality of such training.

I will be eagerly awaiting your response to these questions,

Sincerely,

Steve Stockman
Member of Congress

SS:dn

=====

DELIVER ASAP VIA COURIER

February 23, 1995

Ms. Susan McCarron
Chief of Public Affairs
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms
Room 8290
650 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20226
(202-927-8500)

Dear Ms. McCarron:

I appreciated the good lines of communication we established during the media hysterics concerning "Black Rhino," and I was hoping that I could rely on those same lines of communication again.

The "INTERNET" and other forms of electronic communication are rife with rumors about cancellation of leave of agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, special training and/or planning relating to some sort of coordinated action against so-called citizen militia groups. The dates one hears for this alleged action range from "late March" to specific dates of March 24 through March 27. Most recently, an NRA member called to alert us that a talk show host on KTSA, a popular radio station in San Antonio, yesterday predicted that a raid or raids would occur March 24th.

I would appreciate any information you can provide in commenting on these rumors. Hopefully, what we have here is another "Black Rhino" -- another fiction. It may also be advisable to offer comment to KTSA directly.

We would appreciate a letter in response, so that we can make this available to inquirers here. You may send the reply to me via fax at 703-267-3973.

Welcoming your earliest reply, I remain,

Sincerely,

Thomas C. Wyld
Director, PR & Communications

AM ARMIES

TALKSHOW HOSTS LIKE CHUCK BAKER HAVE URGED LISTENERS TO STOCKPILE WEAPONS, JOIN PRIVATE MILITIAS AND MARCH ON WASHINGTON. ONE OF BAKER'S LISTENERS WAS ARRESTED FOR TRYING TO KILL THE PRESIDENT.

BY LESLIE JORGENSEN

Tired of easy listening? If you're in Colorado Springs, you can tune into **KVOR**, where talkshow host Chuck Baker mimics the sound of a firing pin—"kching-kching"—as he raves against the government and talks to listeners about shooting members of Congress and forming guerrilla cells.

Baker's three-hour talk show piggy-backs Rush Limbaugh, forming a solid bloc of conservative talk five days a week. But Baker's show took a radical turn to the right last summer, when he found that more callers were associated with the "patriot" movement than the Republican Party.

"Patriot" is a generic term for an anti-government movement that unites divergent groups across the country in a war against the "New World Order," seen as a conspiracy to create a single global government rooted in socialism. The movement ranges from Christian Coalition members, who are fed up with public education and legalized abortion, to AK-47-shooting militia members who believe that Clinton and liberals are disarming Americans to leave them defenseless against "Big Brother." (See **Denver Post**, 1/22/95.)

Suddenly, Baker began discussing the need for an armed revolution to take out the "slime balls" in Congress and bureaucrats "who are too stupid to get a job." The topics Baker addresses are the "patriot" movement's obsessions: the raid on the Branch Davidian Compound in Texas; the FBI's assault on Idaho tax-resister Randy Weaver; a secret national police force under Janet Reno's command; spying black helicopters, microchips planted in babies, fingerprinted drivers' licenses.

Baker's guests read like a who's who of the armed right, including Linda Thompson, "adjutant general" of the Unorganized Militia of the United States; Arizona's Graham County Sheriff Richard Mack, waging a legal battle against

the Brady Bill; Larry Pratt, head of Gun Owners of America; Colorado legislator Charlie Duke, a self-proclaimed part-time revolutionary; and Rev. Pete Peters, who believes God wants gays condemned to death and warns against mixing with Jews and minority races.

Government "Cleansing"

Gloating over Sheriff Mack's lawsuit against the Brady Bill, and already counting on victory, Baker said, "We're not going to rest on that, and be assured that creeps like Metzenbaum and Kennedy are going to think that we're sitting back thinking, 'Well the Brady law has been defeated or declared unconstitutional.' You know how these slime balls

operate. The only way you're ever going to get rid of Metzenbaum is when you're finally at a point that you can stand over there, put the dirt on top of the box and say, 'I'm pretty sure he's in there.'"

Baker discussed with callers the pros and cons of forming six- to eight-man militia cells for urban and rural guerrilla warfare; the host provided the phone number of the 500-member Save America Militia (now the El Paso County Militia). Since June, at least five militias have formed in Colorado Springs, along with the statewide Colorado Free Militia.

On Baker's show (8/29/94), Linda Thompson promoted her (later aborted) armed march on Washington to remove "traitors" from Congress: "We have 2 million U.S. troops, half of them are out of the country. Of the remaining half, half of them are not combat-trained. The best they could come up with all of the troops they could muster would be 500,000 people. They would be outnumbered five to one, if only 1 percent of the country went up against them."

