

**OKLAHOMA CITY
FALSE FLAG
OCCULT STATE
TERROR ATTACK**



OKLAHOMA CITY, OK: The north side of the Albert P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City shows the devastation supposedly caused by a fuel-and-fertilizer truck bomb that was detonated early April 19, 1993, in front of the building. The blast, the worst terror attack on U.S. soil until Sept. 11, killed 168 people and injured more than 500. Timothy McVeigh, convicted on first-degree murder charges for the bombing, was sentenced to death in 1997 and later executed.

BOB DAEMMRICH/AFP/GETTY IMAGES CHAPTER FIVE

The Oklahoma City Bombing

BOMBS INSIDE THE ALFRED P. MURRAH BUILDING

I

In the hours following a quasi-botched bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, KFOR-TV reported that Governor Frank Keating told President Bill Clinton that “right now they are saying this is the work of a very sophisticated group. This is a very sophisticated device. It has to have been done by an explosives expert.”⁷²⁵

Shortly thereafter, as 168 people lay dead with countless others injured, the official story quickly changed. No longer was the explosion sophisticated, nor was it credited to experts.

Instead, two rank amateurs—Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols—supposedly using nothing more than a crudely constructed ANFO bomb (ammonium nitrate and fuel oil) were blamed for the incident.

As you’ll see, the notion that a fertilizer bomb partially destroyed the Murrah Building is so preposterous that even a child would be hard-pressed to believe this fairy tale. Rather—and this point is of extreme importance—a series of bombs had been strategically placed inside the Murrah Building prior to April 19th, and they were what caused the massive damage. Further, government forces—including the FBI and ATF—had *complete foreknowledge* of this act, yet did nothing to prevent it (if not having a direct hand in initiating it in the first place).

Momentarily, I will provide a brief overview of the government’s foreknowledge and involvement in the OKC bombing, culminating in an extensive analysis of the actual culprits (not a scapegoat named Timothy McVeigh who had peripheral contact with the real killers at Elohim City and was set up to take a Lee Harvey Oswald fall after the event took place). Once you finish this chapter, it will be undeniably apparent that similar to so many other incidents associated with the Clintons (Vince Foster’s murder, etc), the American public has been snowed by a mountain of lies which covers the much darker underbelly of a governmental organized crime syndicate.

To begin, let’s pose a question. How often do you see bomb squad trucks parked along the streets of your town or city? I’m sure most people would respond: not often, if ever. In addition, how often do you see these same bomb trucks parked only a block or two away from a building that subsequently gets bombed only minutes later? If you were told of such an occurrence, I’m sure most reasonable people would conclude that the bomb trucks had an indication that the nearby building was going to be hit, and the reason they were located in the vicinity was in preparation for the coming event. Of course, why the building in question was being bombed is a

different matter entirely.

At any rate, guess what was parked only blocks away from the Alfred P. Murrah Building only moments before it was targeted. Bomb squad trucks!

There was no question that there had been a bomb squad truck in downtown Oklahoma City before the blast.

“I was coming down for a charity board meeting that I had at 7:30 in the Oklahoma Tower,” said Daniel J. Adomitis, an Oklahoma lawyer. “There was a fairly large truck with a trailer behind it. It had a shield on the side of the door that said ‘bomb disposal’ or ‘bomb squad’ below it.”⁷²⁶

Another woman, Renee Cooper, said that “she saw a bomb squad in front of the courthouse. There were six or seven men. It made her a little uneasy.”⁷²⁷

When asked how she arrived at this conclusion, Ms. Cooper replied, “They had ‘bomb squad’ written across their jackets in huge letters.”⁷²⁸

These sightings were confirmed by others. “J.D. Reed, an employee with the Oklahoma County Assessor’s office, also saw the bomb squad truck parked on the east side of Hudson Street in front of the county courthouse on April 19 prior to the bombing.”⁷²⁹

Likewise, “Norma Joslin, a 30-year employee of the Oklahoma County Board of Elections, stated that she saw the bomb squad truck parked on the east side of Hudson Street in front of the county courthouse. She says she commented to a co-worker on the unusual nature of this sighting.”⁷³⁰

Numerous people witnessed this bomb squad near the courthouse, and commented on how out of the ordinary it was. In other words, bomb squads weren’t parked all around Oklahoma City on a daily, weekly, or yearly basis. These guys were there for a specific purpose. Although the FBI initially tried persuading witnesses that no such units were in the vicinity, “the Sheriff’s Department finally admitted, after months of adamant denials by Sheriff J. D. Sharp, that the bomb disposal vehicle had indeed been in downtown Oklahoma City that morning.”⁷³¹

This disclosure is crucial, for now we’re certain that the government was not only lying about the bomb squad’s presence, but they were prepared for a significant blast that morning in Oklahoma City.

Another specific instance where the government deceived the public about their foreknowledge was the fact that not a single ATF agent lost their life in the bombing. Edye Smith, whose children were killed that day, put the matter into perspective during a live CNN interview: “Where the hell was the ATF? I want to know. All 15 or 17 of their employees survived, and they were on the ninth floor. They were the target of this explosion, and where were they? Did they have a warning sign? Did they think it might be a bad day to go into the office? They had an option not to go to work that day, and my kids didn’t. They didn’t get an option. Nobody else in the building got that option. And we’re just asking questions. We’re not making accusations. We just want to know. And they’re telling us: ‘Keep your mouth shut. Don’t talk about it.’”⁷³²

Ms. Smith’s point was valid, because if we’re to believe the government myth, militia member Timothy McVeigh specifically homed in on the Murrah building because of ATF atrocities at Waco two years earlier. But guess what. Kids in a day care center were killed, as were state workers and other innocent men and women. But the purported target—ATF—did not have a single casualty that day because not a single employee was present when bombs inside the building were detonated. Even though two of them may have reported to work earlier, every single ATF agent was conveniently out of the office at the time of the blast. Every one!

Realizing they had a public relations nightmare on their hands—one that left them with egg on their face—the ATF scrambled to arrive at a cover story. Stated differently, they started lying again, just as they had at Waco. “The ATF claimed that Alex McCauley, the resident in charge, was in an elevator when the bomb went off. He survived a free fall from the eighth to the third floor.”⁷³³

Let’s get this straight. An ATF agent took a plunge five floors down an elevator shaft—at freefall speed—that’s fifty feet, and he survived? Will miracles never cease? Hundreds of other victims were crushed, suffocated, or buried in a mountain of debris; but incredibly, the supposed sole ATF worker comes out unscathed after dropping from what would be the equivalent of a five story building.

There’s only one drawback to this story: it’s another lie. Engineer Duane James from “the Midwestern Elevator Company, the firm that had actually searched the elevators for survivors,”⁷³⁴ stated, “We found that five of the six elevators were frozen between floors, and a sixth had stopped near floor level. We had to go in through the ceilings of the elevators to check for people. All were empty.”⁷³⁵

James continued, “Agent Alex McCauley could not possibly have broken out before the team arrived, not unless he had a blowtorch with him. The doors were all frozen shut. It took several of our men over twelve hours just to get the one elevator opened.”⁷³⁶ McCauley’s story was an unadulterated lie. “None of the elevators had been in free fall. That’s pure fantasy. Modern elevators have counterbalances and can’t free fall unless you cut the cables, and none were. There are a series of backup safety switches that will lock an elevator in place if it increases in speed more than ten percent. The Midwestern Elevator Company took extensive photographs to document the inspection. These records were later received by ABC’s *20/20* program. The pictures confirmed that all the safety cables were intact.”⁷³⁷

Try to imagine the evil sickness of this gross deception. The ATF actually concocted a story where one of their agents supposedly free fell fifty feet and survived, then used superhuman strength to escape from an elevator that took professionals twelve hours to open—all to seemingly prove that the ATF hadn’t been tipped-off beforehand. But it was all a grotesque lie. There’s additional proof of ATF and FBI foreknowledge of this heinous act where 168 innocent people—including children in a day care center—were murdered. One agent, “his face hidden behind a shadow for fear of ATF reprisal, asserted that he was told by an ATF agent that, ‘we were tipped off by our pagers not to come to work that day.’ His employer, who overheard the conversation, willingly confirmed this controversial claim.”⁷³⁸

ATF agents weren’t the only ones given a heads up that an attack was about to take place. Investigators from ABC’s *20/20* “provided substantial proof that local fire department officials were instructed by the FBI five days before the blast that there were some people coming through town they should be on the lookout for.”⁷³⁹

It seems quite a number of people, from the ATF, FBI, bomb squad, and emergency services knew that a dramatic event was about to take place. But no one bothered to tell the innocent people that went to work that morning and eventually got killed or maimed. Be assured, the government knew in advance. “In perhaps the most startling revelation, the *20/20* investigation uncovered proof that the Executive Secretariat Office at the Justice Department received a call 24 minutes before the explosion announcing that, ‘the Oklahoma federal building has been bombed.’ Unfortunately, in an unforgivable sin of omission, authorities failed to notify anyone of this strange call, much less demand the building in question be evacuated.”⁷⁴⁰

On the contrary, all those inside were left to be potentially killed or injured.

If you're beginning to notice a pattern of lies, hold on because you haven't seen anything yet. The next myth to be exploded is the infamous 'Ryder truck' bomb which reportedly brought down the Murrah Building. More specifically, the bomb was supposed to have been made of "4,800 pounds of ammonium nitrate mixed with fuel oil to create a combustible 'slurry' known as ANFO."⁷⁴¹ Actually, even this description isn't accurate because the government's story kept changing over time. "The FBI reported that the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building was caused by a single 1,200 pound bomb made of ammonium nitrate (AN) and fuel oil 1,200 pound bomb made of ammonium nitrate (AN) and fuel oil foot Ryder rental truck parked in front of the Murrah Building."⁷⁴² But wait; the government realized that anyone with even the slightest knowledge of physics would slice their story to smithereens. Why? Because, essentially, the Ryder/ANFO device was what explosives experts call an open-air bomb. In other words, rather than being physically affixed to the building itself (such as to a foundation beam which supported the building and is crucial to it remaining intact), the supposed bomb was sitting in a truck on the street, away from the structure. Common sense tells us that the farther away the bomb is from its target, the less impact it will have. As you'll see later, the expert of all explosives experts stated that the most destruction this ANFO bomb could have caused was to break a few windows in the Murrah Building. That's it.

The government understood the type of problem they had on their hands, so "the story later changed to a 4,800-pound ANFO bomb. Then during the trial of Timothy McVeigh, the story changed again to a 4,800 pound mixture of ammonium nitrate (AN) and nitromethane (NM), a high performance racing fuel."⁷⁴³

The government's conspiracy theory soon reached the point of being laughable. "It would take weeks to build a 4,800-pound truck bomb this way, and it would not solve the technical challenge of achieving simultaneous detonation. Yet the prosecution insists that McVeigh and Nichols built the bomb in one day, on April 18, 1995, and then executed the flawless detonation of the biggest ANFO [or ANNM—Ed.] bomb in the history of U.S. terrorism."⁷⁴⁴

The problem of detonation mentioned above is particularly important because we're led to believe that McVeigh and Nichols had all these huge vats filled with ANFO [note: 4,800 pounds of this substance would equal over 100 five-gallon water jugs], and they needed them to be all wired together to spark (i.e. explode) at the exact same time to be effective. It takes a great amount of technical expertise to pull off such a feat; much more than these two bozos possessed. "When Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols tried to blow up a milk jug with a small fertilizer bomb in October 1994, the experiment was a fiasco. 'The blasting cap just sprayed the ammonium nitrate everywhere. It didn't work,' said Michael Fortier at McVeigh's trial."⁷⁴⁵

These guys couldn't blow up a damn milk bottle! Plus, an openair bomb wouldn't have destroyed the Murrah Building. "The FBI had no scientific basis for concluding that the Murrah Building was blown up by an ammonium nitrate fertilizer bomb."⁷⁴⁶

Again, outright lies were fed to the American public. "The [FBI] labs guessed that the explosive charge was placed in 50-gallon white plastic barrels without conducting the requisite tests."⁷⁴⁷ Moreover, "they said that the detonator appeared to be a Primadet Delay system, but no trace of this was found at the crime scene."⁷⁴⁸

Isn't this lack of, or manipulation of, evidence starting to sound eerily like the Vince Foster case? "The Inspector General's report found that the FBI crime labs had repeatedly reached conclusions that incriminated the defendants without a scientific basis."⁷⁴⁹

Upon further reading we will establish one rock solid fact: an ANFO bomb was physically incapable of causing the widespread damage that we witnessed in Oklahoma City, while

McVeigh and Nichols didn't possess the technical expertise (or logistical capabilities—try to imagine how monumental the task of moving nearly 5,000 pounds of ANFO would be) to even build a bomb.

The actual destruction to the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building was caused by bombs *inside* the building. The following information completely and utterly destroys the government's single bomb ANFO/ANNM fable. "After the rescue efforts had begun, there were reports of other bombs being found within the Murrah Building. The building was evacuated at least twice due to these reports."⁷⁵⁰

In the moments following this calamity, the sooner rescue workers were able to locate the victims the higher the probability was that they could be saved. Yet that morning in Oklahoma City, their efforts were halted at least two different times so that bomb squads could enter and remove unexploded bombs! The following passage is damning beyond words:

At one point, Toria Tolley with CNN reported: "There is still a danger of another huge explosion. Police have confirmed two more bombs have been discovered in the building. Authorities say one of the bombs has been found and discarded. A bomb squad is reportedly dealing with the other one at this time."

Later KWTW reported: a third explosive device, another bomb—we don't know if it's three or four—but perhaps another bomb has been found inside that federal building. They are moving everyone back once again. This would be the fourth time that this has happened.⁷⁵¹

I've seen the above raw footage with my own eyes, and the evidence is conclusive. The initial newscasts emanating from local OKC TV stations show bomb squads carrying unexploded bombs *out of* the Murrah Building. Such a disclosure completely flies in the face of what the government told us happened. According to their fairy tales, one ANFO/ANNM bomb outside the building caused all the damage; nothing else. Yet what follow are direct transmissions from OKC law enforcement officials.

The highway patrol dispatcher logs clearly show that there were two bombs found in the Murrah Building after the blast. The following entries can be found: 10:29 am. There is another bomb on the south side of the building. Need to get away as far as possible . . . evacuate the area of the building immediately. 10:37 am. OC Fire Dept. confirms they did find a second device in the building.⁷⁵²

They weren't the only sources for the reality of multiple bombs inside the building. "A DOD [Department of Defense] Atlantic Command memo from Norfolk, Virginia dated April 20, 1995 also shows two additional explosives were found."⁷⁵³

The evidence of bombs in the building is so overwhelming that it can no longer be denied. "Joe Harp is a retired CIA operative who now lives in Texas and told the following story. On the day of the bombing, he was in the Murrah Building at about 11:00 am and observed members of 'the fire department EOD' [Explosive Ordnance Disposal] removing two devices and placing them in the bomb disposal unit. He described the devices as military olive-drab in color and the size of round five-gallon drums. He also stated that, upon his arrival, he knew that the explosive device that caused the damage to the building was not an ANFO bomb because he could smell sulfur in the air that reminded him of the gas-enhanced 'Daisy Cutter' bombs that were used when he was

in Vietnam.”⁷⁵⁴

Not only did these devices cause the *real* damage to the Murrah Building, but those that were unexploded and had to be removed greatly hindered rescue efforts, indirectly causing more victims to perish. Following the blast, Dr. Tom Coniglione directly announced, “At the present time, the medical teams downtown are unable to get into the wreckage to retrieve more of the injured because of the presence of other bombs in the area. I’ve been told by the police department that just as soon as those bombs are defused, they will permit the medical teams to enter.”⁷⁵⁵

During the earliest news telecasts, acclaimed terror authority Dr. Randall Heather noted, “We got lucky today, if you consider anything about this tragedy lucky. It’s actually a great stroke of luck that we’ve got undefused [sic] bombs.”⁷⁵⁶

Similarly, “at approximately 11:31 EST, on the day of the bombing, KFOR television broadcast the following announcement: ‘The FBI has confirmed there is another bomb in the federal building. It’s in the east side of the building. We’re not sure what floor, what level, but there is definitely danger of a second explosion.’”⁷⁵⁷

Why didn’t the federal government or the corporate media disclose this information on a wide-scale basis? Why the cover-up? Bottom line: “Although given little coverage by the mainstream press, eyewitness testimony and other supporting evidence show that undetonated charges were located and defused once rescue efforts were under way.”⁷⁵⁸

Experts confirm that the official story regarding OKC was a boldfaced lie. First, Dr. Sam Cohen, who worked on the Manhattan Project and spent four decades in the nuclear weaponry field, snubbed his nose at the government’s ANFO theory. “I believe that the demolition charges in the building were placed inside at certain key concrete columns and did the primary damage to the Murrah Federal Building. It would have been absolutely impossible and against the laws of nature for a truck full of fertilizer and fuel oil—no matter how much was used—to bring the building down.”⁷⁵⁹

These are mighty powerful words; but oh so true. An open-air bomb can’t create that much damage. “A series of Armament Directorate tests were conducted by Wright Laboratory at Eglin Air Force Base in Florida against simulated conventional urban buildings. This study was conducted to demonstrate the capability of explosive devices against cast-in-place concrete structures with steel reinforcement bars. The report states that “air blast alone was singularly ineffective in causing major damage to the Eglin test structure.”⁷⁶⁰

Put more simply, open-air bombs don’t destroy solidly built structures. To level them, you need explosives placed directly on the foundational support columns.

Others have confirmed this information. “In the spring of 1997, explosives experts at Eglin Air Force Base’s Wright Laboratory Armament Directorate released a study on the effects of explosives against a reinforced concrete building similar to the Federal Building. The Air Force’s test closely matched the conditions under which the government contends the Murrah Building was destroyed. [David] Hoffman quotes from the report: It must be concluded that the damage at

the Murrah Federal Building is not the result of the truck-bomb itself, but rather due to other factors such as locally placed charges within the building itself.”⁷⁶¹

Another gentleman who invested considerable time studying this event was Brigadier General Ben Partin, the expert’s expert on military explosives and weaponry. As this tragic event unfolded, Partin commented, “When I first saw pictures of the truck-bomb’s asymmetrical damage to the Federal Building, my immediate reaction was that the pattern of damage would have been technically impossible without supplementing demolition charges at some of the reinforcing concrete column bases.”⁷⁶²

According to Partin, “to produce the resulting damage pattern in the building, there would have to have been an effort with demolition charges at column bases to complement or supplement the truck bomb damage.”⁷⁶³

The government has lied since day one. “According to [Partin’s] detailed analysis, it would be physically impossible for an ANFO bomb to have destroyed the many steel-reinforced concrete columns which were situated far from the [truck bomb].”⁷⁶⁴

Partin essentially relied on simple logic. If an open-air bomb is detonated, those structures closest to the explosion should suffer the most damage, while those farther away would be affected to a lesser extent. But in Oklahoma City, the laws of nature didn’t apply. “To substantiate his assertions, the military expert notes that building columns B-4 and B-5, which were in direct proximity to the blast, remained standing, while column A-7, which stood some 60 feet from the Ryder truck, was mysteriously demolished. ‘The much closer columns are still standing, while the much larger column A-7 is down. These facts are sufficient reason to know that columns B-3 and A-7 had demolition charges on them,’ he states confidently.”⁷⁶⁵

Others have concurred with this opinion.

- Army veteran Gary McClenny, in a May 16, 1995 letter to FBI Director Louis Freeh: “Ammonium nitrate is a poor choice for breaching reinforced concrete.”⁷⁶⁶
- Demolitions expert Sam Groning “recalls setting off 16,000 pounds of ANFO and alleges he was standing upright a mere 300 yards from the blast site.”⁷⁶⁷ That’s four times the size of McVeigh’s supposed bomb, and it couldn’t even knock a man off his feet.
- An August 1996 FEMA study concluded that “4,800 pounds of ANFO would have been virtually unable to have caused the so-called thirty-foot crater in OKC.”⁷⁶⁸
- A leaked Pentagon study reported that “the destruction of the federal building last April was caused by five separate bombs.”⁷⁶⁹
- The 1997 Eglin Blast Effects study “could not ascribe the damage that occurred on April 19, 1995 to a single truck bomb containing 4,800 pounds of ANFO and instead suggested that other factors such as locally placed charges within the building itself may have been responsible.”⁷⁷⁰
- Neutron bomb inventor Samuel Cohen asserted, “It seems to me that the evidence has gotten much stronger in favor of internal charges, while the ammonium nitrate bomb theory has fallen apart.”⁷⁷¹
- Author David Hoffman “cites reports of physical evidence such as more damage being done to the roof [of the Alfred P. Murrah Building] than relatively close to the truck, [and] elevator doors

blown away from the shafts and toward the truck].”⁷⁷²
⁷⁷²

1910 contained the following information. “ANFO couldn’t possibly produce a shock wave capable of mangling the building’s concrete supports.”⁷⁷³

• Dr. Charles Mankin of the University of Oklahoma Geological survey found “there were two separate explosions based on his analysis of seismographic data from two facilities. Seismographs show two distinct ‘spikes’ roughly ten seconds apart.”⁷⁷⁴

The above individuals are authorities and/or experts in their fields, and all have given credence “to the existence of additional (and deadlier) explosives inside the building.”⁷⁷⁵

Plus, remember our analysis of the original news reports which were carried by the local Oklahoma City media. “KFOR television broadcast that as many as two explosive charges had been located that were far more lethal than the *original* charge that nearly toppled the Murrah Building.”⁷⁷⁶

Nationwide media sources—at least initially—also corroborated the multiple bomb story. “As reported widely on CNN and TV stations across the nation, up to four primed bombs were found inside what remained of the Murrah Federal Building on April 19, 1995.”⁷⁷⁷

Local authorities are also in agreement. “Radio logs and other documentary materials provide transcripts of OKC police and fire department personnel discussing the removal of additional explosives. Reports of up to four bombs have surfaced.”⁷⁷⁸

The preponderance of evidence is 100% undeniable. “Highly powerful non-ANFO explosive devices were detonated inside the building.”⁷⁷⁹

In this sense, “If ANFO is physically incapable of causing the level of damage sustained by the Murrah Building, and if evidence shows that more than one explosion occurred on April 19, 1995, one must at least consider the existence of a more far-reaching conspiracy than the one sanctified by the mainstream media.”⁷⁸⁰

Last but not least, there is a huge amount of “evidence which seems to indicate that the federal government possessed prior knowledge of an imminent terrorist strike on the Murrah Building.”⁷⁸¹

The above information changes the entire scenario in regard to OKC. First of all, why wouldn’t the federal government tell us about additional bombs, and that ANFO could not have leveled the Murrah Building?

The answer is simple: they had two scapegoats—Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols—and an agenda which they were pursuing. More importantly, they had direct knowledge that this event was going to occur, and they allowed it to take place.

As you will see in the following section, the government’s foreknowledge of the OKC bombing was so vast that there should have been extensive arrests within the FBI, ATF, Clinton White House, CIA, and the Oklahoma state legislature.

One of the primary sources of direct, firsthand knowledge was ATF informant Carol Howe, who “had infiltrated Elohim City and stumbled on a conspiracy to bomb federal buildings in the state of Oklahoma. The plot was led by Dennis Mahon and Andreas Strassmeir. Furthermore, the main gist of this had been passed on to the U.S. government before the Oklahoma bombing.”⁷⁸²

Although more details will be provided shortly, the main organizational point for this attack was a compound in rural Oklahoma called Elohim City, which had been highly infiltrated by factions of the federal government:

By Christmas [1994] the plot was taking shape. Strassmeir and Mahon, the ringleaders, had picked three possible targets for attack in the state of Oklahoma: the IRS, plus federal buildings in Tulsa, and the “federal building” in Oklahoma City. Carol [Howe] has stated under oath that she reported these threats to her ATF case officer.⁷⁸³

Howe’s assertions were later verified by government documents.

An April 21 [1995] FBI memo confirms that the Bureau was fully aware of Carol’s clandestine intelligence within two days of the bombing. ‘Mehaun [Mahon] has talked with Carol about targeting federal installations for destruction through bombings, such as the IRS Building, the Tulsa Federal Building, and the Oklahoma City Federal Building. Strassmeyer (sic) has talked frequently about direct action against the U.S. Government. He is trained in weaponry and has discussed assassinations, bombings and mass shootings.’⁷⁸⁴

This memo is the smoking gun of the Oklahoma City bombing. There were individuals within the government and media who became aware of this information and refused to remain silent about it. One was retired Marine Lieutenant Colonel Roger Charles who was fired from ABC News for speaking out in protest. The reason? He was told “this story would bring the country down.”⁷⁸⁵ Indeed, there is verifiable proof that the U.S. government was

fully aware of a mass bombing—prior to it occurring with their own informants on the inside—and they didn’t do a damn thing to prevent it. 168 innocent citizens, including children in a day care center, were slaughtered in cold blood.

Their guilt is appallingly evident.

“Two days after the Oklahoma bombing Carol Howe reminded the FBI that Strassmeir was a terrorist instigator who had talked frequently about direct action against the U.S. government. . . . The FBI record of her debriefing, dated April 21, 1995, goes on to say that Strassmeir had taken three trips to Oklahoma City in November 1994, December 1994, and February 1995. It also mentions the fact that Strassmeir’s friend Dennis Mahon had threatened to blow up the Oklahoma Federal Building, yet the FBI saw no reason to interview Strassmeir.”⁷⁸⁶

If that’s not bad enough, let’s push the envelope all the way. Not only did the U.S. government have informants within Elohim City, they also had their own agents, including Andreas Strassmeir! He was the ringleader, and he was the man who organized the OKC bombing. It wasn’t Timothy McVeigh. He was simply another Lee Harvey Oswald patsy.

As you’ll see in the following section, there is even substantial proof that Strassmeir and McVeigh were hanging out together prior to the OKC attack: “McVeigh was seen with Strassmeir and Michael Brescia eleven days before the bombing. The three men were at a strip

club called Lady Godiva's. We know that the date was April 8 [1995] because [of] the security cameras."⁷⁸⁷

There is also evidence that McVeigh met with officials from the government.

According to investigative researcher David Hall: "On the night before the bombing, several witnesses saw McVeigh meet with ATF agent Alex McCauley and two other individuals of Middle Eastern descent in an Oklahoma City McDonald's at approximately 9:30."⁷⁸⁸

[Yes, this is the same Alex McCauley who purportedly fell five stories in an elevator, then broke out through the steel doors and emerged unharmed. Totally absurd.]

Late in 1994, a federal agent revealed that the government had put out the word that Strassmeir was classified as "hands off."

In a conversation with the publisher of *The John Doe Times*, Mike Vanderboegh, the agent said: "'We've gone as far as we can with this; we've been told to back off. Maybe you guys can do something with it.' Then he told [Vanderboegh] that Strassmeir had been the government-sponsored snitch inside the Oklahoma bombing."⁷⁸⁹

THE ELOHIM CITY CONNECTION INTRODUCTION

According to the federal government, they had no idea whatsoever that the Alfred P. Murrah Building was going to be bombed on April 19, 1995. And, to convince the American public, Attorney General Janet Reno swore that there would be no stone unturned in their investigation. So, 2,000+ federal agents were placed on the case; and according to them, 20,000 people would eventually be interviewed.

In addition, the investigators checked 43,000 tips, journeyed from Arizona to Las Vegas, and from upstate Michigan to the Philippines in search of answers. In all, they would generate over one billion documents and spend over one million investigative hours on this case.

And what, ultimately, did the government conclude after this exhaustive investigation? Answer: that there was no evidence of anyone involved in the OKC bombing other than Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols.

As I will prove, though, the government—including the FBI, ATF, Department of Justice, and CIA, among others—lied through their teeth about having no foreknowledge of, or involvement in, the Alfred P. Murrah bombing on April 19, 1995.

Specifically, events at a 400-acre compound called Elohim City hold the key to OKC, and elements within our federal government were 100 percent certain that the horrific events of that day would take place.

Regrettably, of the 2,000 federal agents, 20,000 people interviewed, and one million investigative man-hours spent on this case, not one agent was dispatched to Elohim City. In fact, Associated Press writer Paul Query quoted an unnamed law enforcement official who had this to say on the subject: "Elohim City is not a current subject of interest."

Elohim City is not only ground zero for one of the gravest miscarriages of justice in this country's history; it is also one of the federal government's biggest sources of fear, for it reveals

in painstaking detail how intimately and directly involved they were in the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building.

ANDREAS STRASSMEIR

To substantiate my introductory claims, I will systematically and methodically show how all roads led to Elohim City. To do so, I'm going to follow, in chronological order, the movements of a man named Andreas Strassmeir, as well as a fascinating cast of characters surrounding him.

To begin, we need to introduce Mr. Strassmeir, who was a German national before immigrating to the United States for a lengthy stay in 1991, where he eventually became the head of security at Elohim City.

Strassmeir was the son of Gunter Strassmeir, who was the architect of German reunification and a top aide to German chancellor and Bilderberg luminary Helmut Kohl. In addition, Strassmeir's grandfather was a founding member of the Nazi party (which, immediately after WWII, had direct ties to American intelligence via Project Paperclip), while the Strassmeir name is one of the most respected and influential in Germany.

In all, the Strassmeir family was connected to the power elite in every sense.

Strassmeir himself spent seven years in the German army as a Bundeswehr officer, where he served with the Panzer Grenadiers, which is an elite intelligence unit. And, in case you're wondering, Strassmeir's area of expertise was none other than disinformation. This point is extremely important, as we'll see later, because even though Strassmeir is portrayed as an ardent neo-Nazi, he spoke fluent Hebrew (Israel's state language), while *The London Times* reported that he had a Jewish girlfriend who served in the Israeli Army.

Is this what we would expect from a notorious "Jew-hater"? Moving along, even though Strassmeir migrated to the United

States in 1991, his first visit here was on April 7, 1989 when he flew to Washington, D.C. What makes his arrival peculiar is that in the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) computers, Strassmeir was given a special status of "AO." Now even though determining what this status means has been difficult for many researchers, his "AO" reference was completely scrubbed from computer files a few years later.

Why?

KIRK LYONS

To "officially" bring Strassmeir to America, an attorney named Kirk Lyons entered the picture.

Who is he?

Michael Collins Piper, author of *Final Judgment* and a veteran reporter for *American Free Press*, wrote in an unpublished article that,

"For many years Kirk Lyons functioned in some way as a federal undercover agent and/or informant in a movement in which he put himself forward as a legal advocate and spokesman for its cause."

Piper went on to conclude that Lyons was undeniably, above all else, Strassmeir's "handler."

Lyons even visited Strassmeir's parents at their plush Berlin residence in 1991.

In fact, Lyons was the person who orchestrated Strassmeir's relocation to America.

He also obtained for him a driver's license by providing Strassmeir with an address in Knoxville, Tennessee; and he is quoted as

saying, "I'm the reason that Andy was at Elohim City. I put him there. So if there was a plan, I guess I'm part of it." Not only did

Lyons introduce Strassmeir to everyone at Elohim City, on April 18, 1995—one day before the OKC bombing—Lyons' law firm received a 15-minute phone call from a very important person in this scenario—Timothy McVeigh.

VINCENT PETRUSKIE

Once Strassmeir arrived on our shores in 1991, he quickly gravitated toward, of all things, the Civil War reenactment crowd. Why does this seemingly innocuous bit of trivia merit mention? Because historically, this group has been infiltrated by a variety of CIA splinter groups that used it as a front for illegal gun-smuggling. More importantly, though, *The London Times* reported that when Strassmeir first arrived in the United States, he was befriended by retired Army officers, CIA veterans, and Civil War reenactment history buffs. These men were part of a network that is very powerful in this country, and one that stretches into the Pentagon and other federal agencies.

One of these men was Vincent Petruskie, who was a special agent for the Air Force Office of Special Investigation (OSI) from 1954-1975, and who also knew Strassmeir's father in Berlin. Petruskie was also a foreign intelligence officer in Vietnam, a member of the 1131st U.S. Air Force Special Activities Squadron, a Special Projects Officer in the Special Activities Branch of the counter-intelligence division in Washington, D.C., and was also reactivated during the Gulf War to fulfill a "sensitive assignment."

Needless to say, Petruskie was connected to deep intelligence sources for decades, and interacted with a cabal of ex-military men and former & current CIA employees who were involved in gun running, mercenary actions, espionage, drug trafficking, blackmail & subversion, and money laundering. These were off-record, black budget operatives, and Vincent Petruskie made a career out of soliciting and deal-making with these shadowy figures.

So, when Andreas Strassmeir arrived in America and needed a place to stay, who opened their doors to him? None other than Vincent Petruskie of Petruskie Associates in Manassas, Virginia; a man who was making at the time \$1.6 million/year by working out of his house. How did Strassmeir know Petruskie? In his own words, Strassmeir described his ally as, "a former CIA guy my father had known." But Petruskie's friendship didn't end at mere lodging. In addition, he tried to get Strassmeir a job at the DEA, the Treasury Department, with INS, and also the Department of Justice.

Even more bizarre is the story of when Andreas Strassmeir's station wagon was impounded by the Oklahoma Highway Patrol after he was pulled over for driving without tags or a valid

license. Kenny Peace, a tow-truck driver from Muldrow, Oklahoma who yanked the vehicle, said that immediately after this event he started getting a flurry of calls from a Houston attorney, a general or major at Fort Bragg, North Carolina (quite possibly Petruskie), the Highway Patrol's district office, the State Department, and the Governor's office—all telling him to immediately release the vehicle. They also said that Andreas Strassmeir had full diplomatic immunity even though his visa had expired.

Furthermore, the contents of Strassmeir's briefcase held a copy of *The Terrorist's Handbook* (including how to build ANFO bombs & detonators with delayed fuses), job applications for the INS & DEA, foreign bank statements which showed he was by no means an impoverished pauper, and suspected government classified documents in both English and German. But most bizarre were the classified papers detailing negotiations by Strassmeir on behalf of Petruskie Associates to buy 747s from Germany's Lufthansa Airlines to begin a transport business out of Costa Rica! Now think about this incredible statement. Considering that Petruskie was involved with a shadow-group of black-budget operatives at the height of the crack cocaine craze, what do you think these airliners flying out of South America were going to be used for?

TEXAS LIGHT INFANTRY BRIGADE

After Strassmeir's early adventures with Vincent Petruskie, he aligned himself with a citizen's militia called the Texas Light Infantry Brigade (TLIB). The only problem was: the members of this group quickly became suspicious of Strassmeir's motives and loyalty, so they followed him late one night to a federal building. There, they saw Strassmeir approach an electric lock on the door, upon which he punched in the code on an electronic keypad. And just like that, Strassmeir gained access to the building. What makes this scenario relevant is that the federal building conveniently housed an office of the ATF. Anyway, after witnessing this transgression, the TLIB gave Strassmeir his walking papers for being a suspected undercover agent.

GERMAN INTELLIGENCE

Who was Andreas Strassmeir? On July 14, 1996, *The McCurtain Gazette* reported that, according to a highly placed source at the FBI's intelligence division, he was a paid ATF informant or asset sent to infiltrate Elohim City. This sentiment was echoed by Timothy McVeigh's lawyer, Stephen Jones, during a 1998 interview on KTOK radio in Oklahoma City. Jones said Strassmeir was a German national recruited by Louis Freeh to do deep undercover and intelligence operations for the FBI in the United States. He also said that he discussed Strassmeir's FBI alliance to the German government with U.S. prosecutor Beth Wilkinson. There is also FBI form 302 which has been unearthed stating that Strassmeir was a CIA asset on loan from the German government. Now, as you've noticed, three different agencies have been mentioned—the FBI, ATF, and CIA—in relation to who Strassmeir was working for. And until our government is more forthcoming with information, we can't be certain of any details other than he was a shared asset on loan to the U.S. government.

ELOHIM CITY

After being outed by the Texas Light Infantry Brigade, Strass

After being outed by the Texas Light Infantry Brigade, Strass acre compound in rural Oklahoma

(near Muldrow) named Elohim City. This enclave became, according to *Time* magazine, “the who’s who of the radical right” because it housed members of the Aryan Republican Army; the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord; the National Alliance; KKK; Aryan Nation; as well as many other militia and/or neo-Nazi style groups.

The Elohim City crowd was also prone to violence, as was revealed by U.S. Assistant Attorney Steven N. Snyder of Fort Smith, Arkansas, who said that a plot was hatched as far back as 1983 to blow up the Alfred P. Murrah Building. The primary movers in this conspiracy were Richard Wayne Snell, James Ellison, and Kerry Noble, who wanted to use plastic explosives and rocket launchers to topple the building. The authorities took this plot seriously enough to raid Elohim City in 1985, where they arrested Covenant founder James Ellison.

Kerry Noble, former Covenant member, said of Elohim City, “It has the potential, down the road, of being the most dangerous group in the country.”

Yet, despite its notoriety, it was never again raided from 1985 until the OKC bombing in 1995. The big question is: why? Even an FBI report called *Project Megiddo* addressed the phenomenon surrounding Elohim City-style compounds when they said right-wing Christian terrorists posed the gravest danger to our country, and would be the most likely to incite violence in the months and years ahead.

ROBERT MILLAR

To understand the mind-boggling sense of immunity that was given to Elohim City, we need to look at Robert Millar, who founded this community in 1973. Despite his status as a spiritual leader of the militant right, senior FBI agent Peter Rickel testified on June 31, 1997 that, “Millar was in regular contact with the agency in the years before the bombing.” Millar actually confirmed these words on July 1, 1997 when he told the *Tulsa World* newspaper that he repeatedly shared information with the FBI, DEA, and other law enforcement officials.

This is why *The McCurtain Daily Gazette* reported on July 1, 1997 that, “Millar’s position as a mole for the FBI could explain why the compound has never been raided. Despite its use as a hideout for gun-runners, drug dealers, bank robbers and suspected members of the conspiracy that bombed the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City, Elohim City has enjoyed a reputation as a place where fugitives can live without fear of arrest.”

ELOHIM INFORMANTS

Robert Millar wasn’t the only individual at Elohim City who was speaking with the authorities. There were plenty of others, including:

- **James Ellison**, former Covenant, Sword, & Arm of the Lord member who was married to Millar’s grand-daughter and who testified against the Order.
- **Peter Langan**, the son of a retired U.S. Marine intelligence officer and leader of the Aryan Republican Army. After being arrested for robbing a Georgia Pizza Hut, the U.S. Secret Service intervened and had him released.
- **Gary Hunt**, paid informant of the ATF who was videotaped in the company of two other ATF agents at the Grand Continental Hotel in OKC a full week before the bombing. He was also

videotaped, along with a companion, on April 19, 1995 by a OKC television station right after the bombing. Both men were carrying transmitters and walking rapidly from the Alfred P. Murrah Building. Hunt was even videotaped as a pall bearer at the funeral of an ATF agent.

- “**Christian Identity**,” a group financed by the FBI to serve as *agents provocateurs* to incite violence and terrorism within the United States.

ELOHIM CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

As mentioned earlier, Elohim City was a sin city of sorts which harbored fugitives and criminals of all varieties. Of note were:

- **Michael Langon** , known as “Commander Pedro,” who commandeered 22 different bank robberies in seven states which netted over \$250,000. This spree extended over two years, and explosives were used in many of the heists. Oddly, even though Langon was wanted in six states, there wasn’t even one crime scene arrest or fatality at any of the robberies, and never did the robbers encounter any bank guards or law enforcement officials.
- **Michael Brescia**, one of the actual bombplanters inside the Alfred P. Murrah Building, was arrested on January 30, 1997 in Philadelphia for his participation in a number of bank robberies. He moved to Elohim City in 1994 and was a roommate of Andreas Strassmeir. Brescia has also been identified as John Doe # 2 by Dennis Mahon, ATF informant Carol Howe, and Timothy McVeigh’s acquaintance/girlfriend, Catina Lawson.
- **Richard Guthrie**, the son of CIA parents and a Navy veteran, was also arrested for bank robbery, but not before frequently visiting Tim McVeigh in Arizona.
- Other shady characters included **Michael Fortier**, who Robert Millar admitted (to KOKH-TV) had lived at Elohim City shortly before the bombing.
- Then there is **Dennis Mahon**, who got his start in the Order, which was founded by Robert Matthews. He then went on to become third in line at the White Aryan Resistance (WAR). Mahon also served as a former Imperial Dragon of the Oklahoma KKK, and was described by Andreas Strassmeir as a “good friend.” Equally important, Mahon admitted to meeting Timothy McVeigh several times, and said that Michael Brescia was “up to his ass” in the Oklahoma City bombing.

Are you starting to see a great deal of interconnectedness taking place here?

TIMOTHY MCVEIGH

Lo and behold, if you’ve been wondering how Timothy McVeigh fits into this picture, we’ll start adding a few of his pieces to the puzzle. For starters, there are some “official” disinformation sources that say McVeigh had never even visited Elohim City. But we now know that McVeigh and Terry Nichols drove, on October 12, 1993 from Fayetteville, Arkansas to Elohim City to meet with Andreas Strassmeir. Also in attendance were bank robbers Richard Guthrie and Peter “Commander Pedro” Langon.

We can also connect McVeigh to the Elohim City coterie via:

- A hotel receipt dated September 13, 1994;
- A speeding ticket he received in 1993 a few miles from the compound;
- Phone records—McVeigh called Strassmeir at Elohim City on April 5, 1995 a few minutes after reserving a Ryder truck;

- Prisoner interviews;
- His participation in military maneuvers directed by Strassmeir at Elohim City on September 12, 1994;
- Informant reports—Carol Howe, who we will get to a little later, directly linked McVeigh (using the name “Tim Tuttle”) to Strassmeir, Dennis Mahon, and Pete Ward at Elohim City.

With this information in mind, I can categorically conclude that Timothy McVeigh was at Elohim City in the months and years before the Oklahoma City bombing.

On the other hand, to further link McVeigh to the Elohim City criminal element, FBI documents show that they strongly suspected McVeigh of participating in a December, 1994 Ohio bank robbery with some Aryan Nation members, including Michael Brescia. This seems to make sense, because McVeigh’s sister testified later that he wanted her to launder some money for him in December, 1994. This would also at least partially explain how McVeigh, with no job and a sporadic work record, would have the money to travel around the country and buy cases of *The Turner Diaries* which he sold at rented gun-show tables.

More proof of McVeigh’s Elohim City links come from a highly documented April 8, 1995 event (merely a week-and-a-half prior to the OKC bombing) where McVeigh, Strassmeir, and Michael Brescia were videotaped by security cameras at Lady Godiva’s strip joint in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Their visit was verified by the *Fifth Estate*, Canada’s version of *60 Minutes*. Of special note is McVeigh bragging to one of the dancers, “On April 19, 1995 you’ll remember me for the rest of your life.”

But to truly understand McVeigh’s role in the OKC bombing, we need to dig a little deeper. David Paul Hammer, who spent 23 months with McVeigh on death row in Terre Haute, Indiana, says that McVeigh told him about meeting with three shadowy men with close ties to the U.S. military shortly after he left the Army. McVeigh also added that these men only went by code names, and that one of the meetings (with someone known only as “the Major”) took place at Camp McCall, which was on the grounds of Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

Could this once again be Vincent Petruskie?

At this meeting with “the Major,” McVeigh was told that he was passed over for a spot in the elite Army Special Forces so that he could be recruited into a black budget Department of Defense project where he would gather intelligence for the government on members of the radical right, including specifically the Aryans, KKK, and militias. Does this sound at all like the groups that inhabited Elohim City? In effect, then, McVeigh would become a pseudo-agent for the United States government.

I realize that such a scenario sounds fantastic, but in a letter that was read in 1995 before a grand jury, Timothy McVeigh’s sister said that he thought he was going into a Special Forces covert tactical unit to fight against evil-doers.

Author David Hoffman confirms this sentiment in his book *The Oklahoma City Bombing and the Politics of Terror*:

McVeigh wrote his sister Jennifer while he was still in the Army telling her that he had been

picked for a highly specialized Special Forces Covert Tactical Unit (CTU) that was involved in illegal activities. The letter was introduced to the federal grand jury. According to former grand juror Hoppy Heidelberg, these illegal activities included “protecting drug shipments, eliminating the competition, and population control.

The AP also reported that the government had been closely monitoring those who came to show their support for the Branch Davidians prior to the Waco siege. McVeigh, of course, was in attendance, handing out anti-New World Order literature.