"Linda, I've been told by every military person I've talked to that they would not stand there and take the side of government," Baker responded, broadcasting from the Monument Gun Shop. "They would come over to our side."

After the passage of the omnibus crime bill, callers on Baker's show raged against the restrictions on semiautomatic rifles. "The problem we have right now is who do we shoot," a caller named Jacques said (9/6/94). "Other than Kennedy, Foley and Mitchell, the others are borderline traitors. They're the kingpins right now, besides the Slick One

[Clinton].... We're going to have to make plans.... You've got to get your ammo.... We cannot do it as individuals, we have got to do it as an orchestrated militia."

Baker seemed sympathetic to this proposal: "Am I advocating the overthrow of this government?... I'm advocating the cleansing," he declared. "If you combined everybody in the United States of America that you would even estimate to be on the other side, you would only have a drop in the bucket compared to the masses in rebellion." Baker said. "Why are we sitting here?"

A caller named Eva warned Baker (9/6/94) that he "was coming perilously close to advocating the violent overthrow of the United States government." Baker replied, "It's provided for in the Constitution.... It's well within my right under free speech."

"You can do many things under the First Amendment, but you can't shout fire in a crowded theater," Eva countered. "I think making the gun sound you could incite someone a little less stable to take that route. I think you need to think a little bit more about the responsibility.... I think to many people [the sound of a firing pin] would signify that what you are advocating is violence to change what you perceive is wrong, it is armed rebellion." "An armed revolution," Baker corrected.

A Fan's Shooting Spree

One listener who didn't just sit there was Francisco Martin Duran. On Oct. 29, 1994, the self-professed fan of Baker and Limbaugh fired nearly 30 bullets at the White House. The pickup truck he drove to Washington bore a bumper sticker with the Bakeresque message, "Fire Butch Reno."

Duran, who was active in militia activities in Colorado Springs, had nearly two months earlier threatened to go "to Washington to take someone out" in a call to Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell's office in Colorado Springs.

But Duran's warning went unnoticed—mainly because he was far from alone. "Numerous calls? I would call it an avalanche," said Carol Knight, Campbell's press secretary. "Each call was more obscene, threatening and mean than the one before." Apparently, Chuck Baker's show (8/23/94) had urged listeners to vent their displeasure at the passage of the crime bill—and Duran was one of hundreds who responded (*Denver Post*, 11/17/94).

When Baker heard about Duran's shooting spree, he cut short a board meeting of the National Association of Radio Talk Show Hosts (NARTSH) in St. Louis. (Baker has sat on the association's 25-member national board and is now on the six-member international board.) He said his wife told him she'd been flooded with calls from the major television networks and news media. Baker recalled, "She said, 'They're blaming you.'"

After two weeks of news stories on the possible influence of Baker and Limbaugh on Duran, Baker dropped out for a while. He signed off abruptly (11/15/94): "Let me sum this all up for you quickly. I'm leaving. Gonna go away for a while and I'm sure that will make some of you left-wing liberals very, very happy. Three hours a day, five days a week can be trying.... So what if the jerk, the wacko, the creep, this piece of crap that shot the White House said that. If he thinks I and Rush Limbaugh are the reasons he went there, then the man needs psychiatric counseling to the first degree."

In December, Baker returned ahead of schedule, to the relief of his fans. The station management said they had a new policy: Apparently their host would show more restraint and curb the name-calling. Baker confesses it's a bad habit he plans to break. Now, he gives militia phone numbers and contacts off the air.

Like all good resolutions, Baker's was put to the test. On Jan. 19, a caller complained that Baker had referred to two black state representatives as "the focus of evil." "You also referred to Pat Schroeder as 'Patsy Schroeder, a slime-sucking liberal feminazi,'" the caller said.

"No, no, never have," protested Baker. "I referred to Patsy as the Congress-thing, the womanoid."

Hate on the Air

Baker said if people don't like his show, "you reach down there to that little knob and turn it off, and then you become responsible for your own personal behavior."

"Listeners have a responsibility for their own lives," Baker told *EXTRA!*. "It's a cop-out to blame people on the radio or on the television or in the newspaper for something that you may do. Don't say that I did it because...Chuck Baker, Rush Limbaugh or Dan Rather told me to do it."

Carol Nashe, co-founder and executive director of NARTSH, was asked if Baker had stepped over any lines by discussing the murder of members of Congress. "You're trying to put a muzzle on free speech," she responded. "That's exactly what we do not want. Everyone has a right to their opinion. Chuck Baker is a good host and knows how to talk to people and calm them down."

Nashe said she's unaware of any segment of the population espousing anger and hatred, forming militias and talking about revolution. Evidently, she hasn't tuned into Baker's show—or to other similar programs, like Bob Mohan's on *KFYI* in Phoenix.

Mohan hurled insults at Sarah Brady, who lobbied for the Brady Bill on behalf of her husband Jim Brady, permanently disabled during an assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan. "You know, she ought to be put down," Mohan said. "A humane shot at a veterinarian's would be an easy way to do it.... I wish she would just keep wheeling her husband around...wiping the saliva off his mouth once in a while—and leave the rest of us damn well alone."

On the *USA Patriot Network*, broadcast on two Colorado AM radio stations, host Norm Resnick read excerpts from a religious right newsletter touting a new book about Hillary Clinton, *Big Sister Is Watching You*. "New book unmasks Hillary's Hellcats," Resnick proclaimed, naming Janet Reno (the "duchess of doom"), Jocelyn Elders ("condom queen extraordinaire"), Maya Angelou ("a former stripper, prostitute and madam"), Donna Shalala ("high priestess of hate"), Roberta Achtenberg (a "lesbo crazy") and Ruth Bader

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS & MEMBERS: FAIRwell understands how hard it is for public interest groups with limited resources to get their message out. Occasionally we share our subscriber list with groups or publications we feel might be of interest to you. If you prefer that your name and address remain confidential, just let us know. Call us toll-free at 800-847-3993.

Ginsberg ("child molesters' best friend").

Watergate felon and talk radio host G. Gordon Liddy has expressed sympathy for the militias. An FCC complaint filed against Liddy charged that he had instructed listeners (8/26/94) in how to kill Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) agents: "They've got a big target on there, ATF. Don't shoot at that because they've got a vest on underneath that. Head shots, head shots.... Kill the sons of bitches." (*Indianapolis News*, 9/2/94)

As for Rush Limbaugh, he has been characterized as too liberal by the growing "patriot" movement. In December, Denver KNUS talkshow host Peter Boyles featured John Schlosser, commander of the Colorado Free Militia and a former news director of the **USA Patriot Network**. Agreeing with a caller who deemed Limbaugh "a Judas goat," Schlosser said Limbaugh is an entertainer, too commercial, and too cozy with the Washington establishment and corporate sponsors.

Who would have ever thought Limbaugh would be tossed into the den with liberal mainstream media? A favorite target of the right, the media are accused of perpetuating the New World Order, unfair reporting and skewing the truth. Because journalists can't be trusted, the patriot movement is turning to conservative radio talkshows on AM and short-wave stations for the "facts."

Groups like Citizens Project in Colorado Springs, which monitors Baker's show, have considered filing a complaint against Baker and **KVOR** with the FCC. But the First Amendment offers broad protection for speech: the FCC cannot take action unless it can be proven that "speech is directed toward inciting imminent lawless action, and is likely to produce such action." (letter from FCC to Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith)

According to NARTSH's Nashe, there are no professional guidelines stricter than whatever the law allows. "FCC has guidelines regarding swearing or saying things inappropriate on the air. Our association does not set guidelines because we are proponents of the First Amendment," said Nashe. "I don't think they're talking about the overthrow of the government. I think they're having fun!" □

Leslie Jorgensen is a contributing editor for the Colorado Statesman newspaper.

THEY WATCH THE RIGHT:

A FEW OF THE MANY ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS WITH INFORMATION ON THE RIGHT WING.

AMERICANS UNITED FOR THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Monitors religious right media; publishes the magazine Church & State
1816 Jefferson Pl. NW
Washington, DC 20036
202-466-3234
Fax: 202-466-2587

FRONTLINES RESEARCH

Affiliated with Planned Parenthood, this newsletter documents connections between anti-abortion extremists and other far-right movements.
c/o PPFA
810 7th Ave.
New York, NY 10019
212-261-4721

CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

A national clearinghouse on information on hate groups and hate crimes.
P.O. Box 50469
Atlanta, GA 30302
404-221-0025
Fax: 404-221-0045

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

Supports grassroots organization against the right.
P.O. 26656
Los Angeles, CA 90026
213-243-7598
Fax: 213-653-1737

CITIZENS PROJECT

A grassroots organization opposing the religious right's mobilization in Colorado Springs.
P.O. Box 2085
Colorado Springs, CO 80901
719-520-9899
Fax: 719-520-0118

NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE

Sponsors a "Fight the Right" project opposing anti-gay initiatives.
2320 17th St. NW
Washington, DC 20009
202-332-6483
Fax: 202-332-0207

FLUSH RUSH

A newsletter devoted to monitoring—and mocking—Rush Limbaugh.
P.O. Box 270525
San Diego, CA 92198

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

Monitors and opposes efforts to suppress free expression.
2000 M St. NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036
202-467-4999
Fax: 202-293-2672