Could it be that McVeigh had been sheep-dipped in the exact same manner as Lee Harvey Oswald prior to the JFK assassination? To those who’ve studied this subject, we know that Guy Banister and E. Howard Hunt made sure that Oswald was photographed handing out pro-Castro leaflets in New Orleans, and they even got him on a local radio show to secure the connection. Could McVeigh also have been reinvented as a “racist revolutionary” who would play a *Manchurian Candidate* role in some later black-op project?

Before ruling out the possibility, let’s return to another quote from David Hoffman’s book:

In an illuminating series of phone calls to Representative Charles Key, an anonymous source stated that McVeigh was present at several meetings with ATF and DEA agents in the days immediately preceding the bombing. The meetings took place in Oklahoma City at different locations. The ostensible purpose of these meetings was to provide McVeigh with further instructions, and to facilitate a payoff. David Hall of KPOC-TV uncovered information that McVeigh had met with local ATF agent Alex McCauley in a McDonalds the night before the bombing. The ATF agent was seen handing McVeigh an envelope.

Adding another element to the espionage angle is James Nichols, who in his book *Freedom’s End* claims that McVeigh was met in prison by the notorious MK-ULTRA mind-bender Dr. Jolyon West, who not only pronounced Jack Ruby “insane” after killing Lee Harvey Oswald, but also handled Sirhan Sirhan following the Robert F. Kennedy assassination. Moreover, McVeigh also stated that he thought he’d been implanted with a computer microchip while serving in the Army, and many have declared that he was under the influence of mind-control drugs during his incarceration after the bombing.

A further insight into McVeigh’s personality was provided by a woman named Lynda Haner-Mele, who worked with McVeigh at Burns Security in early 1992.

Tim wasn’t the type of person who could initiate action. He was very good if you said, “Tim, watch this door—don’t let anyone through.” The Tim I knew couldn’t have masterminded something like the OKC bombing. It would have had to have been someone who said, “Tim, this is what you do. You drive the truck.”

All of this leads us once again back to Andreas Strassmeir, who admitted that he met Timothy McVeigh in the late spring of 1993 at a Tulsa gun show, and that he was in possession of McVeigh’s Desert Storm military uniforms.

Furthermore, ATF infiltrator-agent Carol Howe has unequivocally stated that Andreas Strassmeir was the OKC mastermind and prime instigator of the bombing; and McVeigh was merely his

protégé. She also said that Strassmeir exerted “extraordinary influence over McVeigh.”

CAROL HOWE

Anyone familiar with the deep dirty secrets of the OKC bombing intuitively that Carol Howe’s role as an informant, along with her subsequent testimony, are the incriminating smoking guns that completely shredded the government’s credibility. For starters, official sources denied that Howe was even employed by them. But now, many years later, we know for a fact that Ms. Howe’s Confidential Informant number was: 53270-183 (or, for short, CI-183).

After being caught in this lie, the government said that Howe was dropped from their employ in June, 1995, after the OKC bombing. But an ATF report dated January 31, 1996 stated, “It is required that CI 53270-183 be retained as an active informant.” Plus, under cross-examination, Howe’s superior, Karen Finley, admitted that she was an active informant until December 18, 1996.

We have further proof of Howe’s status as an informant via internal ATF documents, specifically Karen Finley’s preliminary report, which had an ATF Investigation Number of 53270-94-0124-B, and was recorded on form # 3270.2. This form was signed by not only Finley, but also David E. Roberts (Resident in charge of the Tulsa field office) and Tommy Wittman; and was forwarded to Lester D. Martz, Special Agent in charge of the Dallas Field Division of the ATF.

In this report, Howe’s work was described as “sensitive” and “significant” according to ATF official Robert Sanders.

Furthermore, on Feb. 22, 1995, Ken Stafford, an Oklahoma State Patrol pilot, told Karen Finley that the FBI had an informant inside Elohim City in addition to Howe. In true spy-versus-spy fashion, though, the ATF and FBI agents did not know of the other’s existence or identity. Now that we have proof that Carol Howe was an ATF informant, what type of information did she feed to this agency? To answer this question, we’ll start with ATF Special Agent Karen Finley’s testimony on April 24, 1997:

Question : Ms. Howe told you about Mr. Strassmeir’s threats to blow up federal buildings, didn’t she?

Finley : In general, yes.

Question: That was before the OKC bombing? **Finley:** Yes.

Question: Now, Ms. Howe actually took some

of these people from Elohim City at your direction to Oklahoma City, didn’t she?

Finley : She went with them. She probably didn’t drive.

Question: This trip to OKC by Elohim City residents occurred before the bombings, actually by a few weeks, didn’t it?

Finley: No, it would be months . . . fall of ‘94.

Question: Are you sure? So, it wasn’t the third week of February?

Finley: Oh, I’m sorry; we did send her back.

Question: The very next day, you asked Ms. Howe to take you to Oklahoma City and show you the places they visited, didn’t you?

Finley: I don't know if it was the next day, but yes, I took her to OKC and asked her the places.

With this incriminating testimony in mind, let's cut to the chase. To begin, in the months prior to the OKC bombing, Carol Howe submitted over 70 reports to Karen Finley, her ATF control officer. She was also polygraphed at least a dozen times to check her reliability, and each time she passed with flying colors. Also, ATF reports described Howe as a "key" witness, along with being "stable and capable."

Why, then, wouldn't the ATF want Ms. Howe's testimony to be heard? As we have already seen, it all boils down to foreknowledge and direct complicity. Howe told her superiors in no uncertain terms that Andreas Strassmeir and Dennis Mahon were the primary instigators of the OKC bombing. She also told the ATF that Strassmeir teamed up with a KKK leader from Tulsa—Dennis Mahon—to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Building in Oklahoma.

She also reported that Strassmeir and Mahon made three trips to OKC to case various locales—one in November, 1994; the next in December, 1994; and finally in February, 1995. Howe even accompanied them on one of these trips. Plus, these assertions were corroborated by Karen Finley—under oath—on April 24, 1997. Finley even accompanied Howe to OKC to see the exact areas that Strassmeir and Mahon cased.

Is it clear what is being presented here? The ATF knew that Strassmeir and other Aryan Republican Army members had discussed blowing up federal buildings in OKC. They knew that the Alfred P. Murrah Building was a target, just like it was in 1983 when other Elohim City residents plotted to destroy it. They knew that Timothy McVeigh and others had spoken of bombing the APM Building because Carol Howe notified her superiors of this fact. Even Robert Millar, Elohim City founder, called for a preemptive strike against the government several months before April 19th.

If you're still not convinced, during Carol Howe's trial, ATF Agent Karen Finley testified that the FBI, as well as her agency, "had the information in advance of the bombing of the Murrah Building." She also admitted that Howe warned them of bomb threats against federal buildings before April 19, 1995. In addition, during her own trial, Carol Howe was asked by her lawyer, Clark Brewster, if she thought she had provided sufficient information for the ATF to conduct an investigation that would have confirmed the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building would take place. Howe answered yes. She is also quoted as saying, "It is the indisputable truth that the government had 'detailed prior knowledge' of the plot to bomb the building, but somehow failed to stop it."

Ms. Howe's words are confirmed by an event which took place on February 7, 1995 when Karen Finley and other ATF agents flew with Oklahoma State Patrol pilot Ken Stafford over Elohim City to photograph and videotape the complex to gather intelligence for a possible raid to arrest Strassmeir and others. They were specifically targeting Strassmeir because Howe told ATF officials that he kept declaring, "It's time to go to war," and "It's time to start bombing federal buildings."

This type of inflammatory rhetoric alarmed the authorities to such an extent that an arrest/raid was scheduled for February, 1995. But, in that same month, this invasion of Elohim City was

scrubbed after senior members of the ATF, FBI, and U.S. Attorney's Office met.

The ramifications of this decision cannot be overemphasized, as former Oklahoma State Representative Charles Key stated to *World Net Daily* on May 22, 2001: "It's fair to speculate that the FBI got the ATF to call the raid off, or told them to, or someone with higher authority did." He added, "If they had not called that raid off, it alone may have stopped the bombing of the Murrah Building."

It should also be noted that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) cancelled the FBI's notice to detain Andreas Strassmeir, and that the State Department wouldn't assist in getting Germany's cooperation to question Strassmeir after the bombing. Lastly, even though Carol Howe—who provided mountains of information to the ATF, urged them to raid the Elohim City bunker, and who was taken to the basement of the old Pepco Building in downtown Oklahoma City for debriefing only hours after the bombing—was prohibited from testifying at Timothy McVeigh's trial. The reason? Judge Richard Matsch said that her testimony might "confuse" the jurors.

FOREKNOWLEDGE AT ELOHIM CITY

The most pressing question at this point is: why would those at the highest levels of government—all the way up to the Department of Justice—call off this raid? According to Robert Sanders, a top ATF official, Elohim City was under intense scrutiny by federal agencies at the top levels of management. The reports given to these individuals about the activities at Elohim City include: illegal explosives and firearms, illegal immigration, planned terrorism, a history of violence, and incendiary rhetoric. Worse, this information went to the FBI, ATF, Treasury, Department of Justice, National Security Council, and even Bill Clinton's White House.

Plus, most everyone included in this sordid Elohim City saga was either: an operative, spook, or informant, including: Andreas Strassmeir, Kirk Lyons, Vincent Petruskie, Robert Millar, James Ellison, Peter Langan, Gary Hunt, Timothy McVeigh, and Carol Howe.

The foreknowledge of an April 19 bombing was so widespread that Richard Wayne Snell, a member of James Ellison's Covenant, Sword, & Arm of the Lord, bragged about this catastrophe on the day of his execution—coincidentally on April 19, 1995. Arkansas prison official Alan Ables said of Snell: "He repeatedly predicted that there would be a bombing or explosion on the day of his death." When his prophetic words about the OKC bombing came true, he knowingly chuckled and laughed before being put to death.

Similarly, Chevie Kehoe, another bank robber associated with the Elohim City crowd, showed-up at a Spokane motel about 45 minutes before the bombing to watch the event on CNN. The hotel manager told *The Spokane Review* that Kehoe had been talking about it for days. "It's about time," he eventually proclaimed with manic excitement.

Also, as a side-note, Elohim City founder Robert Millar admitted that Kehoe and his brother had lived at the compound.

Could it be that the entire OKC bombing was a covert government cover-up? Considering all those on the 'inside' who were funneling data to the authorities, plus the totally hands-off, immune status that these men enjoyed, what else can we conclude? Was a cabal within our

federal government actually scapegoating those at Elohim City by enticing them into committing illegal acts, or a conspiracy to do so; all the while as they were being egged-on by paid provocateurs?

The McCurtain Gazette reported (July, 1996) the ominous words of a former government undercover agent who said, “It is typical for agencies such as the CIA, FBI & ATF to place multiple moles inside a place like Elohim City and play one resource off the other, without either one knowing the other’s identity.”

Mike Vanderboegh, editor of *The John Doe Times*, echoed this sentiment on July 4, 1997:

Not even in czarist Russia did the secret police send paid provocateurs to provoke the other paid provocateurs. Elohim City can thus be seen in its true light—not as an operation infiltrated and suborned by infiltrators—but rather as a wholly-owned subsidiary of the FBI/ATF.

STRASSMEIR’S IMMUNITY

Not surprisingly, all of the above information brings us back to Andreas Strassmeir. Karen Finley, Carol Howe’s superior, said in an ATF report on November 29, 1994: “His [Strassmeir’s] plans were to forcibly act to destroy the U.S. government with direct actions and operations such as assassinations, bombings, and mass shootings.” She also informed her superiors that Strassmeir was a huge weapons dealer, and his status as of December, 1994 was that of an illegal alien.

Dennis Mahon, a co-conspirator in the bombing, had this to say of the situation: “If a person wanted to know about the bombing, then they should talk with Andy Strassmeir because he knows everything.”

Similarly, *Media Bypass* reported in September, 1996 that highlevel FBI sources said, “ATF computer indices reflect substantial intelligence-gathering activities in which Strassmeir participated.” They continued, “Either Andy is their snitch or he is under investigation and has been for a long time. And considering the fact that it was Strassmeir that McVeigh made the call to . . . well, why do you suppose he wasn’t interviewed right after that became known? Could it be that Andy’s being protected?”

Ultimately, we have to ask ourselves, who did Strassmeir work for? Quite telling is the fact that when Timothy McVeigh’s attorneys wanted Strassmeir’s files, they had to ask the CIA for them! Also, it is now known that FBI Director Louis Freeh was aware of Strassmeir and had been monitoring his activities, and that he was a subject of interest to the State Department’s Counter-terrorism Division of Diplomatic Protective Services.

More incredibly, a BOLO (Be On Look Out) alert was issued on Strassmeir in the weeks preceding the bombing by Tulsa ATF agents who were seeking his arrest. Yet, even though Strassmeir and Mahon were subjects of investigations in the days after the OKC bombing, they were subsequently dropped from any followups. Why? Is this a case of one hand not knowing what the other was doing, or something more sinister? After all, if Strassmeir was arrested and started to sing, guess where everything would lead: directly to our federal government, and possibly beyond.

British journalist Ambrose Evans-Pritchard described the scenario as such: “The plot was

hatched at Elohim City in the fall of 1994 under the guidance of Dennis Mahon and Andreas Strassmeir, two men who were clearly enjoying the protection of the FBI. McVeigh was undoubtedly part of the movement, and the bombing was probably part of a sting operation that went disastrously wrong.”

Still, despite the incriminating evidence pointing to his involvement in the OKC bombing, in May of 1995, an Oklahoma news service took film footage of Andreas Strassmeir still residing at Elohim City!

Another clip shows him together with Michael Brescia. They were still living there, even after Carol Howe, during her debriefing by the FBI on April 20, 1995, identified Strassmeir as one of the primary perpetrators.

Even a member of the mainstream media—Roger Charles—a former *20/20* producer, told *Soldier of Fortune* magazine in July, 2001 that there was “compelling evidence that Strassmeir had access to prior knowledge regarding the bombing.” He also noted that in subsequent interviews, Strassmeir said that:

- 1) Two yellow trucks were connected to the bombing, not just one;
- 2) Federal authorities put tracking devices on the trucks as they approached OKC that day.

The biggest question now is: where did Strassmeir get his information, and why wasn't he immediately arrested as a suspect? Instead, Strassmeir remained in the U.S. until January, 1996, whereupon he was whisked out of the country. And guess who facilitated this departure. First in line was the infamous attorney Kirk Lyons, while the actual dirty work was performed by Germany's elite counter-terrorism group, the GSG-9.

ANDREAS STRASSMEIR IN HIS OWN WORDS

After Andreas Strassmeir fled the country in early 1996, he began speaking out in various interviews. Here are a few of his more revealing quotes. While reading them, ask yourself: was Strassmeir a simple neo-Nazi klutz, or was he elaborating as someone with deep knowledge from inside the intelligence world?

Quote 1: “It's obvious that it [OKC] was a government op that went wrong, isn't it? The ATF had something going with McVeigh. They were watching him. Of course they were.”

Quote 2: “McVeigh knew he was delivering a bomb, but he had no idea what was in the truck. He just wanted to shake things up a little; ya know, make a gesture.”

Again, we need to ask: Where was Strassmeir getting his information?

Quote 3: When asked by British journalist Ambrose Evans-Pritchard if an informant could ever speak out about Oklahoma City, Strassmeir replied, “How can he? What happens if it [the bombing] was a sting operation from the very beginning?” He continued, “What happens if it comes out that the plant was a provocateur? What then? Of course the informant can't come forward. He's scared stiff right now.”

When Pritchard was asked if he thought Strassmeir was referring to himself as the plant, he

responded, “Of course. There’s no doubt that is exactly what he meant to convey. He was stating it as plainly as he could without admitting criminal culpability. . . .”

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

At this stage, we need to ask once again: were Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols nutty bombers who acted alone to plan, coordinate, orchestrate, execute, and cover up the OKC bombing? As we’ve seen, an overwhelming amount of evidence proves that not only were others involved in this cataclysmic event, but various federal agencies had infiltrated and monitored many of the groups which gravitated to Elohim City. In fact, CNN reported in June, 1995 that two years before the bombing, McVeigh was already being surveilled by undercover agents at an Arizona gun show. Then, on June 3, 1995, *The Washington Post* stated that it was actually a McVeigh associate who tipped off the FBI that he was involved in the bombing. This point is crucial, because it irrefutably contradicts the official story that McVeigh only became known to them after he was arrested by a vigilant police officer during a traffic stop following the bombing.

Now, considering that McVeigh associated with known “hate groups,” and their involvement in the OKC bombing is undeniable, why would organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and Morris Dees’ Southern Poverty Law Center do everything imaginable to deflect blame AWAY from known Aryans, KKKers, and racists? In other words, why were they so vociferously supporting the lone-nut theory when there was an unabashedly militant Nazi enclave at Elohim City? Wouldn’t you think groups such as the ADL and SPLC would want to nail them to the wall at once?

The ADL’s behavior can only be explained when we realize that this agent of the B’nai B’rith—which has secret files on over 10,000 American citizens and over 600 different organizations, while regularly sharing data with the Mossad and CIA—is hiding something. And what, pray tell, could they want to keep from public scrutiny? Quite simply, the ADL was directly involved in tailing Timothy McVeigh in the weeks and years preceding the bombing.

One of the most noted authorities on this subject is Michael Collins Piper, author of *Final Judgment* and *The New Jerusalem*. In an interview with Tom Valentine of *Radio Free America*, Piper stated very directly, “Although a lot of people like to talk about government foreknowledge of the OKC bombing plot, the fact is that much of that government knowledge actually came to the FBI and BATF, and probably even the CIA, from ADL informants active in the ‘right wing.’”

A perfect example of how intricately the ADL had become entwined with McVeigh came about through the most unlikely of scenarios. On April 21, 1995, two days after the OKC bombing, *The Washington Post* ran a story about McVeigh in which they claimed he had placed a series of ads in *The Spotlight*, a populist newspaper that Piper wrote for. The source for this tip was none other than the ADL, and the article said that the ad was placed by McVeigh using the alias “T. Tuttle.” In addition, it also named the dates upon which these ads ran, what he was selling (they mistakenly said rocket launchers when in fact they were flare guns), and that he’d also placed calls on a *Spotlight* phone card under the name “Darryl Bridges.”

Now please remember, this article ran only two days after the bombing. Anyway, after Piper read this reference to the publication by which he was employed, he and others began a painstaking process to see if these assertions were true. It should be noted that *The Spotlight* wasn't computerized, so the employees had to engage in a laborious, time-consuming search to even find the ads in question, let alone verify them. They couldn't simply punch a few keys and have it instantly pop up on their computer screens. Thus, they had to dig through file cabinet after file cabinet to locate these "T. Tuttle" ads.

Mysteriously, though, the ADL had no difficulty in forwarding this information to *The Washington Post*. How could this be, especially when McVeigh didn't even use his real name? The odds of stumbling upon such a find are astronomical. Or, could it be attributed to the ADL's highly sophisticated data bases with all its intelligence apparatus? Or, could it be that this information was already at their fingertips because they had been trailing McVeigh for quite some time?

But wait, the peculiarities get even more bizarre. . . . For starters, the dates upon which the ADL told *The Washington Post* that "T. Tuttle's" ads ran in *The Spotlight* were wrong! McVeigh had originally contracted for the first of four ads to run the week beginning August 9, 1993. But due to some type of production problem at the newspaper, the first ad didn't actually run until the following week—August 16, 1993.

Something seems to be awry, so let's be very clear about this. How could the ADL have known so much about these specific ads when McVeigh was using an alias, and *The Spotlight* records weren't even computerized? Plus, this was only two days after the bombing. So, if we figure in contact time, writing time, pre-production set-up time, printing time, and distribution time, the data had to have come to the ADL immediately. This seems impossible unless they had someone very close to McVeigh.

Michael Collins Piper even went so far as to say of this highlevel connection: "Do you know how the ADL knew that McVeigh had advertised in *The Spotlight*? The ADL had a guy in McVeigh's inner circle, close to McVeigh."

The real clincher, though, resulted from a very peculiar reaction by *The Washington Post* and the ADL.

Upon realizing that the information they had run in their morning edition about the dates of McVeigh's ads was off by a week, and that such a disclosure would undeniably blow their cover, the *Post* completely scrubbed all references to the *Spotlight* ad and "T. Tuttle" in their afternoon edition.

Worse, they even erased all references to this advertisement in their microfiche records.

Strange behavior? You better believe it.

COVER-UP

Despite the preponderance of evidence presented in this section, Joseph Hartzler, the chief prosecutor at Timothy McVeigh's trial, said, "At no time did the FBI consider Andreas Strassmeir a subject of the OKC bombing investigation."

Regrettably for Mr. Hartzler, we now know this statement is untrue, because on April 27, 1995,

FBI Special Agent Hudspeth made a background check on Andreas Strassmeir to German police intelligence.

This report was eventually returned to the State Department's Counter-terrorism Division, Office of Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott.

[As we learned in Volume One of this trilogy, Talbott has been directly linked to Bill Clinton since the late 1960s.—Ed]

Incredibly, in light of all the direct evidence linking Strassmeir to the OKC bombing, the FBI didn't interview him until April 30, 1996, and this wasn't done in person, but via telephone. Such a blatant miscarriage of justice is even more damning when we consider that Strassmeir remained in the United States for eight months after the bombing, and didn't depart for Germany until January, 1996.

During these crucial eight months when Strassmeir remained in the U.S., our government had time to review over 70 reports filed by informant Carol Howe, along with 38 audio cassette tapes and two videotapes. The source of these figures was none other than ATF official Robert Sanders.

And what, you may inquire, was contained in Ms. Howe's recordings and reports? Well, the information pertained to the identity of the Elohim City residents, those who visited the compound, their organizational structure, family trees, telephone numbers, license plate numbers, explosives, guns, and even their tattoos.

Yet Elohim City was never raided . . . not once, even though the ATF and FBI knew that Dennis Mahon had been setting off 500-pound ANFO bombs in the months before April 19, 1995. Why didn't our government even question Mahon about his role in the OKC bombing? It's incredible. In addition, a newly released FBI document which was obtained by Timothy McVeigh's attorney states, "There was evidence withheld by the government that another person could well have been the mastermind behind the bombing." Do you think they could have been referring to Andreas Strassmeir, or somebody even higher than him?

We also know that other relevant information was covered up after the bombing, because on May 10, 2001, the Department of Justice turned over 4,000 previously undisclosed FBI investigative papers. Furthermore, Chairman Dan Burton's House Government Reform Committee uncovered the whereabouts of numerous confiscated videotapes and photographs that most certainly would have refuted the official version of events.

These very same videos have also been cited by the Oklahoma Bombing Investigation Committee (OKBIC), yet the Department of Justice absolutely refuses to release them, even under the Freedom of Information Act.

At this point I could go on and on with a litany of examples which prove that a cabal within our federal government was directly involved in the OKC bombing, and that they subsequently covered up their actions; but instead I'll simply ask one question that harks back to the opening section of this speech: Do you feel that no stone went unturned in Attorney General Janet Reno's investigation?

If your answer is no, then even though the FBI, ATF, and CIA were undeniably complicit in the OKC cover-up, the ultimate responsibility leads directly to the doorstep of Janet Reno, former President Bill Clinton, and Ms. Jamie Gorelick, who was also instrumental in covering up the TWA Flight 800 disaster and 9-11. Militia members at Elohim City were not the ultimate driving force behind the Oklahoma City bombing disaster on April 19, 1995; they were simply a pretext used to cover for much more sinister forces directly inside our own federal government.

BRIGADIER GENERAL BENTON K. PARTIN SPEAKS OUT On December 12, 2004 Lisa Guliani and I interviewed Ben

Partin, who served thirty-one years of active duty in the United States Air Force, where he became known as the premier expert on weapons systems. He was also “responsible for the design and testing of almost every non-nuclear weapon device used in the Air Force.”⁷⁹⁰

During the course of this discussion, Partin spoke out on many subjects, including the infamous bomb which was purportedly used to partially topple the Alfred P. Murrah Building. Partin stated that the amount of ammonium nitrate and fuel oil, commonly known as ANFO, that McVeigh and Nichols supposedly used could not have brought down the building the way the government said it did. Damage to the building was very asymmetrical, it was not adjacent to the Ryder truck (where one would expect it to be), and the columns collapsed in a way that were technical impossibilities in regard to an ANFO bomb. What we should have seen with this sort of device would be a fairly symmetrical pattern because the building itself was symmetrical, yet the damage was not symmetrically consistent with the structure or the resulting crater.

When asked to compare the explosive strength of an open-air bomb to a direct impact bomb, Partin replied, “With an open-air bomb, your blast wave is moving through the air, and the only damage you can have is the damage propagated through air. The damage falls off inversely proportional to the cube of the distance. Now when you have the explosive right up against a concrete column, it doesn’t take that much explosive to destroy the column.” In laymen’s terms, the farther away from a target an open-air bomb is, the less damage will occur. Therefore, the ANFO/Ryder truck bomb wouldn’t be nearly as effective as an explosive placed directly against a building’s column.

Partin continued his analysis of why an ANFO bomb could not have toppled the Alfred P. Murrah Building. “If it would have been in the ballpark to get an explosion out of it, it would not have been able to do the job that they claim it did. It’s technically impossible. Even if it had been perfectly mixed and put there in pristine condition, within the exact proportion, it still would not have done what happened to the Murrah Building.”

At this point, Lisa Guliani broached a subject which boggles the mind in terms of improbability. She explained how in the 25 years prior to the OKC bombing, the public hadn’t heard anything about ANFO bombs. But in early 1994, the BATF and Army Corps of Engineers began conducting ANFO tests at White Plains Missile Range in New Mexico under the code name Dipole Might. Curiously, one of the people involved in that testing was agent Harry Everhart, who also happened to show up on the scene at the OKC bombing.

Here is where circumstances become more than coincidental.

Harry Everhart, who performed the ANFO tests in New Mexico, “is an employee of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms [and is] an accomplished ATF expert in ANFO truck bombs.”⁷⁹¹⁷⁹¹ Now remember, until OKC, ANFO hadn’t been used as a

weapon in any public acts of destruction for twenty-five years.

Then, the year prior to OKC, Everhart started doing tests using this exact substance at a government military base.

So, who “was actually one of the first federal law officers to report the details of the bombing to his superiors from the scene in

front of the Murrah Building, within minutes of the blast”?⁷⁹² It was Harry Everhart! In fact, “the ANFO story was born only ten minutes after the blast when a high-ranking ATF official by the name of Harry Everhart witnessed the blast from nearby and called the ATF office in Dallas to excitedly announce, ‘Someone had just blown up the federal building in OKC with a truckload of ANFO.’”⁷⁹³

First, try to calculate the odds that of all the places on the planet earth where ATF agent Harry Everhart could have been—he being the only man in the country to do official testing on ANFO bombs—that he was precisely in the exact same spot where an ANFO bomb went off—the first time in twenty-five years! The possibility of this happening by chance is so far beyond any stretch of the imagination that it’s incalculable.

Secondly, how could Everhart have “known” so quickly the source of this explosion? “Some reports and investigators who have looked objectively at the bombing now argue that neither Everhart nor anyone else could have correctly deduced in such a short time exactly what caused the explosion.”⁷⁹⁴

Anyway, General Partin said the story that the OKC bombing was performed by one guy—Timothy McVeigh—was phony. Rather, he said McVeigh was a patsy because the Randy Weaver case in Ruby Ridge was blamed on a religious-style militia. Then Waco was blamed on militias. Subsequently, Ruby Ridge and Waco really generated the militia movement in this country. Why? Because people saw the government doing things that were unconstitutional.

Finally, Partin was asked: “If we could rebuild the Alfred P. Murrah Building and put a Ryder truck exactly where it was on the

morning of April 19, 1995, fill it with 4,800 pounds of ANFO, then set it off, how much damage would it actually cause?” Partin didn’t miss a beat. “You would have taken out some of the

flooring on the first floor, and probably a little bit up to the third floor, and that’s about it.” He then went on to explain how the 1993

WTC truck bombing took out the flooring two floors up and three floors down around only one column. That’s it. Plus, the Murrah

Building was more flimsily constructed than the World Trade Center towers (which were two of the strongest buildings ever erected), while the bomb used there went off right next to a column—not an open-air bomb some distance away like at OKC.

Partin concluded by citing seismographic data which showed that there were additional

explosions at the Murrah Building, corroborating what survivors inside the structure testified to later— that it felt like an earthquake when charges *inside the building* were being detonated. Then, moments later, there was another explosion from *outside* the building which sent glass flying inside the building. Thus, seismographic data coincides with the timing of bombs going off inside the building first, then from the Ryder truck outside second. Because he had the courage to be truthful about OKC, General Partin was not called to testify at Timothy McVeigh’s trial in Denver. In his own words, he said the reason why was “because there was too much of a government cover-up.”

ADDENDUM TO DIPOLE MIGHT

Was the ATF in fact responsible, knowingly or unknowingly, for the explosion that destroyed the Murrah Building? Consider the following article which appeared in the June 5, 1995 issue of *Newsweek*:

For the past year, the ATF and the Army Corps of Engineers have been blowing up car bombs at the White Sands Proving Ground in New Mexico. The project, codenamed Dipole Might, is designed to create a computer model to unravel terrorist car and truck bomb attacks. By coincidence, an ATF agent assigned to Dipole Might happened to be in Oklahoma City on April 19th, working at the Federal Courthouse, which stands across the street from the Murrah Building. He saw the devastation and called the ATF office in Dallas. The Murrah Building had just been hit by an ‘ANFO’ (ammonium material) bomb of at least several thousand pounds, he reported. Within minutes, explosives agents trained under Dipole Might were dispatched to the scene. They identified the type and size of the bomb almost immediately.

Just how this agent (Harry Everhart) was able to immediately ascertain the building had been blown up by an ANFO bomb, when no forensic analysis had yet been conducted, is unclear. When Phil O’Halloran, a freelance journalist, attempted to ask the ATF Public Relations Bureau why a Dipole Might expert just happened to be in the courthouse at that moment, and how he could immediately have known the exact nature of the bomb, O’Halloran, rather than be given a rational explanation, was accused of attacking the agency and was promised a fax of agency views on right-wing conspiracists (which never arrived).⁷⁹⁵

(Coincidentally, Project Dipole Might was created via authorization of Bill Clinton’s National Security Council.)

COLLATERAL DAMAGE

The most obvious question is: why would the government plant operatives inside Elohim City to plot an attack *against the government* . . . against itself? Such a notion seems convoluted beyond words. What would their motive be? Also, why would they have informants inside Elohim City who reported back to them (the government), then allow the plan to bomb a federal building move forward unimpeded? The idea makes less sense than the crazed characters did from *Alice in Wonderland*.

If one studies the history of state-sponsored terrorism, rather than accepting the spoon-fed lies delivered by official sources and their compliant lapdog press, an entirely different world will open before your eyes. In this sinister realm, we have a combination of Machiavellian amorality,

Hegel's Dialectic, the end justifying the means, and a term which reportedly came out of Timothy McVeigh's mouth while he sat in prison: collateral damage. From the state's perspective, a few lives—even those of their own citizens—are worth sacrificing as collateral damage in light of a larger agenda. It's hard to imagine a sicker, more evil concept; but it exists, it is real, and it continues to this very day. We the people are pawns; innocent lambs to be slaughtered in a context which we're not even aware of.

So, why OKC; what were their motives?

ONE: "The dormant Anti-terrorism Bill was revived, inflated, and put on the fast track to passage."⁷⁹⁶

What essentially developed after the OKC bombing was pre-Patriot Act legislation which greatly enhanced the government's ability to surveil its citizens. "Before the April 19th bombing, two anti-terrorism bills were moldering in Congress. Since the bombing, they have been scrapped and new shiny versions, with the same repressive slants, have been pushed up before a Congress now rabid about taking out terrorists regardless of the facts, regardless of the cost to the Constitution."⁷⁹⁷

What we're talking about is Big Brother-style Big Government which laid the groundwork for post 9-11 legislation. "The overpowering trend involves more control of the citizenry, more Bill of Rights scrapping, more octopus-maneuvering, more taking over of local functions, more computerizing, more linking, [and] more corporate-government identity of interest and agenda."⁷⁹⁸

Even the terminology used in the mid-1990s was eerily similar to that which would be enacted only a few years later. Here's how it worked. George Bush Sr.'s people created the initial Big Brother legislature; Bill Clinton pushed through the prototype; and then George W. Bush finalized it after 9-11. The entire scenario is part-and-parcel of the Bush-Clinton-Bush cabal that we've witnessed since 1980. Following OKC, we saw "repressive anti-terrorism laws, Internet surveillance, crackdowns on politically suspect dissident groups, and the Clinton Administration's proposal to create a 'Homeland Defense Force' that will allow the U.S. military to police the citizenry."⁷⁹⁹

The most appalling aspect of this 1984 nightmare is that the entire bombing scenario was a fabrication. Timothy McVeigh didn't

even remotely mastermind it. He was a fall guy. The U.S. government knew 100% that not only would OKC happen; they had operatives such as Andreas Strassmeir pushing the event to culmination. Plus, informants like Carol Howe filed continuing reports from the inside, letting the FBI and ATF know precisely what

was taking place. OKC was step one in the modern era of Big Brother government which would eventually seize almost total control of this nation.

TWO: Motive number one was obviously the primary reason for the OKC bombing; but don't for a moment think that the Clintons didn't also have a personal stake in this matter. Stated differently, they saw a way to manipulate events for their own self-interest. As we pointed out earlier, a slew of Clinton scandals was boiling during their first term; many of which were about to be investigated at a federal level. But after OKC, the "focus of attention shifted from investigations into Whitewater, Waco, Ruby Ridge,

Mena, ATF conduct, and the death of Vince Foster—all originally scheduled to begin congressional investigations four weeks after the bombing—to ‘more pressing issues.’”⁸⁰⁰

The resulting media blitz superseded these trials, which were conveniently pushed to a back-burner. OKC, sadly enough, was but the first of many Clintonesque *Wag the Dog* uses of violence, war, and trauma to deflect attention away from their scandals. THREE: The precise target in OKC also became an integral part of the equation to prevent an inquiry into the many Bush-Clinton crimes. “If the records from the Mena drug smuggling operation were moved to the Murrah Building from Little Rock (or duplicates kept there after originals were previously destroyed or disappeared), then it would prove very beneficial to those about to come under congressional investigation in the following months (May/June ‘95) to have those records destroyed, or seized and moved for later destruction.”⁸⁰¹

One has to ask: was the Alfred P. Murrah Building targeted because it housed documents which incriminated the Clintons and Bushes? It’s a distinct possibility.

FOUR: At the time of the OKC bombing, anti-government and militia movements had reached unprecedented levels in this country. Spearheaded by populist and anti-New World Order newspapers and a network of booksellers, these patriot groups began posing enough of a threat to those in Washington D.C. that they had to be taken seriously. But once Timothy McVeigh’s face was plastered on television and magazines across the nation—garbed in a prison orange jumpsuit and scowling at the cameras—the militia movement was immediately and effectively destroyed. Timothy McVeigh—agent provocateur for the government—was their black eye. “A new ‘Barbarian at the Gate’ in the form of ‘militias’ was created by the media; giving citizens a ‘domestic threat’ to worry about.”⁸⁰²

With crew-cut McVeigh sneering and referring to dead babies as collateral damage, the attack “provided the impetus for a statesanctioned war against ‘anti-government’ dissent that has produced a chilling effect on certain forms of political activism in this country ever since.”⁸⁰³

In effect, the “anti-American radical wild-eyed conspiracy theorist militia member” was born; and with the mainstream media, ADL, and Southern Poverty Law Center fueling the fire, those who sought honest government were branded enemies of the state.

Considering the above four motivating factors, it’s safe to conclude that the Bush-Clinton cabal was successful in their endeavor to protect themselves and push forward an agenda by bombing the Alfred P. Murrah Building in Oklahoma City.

THE MURDER OF OFFICER TERRENCE YEAKEY

Throughout the course of this book, a host of corrupt law enforcement officials, intel operatives, and politicians has been exposed for their multitude of illegal activities, including drug trafficking, money laundering, murder, and state-sponsored terrorism. But there are among their ranks *honest* public servants who aren’t bought off, compromised, blackmailed, or motivated by greed or career advancement. In other words, there are still plenty of good guys left.

But guess what happens to these virtuous individuals when they get in the way of those who belong to the Bush-Clinton cabal, the CIA, or the Dixie Mafia. They get brutally murdered in

cold blood.

One of the most tragic examples ever was the case of Oklahoma police officer Terrence Yeakey. This man was one of the first on the scene after the Alfred P. Murrah Building was bombed by ordnance *inside* the structure. His efforts to save men, women, and children went beyond the heroic as he worked gruelingly for two days straight digging through the rubble to find survivors. “On May 11th the following year he was scheduled to receive the Medal of Valor from the Oklahoma City Police Department. He never got it. He was murdered on May 8, 1996, in the country, 2 ½ miles from El Reno.”⁸⁰⁴

Officially, his death was ruled . . . hold your breath . . . a suicide. Yes, another suicide! How did Yeakey supposedly kill himself? This morbid portrait is even worse than the Vince Foster murder. According to public reports, “Terry slashed himself eleven times on both forearms before cutting his own throat twice near the jugular vein. Then, apparently seeking an even more private place to die, he crawled through another mile of rough terrain away from his car and climbed a fence before shooting himself in the head with a small caliber revolver. What appeared to be rope burns on his neck, handcuff bruises to his wrists, and muddy grass embedded in his slash wounds strongly indicated that he had some help in traversing the final distance.”⁸⁰⁵

On the website *Officer.com*, a report stated, “All the autopsy evidence shows that Yeakey’s wounds were consistent with a torture execution. The fatal shot was fired from a pistol with a silencer, held in contact with Yeakey’s skull, leaving a barrel imprint and very little powder residue. No pistol was found at the scene until the FBI arrived, over an hour after his body was found. Handcuff marks were on both wrists according to the funeral home director. By the time the body arrived at the funeral home, the wrist lacerations had been sewn up and mud and grass was inside—showing that Yeakey was dragged through the mud as he attempted to fight off his attackers.”⁸⁰⁶

Yeakey’s death was not a suicide; it was a political assassination. Why? Because Terrence Yeakey witnessed the aftermath of the explosions inside the Murrah Building, and it most certainly did not match up with the official story. On the morning of April 19th he called his wife, crying, “It’s not true. It’s not what they’re saying. It didn’t happen that way.”⁸⁰⁷

What did Terrence Yeakey see inside that federal building? Obviously there were still unexploded bombs, plus the wreckage of those bombs that did not go off, including the twisted beams which could not have resulted from an open-air bomb out on the street. He and others saw what *really* happened. He “may have been the first to discover the sham.”⁸⁰⁸

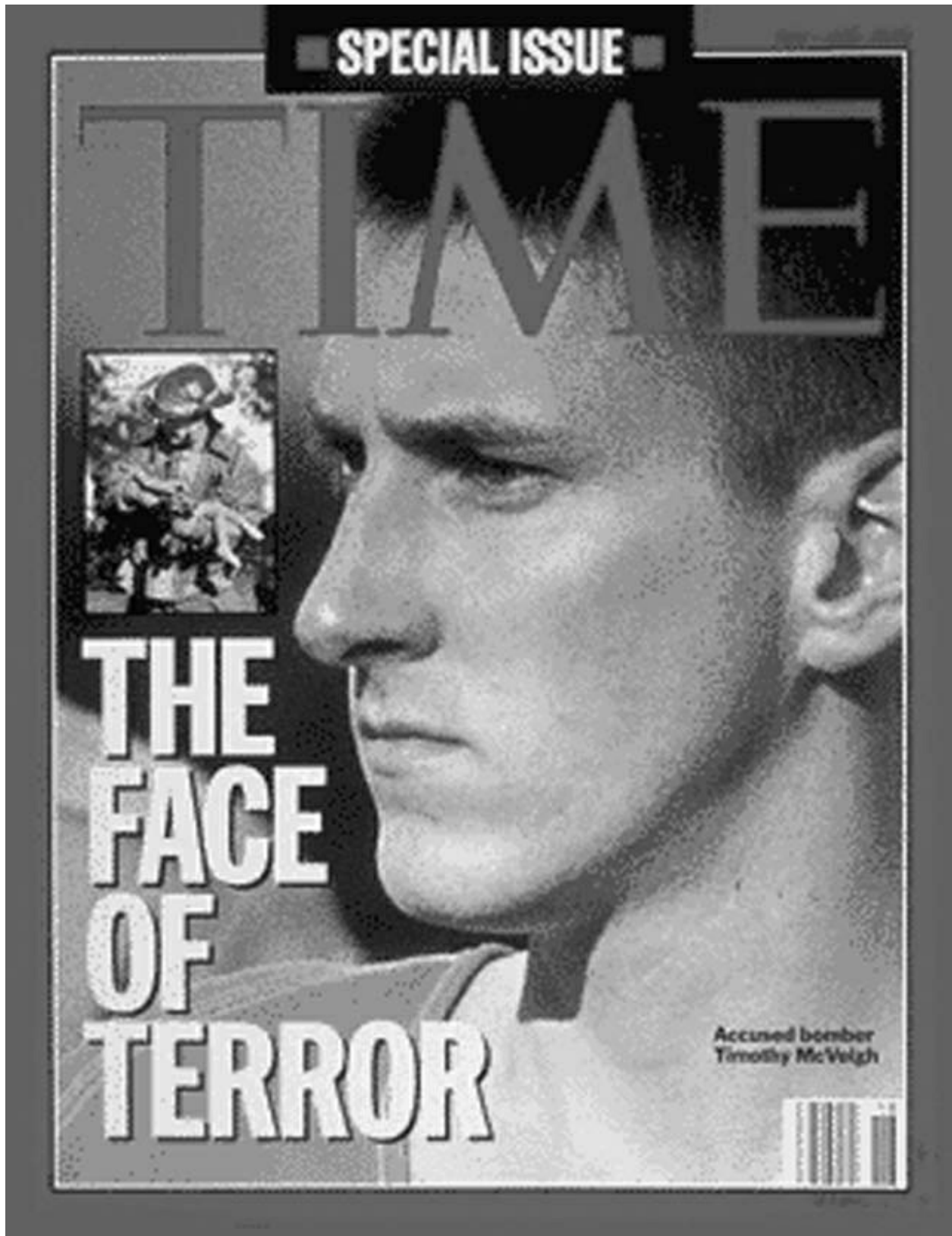
Yes, his wife “Tonia Yeakey revealed that her husband had been very upset by something that he had seen under the day care center on April 19th. He had wanted to go back and photograph it, but the officials would not let him onto the site again.”⁸⁰⁹

Instead of covering up the truth, Yeakey continued to investigate this matter; his actions soon drawing notice from the authorities. On the day of his murder, Terry “was on his way to El Reno to check out something; but first he had to shake the FBI agents who were following him.”⁸¹⁰

He never made it home. Following his murder, “witnesses said that the inside [of his car] looked

like someone had butchered a hog on the front seat.”⁸¹¹

Could Yeakey have been fitting the final pieces to the puzzle, and then preparing to disclose his findings at the OKC Police Department award ceremony while receiving his Medal of Valor? Is that why three days prior to this ceremony, Yeakey was murdered in cold blood? The brutal, gangland-style hit is indicative of the Dixie Mafia’s handiwork; and we need to consider that if they’ll kill an officer of the law in such a hideous fashion, nobody is safe from their barbaric actions.



MASTERMIND OR PATSY? The *Time* magazine Oklahoma City “special issue” depicting the purported mastermind of the bombing of the Murrah building, Tim McVeigh, is shown above. McVeigh, it turns out, was more surprised than anyone when

the small “send a message” bomb he thought he was carrying appeared to rip the entire face off of the OKC federal building. We now know McVeigh had contact with a wide array of ADL and FBI agents as well as an intriguing cast of characters including German intelligence operative Andreas Strassmeir.

OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBINGS---SPLIT IN FBI?

by Sherman H. Skolnick 05/11/01

A possible split in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and other federal agencies, may open up various possibilities as to what really happened as to the bombings in Oklahoma City, April 19, 1995. And we use the term BOMBINGS in the plural advisedly, because some explosives experts contend fertilizer bombs in a front-of-the-building truck could not have wrecked the building pillars as occurred.