INSTITUTE FOR FIRST AMENDMENT STUDIES

Publishes Freedom Writer, an outstanding newsletter covering the religious right.
P.O. Box 589
Great Barrington, MA 01230
413-528-3800
Fax: 413-528-4466

POLITICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

A leading clearinghouse for information on the far right.
678 Massachusetts Ave. # 205
Cambridge, MA 02139
617-661-9313
Fax: 617-661-0059

50,000 WATTS OF HATE:

BIGOTRY IS
BROADCAST ON
ABC RADIO'S
FLAGSHIP

BY JIM NAURECKAS

Would it surprise you that the most listened-to talkradio station in the country, owned by one of the most important media companies, has as its highest rated host a man who sounds like a recruiter for the Ku Klux Klan?

The station is New York City's **WABC**, flagship of the **ABC** Radio Network, and the host is Bob Grant. Grant is an important player in regional politics; conservative politicians like U.S. Sen. Al D'Amato, New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and New York Governor-elect George Pataki have called in to Grant's show to thank him for his support, often saying that it made a crucial difference in their elections.

Grant's embrace of a candidate became an issue in New Jersey's U.S. Senate race, with Democratic incumbent Frank Lautenberg running ads criticizing Republican challenger Chuck Haytaian for accepting the support of a racist. While Governor Whitman briefly distanced herself from Grant, other political allies rallied around him, denying that the talkshow host was bigoted.

But Grant's racism is not particularly hard to decode. "Minorities are the Big Apple's majority, you don't need the pa-

pers to tell you that, walk around and you know it," he has declared (quoted in *Newsday*, 6/2/92). "To me, that's a bad thing. I'm a white person." Grant repeatedly expresses his belief in the scientific form of racism called eugenics, and frequently promotes the "Bob Grant Mandatory Sterilization Program."

One of Grant's favorite words for African-Americans is "savages": The U.S., he said (1/6/92), has "millions of sub-humanoids, savages, who really would feel more at home careening along the sands of the Kalahari or the dry deserts of eastern Kenya—people who, for whatever reason, have not become civilized." He declared (10/15/93) that "if they didn't observe Martin King Day, there would be trouble from the savages."

Apologists for Grant say that he only uses "savages" to refer to rioters and criminals (as if applying racial stereotypes to criminals were not racist). But it isn't true: Grant has referred to black churchgoers as "screaming savages" (4/30/93); he's

would have been nice to have a few phalanxes of policemen with machine guns and mow them down."

Grant's expression of hatred for various groups is protected by the First Amendment. (**ABC**, of course, also has the right to decide it does not want to broadcast hate speech.) Sometimes, however, Grant approaches the line separating free speech from advocacy of violence.

Once a listener, obviously distraught, called Grant's show looking for advice (3/18/94): "What could I do as a citizen of this country, which I believe in and have seen fall apart as I've been growing up?"

"Well, get a gun and go do something then, OK?" was Grant's response.

Jay Diamond, a protege of Grant who also has a show on **WABC**, has repeatedly talked to police officers on the air, urging them to arrange for criminal suspects to "commit suicide in police custody." "You know, guys get depressed in prison sometimes and they sometimes put a bullet in the back of their own head," he told one of-

GRANT'S RACISM IS NOT PARTICULARLY HARD TO DECODE. ONE OF GRANT'S FAVORITE WORDS FOR AFRICAN-AMERICANS IS "SAVAGES."

said (7/15/93) that black fraternity members represent "the savage mind, the primitive, primordial mentality." After overcrowding at a charity event led to deaths, Grant referred to the crowd (1/6/92) as "the 3,000 to 5,000 savages who showed up for the rap stars' basketball game."

He denounced a federal judge for being "one of them" (6/9/93): "You know Sterling Johnson has been made a federal judge only because he had that marvelous commodity called melanin." Grant says he's been praying for the death of Magic Johnson (10/1/92): "Why is it taking so long for the HIV to go into full-blown AIDS?"

Haitian refugees are "swine" and "sub-human infiltrators" who multiply "like maggots on a hot day" (3/20/92). AIDS in Haiti, according to Grant (6/28/94), is "not prevalent enough; there's too many of them."

African-Americans are not the only target of Grant's bile: He remarked after a gay pride parade (6/29/94), "Ideally, it

ficer (9/29/93). "You're absolutely right, Jay," was the officer's response.

Bob Grant's repeated slurs have inspired African-American clergy and others to stage protests at **WABC** and to call for sponsors to boycott his show. An obviously worried Grant has toned down his rhetoric, expressed his respect for Nelson Mandela (whom he used to denounce as a "terrorist"), and generally tried to display his warm and fuzzy side.

But the old Bob Grant had simply denied that it was possible for whites to express racism, saying that it wasn't allowed (12/13/93): "If they did allow it, the thugs, the savages, the refugees from the Kalahari would tear the place apart. But I guess our group has evolved too far. I guess that's the price we pay for being a little higher up on the evolutionary scale."

In fact, the Grant controversy shows that it is possible for major media corporations to air blatant racism. All they have to do is deny that that's what they're doing.

FAIR

Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting

130 W. 25th St. • New York, NY 10001 • Tel: (212) 633-6700 • Fax: (212) 727-7668

For Immediate Release: October 25, 1994

Contact: Steven Rendall

SINGLE STANDARD ON BIGOTRY NEEDED: WABC HATE WARRANTS SCRUTINY

Despite New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman's criticism of talkshow host Bob Grant, many New York and New Jersey politicians still maintain close relations with WABC radio personalities who promote racism, hatred and violence.

Tapes of broadcasts by both Bob Grant and Jay Diamond reveal a pattern of racial bigotry, with references to African-Americans as "savages" or "feral children," "subhumanoids" or "shoeshine boys." Both frequently engage in violent fantasies about black leaders and minority groups.

When similar hate politics were expressed by leaders of the Nation of Islam, politicians -- as well as media figures -- were quick to denounce bigoted remarks. "Some of the things that Louis Farrakhan says and some of the things he stands for are so odious and obnoxious, of course I wouldn't sit down with a representative of Louis Farrakhan," New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani told WNET-TV.

But with Grant and Diamond, who broadcast on the largest talk station in the country, not only have most political leaders been silent, but many have appeared on the WABC hosts' shows and benefitted from their enthusiastic support. Even after Grant's racism was publicized in a New York magazine cover story, only Whitman and Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D.-N.J.) have spoken out.

Where is Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R.-N.Y.), who co-sponsored the Senate resolution denouncing the Nation of Islam's Khalid Abdul Muhammad? D'Amato is a regular, friendly guest on Grant's program, once saying on the show that former New York City Mayor David Dinkins should go to Africa and stay there.

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who has guested on Grant's show, has not condemned the flow of hate from WABC. "The mayor is very comfortable with his relationship with Bob Grant," a spokesperson told the New York Times. Nor has New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, who appears occasionally as a guest host on WABC, spoken out. Candidates like George Pataki, a Republican running for governor of New York, continue to accept political support from Grant and Diamond.

FAIR calls on politicians and journalists to demonstrate a consistent standard on bigotry. If one kind of bigotry is deplorable, than all must be deplored. As Whitman said about Khalid Abdul Muhammad: "When racism or hatred speak, it is incumbent upon the rest of us -- the vast majority...who believe in tolerance, in diversity and equality -- to exercise our First Amendment rights to confront these issues head-on."

FAIR will participate in a demonstration at WABC studios at 4:00 P.M. today.

QUOTES FROM BOB GRANT:

"Minorities are the Big Apple's majority, you don't need the papers to tell you that, walk around and you know it.... To me, that's a bad thing. I'm a white person."

One of Grant's favorite words for African-Americans is "savages":

Commenting on an incident at New York's City College, in which nine people were crushed to death in a crowd there to attend a basketball game featuring well-known rap stars as players: "We have in our city, we have in our state of New York, we have in our nation, not hundreds of thousands but millions of sub-humanoids, savages, who really would, would feel more at home careening, careening along the sands of the Kalahari or the dry deserts of eastern Kenya - people who, for whatever reason, have not become civilized. Am I the only one who makes that observation? No, certainly not. Perhaps I express it more directly, more candidly, far less euphemistically than politicians would."

Later, Grant describes the crowd: "The three thousand to five thousand savages who showed up for the rap star's basketball game on -- what was it december 28th?"

* * *

"I can't take these screaming savages, whether they're in that African Methodist Church, the AME church, or whether they're in the streets, burning, robbing, looting. I've seen enough of it."

* * *

Referring to a black fraternity party at Belmar Beach, New Jersey: "You know, the savage mind, the primitive, primordial mentality will respond to authority if they are convinced that that authority is serious. But on the other hand, being immature, anything they think they can get away with they will press and press and press, which of course is what they've been doing all over the United States of America.... But as far as that stretch of beach there at Belmar, it's being written off by, shall we say, civilized people."

Grant espouses a "scientific" form of racism known as eugenics, and frequently promotes the "Bob Grant Mandatory Sterilization Plan":

"There is no hope. The only hope we have is something that we're not brave enough to do. But if there is a brave new world of tomorrow, they will enact the Bob Grant Mandatory Sterilization Plan. I wonder if they've ever figured out how they multiply like that. It's like maggots on a hot day. You look one minute and there are so many there, and you look again and wow, they've tripled!"