Background President Clinton felt his power slipping away. The 1994 Congressional elections, considered by fellow Democrats as a Clinton-caused disaster, brought in a noisy GOP majority. In the spring of 1995, a small group of highly patriotic flag officers were plotting to arrest their Commander-in-Chief Clinton for giving military secrets to the Red Chinese, a sworn enemy of the U.S.; an arrest provided for and authorized under the military code. As titular head of both the U.S. civilian and military Establishment, Clinton, on the other hand, could have arrested the 24 Admirals and Generals for mutiny. If they were not assassinated, they intended to defend themselves with proof, such as Clinton giving, to the head of the Red Chinese Secret Police, in the White House and elsewhere, U.S. financial, industrial, and MILITARY secrets. Giving aid and comfort to a sworn enemy of the U.S., the classical definition of treason.

Clinton felt he could nevertheless control the situation, notwithstanding the plot against him. Just prior to the 1994 elections was appointed to investigate Bill and Hillary, a supposed "Independent Counsel", Kenneth W. Starr. But Starr had built-in conflicts of interest, as Clinton was aware. Starr had as a private law client, Wang Jun, head of the Red Chinese Secret Police. Wang Jun also headed a Red Chinese military-owned company that made and marketed AK-47 submachine guns, intended for shipment to U.S. inner-city narco-terrorist street gangs, for shoot-em-ups with big city police, to destabilize the U.S. government.

Moreover, Starr was reportedly the UNREGISTERED foreign lobbyist for the Red Chinese government. Starr was thus subject at any time, to Clinton Justice Department punishment.

[Visit our extensive website series, "Red Chinese Secret Police IN THE UNITED STATES".]

On Monday, April 17, 1995, a military jet planeload of top military was enroute to Dallas. They had onboard what is not supposed to exist, an American prisoner-of-war, prepared to finger the Pentagon as perpetuated by Clinton, as continuing the POW/Missing in Action cover-up from the Viet Nam war. From sabotage, the plane blew up in the air, killing all onboard, near Alexander City, Alabama. The Pentagon made every effort to cover up what happened. Families of the victims were reportedly not permitted to have any possessions or details. There are strong reasons to believe the plane had a portion of a group of "Seven Days in May" style military officers plotting a coup against the White House. Thereafter, the small group of other flag officers, out of uniform, took up residence in a Paris suburb. A year later, the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Jeremy Boorda, apparently aware of the coup, was assassinated and covered up as a "suicide",

a favorite whitewash by the monopoly press. And about the time of Boorda's murder, was assassinated William Colby, former Director of Central Intelligence. He reportedly was assisting the plotters with detailed data. Colby's death was explained by the pressfakers as a "boat accident", although his friends contend it was murder.

Clinton, as President, was fully aware that Oklahoma City had as residents, a large number of Iraqi military officers and their families, some officers of Iraqi Intelligence units, supposed defectors after the Persian Gulf War, 1991, brought into the U.S. by President George Herbert Walker Bush. Iraq, as Clinton knew, was planning a revenge terrorist attack against a federal office building in Oklahoma City, using U.S. dissidents as surrogates, but insulated from the actual Iraqi handlers. The FBI, the CIA, and other in the intelligence community, have pictures and records showing the Iraqi military officers supervising the Murrah Building bombings. [Local Oklahoma TV reporters confirming this in part were fired or otherwise punished.]

Little if at all publicized was that prior to the Timothy McVeigh trial, the head of his defense team, Stephen Jones, filed an extra-ordinary petition in the Federal Appeals court, called Petition for Mandamus. It sought to force the Denver trial judge who was set to hear the McVeigh murder case removed from Oklahoma City, to release certain secret documents possessed by various federal intelligence agencies. Referring to the secret as well as public court records, Jones' Petition pointed out that U.S. intelligence agencies were aware of Iraqi complicity in the Murrah Building bombing. For apparent reasons of "national security", a catch-all whitewash excuse, the federal appeals court rejected the Petition and the McVeigh murder trial, minus the revealing records, proceeded.

A U.S. Secret Service Agent, Witcher, in a position to finger Clinton on other matters, was steered into occupying an office in the Murrah Building. He died in the disaster. [We have one of the few pictures of him.] Clinton, apparently faking remorse, later attended a memorial for the agent. At the time of the bombings, the U.S. Treasury's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Fire-Arms, headquartered in the Murrah Building, was planning an exercise as to how to "sting" or flush out would-be domestic terrorists. Something went wrong with their "sting" operation. The BATF knew not to have their personnel in the Alfred Murrah Building on that Wednesday, April 19, 1995. A local fire official was likewise warned. So was a local judge in a nearby building, warned of an expected bombing that day.

Making a rare appearance on CBS' "Sixty Minutes" Program, Clinton described the tragedy as a "plot to overthrow the government". With his power and prestige waning prior to the bombings, Clinton with the complicity of the spy-riddled monopoly press, now urged the public to support and rally around their President. Clinton and the presswhores used the bombings as an excuse to want to punish and round-up U.S. domestic dissidents that were heckling the central government in Washington. [Similarly, when Adolph Hitler came to power, he had the German Parliament burned down and falsely blamed on dissidents, to consolidate his power and have an excuse to round-up opponents to the Nazi Party.]

Right before the scheduled execution of McVeigh, an apparent split has developed in the FBI. There is reason to believe the split is also in other intelligence agencies. The target of the divergence is both current alleged "President" or White House "resident" George W. Bush and former President Clinton. Through his father, George W. Bush is in a position to know, and want to cover up, the complicity of the Iraqi officers on U.S. soil in the Oklahoma City bombings. Also, former President Clinton, somewhere in the future, may well be subject to federal criminal prosecution for treason and the murder of the 168 who died in the Murrah Building bombings. Are other records about to be revealed? Some believe so.

Based on a little-known Federal case in Chicago, 1991, where I was the only spectator and journalist present, I did exclusive stories on how the Elder Bush in the decade of the 1980s, was a PRIVATE business partner of Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein. Together, they shook down the weak sheikdoms in the Persian Gulf for billions and billions of dollars of oil kick-backs. The Persian Gulf War, in its simplest form, was merely two private business partners having a falling out and wanting to punish one another. Through foreign units of his firm, Halliburton, Vice President Richard Cheney has extensive business with Iraq on oil-country machinery and such. Prior to being Vice President, Cheney was CEO of Halliburton. Through Harken Energy, and a massive swindle, George W. Bush has extensive interests in the Persian Gulf and conflicts of interest as to Iraq as a so-called subdued "enemy" of the U.S.

Tell me if you can WHAT IS THE REASON NONE DARE CALL THIS TREASON?

More coming. Stay tuned.

OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBINGS---SPLIT IN FBI? FURTHER DETAILS
by Sherman H. Skolnick 05/11/01

The following further details in this report might be helpful in understanding the situation

1. As stated, the head of the McVeigh defense team, attorney Stephen Jones, prior to the 1997 McVeigh murder trial, filed a Petition for Mandamus, an extra-ordinary attempted remedy in the U.S. Court of Appeals, 10th Circuit, Denver. Because of perceived prejudice against a fair trial in Oklahoma, the case had been transferred to Denver U.S. District Judge Richard Matsch. Prior to the beginning of the trial, Jones was attempting to force Judge Matsch to order the release of secret records in the possession of U.S. intelligence agencies, corroborating that U.S. dissidents were secretly surrogates for an Iraqi revenge plot to carry out a major terrorist attack on an Oklahoma City federal office building. That these records, also referred to in secret court records, would show Iraqi complicity, as known in advance by U.S. intelligence agencies, as referred to in Jones' unpublicized Petition of some 185 pages.

The spy-riddled monopoly press did not bring out an important detail. Namely, that Judge Matsch was intimidated into keeping these records secret to protect the Clinton White House cover-up of the multiple bombings of the Murrah Building as well as protecting the FBI, the CIA, the NSA, and others of the spy agency Establishment. How? Judge Matsch's daughter was apparently murdered. She somehow fell into a volcano in

Hawaii. This apparent murder made the Judge naturally distraught. The apparent murder example also was known to and intimidated the Federal Appeals Judges in Denver who after the McVeigh murder trial, conducted without these highly revealing records, upheld the District Court's guilty verdict of McVeigh. So both the trial judge and the federal appeals Judges in Denver had been coerced into going along with a cover up by murder close to home.

Will trial Judge Matsch and/or the federal appeals judges, all apparently intimidated by the apparent murder, do something at this late date to bring out the true nature of the bombings of a federal office building in Oklahoma City?

2. The apparent split in the FBI by which some three thousand records suddenly showed up also involves the super-secret Federal Emergency Management Agency, FEMA. Seldom accurately referred to by the pressfakers, FEMA is not authorized OR FUNDED by Congress. According to very well placed sources, FEMA secretly funds their covert operations, planning to run the U.S. FROM ABOVE THE U.S. CONSTITUTION, with huge funds garnered from the CIA's dope trafficking into the U.S. Vice President Richard Cheney has promoted the idea that FEMA should take over all anti-terrorist planning of the U.S., thus excluding the FBI, and causing a rift between the FBI and FEMA. Yes, FEMA seeks to run the U.S. from ABOVE the U.S. Constitution and yes, I recognize such a doing is itself unconstitutional.

[The martial law edict, quietly signed several years ago by President Clinton and carried over by alleged "President" or White House "resident" George W. Bush, provides---now get this---that no judge in the U.S. has jurisdiction to consider any challenge to the martial law edict. We are about the only ones publicly stating that several federal judges in the U.S. wear two hats---one as federal judge, and two, generally unknown, as FEMA official. One such judge sits in the Federal Court in Chicago. We pointed all these details out in a several hundred page documented lawsuit, in January, 1991, against FEMA, in Chicago's Federal District Court. Yes, a federal judge on behalf of FEMA dismissed our suit in secret, without any legal formality.]

3. Despite the military coup planned against Clinton as President, referred to in our story, Clinton was never concerned. Why? Because he had reason to know that his rise to and stay in power was orchestrated with the aid of blackmail and murder. We mentioned how supposed "Independent Counsel" Kenneth W. Starr was blackmailed. Clinton benefitted from an epidemic of suspicious if not sabotaged military aircraft crashes and from the strange death of those who knew too much about Clinton and about the military coup plot against him.

One of those who knew too much and was reportedly sympathetic if not supportive of the coup, was General David McCloud, head of the Alaska Military District. He died in a sabotaged plane crash. His military colleagues are aware of the terrible details but refuse to allow a reporter to publicly identify them or take their position public. His relatives tend to agree with our details.

4. Some in the monopoly press, who talk to us off the record and we agree never to identify them as sources, contend such details as in our stories, which they believe to be

true but cannot go in print or on the air with them, could well topple the U.S. government. Why? Because the ruling elite, whose faces are seldom seen, are governing us from behind the scenes in contradiction of the U.S. Constitution and laws.

5. Is there a rationale by the ruling elite for the cover up of the true nature of the bombings of the Murrah Building? They fear, supposedly, a full scale war with Iraq which now has chemical and biological weapons as well as some types of nuclear bomb devices. Furthermore, any ruckus with Iraq over the Murrah Building inevitably would involve the current German government Establishment. Why? A German counter-intelligence agent, on behalf of Iraq, supervised the U.S. domestic dissidents in the limited role outside the Murrah Building while others had already planted explosive devices INSIDE the building to go off about the same moment as the ineffective truck fertilizer bomb outside. That agent, known to the American CIA, reportedly was Andreas Strasmeier, whose elders reportedly were pro-Hitler. Little understood German industry has supplied much of the weaponry for Iraq. And, they built a 60-foot-under-the-ground bomb shelter for Saddam Hussein as well as other super-secret buildings, machines, and weaponry for Iraq. All while Germany professes to be pro-West and pro-U.S.

Also, in our stories about the murder of Clinton White House Deputy Counsel Vincent W. Foster, Jr., we mentioned that German Counter-Intelligence [also tied to Strasmeir] in Frankfurt, had advance knowledge of a foreign team set to murder Foster. [See our website stories, "Greenspan Aids and Bribes Bush", Part Four.] And study our website story about how Foster was part of a team, trying to assist the FBI, in arresting international swindler Marc Rich, at the Swiss/French border [Affidavit of former CIA operative Leo Wanta.]

In an honest world, if McVeigh is to be severely punished for his limited role in the bombings, also deserving of major punishment would be William Rockefeller Clinton and his crony, George W. Bush, as well as the Elder Bush, George Herbert Walker Bush, for their cover up complicity in the 168 murders on behalf of Iraq.

6. Timothy McVeigh, a purported expert in secret code usage, cryptography, has been communicating in code with author Gore Vidal who was on an extremely short list of those McVeigh wanted to witness his supposed execution. {Study Gore Vidal's book "1876" and how it predicted the strange 2000 election. See our website series on the year 2000 alleged election.} Gore Vidal, a third level cousin of Albert Gore, Jr., [they are on the outs with each other] reportedly has a witnessed Affidavit from Timothy McVeigh supposedly setting forth "smoking gun" details that could scandalize the American government and Presidents George Herbert Walker Bush, Bill Clinton, and Bush's son, George W.

How is it that high-level types are so dedicated to destroying and discrediting the American central government? Isn't this something the British monarchy and aristocracy have been trying to do since at least the War of 1812? And British complicity in the murders of President Abraham Lincoln, President James Garfield, and President William McKinley, all who opposed the British plans to take back this continent and its peoples as subjects of a British colonial rule.

[Visit our website series, "Greenspan Aids and Bribes Bush", to which are attached secret Federal Reserve wire transfer records showing billions and billions of dollars, from worldwide illicit dope trafficking and such, to the joint account of the Bush family with the Queen of England at her private bank, owned by the Queen, Coutts Bank London, as authorized under the secret codes of Greenspan.]

More coming. Stay tuned.

Red Mercury Tritium Lithium Micro Nuke Sherman Skolnick Oklahoma City Bombing.txt
[6] As confirmed as to contents, by the FBI/CIA/intelligence agencies surveillance of Timothy McVeigh in the company of his Iraqi military officer handlers, McVeigh and his handlers carried around several suitcases. Some of them contained highly effective C- 4 explosives. One suitcase contained a lower level sub- atomic device, known as "Red Mercury". The suitcase nuke had been developed by the Soviets and made available to their client- state, Iraq. The shearing off of the steel pillars of the Murrah Building was NOT done by a fertilizer truck- bomb from in front of the building. Rather, by devices in the parking section of the basement. As reported by a researcher, "Jane Graham, a sixty year old Federal Housing Services employee, was on the ninth floor of the Murrah Building when she saw, heard and felt the rolling tremor of the building accompanied by a slow rumbling explosion. About 6 to 8 seconds later, she was struck by a much more powerful and sudden explosion that lifted the floors of the building straight up. About 3 hours after the explosions took place she saw and later obtained video recordings of the federals pouring wet concrete into the 25 foot crater in the basement of the Murrah Building. Even though she demanded to testify before the Grand Jury she was not allowed to do so. Nor was she allowed to testify at all concerning any of the proceedings surrounding the Oklahoma City Massacre. Many other witnesses report similar experiences. Most witnesses are too fearful to speak out." As sent to us by e- mail from Reinhold Sommerstedt wealthassure@earthlink.net, 6/8/01. Independent persons, with radiation gauges, called Geiger Counters, tried to measure the radiation after the explosions, but were not permitted to get that close. In the past, I have been heckled for my exclusive stories that nuclear- type radiation residue, from tritium, was found and secretly measured by government operatives in the bombsite. Luckily or otherwise, what was discovered were left- overs of tritium. Unlike plutonium, tritium does not have a hundred- year or more "half- life", the period during which it can still greatly harm. Some contend the half- life of tritium is as little as thirty days. Critical of the fertilizer truck- bomb theory, author David Hoffman in his book did state: An article in The Nashville Tennessean insists Saddam Hussein has been developing 220 pounds of Lithium 6 a year. Lithium 6 can be converted to TRITIUM, an essential ingredient in thermonuclear reactions." (Emphasis added.) And in a footnote " 'Iraq Also Worked on Hydrogen Bomb', Associated Press, quoted in The Nashville Tennessean, 10/9/91, as quoted in Charles T. Harrison, 'Hell in a Hand Basket The Threat of Portable Nuclear Weapons', Military Review, May, 1993." The Oklahoma City Bombing and the Politics of Terror, Feral House, original 1998 Edition, page 14.

OKLAHOMA CITY

What the Investigation Missed—
and Why It Still Matters

Andrew Gumbel &
Roger G. Charles



Oklahoma City

What the Investigation Missed—and Why It Still Matters

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WILLIAM MORROW

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Dedication

*To those whose lives were shattered or lost on April 19, 1995,
and to the admirable men and women who wanted it
told as it was*

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PROLOGUE

There are, as a result of the investigation and the presentation of the evidence in this case, a number of questions unanswered.... It would be disappointing to me if the law enforcement agencies of the United States government have quit looking for answers in this Oklahoma bombing tragedy.

—RICHARD P. MATSCH, PRESIDING JUDGE IN THE McVEIGH AND NICHOLS TRIALS

I'm thoroughly convinced we're going to have another domestic terrorist act in this country that is going to be beyond our imagination, beyond Oklahoma City.

—KERRY NOBLE, REFORMED MILITANT FROM THE RADICAL FAR RIGHT

Why read about the Oklahoma City bombing, after so long? Many Americans think of the events of April 19, 1995, as a jarring interruption to an otherwise peaceful decade, a disturbing story whose shockwaves, mercifully, did not resonate for long. They remember it as the work of two disaffected army veterans from the heartland, who pulled together their deadly payload from ordinary farm fertilizer and delivered it in a Ryder truck to a city unprepared for such destruction.

But that is only part of what happened. While the guilt of the two principal defendants, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, was established beyond doubt at trial, many other things were sidestepped: the dysfunction within the country's law enforcement agencies, which missed opportunities to penetrate the radical right and prevent the bombing; the question of who inspired the bombing and who else might have been involved; and evidence contradicting the government's repeated insistence that investigators had everything under control and that, ultimately, the system worked.

This litany may sound familiar from the controversies following the September 11 attacks, and it should. Many of the same institutional problems and misplaced political priorities that blinded the country to the threat from al-Qaeda in 2001 were responsible, six years earlier, for a refusal to take the threat of paramilitary violence from the radical right with the requisite seriousness. Attorney General John Ashcroft was more interested in public decency and outlawing medical marijuana than in reports of suspicious foreigners enrolling in flight schools; likewise, his predecessor, Janet Reno, pushed her Justice

Department to crack down on deadbeat dads while playing down reports of radicals advocating bombings, assassinations, and shootings.

One problem, as in 2001, was a failure by law enforcement agencies to see past their own rivalries. Another was an assumption that the threats were just empty rhetoric from the mouths of social outcasts incapable of holding down a regular job, much less doing real damage.

The lessons of Oklahoma City have never been properly articulated. Yet they are important, because the conditions that led to the deaths of 168 people at the Murrah Building in downtown Oklahoma City, and the shattering of thousands of other lives through grief or injury, could easily be replicated. McVeigh was a traumatized veteran of the first Gulf War, who felt validated by his experience of warfare but returned home to disillusion, recession, and a bleak future of dead-end jobs. He found solace in his fascination with fire-arms and survivalism, bounced around the country on the gun-show circuit, and shared the company of angry young men like himself. Sometimes they blamed blacks and Jews; other times they directed their anger at the federal authorities. When a government siege at the Branch Davidian religious compound in Waco, Texas, went horribly awry in early 1993, McVeigh and his cohorts decided it was time to stop complaining and take action, because a government capable of deploying tanks against civilians and watching children burn to death could not be counted on to leave anyone in peace.

No two moments in history are exactly alike, of course, but it is not difficult to see how new McVeighs could emerge from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the lingering devastation of the 2008 economic meltdown, and the anti-establishment rage embodied by everyone from the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street to the violent racists threatening to put a bullet in the brain of America's first black president. The government is no better at tracking political extremism or mental instability in the armed forces than it was in the early 1990s. Too many dangerous people have a measure of military training, as a much-discussed Department of Homeland Security report found in 2009; too many have access to a fearsome array of firearms and explosives.

The choices made by McVeigh and his fellow conspirators were abhorrent, but their story is still quintessentially American, a story of hopes raised and dashed against a backdrop of violence, political agitation, and individual restlessness. "The personality susceptible to the dream of limitless freedom," Jonathan Franzen wrote in his novel *Freedom*, "is a personality also prone, should the dream ever sour, to misanthropy and rage." McVeigh and his friends were just such personalities, with an added layer of idealistic fervor to spur them beyond their resentments to deadly action. They saw themselves in the same

mold as the eighteenth-century revolutionaries who fought off British rule. They called themselves patriots, seeing little or no contradiction between the violence they advocated and the many wars waged by their government in the name of honor, freedom, and country.

“America has always had a war culture,” the social historian Billy Gibson wrote in *Warrior Dreams*, a remarkable study of America’s paramilitary frenzy in the wake of Vietnam. “This culture has two fundamental stories, one celebrating the individual gunman who acts on his own (or in loose concert with other men); the other portraying the good soldier who belongs to an official military or police unit and serves as a representative defender of national honor.” Intriguingly, McVeigh fit both categories—first as the exemplary infantryman who won medals in the Gulf, then as the underground warrior convincing himself that a bold statement in Oklahoma City could trigger a general uprising. In both incarnations, he was indeed the good soldier, confident of his mission and clear about his cause.

Many people were shocked when McVeigh dismissed the children who died in the Murrah Building’s day-care center as “collateral damage,” the necessary price of warfare. But these words were military terminology he had learned in the army. McVeigh was extraordinarily callous in his choice of target, and he made a crucial strategic error in killing so many innocent people, because his act provoked only revulsion and snuffed out the revolution he hoped it would start. Still, he defended the military integrity of his actions to the end.

In many ways, this is a story of failure. The radical far right wanted to wage a war of “leaderless resistance,” in which hardened fighters would form paramilitary cells and make command decisions that would be shared on a need-to-know basis. But these were not people temperamentally disposed to waging a subtle war of attrition, and they lapsed easily into indiscipline and poor judgment. Everything about the Oklahoma plot screamed overkill, where a more carefully targeted attack might have been more effective. Several people in the far-right believed McVeigh would hit the federal courthouse next to the Murrah Building as part of a nationwide assault on the judiciary. Others thought he would detonate the bomb at night. But McVeigh had his own ideas.

The government’s law enforcement agencies also failed—by taking their eye off the radical right at a time when advocacy groups were sounding the alarm, and by shying away when presented with evidence of actual criminal behavior. The FBI and the ATF spent a lot of energy after the bombing blaming each other for the warning signs they missed, and for information they failed to share about known radicals congregating to plot a revolutionary war. But both agencies were at fault.

The overwhelming pressure to hunt down the bombers gave rise to a sledgehammer approach to questioning and apprehending McVeigh's closest associates, offering them and others a chance to destroy evidence and rehearse stories. The government stopped investigating certain suspects—Michael and Lori Fortier, Steve Colbern, and Roger Moore—because it was more interested in securing their testimony against McVeigh and Nichols than in exploring their deeper involvement. That, too, constituted a profound failure.

Once the shape of the case was set, the search for other suspects, or a larger conspiracy, came to be viewed as a risky fishing expedition. Evidence that might have established links between McVeigh and other criminal cells was ignored. In some cases, it was destroyed.

CHALLENGING THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF A MAJOR HISTORICAL event can seem presumptuous, even foolhardy. Journalists and authors, after all, do not have subpoena power, forensics laboratories, or polygraph kits. We cannot interview 18,000 witnesses or run down 43,000 leads, as the Oklahoma City investigators did.

What we do have, in this case, is the opportunity to review the government's work from start to finish. This book is based on records that have been unearthed for the first time, including the complete archive of documents shared with the defense teams in the two federal trials and in Terry Nichols's state trial in Oklahoma. We also have a voluminous body of writings from Nichols, who did not utter a word for ten years after his arrest but agreed to discuss the case with us in great detail.

Much of the freshness of our perspective comes from the people at the heart of the effort to bring the bombing perpetrators to justice: law enforcement managers and street agents, federal prosecutors, even—as the quote at the beginning of this preface demonstrates—the trial judge. Many continue to harbor strong feelings about what they experienced, the pressures they faced, the screw-ups, manipulations, and lost opportunities, and the shocking number of talented senior investigators—the ones best placed to penetrate the bombing's enduring mysteries—who were prevented from contributing to a case that should have been the crowning pinnacle of their careers.

Institutionally, the narrative was kept simple and straightforward. A sign on the prosecutors' office door read: *DON'T BURY THE STORY IN THE EVIDENCE*. But many of those quoted in these pages remain skeptical that all the perpetrators were caught, that the FBI and the other investigative agencies tracked down every lead, that the case really was, as Oklahoma's then-governor Frank Keating put it, "the FBI's finest hour."

Oklahoma City was by far the largest criminal investigation in the United States before 9/11. In hindsight, it looks less like a detective story than an anti-detective story, in which government investigators chose *not* to follow the evidence wherever it led. Instead, they closed down critical lines of inquiry, for fear of what they might find and what it might reveal about their own failings.

The official narrative of two sad misfits acting alone underwent some corrections at trial. Nichols was cleared of first-degree murder and spared the death penalty, following a series of prosecutorial setbacks and “gotcha” moments on the witness stand. Still, the trials were principally about the government’s evidence, as trials almost always are; attempts by the defense teams to extend the case to possible coconspirators, or to the involvement of other countries, fell largely flat.

Michael Tigar, who was brilliantly effective as Nichols’s lead defense attorney, has written how the full story never quite seems to be told at trial but is reduced to “shadows on the courthouse wall”—shards of witness narrative here and forensic evidence there, all of which needs to be ascribed meaning and fashioned into shape for the jury. Some of that epistemological uncertainty applies to this book, too. The FBI did not record its interviews, so its witness reports are fraught with problems of interpretation. Did the agents ask the right questions? Did they write down the answers accurately? Were they, too, interested in telling their bosses what they wanted to hear? Were there deliberate attempts, motivated by internal politics, to keep things out of the written record? Some of the FBI’s missteps were exposed at trial, particularly under cross-examination of witnesses who did not like the way their statements were misinterpreted. But the witness testimony itself was problematic. Federal law does not preclude FBI agents and prosecuting attorneys from taking witnesses through their statements before trial—an exercise which, if done honestly, can conceivably enhance precision but, in practice, can look a lot like coaching or coercion.

Without the full story, it can be tempting to look at those shadows on the wall and construct phantoms—shapes and patterns that are seductive for one reason or another but do not have the solidity of documentable truth. Government agencies responding to criticism of the Oklahoma City case have frequently sought to tar their detractors as conspiracy theorists, dishonest information-brokers pulling together random pieces of information to serve a self-interested agenda. Some of that tarring has been richly deserved. Just as there was nothing simple about the people who perpetrated the bombing, there was nothing inherently crude or sinister or conniving about the investigators and prosecutors who brought them to justice. If they were incompetent or dishonest,

it was not by default.

That said, the “conspiracy theory” label has also been misused and manipulated by government officials who have preferred not to engage with their critics or address their mistakes. Daring to criticize the ATF for inconsistencies in its agents’ accounts of April 19 is *not* the same as accusing the agency of collusion in the bombing. To draw that inference, as the ATF has sometimes done, is lazy, dishonest, and a deliberate attempt to confuse the real issues.

This book makes no apologies for humanizing its characters, whether they are lawyers, prosecutors, law enforcement officers, rescue workers, bereaved victims, white supremacist agitators, or hardened criminals. They are all human beings, which makes them complex, flawed, idiosyncratic, inconsistent, and prone to disagreements with their friends and associates. Humanizing them is not the same as indulging or excusing them; nobody reading this book will come away feeling that its subjects have been given a free pass for their transgressions. But it is important not to caricature or demonize even the worst of them, because understanding can come only with an appreciation of the messiness, complexity, and ambiguity of their motives and interactions.

The Oklahoma City bombing *was* a conspiracy, and McVeigh and Nichols were charged accordingly. The real question is: how far did the conspiracy go? In preparing for trial, the FBI and prosecution wanted to keep things simple, so the jury would see a clear path to conviction. In the process, they mangled evidence, withheld documents, distorted testimony, gave deals to potential suspects, and lost sight of crucial chunks of the real story. The government was fortunate that its desire to pin the crime on McVeigh coincided with McVeigh’s own desire to take full credit and become a martyr-hero to his cause. Both sides, in the end, colluded to cover up the truth.

An author has an important advantage over law enforcement or even the most adept trial lawyer: he can weigh the available information without worrying where it might lead, or who it might compromise, or whether it will meet some high burden of proof. The following pages are an attempt to reconstitute events as they happened, to understand what went right and wrong, to separate what we know from what we don’t know, and to identify the appropriate lessons. Those who are still living can speak for themselves and are entitled to be heard. The dead deserve as much truth as we can offer.

THE ROAD TO OKLAHOMA

Sometime in mid-April 1995, Cliff Mogg and Dan Humphries, two bomb disposal experts from Kirtland Air Force Base in New Mexico, were ordered at short notice to drive more than five hundred miles across the Great Plains to Oklahoma City. The men do not appear to have been told much about their mission. When they arrived, they were put up in a nondescript chain hotel on the north side of town and ordered to stay put until told otherwise.

One day passed, then two, then three. Still they were told to keep to themselves.

Military explosives and ordinance disposal teams are often deployed to help protect high-level dignitaries, but Oklahoma City was expecting no such official visits in the latter half of April 1995. Mogg's written orders from the 377th Air Base Wing designated him an explosive technical escort, and his brief included "emergency response to incidents involving DoD [Department of Defense] munitions/explosives/weapons systems." Had the men been summoned to defuse a bomb?

If so, they were not given the chance. Just after 9:00 A.M. on April 19, a huge explosion ripped the heart out of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in downtown Oklahoma City, killing 168 people and injuring hundreds of others. Mogg and Humphries never came close to the truck carrying the bomb. They were not asked to help determine the cause of the explosion or to join the incipient criminal investigation.

Instead, with the city in chaos, they left Oklahoma City as mysteriously as they had arrived.

Years later, when he was no longer with the military, Cliff Mogg acknowledged the strange episode. "Yes," he told the investigative reporter Don Devereux, demonstrating considerable surprise to have been tracked down, "I was there."

Had there been a tip-off about the bombing, prompting the mission? Did the government try, and fail, to stop the explosion at the last minute? Mogg answered that it was not for him to say, and rushed to get off the phone.

EARLY ON APRIL 18, A LITTLE MORE THAN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS before the bombing, the Ryder truck that would later wreak such devastation was backed up against a storage locker on the edge of Herington, Kansas, more than 250 miles from Oklahoma City. A tall, wiry army veteran named Timothy McVeigh was loading fifty-pound bags of ammonium nitrate into the rear and quietly fuming. Terry Nichols, McVeigh's best friend from the army, lived just a few minutes away. Nichols was almost never late, but he had not shown up at 6:00 A.M. as agreed.

The two men had once enjoyed a deep friendship, but lately it had degenerated into sour recrimination and mutual suspicion. Two days earlier, McVeigh had used explicit threats to strong-arm Nichols into driving to Oklahoma City to help him drop off a getaway car a few blocks from the Murrah Building. Should McVeigh drive over to Nichols's house, brandish his Glock, and threaten his wife and infant daughter? They had acquired all the bomb components together and had committed at least two major robberies. They had more than enough guilty knowledge of each other's activities to pose a real threat if one of them bailed.

McVeigh was determined not to back down. Months earlier, during the first of many bitter arguments, McVeigh had warned Nichols that he knew where his brother, ex-wife, and twelve-year-old son lived and would not hesitate to eliminate them. "No one," he said, "is going to stop me from carrying out my plans."

Nichols awoke at 5:30 A.M., with plenty of time to make the appointment, but he wanted to mull it over one more time. Later, he would remember wanting nothing to do with a bombing, certainly not one that would take dozens of innocent lives. He would say he didn't know McVeigh's target, or when he intended to strike. Nichols wanted to assume that McVeigh would bring down a federal government building only at night, when it was largely empty.

Nichols's misgivings did not prompt him to do anything to stop the bomb plot. But he certainly had doubts about McVeigh. His friend, who came across to many people as jovial and easy to like, had been behaving erratically for months, partly under the influence of the crystal meth he used to fuel himself on his frequent cross-country car journeys. His temper had grown more volatile, the threats of violence more sinister. For a few weeks the previous summer, he even had a furtive sexual affair with Nichols's Filipina wife, Marife—a dirty secret that spilled out only later. McVeigh was also showing signs of undisciplined thinking and impulsive decision-making. If he had a properly elaborated plan for building and delivering the bomb, Nichols did not know it. And did not want to know.

Still, Nichols calculated he was better off confronting McVeigh than risking

the safety of his family at home. So he drove over to a Pizza Hut about a quarter of a mile from the storage locker, parked his GMC truck, and cut through two or three vacant lots. It was now 6:30 A.M., and, as he approached, he could see the rage in McVeigh's face.

"You're late," McVeigh said coldly. "I've already got the truck half-loaded."

"Hey," Nichols responded, "why don't we take a few minutes and discuss things?"

"There's nothing to discuss," McVeigh snapped. "It's time for action."

Nichols chose not to engage him further and helped load the rest of the fertilizer sacks.

Over the next hour, they moved most of the contents of the storage locker: three fifty-five-gallon barrels of nitromethane, about three hundred blasting caps, Tovex high explosive arranged in long skinny "sausages," packets of a binary explosive called Kinestik, spools of shock tube and black-powder cannon fuse, some five-gallon measuring buckets, and a dozen empty fifty-five-gallon drums, half-metal and half-plastic, that would hold the components once they had all been assembled.

Nichols believed this was all he would have to do. But McVeigh asked him to follow behind the heavily laden Ryder truck for a few miles to make sure it was handling the road correctly. They rode north on Highway 77, back toward Junction City, where McVeigh had been staying. After about eight miles, McVeigh turned off unexpectedly at the entrance to Geary Lake State Park. Nichols followed McVeigh up a hill, and both men got out of their vehicles.

"What's wrong?" Nichols asked. "Why are you up here?"

"We're going to make the bomb here," McVeigh announced, "and you're going to help me."

Nichols blanched. "You're crazy! You've got a big bright yellow Ryder truck parked on top of a hill sticking out like a sore thumb for everyone to see. You may as well stick up a sign advertising what you are doing. Anyone on the highway can easily see you here as well."

McVeigh responded: "Then we'll move down near the lake and do it where we're more concealed."

Nichols made no further protest. He had a history of submitting to domineering figures in his life, of whom McVeigh was the latest and most dangerous. He had nothing to offer but quiet acquiescence. And so, the two men drove back down the hill and began the laborious business of building a five-thousand-pound weapon of mass destruction.

ON ARKANSAS'S DEATH ROW UNIT AN HOUR OUTSIDE LITTLE ROCK, A white supremacist double murderer named Richard Wayne Snell was counting down his final hours and scaring the daylights out of his guards. "Within the next ten days there will be hell to pay," he predicted. Repeatedly, Snell talked about a bombing and told his guards that his execution date, April 19, would be a bad day for everyone.

Snell was a seasoned criminal, condemned for gunning down the only black state trooper in southwestern Arkansas during a routine traffic stop. He had joined the radical far-right in the early 1980s and thrown himself into a ragtag campaign to bring down the government with a wave of bombings, acts of sabotage, and assassinations. Most of these plots came to nothing, because of bad planning, poor weaponry, or wavering on the part of the plotters. He was regarded as the most dangerous of them; a week before, at a clemency hearing, he made approving reference to Hitler's deputy, Rudolf Hess, and said he'd probably shoot the trooper all over again.

April 19 was an iconic day for the right. Not only was it Patriots' Day, the anniversary of the "shot heard 'round the world" at the battle of Lexington and Concord in 1775; It also marked the two-year anniversary of the calamitous end to the Waco siege. The incident had triggered congressional hearings, official investigations, and political fallout for the Clinton administration. For the radical right, Waco was the moment when the much-detested federal government showed its true satanic colors. Putting Snell to death on the anniversary was a blatant provocation, if not also a call to arms.

Twelve years earlier, Snell and his associates had themselves planned to destroy the federal building in Oklahoma City. Their plan was to use missiles rather than a bomb; they gave up only after one of their homemade rockets blew up in the hands of their munitions expert. This was spelled out at the time by Snell's closest associate, an egomaniac racist preacher and cult leader named Jim Ellison. "We need something with a large body count to make the government sit up and take notice," Ellison told his followers. "I want the government to know that the right wing has spoken, that the Second American Revolution has begun."

His words were later echoed almost exactly by a disenchanting army veteran seen by many in the movement as a younger Wayne Snell, someone with the same revolutionary fervor and fearless commitment. His name was Timothy James McVeigh.

ON APRIL 17 OR 18, CAPTAIN KARYN ARMSTRONG, A VETERINARIAN conducting research into respiratory illnesses at the Walter Reed army Institute of Research outside

Washington, D.C., received an unusual phone call. The man said he was from the Pentagon but never properly identified himself. He wanted information on treating lung injuries caused by pressure waves from large explosions. Captain Armstrong said she was not qualified to reply, because she treated animals, not humans. When the man insisted, she suggested that he get in touch with her boss, Dr. Adolph Januszkiewicz.

Dr. Januszkiewicz, also a respiratory specialist, later spoke to someone claiming to be from either the Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland or from his own command at Fort Detrick—the doctor could not recall which. This person was also asking about blast injuries.

“They identified themselves as being the liaison at the Pentagon to the governor’s office of Oklahoma,” Captain Armstrong recalled. “They never left a name, they never left a phone number. They always called us, and neither of us were medical doctors. I’m a veterinarian and he’s a Ph.D.”

Armstrong and Januszkiewicz thought little of the incident until after the Oklahoma City bombing. Then, whenever the subject came up, someone would invariably start humming the *Twilight Zone* theme.

A NIGHT OR TWO BEFORE THOSE CALLS, A GOVERNMENT-CONTRACTED steam-generating plant in downtown Oklahoma City experienced a loud, but minor, blowout. Within minutes, the city police were pounding on the control room window and pummeling the duty manager with questions about a “major explosion and possible terrorist takeover of the building.” The manager had to talk them out of calling the bomb squad.

“I explained [that the] situation was under control and back to normal,” the manager later wrote in his duty log. “They said in the future to please pick a slower night for them for this to happen. He [unnamed police officer] said, y’all scared the SHIT out of the people in the hotel.... We blamed it on the full moon, laughed, and on their way they went.”

The hotel was, presumably, the one in the Convention Center right next to the Trigen plant. But the record does not explain why this night was so busy for the Oklahoma City Police Department. Explosions and terrorist attacks were not exactly commonplace in the heartland. At least one noteworthy alert, though, reached Oklahoma City over that Easter weekend. On Good Friday, someone from the FBI called the fire department and told them to watch out for suspicious people coming into town over the next few days.

After the bombing, the OCFD’s chief of operations, Charles Gaines, publicly denied he had received any alert, but he was contradicted by his head dispatcher.

“That’s right,” the dispatcher, Harvey Weathers, said. “On Friday the 14th, Chief Gaines received a call from the FBI, and we were told to be on the alert for terrorist activity in the near future. I passed that information down the line.” There were no more specifics.

When Weathers’s account appeared in the media, the fire department brass changed their story and said an FBI agent had called with a generalized warning about a possible attack on an American city by Aum Shinrikyo, the Japanese group that had staged a sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway three weeks earlier. But Weathers told the FBI that this version was not correct, either. “That call did come,” Weathers insisted. “A lot of people don’t want to get involved in this deal.”

TERRY NICHOLS WAS HAVING AN OUT-OF-BODY EXPERIENCE. HE AND McVeigh had spent several hours assembling the bomb when he felt himself floating in midair inside the cargo area of the Ryder truck, tilting forward and looking down at himself drawing nitromethane out of a barrel into a bucket. “How can I be a part of this?” he remembered thinking. Still, he kept working. When McVeigh and Nichols first pulled up to the edge of Geary Lake, McVeigh drew him into the back of the truck and rolled down the door completely. Nichols thought they needed more light and fresh air, and persuaded McVeigh to prop the back door open about a foot and open the passenger-side door.

Still, the quarters were maddeningly cramped. In Nichols’s account, McVeigh began to fill the fifty-five-gallon drums with ammonium nitrate. This should have been pretty straightforward, but the AN prills had absorbed moisture and stuck to each other in large, unwieldy clumps. They had to be pulled apart until they were small enough to shove into the barrels.

Nichols’s main job was to measure out twenty-pound quantities of nitromethane using a siphon pump, and add them to the ammonium nitrate in each barrel. He had to take care to spill as little as possible and minimize the liquid’s exposure to the air, because nitromethane evaporates very quickly. “Absolutely no mixing was done,” Nichols said. “The fertilizer went in a barrel first, then the fuel—that was it. No stirring, nothing.”

Occasionally, one of the men peered out of the truck to see if anybody was watching. At about 9:00 A.M., a car with a boat and trailer pulled into the park and stopped at the boat ramp about three hundred yards ahead of them. An off-duty soldier and his son got out and launched their boat to go fishing.

McVeigh closed the side door facing the lake, but kept opening it a crack to see what was happening. Once or twice he asked Nichols to look for him. A

sharp wind was churning the lake, and after an hour the man and his son steered the boat back in and left. The fisherman, an army sergeant named Rick Wahl, was almost as alarmed by the seemingly abandoned Ryder truck as McVeigh and Nichols were by him. Wahl noted both the Ryder and Nichols's GMC pickup and decided to keep a good distance. He even looked for a place to turn around quickly in case of trouble.

As McVeigh and Nichols were filling the eleventh barrel—the last one they would have space for, in Nichols's version of events—their nitromethane supply ran out. Each one's first impulse was to blame the other.

"Either your calculations are wrong, or this cheap scale is off," Nichols said.

McVeigh asked if Nichols had any diesel fuel in his pickup.

"Only what I have in my tank," Nichols said. The GMC held about twenty gallons, and it was nearly full.

"Go siphon out about ten gallons."

"With what?" Nichols protested. The siphon he had been using for the nitromethane was too fat to fit in his fuel tank.

McVeigh produced a length of quarter-inch plastic tubing from Walmart, which Nichols eyed skeptically. "It's going to take a long time with that small hose, and I don't think it's even long enough to work," he said.

McVeigh had no time for grumbling. "Just do it."

The tubing was crucially too short to reach the bottom of the bucket, and with the wind whipping erratically, some of the diesel spilled onto the ground, leaving a fuel mark later discovered by the FBI.

Once Nichols finished siphoning and filling the last barrel, McVeigh cut a slit into the side of the remaining ten or twelve bags of fertilizer, poured some of the diesel in, closed up the slits with duct tape, and then shook the bags around. He lined them along the driver's side of the cargo hold to add to the bomb's explosive punch.

There was little risk that the first eleven barrels of ammonium nitrate and nitromethane would not do the job by themselves. They added up to almost five thousand pounds of high explosive; as long as one of the barrels ignited successfully, it would set off a chain reaction and detonate the rest. But McVeigh preferred to err on the side of overkill. He, like Nichols, had received only rudimentary explosives training in the army and did not necessarily know better. Indeed, their lack of expertise raises the question of whether anybody, at Geary Lake or elsewhere, helped them put the device together. Both men later insisted they worked unaided. But the accounts that each of them gave are also riddled with puzzling inconsistencies.

On the technical details, McVeigh's version is far skimpier than Nichols's.

One explosives expert suggested that by the time McVeigh agreed to discuss how he built the bomb, close to five years after the fact, he might simply have forgotten what he did, or perhaps never entirely knew. Nichols, though, remembered everything. That raises a broader issue of veracity, because it was supposedly McVeigh, according to both men, who did the brain work of wiring the bomb and constructing its boosters and detonators. What are the chances the master bomb-maker would turn out to be so clueless, or oddly forgetful?

There are two other possibilities. Either Nichols was the real bomb-maker but never wanted to embrace that dubious historical distinction—especially after McVeigh willingly claimed sole responsibility—or both men took their direction from someone else.

THE RADICAL FAR RIGHT NEVER FORGOT WAYNE SNELL'S 1983 PLOT to destroy the Murrah Building. "Blowing up a federal building...was not a novel idea," said Jack Knox, an FBI agent who helped run down Snell and Ellison in the 1980s and was once on their assassination list. "It was floating around out there."

One of Snell's closest friends, Louis Beam, discussed bombing the Murrah Building as early as the mid-1980s. Beam was a veteran of the Texas Ku Klux Klan and a fearsomely talented public speaker, who repeatedly pressed his friends in the Aryan supremacy movement to wage an all-out war against the federal government. Two of Beam's friends confirmed that, in the 1980s, he had talked with a Klan leader from Oklahoma about attacking the Murrah Building, although they were unsure who first proposed the idea. They were also certain that Beam and Snell both knew about the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing before it happened.