* * *

On whether "mankind will learn to live together in peace": "I have a very startling, very radical, to some people repugnant answer to your question.... The answer is something that is so repugnant to most people because they are prejudiced, not because of intellectual problems, but because of emotional problems. Eugenics. We have been outbreeding the worst of us, and we have not been breeding the strain.... Why not apply the laws of eugenics, the laws of heredity, as discovered or proven out by Gregor Mendel, why not take those laws and use them on the most important species of all?"

* * *

Caller: "Well, like you say, we'll become a Third World, another, I think you know in another 50 or 60 years where everybody is half black, half white, and the mentality has gone down around 10 IQ points."

Grant: "By the way, we're not supposed to talk about genetics in all of this. And I've been called a lot of names because I do believe in the science of genetics. As a matter of fact, Mendelian law is called Mendelian law because it holds up."

* * *

On why black youths will never become "viable, productive citizens": "I'll tell you why it wouldn't work. You can't fool mother nature, you get it?... Yeah, those genes are very powerful."

Grant has a particular hatred for Haitian refugees:

"I don't understand, they pick them up and then they want to deport them. Don't pick them up. The ideal situation, you know what the ideal situation would be, if they drowned, then they would stop coming in."

* * *

"And who was the judge that said it's an insult keeping them in those prisons? Is he an Eskimo, a Norwegian? Or is he one of them? Well, you know full well Sterling Johnson is one of them. You know Sterling Johnson has been made a federal judge only because he had that marvelous commodity called melanin."

* * *

Objecting to HIV-positive Haitians being allowed into the U.S. "for treatment": "Now get a load of that word 'for treatment.' There is no treatment. It makes, it sounds like these people, these

swine, these sub-human infiltrators are coming in for to be saved."

* * *

Responding to a caller who says AIDS is prevalent in Haiti: "Yeah, it's not prevalent enough, there's too many of them."

Grant's racism often prevents him from talking to callers:

Mimicking a caller with an accent: "I think you da da da, you know, I can't stand the way you talk, how come you talk so funny, how come? Get off my phone, you creep, we don't need the toilets cleaned right now."

* * *

Grant: "By the way, where are you from, sir?"

Caller: "I'm from Kenya."

Grant: "Kenya?"

Caller: "Yeah, if you know where that is."

Grant: "Yeah, unfortunately I do. So long, pal." [Hangs up.]

Grant frequently hopes for the death of those he hates -- sometimes going so far as to suggest that callers commit murder:

On Magic Johnson: "Unfortunately, all he has is the HIV virus and he could last for a long time.... And why is it taking so long for the HIV to go into full-blown AIDS. For crying out loud, I'm making novenas.... But if the guy would go into full-blown AIDS he could make a contribution because there's an old Hindu expression: He teaches best who teaches by example. So give us an example, Magic!"

* * *

Caller: "They're on the street, no matter what block you go on they're there. I mean, if you took care of every guy with a squeegee in his hand on every corner you'd wind up going broke before you got home."

Grant: "Well, why not take care of them another way?"

Caller: "Well, I gotta be honest with you Bob, I got mace in my car, I really am tempted to use it, I gotta be honest with you."

Grant: "Yeah, but mace isn't fatal."

* * *

Caller: "I just wanted to call and vent the hurt and anger I'm experiencing now, and to ask, you know, what could I, I know it's a hard thing, but what could I do as a citizen of this country, which I believe in and have seen fall apart as I've been growing up. I don't know, Mr. Grant - can you tell me some sort of a -- something I can do?"

Grant: "In what regard?"

Caller: "I don't know. I'm just very shaky, I'm just so upset about this -- about that festering little maggot [a criminal defendant] getting -- you said he got off free from?"

Grant: "Yeah, he was out on zero bail. Yeah."

Caller: "I don't, I'm sorry to--"

Grant: "Well, get a gun and go do something then, okay? Alright, thank you."

Grant feels that white racists are victims of a double standard:

"As long as they're black, they can say anything they want. There's a double standard. If they got a white bigot, a white hater comparable to Farrakhan's stooge or comparable to Leonard Jeffries, first of all, they wouldn't allow it. Secondly, if they did allow it, the thugs, the savages, the refugees from the Kalahari would tear the place apart. But I guess our group has evolved too far. I guess that's the price we pay for being a little higher up on the evolutionary scale."

QUOTES FROM JAY DIAMOND:

Caller: "You can't take the truth, can you dear?"

Diamond: "And you know something? You're a black bitch!"

Like Grant, Diamond also promotes the idea of genetic inferiority:

"You know there is some kind of genetic flaw in certain females that when I want to get in one word, when I just want to talk, there are certain types of females who when I want to talk to

them, to answer them, they begin to become hysterical. And this is because 300 years ago if they opened their mouths they were shut up. Some ancient ancestor of Tricia wasn't allowed to speak so she feels she has to compensate for that ancestor who wasn't allowed to speak and she's going to start speaking now and never finish. Particularly at all costs when she's speaking to a man on a vastly higher intellectual plane than she is and...she behaves like all the other Tricias in the world and reverts to the one technique that her ilk has perfected, which is to scream and shout the other person down so the subversive words, i.e. the truth, cannot be heard by the outside world. [Imitating a black woman:] 'I'm going to shout and scream...so Jay doesn't get to show the world what a real leech I am!'"

* * *

Responding to a caller comparing President Clinton's morality to the morality of black suspects in rape case: "Well, whatever Bill Clinton is, I haven't heard of any time when he went out with five others and inflicted anal sodomy on an innocent woman.... It's not programmed into him the way it is programmed by nature into the feral children to carry out that mission... You are dealing with a different species of individual here than a conventional human being."

* * *

Imagining a conversation with an accused black rapist: "Why are you really enraged? Because you sense your ineptitude? You sense your inability to deal with a world populated by human beings, and you're a little bit jealous, you're a little bit envious of looking around at the world and feeling and sensing that there are people more well-equipped to cope with life than you are, so that makes you angry. What's that? It makes you angry that your mother gave birth to you when she was 12 and that maybe she's a prostitute? It makes you feel a lot of rage that in your 16 years your mother's brought home 500 different men to sleep with her at night?..."

"But the fact is, Tyrone, you've been souped up by guys like Al Sharpton, guys like Sonny Carson. You've been souped up by activists to think that you have every right to that anger that you feel because they don't tell you the truth. That anger comes out of envy and jealousy, and a very real and valid envy and jealousy it is, because you are not as good as those other people. Yeah, I'm here to tell you that. You do not have the assets -- the intellectual or emotional equipment to deal with this life as well as other people."

Like Grant, Diamond often expresses violent fantasies about the targets of his hatred:

"I think Al Sharpton said he would lie down in front of the cars that are bringing workers to the Daily News. Well, I would like Al Sharpton to lie down in front of my car. That would be the last car he'll ever lie down in front of."

* * *

"I would like to see the surface of Iraq, I would like to see a terrain map of Iraq look like a smooth piece of glass. I would like to see Iraq nuked. I could care less for any of the innocent civilians there."

* * *

To a caller from Pakistan: "You thought you could come here and kiss my ass and get away with something, but see, you're talking to an American now. When you go back to your own country you'll be able to out-reason those very rudimentary beings who reside there. But right now you're speaking to an American who is always going to be able to triumph over you.... Get back on your magic carpet and go back where you came from.... Why don't you go back to the ghetto in which you were spawned, back in Pakistan, O.K. For my money, I hope India someday launches a nuclear attack on your particular town."

* * *

Told that William Kunstler said that the wrong person had been arrested in the World Trade Center bombing case: "That's all right. We'll kill him and then we'll find the right guy."

Diamond has had a series of conversations with callers who identify themselves as active-duty police officers, suggesting that suspects be arranged to "commit suicide in custody" - - plainly encouraging law enforcement personnel to commit murder. In at least two cases, the officer was quite receptive to the idea:

Diamond: "Well, Tony, you're an officer, is that right?"

Caller: "I've been a cop for 10 years."

Diamond: "Listen, Tony, I don't know where you work, but if any of your colleagues work in the 7th precinct, downtown in Tribeca --"

Caller: "Right."

Diamond: "If you happen to catch those two guys who put the bullet into Bonnie Bear? It would be a real tragedy if those guys happened to commit suicide in custody."

Caller: "Right. Unfortunately, something like that happens, they'll come after us with a vengeance."

Diamond: "Yeah, well it would be terrible if they happened to commit suicide while they were in custody. Or perhaps, maybe if you found them and they had already committed suicide."

Caller: "Right, right."

* * *

Caller: "The case itself is a very weak case, due to the fact that the witnesses could not pick out anybody in a lineup."

Diamond: "Gee, it would be terrible if they were all found dead from suicide in prison."

Caller: "Well, I'd really like to say that we hope something like that might happen."

Diamond: "Yeah, you know guys get depressed in prison sometimes and they sometimes put a bullet in the back of their own head."

Caller: "That's right, Jay."

Diamond: "It would be too bad if they all decided to do that. All the guys responsible for killing O'Sullivan."

Caller: "You're absolutely right, Jay. And one other comment, Jay--"

Diamond: "I could be a witness to that suicide, myself."

Caller: "Well, Jay, we'd like to have you there."