"Snell knew about the bombing," Bruce Campbell, Beam's confidant and fellow propagandist for the antigovernment cause, said in a 2009 interview. "Louis was very close to Snell."

Cheri Seymour, an author and researcher into the radical far right who hosted Beam several times at her home, said Beam went to see Mary Snell three weeks before April 19 and gave her a message to pass on to her husband that "Armageddon was coming on the day of his death." This meeting was later corroborated by an unconnected government informant.

Mary Snell gave plentiful indication that she knew—or hoped—something was up. "April 19," she wrote in a letter to the Militia of Montana intended to whip up outrage in the run-up to her husband's execution, "is the first day of a weeklong sacrificial preparation for the GRAND CLIMAX ceremony celebrated by those who follow the Luciferian religion."

Was it possible that she or her husband were in on the bomb plot, or at least knew it was in the works? “I have no solid information,” said Bill Buford, the ATF’s top agent in Arkansas at the time of the bombing, “but the pieces fit together too neatly for him not to have known.”

The FBI never talked to Beam after the bombing, and conducted only one relatively perfunctory interview with Mary Snell. But they had plenty of information indicating that Beam knew about the bombing before it happened. A career criminal named Roy Byrd told the bureau from an Arizona prison about a phone conversation he had with Beam in the summer of 1994, in which Beam said that “something big” would happen in Oklahoma City, Denver, or Dallas on the anniversary of Waco. When Byrd asked what it was, Beam replied that it would be similar to the plot of a notorious underground novel, in which a band of white supremacists drives a truck loaded with ammonium nitrate and fuel oil into the basement of FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., and blows up the building. Byrd did not mention the novel by name, but he was clearly referring to *The Turner Diaries*, a cult book on the fringe of the gun-show circuit, written by one of America’s leading neo-Nazis, William Pierce. *The Turner Diaries* was Tim McVeigh’s favorite book.

According to Byrd, Beam did not mention anybody by name. He said only: “They’ve got some kid who’s going to do something.”

MCVEIGH WAS PROUD OF HIS BOMB DESIGN WHEN HE DESCRIBED IT to Lou Michel and Dan Herbeck of the *Buffalo News*, who interviewed him extensively on death row for their book *American Terrorist*. The main trigger for the blast, McVeigh said, was a bucketful of Tovex sausages he placed at the center of the barrels of fertilizer soaked in nitromethane. He ran two lengths of fuse cord from the truck’s cab into the cargo hold, via separate holes that Nichols drilled for him. He inserted the fuse ends into nonelectric blasting caps. He used duct tape to attach the blasting caps to lengths of shock tube, which snaked their way to the Tovex. McVeigh only needed to light the ends of the fuse cord inside the truck’s cabin and the bomb would ignite. The black-powder fuse burned at a rate of about thirty seconds per foot—he measured off a two-minute length and a second, five-minute length. The burning fuse would trigger the blasting caps, which would then ignite the shock tube, set off the Tovex, and—boom—the ammonium nitrate barrels would detonate in a split-second chain reaction.

This scheme was basically workable, according to experts who reviewed it, which helps explain why it has gone largely unchallenged since *American Terrorist* was first published in 2001. But it does raise some basic questions.

McVeigh took particular pride in the two independent fuse lines, describing them as the “perfect redundancy.” He even described a third redundancy—a pile of explosives, which, he said, he kept at his feet. If all else failed, he intended to ignite them by firing his pistol.

This all sounds very meticulous, but to a seasoned bomb expert it comes across as faintly ridiculous. Pharis Williams, a veteran explosives expert and government consultant, said a professional bomb-maker would never rely on one central ignition point. “It would seem,” he said, “that someone who is proud of his redundancy would also boost every barrel.”

Indeed, Nichols’s version suggests this is exactly what they did. In his scheme, the two lines of fuse cord were connected to a single, central point where they were attached to a booster (the binary explosive Kinestik) as well as twelve separate lengths of Primadet shock tube. These Primadet tubes were then connected to each barrel, where they were attached to another Kinestik and a Tovex sausage via a prefitted nonelectric blasting cap. Nichols thus describes the bomb as having not one but a dozen ignition points, creating a dozen redundancies.

Nichols’s account is more convincing throughout. McVeigh made no mention of securing the barrels in the back of the truck, while Nichols describes how, at McVeigh’s direction, he cut and hammered down lengths of four-by-four wood beams so there would be no danger of the barrels shifting during transport. McVeigh neither describes nor names the Primadet, which he and Nichols had stolen in a quarry robbery months earlier. Instead McVeigh focuses on self-aggrandizing details that seem dubious at best—for example, how he considered closing the ends of the blasting caps with his bare teeth. McVeigh was a fanatical reader of *The Turner Diaries* and another novel by William Pierce, *Hunter*, and was no doubt familiar with a scene in the second book in which the warrior hero blows up a Mossad office in Virginia. The book describes him arranging barrels of ammonium nitrate and fuel oil around a single fifty-pound box of Tovex. Was this what McVeigh was thinking of when he gave his description of events at Geary Lake that April morning?

By midday, McVeigh and Nichols had finished. McVeigh suggested throwing the empty fertilizer bags into the back of the truck, but Nichols was concerned that some could survive the bombing and leave fingerprint traces. So he took the time to roll them into bundles, attach them with duct tape, and toss them in the back of his pickup truck. He also took his Makita drill, which he had used to bore holes for the cannon fuse, the siphon pump, and the bathroom scales. Everything else—the dolly they used to load the nitromethane; the empty nitromethane barrels; the last, unused white plastic barrel; their two five-gallon

buckets; and a bunch of tools, including a hacksaw, hammer, left-over tubing, and pliers—was left in the back of the Ryder.

McVeigh closed the side and back doors and padlocked them. Then he sauntered to the lakeside to splash water on his face and hands, and slipped into a change of clothes.

The two men stared at each other one last time. McVeigh climbed into the truck, Nichols into his pickup. When they reached Highway 77, Nichols headed north toward the U.S. Army base at Fort Riley, where he would drop in on a military surplus auction. In his rearview mirror, he saw the Ryder truck retreat and vanish on its trip south.

IN THE REMOTE HILLS OF EASTERN OKLAHOMA, MANY OF THE MOST prominent members of a fringe religious community known as Elohim City spent April 18 on the move. The community's figure-head, Robert "Grandpa" Millar, was getting ready to lead a group to Little Rock to protest Wayne Snell's execution and to take his body back for burial. Millar was Snell's spiritual adviser, a role he later insisted was not an endorsement of his criminal career but rather an expression of compassion. Millar liked to say that everybody came to him through Jesus, and he accepted them all.

In April 1995, Jesus had sent Millar quite the collection of odd-balls, dropouts, silver-tongued charlatans, and out-and-out criminals. They attended services in the igloo-like Elohim City church (Millar had an aversion to straight lines and right angles in buildings), camped out in an assortment of caravans, squat houses, and makeshift structures made of ammunition crates and bright orange polyurethane, showed off their collections of assault weapons, pistols, and black-powder explosives, and shared in the fear that the federal government would one day descend to kill them all.

Among the visitors was Mark Thomas, a neo-Nazi preacher who lived most of the year in abject squalor in rural Pennsylvania, where he sired a stream of children and plotted attacks on gas and electricity plants, railroads, and communications facilities. Thomas came to visit his sixteen-year-old son Nathan, who had been living at Elohim City on and off for two years and participated in perimeter security patrols. According to a government informant, Nathan bragged about converting his AK-47 assault rifle to full automatic and making homemade napalm. Two of Mark Thomas's skinhead protégés from Pennsylvania, Scott Stedeford and Kevin McCarthy, visited for about a week; they were both members of a neo-Nazi punk band named Cyanide, along with a more permanent Elohim City resident, Michael Brescia, who had fallen into the

same White Power scene in Philadelphia in the early 1990s.

Since the previous fall, Stedeford, McCarthy, and Thomas had been members of a white supremacist bank robbery gang that variously called itself the Company or the Aryan Republican Army. Stedeford had taken part in five robberies in Ohio, Iowa, and Missouri, netting more than \$80,000; McCarthy had been in on four. Mark Thomas was not a direct participant, but he was heavily involved in planning and expanding the gang's activities. The idea was to steal enough to finance a full-frontal assault on the federal government. Less than a month earlier, on March 29, the gang had hauled in \$29,000 from a bank in Des Moines. Two days later, they elected to disband for four months—an unprecedented period of inactivity suggesting some side project involving one or more of them, or a compelling need to lay low for an extended time.

One might expect these men to stay around to pay homage to Wayne Snell, whom they regarded as a hero, but instead they rushed far away. Mark and Nathan Thomas left on Monday, April 17, for Allentown. That same day, Stedeford and McCarthy drove to Fort Smith, Arkansas, to buy a twelve-year-old Chevy Suburban, and did not return.

Most Elohim City residents lived simply and were mostly unaware of the criminal connections these people had in the wider world. The women concentrated on child-rearing and housework and were kept away from the business of the elders. The children, some the product of polygamous or even incestuous relationships, were home-schooled according to the community's bizarre interpretation of Christianity, which held that white Americans were the true children of Israel, while Jews were the spawn of Satan and blacks even worse. Millar and his immediate family knew much more about their visitors' revolutionary ambitions. And so did one of the more peculiar residents in the community, a gangly German named Andreas Strassmeir.

Strassmeir shared a small stone house with Mike Brescia, and hosted Stedeford and McCarthy over Easter. He had been in the army back in Germany, drifting into radical right-wing circles in the United States through his friendship with a white supremacist lawyer named Kirk Lyons. Lyons, in turn, was friendly with Millar, and entrusted Strassmeir to his care after the young German exhausted all other offers of hospitality. Strassmeir's grandfather was said to have been one of the Nazi Party's earliest members, with a membership card number lower than Hitler's, while his father had been a prominent aide to Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor who oversaw reunification after the fall of the Berlin Wall. At Elohim City, Strassmeir ran the security detail, a platoon of teenagers and young men who marched around the four-hundred-acre compound with old SKS assault rifles loaded with cheap Chinese ammunition and low-

budget Remington sniper rifles. Occasionally they sported bayonets, especially to scare outsiders.

Grandpa Millar liked Strassmeir and allowed him to live, as one of his friends put it, “in his fantasy world being field marshal of Elohim City.” Strassmeir’s relations with the other residents were significantly more strained. With his gawky manner, rigid Prussian upbringing, and foreign accent, he was never fully accepted. His abrasive intelligence rubbed people the wrong way, and he was a shambles of a human being—forever forgetting or breaking things, swearing and cursing.

One of Strassmeir’s best friends was Pete Ward, one of three brothers living at Elohim City, who had been brought up by Christian missionaries in Africa. Pete was not blessed with much initiative, and was known for following Strassmeir around like a puppy. His brothers, Tony and Sonny, got into trouble for stealing firewood and hitting up young women for money.

Just before the bombing, they and their parents and kid sister all disappeared from Elohim City without warning. Sonny was later reported to have spent several more days somewhere in Oklahoma before heading to Georgia. Most of the others took off for New Mexico. A Sunday-school teacher who taught the Wards’ little sister, Priscilla, later told the FBI that the girl had come to her, very upset, and indicated that something had happened but would not say what. “Everyone was shocked that they would leave so suddenly,” Kennilee Mooney, the teacher, told the FBI.

Years later, Strassmeir would deny there was anything strange about these multiple departures on the eve of the bombing. He felt protective toward his former friends and concocted a strange argument that their comings and goings meant nothing, because they were not living in the community at the time. “How can they leave if they were not there?” he asked.

This was, of course, a linguistic absurdity. The bank robbers, and the rest of them, *were* there, and they did leave.

Again, he insisted: “They did not leave, because they were not there.”

DAYS BEFORE McVEIGH AND NICHOLS BUILT THEIR BOMB, Ken Stern of the American Jewish Committee issued a remarkably prescient report on the dangers of the country’s burgeoning militia movement. “Do not be surprised if there is militia activity next week in your area,” he wrote to AJC supporters on April 10. Stern had no special inside knowledge, but he and a group of other academics and professional hate-group watchers had been monitoring extremist newsletters and Internet chat rooms for months.

Stern's warning was imprecise in that McVeigh and Nichols did not belong to a militia; they were too extreme for that. But he was absolutely correct when it came to gauging the degree of public anger and alienation from the federal government, and the risk that someone on the extremist fringe could resort to radical measures. The militia movement had been growing with a vengeance, a symptom of the rapidly changing times. On the heels of the dramatic collapse of family farming across the heartland in the 1980s had come recession and the rapid loss of defense-sector jobs at the end of the Cold War. Cheap immigrant labor was eroding the stability of many semiskilled and unskilled jobs. And under Bill Clinton, the first U.S. president in half a century not to have served in uniform, there was an unprecedented push toward gun control, first with the passage of the Brady Bill, which instituted the country's first system of background checks on firearms purchases, and then with the 1994 assault weapons ban.

The majority of the disaffected people were not criminals; they wanted only to stand up for themselves and their gun rights. Two specific instances of catastrophic overreaching by federal law enforcement pushed the political temperature toward the boiling point, however. The first was the 1992 Ruby Ridge incident, in which a seemingly routine attempt to pressure a survivalist in Idaho into becoming a government informant degenerated into a ghastly mountainside shootout. And the second was the disastrously mishandled siege at Waco.

The militias started talking about federal law enforcement agents as the "shock troops" of a New World Order intent on stripping Americans of their rights. Wayne LaPierre, the head of the National Rifle Association, wrote a notorious fund-raising letter in which he denounced the feds as "jack-booted government thugs...wearing Nazi bucket helmets and black storm trooper uniforms to attack law-abiding citizens." G. Gordon Liddy, the Watergate-era presidential "plumber" turned radio host, encouraged listeners to open fire on agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, whose actions had initiated both the Ruby Ridge and the Waco disasters. "Don't shoot at [their chests], because they got a vest on underneath that," Liddy said. "Head shots. Head shots...Kill the sons of bitches!"

The militias, Stern wrote in his report, "constitute a new manifestation of violent hate-group activity" whose targets now included government employees. Some people, he said, were advocating killing, and he feared the threat was serious. He was right.

EARLY IN THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 18, THE WHITE SUPREMACIST CAUSE Foundation received a baffling phone call at its North Carolina headquarters. CAUSE was a legal advocacy organization, and its name was an acronym for the five places in the world most heavily populated by white people—Canada, Australasia, the United States, South Africa, and Europe. Kirk Lyons, the man behind it, was a former personal litigation lawyer from Houston, who saw himself as the right wing’s answer to the ACLU; he defended the Ku Klux Klan’s free speech rights and made sure skinheads and neo-Nazis were prosecuted only for their criminal behavior, not their political beliefs.

Lyons, an amateur historian of the old Confederacy, was on his way to a Civil War reenactment when the call came in, so his friend and partner Dave Hollaway took it instead. The young man on the line didn’t give his name, and launched into a diatribe about a Waco lawsuit that CAUSE was pursuing at the time. The suit had not gone far enough, he said, and it was time to send the government a clear message.

“Usually people are ranting when they call,” Hollaway recalled, “but this guy was young and very clear in his message and tone. That set off a master warning light in my head. I said, ‘Let me give you some unsolicited legal advice. If I was your lawyer, I’d say you need to be careful about calling people up and making statements like that. You’re perilously close to the edge of your First Amendment rights.’”

Hollaway was a talker; CAUSE’s phone records show the call lasted eighteen minutes. He said there were three kinds of freedom in America—the ones guaranteed by the jury box, the ballot box, and the cartridge box. “Really,” Hollaway said, “you want to exhaust the first two before resorting to the last.”

Hollaway later told the FBI he was sure the caller was Tim McVeigh, taking time out from his final bomb preparations to sound off to someone he thought might be sympathetic.

BETWEEN HIS PARTING WITH TERRY NICHOLS AND THE EARLY MORNING of April 19, Timothy McVeigh was like a ghost, flitting from place to place across southern Kansas and northern Oklahoma. The phone call to the CAUSE Foundation was just one of many puzzles. After the bombing, people reported sightings of him at gas stations, in diners and restaurants; in company and alone; in the Ryder truck and in other vehicles entirely. He couldn’t possibly have been in all these places, nor could he have stomached the impressive diet of burritos, steaks, and hamburgers he was witnessed downing.

McVeigh gave a rudimentary account of his movements in one of his first

interviews with his defense team. He avoided the main highway, I-35, he said, driving instead a few miles farther east, down Highway 77. Sometime in the afternoon of April 18, he stopped for gas. Later, he pulled over at a rest stop to check that the bomb barrels had not moved. He tossed his truck rental agreement and a fake ID into the back of the truck before closing it up again.

Once across the Oklahoma state line, he found a McDonald's for dinner, then walked into a cheap chain hotel to rent a room but decided to spend the night in the truck instead. He said he was alone at all times.

Later, the FBI found witnesses who not only contradicted that, but said he might have been traveling in a convoy. It was often the same vehicles the witnesses cited: the Ryder truck, of course; McVeigh's beat-up old yellow Mercury Marquis, which, in his account, he had stashed days earlier in downtown Oklahoma City; a white sedan; and a brown Chevy pickup.

An Oklahoma gas station attendant who said she served McVeigh remembered a companion with slicked-back black wavy hair. At a steakhouse in the small town of Perry that night, several customers spotted someone resembling McVeigh, and one of the owners also described a friend of his, standing six feet tall and weighing 260 pounds, with curly brown hair. On the morning of the bombing, the postmaster of the tiny town of Mulhall, not far from Perry, reported standing next to McVeigh and another man as they ordered coffee at Jackie's Farmers Store.

Taken one by one, these stories are of dubious investigative value, and likely to be tainted by imperfect recall and the power of suggestion. Taken together, though, they make at least the beginnings of a case that Timothy McVeigh was not alone as he commandeered his weapon of mass destruction toward its target.

THE MORNING ROUTINE IN THE WILBURN HOUSEHOLD IN Oklahoma City was always chaotic. The three adults—Glenn, his wife Kathy, and Kathy's daughter Edye—had jobs to run to, and it was a scramble to dress and feed Edye's two boys, Chase, age three, and Colton, age two.

On April 19, Glenn was getting ready to leave with Kathy, when he noticed that Chase didn't have his shoes on. He picked up the boy, plonked him on the wet bar, and fit first one shoe and then the other.

"You're a good boy," Glenn said as he kissed him on the forehead. "Paw-paw loves you."

Chase was a big presence and a natural-born joker. Glenn stopped to notice how much he had grown over the previous couple of months. Kathy suggested playfully that they should trade Chase in for a girl named Shirley.

“I’m not Shirley!” Chase replied indignantly. The adults laughed.

Glenn and Kathy headed to the garage—it was up to Edye that morning to drive the boys to their day care on the second floor of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.

“Bye, Shirley,” Kathy said.

“Don’t call me Shirley,” Chase said. He was half enjoying the joke and half bristling at it.

“Bye, Shirley. I won’t call you that,” Glenn said.

Those were the last words he ever said to his grandson.

“He was so funny,” Kathy later remembered. “He was such a funny little boy.”

APRIL 19 WAS A DESIGNATED TRAINING DAY FOR THE OKLAHOMA County Sheriff’s bomb squad, but they had no plans to come downtown. It was up to a deputy named Bill Grimsley to collect their truck at the county jail and drive it to their training area in the northeastern part of the city. He was not supposed to stop along the way; the truck had large lettering on the side that read BOMB SQUAD, and was apt to scare people.

But Grimsley made several stops, first at the county courthouse, where his day job was to supervise the security staff, and then at a McDonald’s, where he bought himself an Egg McMuffin. Naturally, he was seen. After the bombing many people became convinced that they had stumbled on some dark secret involving an attempt to stop the bombing at the eleventh hour. Some, like Norma Joslin, a clerk with the county court, worried they might be targeted for assassination if they revealed what they had witnessed; when Joslin was called before a grand jury in 1998, she insisted on being driven directly into an underground garage and escorted into the courtroom. The FBI was also curious, and grilled every bomb squad member over a period of months.

It didn’t help that the sheriff’s department put out a series of confusing, even contradictory, statements. First, officials denied the bomb truck had been downtown at all. Then they told at least one media outlet that the entire bomb squad had been training near the Murrah Building, wearing blue jeans instead of their uniforms. By the time they got around to the truth, few were inclined to believe it.

It was Grimsley himself who created much of the confusion. Worried he might get into trouble for disobeying the rules, he told his superiors he had driven the truck straight to the training facility. At first they chose to believe him. Then they tried to cover for him. “Bill was notorious for getting into little

kinks like that,” said Kyle Kilgore, the bomb squad’s dog handler. “The only thing that saved us was that our bomb squad schedules are put in yearly, one year in advance.” Those schedules showed that April 19 was indeed a training day—just a bizarre coincidence.

THERE WERE OTHER, LESS FARFICAL STORIES OF UNUSUAL LAW ENFORCEMENT activity. Renee Cooper, a deputy clerk at the county courthouse, said she saw several men in dark jackets with bomb squad markings outside the federal courthouse at 8:00 A.M. Claude Criss, a private investigator, said he saw them, too, and they were rooting through the bushes. Debbie Nakanashi, a window clerk at the Center City Post Office across the street from the Murrah Building, indicated to a congressional investigator that she had seen sniffer dogs but was ordered by her superiors not to talk about them. According to Randy Yount, a state park ranger who helped with the rescue effort, explosives experts spent all night looking for a bomb in response to a warning that one had been planted inside the federal courthouse.

It is tempting to give credence to these reports, because they all center on the same location and suggest, however vaguely, that there was a tip-off. Throw in the mysterious air force EOD team and the FBI warning to the fire department, and we have multiple indications that some part of the government—perhaps more than one part—heard about a coming attack. Still, the accounts add up to a fractured picture at best. Nobody in authority has ever acknowledged having advance warning of a major explosion, and many agencies, particularly the FBI and ATF, have vehemently denied it.

If a bomb squad was out looking for a device, who could they have been? On the morning of April 19, the head of the Oklahoma Highway Patrol’s tactical team, John Haynie, was in Oklahoma City with a bomb truck, even though he was stationed in Ardmore, near the Texas border. Ostensibly, he was in town to run another training session—quite a coincidence. In 1998, Haynie told a grand jury that his session was called to hone his team’s surveillance skills. OHP time records, however, show that at least three of the team members who might have been expected to attend were off work or on vacation.

Could Haynie have been involved in a different operation, with the training session acting as a cover story? Haynie, exactly the sort of sure-footed senior officer people would turn to in a crisis, who had spent almost a decade tracking intelligence on Elohim City, refused to comment. “There’s no benefit that I can see to talking about anything to do with anything I’ve ever done,” he said.

A question also hangs over the Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation,

which brought three out-of-town agents into Oklahoma City on the evening before the bombing, for reasons it has never adequately explained. Rick Stephens, who came in from the Tulsa area, would not say if he or other OSBI agents had been forewarned of a bomb attack. “That’s been rumored for years,” he said. Invited to issue a categorical denial that the OSBI was responding to a threat, he said: “I won’t confirm or deny anything.”

THE RYDER TRUCK WAS FIRST SPOTTED IN DOWNTOWN OKLAHOMA City at around 8:00 A.M. At least two dozen eyewitnesses saw the truck over the next hour, many of them reporting that it was accompanied by a brown Chevy pickup, a white sedan, and an aging Mercury. These vehicles made themselves conspicuous in and around the Murrah Building, sometimes parked, sometimes driving, other times roaring into the building’s underground garage. McVeigh was seen in more than one of them, and always with at least one other person.

Years later, McVeigh told Michel and Herbeck, his prison interviewers, that he did not drive into Oklahoma City until 8:50 A.M. But an African-American commuter named Leonard Long spotted someone fitting his description—a “tall, slim, white man” with a dark ball cap worn backward—about fifty minutes earlier. McVeigh, Long said, was inside a brown pickup switching lanes at high speed near the Murrah Building. Long remembered the encounter because he narrowly avoided a collision and because the man next to McVeigh, a stocky, dark-complexioned man in a camouflage jacket, spewed racial insults at him.

Shortly after 8:00 A.M., an employee of the Kerr-McGee Oil Company saw two men walking away from the YMCA building, also on Fifth Street, toward a yellow Mercury parked in the oil company’s lot two blocks farther south. The men matched the description of McVeigh and his companion given by Leonard Long.

About half an hour later, Kyle Hunt, a banker, spotted a Ryder truck another block or so south of the Kerr-McGee building. Close behind was a four-door sedan with three men inside. “One of the men was looking up, straining his neck. The group looked lost,” Hunt later said. “As I pulled closer, the driver of the sedan warned me off. I got an icy-cold, go-to-hell look from the young man that I now know to be Timothy McVeigh. It was unnerving.”

Two more sightings seemed to confirm the bombing crew as lost, or at least *at a loss*. The first was at Johnny’s Tire Company, on a hill a few blocks northwest of the Murrah Building. Mike Moroz, a mechanic, told the FBI that two men in a Ryder truck pulled into the store and almost hit the flag banners hanging from a covered part of the forecourt. The driver, whom Moroz later

identified as McVeigh, asked for directions to Northwest Fifth Street, the address of the Murrah Building. The man seemed confused, so Moroz invited him to step out of the truck and take a look down the hill at the one-way system. He was wearing a dark ball cap back to front with no hair showing.

Oddly, after the McVeigh figure told Moroz he knew where to go, he and his companion sat on the forecourt for several more minutes. Moroz and his manager wondered aloud what they were up to and joked that they should put up a sign outside, saying DIRECTIONS: \$5. Finally, the truck moved on, taking a hard right and moving back downhill.

The second sighting was at a warehouse loading dock southeast of the Murrah Building in an industrial zone named Bricktown. David Snider, the warehouse foreman, was expecting a delivery and waved expectantly when he saw a Ryder truck rolling slowly toward him. The driver, he noticed, had a dark complexion, dark hair and mustache, and was wearing sunglasses. His passenger, who could have been McVeigh, had short, blond, military-style hair. "They were both looking in the side-view mirrors, and they looked like they were looking for an address," Snider said. He quickly determined that they were not friendly, and he started yelling obscenities at them. The truck driver sped on.

Minutes later, James Linehan, a lawyer, encountered the yellow Mercury on the corner of Fourth and Robinson. He described the back of the car as "caked in Oklahoma dirt" and the license plate either obscured or missing. The time was exactly 8:38 A.M.; he was on his way to court and kept time on the clock of his black Jeep Cherokee. The Mercury was slowing to a crawl, so Linehan pulled out to overtake. But the yellow car abruptly edged over and almost pushed him into the oncoming lane. "I am thinking, basically, hey idiot, what are you doing?" Linehan recalled. "I don't want your crappy yellow paint on my car."

He got a good look at the driver, who was scrunched up over the steering wheel and looking up at the Murrah Building. He thought at the time it was a woman in a hooded top but wondered later if it was McVeigh in disguise. Then the Mercury made a sharp turn into the Murrah Building's underground parking lot. Linehan saw it disappear and remembered thinking: "That car doesn't belong in there."

Danny Wilkerson, who ran the convenience store at the Regency Towers apartment building on Fifth Street, said a man strongly resembling Tim McVeigh walked in at around 8:40 A.M. and bought two Cokes and a pack of Marlboro cigarettes. (McVeigh was not a smoker.) Wilkerson noticed a Ryder truck parked outside and asked McVeigh if he was moving in. McVeigh said he was not. As he walked out, Wilkerson watched him and noticed a second man in the cab. Moments later, Wilkerson saw the Ryder truck again, this time on the far side of

the street, pointing in the direction of the Murrah Building, a moment captured on one of the few pieces of video surveillance tape shown at McVeigh's trial.

What did all these sightings mean? Officially, the FBI concluded they were the result of witness confusion, compounded by wall-to-wall news coverage. Not one of the eyewitnesses who saw McVeigh that morning was called to testify at trial, because the government determined that every one of them was wrong to say he was not alone. But as Danny Coulson, one of the FBI's most experienced investigators, put it: "If only one person had seen it, or two or three...but twenty-four? Twenty-four people say, yes I saw him with someone else? That's pretty powerful."

Newly available information from law enforcement and from sources inside the radical right suggests Coulson was right to be skeptical of his bureau colleagues. Not only do these sources say that McVeigh had company on April 19. They also say that McVeigh and his coconspirators intended to drive the Ryder truck into the basement of the Murrah Building or the federal courthouse next door, but had to change plans in a hurry because the truck exceeded the height limit for the garage.

Dave Hollaway, of the CAUSE Foundation, was flabbergasted by what he saw as a lack of foresight. "They couldn't get the truck into the parking garage, and that's why there was all that turning and stopping," he said. "The guys weren't exactly the brightest bulbs on the tree.... If they had had any kind of guidance—if I'd been doing it—there would have been nothing left of the building."

Several pieces of evidence fit the scenario. Five days before the bombing, Jane Graham, a union official with the Housing and Urban Development agency, spotted three men acting suspiciously in the underground garage and later came to believe they were sizing it up as part of the plot. James Linehan's account of the morning of April 19 points to suspicious activity involving one or more vehicles tearing in or out of the garage. And there is no doubt: the height clearance on the garage was too low for McVeigh's twenty-foot truck.

After the Ryder made a first pass at the Murrah Building, a number of people saw it trying to squeeze into an alley between the federal courthouse and the Old Post Office Building, which houses the bankruptcy court. The alley, however, was blocked by a large U.S. Marshals Service truck, and the Ryder truck backed out again. This was first reported in the late 1990s by a member of the Oklahoma Highway Patrol. But it has since been confirmed by two very well placed officials. The first of these was Tom Hunt, who in 1995 was the local head of the Federal Protective Service, with responsibility for the security of the courthouse complex and the Murrah Building. He personally knew the marshal's deputy

blocking the alley. “The Ryder could have gotten only partway through,” Hunt said. “I’m glad. I would have hated to see those judges get it that day.”

The second official was John Magaw, the director of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, who was privy to just about everything in the bomb investigation. Magaw acknowledged that McVeigh’s initial plans turned out to be “too difficult, or...would have drawn too much attention.” Magaw could not confirm the specifics, either on the garage or the alley, but he thought both scenarios were plausible. “[McVeigh] drove around and couldn’t find a place,” Magaw added. “Wherever he meant to put it was too tight—the truck wouldn’t fit. There was a piece of information about that.... If you have heard he intended to drive it into the garage, I wouldn’t argue with that.”

Thereafter, the truck and its occupants would have had to find a place to mark time while a new plan was formulated. Running into David Snider put the kibosh on dawdling in Bricktown. One reason for driving toward Johnny’s Tire Company could have been to take advantage of the higher ground to send or receive radio messages.

One can imagine the frenzy among the members of the bombing crew, as the clock ticked toward 9:00 A.M. The truck and its deadly load had been driving around Oklahoma City for close to half an hour, glaringly visible to dozens of witnesses, and they still had no firm idea what to do with it.

AT 9:32 A.M. EASTERN TIME, JAMES HOWARD MILLER PICKED UP the phone at the Department of Justice’s Executive Secretariat, where he worked as a secretary, and heard a man say a federal building had just blown up. “He’s saying he’s standing across the street, watching it,” he told two coworkers.

None of them believed it; Miller’s main job was to screen calls, and his phone extension was commonly referred to as the “nut line.”

Only later, once the news broke, did it dawn on him that 9:32 A.M. in Washington was 8:32 A.M. in Oklahoma. Nothing at that point had blown up yet; it seemed someone with a lot of inside knowledge had prank-called the federal government.

JUST ACROSS THE NATIONAL MALL, ANOTHER TEASER ARRIVED AT the offices of Republican congressman Steve Stockman of Texas. It was an unsigned, handwritten note, sent by fax, and written so obscurely that the staffer who first read it tossed it away. Later it was retrieved, and Stockman gave it to the FBI.

The one-page message came from the offices of Mark Koernke, a prominent Michigan Militia leader acquainted with McVeigh and Nichols. It read: “First

update. Bldg 7 to 10 floors only military people on scene—BATF/FBI. Bomb threat received last week. Perpetrator unknown at this time. Oklahoma.” The word “Oklahoma” was underlined.

The most interesting thing about the message was the 8:59 A.M. time stamp. In both Michigan and Washington, that was more than an hour before the bomb went off. A staffer later said the fax machine had not been reset since daylight savings time began, so it really arrived at 9:59, or 8:59 in Oklahoma. That was still three minutes before the bomb went off. And even if *that* was inaccurate, and the fax came in just after the explosion, as the FBI later determined, it is still a mystery how Koernke’s people received the news so fast.

A FEW MINUTES BEFORE 9:00 A.M., McVEIGH’S BACKUP PLAN WAS IN place. The bomb would be detonated in the handicapped parking spot on the Murrah Building’s north side. The configuration of the barrels—most likely designed with the intention of driving the force of the explosion into the underground garage’s key support pillars—would now concentrate the blast toward the building itself, rather than the street.

A few minutes before the explosion, according to several witnesses, somebody moved the yellow Mercury to within eighty feet of the detonation site, probably along the same side of Fifth Street as the Ryder truck. The brown Chevy pickup was on the other side of Fifth Street, in front of the Journal Record Building. Shortly after, someone with long blond hair—perhaps the same person seen by James Linehan at the wheel of the Mercury twenty minutes earlier—waved the Ryder truck into position. This time, it seems more certain that McVeigh was inside, with the swarthy John Doe seen repeatedly over the previous hour. They had already lit both fuses. They exited, each walking calmly toward one of the getaway vehicles.

Glenn Grossman, an employee of the Oklahoma Department of Securities, watched this scene unfold from his fourth-floor office inside the Journal Record Building. In the few minutes before 9:00 A.M., he looked out twice. The first time, he saw the Mercury parked in front of the Ryder truck. It caught his attention, because he used to own a 1978 Mercury Marquis and was familiar with the vehicle. The second time, the Ryder had pulled in front. Someone was standing by the driver’s side of the Mercury. On the sidewalk, a skinny woman with long blond hair was yelling and gesturing wildly at him. “They were together,” Grossman told the FBI, “and she was frantic about something.”

A different perspective on the same events was provided by Daina Bradley, a young African-American woman who was inside the Murrah Building visiting

the first-floor Social Security office with her mother, sister, and two children. She and her sister saw the Ryder truck through the building's plate-glass windows as it pulled up. She did not see who was driving, but she got a good view of the passenger as he climbed out, walked to the back of the truck, and then started walking forward again at high speed. "It was a olive-complexion man with short hair, curly, clean-cut," she said at McVeigh's trial. She said he was wearing a blue jacket, jeans, tennis shoes, and a white baseball cap with purple flames on the sides.

A third view was offered by a catering truck driver named Rodney Johnson, who had to swerve out of the way of two people stepping in front of him on Fifth Street. To his right, Johnson noticed the Ryder truck parked against the building. To his left, he saw the brown Chevy pickup. He later identified one of the people in front of him as McVeigh. The other man, he said, was stocky, with black hair, and wearing a jacket. "I expected them to make some kind of move once they saw the truck barreling down at them," Johnson said. "They didn't flinch one bit."

At least two other witnesses claimed to be present as the cannon fuse cord burned down to detonation point. Leah Moore, a pedestrian who was walking on the north side of Fifth Street saw the Ryder truck in the handicapped zone and decided she would complain about it. Not far away from Moore, outside the YMCA building, seventy-year-old Levold Jack Gage was waiting for a bus and noticed the Ryder truck and the brown pickup as he lit a cigarette. Both witnesses were lucky to survive.

This narrative of the final minutes could not be more different from the version presented in court. The government asserted, simply, that McVeigh lit one or both fuses while he was still driving the Ryder truck, and hopped out as soon as he parked in front of the Murrah Building. He was on his way to the Mercury, parked in an alley a few blocks away, when the bomb exploded. Nobody was with him. McVeigh offered a similar version in his prison interviews with Michel and Herbeck, describing how he popped in a pair of earplugs as he pulled the Ryder truck into position and walked purposefully behind the YMCA building at Fifth and Robinson to shield himself from the explosion.

The witnesses aren't alone, though, in insisting that they saw what they saw. They are backed up by the government's own contemporaneous documentation and by an account of the investigators' assessment of events, which appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* six months after the bombing.

A minute-by-minute timeline of the first few weeks of the investigation compiled by the Secret Service makes clear that extensive efforts were made to

match the testimony from Glenn Grossman and Daina Bradley with time-lapse calculations based on video surveillance footage recovered from the Regency Towers, half a block away. At this stage, the witness accounts were treated with the utmost seriousness. Both the Secret Service timeline and the *Los Angeles Times* report, published in October 1995, allude to the lapse between the last time the Ryder truck was captured on tape and the explosion, a period of just over three minutes. In the scenario described to *Times* reporters Rick Serrano and Ronald Ostrow, the fuses were lit before the Ryder truck came to a halt—just as McVeigh later told it—leaving about a minute between the time the truck was parked and the explosion.

McVeigh was soon at the wheel of the Mercury, driving north out of Oklahoma City and back toward Kansas. The brown Chevy pickup was seen leaving in the same direction, along with a white sedan similar to the one spotted close to the Ryder truck the day before. The bombers probably did not see the explosion, but they must have heard it and perhaps surveyed the damage it caused. A deafening rumble shook the entire city, a spasm of destructive violence like no other across the Great Plains.

9:02 A.M.

Just after 9:00 A.M. on April 19, Stanley Brown was standing at his office window at the Oklahoma Military Academy, admiring his view of the city. The air was cool, the sky a pristine blue, and it promised to be a beautiful spring day.

That was when the detonation hit him. “You could feel the blast,” he said. “It nearly blew my hat off.” Some of the ceiling tiles in his office smashed to the floor, and he looked out and saw a large plume of smoke rising from the high-rise buildings three miles to the south. Major Brown was a Vietnam War veteran, a major in the Oklahoma National Guard, and a senior member of the Oklahoma County Sheriff’s Office bomb squad. “You see that plume of smoke,” he said, “and you know damn well, everybody needs to get their balls wrapped up and go.”

He and another National Guard major ran for his pickup to head downtown. As he later wrote in a meticulous chronology, he felt a pair of explosions, which made him think there had been not one but two bombs.

AT THE FEDERAL COURTHOUSE, GARY KNIGHT OF THE OKLAHOMA CITY police thought he was experiencing an earthquake. He was in a soundproof, windowless courtroom on the first floor, watching his pregnant wife at work as she called a defense witness in a civil suit against four of Knight’s OCPD colleagues. He couldn’t hear a lot at first, but he certainly felt the initial jolt, which was like being rear-ended in a car.

The shaking grew ever stronger, the fluorescent lights swung dangerously, and ceiling tiles tumbled down. Gary Purcell, the trial judge, brought down his gavel. “Gentlemen,” he said, “I believe that was a bomb.”

The corridors outside were thick with smoke. People yelled and stumbled from the jury rooms on the outer side of the courthouse, where the plate glass had imploded. On his way out, Knight saw a U.S. marshal shepherding people out even though he was covered in blood and glass fragments. “At first I thought it was our building,” Knight said. “The federal courthouse handled big interstate drug cases, and I thought someone had put a bomb in the courthouse.” Only when he stepped outside and saw that the back of the Murrah Building was

shattered did he understand which building had been hit.

BERTHA NICHOLS BARELY MADE IT THROUGH THE DOOR OF THE REGENCY Towers apartments when the force of the detonation spun her around and knocked her more or less into the arms of her husband, Richard. He was a maintenance man, and his first reaction was to think the Regency's boilers had blown. Then he remembered that their eight-year-old nephew Chad was still strapped into the backseat of their bright red Ford Festiva. They both dashed outside to retrieve him.

The Nicholse walked into a gust of flying glass and debris. Bertha ducked into the backseat and started tugging on the seat belt to pry Chad free. Richard might have joined her in the effort, but he heard an extraordinary whirring sound coming from the direction of the Murrah Building and turned to look. "I seen this humongous object coming to us out the air. And it was spinning like a boomerang. And you could hear this 'woo-woo-woo-woo' noise," he later testified.

Nichols was looking at the 250-pound rear axle from the Ryder truck, and it was hurtling directly toward him. "Get down!" he screamed.

He reached into the car and pushed his wife down onto the floorboard. The axle hit the windshield on the passenger side, throwing the vehicle back several feet. Nichols lost his grip on his wife, and on the car itself, which jerked violently past his outstretched hands. He ran back to where it came to a halt on the sidewalk. "I grabbed my wife," he said, "and I grabbed Chad, and I kind of hovered over them like an old mother hen." Somehow, they all escaped serious injury.

MAJOR BROWN ARRIVED AT THE MURRAH BUILDING ELEVEN MINUTES after the explosion and found a scene he described as "pure hell." Bodies and body parts were visible everywhere, along with office furniture and reams of paper spilling out over the wreckage. Screams punctured the dust-choked air, and many of the cars along Fifth Street and in the Journal Record parking lot were on fire. The sidewalks were buckled and the parking meters either twisted or plucked out of the ground. Brown smelled the distinctive odor of ammonium nitrate, mingled with the dust and smoke.

Brown immediately worried that another bomb might be ready to explode once the rescue workers, news reporters, and political leaders arrived on the scene. It was what his training had taught him to expect. Some of the firefighters and doctors and nurses gathered around and asked him what he thought, and he told them he didn't have a good feeling at all. For the next several hours, Brown

half-expected to be blown to smithereens.

GLENN WILBURN, WHO HAD BEEN PLAYING WITH HIS GRANDCHILDREN less than two hours earlier, raced to the Murrah Building as soon as he realized it had been hit. He felt the low rumble of the blast from his office building, eighteen blocks away, and was on his way up to the roof for a better view when he learned that the explosion was right next to Chase and Colton's day-care center.

"It was kinda eerie going downtown," he later recalled. "It's a heavy business district, and there was no traffic. It was like everything had frozen in the city." There was no way of getting close to the Murrah Building, so he parked four blocks away and started running. He came to the crest of a hill, and the full horror of the explosion came into view.

"I knew then that our boys were dead," he said. "There was no way they could have survived, just from looking at the scene. Where our boys were was nothing but a big pancake of rubble."

TWENTY-ONE INFANTS, TODDLERS, AND PRESCHOOLERS HAD BEEN dropped off at the America's Kids day care that morning. Three teachers were also on duty; a fourth had called in sick. The numbers might have been much higher, but three weeks earlier there had been a controversial change of management. Danielle Hunt, the popular, outgoing day-care operator and director, had been pushed out before the end of her contract to make way for a rival who was friends with an assistant building manager. Many parents were uncomfortable; they didn't know anything about the new operator, and they weren't happy that the young woman she appointed to run the center, Dana Cooper, was still a year from finishing her early childhood education degree.

Many parents had pulled their children out in protest and sent them elsewhere—an extraordinary stroke of good fortune. When the bomb exploded, one teacher was putting the infants down for a nap right next to the windows overlooking Fifth Street. Another was leading the older children in a round of "I Love You, You Love Me," from *Barney*, which was everyone's favorite television program.

Nobody near the windows stood a chance. The infants were killed instantly, and most of the others, including Dana Cooper and the two other teachers, perished as soon as the building collapsed. The six children who survived were all on the south side of the facility. Two of them, a sparky pair of red-headed toddler siblings named Rebecca and Brandon Denny, had gone to the front door to wait for a muffin delivery man, who arrived every day at 9:00 A.M. The muffin

man saved their lives—although Brandon, then three years old, suffered severe head injuries and went on to have four brain surgeries.

Three more children under the age of five died in the building, all of them accompanying parents or grandparents to the ground-floor Social Security Administration office, where the worst of the death and destruction was concentrated. The visitors and government workers who crowded into the SSA's marble-floored office space on the building's north side had nowhere to escape. Those who were not skewered by flying glass, or flung against the workstations or the walls, were buried under nine floors of rubble when the side of the building came down. Forty people died in this place alone, almost a quarter of the total, and many others suffered horrific injuries. Daina Bradley, the young African-American mother who saw Timothy McVeigh's companion through the plate-glass windows moments before the detonation, heard her two small children screaming as the floor gave way and large slabs of concrete pounded down around her. She ended up trapped in the basement for hours in a pool of frigid water, her left arm pinned behind her head and her right leg wedged beneath a giant concrete boulder. Another large lump of concrete was perched directly above her face and might have killed her if it had fallen just a few more inches. Her sister, Falesha, lay nearby, her head badly injured. For a while, they could hear each other moaning. Bradley's mother and both her children perished.