Diamond: "You could put me in the jail, and I could witness that suicide. I would faithfully report it as a suicide."

* * *

Caller: "Law enforcement prays for the empowerment that Rudy Giuliani will hand to police in New York. Do you realize, Jay, that every 30 hours a New York City police officer is either shot, stabbed, bludgeoned or beaten severely in New York City, in the five burroughs? And moreover--"

Diamond: "Be too bad if a lot of those people doing that were to commit suicide in police custody."

Caller: "Yeah."

Diamond: "Hint."

Caller: "Well-noted. Well-noted."

QUOTE FROM CURTIS SLIWA:

Sliwa: "Just as a matter of reference. When blacks would chase us with the bats, they knew, hit the white boys in the face because they're gonna immediately, emotionally break up if they bleed, if they get a nosebleed. Meantime, we knew, don't hit the black guy in the head. He's strong. Hit him in the kneecap. So you see out there. If you're ever wielding a bat, I've just given you some ethnic and racial advice as to how to take your opponent down."

Caller: "No, I heard if you hit a black guy underneath the nose, it was his weakest part."

Sliwa: "Never. Forget that. I mean, look at the great fighters. You could hit 'em 52 times and they don't drop, except for Floyd Patterson."

###

FAIR

Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting

130 W. 25th St. • New York, NY 10001 • Tel: (212) 633-6700 • Fax: (212) 727-7668

Bob Grant On Gay Men and Lesbians:

WABC talkshow host Bob Grant preaches hatred and violence toward gay men and lesbians just as loudly as he preaches bigotry toward non-whites.

"It is a perversion, do you want to tell me that homosexuality is not a perversion?"

To a gay caller: "Go to your mirror, look at yourself in the mirror and repeat after me, I am a perverted misfit."

To another gay caller: "You're not capable of looking at yourself in the mirror and saying, I am a fag, I am a queer, I am a perverted individual."

Grant: "It's an insult to the vast majority of New Yorkers who do not have the perversion you are afflicted with."

Caller: "Which I don't regard as a perversion, sir."

Grant: "Well, of course you wouldn't regard it as a perversion. Do you want to look in the mirror and say, I, Julie, am a dyke, I, Julie, am a sickola, I, Julie, am a freak? You don't want to say that and I don't blame you."

"You can't be a fagola and be family-oriented. It's a contradiction in terms."

"If an employer doesn't want to have homosexual employees, I think he ought to have that right."

Grant: "The discrimination, whatever it is, is based on the need for society in general to protect itself from the encroachment of a perverted warped minority. If a person hates a homosexual,

I think he has a right to hate whomever he wants to. What are we going to do, brainwash people? Give them a laser treatment to get rid of their hatred?"

Caller: "They cannot discriminate."

Grant: "Oh, yes they can. If they don't want them teaching their children in school, they should be able to protect themselves from having a queer teach their children in school. If they don't want them in their apartment, they should be able to keep them out of their apartment."

Dr. Paul Cameron (a notorious homophobe appearing on Grant's show): "There's certain kinds of things, such as murder, and I would contend, such as homosexual acts, that absolutely disqualify a person as being a responsible citizen."

Grant: "That's Dr. Paul Cameron, we're going to take telephone calls with Dr. Cameron right here in our WABC studios in just a moment...."

Cameron: "All over the United States now, homosexual males are defanging and declawing small animals, often hamsters, gerbils, inserting them into their rectum. And then the animal in its death throes, you know it's frantically, it's in terrible pain, it's scurrying back and forth trying to escape, and this apparently causes a great sexual rush among those who practice this abhorrent destruction of animal life."

Grant: "If there's anybody on the sidelines thinking that homosexuality is a minor deviation from the norm, that story should convince even the dummies in the audience that we're talking about sick, sick perverted people. Right?"

Cameron: "I think so."

Caller: "In the Bible, let him read, and I don't think he has, the 20th chapter of Leviticus, he talks about homosexuality in the Bible as condemnation. No, no, no, no, it goes more than condemnation. If you read the 20th chapter of Leviticus, it says you must kill the homosexual."

Grant: "Well, of course it goes beyond that, it goes to total retribution. That is why those cities were destroyed."

Caller: "What do you think of this \$3 billion were supposed to send on AIDS?"

Grant: "What is the expenditure supposed to be on since we have been told there's no cure in sight, as a matter of fact, one Ph.D., biochemist, M.D. said it was impossible to cure AIDS."

Caller: "I know, and do you know any normal people that have it?"

Grant: "No."

Caller: "No, I know, so why do us normal people have to pay for it?"

Grant: "Good question."

Caller: "It's ridiculous."

On a gay pride march: "Ideally, it would have been nice to have a few phalanxes of policemen with machine guns and mow them down."