The injuries and trauma suffered throughout the building were almost beyond description. In some cases, bodies were literally shredded, or crushed under falling concrete, or impaled on filing cabinets or pieces of flying structural steel rebar. According to the Oklahoma City Fire Department rescue operations chief, who witnessed the horrors firsthand, some people were blown fifty feet through six masonry block walls. Limbs were severed and blown off. One of the dead toddlers was decapitated; another was found with the top of his skull sheared off. A Hyundai car emblem was embedded in someone's brain.

In the fifth-floor customs office, a forty-four-year-old secretary named Priscilla Salyers tumbled more than five floors until her body was pressed between slabs of broken concrete. Her head and face were clamped so tight she could not separate her teeth wide enough to spit out her gum. In the gloom she scabbled around with the one part of her body she could move, her left hand, until she felt something. It was a hand. She squeezed and tugged it closer, only to realize that it was stone-cold and attached only to a forearm severed at the elbow. Still, she did not let go. She was too shocked to feel the horror of the moment. As the hours passed and she waited in growing desperation for the rescue she fervently hoped would come, that disembodied hand made her feel oddly comforted and less alone.

Salyers and the others most directly impacted by the bombing bore no responsibility for the government operations at Waco or Ruby Ridge, or any other paramilitary offensive that might have spurred McVeigh and his coconspirators into action. The employees in the Social Security office, and the Federal Employees Credit Union, and the Housing and Urban Development offices, were poorly paid bureaucrats trying to make ends meet, as were many of the people they were servicing. They posed no threat to the Patriot Movement's gun rights, or to their civil liberties, or to their freedom to establish churches preaching the supremacy of the white race. More than 80 percent of the deaths—138 out of 168—were entirely unrelated to law enforcement, the military, or even tax collecting. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, which was most likely at the top of the bombers' target list, did not suffer a single fatality. Neither the IRS nor the FBI had any presence in the building. Even on McVeigh's terms, the bombing was notable only for its gratuitous carnage or, to use the chilling military term he preferred, "collateral damage."

THE ALFRED P. MURRAH BUILDING WAS NOT A PARTICULARLY strong structure, nor was it as well-protected as it should have been. At the time of its opening, in 1977, the otherwise unimaginative nine-story block of steel-reinforced concrete and glass gained attention and praise for its energy efficiency, particularly during air-conditioning season. Nothing was especially wrong with its construction—all follow-up studies agreed it had been built to specification—but neither was anything especially right.

The columns were reinforced by relatively fragile single-lengths of steel rebar. After the bombing, a study sponsored by the Federal Emergency Management Agency concluded that reinforcing the columns with hoop steel instead would have probably prevented the catastrophic pancaking effect on the building's north side. Had the Murrah been built to the specifications standard in earthquake zones, it probably would not have collapsed at all, mitigating about 80 percent of the damage and saving 80–90 percent of the lives lost. The cost of such additional reinforcement would have been negligible, about one-eighth of 1 percent of the overall construction budget.

One-eighth of 1 percent of \$14 million, the price tag for the whole building, comes to about \$18,000. That was less than the planners spent on drawing up their budget, an amount so small it would have caused barely a hiccup in the approval process. For \$18,000, the federal government could have spared the country its worst single trauma since Pearl Harbor. The bombing would have still been a tremendous shock, and some of the injuries just as horrific. The

property damage would have been almost as extensive. But the death toll would have been limited to just fifteen or twenty people.

The Ryder truck, of course, should never have been able to get so close to the building. In the years since, especially after 9/11, it has become standard for federal buildings and law enforcement agencies to be scrupulously well-guarded, with concrete barriers and other obstacles keeping vehicles at a safe distance. But even in the 1990s, federal building management agencies were well aware of the dangers, and how to address them.

In 1988, the National Research Council, part of the National Academy of Sciences, outlined the basics in a widely distributed but little-read report on improving structural integrity, establishing secure site perimeters, and deploying appropriately trained security staff to ward off risks and identify suspect characters. The NRC's report highlighted the risk of an explosive-laden vehicle, and even suggested that one of the first things to do after receiving a threat was to close any on-site day-care centers.

The Murrah Building was targeted, in part, because it complied with none of these recommendations, unlike federal buildings in Dallas or Omaha, which McVeigh and his friends also cased. It never had more than one guard on duty, a subcontractor who worked for a private security outfit rather than the government. And the Murrah Building, along with the federal courthouse and the Old Post Office court building immediately to the south, went unguarded altogether for five hours out of every twenty-four.

In hindsight, one can appreciate how nonsensical it was to assume, as some people clearly did, that because the Murrah Building received no specific threats it was not in danger. For two years before the bombing, the ATF had received agency-wide threats over Ruby Ridge and Waco, suggesting—as one of the lead authors of the National Research Council study argued—that the day care should have been moved to a different building. “I was disappointed they couldn't adopt some of the things we recommended,” John Pignato, author of the NRC study, told the *Kansas City Star* a week after the bombing. “I'm not saying we could have saved everybody, but I certainly think we could have contributed to some (lives) saved.”

Some people, however, were keenly aware of the potential threat. Early in 1995, Magistrate Judge Ronald Howland of the Oklahoma City federal bench met with Tom Hunt, the head of Federal Protective Service, to discuss vulnerabilities at all three downtown federal buildings. “I've always been a security guy,” Howland explained. “I just felt we needed better security.” His two specific concerns were the five-hour gap in security coverage on weekdays, and the alley between the federal courthouse and Old Post Office Building,

where judges drove in on their way to a dedicated underground parking area. What would happen, Judge Howland asked, if some unauthorized person drove into that alley? What would happen if someone tried to blow up the place?

“Judge,” Hunt replied, “I have asked everybody. I’ve asked my agency, I’ve asked the Marshals and the GSA [General Services Administration]. I’ve asked agencies with offices in the Murrah Building to pay for additional security.” No one, he said, was willing to put up the funds. “Even my own bosses said, don’t ask again.”

In February 1995, Hunt was asked for a risk assessment on the Oklahoma City buildings under his jurisdiction. This resulted in a document cataloguing the security holes, along with a list of suggested remedies. But his bosses didn’t want to hear this. “They told me, you have to realize the United States has not had that many terrorist attacks,” Hunt said. “Everybody wanted a federal building that was really open to the public, because of the Social Security office and army recruiting and HUD in there. They wanted an atmosphere that said, come on in and do business with us.”

Hunt was told to rewrite his assessment to say everything was fine as it was. To his enduring chagrin, he did as he was told—not explicitly endorsing anything other than the alarm system, but not openly criticizing anything, either. “I changed it and signed it,” he said. “I should have put a page in there saying I was signing it under duress, or something to that effect...When that bomb went off I thought, oh man, they’re going to put me in a cell.” He might not have achieved anything by protesting more than he did, but he has never stopped asking what he might have done differently.

Hunt was never called to account for the bombing, no doubt because his bosses knew the efforts he’d made to beef up security. But those same bosses seemed worried about what he might reveal to the media. For weeks, they sent him on out-of-town work trips, to Brownsville to help investigate a murder, to Houston to do a risk assessment on the Johnson Space Center, to the Virgin Islands and New Mexico. “I said, why are you sending me to all these places? I’ve got a bombing,” Hunt recalled. “My agency wanted me out of the way.”

The mistrust did not end after Hunt retired in 1999. The day after he left, he said, GSA employees came to his office with bolt cutters to cut the locks off his filing cabinets. He was sure they were looking for his Murrah Building files. He had taken everything home for safekeeping. He knew private lawsuits would try to pin blame on one branch of government or another. “I was not going to leave it to others to say I had nothing to do with this,” he said.

FEW ISSUES ABOUT THE BOMBING GENERATED AS MUCH INTEREST, OR misunderstanding, as the question of whether there was more than one explosion. Major Brown of the National Guard felt a double thump from three miles away, as did some survivors inside the Murrah Building. Most persuasive were seismographic readings done by the earthquake monitoring systems administered by the Oklahoma Geological Survey at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, fifteen miles south of the bomb site, which showed an initial jolt, or cluster of jolts, right around 9:02 A.M.; then a second set between seven and eleven seconds later.

For several weeks after the bombing, Raymon L. Brown of the OGS maintained that based strictly on geological data, there were probably “two events”—in other words, two bombs. Other experts, including Thomas Holzer of the U.S. Geological Survey, disagreed. Dr. Brown eventually changed his mind, stating that there were other plausible explanations for the data he had collected. By that time, though, all sorts of wild theories were running loose.

By the end of July, retired air force general Benton K. Partin sent a report to Congress, asserting that the Ryder truck bomb alone could not have caused all the damage, and that additional explosive charges must have been strapped to the pillars inside the building. General Partin made some elementary mistakes, including an overestimation of the strength of the concrete pillars and a failure to appreciate the power of gravity to pull down part of the building once key support columns had been weakened. But these flaws in Partin’s findings did not stop a number of paranoid antigovernment activists from accepting this and further alleging that the government itself had brought down the building—for political reasons too far removed from reality to be worth dissecting here.

What really happened was this: when the ammonium nitrate barrels ignited, a vast initial shock wave expanded outward in all directions, shattering windows, smashing into cars parked on the street, and ripping into the guts of the Murrah Building. Brute force is the signature of this kind of explosive; ammonium nitrate won’t set fire to a building necessarily, but it will generate a destructive blast that can rip off facades and roofs, shatter walls and internal supports, and create conditions for a partial or total structural collapse.

The first wave was followed by a second one, known as the negative blast-pressure wave, so called because it is caused by air rushing to fill the vacuum created by the initial explosion. Rick Sherrow, who spent three decades as an explosives expert with the ATF, gave an authoritative explanation of the phenomenon when he wrote up his independent inquiries for *Soldier of Fortune* magazine. “During an explosive detonation,” he wrote, “large quantities of expanding gases are forced outward in the form of a positive-pressure wave. This creates a vacuum behind them. As the pressure of this wave dissipates, a

negative-pressure wave is formed by gases (and debris) being sucked into this vacuum. This negative wave often is powerful enough to cause additional damage, in some cases finishing off what had just been weakened by the positive wave.”

In other words, if the initial blast had not already sheared or shattered the three main support columns of the building on its own, the negative blast-pressure wave might have done so. Add to that a likely reverberation or tamping effect from the surrounding buildings, and it’s easy to understand why those columns on the north side gave way. The second series of jolts recorded by Dr. Brown could have been the negative blast wave, or the collapse of the building, or some combination of the two.

McVeigh and his coconspirators probably knew nothing about negative blast-pressure waves, or the other likely effects of detonating a truck bomb. And it is unlikely that they studied the structural defects of the Murrah Building, or knew about the relative fragility of the reinforced concrete. Dave Hollaway, the curiously well-informed deputy director of the CAUSE Foundation, did not hesitate to acknowledge that the bombers blundered their way to notoriety. “They got lucky because the bomb knocked the face of the building off,” said Hollaway, who had some explosives knowledge from his army days. “Often, it’s the collapsing of the air back in that does most of the damage. When it blew off...it set up a fanning wave, which shattered the pillars on one side of the building.... That’s what resulted in the multiple damage. That was just lucky.”

THE BOMBERS’ LUCK WAS A NIGHTMARE FOR RESCUE WORKERS DIGGING their way into the bowels of the building. Lumps of concrete were still tumbling from the wreckage, and large slabs hung precariously by what looked like thin threads of rebar, causing minute-by-minute concern about the safety of the firemen, police, nurses, and doctors. The largest slab, a 32,000-pound monster, became known as the “Mother Slab,” or the “Slab from Hell.” The basement area where most of the victims were trapped was dank and slowly filled with frigid water from the ruptured pipes. The rescuers named it “the Pit.”

A kind of frenzy gripped everyone involved. The rescuers became as uncertain as the survivors that they would get out alive, and their nerves worked on them in strange and unpredictable ways. At one point, a group of workers digging through the rubble of mangled cabinets and desks began to find large quantities of money which they gave to FBI special agent Franklin Alexander for safekeeping. At first, Alexander shoved these bills into the cargo pockets of his fatigue pants, for lack of a better place, before he woke up to reality and told his

fellow rescuers: “Forget about the money, it doesn’t matter right now. Look for people!”

John Avera, an Oklahoma City police sergeant, broke down several times when the FBI interviewed him about his experiences in the building. He was asked about the friends and colleagues he had encountered, and about the people he had helped, but he was unable to visualize any of them clearly. “There were a lot of bodies. I remember seeing lots of torsos,” he said, in a daze. “But I just can’t remember their faces.”

One victim he saw had literally been scalped—the rolls of skin and blood hanging down from his bare skull. As Avera pushed deeper into the Pit, he was hit on the shoulder by a piece of falling debris and had trouble moving his neck. His T-shirt and jeans were covered in blood; the dust penetrated his lungs and made his breathing labored. Every few minutes, he had to wipe his glasses clean from the dust and spray from broken water pipes. He tried removing his glasses, but that didn’t work, either.

Then he came across Baylee Almon, a baby from the day-care center, who had celebrated her first birthday just the day before. He did not know if she was alive or dead. Her clothes and shoes had been shredded; she was wearing only her white ankle socks. He picked her up and thought her neck was broken. He cradled her so he would not inflict any further head or neck damage, and listened for any sign of breathing. There was none.

Soon, a photograph of a lifeless Baylee being carried out of the Murrah Building by a gentle giant of a firefighter would become *the* iconic image of the bombing, a moment captured by two amateur photographers whose work would be published on the front pages of newspapers and magazines around the world. But finding that firefighter was no easy task.

Avera ran outside with the baby and tried to hand her off to a nurse or doctor. Everyone he approached told him to find someone else. Nobody, it seems, could bear to hold the dead child, much less face the prospect of handing her over to her devastated parents. Avera couldn’t understand it. Finally, Chris Fields of the Oklahoma City Fire Department came up to him, rather than waiting to be asked, and scooped up Baylee’s remains as though it was the most natural thing in the world.

THE FIRST ASSUMPTION ABOUT THE BOMBING WAS THAT IT WAS THE work of Middle Eastern extremists. In some cases, the assumption prompted hysterical reactions directed at Muslims generally. “Shoot them now, before they get us,” wrote Jeff Kamen of *New York Newsday*. But spring 1995 was also a period of heightened “chatter”

from Middle Eastern groups threatening the United States, not least because Ramzi Yousef, the mastermind behind the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center in New York, had recently been arrested in Pakistan and extradited to the United States.

A few weeks earlier, the federal judiciary had received a stark security warning, not about the radical far right, or the anniversary of Waco, but a fatwa issued by Iranian extremists against the U.S. Marshals Service and the buildings it was charged with protecting. (This was perhaps one reason Judge Purcell so quickly believed the rumbling in his soundproof courtroom was a bomb.) The grievance resulted from an episode during the World Trade Center bombing trial, when a deputy marshal accidentally stepped on a copy of the Koran in a courtroom scuffle. There was no indication that Oklahoma City was likely to be singled out for attack, and one of Purcell's colleagues said the briefing was mostly about preventing intruders from bursting into the building to create a hostage-type situation.

The Middle Eastern theme dominated cable news coverage for the first several hours. One of the earliest eyewitness reports spoke of three Arabs driving away from the bomb site. A local Jordanian-American, Abraham Ahmad, shot to the top of the suspect list because he fit an eyewitness description and was booked on a flight to Italy directly after the explosion. Ahmad was grilled by customs officials in Chicago, then intercepted when he reached London and sent back to Washington for questioning by the FBI. His luggage traveled on to Rome, where local police pulled it apart on arrival.

The government took no chances with anyone else, checking and double-checking passports at Will Rogers International Airport in Oklahoma City and assigning a dozen Arabic-language translators to decipher surveillance traffic. The translators were kept on even after it became clear this was a domestic attack, to the irritation of the Pentagon, which had loaned them to the FBI.

The real experts, those federal and local law enforcement agents with direct experience of the radical right, were never in doubt about the true nature of what had happened. About an hour after the bombing, Oklahoma's police and fire chiefs were standing on the north side of Fifth Street with the assistant city manager and Bob Ricks, the special agent in charge of the FBI's Oklahoma City office. They were contemplating the ghastly scene when Ricks, unprompted, looked at the others and said, "This is the anniversary of Waco."

As the FBI's public face throughout the fifty-one-day Branch Davidian siege two years earlier, Ricks well knew the fury it unleashed. Militia groups had attacked him in their newsletters, and he was already wondering if the bomb had been meant for him.

A similar gut feeling gripped one of Ricks's longest-standing FBI colleagues, Danny Coulson, just recently appointed as special agent in charge of the Dallas office. Coulson knew the legacy of Jim Ellison and Wayne Snell from his time in charge of the bureau's Hostage Rescue Team. Exactly ten years earlier, on April 19, 1985, Coulson ordered the HRT to move in on a heavily armed religious compound in rural Arkansas run by Ellison under the name of the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord. The four-day siege ended without a shot being fired, largely thanks to Coulson's patience and the intervention of Robert Millar, the patriarch of Elohim City, who acted as a go-between and induced Ellison to surrender peacefully.

Coulson later wrote that when he heard about the bombing, he grabbed his weapons and drove as fast as he could through a driving rainstorm up I-35 to Oklahoma City. On his way, he received a phone call from Rita Braver, a correspondent with CBS.

"Everybody in Washington is saying it's Middle Eastern," she said. "Do you think that's right?"

"No it's not. It's a Bubba job."

"It looks like all the other truck bombings coming out of the Middle East," Braver persisted.

"It's Bubbas," Coulson said. "It's April 19."

TIM McVEIGH MADE A REMARKABLY CLEAN GETAWAY, THOUGH ANY number of things could have gone wrong for him. The Mercury was leaking oil. It had a lousy transmission, a questionable battery, and a broken fuel gauge. On its rear was a large primer stain, making it easy to spot if anyone decided it was suspicious. McVeigh's task was to navigate his way out of the city without being spotted by the police officers, firefighters, and volunteer rescue workers rushing in the opposite direction. He could have broken down or been stopped at any moment.

McVeigh's only mistake was not having a license plate for the back of the Mercury Marquis. After months of planning, it was extraordinary that McVeigh could have slipped up over something so elementary. It is a wrinkle in the story that has generated endless theories but almost no cogent explanations. The FBI scoured the streets looking for the license plate; and at least two witnesses reported seeing it hanging by a single bolt in the days leading up to the bombing. But the feds found nothing. Later, McVeigh said he removed the plate when he stashed the car in an alley on April 16, presumably because he did not want an overcurious cop or traffic warden to trace the car back to him. But he never explained why he didn't reattach it.

The government ascribed the oversight to recklessness or simple incompetence. But when McVeigh bought the Mercury five days earlier in Junction City—to replace a Pontiac station wagon with a blown head gasket—he had taken care to switch his Arizona plates to the new car, even though they were the wrong plates. “Nice and solid, two screws right on top,” he told one of his defense lawyers shortly after his arrest. At least on April 14, it was very important to him not to drive around without plates.

The best way to understand the scenario is if McVeigh was not alone. Everything he did up to the moment he drove away from the Murrah Building suggests the Mercury was intended not as a getaway vehicle but rather as a “drop car”—a vehicle to carry him a short distance away before being ditched. That, in turn, implies that he was expecting a ride the rest of the way.

On the front passenger seat he left a sealed envelope stuffed with documents describing the motivation for the bombing, a collection that acted both as a manifesto and as a signature taking responsibility for the carnage. They included a historical article on the battle of Lexington and Concord, provocative quotes from Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and Winston Churchill; a copy of the Declaration of Independence, on the back of which McVeigh had scrawled: “Obey the Constitution of the United States, and we won’t shoot you”; a chunky paragraph from John Locke arguing for the legitimacy of war against those who would take away our liberty; and a long passage from *The Turner Diaries*, in which the narrator justifies the car bomb attack on FBI headquarters as a message to the “politicians and the bureaucrats” that they can run but not hide.

Had these documents been discovered in an empty car, they would have generated endless speculation and analysis in the media, as McVeigh later said he hoped they would. If he was planning to drive the Mercury just a short distance, it becomes more understandable that he would not want to spend more than a few hundred dollars on it. He needed to transfer the Pontiac’s license plates for the trip down from Junction City so nobody would stop him en route. Equally, it made sense to remove the license plates when he stashed the car, so nobody could easily link him to the Mercury while it sat unattended for three days. McVeigh left a note under the windshield: “Not abandoned. Please do not tow. Will move by April 23. (Needs battery & cable.)” And he put a piece of tissue paper over the gas cap to alert him if someone had tried to siphon off any fuel. According to Terry Nichols, who accompanied McVeigh to Oklahoma City on Easter Sunday, he had the Arizona license plate in his hand when they rode back to Kansas. When Nichols asked why he had unscrewed it from the Mercury, McVeigh said he didn’t want it stolen.

After the bombing, the car's ownership was bound to be traced through the VIN number, which was clearly visible through the windshield. Since McVeigh could easily have bought a drop car under an assumed name, at a dealership where he would not be recognized (unlike the one in Junction City, where he knew the owner), we must assume he wanted this to happen. One suspects his real desire was to enjoy the public notoriety associated with the bombing while living the life of a full-time outlaw and, perhaps, planning and carrying out other attacks. That's what Earl Turner did in *The Turner Diaries*. And it was something he more or less announced in a letter to his sister Jennifer, eighteen months or so before the bombing. "If someone does start looking for me," he wrote, "(I have 'ears' all over the country), that's when I disappear.... Believe me, if that necessity ever comes to pass, it will be very difficult for anyone to find me."

Another reason to believe the Mercury was meant as a drop car was that McVeigh had another vehicle. This was not discussed at trial, or disclosed to the news media at the time. But on January 4, 1995, McVeigh bought a ten-year-old Ford Ranger pickup truck in Michigan. The FBI's records say nothing more about it—where it was kept, what kind of condition it was in, whether it was ever recovered—but this could have been the vehicle McVeigh intended to use after he made his getaway from Oklahoma City.

SOMETHING CLEARLY WENT WRONG WITH THE "DROP CAR" PLAN, BECAUSE McVeigh ended up driving the Mercury out of Oklahoma City and another sixty miles to the north. Perhaps he panicked and felt there was no time to stop and switch cars. Or a fight broke out between McVeigh and his companions. The FBI came to believe McVeigh wanted to kill the kids in the day-care center as revenge for the children who perished at Waco. Did the others, believing they were targeting the federal courthouse, try to stop him? Or did they abandon him once they saw the scale of the slaughter they had perpetrated?

In McVeigh's account, he walked alone from the Ryder truck through a maze of back alleys as the fuse wire burned toward detonation point. He was just past the YMCA, kitty-corner from the north entrance to the Murrah Building, when the explosion rocked everything around him. He dodged a severed power line whipping dangerously in his direction, hopped out of the way of a tumbling pile of bricks, shrugged at a woman coming out of a shop, swapped glances with a couple standing forlornly in front of a shattered storefront, and exchanged a line of conversation with a private mail deliveryman on his rounds.

"Man," McVeigh reported the man saying, "for a second I thought that was

us that blew up.”

“Yeah, so did I,” McVeigh said he replied.

McVeigh walked to his car in an alley off Eighth Street, checked his gas tank, and tried several times to start the Mercury. It coughed and sputtered but would not engage. Just as he was about to give up, it kicked into gear. He navigated the one-way system on to Broadway, which runs parallel to I-235, paused as a fleet of police cars and fire engines hared toward downtown, and turned north onto the freeway back to Kansas.

None of the bystanders McVeigh described has ever been traced—one of many problems with his account. The Mercury was probably parked much closer to the Ryder truck, as discussed in the last chapter. In the minutes after the explosion, two more eyewitnesses saw McVeigh and the muscular, olive-skinned character in an alley a block and a half southeast of the Murrah Building—a different direction from the one in McVeigh’s version. Germaine Johnston, a Housing and Urban Development worker who was hit in the head by flying glass and debris, staggered out on her own and thought immediately of walking to her husband’s office to tell him she was all right. On her way, she saw a man she later identified as McVeigh, as well as a second, shorter, darker man. She said they were standing next to a yellow Mercury just like one she and her husband had once owned.

“What happened?” the McVeigh figure asked.

Johnston told him.

“A lot of people killed?”

“I don’t know,” she responded weakly. Johnston was thrown by the question, because he seemed entirely indifferent to the fact that she was bleeding from the head, caked in concrete dust, and wet from the ruptured pipes that had sprayed her on her way out of the office. “I thought he was going to ask me if he could help me, or if I was okay, or something,” Johnston recounted. “Several people had already done that.”

Later, Johnston realized something else noteworthy. At the spot where she talked to the McVeigh figure, the alley had a clear view of the Murrah Building. A few yards farther back or forward, the building would have been obscured.

AT A DINGY MOTEL OUTSIDE SPOKANE, WASHINGTON, A TWENTY-TWO-YEAR-OLD skinhead named Chevie Kehoe banged on the door of the manager’s living quarters and insisted he turn on the television.

Kehoe was then at the dawn of a criminal career that would send him on a vicious cross-country robbing, bombing, and killing spree. Lately he had been

living on and off at the Shadows Motel and RV Park, which he used as a gathering point for fellow neo-Nazis and skinheads who wanted to build an Aryan paradise in the Pacific Northwest. The manager, Jeff Brown, was more or less a friend who chose to turn a blind eye to gunshots or loud pops coming from Kehoe's quarters. "Bud," as Brown called Kehoe, would experiment with small explosives and blasting caps in his room, setting them off inside the pages of motel phone books. In addition to a library of do-it-yourself guerrilla warfare manuals, Kehoe kept an arsenal of shoulder weapons and explosives, including a supply of fertilizer, mothballs, and black powder, which he would cook up into homemade bombs.

Brown was asleep when he heard the banging at his door. Kehoe was yelling for him to turn the TV on to CNN. "Ten minutes later," Brown told a newspaper reporter, "the news is breaking there was a bomb going off in Oklahoma City."

Kehoe looked thrilled. "It's about time," he said.

Several days earlier, Kehoe told Brown that something would happen on April 19 to "wake people up." "I look back on it," Brown said, "and he obviously knew about it beforehand."

Kehoe moved in the same circles as Tim McVeigh. Both traveled the gun-show circuit and dropped in on radical communities around the country. In the months before the bombing, Chevie and his younger brother Cheyne spent extended periods at Elohim City, taking shooting lessons from Andreas Strassmeir and participating in discussions on how to bring down the government. A former associate of Chevie's, who accompanied him twice to Elohim City, later told the feds he remembered a conversation in late 1994 about a "delivery" that needed to be made very soon. Despite repeated inquiries, Kehoe refused to explain what this delivery was.

WAYNE SNELL HAD A RESTLESS NIGHT. HE ROSE AT 1:45 A.M., PUTTING on his day clothes and monitoring the television outside his death row cell, which was kept on at his request. Between news bulletins, he sat at his desk and wrote. At 4:00 A.M., he ordered a hearty breakfast of eggs, chicken sausage, grits, biscuits, and gravy, which put him to sleep for an hour or so. He woke in time to watch the 6:00 A.M. news, before dozing off again. Much of the local coverage was about Snell's execution scheduled for 9:00 P.M. that night. He seemed pleased that the tone was not unduly negative. At this stage, he still had his final appeals pending and was hoping for a last-minute reprieve.

Once news from Oklahoma City broke, Snell's guards noticed an immediate change in demeanor. He chuckled, nodded in approval, and seemed to find a

renewed inner calm. He spent much of his last day writing and munching on sunflower seeds. In the afternoon, for his final meal, he downed six pieces of fried crappie, hushpuppies with buttermilk, a salad with blue-cheese dressing, and three-quarters of a large white onion.

According to his lawyer, Jeffrey Rosenzweig, Snell had misgivings about the way the bombing was carried out. He reportedly told his attorney that a professional bombing crew, the sort he associated with during his criminal heyday, would never have targeted children. It is impossible to know if this was a genuine reservation, or a way of distancing himself a little. The bombing certainly did not dampen Snell's revolutionary spirit—quite the contrary. As he was strapped down and wheeled into the death chamber, he issued a final statement that spooked everyone who heard it.

“Governor Tucker,” he said, “look over your shoulder. Justice is on the way. I wouldn't trade places with you or any of your political cronies. Hell has victory. I am at peace.”

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE RADICAL FAR RIGHT WERE UNHAPPY WITH the bombing, understanding that it would not be a catalyst to additional antigovernment action so much as a huge screeching brake. Some of McVeigh's fellow revolutionaries were disgusted by the deaths of blameless civilians. Even those who did not fault the bombing's morality still attacked its operational stupidity. Kale Kelly, an Aryan Nations adherent and antigovernment revolutionary, said bluntly that McVeigh should have killed more federal agents and fewer innocents. Andreas Strassmeir, who acknowledged knowing and liking McVeigh, thought a bomb was the wrong weapon and a public office building the wrong target. “The whole militia movement basically died that night,” Strassmeir said many years later. “Whatever he did achieve worked against anything he believed in.”

Some of the statements coming out of the Patriot Movement were, of course, self-serving. Nobody wanted to catch heat from the vast government investigation—least of all Strassmeir, who later came under close scrutiny as a possible suspect. But the reactions were also unmistakably tinged with contempt, if not anger, toward McVeigh. “Didn't he case the place?” Strassmeir asked incredulously. “You're talking about a public building. Even Tim knew not everyone in there was a murderous BATF agent. You can't be that dumb.”

Some people dropped hints that McVeigh had unilaterally changed the intended plan, or that the attack was much more vicious than they had been led to believe ahead of time. One was Jack Oliphant, a one-armed World War II veteran who led the Arizona Patriot Movement and almost certainly knew

McVeigh from his time in the dusty desert town of Kingman. A couple of weeks before the bombing, one of Oliphant's neighbors overheard him saying that "something big" would happen before the end of the month. In one of many newspaper interviews after the bombing, Oliphant said: "The bastard has put the Patriot movement back 30 years.... If he'd blown up a federal building at night, he'd be a hero." Another hint came from a white supremacist prison gang leader named Bobby Joe Farrington, who told the FBI that McVeigh's job had been to blow up the federal courthouse as part of a national campaign against judges who displeased the movement. Farrington said he had met McVeigh, whom he knew as "Sergeant Mac," and could only conclude he was an idiot who had "fucked it up."

ABOUT AN HOUR AFTER THE EXPLOSION, A TALL, ATHLETIC MAN WITH a goatee, wearing blue jeans, a ball cap, and a blue windbreaker, made a dramatic appearance at a shattered window on the Murrah Building's ninth floor. To his left was a makeshift sign on which he had scrawled ATF - TRAPPED - NINTH FLOOR. In his right hand was a small lockbox.

Special Agent Luke Franey said he had been on the phone with an ATF colleague when he felt the walls and ceiling falling in. He could hear screams from the Drug Enforcement Administration next door. A gust of air pressure flung him out of his chair and into a hallway, where he landed, covered in rubble. He may or may not have lost consciousness, but after checking himself for injuries—and finding nothing but "minor scrapes and cuts"—he kicked and chopped his way through a wall, only to realize with horror that the DEA's part of the building was gone. Then he went to his fellow agents' desks, scooped up as many documents and keepsakes as he could find and put them in the lockbox he held up in the window. He also picked up his own children's savings bonds and some family photographs.

Franey told this story for years afterward, but something about it did not add up. On his way out of the building, he said, he broke through three Sheetrock walls with his bare hands and climbed down an outside ledge at a perilous forty-five-degree angle before descending a blood-smeared staircase. His hands were banged up, and he said he had them bandaged as soon as he could. He also had a cut on his head.

Yet in a video shot later that morning, Franey's hands are not bandaged, and he can be seen vigorously shaking hands with Bob Heady, the commander of the sheriff's office bomb squad, with no obvious discomfort. There are no cuts on his head, or any other indication of bodily injury. While other survivors were

caked in dust and grime, his face and clothes remained clean.

Danny Coulson of the FBI, who helped gather the physical evidence during the first week of the investigation, said he had no problem climbing up the southeastern staircase and walking into the remains of the ATF office without jumping onto ledges or clambering across broken Sheetrock. Franey's ATF colleague Harry Eberhardt concurred, saying the route "was used many times by searchers and other agents." Even John Magaw, the ATF director, made little attempt to defend Franey when asked about him in 2009. "He sometimes overstates things," Magaw said. "I think people who have worked with him have learned to take these things with a grain of salt."

What really happened? Did Franey enter the building after the bombing on a sensitive mission to retrieve documents, or weapons? Magaw said he did not know but did not rule it out. If Franey was in radio contact with his colleagues, as he said, why make such a spectacle of his presence?

Franey was not the only ATF agent with a questionable story that morning. His boss, Alex McCauley, the ATF's resident agent in charge in Oklahoma City, claimed he was in an elevator when the explosion occurred. He said that he and DEA agent Dave Schickedanz went into free fall, plunging from the eighth floor to the third. Three times, with smoke wafting in, they tried and failed to open the elevator doors. On the fourth try, they squeezed themselves out to the third floor and made their way to a stairwell, bringing ten or fifteen other survivors with them. When they realized the stairwell had crumbled, they used a bedsheet as a rope to shimmy down toward a "chain of rescuers," who brought them all to safety.

This story was circulated in an ATF news release and repeated in court by Joe Hartzler, McVeigh's chief government prosecutor. But two technicians working for the Midwest Elevator Company—Duane James and Oscar Johnson—challenged it. They were on the scene within minutes to see if anyone had been trapped. Nobody was, and the technicians said there was no way any of the elevators could have free-fallen. Each elevator had a mechanical brake at the top that would freeze the hoist ropes, and there was another brake beneath each elevator car in case the ropes got cut. None of these backup systems was even activated; the ropes were all intact.

The technicians said McCauley and Schickedanz probably slid no more than four or five feet as the emergency brake came on. "If you fell six floors and it was a free fall," James said, "it would be like jumping out of a six-story building. I'd ask 'em how long they were in the hospital and how lucky they were to survive."

The elevator story became a public relations nightmare for the ATF, and

almost certainly factored in the decision to transfer McCauley quietly out of Oklahoma City in the summer of 1995. He left the ATF shortly after.

At the time of the bombing, the ATF was fighting for its survival because of the Waco disaster, and one of John Magaw's main goals was to restore its public image. He saw the bombing as an opportunity to paint the agency in heroic colors, and his staff was irresistibly drawn to Franey and McCauley's gritty survival stories. But the holes in those stories did the ATF real damage, because they eroded the agency's credibility within the bombing task force and spawned all sorts of wild theories on the media fringes and on the Internet. To the extent that the ATF jumped on the stories as publicity material, they backfired. When Magaw was asked in a 2010 interview about the photograph of Franey in the ninth-floor window, he responded: "I wonder if that was one of the pictures that was staged." The picture was, in fact, taken by a local news photographer unstaged. But Magaw's response might have given away more than he meant to.

TIM McVEIGH WAS CRUISING SMOOTHLY TOWARD THE KANSAS border. A few miles past the tiny town of Perry, he saw a highway patrol trooper's vehicle roaring up behind him at more than ninety miles per hour. The trooper, Charlie Hanger, was on his way to help a distressed motorist. He had been called to Oklahoma City earlier that morning, only to be turned around and told to return to regular patrolling duties. The Mercury was sticking to the speed limit, and Hanger might not have noticed it at all, if the large patch of primer on the left rear panel had not guided his eye to the missing license plate. He was a gruff, no-nonsense trooper who had cruised up and down Oklahoma's highways for nineteen years, and he rarely missed a driver committing an obvious infraction. He slowed as he fell in behind the Mercury, took a second look at the back bumper, and turned on his siren.

McVeigh had to think fast. He had a loaded Glock pistol in his pocket, as well as a backup ammunition clip on his belt, so he could easily take care of Hanger if he wanted. But what was worse for him: a dead cop and a race to stay ahead of a multistate manhunt, or the inconvenience of a traffic ticket or two?

In McVeigh's own account, he decided to spare Hanger because he was a state trooper, not a federal officer. But the decision cannot have been made calmly. A calm man would have stayed put, using the time Hanger took to lean into his window to decide whether to hand over his license or put a bullet in the trooper's brain. McVeigh, oddly, decided to step out of the car right away.

Hanger wasn't taking any chances. Two weeks earlier, on this same stretch of road, a driver had fired at one of Hanger's highway patrol colleagues. So he crouched behind his open door for cover, waiting until he could see McVeigh's

hands, before moving forward.

Hanger told McVeigh why he'd been stopped and asked for a bill of sale to prove the Mercury was his; McVeigh said the dealer was still filling out the paperwork. Hanger expressed some skepticism. When McVeigh was asked for his driver's license, he reached into his back pocket, revealing a suspicious bulge under the armpit of his windbreaker. Hanger took the license, ordered McVeigh to lift up both hands, and told him to unzip his jacket very slowly.

"I have a gun," McVeigh conceded.

Hanger pressed his left hand against the bulge in McVeigh's jacket and used his right hand to push the barrel of his own pistol directly against McVeigh's head.

"Get your hands up and turn around," he said. He frog-marched McVeigh to the back of the Mercury and spread-eagled him across the trunk.

McVeigh complied, and told him: "My weapon is loaded."

Hanger responded: "So is mine."

Hanger lifted the Glock out of McVeigh's pocket and threw it onto the shoulder. McVeigh told the trooper about the ammunition clip and a knife in his jacket. Hanger took both and threw them on the shoulder also. Then he handcuffed McVeigh, pushed his gun against McVeigh's back, and walked him back to his vehicle.

"You know that one wrong move on your part could have gotten you shot," Hanger told him.

McVeigh shrugged. "It's possible."

Hanger wanted to establish just how tough a customer he was dealing with. McVeigh sought to minimize the concealed weapon, saying he had a permit for one in New York. But Hanger was hardly reassured by a Black Talon "cop killer" bullet he found inside the Glock. Was the gun or car stolen? McVeigh had no registration papers or proof of insurance.

The trooper radioed in the Mercury's VIN number and the Glock's registration number; both were clean. He also asked the dispatcher to run a check on McVeigh, to see if he had prior arrests or outstanding warrants. He did not.

McVeigh seemed resigned to spending a day or two in jail. If he was lucky, he could arrange bail and still vanish underground before anyone associated him with the bombing. It certainly helped that Hanger had not touched the sealed white envelope on the passenger seat. When they left for the Noble County lockup, it stayed where it was.

They talked briefly on the twenty-minute ride into Perry. McVeigh was anxious to get his Glock back; Hanger said he'd have to sort that out with the court. McVeigh asked Hanger what kind of service pistol he was carrying—it

was a SIG 228—and even dared him to drive his car faster. Hanger didn't take the bait, but took comfort in the jocular tone. McVeigh felt calmer, too: although his wrists were cuffed and he was heading into custody, nobody was yet associating him with the bloodshed in Oklahoma City.

SHORTLY AFTER 10:30 A.M., AS McVEIGH WAS BEING BOOKED, THE Oklahoma City Fire Department announced the discovery of another bomb at the Murrah Building. Word spread that it might be bigger than the first—exactly what Stanley Brown had dreaded all morning. On Fifth Street, where Brown was stationed, the reaction was pure panic. People sprinted as fast as they could across the Robinson intersection and over a small hill. Firefighters stopped some of them and asked where the secondary device might be, but nobody could say.

Brown was amazed to see Bob Heady, the commander of his own bomb squad unit, running away with the crowd. Before Brown had time to think, he was running after him. “I had to tackle his ass,” Brown said. Heady came crashing to the ground.

“Bob,” Brown cried, “you're the goddamn bomb squad!”

Heady was not pleased, but Brown talked him out of jumping back up and making another run for it. “I couldn't understand it,” Brown recounted. “I mean, he's a Vietnam veteran. Maybe I was dumb as dirt but my attitude was, we needed to be there.”

Inside the building, and especially in the Pit, where collapsed floors had ensnared the largest number of victims, the rescue workers did not know how to break the news that they were being ordered out. A suburban fire crew had been sitting with Daina Bradley while she was pinned down in six inches of freezing water. She begged them not to go. They did not know what to say, and neither did Mike Shannon, head of the fire department's rescue operations. “If she were my wife, I would not have wanted her to be left alone,” Shannon later wrote. He crawled into the hole where Bradley lay, removed his helmet, and offered up a prayer. When a deputy came to retrieve him, he told Bradley the team would be back with better tools and equipment, a white lie designed to make her feel a little better.

It has never been proven that there was a valid reason for the bomb scare. Shannon was told a device was found on a staircase, but none was ever identified. Danny Defenbaugh, a senior FBI agent who was not in Oklahoma City on April 19 but later headed up the investigation, heard that the scare was triggered by a gas leak. To complicate matters, the FBI received calls that two possible bombers were running away from the scene. The “bombers,”

Defenbaugh said, turned out to be technicians from the Oklahoma Gas & Electric Company, who were there to cut off the building's gas supply.

A more sinister explanation, which federal and local authorities have tried to deny over the years, was that the evacuation was ordered to recover ordinance and weaponry that government agencies were storing illegally in the building.

When Don Browning, a dog handler with the Oklahoma City police, was ordered out, he met a woman wearing a red jacket from either the ATF or the FBI, who told him the building had been secured so the feds could recover some crucial "files." Browning immediately suspected the "files" were ordinance and weaponry. When he entered the building the first time, he recognized boxes of small arms ammunition and blocks of C-4 plastic explosive. "I'm real familiar with C-4," Browning explained. He would not be the last person to tell a similar story.

Randy Yount, the state park ranger, was part of a group of rescue workers led down to the basement by an ATF agent. They pried open a door and had to remove large chunks of concrete before going further. He thought they were on a straightforward rescue mission until he and the others were led into a concrete-walled room packed with rifles, pistols, hand grenades, plastic explosives, and "thousands and thousands" of ammunition rounds. The ATF supervisor, whom Yount did not know, referred to this material as "evidence." Yount remembered him saying: "There are some things here that we need to get out of the building.... If anybody has a problem with not talking about what you are fixing to do, you are welcome to leave. Nobody will hold it against you or reprimand you." They all stayed, carrying the crates to the plaza area on the south side of the building and loading them into white vans so they could be taken to a secure storage facility.

Nobody in authority has ever fully confirmed this account. Oklahoma Highway Patrol officer Shane Slovacek later told the FBI he knew of an ATF vault full of confiscated weapons and small-arms ammunition, some of which turned up in the debris. The sheriff's department video—the one capturing Luke Franey's unbandaged hands—included footage of rescue workers lifting semiautomatic weapons out of the rubble. Yet another witness, an elevator company inspector named Virgil Steele, said in a sworn statement that he had helped the ATF carry out a vast assortment of weapons and materiel, including AR-15 and M-16 assault rifles, handguns, thousands of rounds of ammunition, hand grenades, C-4, and at least three "antitank missiles or shoulder/hip-type rocket launchers."

John Magaw, the ATF director, confirmed that the 10:30 A.M. alert was really about weapons and explosive materials that belonged to government agencies.

He remembered that agents recovered two black cases containing high-powered weapons that morning; they had been stored either in the ATF office or the Secret Service office, both on the ninth floor.

The interruption lasted forty-five minutes. In his handwritten journal, Stanley Brown noted that the fire department made great efforts to figure out what triggered the bomb scare, without success. John Haynie, the head of the Oklahoma Highway Patrol's tactical team, reported much the same. He had made repeated efforts to find out who raised the alarm, but he never found anybody—"or, at least, no one who would admit it."

AT AROUND 11:00 A.M., CHARLIE HANGER ESCORTED TIM McVEIGH up to the fourth-floor booking area inside the Noble County courthouse. A television set was on, with uninterrupted coverage of the bombing. Hanger exchanged expressions of dismay with Marsha Moritz, the employee processing the jail admissions. McVeigh said nothing, and did not react. He glanced at the television a few times, but mostly he looked away.

Hanger cited McVeigh on four charges: transporting a loaded firearm in a motor vehicle, unlawfully carrying a weapon, failure to display a current number plate, and failure to maintain proof of liability insurance. Moritz asked McVeigh to take off his jacket and empty his pockets. He was carrying two commemorative Revolutionary War coins, a spare pair of earplugs, some aspirin, four .45-caliber bullets, and \$255 in cash. Most striking to her was his T-shirt. The front had a picture of Abraham Lincoln and the words *SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS*, which John Wilkes Booth shouted after delivering the fatal gunshot. "Thus ever to tyrants." The back showed a tree and the Thomas Jefferson quote: *THE TREE OF LIBERTY MUST BE REFRESHED FROM TIME TO TIME WITH THE BLOOD OF PATRIOTS AND TYRANTS.*

Moritz took mug shots and asked McVeigh some routine questions, which he answered willingly until she requested the name of his closest family member. McVeigh acted as if he hadn't heard. So she asked again. Hanger walked over to the booking counter as a precaution. Moritz explained that she wanted a name only for emergencies; she was not going to contact McVeigh's family to tell them he had been arrested.

Hanger remembered McVeigh's Michigan driver's license and asked about the address listed on it: 3616 N. Van Dyke Road, in the tiny farming town of Decker. "Who lives there?" he asked.

McVeigh said it was a place where he had stayed a number of times, and that it belonged to the brother of a friend he met in the military.

"Well," Moritz suggested, "do you want to use that?"

McVeigh agreed, and offered up the name James Nichols. He had been using the address for several days, ensuring that any law enforcement interest would lead to one, if not both Nichols brothers. The Nicholsons themselves later saw this as one of a number of signs that he had set them up as fall guys. Many in the Patriot Movement later credited McVeigh with a certain nobility for keeping his mouth shut and denying the existence of a broader conspiracy, but on the day of his arrest he didn't hesitate to lead law enforcement straight to two of his best friends.

Moritz and Hanger had no way of grasping this and saw no reason to suspect that this calm, well-spoken young man had anything to do with the ghastly images on TV. At most, they were aware of something a little off. After McVeigh was escorted to his jail cell, Moritz said to Hanger: "Wasn't that a strange T-shirt that he had on?"

"What do you mean?" Hanger asked.

"Well, it had a strange saying on it," she said.

"Well," he responded, "I didn't read it."

BACK IN OKLAHOMA CITY, CHARLIE HANGER'S BOSSES IN THE HIGHWAY PATROL picked up on McVeigh's arrest within a couple of hours, because they were interested in anyone who had been stopped in the immediate aftermath of the bombing. OHP passed on the information to the governor's office, and Dennis Dutsch, the governor's security chief, tried to alert the FBI.

The FBI agent Dutsch spoke to, though, told him flatly he was not interested. "We don't have anybody in custody," he insisted. Dutsch never got the agent's name, but he understood his message. "What he was saying was, we're doing our job. Stay out of it," Dutsch said.

And so McVeigh went undiscovered by the feds for another forty-eight hours.

SHORTLY AFTER THE EVACUATION ORDER WAS RESCINDED, DR. ANDY Sullivan received a call at the Oklahoma City Children's Hospital. The rescuers needed an orthopedic surgeon to help extricate a woman trapped under a pile of rubble and Sullivan, the orthopedics chair at the University of Oklahoma medical school, was the man for the job. Sullivan knew he was risking his life, so he took off his wedding ring and removed the wallet from his trouser pocket. If he died, he wanted his wife and sons to have these as keepsakes.

Sullivan arrived with a rudimentary amputation kit including scalpels, a saw, various tourniquets, anesthetics, and tranquilizers. A fire crew led him and his

fellow surgeon David Tuggle to the Pit, where Daina Bradley was lying. She was breathing only with great difficulty and her skin was dust-gray. Just getting close was a challenge. Tuggle was too large to climb into the space where she was trapped; Sullivan, who was shorter, could do so only after a firefighter hacked off a jutting piece of metal. Even then he had to crawl in, military combat-style, and lie on top of her with his feet pointing up toward her face.

Sullivan began experimenting with a nylon rope he planned to use as a tourniquet only to be interrupted by another evacuation order. The firefighters told the doctors they had to leave immediately.

“Don’t leave me, don’t leave me!” Bradley screamed. “I’m going to die!”

“It was gut-wrenching,” Sullivan said. “You don’t leave somebody that’s going to die.” But they had to anyway.

THE NEW EVACUATION WAS PROMPTED BY THE DISCOVERY OF A BOX, eighteen inches square and three feet deep, which was marked “Class A Explosives.” Rescue workers discovered it in the rubble of the day-care center. The sheriff’s department bomb technicians thought it was a rocket-propelled grenade launcher, but actually it was an antitank TOW missile, which had tumbled out of a fifth-floor vault belonging to U.S. Customs.

The missile’s warhead was empty, but it still qualified as a destructive device under the National Firearms Act, because it contained rocket fuel. “It’s an extremely dangerous weapon [even] without the warhead,” said Bob Sanders, a former assistant director of the ATF. “Possession of a TOW missile is perfectly lawful for a law enforcement agency...but storage in a public building is against public safety and against the law.”

As the FBI later established, customs had no paperwork on it. The agency had obtained three inert TOW missiles from the Anniston Army Depot in Alabama in the late 1980s for use in a sting operation, but the official documentation showed that all three had been returned. So there was no ready explanation of what this missile was doing in the Murrah Building at all.

The sheriff’s department and highway patrol transported it safely down a fire truck ladder and into the secure trailer tank of the sheriff’s office bomb squad truck. Oddly, when Bob Heady, the bomb squad chief, filed his report, he wrote that the missile arrived at the sheriff’s department safe storage facility at 11:00 A.M., more than three hours earlier than the actual time.

This could have been a mistake, but it also suggested, erroneously, that the TOW missile was the cause of the *first* evacuation order—the one for which nobody would take responsibility. By the time the federal trials were over in the

late 1990s, this revised order of events had become received wisdom, stated as fact by the FBI and the media.

But we know from Stanley Brown's contemporaneous notes, from an exhaustive account written by Mike Shannon of the Oklahoma City Fire Department, from John Haynie's statements to the FBI, and from other witnesses, that the TOW missile was discovered between 1:30 P.M. and 1:45 P.M. and removed about twenty minutes later.

Heady did another odd thing: As soon as he learned that Stanley Brown was taking notes for a journal, he ordered him to put them in a safe and never take them out again. When Brown was asked why he thought Heady would issue such an order, he said: "I don't know. Bob's a squirrely man."

But Brown did as he was told and did not show the notes to anyone for fifteen years.

WHILE DR. SULLIVAN AND DR. TUGGLE WERE WAITING FOR THE ALL-CLEAR, they created a plan to extricate Daina Bradley. They knew they had to be quick, and they also knew they could not risk administering an anesthetic given her weakened state. The most they could offer was a tranquilizer to help her forget the ordeal once it was over. It was a grim prospect. They needed her to remain fully conscious while they hacked off her leg under the worst of circumstances.

When they first shared their plan with her, she cried and shook her head in disbelief, saying she couldn't tolerate the pain. They told her that if they couldn't cut off her leg, they would have to leave, because the building was in danger of collapsing at any moment. Slowly, she changed her mind. Sullivan had almost no room to maneuver in the confined space and realized he could not cut through her calf bones, as he would have preferred. He would have to cut through the ligaments in her knee, greatly increasing the risk that she would bleed to death. He had to do this with his left hand, even though he was right-handed. The only light would be from the lamp on his fire-rescue helmet.

"I don't know if I can do this," he told his colleague.

"You've got to," Tuggle replied.

Tuggle crawled next to Bradley and administered the tranquilizer to her neck. Sullivan thought about his wife and children, as well as Bradley, and offered up a prayer for all of them. Then he set to work. A fireman was perched above him, his hands checking for tremors in the concrete crushing Bradley's leg. If he felt anything, he was to get Sullivan and Tuggle out immediately, regardless of the condition of the patient. The fireman also had a harness attached to Bradley so he could pull her out as soon as the operation was over.

Sullivan plunged the first of his scalpels into Bradley's flesh, the single hardest act of his medical career. "She started kicking and screaming, so I had to more or less pin her free left leg against the wall while using my left hand," Sullivan said. He desperately wanted the operation to go quickly, but he broke his first blade, then a second, then a third, and a fourth. He could not properly see what he was doing, and Bradley did not stop yowling.

At one point, he cut into a large vein and thought he had severed an artery. Eventually, the flow of blood ceased, and he continued. Twice, he thought he had finished when he hadn't. "We'd pull her out, and she was still attached, and she would scream," Sullivan said.

By then he was out of surgical blades, and had to use his pocket knife to sever the last pieces of flesh from Bradley's thigh stump. As soon as Sullivan was done, he rolled out of the hole and let the others take over. A dozen men pulled Bradley onto a spine board to transport her to the hospital. An ambulance arrived, later than expected, and the two doctors made frantic efforts to keep the patient alive as they drove to the University Hospital. "She kept lapsing into unconsciousness," Sullivan said. "And so we'd scream at her and shout at her and slap her and try to do anything we could to keep her breathing."

They succeeded. Bradley survived.

WE GOT HIM

Within an hour of the explosion, FBI director Louis Freeh made a mercurial decision: asking Weldon Kennedy, the special agent in charge in Arizona, to lead the investigation, instead of following customary practice and selecting the richly experienced head of the local field office, Bob Ricks.

The most common explanation was that Ricks had been the bureau's press spokesman at Waco and was too closely associated with the disastrous end to the siege, even though he was involved in few, if any, key command decisions. At the time of the bombing, Freeh was facing congressional hearings on Waco and was no doubt concerned not to hand extra ammunition to his House and Senate interrogators.

But Freeh was also in the process of replacing every field division supervisor with people his detractors referred to as FOLs, or Friends of Louie. He wasn't just building a hierarchy of grateful loyalists; he was also attacking the FBI's ingrained culture. Many times, Freeh expressed contempt for the bureau's top-down management culture, preferring to sit down with field agents, who, he said, "do the real work for the FBI."

Freeh clearly saw Ricks as part of that culture, and two years earlier, the two men had been rivals for the director's job. Freeh, who had only a six-year career as an FBI agent in New York before climbing the ladder to a federal judgeship, was very much the outsider candidate. He had connections in the Clinton White House, which is why he was chosen, but he also had good reason to fear the criticism and resentment of the bureau veterans. The man he picked to supplant Ricks was inescapably a veteran, too, but one just months from retirement. Kennedy had won his spurs negotiating a peaceful end to a prison riot in Atlanta in the 1980s and was a popular and reliably safe pair of hands. He could also compensate for Freeh's lack of exposure to the American heartland. As Freeh, the inveterate New Yorker, once put it: "I never learned to do good ol' boy."

Kennedy could not have been more surprised when he was pulled out of a drug trafficking conference in El Paso and ordered onto the first plane to Oklahoma City. "I was not a Friend of Louie," he said. "He didn't know me, and he didn't trust me."

Kennedy faced troubles from the start. Even though Ricks was not the

official on-scene commander, his staff still treated him that way. And that led to an atmosphere of mistrust, political scheming, and reluctance to share information. “The one [team] is not necessarily helping the others,” Ricks explained. “It just creates an additional layer of bureaucracy.”

RECOVERY OF THE RYDER TRUCK'S REAR AXLE FROM RICHARD NICHOLS'S Ford Festiva at the Regency Towers, the first significant piece of evidence, should have been a breakthrough moment for law enforcement, but instead it turned into a feud over bragging rights.

Mike McPherson, an Oklahoma police sergeant who passed the Towers every day on his way to work, was the first to claim that he'd found the axle piece, wiped it clean of grease and grime, and located the vehicle identification number. Almost immediately, two city traffic cops insisted they were the ones who brought both the rear and the front axle to the feds' attention.

The FBI dismissed both stories, saying it was Melvin Sumter, the videographer for the sheriff's office, who found the rear axle and called in Jim Norman, one of the bureau's most experienced agents, to take it to the FBI's temporary command post three blocks away. Another agent then called the partial VIN number into the National Insurance Crime Bureau and learned it belonged to a 1993 Ford truck registered to the Ryder Rental Truck company of Miami.

From an investigative standpoint, it didn't much matter which version was correct, because the upshot was the same. Several people found parts of the truck within a three-block radius of the bomb site, and every bit helped. McPherson's story about finding the partial VIN number does not square with FBI interview records or with two separate published accounts, but it is also possible he made the discovery before the FBI, and the work was simply replicated.

The problem with this episode was the tone it set. A number of rival investigators wanted to be written into the historical record, even if doing so meant contradicting each other for bragging rights. It would not be long before law enforcement agencies supposedly united in a common purpose would be accusing each other of withholding information, obstructing the investigation, and lying.

INVESTIGATORS MADE ANOTHER EARLY BLUNDER BY FAILING TO secure the Murrah Building as a crime scene. This was understandable in the first few hours, when firefighters, doctors, and citizen volunteers tended to the injured and dying and did not think twice about trampling over the wreckage to reach them. But the problem

persisted, even after the FBI and the city fire department began to impose some order. They established a perimeter shortly after 10:30 A.M., but it was barely more than a block in each direction. Later in the day, once the FBI had taken full control, the perimeter was expanded to about a quarter of a mile—three or four blocks each way. That was almost certainly not large enough to safeguard important evidence, either. James Powell, a bomb squad officer for the ATF, later told Justice Department investigators that the usual protocol was to block off the entire debris field plus an extra 25 percent. Even the smaller perimeter was ineffective; Powell observed soldiers and Red Cross volunteers roaming at will to offer refreshments to the rescue workers.

Many basic tasks that could have yielded valuable results were overlooked. Nobody, for example, thought to cover and protect the bomb crater before a light cloudburst hit at about 3:00 P.M., or before a much bigger storm rolled in that evening. Evidence collectors were directed to sift through the debris with rakes. “If you can’t see it at rake’s length, it’s not worth picking up,” Dave Williams, the FBI’s on-site forensic supervisor, was heard saying. Ed Kelso, the head of the FBI crime lab’s evidence response team, later told a Justice Department inquiry this was wrong, because smaller pieces—for example, any fragment with a hole drilled through to run detonating cord or shock tube—could indeed prove valuable. Two on-site technicians walked away in disgust. LaTonya Gadson, an evidence processor at FBI headquarters, said the materials sent back to her were a “mess,” showing no signs of sorting or sequencing.

Williams took much of the blame for the fiasco. But ATF director John Magaw thought the Federal Emergency Management Agency also bore responsibility. “It was [FEMA’s] first time on a major crime scene,” he said, “and their gut instinct was to save lives. But you can save lives and protect the scene a little bit if you at least think about it.” The ATF was not without blemish, either. Someone in the organization made a wildly inaccurate guess that the Murrah Building was destroyed by a 1,000–1,200-pound car bomb, roughly the same size as the device planted at the World Trade Center in 1993. Magaw provided this estimate to CNN audiences four hours after the bombing, and it made its way into a number of the army’s early internal reports. Episodes like this did not endear Magaw to leaders of the investigation’s task force.

THE SHOCKWAVES FROM THE BOMBING DID NOT JUST STIR LAW ENFORCEMENT to action; they were keenly felt at a nondescript two-bedroom home in Pittsburg, Kansas, 250 miles northeast of Oklahoma City. This was a safe house used by the Aryan Republican Army, the bank robbery gang motivated not just by money but by a

determination to start a white supremacist revolution. The house was crammed with much the same paraphernalia McVeigh and his associates had been gathering: wigs, disguises, fake IDs, phone cards, and police scanners; pistols and semiautomatic weapons; timers, switches, live grenades, pipe bombs, blasting caps, shock tube, and gallon jugs of nitromethane.

The ARA had grown increasingly explicit about its desire to wage war on the government, and real questions would soon arise about the possibility that members of the group were in on the bomb plot. The previous fall, its members discussed setting up revolutionary cells, each one specializing in derailing trains, or attacking power plants, or infiltrating and ransacking military installations. In January 1995, the ARA's core members got drunk, donned masks, and shot an eccentric recruitment video—a bewildering, almost campy mix of race hate, gun fetishization, and old-fashioned revolutionary fist-thumping. The main speaker calls himself Commander Pedro and plays a hammy version of a Latin-American *guerrillero* in olive drab fatigues. He refers to “federal courthouses that need to be demolished”—possibly McVeigh's original brief—and justifies killing in the name of the revolution. “We have endeavored to keep collateral damage and civilian casualties to a minimum in all our operations,” he intones. “So far we have been successful, but as in all war some innocents shall suffer. So be it.”

When he wasn't dressing up as the warrior-buffoon, Commander Pedro was a wayward Irish-American child of the sixties named Pete Langan, a high-school dropout whose father had worked for the CIA in Saigon during the Vietnam War. When the family relocated to the Washington suburbs, Langan turned to drugs and petty crime, drifted down to Florida, and ended up in prison for holding up a department store. He was short and slight, even a little effeminate, which made him easy prey for his larger cell mates. He was determined to survive, arming himself with knives and small petrol bombs, dreaming up escape plans—one briefly successful—and turning to white supremacy. “I was,” he later said, “a small person you didn't wanna fuck with.”

After years of odd jobs, a failed marriage, intermittent problems with alcoholism, and increasing involvement in Aryan Nations and the Christian Identity movement, Langan went to prison again for robbing a Pizza Hut in Georgia. This time, he got lucky and was recruited as an informant by the Secret Service, which had become alarmed after overhearing one of his oldest friends from Maryland, Richard Guthrie, talk about blowing up the White House and killing President George H. W. Bush. Langan was an odd and—quickly—disastrous choice of informant, but he gratefully accepted the early release from prison and the free ride back to his home in Cincinnati. Within weeks he ditched his Secret Service handlers, hooked up with Guthrie, and disappeared. The pair

of them decided, with gleeful abandon, to become full-time warriors against the system.

Guthrie was a volcanic sidekick, a scam artist and arsonist who once dreamed of becoming a Navy SEAL but did not have the temperament for military life. During his time in the navy—including a stint in explosives and ordnance-disposal training—he regularly went AWOL or made up bogus illnesses. He was court-martialed after painting a swastika on his ship and left the service with a less-than-honorable discharge. Out of uniform, Guthrie traveled the country, building up contacts in the white supremacist movement. He bragged about torching abortion clinics and shooting interracial couples, and came to see war against the government as his life's sole purpose. To earn a living, he scammed department stores and staged car accidents to collect on the insurance.

By April 1995, Langan and Guthrie had carried out a dozen bank heists, first as a twosome and then adding recruits, including Kevin McCarthy and Scott Stedeford, Mark Thomas's punk musician protégés from Philadelphia. They scoped out targets, parking spots, and getaway routes, and adopted a military-inspired checklist Guthrie called Basic Armed Resistance Tactics. Once the job was under way, they donned cheap Halloween masks of ex-presidents (an idea from the surfer-heist movie *Point Break*). After they had cleaned out the cashiers' drawers, they left a fake explosive device, often decorated to match the season. At their most recent job in Des Moines, it had been an Easter basket containing a fake pipe bomb and a smoke grenade. They always used drop cars, cheap junkers they would acquire under a false name—often, the name of a prominent FBI agent—and dump close to the crime scene.

Later, there would be plentiful reasons to suppose that McVeigh was acquainted with the ARA or even involved in some of the robberies. He and they traveled the same gun-show circuit, and their movements often overlapped, including a long stretch in early 1995 when they were all in Arizona. McVeigh told his sister Jennifer he had been involved in a bank robbery, as the FBI would learn a little later. Both Terry Nichols and Nichols's ex-wife, Lana, came to suspect the same thing. None of the ARA principals, meanwhile, had a viable alibi for April 19.

According to Langan and Guthrie, they were at the safe house for most of the day. In the morning, Langan drove a van into Joplin, Missouri, for repairs—a trip he later described as an “ironclad alibi,” though nobody claimed to have seen him there. Guthrie said he sat down on the living room couch with a cup of coffee at about 9:45 A.M. and saw news of the bombing on television. If the event shocked him, or filled him with human sympathy, he never mentioned it. Langan

later described Guthrie as “a raving psychopath, a cross between Ted Kaczynski and Ted Bundy”—an exaggeration, perhaps, but also a hint at his propensity for unbridled violence. Guthrie saw the bombing as the start of a long and violent struggle against the federal government. “Simply put,” he later wrote in a prison memoir, “within ten years, it’s my opinion that this country will resemble Sarajevo.”

Guthrie’s memoir records almost no events for the month of April; this was the period when the ARA had supposedly elected to disband for several months. Guthrie does say that Langan traveled to Kansas City early in the month to visit his lover. Guthrie wittily refers to the woman—he has no reason to think it is not a woman—as Langan’s “mysterious.” But Langan was a secret cross-dresser, and when he wasn’t fomenting revolution with neo-Nazis, he was seriously considering a sex-change operation. Recently he had been wearing dresses, high heels, lipstick, and nail polish, and attended gender-bending parties under the name Donna McClure. His “mysterious” was a fellow transsexual, known as Cheryl, whom he met at a New Year’s Eve church mixer.

Was Langan wedded to the revolutionary cause or committed to a path of self-discovery that his white supremacist cohorts would not only find repugnant but might see as grounds to kill him? (McCarthy, following an unbending interpretation of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, believed that homosexuals and cross-dressers should be put to death.) Langan’s secret life as Donna does raise the possibility that he was the woman spotted on April 19 in Oklahoma City—first at the wheel of McVeigh’s Mercury and later waving the Ryder truck in toward the Murrah Building. An artist’s sketch of one of the eyewitness sightings in Oklahoma City bore some resemblance.

KEVIN MCCARTHY AND SCOTT STEDEFORD ALSO HAD NO ALIBI FOR April 19. McCarthy was a deeply disturbed kid, just shy of his eighteenth birthday, a stringy, hard-core skinhead with a history of drugs, alcohol, and mental illness. Stedeford was, in theory, more stable, twenty-seven years old, and dedicated to his music. He fell into the right-wing revolutionary movement via the underground neo-Nazi punk scene in Philadelphia. When he discovered a talent for bank robbery, he imbibed deeply from the radical philosophy that went with it and came to feel it was his right and his religious duty to kill enemies of the white race. “Unfortunately,” a chastened Stedeford later reflected, “I was exposed to some poor role models and incorrect information at the wrong time in my life.”

The first time the FBI asked McCarthy where he and Stedeford were on April 19, he said they were at the safe house in Pittsburg with Langan and

Guthrie; they had arrived back from Elohim City three days earlier and saw news coverage of the bombing on television. But Langan said McCarthy and Stedeford did not return until early April 20. Guthrie concurred. So the FBI talked again to McCarthy, who now said he heard about the bombing on the car radio as he and Stedeford were returning from a trip to Iowa to register a newly purchased Chevy Suburban. The FBI accepted this alibi even though it, too, was contradicted by other evidence. Paperwork tracked down by the bureau shows that the Chevy was registered in Iowa on April 21, not on April 18 or 19. No motel records or other documents have ever surfaced to show that McCarthy and Stedeford were in Iowa on April 19.

When McCarthy showed up at the house, more than twelve hours after the bombing, Langan asked if he had been involved and was not inclined to believe his denial. A few months later, according to Langan, McCarthy confided that he had legal “liabilities” concerning the bombing and he might need to go underground. Langan was not interested in helping, in case he was later accused of collusion in the bombing plot himself.

Guthrie had his own suspicions—or perhaps more concrete knowledge—about McCarthy. In July 1995 he visited Mark Thomas, McCarthy’s neo-Nazi mentor in Pennsylvania, and told him: “Your young Mr. Wizard took out the Murrah Building.” A month later, Guthrie, McCarthy, and Stedeford robbed a bank in the St. Louis suburbs and left a newspaper article about McVeigh and the Oklahoma City bombing on the drop car’s front seat. Guthrie told the FBI this had been his idea, although he was also drunk on tequila and nearly sabotaged the robbery by showing up late. The newspaper article could have been a signature, or an expression of support for the bombing, or a dangerous way—typical of Guthrie’s reckless irreverence—of taunting the government with the revelation that one or more of the bombers was now in the bank robbery business.

The FBI learned all this well before McVeigh’s trial. They also had a revealing conversation with Mark Thomas’s ex-girlfriend Donna Marazoff, the embittered mother of two of his children. Marazoff said Thomas vowed revenge against the government after Ruby Ridge and Waco. “We are going to get them,” she quoted him saying. “We are going to hit one of their buildings during the middle of the day. It’s going to be a federal building. We will get sympathy if we bomb the building.”

Thomas never said anything so explicit in public, but he did offer a robust defense of the bombing when a *Washington Post* reporter interviewed him in January 1997. “Government rules people by fear, which is terrorism,” he said. “Therefore, if you’re gonna have people who are going to construct a

government of, by, and for the people, they're gonna have to use force to exert their will over their public servants.... For example, the bombing of Oklahoma City. There have been no Ruby Ridges or Wacos since that time.”

Thomas was the only active ARA member who could properly account for his whereabouts on April 19. He was at his rambling, filthy farmhouse outside Allentown, Pennsylvania, with his latest girlfriend and brood of children.

IN OKLAHOMA CITY, FBI AGENTS IMMEDIATELY BEGAN HUNTING for video surveillance footage of the crime scene in the hope that it would lead them directly to the perpetrators. The search was a little slapdash, because no proper chain of command had been established in the hours after the explosion and nobody had a clear idea of where to look.

Most promising were two security cameras perched on the northwest and northeast corners of the Murrah Building. Both were trained on the Fifth Street entrance and the parking slots outside; if they had been working, they could have captured the final moments before the bombing. The equipment was badly damaged in the explosion, but investigators thought there was a good chance the footage was recorded remotely and still intact at another location.

Frustratingly, the cameras were not hooked up to any video system, and had not been for a long time. “The wires were cut ten years before I got here. There were no monitors, nothing,” said Tom Hunt, the head of Federal Protective Service, responsible for security at the Murrah Building. It was a cost-cutting measure, which Hunt said he had “screamed about” since taking the job.

The FBI was furious, particularly since the eyewitness testimony suggested that McVeigh, and whoever was with him, had not worn masks or other obvious disguises. “It would have been perfect evidence,” said Danny Defenbaugh, who would succeed Weldon Kennedy as head of the investigation. “But the morons didn’t have it fixed.”

The lack of footage seemed so incredible that for years some people believed the FBI was withholding it to maintain its position that McVeigh acted alone. Oklahoma City’s Channel 4, the most sensationalist of the local news outlets, produced a report to this effect in late 1995. And, in 2004, the raw, entirely unredacted Secret Service timeline of the first few weeks of the investigation was made public and appeared to show the same thing. The timeline contained two separate references to such videotape evidence and described more than one suspect getting out of the Ryder truck. For years after, the FBI was bombarded with complaints and lawsuits demanding release of the footage.

But the Secret Service had not seen any video footage itself and later

acknowledged in court that some of the material in its timeline was based on speculation only. Some of the things in the timeline ascribed to the tapes were very similar to eyewitness testimony of Glenn Grossman, Daina Bradley, and others. FBI agents directly involved in collecting and analyzing the videotape data later said the Secret Service had confused these things and made a mistake. It was also possible the confusion arose elsewhere in the heat of a fast-moving, high-pressure investigation.

The FBI certainly furthered suspicions that videotape evidence had been suppressed, because it responded evasively to Freedom of Information Act requests. But caginess by the FBI's records department is not proof of concealment. The most unequivocal evidence comes from a Physical Security Survey Tom Hunt conducted two months before the bombing, which states: "There are no surveillance systems on the exterior of this building." Since Hunt never forwarded his document to the FBI, it is not clear the bureau ever realized it existed.

The absence of working cameras is arguably a *greater* scandal than suppressed footage, because it points to the federal authorities' fundamental failure to protect its own employees and the public. After Waco, the FBI and ATF were picking up endless chatter that they and the federal judiciary were targets for revenge attacks. A few months before the bombing, a vandal smashed a window at the Oklahoma City federal courthouse and did more damage inside. Don Rogers, the General Services Administration's on-site manager at the Murrah Building, received a personal threat and set up a video surveillance camera, with recording capacity, outside his first-floor office door. He also hired a private security guard. When other agencies in the building asked for video surveillance equipment, Rogers gave inconsistent responses. The HUD office on the sixth floor was told yes; the day-care center no.

Rogers and his GSA bosses always cited budget constraints in refusing to consider video protection for the building as a whole. When Hunt started his job, two years before the bombing, he was alarmed by the nonfunctioning exterior cameras for several reasons—including cases where the federal government had been sued for lulling people into a false sense of security. "I said, we need to get those cameras fixed," he recalled. "But nobody would do it. 'In that case,' I said, 'we need to take them down.' But nobody would do it."

The camera outside Rogers's office—which was not authorized by Federal Protective Service, as protocol dictated—could have been useful, because it looked directly on the place where the Ryder truck pulled up. There is no evidence the FBI recovered the camera or even knew about it. When Rogers was asked in 2011 about his private security setup, he denied knowing anything

about it. When shown evidence of its existence in the Physical Security Survey report, he wavered and said: “If there was a security camera, fine. But it was all so darn long ago.”

And so, the investigation had to look elsewhere. On the morning of April 19, John Hippard made a first, unsuccessful pass at collecting footage from the Regency Towers apartment complex, the last big building the Ryder truck would have passed as it approached the Murrah Building along Fifth Street. He and his colleagues were seen playing with one of the exterior cameras, which had become detached from the wall. But it was not until the afternoon that an Oklahoma City policeman recovered that day’s footage (which was still recording in the first-floor security office), and it took another week for the building manager to dig older footage out of the files he kept at home. Hippard had more luck at the Journal Record Building, where the head of security handed over everything right away. But with the electricity out, the tapes could not be ejected from the video machines. Danny Payne, the security chief, simply handed over the players themselves.

Over the first twenty-four hours, the FBI built up an inventory from six separate sites: the Regency Towers, the Journal Record Building, the Bank of Oklahoma at Fourth and Robinson, the Oklahoma Public Library, the Southwestern Bell Building, and Anthonys department store. Later, they also received footage from the post office. They tried to recover material from a number of businesses on Sixth Street, only to discover that the cameras were dummies, like the ones at the Murrah Building, or captured images in real time without recording them.

A number of on-scene FBI agents, especially those who had worked bank-robbery cases, wanted to examine the tapes right away, but they were sent instead to the Bureau’s crime lab in Washington. Walt Lamar, the Oklahoma City agent most disappointed by this decision, called the lab technicians a few days later to ask what they had seen on the tapes. He was told: “Nothing of evidentiary value.”

Lamar didn’t believe it. As soon as the tapes were returned, he examined the Regency Tower batch, working his way back from 9:02 A.M. on April 19. It wasn’t long before he stumbled on grainy footage of a Ryder truck driving past. “Son of a bitch, there’s the truck!” Lamar exclaimed. The lab technicians had missed it.

The Regency Towers footage provided the most vivid exhibits presented at trial: the truck heading toward the Murrah Building a few minutes before the explosion, and also a snapshot of Terry Nichols’s blue GMC pickup passing on Easter Sunday, proving that he had come to Oklahoma City to help McVeigh

drop off the Mercury. The Journal Record Building footage was useless, because the lone external camera was pointing into bright sunlight. The FBI expended considerable effort trying to enhance it, appealing to NASA and other government agencies, to no avail. Much of the rest of the available footage was of the time-lapse variety and distressingly incomplete. The post office footage stopped on April 17, two days before the bombing, and did not resume again until May 25.

DAVE HOLLAWAY, THE RAZOR-SHARP, INCAUTIOUS DEPUTY DIRECTOR of the CAUSE legal foundation, cannot account for his whereabouts on April 19. Like Kevin McCarthy, he has provided a number of versions of his movements, none of which have stood up to scrutiny. There has been no suggestion from any quarter that Hollaway was involved in criminal activity, but it seems extraordinary that a man with a steel trap of a memory should suddenly forget where he was—on this, of all days. Hollaway claims to have spoken to McVeigh the day before the bombing and attempted to talk him out of doing anything stupid, but immediately following that call, Hollaway went to the airport and vanished from sight. Did he try to stop the attack? Was he checking on one or more of CAUSE's clients to make sure they were not involved?

For years Hollaway told people that he flew to Texas for the second anniversary of the Waco disaster. He said he drove to Waco in a rental car with a gaggle of high-powered Houston lawyers who, like him, were involved in suing the federal government over its handling of the siege. He spent the night in a motel, attended the ceremony, then walked into a media tent, where he first learned about the bombing. He told the flamboyant litigator Dick DeGuerin he thought the bomber had called him the day before. DeGuerin told him it would be smart to call the FBI, which Hollaway subsequently did.

Almost none of this story is true. A number of people who knew Hollaway well said they were sure he was not at the Waco ceremony. Confronted with this, Hollaway acknowledged that he did not, in fact, attend. He said he learned about the bombing as he was about to go to the ceremony and decided at the last minute to duck out to avoid the media scrutiny. Still, he drove up from Houston with DeGuerin and two other lawyers.

The lawyers did not concur. DeGuerin was on a ranch in west Texas, not in Waco, and said he neither saw nor spoke to Hollaway that day. One of the other lawyers, a friend of Hollaway's named Joe Phillips, said he didn't remember seeing him, either.

When Kirk Lyons, Hollaway's boss at CAUSE, learned many years later that

Hollaway had not attended the memorial, he sounded genuinely surprised. His best recollection, he said, was that Hollaway called him late that morning and asked permission to extend his car rental so he could travel to Oklahoma City. But two of Hollaway's friends who traveled to the bomb scene, Jim Pate and Rick Sherrow of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, never saw him there. Hollaway said he might have briefly considered the trip but never went. "In those circumstances," he said, "I want to be as far away from Oklahoma City as I can get." Asked for a third time where he was that day, he said, irritably: "It's sixteen years ago. I mean, who cares?"

ONE PERSON WITH A SURPRISINGLY SOLID EXPLANATION OF HIS whereabouts on April 19 was Andreas Strassmeir, the former German army officer living at Elohim City. Strassmeir faced all sorts of trouble after the bombing, because he had met Tim McVeigh at a gun show and formed a bond with him. He had also thrown considerable energy into arming and training the residents of Elohim City for a possible showdown with the FBI, violating several federal laws. If anyone in Hollaway's circle needed help that day, he was it.

Hollaway acknowledged he didn't know what his friend was capable of. "Andi," he said in 2010, "would be a dangerous guy if you let him loose. He knows the difference between right and wrong, but if the gloves were off, he'd be killing as many of them as he could. The only reason he doesn't is because he's intelligent enough to know that the costs outweigh the benefits.... If there were some kind of revolt in the country, you could count him in."

Did Hollaway try to contact Strassmeir that morning to make sure he could account for his whereabouts? Hollaway later insisted he did no such thing. But Strassmeir, a strikingly disorganized and unworldly person, somehow came up with a watertight alibi. Even Kirk Lyons, his lawyer, agreed that Strassmeir wasn't likely to have come up with this on his own. "Andi had no authorship in any part of his life here," Lyons said. "It was all done by other people."

The authorities were told that Strassmeir and another Elohim City resident spent the morning of April 19 repairing a fence for an elderly farming couple a few miles away. Not only did the wife mark the hours the two men worked; at least one other neighbor remembered that one was called Andi. Aside from his military career and his flights into the United States, it was perhaps the most rigorously documented moment of Andreas Strassmeir's life.

THERE WERE THINGS ABOUT ANDREAS STRASSMEIR THAT HIS FRIENDS in the revolutionary Patriot Movement did not know and would have been intrigued, or appalled, to

find out. Despite his pedigree as the grandson of a Nazi, he was fascinated by Israel and spent three summers on a kibbutz in the Jezreel Valley, near the Golan Heights. He had enrolled in Hebrew classes as a teenager in Berlin, and spoke the language fluently. During his second stint at the kibbutz, he was given an Uzi and put on security detail; during his third, he was sent on patrol on the Green Line between Israel and the West Bank, a job usually reserved for the military. When he was asked in an interview if he had worn an Israeli Defense Force uniform, Strassmeir's expression changed noticeably and he broke into an embarrassed smile before insisting he had gone out in jeans.

Strassmeir acknowledged that he "bumped into" General Rafael Eitan, the architect of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon—an encounter captured in a photograph of them at Golan Beach, near Lake Galilee. And he did not explicitly deny that he had contact with Mossad, the Israeli security service. Strassmeir agreed that Mossad was in the habit of meeting its foreign contacts at kibbutzim. When asked if Mossad ever visited the Tel Yosef kibbutz when he was there, he answered: "How would I know? If Mossad had been on the kibbutz, nobody would know—those boys know their business."

Strassmeir was a German army officer by then, and his career took an interesting turn when he returned home: he was seconded to intelligence work. Up to that point, his experience with the Bundeswehr had been unremarkable, even undistinguished. He washed out of the military academy in Hamburg without graduating and drifted from assignment to assignment, ending up as a mortar fire control officer. But his infantry battalion now used him to sniff out East German informants and spies. At some stage, Strassmeir was asked to fill in as the head of the battalion's intelligence unit, which gave him access to the entire army's internal reports. Asked if his superiors thought he did a good job, Strassmeir suddenly became coy. "What superiors?" he said. "I wasn't doing this."

When Strassmeir first came to the United States in 1988, to take part in a 125th anniversary reenactment of the Battle of Gettysburg, he arrived not on a simple tourist visa but on an open-ended multiple-entry visa, which he obtained, he said, by "pretending to be a traveling businessman."

One of the first people he contacted in America was Vince Petruskie, a retired air force colonel who had spent time in Berlin and appeared to have a long-standing friendship with Strassmeir's father, Günter, an influential political operative in the conservative Christian Democratic Party. Petruskie was also widely suspected of using the air force as a cover for a CIA career in counterespionage and counterinsurgency. Strassmeir did not deny that the reason Petruskie had been in Berlin during the Cold War was to assassinate Soviet

agents; Kirk Lyons said the family loved to tell him the story of Petruskie killing a Soviet spy in the 1950s and leaving him hanging in the Reichstag ruins. Petruskie was also believed to have been part of the Phoenix Program, a covert CIA operation in the late 1960s and early 1970s to “neutralize” civilian supporters of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

Strassmeir came to the United States hoping to get hired by Petruskie to conduct off-the-books drug interdiction operations on the U.S.-Mexico border. He was told Petruskie was in line for a high-level job with the Drug Enforcement Administration if George H. W. Bush won the 1988 presidential election, and that Petruskie was interested in hiring Strassmeir as part of a rejuvenated black-ops crew, similar to the one he operated during his CIA career. In the end, though, Bush never invited Petruskie to join his administration and Strassmeir had to make other plans.

This history strongly suggests that Strassmeir was not the radical right-winger he appeared to be, and might even have been a government agent of some sort, spying on extremists in the United States. It is an allegation that first surfaced soon after the bombing and has prompted much speculation since. Strassmeir himself acknowledged that it was “not too far-fetched” for people to think this. “Actually at some point I was recruited, but it didn’t come through,” he said, clearly referring to his dealings with Petruskie. “Bush wanted him, but Congress had an objection to Operation Phoenix.”

Who might he have worked for? The Germans were certainly interested in intelligence on American radicals, because they worried that money and propaganda materials from the United States were fueling neo-Nazi violence at home. The Israelis were interested, too. But there are also reasons to doubt Strassmeir was willing to do this kind of work—or indeed that he worked much at all.

Strassmeir seemed a different person from the moment his plans with Petruskie fell through. He struck many of his American hosts as listless and lazy, wore out several welcomes, and wound up relying on the kindness of Kirk Lyons, who knew him only indirectly through Civil War reenactment circles, and Dave Hollaway, whom he met through Lyons.

“We called him Sofa-meir,” Lyons said, “because if you came around at 4:00 P.M., that’s what you saw on my couch—Andi, sacked out.” Strassmeir stayed up all night painting toy soldiers but showed little interest in anything else. Hollaway thought he was a “shameless hobo” who couldn’t observe social niceties or take a hint when he was not welcome. “Remember, Dave, what happened the last time they frustrated a German artist,” Strassmeir would say.

When Strassmeir’s residual pay from the German army ran out, Hollaway

found a way to employ him as a gopher for his computer company. He signed a bogus consultancy contract with Strassmeir's brother, who ran a computer firm in Munich, and reimbursed him for the \$2,000 deposited in Andi's German bank account each month. When that arrangement broke down—because Hollaway's company could no longer afford it—Lyons decided to hand Strassmeir off to Grandpa Millar. The living in Elohim City was cheap, and Strassmeir stood some chance of finding a wife there and qualifying for a work permit.

Instead, Strassmeir preached revolution. Lyons and Hollaway strongly disapproved of his efforts to arm the Elohimites for Armageddon, and acknowledged they essentially lost control of him. They suspected he had become a true believer after all, and eventually went to great lengths to bail him out of trouble. Vince Petruskie was unhappy, too; according to Lyons, he would “go nuclear” at the very mention of Strassmeir.

If there was a moment when Strassmeir definitively turned his back on government intelligence work, it might have been June 1990, when Houston played host to the G-7 summit of world leaders and Lyons somehow rustled up an invitation for Strassmeir to meet one-on-one with Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor. “I set it up through the embassy,” Lyons said. “I knew they were coming, so I asked what would be a good time and set up a meeting.” Clearly, at that moment, Strassmeir still enjoyed considerable cachet in international political circles. But he refused to go.

FEMA, THE FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY, PLAYED a valuable role in bringing heavy equipment and medical supplies to the disaster site, including breathing apparatus for the rescuers, but it also threw its weight in ways that caused deep resentment. The agency deployed more than five hundred staff members—roughly half of its entire Urban Search and Rescue force—and instantly rubbed locals the wrong way by treating them as subordinates. Firefighting and police teams felt they were being shunted aside, as though their efforts counted for nothing. “I don't want to sound overly critical,” the assistant city manager, Joe Van Bullard, said, “but...they were assholes.”

FEMA was in high favor in Washington at the time. James Lee Witt, the director, was a friend of President Clinton and had run the Arkansas Office of Emergency Services when Clinton was governor. Witt mistakenly thought he was acting at the direct behest of the president and could boss everyone around. Even the army was not immune. FEMA made extravagant demands for military airlifts to transport men and material, and if its requests were not met, “went whining through the back door of the White House,” in the words of one military

memo writer. In his memoir, written a few years later, Witt described himself as “the administration’s voice on the scene” and claimed the authority to take charge of every other agency. His job, he said, was “keeping these people moving in the same direction.” Nobody else believed he carried this authority, and his high-handed manner made him a butt of jokes. The task force nicknamed him Mr. Nit—for Nit Witt. “That’s what everyone felt about the guy,” one senior task force member said.

Even the unflappable Weldon Kennedy was taken aback when one of Witt’s deputies tried to pull rank over the FBI at a conference meeting. Kennedy recounted: “He starts in, ‘Leon said this, and Leon said that, and Leon said something else.’ My agent said, ‘Who the fuck is Leon and what does he have to do with this?’ Turns out, he was talking about Leon Panetta, the White House chief of staff. We had nothing to do but laugh. I told him, ‘Mr. Panetta is not directing this investigation.’”

On the second day, FEMA tried to tell the fire department to stop digging, so its search-and-rescue specialists could insert high-tech cameras and hearing devices in the rubble. The fire department said the odds of finding anyone else alive were steepening fast, and they couldn’t afford the time it would take to plant the devices. FEMA countered that any remaining survivors might be accidentally bulldozed if rescuers did not locate them first.

Kennedy had to remind FEMA this wasn’t their decision to make, but they still would not listen. Kennedy called Louis Freeh, who called Janet Reno, who called the White House. According to Kennedy: “Someone in the president’s office, I assume Leon, called Mr. Witt and told him to cease and desist. That didn’t make FEMA very happy.”

According to many people, it made FEMA vindictive. Instead of providing equipment to anyone who needed it, free of paperwork, they started charging item by item, even for shovels. FEMA told Don Browning, the Oklahoma City police canine unit officer, that he and his dog were no longer performing rescue work and would now provide security for the FEMA rescue teams instead. One FEMA manager threatened to have Browning arrested for handing out FEMA rain suits to city firefighters. “He was screaming that it was FEMA’s gear and it was not to be touched,” Browning said.

Kennedy became increasingly exasperated that Witt would not turn over the Murrah Building to his criminal investigators, even after it became clear no more survivors could be found. “We submit,” Kennedy told Witt a week after the bombing, “that you’re dragging this out as a training exercise for your people.” The FBI did not gain full control for eleven days.

FEMA even took credit for the rescue effort of others. One news release put

out by a FEMA offshoot from northern California claimed it was FEMA, not the Oklahoma City Fire Department, that carried the dead bodies out of the Murrah Building. On FEMA's main Web site, a summary of events still posted after more than fifteen years gives the impression that no rescuer entered the Murrah Building on April 19 until FEMA arrived at 6:00 P.M. "One of the first assignments," the site explained, "was to search the second-floor nursery for victims." The city fire department was in the building nine hours earlier and recovered the children's bodies well before FEMA showed up.

A similar blindness to the fire department's contribution can be found in Witt's book, *Stronger in the Broken Places*. "In those first hours before the search-and-rescue teams arrived," Witt writes, "firemen managed to clear the site for hazardous materials, create a floor-by-floor manifest of who might've been in the building...and begin the excruciating task of contacting relatives, friends, and business associates of the Murrah workers." There is no mention of the extraordinary effort to rescue Daina Bradley, nothing about the personal hell first responders went through to bring out the survivors and tend to their injuries. Many in Oklahoma City never forgave Witt—for any of it.

IT DIDN'T TAKE THE FBI LONG TO DETERMINE THAT the Ryder truck had been rented from a body shop in Junction City, Kansas. The owner, Eldon Elliott, had a flourishing side business moving soldiers in and out of Fort Riley, the home of the army's 1st Infantry Division, and owned a fleet of trucks. He was called by Ryder headquarters in the mid-afternoon and told not to talk to anybody until the FBI showed up. Special Agent Scott Crabtree appeared on his doorstep shortly afterward.

Elliott told Crabtree that a man calling himself Robert Kling had picked up a twenty-foot van on Monday, April 17. Elliott had prepared a damage assessment report, which he gave to his office manager, Vicki Beemer. The man was about five foot ten, medium build, with light brown hair cut short. Beemer, who was interviewed next, said Kling had provided a social security number and a South Dakota driver's license number, which he read out but did not hand over. When he gave his date of birth as April 19, 1972, she commented on his upcoming birthday and joked that she had been married longer than he had been alive. Kling provided no phone number. His purported new address in Omaha, Nebraska, 428 Maple Drive, was almost identical to his purported address in Redfield, South Dakota, 428 Malt Drive, but Beemer didn't think anything of it. He was, after all, a cash-paying customer. She had a fuzzier recall of his physical appearance than Elliott, saying only that he had short light brown hair. She

remembered a second person being in the shop with Kling, but couldn't describe him.

The employee with the most vivid recall was Tom Kessinger, a mechanic who was in the office on his break when Kling and Beemer started talking. Kessinger described Kling as talkative and nervous. He agreed with the others about the hair, and also noticed his chin was pushed up and out and had a wrinkle. Kessinger remembered that the second man wore a black T-shirt, with a tattoo sticking out below the sleeve on his left arm. He appeared younger than Kling, and was wearing a ball cap with a blue-and-white zigzag pattern.

Crabtree returned to his office and ran a check on Kling's official data. Everything—the driver's license, the addresses, the social security number—was bogus. He contacted Elliott's body shop again, and said all three witnesses had to come to Fort Riley for fingerprinting and more interviews. In the meantime, they should not discuss their memories, in case it compromised their testimony.

This sequence is important, because federal prosecutors would later dissect it to the tiniest detail to argue that Robert Kling must have been Timothy McVeigh, and that no second person was with him when he rented the truck. Both contentions would prove problematic.

The follow-up interviews revealed a clearer picture. Kling called the shop on Friday, April 14, and booked a vehicle through Beemer. He said he was driving to Omaha, then into Iowa and back to Omaha again. Beemer got the impression he was an active-duty soldier, and she offered him the standard military discount. When she asked how big a truck he needed, Kling asked for one that could carry at least five thousand pounds. This was odd, as customers usually specified the number of rooms they were moving, not the weight; Beemer had to consult a chart twice before deciding he needed a twenty-footer. She asked if Kling wanted some extra miles at no further charge, but he asked for two extra days instead. She didn't see why he would need more than the two days he had already booked if his moving story was genuine, but she said nothing.

Early the next morning, on April 15, Kling came in and paid Elliott the full \$280 on the rental—in cash. That was a little unusual—he was asked only for the \$80 deposit—but Kling said he wanted to make sure he didn't fritter away the money over the weekend. And he wanted no insurance. He said he was used to driving heavy-duty M35 cargo vehicles, "deuce-and-a-halves," as part of his duties at Fort Riley, and felt confident he could handle a similar-size moving truck. Elliott accepted that.

In this second interview, Elliott said he, too, had seen a second person when Kling came in to pick up the truck. Like Kessinger, he remembered the cap with blue stripes and agreed that this second man was shorter than Kling, about five

foot seven or eight. He had no memory of the man's face. Prosecutors later asserted that Elliott had spoken to his coworkers overnight and allowed Kessinger's memories to contaminate his. Elliott never accepted this explanation and maintained that his story was consistent. "I told 'em there was two gentlemen in here," he said four years later, after the trials were over. "I never remembered what the second guy looked like, but there were two guys here together." Nothing in the FBI documentation suggests he gave a *different* account in the second interview, only that it was *fuller*. That account included details Kessinger did not mention, such as Elliott's memory of a light-blue sedan parked outside. When Vicki Beemer was reinterviewed, she also recalled a detail Kessinger had not offered—that the second man had crossed behind Kling to get an ashtray, suggesting he was a smoker.

The federal prosecutors were right that these weren't the world's most observant or reliable witnesses. Elliott said he saw a car parked outside; Beemer said there was none. Elliott first described Kling wearing military-type clothing on the Monday. Then he said he was wearing it on the Saturday; he couldn't remember what he was wearing on the Monday.

Still, all three agreed there were two men, and agreed on their basic physical characteristics. After the interviews, a sketch artist named Ray Rozycki asked them to match facial features in a book with what they remembered. Kessinger was by far the most forthcoming witness, but he was not entirely satisfied with the composite sketches Rozycki produced. The Kling portrait was close enough, he said, but the second man was hazier. Rozycki had done his second sketch head-on, even though Kessinger had seen him only from the side, and omitted the ball cap. But Kessinger did not feel comfortable saying anything at the time. "Hell, you know," he said, "when the FBI tells you to point, you point."

TWO HOURS AFTER HE WAS BOOKED INTO THE NOBLE COUNTY JAIL on the gun and license plate charges, Tim McVeigh tucked into a bologna sandwich and lay down for a nap. He stayed asleep, or pretended to be, for the rest of the afternoon, rising for just a few hours before retiring again at about 10:00 P.M.

McVeigh later told his cell mate Herbert Ferguson he was catching up on sleep he lost in the army. More likely, he was avoiding conversation with the assorted drunks and petty criminals who were all transfixed by the bombing and talked of nothing else. Some of McVeigh's cell mates later expressed skepticism that McVeigh was sleeping, remembering big bags under his eyes. But extreme sleepiness is also a symptom associated with withdrawal from crystal methamphetamine, which McVeigh had been taking regularly.

McVeigh expected to be granted bail and sent on his way within twenty-four hours. But on Thursday morning, April 20, he learned his bail hearing was delayed because the judge was tied up in a divorce case. This was a break for the FBI, which had not begun to figure out McVeigh's connection to the bombing. Had his hearing gone ahead as scheduled, he could have upped and vanished.

McVeigh called Brent Goad, a local bail bondsman, so everything could be set ahead of time. "Man," he told him, "I've gotta get out of here."

Goad said he could do nothing until a judge heard his case and set bond. Even then, someone would need to cosign the paperwork. An unnerved McVeigh talked about getting out another five or six times in the course of the two-and-a-half-minute conversation. "He said 'please,' he was calm," Goad said. "But he was persistent."

McVeigh recovered his composure and made sure to appear cool before his cell mates. "He was not nervous," said Mark Gibson, an assistant district attorney for Noble County given the job of prosecuting him on the traffic charges. "He was not upset about being arrested or about being charged. He said he had never been arrested for anything before. But very militaristic. Everything was, 'Yes, sir,' 'No, sir,' speak when spoken to, and standing erect, very polite, very...soft-spoken."

AS SOON AS THE FBI HAD THE COMPOSITE SKETCHES, DETECTIVES from multiple agencies fanned out from Fort Riley to see who might recognize them. If the bombers rented the Ryder truck in Junction City, there was a good chance they either lived or had stayed nearby and someone would know them. If they were out-of-towners, they might have registered at a motel and left traces there.

Mark Bouton, a burly FBI agent based in Topeka, was paired with a local sheriff's deputy, Garry Berges, and together they began what they thought would be a tedious tour of motels along I-40 on the eastern end of town. One, the Dreamland, was cut off from the others because of construction work on a bridge, so they decided they should go there first.

The owner, Lea McGown, was a fastidious German woman who kept a close watch on her guests. When Bouton and Berges showed her the sketches, she thought the first one looked like Timothy McVeigh, a guest who had stayed for four nights over the Easter weekend. But it wasn't an exact match; she remembered McVeigh having smaller lips, lighter eyes, and a longer, slimmer neck. She also remembered him—correctly—as standing about six foot one, not the five foot ten described by the body shop witnesses.

But McGown had other reasons to be suspicious of McVeigh. He hadn't

wanted to show her his driver's license. His car, an old Mercury, looked alarmingly shabby, and had an Arizona license tag, hanging by a single screw, which did not match the tag number he wrote on his registration card. There was a further mismatch between the Arizona plate and the Michigan address he gave. McVeigh said he traveled a lot on the gun-show circuit and didn't really live anywhere; the Michigan address belonged to a friend who let him use it on official forms. McGown deliberately put McVeigh in room 25, next to the office, where she could keep an eye on him.

News of the bombing gave McGown another big reason to be suspicious; she had seen McVeigh on several occasions with a Ryder truck. McVeigh said he was moving into the area and needed a few days to get straight. McGown hadn't questioned that at the time, but now she wondered about the truck and a six-foot trailer McVeigh had parked on the grass in front of her office. The trailer was loaded with something that jugged up about four feet. She couldn't tell what it was, because it was covered with a tarp and tied down with thick coils of rope.

It is not clear how quickly the FBI realized the significance of what McGown had to tell them. Bouton and Berges, by their own accounts, had McVeigh's name as early as 1:30 P.M., and certainly no later than 3:00 P.M. on April 20. Yet several hours went by before this information was relayed to their superiors back at Fort Riley, and hours more before it was transmitted to Oklahoma City and Washington, D.C. The Ryder truck sighting, the most important detail linking McVeigh to the bombing, was not even mentioned in the criminal complaint supporting McVeigh's arrest on bombing charges, which was written around noon the following day. How did it get missed?

According to Bouton, he and Berges spent a few minutes chatting with McGown about the bombing, then asked if she'd seen anyone over the previous week with a Ryder truck. "Yes," she replied, "and he was acting kind of funny with it."

McGown told Bouton that McVeigh had trouble closing the rear latch on the truck and motioned as if he didn't want her to see what was inside. When Bouton saw McVeigh's handwritten registration form, his heart leaped with excitement, because the writing slanted to the left, just like Robert Kling's signature on the Ryder rental form. Bouton said he knew that only 4 or 5 percent of the population writes with a backward slant.

Bouton interviewed four people that afternoon—McGown, her seventeen-year-old son Eric, and two construction workers staying at the motel—who recognized the John Doe One sketch as McVeigh. Bouton said he didn't have time to phone in his findings, because the county sheriff sent him and Berges to another motel to look into a possible John Doe Two. At the second motel, he

phoned an FBI supervisor at Fort Riley, Michael Pulice; according to Bouton, Pulice refused to get too excited and said to bring his information to a debriefing session at the army base that evening.

McGown's version of the encounter was much briefer, and less cordial. When Bouton and Berges arrived, she said, they barged past an older couple, who were checking in, and placed some papers in front of her. McGown told the law enforcement officers to wait until she finished with her guests. When she looked at the papers and saw the composite sketches, she recognized the John Doe One as McVeigh, and mentioned his name. But Bouton said they were looking for someone named Kling, not McVeigh. This upset McGown, who didn't like to be second-guessed. She pulled out McVeigh's registration card, but when Berges reached out to grab it, she naturally pulled it back. She wanted a copy for her files before handing it over. Bouton and Berges had no other questions.

"They took the card, turned around, and left," McGown said. "And I thought, 'That's it, I'm never gonna see that card again.'"

McGown did not remember Bouton and Berges asking anything about the Ryder truck, but she must have said something because a teletype to FBI headquarters based on that day's investigations described McVeigh leaving the Dreamland Motel in the early hours of April 18 "in a Ryder rental truck." That teletype, however, was not written until 4:15 A.M. the following morning, a seemingly extraordinary timelag. According to Joseph Bross, who was running the Fort Riley end of the bombing investigation at the time, supervisors like Michael Pulice were rapidly growing inured to reports of Ryder rental trucks because they were receiving so many of them. At the time Bouton called in, the number one lead the FBI was chasing in Kansas was a military explosives and ordnance expert named Michael Fleenor, who was suspected—mistakenly—of going AWOL from the base and was reported—also mistakenly—being seen filling a Ryder truck with gas shortly before the bombing and asking for directions to Oklahoma City. (He was quickly cleared of suspicion.)

Even when Bouton presented his findings to an evening meeting of more than a hundred agents at Fort Riley, the Ryder truck angle—which Bross remembered him specifically mentioning—did not resonate. The teletype sent to Washington and Oklahoma City in the middle of the night hardly played it up, mentioning the truck only in passing several hundred words into the document. And the emergency response team in Washington was unimpressed. Joseph Bross said the duty supervisor he spoke to dismissed the entire McVeigh connection, saying the bureau's focus at that point was on a Middle Eastern plot. (In fact, the John Doe sketches had already been made public, and while

Abraham Ahmad, the Jordanian American from Oklahoma City, was still being questioned, the Middle Eastern angle was fading fast. Ahmad himself was quickly cleared.)

What is curious is that while investigators failed to recognize the significance of the Ryder truck, they had no difficulty recognizing the importance of the registration card. McVeigh did everyone the favor of checking in under his real name and listing James Nichols's farm address in Michigan, when he could have used the Robert Kling alias and the same bogus address in South Dakota. That information quickly generated leads in Michigan and brought the Nichols brothers into the picture for the first time. But the truck was somehow overlooked, and because of that establishing McVeigh as the lead suspect became much more difficult. Without the link to the truck, McVeigh was just another guy with a passing resemblance to a police sketch.

Most likely, the Ryder truck lead failed to generate the attention it warranted at several different points along the way. It is difficult to judge from Bouton's paperwork how much he and Berges learned from Lea McGown on their first visit to the Dreamland, and how much they picked up when they returned the next day—he combined both visits into a single witness interview report. Bross said that, from where he was sitting: "We just had so many Ryder trucks." Washington, meanwhile, was overwhelmed, especially on the night shift, and would soon bring in reinforcements to shore up a struggling Criminal Division. Oklahoma City was also copied in on Bross's teletype and should have seen the Ryder truck reference, but did not.

Once Bouton got the full story from Lea McGown, his findings raised two significant problems that would later dog the federal authorities as they prepared for trial. First, McGown and others heard voices coming from McVeigh's room on Sunday evening, April 16. Asked about this repeatedly over the next two years, McGown remained adamant that she heard live voices, not the television. Her testimony implied that at least one other person had access to the room, because McVeigh had yet to return from Oklahoma City, where he and Terry Nichols had gone to stash the Mercury. He got back around 1:00 A.M. McGown remembered a "velvety" male voice she had heard in earlier phone calls she put through to room 25.

She was not alone in associating other people with McVeigh at the Dreamland. Bouton also interviewed a Chinese restaurant delivery boy called Jeff Davis, who brought food to room 25 on Saturday, April 15, and later insisted that someone other than McVeigh opened the door. The FBI tried repeatedly to get him to change his testimony, both in their initial interviews and on the eve of McVeigh's trial. They felt the man who took the single serving of moo goo gai

pan must have been McVeigh, but Davis never wavered.

Second, McGown told Bouton she had seen McVeigh bring a Ryder truck to the motel on Easter Sunday, a day before Robert Kling picked up his vehicle from Eldon Elliott's. The FBI would insist she was mistaken. But she and her son remembered their first sighting of the Ryder in some detail, and their story was corroborated by at least two other motel guests who testified in court. Shortly after the McGowns returned from a family Easter lunch, they saw McVeigh backing up the truck near the swimming pool. They told him he had to park on the other side of the property, and McVeigh complied without question. They noticed that this Ryder was different from the one they saw later. It looked older; its yellow paint was bleached by exposure to the elements, and it had no writing on the back. The second truck was brighter and newer.

This was the first and, arguably, the strongest of many clues that more than one Ryder truck was involved. Investigators would grapple with that later. For now, the priority was establishing Robert Kling's real identity and running him to ground. Standard accounts of the bombing suggest Bouton's visit to the Dreamland provided the first, and most important, link to McVeigh. But there was also a second line of investigation, beginning the same day, which yielded not only McVeigh's name but also his physical characteristics and contact details.

SHORTLY AFTER THE JOHN DOE SKETCHES WERE COMPLETED AND distributed, two young military policemen walked into a well-known firearms and pawn shop near Fort Riley. They showed the sketches to the owner, Pat Livingston, who recognized them right away. He told them: "This is a customer of mine, I've sold him several guns. I don't know his name offhand. I'll have to get back to you." Livingston was also pretty sure he'd seen John Doe One and John Doe Two together.

Livingston was popular on the base with commanders and the rank and file, and he also had multiple contacts in law enforcement. He remembered that John Doe One had something to do with a bounced check, and after looking through his financial records, came across the name Timothy James McVeigh and all his details: a bad check McVeigh had written in September 1993 for a TEC-9 semiautomatic, and an ATF background check form known as a 4473, which gave McVeigh's full name, height, weight, date and place of birth, and driver's license number. McVeigh had purchased three guns from Livingston, starting in 1991, when he was still in uniform. The first was the Glock he was carrying when Charlie Hanger pulled him over.

“My impression of McVeigh was that he was a gung-ho young G.I.,” Livingston said. “He was real nice. He didn’t cuss. He was a respectful young man.” Slowly, he recalled more about McVeigh’s darker-skinned companion, the one who looked like the John Doe Two sketch. “He was short and stocky,” he said, “but the thing that was impressive about him was that he had a real thick neck, an unusual stocky neck. He had pockmarks on his face, and he had that hat. It looked like a foreign soccer hat, all chartreuse and blue and pink. I remember that stupid hat, because it was unusual.”

Tom Kessinger had remembered a brightly colored hat, and now Livingston was noting one as well. And the hat didn’t come from the composite sketch, because Ray Rozycki, the sketch artist, had left it off. The one thing Livingston didn’t have was a name for John Doe Two. It wasn’t that he couldn’t remember. He was pretty sure he never knew it.

Livingston called his best friend in law enforcement, county police detective Al Riniker. “I told him I knew who the Oklahoma City bomber was,” he said. “I was excited because I figured I had identified the first terrorist.” Livingston also called the Criminal Investigation Division at Fort Riley, triggering an initial discussion of who McVeigh was, where he had served, and how long he had been out of the army. A check of McVeigh’s records revealed a single bar fight that ended with him breaking his nose; otherwise, his army disciplinary record was clean.

The events of the next few hours are something of a blur. It is not clear the FBI was given the information from Livingston in a timely fashion; Joseph Bross, who was in charge of the FBI operation at Fort Riley that day, said he never received it. Communication between Fort Riley and the task force in Oklahoma City was intermittent, mostly due to the command post being inundated with tips and potential leads. The FBI in Oklahoma City burned through two fax machines in the first twenty-four hours. But there were other organizational issues. “Literally, people in Oklahoma City had no idea what was going on in Junction City,” said Steve Chancellor, the army CID commander at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, who drove up to the bomb scene within hours and stayed for close to three weeks. “I was talking to Mr. Ricks, and he would give me a list of questions. I would call the army CID at Fort Riley. They would give me the answers, and I would tell them to Mr. Ricks, who would give me more questions.”

Chancellor said it took more than twenty-four hours for the commanders at Fort Riley to pick up the phone and talk directly to Oklahoma City. They did not fax over Ray Rozycki’s composite sketches until Chancellor asked them to. When the task force made those sketches public, at about 3:00 P.M. on April 20,

the phones and fax lines went even crazier. Half of Middle America, it seemed, had seen one John Doe or the other.

Still, the puzzle pieces came together. Pat Livingston provided the name McVeigh and a reason to find him suspicious. In the early evening, when Mark Bouton came up with the Dreamland Motel registration card, it not only confirmed McVeigh as a suspect but gave investigators a vital new clue, the Nichols farm address, which tallied with the information on McVeigh's Michigan driver's license.

In Decker, about a hundred miles north of Detroit, James and Terry Nichols were known for their connections among the radical fringe of the militia and "common law" movements, which rejected all personal ties to the government. The local sheriff told the FBI he regarded both Nichols brothers as "crazies" and had a thick file on them, including a five-month-old statement from James's ex-wife, Kelli Langenburg. She said they had been setting off small homemade bombs and rockets, and she believed James kept large quantities of fertilizer and fuel oil on the farm. The FBI contacted Langenburg, who confirmed that McVeigh was a friend of the Nicholises and had stayed at the farm many times. She also said her sister Lana used to be married to Terry Nichols and was in regular touch. By late evening, investigators at the Oklahoma City command post had half a dozen names, deemed to be "of extreme interest," pinned up on a bulletin board. Robert Kling was one. McVeigh was another. Terry and James Nichols were there, too.

When Pat Livingston heard the investigation was zeroing in on a couple of guys named Nichols, he looked into his records again and realized he had sold Terry two Glocks just a few months earlier—the same sort of pistol he had sold McVeigh in 1991. Terry Nichols, he recalled, was a furtive man who was a regular at army surplus auctions at Fort Riley. "Nichols was a slimy, conniving guy who wouldn't look you in the eye," Livingston said. "I wouldn't trust him as far as I can throw him." When Nichols came in to purchase his second Glock, he asked if Livingston sold blasting caps. Later, Nichols asked the same thing at a nearby store that Livingston also owned. Even in the deeply entrenched gun culture in and around Fort Riley, people interested in explosive components tended to trigger alarm bells. "I told him we didn't deal in anything like that," Livingston said. "Knowing me, I probably called the feds."

Livingston heard from a friend in the surplus business that just a month or two earlier, Nichols had been shipping military supplies—mostly uniforms and boots—to the Philippines. He appeared to have come into some money, because he was spending more lavishly at auctions, and overspending on basic items like shovels. A few days before the bombing, Livingston sent out a recall notice on

the Glockes, but Nichols was not responding. “He wouldn’t sign for a registered letter. Nothing,” Livingston said.

Livingston was not entirely surprised at the bombing of the Murrah Building, because he’d been hearing noises about just such an attack for months. He heard a lot of things from behind the counter at Pat’s Pawn & Gun Shop. Two years before, he had tipped off the army CID that the Michigan Militia was actively recruiting at Fort Riley and spreading inflammatory rhetoric about avenging Waco. The CID brass didn’t want to believe him at first. Much more recently, he had heard that someone was going to blow up a federal building, probably in Kansas City because the FBI and the ATF shared offices there.

At the end of March, the chatter intensified, but the target changed—instead of Kansas City, it was Omaha, Dallas, or Oklahoma City. Livingston put in a call to the Joint Terrorism Task Force in Kansas City and made sure he took down the name of the officer he spoke to. (His name was Reid, badge number 4857, and the date was March 30.) “I’d heard so much of this crap, and it sounded kind of foolish that somebody would do this,” Livingston said. “I didn’t have no name, or how, or when. I was just hearing rumors. But I called them and warned them. That’s all a guy can do.”

ANOTHER CLUE POINTING TO BROADER KNOWLEDGE OF THE BOMB plot arrived on the afternoon of April 20 at the offices of the Liberty Lobby, a radical right-wing group based in Washington, D.C., whose publication, *The Spotlight*, was required reading for much of the Patriot Movement. The clue was a handwritten envelope, postmarked “Oklahoma City” and dated April 17. The writing was not an obvious match for either McVeigh or Nichols. It contained a Depression-era photograph of rural Oklahoma with the caption: “Dust Storm Approaching at 60 Miles Per Hour” and a newspaper clipping about Gordon Kahl, an iconic gun-toting tax rebel who died in a shootout with the feds in 1983 and went on to inspire revolutionaries like Wayne Snell and Bob Matthews.

Mark Lane, the Liberty Lobby’s top lawyer, understood immediately that the postcard might be evidence and told his colleagues not to touch it. (Too late—they already had.) He made copies of everything, and mailed the original envelope and its contents to Janet Reno’s office.

Almost a year later, Lane received a phone call from Larry Mackey, one of the federal prosecutors, saying he’d heard a rumor about an interesting postcard but could not locate it.

“Well, you had it,” Lane told him. “And now you don’t have it. Is that correct?” Lane said he would be glad to send Mackey another copy, but without

the opportunity to conduct chemical tests on the originals it was unlikely to be of much value. Lane never heard anything about this again.

TERRY NICHOLS WAS AT LAST SHOWING SIGNS OF NERVOUSNESS. BY his account, he had known nothing about the bombing until the morning of April 20, twenty-four hours later, when he visited a cable television shop and was shocked by the news on the screens. He bought three newspapers to try to determine if this was the bomb he and McVeigh had built. Again, one senses a wall of denial. Could he really doubt the origin of the explosion that gutted the Murrah Building? Still, he took no action until 5:00 P.M., when he drove to the Herington storage unit and cleared out McVeigh's belongings.

Even at this point, he appeared to be following McVeigh's instructions as much as looking out for himself. One item was a box of three hundred electric blasting caps, wrapped in Christmas paper, that he and McVeigh considered using but chose not to. "Tim," he recounted, "said he'd pick those up later but if they were still there by Thursday night that I was to pick them up." Nichols seemed almost robotic, programmed to go to the storage locker when he was told. But some self-preservation kicked in, because he also removed McVeigh's Ruger mini-30, his rucksack and duffel bag, and the license plate McVeigh had taken off the back of the Mercury. Nichols also swept up some white ammonium nitrate pellets he noticed on the floor. "I figured I didn't want anything left in there that could be incriminating to me if it was McVeigh who actually did the OKC bombing," he later explained. He was still saying "if"—allowing room in his mind for doubt, or hope.

Nichols drove home and tossed the gear into his garage. Arguably, it was more of a liability there than in storage, but Nichols seemed oblivious to the danger. He continued to act as though nothing could happen to him.

AT FBI HEADQUARTERS, LOUIS FREEH WAS RIVETED BY THE GROWING evidence on the Nichols brothers. He wanted a team to surround Terry's house in Kansas, and another to raid James's farm in Michigan. He pestered the local special agents in charge to make these things happen as fast as possible and was not happy when they needed more time. Freeh "continued to call and interrogate the SACs almost continuously," according to Buck Revell, a veteran G-man who had retired shortly before the bombing and objected strongly to Freeh's handling of it.

Pressure from the top continued through the night. Freeh's own performance was being scrutinized hour by hour by the attorney general and the White House. His two top commanders in the bureau's Strategic Information and Operations

Center, the equivalent of the White House Situation Room, monitored the investigation constantly. Larry Potts, the FBI's acting deputy director, and Bob "Bear" Bryant, the assistant director in charge of national security, refused to leave their desks, even to catch a few hours' rest. Instead, they downed one coffee after another and chain-smoked. They were, in the words of their SIOC colleague I. C. Smith, "out on their feet." Smith told Potts: "For God's sakes, Larry, go home." But he wouldn't do it. "They were caught up in this paranoia that the investigation would go down the tubes if something happened that was not on their watch," Smith recalled. "These people were zombies."

At about 5:00 A.M., April 20, the Secret Service was told the FBI was sending its elite Hostage Rescue Team to Junction City to smoke out Terry Nichols. At the same time, the ATF and FBI were en route to the Decker farm for a joint operation. But the feds still needed more evidence, and some very basic information, such as an address for Terry Nichols.

Time was of the essence, because nobody at this stage knew if the Oklahoma bombing was a one-off. The prospect of follow-up bombings was a major preoccupation in the regular conference calls between the field commanders and headquarters. "Maybe this wasn't one person. Maybe it was ten people hitting a federal building in every city," one senior FBI manager on the calls said. "There was intense pressure to get the thing solved."

Yet the case against the three leading suspects was still painfully thin. Pat Livingston and Lea McGown had connected the John Doe One sketch to Timothy McVeigh, who had connections to the Nichols brothers. The brothers' radical ideas, which McVeigh probably shared, indicated hostility toward the federal government. James Nichols's ex-wife talked about ammonium nitrate bomb experiments on the farm. But that was all. These shards of information hardly constituted a conclusive case; a little countervailing evidence could eliminate them as suspects.

The case against McVeigh looked especially problematic at this stage. His exemplary military record included the Bronze Star for his "flawless devotion to duty" during the 1991 Gulf War. He had undergone explosives training, but not enough to teach him to build a large bomb. McVeigh had left the army with an honorable discharge at the end of 1991, and whatever he had been doing since did not involve any discernible criminal activity.

In the evening of April 20, Walt Lamar, the FBI agent who had monitored the video surveillance tapes, suggested an offline search on McVeigh from the bureau's National Crime Information Center. Everyone in law enforcement knew what an *online* search was—agents could access the NCIC's computer database and check a suspect's criminal record. An *offline* search involved calling NCIC's

offices in Clarksburg, West Virginia, and asking a technician to search reel upon reel of magnetic tape for vehicle or criminal record checks. If McVeigh had ever been pulled over or asked for his ID, the NCIC might have picked up a trace of it. Lamar put in the call, saying it was top priority. It was several hours before the NCIC came back with an answer.

AT FIRST, LANA PADILLA, TERRY NICHOLS'S EX-WIFE, SEEMED TOO normal to have any association with participants in a bomb plot. She was a real estate agent in Las Vegas, a homeowner and divorcée with three children, two by a previous marriage and one, twelve-year-old Josh, by Nichols. When agents Alan Gough and Dan Walters dropped in on her office at about 8:30 A.M. on April 21, she was stunned to learn it was about the bombing and even more stunned to see pencil sketches of McVeigh and her ex-husband. (They probably came from Kelli Langenburg.) She knew about Nichols's radical politics, of course. She mistrusted his friendship with McVeigh, whom she regarded as dangerous and a bad influence. But she never thought Nichols would involve himself in blowing up a federal building, if only for the sake of their son, Josh, whom he adored.

Padilla said the sketches were accurate, though she'd never met McVeigh and recognized him only from photographs. She volunteered Nichols's address, and said she had spoken to him that morning. Had he sounded normal? Yes. A bit rushed but normal. Padilla said they had argued about their son, as they often did. She did not initially describe the substance of the argument, because it concerned a troublingly large amount of money she did not know how to explain. But she went to her safe and copied some documents Nichols had given her five months earlier. They told the whole extraordinary story all by themselves.

The previous November, Nichols abruptly left the country for the Philippines. He had a young Filipina wife, Marife Torres, a mail-order bride he married when she was still a teenager, and had made several trips to visit her family. But this time he seemed scared for his life. Padilla had ample opportunity to size him up, because he stayed with her and her new husband for almost two weeks before his departure. She wondered if he was suicidal. He insisted on sleeping with a loaded revolver in his waistband.

At this point, Nichols and McVeigh were in the gun-show business, but their relationship had deteriorated. McVeigh kept calling, so she did not think the rift was serious. She assumed Nichols was having money problems and was depressed about his marriage. Marife had left for the Philippines in September, right around the time Nichols quit his previous job as a farmhand, and did not

say when she might return. Nichols, meanwhile, had no home; he had been living in cheap motels and communicating with calling cards.

When Padilla asked how long Nichols planned to be in Asia, he responded by giving her a crudely taped-up brown paper grocery bag and told her to open it if he did not return within sixty days. Padilla and young Josh both found this deeply disturbing. “Josh started to cry on the way back from the airport. He said, ‘I’m not going to see my dad again,’” Padilla recounted. The very next day, she tore open the package despite Nichols’s strict instructions. She found a recent amendment to his life insurance policy, replacing her with Marife as his beneficiary. There were two power-of-attorney forms, giving her the authority to sell a handful of stocks Nichols owned, and some precious metals sitting loose in the bag. In an envelope addressed to her, she found a list of things “to read and do immediately.” Two items jumped out. The first was about a recently rented storage unit in Las Vegas, whose contents he wanted her to sell for Josh. The second described a package he had hidden behind one of her kitchen drawers, which he said was intended to provide for Marife and his infant daughter, Nicole.

Finally, Padilla found a sealed envelope addressed to McVeigh’s sister Jennifer. Inside was a second envelope, addressed to McVeigh. It was a brief note, all in upper case, with more references to storage units. Two more lines leaped off the page. Both were cryptic, but had the unambiguous ring of bad news. The first was an exhortation to McVeigh: “YOUR ON YOUR OWN. GO FOR IT!!” The second left Padilla thunderstruck: “As far as heat, none that I know of, this would be for the purpose of my death.” Her eyes locked on that last word. “It was a suicide note,” she remembered thinking. “A damn suicide note. Terry was going to kill himself!”

The FBI focused instead on the word “heat” and what appeared to be a criminal plot tying him to McVeigh. The “GO FOR IT!!” line suggested Nichols was an enthusiastic participant in whatever it was. It was not long before Padilla was whisked to the FBI office for more detailed questioning. The special agent in charge, Randy Prillaman, told her right away that Nichols and McVeigh “were both going to fry.”

Padilla kept talking. She said she waited until Josh flew to Michigan for Christmas in mid-December 1994 before daring to look behind her kitchen drawer. She and her older son, Barry, dismantled the unit and found a Ziploc bag stuffed with \$20 and \$100 bills—\$20,000 in all. Padilla was confused, because she thought Nichols had been on the verge of destitution. “What is he doing?” she wondered. “Robbing banks?”

Next she visited the storage locker, where she and Barry found gold coins,

gold bars, and silver bullion stacked neatly in boxes, along with some small green stones that looked like jade. It was all worth many tens of thousands of dollars. She was not surprised to find Nichols's tent and fishing gear, along with supplies of freeze-dried food, but she was baffled by the wigs, masks, makeup, and pantyhose.

Nichols returned from the Philippines in mid-January, and flew into a fury with Padilla for opening the brown paper package. When she confessed to taking \$5,000 from the kitchen drawer, he replied: "You can't do that, Lana. I need that money." He was angry; the veins in his neck were bulging. At that moment, the phone rang, and McVeigh asked for Nichols. When they finished speaking, Nichols said he needed to lend the money to McVeigh. Padilla was unimpressed, but in the end she and Nichols compromised. He would take back \$2,000, leaving \$3,000 for her and Josh. This was the money the two of them were still arguing about on the morning of April 21, just before the FBI arrived.

As Padilla kept implicating Nichols further, the agents realized they needed to keep her and the rest of her family secluded. So they moved into Circus Circus, one of the less glamorous hotels on the Las Vegas Strip. They were checked in under assumed names and shuttled from there to the FBI office for the next six days.

First, the FBI needed Padilla to tell them about Nichols's psychological makeup to help them arrest him without anyone getting hurt. They knew he was now living in a house he had purchased after his return from the Philippines and feared he might barricade himself in and initiate a long siege. Marife was back now, too, along with Nicole, so innocent lives were at stake.

THE CASE AGAINST McVEIGH RECEIVED ANOTHER BOOST EARLY ON April 21, when a man who had worked with him as a security guard in upstate New York walked into the FBI's Buffalo office. Carl LeBron said he had befriended McVeigh, only to become so alarmed by his talk of radical action he started recording their conversations. He was afraid McVeigh's threats had come to fruition in Oklahoma City, not least because McVeigh looked like the John Doe One sketch on the front of that morning's newspaper.

LeBron and McVeigh had teamed up for about eight months in 1992, after McVeigh left the army, to guard an aerospace research company not far from the Buffalo airport. McVeigh distributed radical literature and encouraged LeBron to read *The Turner Diaries*. The siege at Ruby Ridge was a big topic of conversation, as was Waco; LeBron said McVeigh had made a pilgrimage to Texas during the fifty-one-day standoff and came back furious at the ATF and

FBI. In their more recent exchanges, McVeigh talked about “doing something he had wanted to do” but was unclear about specifics.

LeBron’s tip gave the FBI two things it badly needed to establish probable cause to arrest McVeigh: a psychological profile suggesting he was capable of mass murder, and a motive for the bombing. The bureau eventually lost interest in LeBron because he lacked credibility; he spouted off about UFOs and mini-submarines the government was using to smuggle hard drugs. In the moment, though, he was downright providential.

WHEN TERRY NICHOLS AWOKE ON APRIL 21, HE FINALLY STARTED doing something about the incriminating items around his house. McVeigh still had not shown up and he understood, somewhere behind the walls of denial he had erected, that this was ominous.

First he went through McVeigh’s rucksack, telling himself he was doing it to look for a set of “rabbit ears,” a portable indoor antenna for his television. McVeigh was supposed to have driven the antenna out from Las Vegas along with the TV, but Nichols hadn’t found it in the storage locker or anywhere else. His search became near-obsessive, a pretext perhaps not to think too hard about events 250 miles to the south. On the morning of the bombing, he went into town to ask about the price of a basic roof antenna, and balked when he heard it would be \$200 or \$300. On April 20, he reluctantly ordered cable service, rationalizing to himself that Marife would appreciate the choice of channels. Still he kept looking for his antenna. “Silly as it may sound,” he later wrote, “I did want those rabbit ears.”

He found no rabbit ears in the rucksack, but he did pull out a hand grenade. That sobered him in a hurry. As soon as he could get away—after the cable guy had come and gone—Nichols drove to a river north of town and tossed both the grenade and the license plate from the Mercury into the rushing spring water. He also buried an incriminating 50-caliber rifle. On his return, he remembered he had two half-empty bags of ammonium nitrate in his garage. He emptied them into a plastic bucket and hastily sprinkled the contents on his front lawn. The fertilizer was so thick, a seventy-five-year-old farmer across the street later said it looked like wet snow. The bags had nothing to do with the bombing: Nichols had bought them a month earlier, thinking he could make money by grinding up the contents and scooping them into small containers. Several people later testified they had seen him selling them at gun shows. “He was,” one surplus dealer said, “the only dumbass I ever did see do it.”

Two more items in the garage worried Nichols: the box of blasting caps

wrapped in Christmas paper, which he had retrieved from the storage locker, and another box, containing sixty-eight nitromethane tubes, part of a binary explosive kit called Kinestik. Nichols didn't want to ditch the boxes, but he didn't regard the storage locker as safe, because there was no telling what McVeigh might reveal if he was in custody. So he dug a hole under the crawl space in his basement and buried them, along with some Primadet shock tube, smoke grenades, hand flares, and two bomb-making handbooks.

It wasn't much of a hiding place, but it was effective.

THE NCIC OFFLINE SEARCH PAID OFF, SHOWING THAT A HIGHWAY PATROL TROOPER in Noble County had run a criminal record check on Timothy McVeigh about an hour and a half after the bombing. Mark Michalic, an ATF agent on the task force, looked at a map and saw that Noble County was directly on the road from Oklahoma City to Kansas. With mounting excitement, he started making phone calls.

"Holy fuck! He's sittin' in jail!" Michalic announced after talking to Charlie Hanger. That got everyone's attention.

Michalic called Jerry Cook, the Noble County sheriff. "Have you still got this guy?" he asked. He hardly believed the good news. "Hold on to him," Michalic implored. "Don't let him go!"

He couldn't have cut it any finer. The arraignment hearing postponed from the day before was at last going ahead, and McVeigh was already downstairs, waiting to enter court. The judge was running late, again, or McVeigh might have been gone already.

"Spin that boy around and put him back in your hotel," Michalic said as calmly as he could manage.

Michalic put his hand over the receiver and told his colleagues: "We got him."

The room erupted in cheers.

TIM AND TERRY AND JAMES AND ... THAT'S IT

Shortly after noon on April 21, Tim McVeigh found himself in an overcrowded room in the Noble County courthouse under a barrage of questions.

“Do you have any idea why the FBI wants to talk to you?” Agent Floyd Zimms asked.

“Yes,” McVeigh responded. His eyes were expressionless.

“What do you mean by yes?” asked Zimms’s colleague Jim Norman.

“That thing in Oklahoma City, I guess.”

It was a lame, uncharacteristically incriminating response, but McVeigh was exhausted and demoralized. Barely two hours earlier, he had still been hopeful as he waited in an empty courtroom to be called in to the judge. But then Sheriff Cook, whom he had not previously encountered, told him the judge was running late, and McVeigh began to suspect something was up.

McVeigh couldn’t help noticing people looking at him strangely. His cell mates were being taken outside one by one, and he figured, rightly, that they were being questioned about him.

Meanwhile, Sheriff Cook and McVeigh’s prosecutor, Mark Gibson, had to decide what protocol to follow before the feds arrived. Gibson didn’t want to keep McVeigh waiting indefinitely, because he had already been in custody for forty-eight hours without a hearing, so he pushed to proceed with a bond hearing. Gibson even got on the phone with the FBI and told them they needed to hurry. “Until you’ve got something,” he said, “we’ve got to treat this guy like we treat anybody else. If bond is set, and you’re not ready and he can make bond, he’s going to make bond.”

Gibson asked McVeigh where he was from and what his financial circumstances were. He needed to consider how likely it was that his defendant might flee, or commit other crimes while out on bond. Even without the bombing, McVeigh fit into a number of high-risk categories. He had been arrested with a semiautomatic and a cop-killer bullet, and he had no fixed address. (He told Gibson he was traveling from Arizona to Michigan and lived “here and there.”)

Bail was set at \$5,000, far beyond his means. McVeigh tried to charm the judge, pointing out that he had no criminal record and meant no harm. The judge

appreciated his input, but it made no difference. He was sent back to the fourth floor, where he made three separate calls to a local public defender, Royce Hobbs. He could only leave a message and, shortly after, the lines went dead. A passing jail employee told him they must be out of order, and McVeigh slammed the receiver in frustration.

It was Sheriff Cook who cut the phone lines, on the recommendation of Walt Lamar, the first FBI agent to arrive in Perry. Lamar told Cook he should lock down the courthouse, surround it with crime tape, and set up a press area in anticipation of the coming media scrum. “You really think all that is necessary?” Cook asked. Lamar knew it was. The first thing he had encountered after arriving via helicopter was a television news crew from Tulsa. Shortly after, the phones started ringing with inquiries from other reporters. “If they are calling,” Lamar told Cook, “they are coming.”

Moments after McVeigh realized the phones were dead, he heard the whirring of a second FBI helicopter. This one contained a whole team of investigators, who had first stopped at the site of McVeigh’s abandoned car on I-35 and discovered its trove of antigovernment literature. That, along with the timing and location of the arrest, made them feel sure they had their man. Unfortunately, it also put them in a gung-ho mood that did little to induce McVeigh to open up. Rather than questioning him in an intimate setting, they found the biggest room available, the county elections office across the hall from Sheriff Cook’s cramped workspace, and invited every law officer on the scene to pile in.

McVeigh answered the agents’ perfunctory questions about his name and weight and height, but stopped when asked for his birthplace. He was back in soldier mode, determined to give nothing away to the enemy. He would not even sign a form advising him of his rights.

“There should have been two people max in the room with McVeigh,” a seasoned bureau agent on the scene lamented. “I’m in no doubt he wanted to shout to the heavens that he did this.”

Instead, McVeigh merely listened as the FBI told him how he had been identified, and showed him the John Doe One sketch. His main concern was that someone might shoot him as FBI agents escorted him from the building. A crowd of several hundred was already massing noisily outside.

THE ENTIRE DETROIT DIVISION OFFICE OF THE FBI WAS MAKING preparations to descend on James Nichols’s farm. They took their time, because they wanted to be sure their raid didn’t turn into an armed standoff, and because they still needed to establish

whether Nichols was a suspect, a material witness, or just a guy who kept spectacularly bad company.

Joe Martinolich, the Detroit special agent in charge and one of the bureau's most widely respected senior managers, knew Nichols was a person of interest by midnight on April 20 and had his assault team assembled by dawn. Martinolich asked the Sanilac County sheriff, Virgil Strickler, to keep the growing law enforcement presence hidden until they were ready to pounce. Strickler knew the layout of the Nichols farm, and also had a good idea who had been coming and going over the past several months.

Most important, Sheriff Strickler provided access to his informants. One was Daniel Stomber, Nichols's neighbor who said he had seen James and Terry make bombs out of fertilizer, peroxide, and bleach, and detonate them in plastic soda bottles. He recalled how James Nichols boasted about his bomb-making skills. He also remembered the brothers' vitriolic comments about Waco, including James saying he wouldn't be sorry to see someone pop off a federal judge or even assassinate the president. Stomber further remembered a camouflage-clad friend named Tim—he did not know his last name—who had lived on the farm for a while but moved away in early 1994.

Another witness said that in December 1993 he saw two white men enter a hobby shop in Marlette, about ten miles south of Decker, and ask for 100 percent liquid nitro model airplane fuel. One of the men gave his name as Terry Tuttle and left a bogus phone number that was one digit off James Nichols's real number. The store assistant said he stocked only 10–15 percent liquid nitro but would order the stronger stuff. Two weeks later, the men returned, but the store would not or could not fulfill the order—probably because pure liquid nitro airplane fuel can be used as an explosive. The surname Tuttle was later established as a frequent alias of McVeigh's.

This was now more than enough to seek a search warrant on the Decker farm. And, in the early afternoon, the feds were given the perfect opportunity to move in, as James Nichols got in his car and started driving south. He later said he was simply going about his business, stopping at the bank and at an auto parts store to pay for repairs on a tractor engine. But he also mentioned that, just before he left his house, a neighbor tipped him off that some farmhouse in Decker was about to be raided. So he could have left for his own protection.

As Nichols drove south, he saw helicopters, news trucks, and an ambulance heading in the opposite direction. As soon as he arrived at the bank, he asked the staff to turn on a radio so he could find out what was going on. He later claimed he still had no idea this had anything to do with him. His account adopts an almost ridiculous tone of aw-shucks innocence: "I tried to imagine who in this

area could be involved in anything nasty enough to interest federal law enforcement agencies,” he wrote. “I couldn’t think of anyone.... Who could it possibly be?”

Soon, the feds were crawling over every inch of his property. When he returned from Marlette, the crush of police vehicles and satellite trucks surrounding his house was so great he had to ask a state trooper for help getting through. The trooper asked him who he was, then called over an FBI agent, who conducted a thorough body search and went through the contents of Nichols’s car.

AGENT STEPHEN SMITH HAD A PROBLEM: HE COULDN’T FIND TERRY NICHOLS’S house in Herington. He was the advance man for an entire FBI search team, but nobody had checked the address provided by Lana Padilla before he took off from Fort Riley. By the time he learned from local police that Nichols lived at 109 South Second Street, not 901, the rest of the team was already closing in.

Smith did a quick drive-by, noticing Nichols’s blue GMC pickup outside the modest wood-framed house, before he ditched his rental car and returned with a colleague in a more weather-beaten Cutlass Supreme. With luck, nobody would notice them. They sat, and watched, and waited.

BACK IN LAS VEGAS, THE FBI HAD BEGUN QUESTIONING TWELVE-YEAR-OLD Josh Nichols. Agents wanted to know everything—about the week he had just spent in Herington with his father, about his father’s movements, about any contact he had had with Tim McVeigh.

The boy was initially leery but opened up a little to a female agent named Debbie Calhoun. She asked Josh about his family and the time he spent on the Nichols farm in Michigan. She also asked Josh if he had any contact with explosives. “My dad has a lot of guns,” the boy replied. “We shoot and we make some little bombs sometimes.”

Both Calhoun and Lana Padilla, who was in the room at the time, were stunned. Neither said anything, preferring to let Josh keep talking. “I know how to build a bomb,” he went on. “It really isn’t hard. My dad and I used to build them all the time.”

Calhoun was soon convinced Josh knew more about the bombing than he was letting on—as was his mother. During a break in questioning, shortly after the family learned that McVeigh had been found, Josh whispered to Padilla: “Mom, there were going to be other bombs. There were supposed to be three bombings. Don’t tell anybody.” Josh went on to say: “The plan was to do one,

followed by two others. Three altogether.”

If Padilla had been able to think straight, she would not have allowed the FBI to ask another question without calling a lawyer. But she clung to the belief that Nichols had nothing to do with the bombing. Maybe Josh and Terry had some information to point the FBI in the right direction, she rationalized. Let them tell what they know, then the family’s lives could return to normal.

AS HIS BROTHER WAS BEING APPREHENDED IN MICHIGAN, TERRY NICHOLS was driving home from a lumberyard and heard on the radio that McVeigh had been taken into federal custody. Even more shocking, he learned that he and his brother were wanted in connection with the bombing and should be considered “armed and dangerous.”

He could not drive home fast enough, and immediately asked Marife if she had been watching the television coverage. She had not. She was fuming about the conversation he had had earlier that morning with his ex-wife, and was threatening—not for the first time—to go back to the Philippines. She didn’t like his relationship with Lana, or with Josh, or with Tim McVeigh, and was sick of dealing with all of them. Nichols was too frazzled to fight back, so he turned on the television. When he saw the two composite sketches, he felt momentary relief—he did not think John Doe One looked like McVeigh, and neither did Marife. But when he heard Janet Reno, the attorney general, calling for the death penalty, and President Clinton vowing to deliver justice that was “certain, swift, and severe,” Nichols had visions of heavily armed agents barreling down on the house. “I panicked,” he recounted, “and I said to myself, this is a case where they will definitely shoot first and ask questions later.”

Nichols phoned his brother James, and Lana, but reached neither. When CNN started calling from Los Angeles, he barked at Marife to pick up their infant daughter, Nicole, and get in the car. The safest place for them, he decided, was the Herington police station. In the garage, he gave everything a once-over. He noticed a fuel meter he had bought a few weeks earlier to resell at a gun show, only to realize it was broken. “I have to do something about that,” he said quickly. Interestingly, he disregarded a siphon pump sitting on a shelf directly above the fuel meter, which he had used three days earlier to mix the bomb components. The only thing he picked up was a crate McVeigh had dropped off the previous week. He was concerned about a single item in the box, a mercury switch, and decided he should get rid of it before going to the police.

Nichols made an otherwise curious stop at a warehouse store on the southern edge of Herington, where he used the anonymity of the parking lot to smash the

mercury switch on the asphalt. Later, he told the feds he intended to go shopping, but changed his mind once he sensed he was being followed. That, though, was largely untrue: Stephen Smith and his colleague Jack Foley had overshot the Surplus City store and turned around only once they realized Nichols was not heading out of town after all.

Marife was in a daze of her own. She could tell her husband was extraordinarily agitated, but she had no clear idea why. She blurted out the question uppermost in her mind: “Are you involved in this?” And Nichols answered no. He fretted that he did not know the way to the police station; Marife told him to calm down. He confessed he had not told the truth the previous Sunday when he said he had gone to Omaha to pick up McVeigh. He had, in fact, met McVeigh in Oklahoma City, and lied about it at McVeigh’s direction. That, he said, was the reason he thought the feds might be after him.

Around 3:00 P.M., the Nichols family walked into the police station like three strays begging for shelter. Nichols told Barry Thacker, the deputy chief, that he wanted to talk to someone about the radio reports and assured him he was neither armed nor dangerous. At that very moment, Dale Kuhn, Thacker’s boss, was on the line with an FBI supervisor, who told him that a hotly sought-after bombing suspect had just entered the building. Smith, Foley, and two other agents hovered outside, too afraid to enter as they entertained the notion that Nichols and his wife and infant daughter might somehow take the police department hostage. Kuhn assured the supervisor that, no, Nichols was not threatening anyone. But the police chief certainly understood the significance of the situation. He raced to the front desk and suggested that everyone move out of public view. All three Nichols family members were searched for weapons, even eighteen-month-old Nicole, who was held by her mother as an officer ran a finger around the top of her diaper.

Then the FBI agents ventured in and ordered everyone into a training room in the basement. Nichols asked why he was being mentioned in the news reports about the bombing. The agents said they did not know but wanted to ask him some questions.

“Good,” Nichols countered, “because I have some questions for you.”

MORE THAN ELEVEN HUNDRED MILES AWAY, IN KINGMAN, ARIZONA, the news reports on McVeigh hit his old army buddy Michael Fortier like a punch in the gut. Not only had Fortier known about the bomb plot; he had come perilously close to taking part himself. Since the start of wall-to-wall coverage of the bombing, he had not stopped fretting.

As soon as McVeigh's name aired on the news that Friday lunch-time, he went over to his neighbor Jim Rosencrans's house and announced: "Tim's the one that did it." Rosencrans's girlfriend later remembered how nervous he was. Rosencrans, who was close to Fortier and regularly did drugs with him, never had any doubts that their friend Tim was involved. "Damn, our boy has been busy," he thought.

Fortier shook his head in amazement. "Wow," he said, "that shit's intense." Then he and his wife, Lori, went around the house, ditching all the incriminating material they could find.

The FBI came calling that same afternoon.

MCVEIGH WAS STILL WORRIED ABOUT HIS SAFETY. HE REMEMBERED how Jack Ruby gunned down Lee Harvey Oswald in the Dallas police headquarters in 1963, and told his captors he wanted a helicopter airlift from the courthouse roof rather than having to face the restive crowd outside. The FBI took his request seriously; if someone took a potshot, an agent could get hit just as easily as McVeigh. But the roof was deemed unsuitable for a helicopter landing. So they opted instead to drive him in a sheriff's department van to a secured helicopter staging area a short distance away.

First, though, they had to overcome a legal hurdle, as Royce Hobbs, the public defender McVeigh had sought to reach, made an unexpected appearance and demanded a hearing with Judge Allen. The judge agreed—over the objections of Mark Gibson, who refused to attend. All Hobbs could do, though, was advise McVeigh to find himself a federal public defender.

Finally, around 5:00 P.M., it was time to move. This was the public's first chance to see McVeigh, and the timing was perfect for the evening newscasts. The prisoner emerged from the courthouse in his orange jailhouse jumpsuit, his hands cuffed and his legs in irons, and the crowd exploded. People were shouting "baby killer," and worse. Several agents clustered around him, scanning the crowd for signs of trouble. McVeigh looked up at the surrounding buildings, worried that someone with a rifle might be on the rooftops. His gaze was vacant, emotionless, a snapshot image the media would feast on and designate as the face of a ruthless killer.

In a moment, he was gone—into the sheriff's van and, shortly after, onto a helicopter to Tinker Air Force Base outside Oklahoma City. Taking him to the federal courthouse next to the Murrah Building was out of the question; there was no telling what an incensed crowd would do if it got near him and, besides, the courthouse was too badly damaged to be functional. Tinker would work fine

as a venue for the arraignment. A federal magistrate judge, Ronald Howland, was ready and waiting. After that, McVeigh would be taken to a specially prepared wing of El Reno federal prison outside Oklahoma City, his home while he awaited trial.

The lasting impression that Danny Coulson, the senior FBI agent in Perry, retained of McVeigh from that afternoon was his utter surprise at finding himself in the feds' clutches. "McVeigh," he said, "regarded his arrest by Charlie Hanger as a minor inconvenience—he thought he'd be out of jail and on his way in short order. He was shocked we got to him as fast as we did." Coulson sat next to him on the helicopter, putting his hand on McVeigh's shoulder and telling him sternly that he needed to behave himself.

"Act like a gentleman, and you will be treated like a gentleman," Coulson said. "If not, you will be very sorry. Do you understand me?"

"Yes sir," McVeigh replied. "I understand."

WHEN DANIELLE HUNT, THE FORMER OPERATOR AND DIRECTOR OF the America's Kids day-care center, saw McVeigh's face flash across her television screen, she knew at once he was involved. He was the same tall, lanky young man with a military buzz cut who had visited the day-care center in December, claiming he had two young children and asking her a lot of strange questions. He wasn't interested in the kids' daily routines, or in the teachers and their qualifications. He was interested only in the layout of the place and the security arrangements—whether there were cameras, and how many entrances and exits the day care had. He was transfixed, too, by the plate-glass windows next to the infants' nap area. "There's so much glass," he said, over and over. Hunt told him how the children liked to paint pictures on the glass, and look out at the changing seasons. "Now, thinking back," she recalled, "he must have been imagining how easy it would be to blow up the children."

McVeigh showed up at the tail end of the business day in battle-dress uniform and said he was a military recruiter transferring from Wichita within a few months. He was looking for a place for his three-year-old and an infant. He had no name tag on his uniform, and no badge or other form of identification. He would not give his name, or his children's names.

When Danielle's soon-to-be husband, Tom, the head of the Federal Protective Service, came to pick her up, McVeigh became visibly nervous. "How did he get in?" he asked. Danielle Hunt replied: "He's my husband and he's also a federal agent, so he has keys to the whole building." McVeigh insisted on moving around a corner where they could not be seen. Shortly after, he left by a

secondary door so he would not have to cross paths with Tom Hunt again.

As the Hunts drove home, Danielle told Tom her visitor didn't have a name tag. Tom immediately sniffed trouble. "If he's a recruiter," he said, "he has to have his name and his grade and the words 'U.S. Army.'" But at that point there was nothing he could do.

Danielle told her story to the FBI but nothing ever came of it—most likely because when she gave her account in the immediate aftershock of the bombing, she confused the timing of McVeigh's December visit with another incident at the Murrah Building in early March, involving two suspicious men who went from office to office telling people they wanted to apply for a job. Her testimony could have been devastating to McVeigh, forever erasing any doubt that he knew about the day-care center in advance and strongly suggesting that he targeted the kids deliberately. If the FBI had reinterviewed her, they could have connected her story with the known movements of McVeigh and Michael Fortier, who were in Oklahoma City on December 15 (but in Arizona in early March).

They did not. "I was really shocked they did not call me as a witness," Hunt said. "I can't imagine why they didn't."

THE FEDS HAD McVEIGH, BUT THEY ALSO HAD A PROBLEM. HE WAS not a close fit to the composite sketch of John Doe One. Once he was in custody, they could have shown either his picture or the man himself to the employees at Eldon Elliott's body shop. But the FBI chose not to, not even when they arranged a lineup for the Oklahoma City witnesses on the first weekend after the bombing. Eldon Elliott was not shown a photograph of McVeigh, or formally asked if he was a match for Robert Kling, until June 8, forty-eight days after McVeigh was tracked down and arrested on federal charges. If he had an opinion about the face being flashed all over the news, he didn't volunteer it.

The feds never properly explained their thinking. They weren't overly impressed with the body shop witnesses and might not have wanted to rely on them too heavily at this early stage. They were even beginning to conclude that the sketches were unreliable. Though they were growing more certain that McVeigh was responsible for driving the truck into Oklahoma City and detonating the bomb, there was the possibility that someone else rented the truck from Eldon Elliott's.

Plenty of things did not fit right. McVeigh's fingerprints were never found at the body shop—not on the counter, which the FBI took the trouble to dismantle and haul off to their lab in Washington, and not on the Robert Kling rental agreement. John Doe One was five foot ten (Vicki Beemer said he was about the

same height as her husband), while McVeigh was six foot one. The body type and the facial features were not quite the same, either. Each witness who had linked McVeigh to the composite sketch—Lea McGown, Pat Livingston, Carl LeBron—had other reasons to be suspicious of him. None made the identification on physical resemblance alone.

MEANWHILE, SOME STARTLING EVIDENCE SURFACED THAT John Doe One might be someone else entirely. Once the composite sketches were released, Angie Finley, an ATF agent in Tulsa, received a phone call from a confidential informant, a slightly built former debutante on the Tulsa social circuit with killer looks, blond hair, and a black swastika tattooed on her left shoulder. The informant, who was later revealed as Carol Howe, had spent much of the previous half-year in Elohim City, providing evidence of illegal weapons handling and numerous threats by the residents to wage war against the government.

Howe had come to the ATF as a result of romantic as well as political entanglements. Following a short marriage to a White Power activist, she became involved with Dennis Mahon, a bombastic neo-Nazi leader whose checkered résumé included cross-burnings in Germany and a bizarre appearance on Oprah Winfrey's television chat show. Mahon ran a Dial-A-Racist hotline in Tulsa, which Howe called after she was confronted by some African-Americans at an outdoor party, fell off a platform, and broke both her heels.

Mahon became Howe's protector, then her suitor, flattering her into posing in eccentric military uniforms and draping her in nothing but a Nazi flag. Soon, though, she was accusing Mahon of molesting her. When she took out a restraining order, it attracted the attention of the ATF, which had been looking into Mahon for years. Howe thought working as an informant was an ideal way to get even, and was soon reporting on Mahon's fondness for detonating homemade grenades and outlining plans he had to blow up a Mexican-owned video store.

The ATF asked Howe to conduct a drug buy on behalf of the Tulsa Police Department, which they said was to test her loyalty. They also polygraphed her, and tapped her phone and wired up her apartment for both audio and video. Amazingly, Mahon was willing to forgive the court order as soon as she renewed contact with him. And she proved very effective at delivering incriminating material, both on Mahon and on his friends at Elohim City. Weekends in the community gradually extended into longer stays, during which Howe eavesdropped—and reported on—many conversations about fomenting revolution, including specific threats to blow up government buildings.

Howe said she could provide a match for the composite sketches—to people other than Tim McVeigh. To her, John Doe One looked like Pete Ward and John Doe Two resembled his brother Tony. Finley passed the information to her superiors, who shared it with the FBI. And the FBI, in turn, decided it needed to talk to Howe. While McVeigh was still being plucked out of jail, Finley and an FBI agent from Tulsa drove Howe to Oklahoma City to be extensively debriefed.

The encounter did not show the FBI in its best colors. The bureau's notes, typed up in an official insert, are marred by every conceivable error, including grotesque misspellings, inaccurate dates, and a general lack of understanding of the subject. Still the gist of Howe's reporting was clear. The two men she fingered most damningly were Mahon and Andreas Strassmeir. Mahon had not only expressed a desire to blow up a federal building, he named Tulsa and Oklahoma City as possible targets. He also had a plan to initiate mass race riots by destroying power lines at the height of summer and creating panic.

Howe described Strassmeir as contemplating "assassinations, bombings, and mass shootings," and characterized Elohim City as an armed encampment whose armory included more than three hundred rifles, MAC 90s and Ruger mini-14 semiautomatics and "various fully automatic weapons," possession of which is flagrantly illegal.

One would think this information constituted a major new lead. But Carol Howe was a touchy subject for federal law enforcement. The ATF had abruptly discontinued her services a month before the bombing, claiming that she had become mentally unstable. Now that decision looked distinctly unwise, particularly since the information she provided before her dismissal had been viewed as both credible and alarming by her immediate handlers. So the FBI and ATF decided, together, to recall her and send her back into Elohim City to see what connections she could pick up to McVeigh or any possible coconspirators.

It was never more than a halfhearted initiative, and the onus of further investigation was placed almost entirely on her. The feds sent neither uniformed agents nor covert operatives into the community to help. No effort was made to interview Andreas Strassmeir, or Pete or Tony Ward, or any member of the Millar family except one inconsequential son-in-law who offered nothing useful.

Bob Ricks, the head of the FBI's Oklahoma City office, who had been aware of Elohim City for years, maintained that, contrary to appearances, investigators took a strong interest in links between the community and the bombing. But, he said, they saw little benefit in conducting aggressive interviews without acquiring some baseline knowledge first. Elohim City was difficult to penetrate or monitor—because of its remoteness, because it had no useful phones to tap (its one main line was too public for sensitive conversation), and because of its

hostility to outsiders. “Generally we don’t want to ask questions until we know the answers,” Ricks said, “and we had a vast unknown in Elohim City.... We had no leverage, no evidence of criminal conduct. Without something to use as a hammer, conducting interviews would have done us no good.”

That defense holds only to a point. The feds did have considerable leverage over Dennis Mahon, because of Howe’s evidence that he’d made and detonated grenades. And they could have had more leverage still over Strassmeir, who was arming Elohim City even though, as a foreigner, he had no legal right to purchase weapons.

In these early days of the investigation, though, Elohim City was mostly the subject of a turf war between the FBI and the ATF. The FBI wanted to know what the ATF knew, but the ATF—as its director, John Magaw, has subsequently acknowledged—was reluctant to share. Even after the ATF gave the FBI its Carol Howe file, the feds continued to suspect that more information was being suppressed; that the ATF was sitting on potentially explosive information and running “hip-pocket informants,” in Ricks’s phrase, who were kept out of the official record for reasons of internal bureaucratic convenience. Danny Defenbaugh, who would take over leadership of the investigation from Weldon Kennedy, struggled with the problem for months on end. “When you get agencies working together in a joint Task Force, they should be holding hands, not keeping their fingers crossed behind their backs,” he said. “[The ATF] didn’t handle it well, nor did we know in a timely manner what we should have known.”

The FBI carries its own share of the blame. It seems inexcusable, given the bureau’s usual practice of chasing down every lead, that Carol Howe’s allegations were not pursued more aggressively. At least one senior FBI agent, Danny Coulson, came to believe the investigation into Elohim City was deliberately shut down for reasons of bureaucratic cowardice or incompetence. When Bob Ricks was asked in an interview why Dennis Mahon was never questioned about his threats to blow up a federal building in Oklahoma, he answered, simply: “I don’t know.”

Nobody was more delighted or relieved by the feds’ inaction than the Elohimites themselves. Once the bomb went off, Robert Millar and his followers feared the FBI and ATF would descend with a full array of paramilitary hardware. Some of that was fed by paranoia and exaggerated notions of how much the government was spoiling for a fight. Some of it, though, was entirely rational, given the community’s ties to right-wing radicals, and its links, both direct and indirect, to McVeigh.

“The feds were looking for excuses to come after us,” Andi Strassmeir said.

“We slept in our fatigues and boots, with rifles by our side.”

IN THE HERINGTON POLICE STATION, TERRY NICHOLS TOLD THE FBI he was willing to answer any questions, even without a lawyer present. The agents said repeatedly that he was not under arrest and could leave any time. He stayed put, partly to support his contention that he had nothing to hide and partly to figure out how much the FBI had on him. But if he thought he could outsmart the feds, he was wrong.

The agents found him weird and suspicious, and the impression only deepened as the hours passed. They were struck when Nichols said he no longer used his social security number and when he refused to sign a form advising him of his rights because he objected to the word “interrogation,” which reminded him of the Nazis.

A short time later, as he authorized the FBI to search his house and his pickup, he expressed concern that they might mistake some items for bomb-making equipment. The subject of bombs had not yet come up, and Agent Scott Crabtree wrote in a search warrant affidavit the following day that Nichols gave no reason why the FBI might make such a mistake. Rightly or wrongly, the line struck the agents as a tacit admission. Over the next nine hours, Nichols would tip his hand further, ducking and evading questions and telling so many demonstrable lies his credibility never recovered.

Nichols described how he and McVeigh became friends during basic training at Fort Benning, Georgia, in 1988. They were close for a while, and McVeigh stayed at the Nichols family farm for several weeks in early 1993. But Nichols claimed he’d had only minimal contact for several months, and then only to ask McVeigh to transport his television set from Las Vegas, as he had promised. This was not true, as phone records and other evidence would later demonstrate.

Nichols continued to use the television to explain away his movements on Easter Sunday, when he helped McVeigh stash the Mercury in Oklahoma City. He said he drove to Oklahoma City alone—in fact, he and McVeigh convoyed down—and picked up both McVeigh and the TV on a street corner. (The television, which Nichols genuinely wanted, was in a storage locker in Kansas all along.)

Years later, Nichols acknowledged that he agreed to drive to Oklahoma City not because of the TV but because he was afraid of what McVeigh would do to his family if he said no. He could not tell the FBI that, because it would open him up to other questions about his involvement, which he was not ready to answer. “I lied to them and said I had picked up my TV...to make my story sound more plausible,” he said. “I was in denial at that time and was trying to

distance myself from McVeigh and his evil act as much as possible.”

Still, Nichols dropped hints that McVeigh was up to no good—in ways that did not involve him. In his account of their return journey to Kansas, Nichols told the FBI that McVeigh had pointed out the upcoming Waco anniversary and announced, cryptically: “You will see something big in the future.”

“What are you going to do,” Nichols recalled asking, “rob a bank?”

“Oh, no,” McVeigh responded. “I got something in the works.”

McVeigh later complained to Michel and Herbeck that Nichols had “hosed” him with lines like these, and the judge presiding over the two men’s trials certainly believed Nichols had incriminated his partner. Nichols described McVeigh as “nervous” and “hyper,” and when asked about the bombing told the FBI his friend “could be capable of doing it.” But Nichols later insisted: “I did not rat him out. I did not admit McVeigh actually did the bombing. I really didn’t give the FBI much useful information.”

That much appears to be true. Nichols’s interview did far more immediate damage to his own cause than it did to McVeigh’s. Time and again, his responses made him look like he was hiding something. He claimed he couldn’t remember much about the rest of the journey back to Kansas, because he became “sleepy-tired” and kept losing the thread of the conversation. He said that several times during the drive McVeigh asked him what they had just talked about, and he couldn’t remember. Nichols’s interrogators thought that was a lame excuse to drop an uncomfortable subject. Their sense was that McVeigh and Nichols were in the final stages of planning the bombing and had plenty more to talk about that Sunday night.

Some of Nichols’s lies were more sophisticated. He realized that someone—the fisherman and his son, for example—might have seen his pickup at the lake. He said McVeigh had called early that morning to borrow his truck, saying he wanted to drive around and shop for a new car. Nichols collected him at a McDonald’s and asked to be dropped off at Fort Riley so he could attend a surplus auction. McVeigh was supposed to pick him up at noon but did not arrive until after 1:00 P.M. When McVeigh was late, Nichols went to a different auction in another building, the one he really attended and signed in for, and hung around for the extra hour.

By this stage, however, Nichols couldn’t put any story past his interrogators. They had already decided to take him into custody as a material witness and were mostly stringing him along until the warrant arrived. In fact, their bosses in Kansas City had the warrant ready as early as 4:45 P.M. but sat on it while they waited to see what Nichols would spill on his own. Nichols’s defense team would later argue that denying him knowledge of the warrant was deliberately

misleading. A federal public defender who heard about the interrogation on the radio made several attempts to let Nichols know he was volunteering his services, but the message never got through. Nichols chose to believe he would soon be back in his car, heading home with Marife and the baby.

WHEN JENNIFER McVEIGH HEARD HER OLDER BROTHER'S NAME ON the radio, her first concern was to avoid being sucked into the bombing conspiracy herself. She was in Florida, visiting friends and family on an extended spring break. But many people knew she was close to Tim, despite their six-year age difference, and knew she shared many of his political ideas. She was not surprised that he had involved himself in a big, revolutionary act, because he had all but told her already.

A month or two earlier, Tim had written to warn her that something big would happen “in the month of the Bull” and that she should stay in Florida for as long as possible. He wanted to protect her and told her to burn the letter, which she did the same day. Jennifer was living in her father's house in Pendleton, New York, and working (much to the FBI's amusement) at a Jell-O wrestling bar while attending community college; so she had some flexibility in her schedule. He wrote a follow-up at the end of March, making sure she had done as he asked. “Send no more [mail] after the first of April,” he said, “and then even if it's an emergency, watch what you say because I may not get it in time and the G-men might get it out of my box, incriminating you.”

Jennifer understood the need to take precautions. The night before she took the long drive down to Pensacola, she separated everything she had from her brother into two boxes. She kept the first one, containing his high school yearbooks, military records, medal citations, and other personal documents, in her closet. McVeigh had sent most of this material at the beginning of the year for safekeeping; he hadn't told her why, but she must have guessed he was preparing for a new life underground. The second box, containing McVeigh's letters, photographs, political literature, and a videotape accusing the government of mass murder at Waco, was more sensitive. She asked her best friend, Rose Woods, to keep it at her house while she was away.

When she heard about the bombing, she was staying with an old friend, Dennis Sadler, and his family in the Florida Panhandle. She kept her reactions quiet until she heard about her brother's arrest. She was out on a driving errand with Sadler at the time, and immediately asked him to take the wheel. She smoked a lot of cigarettes on the way back to the house. When she called her family, she learned the FBI was already at her father's house, asking about her

relationship with her brother. She did not have much time. She took a handful of clippings from *The Turner Diaries* she had with her and burned them in Sadler's laundry room. When the FBI appeared, a short time later, they searched the house and Jennifer's pickup, finding a collection of right-wing literature.

The FBI wanted to bombard her with questions, but she would not cooperate. Like her brother, she saw the feds as the enemy. They came back to question her again and again over the course of the weekend, and she became only more resistant. "Defiant" was the word the feds used to characterize her. But she soon learned how persuasive the FBI can be.

SINCE McVEIGH HAD BEEN IN THE MILITARY, THE ARMY WAS GIVEN the job of rounding up look-alikes to participate in a lineup for eyewitnesses who had seen him with the Ryder truck on the morning of the bombing. Twenty-four men were dispatched to Oklahoma City from Fort Sill, and five were selected. At first, the task force leadership worried the similarity was just too great and told Steve Chancellor, the army's point man: "You got McVeigh's brother, cousin, and uncles." They were, Chancellor said, "scared shitless."

But the witnesses did fine. Mike Moroz, the mechanic at Johnny's tire shop who had reported McVeigh asking for directions around 8:30 A.M., was the only one who hesitated a little. He chose two people, including the man in custody. McVeigh was clearly fingered as a guilty man—by people who also swore they had seen him with others.

AT 9:00 P.M. THAT NIGHT, A GAGGLE OF FBI AGENTS DESCENDED ON Okemah, a tiny speck of a town about seventy miles east of Oklahoma City, convinced they were about to make another major arrest. The name of their hot lead was Ray Jimboy, a Native American who had served in McVeigh's unit during the Gulf War. He was a ringer for John Doe Two—short, stocky, muscular, with dark hair and deep brown eyes. His fellow soldiers reported he had a temper and was covered with scars from knife fights. He also had a history of political activism.

Louis Freeh was so gung-ho for Jimboy that he sent Bob Ricks and a handful of his best men to supervise the operation. But it didn't work out as planned. Jimboy not only had an alibi, he was falling-down drunk, and had clearly been on the bottle for years, in no state to participate in a major criminal conspiracy. Ricks broke the bad news to Freeh, only to have the director tell him to put Jimboy under twenty-four-hour surveillance—personally.

Ricks couldn't believe it. "I got to watch this drunk myself," he said, "and I was a special agent in charge." It took another full day before the FBI brass

finally cleared Jimboy, by which time the humiliation of Bob Ricks had descended to a whole new level.

TERRY NICHOLS WAS DIGGING HIMSELF IN EVER DEEPER. HE SAID HE had some knowledge of bomb-making, but insisted he'd never put it to use. Eight hours in, close to midnight, he acknowledged that he had bags of ammonium nitrate in his house, the ones he stored to sell off at gun shows. He said he hadn't mentioned this earlier because he was worried it would "make me look guilty to a jury."

By this time, the interviewing agents knew about the material witness warrant and felt they could throw tougher questions at him. Agent Crabtree asked about the package of materials Nichols had left for Lana Padilla when he flew to the Philippines the previous November. Nichols described it as a sort of will, drawn up in case he did not return. Nichols was flummoxed when Crabtree asked him about the two most incriminating phrases—the "go for it!!" line and the sign-off, "As far as heat, none that I know of."

Agent Smith later testified: "He sat there and looked at us for approximately a minute, and did not respond to the question." The warrant was served shortly afterward.

Even at this stage, the FBI lacked concrete evidence to tie Nichols to the bombing. Mostly, they had leads to check out—the ammonium nitrate bags, McVeigh's possessions in his garage, the Herington storage locker. Two FBI agents sent to guard his house pending a formal search spotted some blue-rimmed barrels in the garage, reminiscent of a large number of blue plastic shards found at the bombing scene. (The government would later argue that these were incriminating, but they were most likely from recycling bins on the Murrah Building's first floor.) The agents also saw a large number of ammunition and fuel cans, and picked up a strong odor of ammonium nitrate. None of this looked good, but it didn't prove anything, either.

When investigators went to U.S. District Judge David Russell for the warrant to hold Nichols as a material witness, they chose not to tell him that their suspect was, of his own free will, sitting in the Herington police station and talking up a storm—a symptom, perhaps, of their nervousness about the solidity of their case. A first version of the warrant stated, erroneously, that Nichols had attempted to leave the country and would be a flight risk if he was not taken immediately into custody. The Justice Department later explained this away as an innocent blunder by Jim Reynolds, the department's top anti-terrorism lawyer.

A new warrant was subsequently drawn up, this one stating that if Nichols were "left to his own devices, it would be impracticable to secure his

presence”—a tortured form of wording that, again, ducked the fact that he was very much present and cooperating.

AS THE INITIAL FLURRY OF BREAKTHROUGHS BEGAN TO SLOW, THE FBI resorted to its hallmark taste for extreme thoroughness to hunt down additional suspects. The mania for detail started with Louis Freeh, who made it his personal business to pick out the lineup photographs that witnesses would be shown alongside McVeigh's. This was normally a low-level job for a field agent. "I was micromanaging," Freeh acknowledged in his autobiography, "which nobody likes the boss to do."

The bureau was prepared to track every last person McVeigh had encountered in the military, if that was what it took to find coconspirators. Steve Chancellor, the army's point man on the task force, was asked early on how many people trained with McVeigh at Fort Benning, and he said about a hundred. Then he was asked how many were in his infantry company, and Chancellor said just a few more. But, he cautioned, they should take a baseline number—120, say—and double it to account for a large turnover during the three years McVeigh served. The agents soon returned to ask how many people were in McVeigh's battalion. Chancellor said between 500 and 600, maybe 1,200 over three years. Soon they were asking about the entire brigade.

Chancellor looked skeptical. "Now you're talking in the thousands. Five, ten thousand people over three years," he said. And how many people were stationed at Fort Riley? "I looked at this guy," Chancellor recounted, "and thought, you got to be shittin' me. We're looking at 32,000 people. And the agent said, 'Okay, I think we'll stop.'"

CHARLIE HANGER RETURNED TO PATROL DUTY ON SATURDAY MORNING after two days off and instinctively checked the inside of his police cruiser to make sure nothing connected to McVeigh was left behind. On the rear floor behind the passenger seat, he spotted something: a crumpled business card for Paulsen's Military Supply in Antigo, Wisconsin. The front had an ink drawing of a tank and a military helicopter. The name DAVE, all in upper case, and a Chicago-area phone number were on the back, along with these words, in McVeigh's unmistakably spindly handwriting: "TNT. \$5 a stick. Need more." And, beneath the phone number: "Call after 01 May, see if I can get some more."

Dave was Dave Paulsen, the son of the owner of Paulsen Military Supply, who had been in frequent contact with McVeigh in late 1994 and early 1995. When the FBI first saw the card, they immediately suspected Paulsen of providing McVeigh with bomb-making materials. TNT could have been used as

a detonator in Oklahoma City; the feds did not yet know any different.

When the FBI tracked him down, the following evening, Paulsen acknowledged meeting McVeigh at a gun show in Kalamazoo in December 1994 and said he purchased some AR-15 assault weapon parts that McVeigh had on his display table. In exchange, McVeigh said he wanted dynamite. Paulsen told him repeatedly over the next few weeks that he could obtain some, but he had no intention of following through. They arranged a meeting to make the swap, but Paulsen was a no-show.

Paulsen was on the lookout for “interesting” gun parts and figured McVeigh was a good source. McVeigh also offered him blasting caps, at \$500 a pop, and Paulsen said at the gun show that he was interested in those, too. McVeigh subsequently called him more than thirty times, both at work and at home—more calls than Paulsen was prepared to admit to initially.

Paulsen told the FBI he never intended to purchase blasting caps from McVeigh and only told him he would to maintain their connection. The FBI became suspicious enough to put him through a long grind of interviews, and these intensified after Paulsen failed a polygraph test. Paulsen was asked if he sold explosives to McVeigh; if he had discussed blowing anything up with McVeigh; and if he had more than one face-to-face meeting with McVeigh. On all three questions, Paulsen answered no; on all three, the polygraph showed his responses were “indicative of deception.”

Paulsen remained under investigation for weeks until the FBI was satisfied he was not involved in the bombing. At one point, he broke down in tears in front of an agent, clenched his fists and exclaimed: “That son-of-a-bitch McVeigh, that cocksucker skinny son-of-a-bitch, I could kill him!”

His frustration and anger were understandable: McVeigh had dropped his business card in Trooper Hanger’s cruiser as a deliberate act of revenge, exacted because Paulsen had let McVeigh down. McVeigh acknowledged as much to Michel and Herbeck. He let Terry Nichols know, before the bombing, that he not only planned to make trouble for Paulsen but would do the same to anyone who got in his way. McVeigh even showed Nichols the business card with his incriminating scrawl on the back.

“The impression I got was Tim was telling me this as a warning to me not to betray him,” Nichols recounted. “McVeigh said that whenever someone screws him, his act of retribution in return would be multiplied by a factor of ten, at the minimum.”

THE SEARCH OF TERRY NICHOLS’S HOUSE IN HERINGTON WAS NOT exactly the FBI’s finest

moment. Early on, they decided to seek court warrants for the search and not use the consent forms signed by Nichols and Marife. The agents wanted to take the time to assemble a full evidence recovery team and make sure the place was not booby-trapped. While the Nicholse were being questioned, however, the perimeter was breached at least once.

According to the Nicholse's home phone records, a call was placed from the house to James Nichols's farm in Michigan at about 8:40 P.M. on April 21 and lasted close to twenty minutes. Terry Nichols was in the police station basement, so he could not have made that call. Marife Nichols was not allowed home that night, not even to pick up a few toiletries and a change of clothes for herself and the baby. And James Nichols could not have received the call, because he was in federal custody. One possible explanation is that an FBI agent in Herington entered and got on the line to a colleague in Decker in violation of all the safeguards. An FBI report detailing the activities of the on-scene agents stated that "no law enforcement officers had entered the Nichols residence or the detached garage," but failed to offer any alternate explanation for the phone call.

The evidence recovery team came in from Omaha the following morning, supplemented by local agents and forensics and fingerprint experts flown in from Washington—fifteen people in all. It wasn't until 4:30 P.M. that they received the all-clear to move in, by which time they could have been amply briefed on information provided by Nichols. He had drawn a map of the property showing the location of all his firearms and ammunition, and had gone through the inventory of his gun-show supplies, including the ammonium nitrate sprinkled on his lawn and the broken fuel meter. He said the duffel bag and rucksack in the garage were McVeigh's, as well as the Ruger. For some reason, none of this was passed on, making the search seem much more hazardous.

The initial search lasted close to twelve hours, and yielded some valuable evidence, including five sixty-foot lengths of Primadet shock tube with nonelectric blasting caps attached, and a pink customer receipt for forty large bags of ammonium nitrate fertilizer purchased at the Mid-Kansas Co-op on September 30, 1994, by Mike Havens, later established as a Terry Nichols alias. The receipt would be pivotal at trial, because it had McVeigh's fingerprints on it. Its discovery, though, was a little odd: it was found in a kitchen drawer, behind some dish towels, wrapped around two gold coins Marife intended to use to pay for her passage home. Why would Nichols keep such an incriminating piece of evidence? Why would he keep it *there*?

Nichols himself insisted he gave the receipt to McVeigh at the time of the purchase and never saw it again. "Why would I wrap that receipt around two one-ounce coins and put it with my other coins? It makes no sense," he wrote

years later, long after he had admitted purchasing the ammonium nitrate and using it to mix the bomb.

It might be easier to accept the good faith of the FBI recovery effort were it not for the breach in security the night before, and the lack of a fully rigorous sequence of photographs—showing the unopened drawer, the drawer with the exact placement of the contents, and the contents separated one by one. Nichols believed the FBI might have planted the receipt, but had no corroborating evidence. McVeigh might also have planted it to incriminate the Nichols brothers. He was never formally invited into the Herington house, but he could have gone there on the night of April 17, while Terry and Marife were driving Josh to the Kansas City airport.

The first search ended at about 4:00 A.M., but soon the team was sent back to retrieve a number of items they overlooked the first time. They had missed the fuel meter, which was sitting in pieces on a crate in the garage. They also had to collect Nichols's old Michigan license plate and sift through the garbage cans. In their first search of Nichols's books, they managed to pull out works on health food and cancer but missed Nichols's copy of *Hunter*, William Pierce's follow-up to *The Turner Diaries*, which features sniper killings of interracial couples and the destruction of a Mossad office by an ANFO bomb. On Sunday afternoon, more than twenty-four hours after the search began, Marife Nichols wondered why there was still no sign of the \$5,000 in cash and a bag of gold coins she knew were hidden beneath her mattress.

FBI managers and street agents who heard about the botched search could only shake their heads. When agents came back a third and fourth time for additional search warrants, a U.S. attorney dealing with the paperwork was overheard saying: "You gotta be kidding me." Back at headquarters, assistant director Bear Bryant was about to ream out the Omaha special agent in charge for sending such a lousy evidence response team when he learned that the operation was being directed by the Kansas City SAC, a protégé of his named Dave Tubbs. He went quiet again.

Two weeks later, on May 8, Marife was given permission to collect clothes and toys from her house. When the FBI agents accompanying her—not recovery specialists—reminded her of a story she had told about her husband grinding up fertilizer, they asked if they could take the food mixer into evidence. She agreed and went straight to the kitchen cupboard where it was still sitting.

The mishandling of the search affected the way some evidence was characterized in court. Of the six most incriminating items listed in the initial affidavit supporting Nichols's prosecution, only two—the Primadet and the fertilizer receipt—constituted evidence of Nichols's guilt. The fuel meter had

nothing to do with the bombing. Neither did the gas cans found in the garage or the containers of ground-up ammonium nitrate Nichols sold at gun shows. The white barrels from Nichols's garage were erroneously described as having "blue lids made from material resembling the blue plastic fragments found at the bomb scene." Actually, the barrels had no lids at all.

The government made other blunders. It *never* recovered the siphon pump, which Nichols used in the mixing of the bomb materials. And it never figured out that the duffel bag and rucksack were McVeigh's, *even though Nichols told the FBI they were*. The question of where McVeigh left his personal effects would end up consuming untold man-hours and send agents on at least one wild-goose chase into the Arizona desert. The answer was under their noses all the time.

Also undiscovered were the blasting caps and nitromethane tubes Nichols had buried beneath his crawl space. These could have had a profound impact on the investigation and trials, and perhaps led to the indictment of other coconspirators. Instead, they lay undisturbed for another ten years.

THE AGENTS AT TERRY NICHOLS'S HOUSE MADE ONE DISCOVERY THAT became a central part of the bombing investigation. It was a telephone calling card in the name of Daryl Bridges, obtained through the far-right publication *The Spotlight*. In an age before cell phones, these cards were the easiest way for people of limited means to stay mobile and still keep a single telephone account. Subscribers called an 800 number, entered a PIN number, and then used as many minutes as they had paid for.

Nichols had purchased the card, using the made-up name, when he was still living with his brother in Michigan. He maintained a ledger of payments, also found by the FBI, to keep the card solvent. There was nothing criminal about running a calling card under an assumed name, but as investigators started to dig through the card's phone records, it became clear that Nichols and McVeigh had used it to talk to each other, to talk to friends and contacts like Michael Fortier and Dave Paulsen, and to contact potential vendors of key bomb components—everything from the nitromethane to the Ryder truck.

Published accounts suggest that the Daryl Bridges investigation began when the physical card was discovered by the FBI on April 23. But forty-eight hours earlier, a Miami-based Secret Service agent named Mary Riley had already established some key links between the card and the bombing conspiracy. Riley's field notes indicate that she pulled together several pieces of the puzzle, via a maze of telephone companies, switchboard protocols, computer database

interfaces, and other technological complexities. But something went wrong—so wrong that when it was time to present the case in court, all of Riley’s work, and even her name, had disappeared from the record.

Riley was one of the savviest telecommunications and computer investigators in federal law enforcement. But, instead of working solely with the task force to obtain subpoenas for the relevant records, she established a second line of communication with Donna Bucella, one of Janet Reno’s top aides in the Justice Department. It is not entirely clear who initiated contact with whom—neither would return messages requesting an interview. They were friends from Bucella’s time as a federal prosecutor in southern and central Florida. Bucella was now deputy director of the Executive Office of U.S. Attorneys, overseeing top prosecutors around the country. According to several FBI veterans, Riley’s channeling of information to Bucella broke the chain of command, which should have gone directly through the task force leadership in Oklahoma City. There was also a secondary problem of overreaching, which according to the FBI risked jeopardizing the admissibility of the phone records—the guts of the government’s case against McVeigh and Nichols—as evidence in court.

Riley’s big break came on April 21, when she heard that someone had called Eldon Elliott’s body shop using the calling card number, 1-800-793-3377, which was traced to the Spotlight company. Spotlight, she discovered, was an MCI subscriber, and MCI’s security department told her that the Spotlight account had been sold to a company called West Coast Telephone. John Kane, the entrepreneur behind WCT, was happy to look through his company’s records and even called MCI to consult their confidential reverse directory to identify the subscriber.

That brought up the name Daryl Bridges and a Michigan address, matching the Nichols brothers’ information. Riley then asked Kane for any calls Bridges might have made on April 14, the day Robert Kling called Vicki Beemer for a Ryder truck rental. Kane discovered that two calls had gone out in quick succession, the first to Terry Nichols’s home in Herington and the second to Eldon Elliott’s. It was not immediately clear where these calls originated, or whether they were made by the same Spotlight subscriber. Kane also contacted the Boston Financial Group, which handled payments on the Spotlight cards, and gave them the PIN number associated with the Bridges calls. Boston Financial reconfirmed the subscriber as Daryl Bridges and said he had \$117 left on his account.

All this was privileged information with implications for subscriber privacy. It was perhaps understandable, given the speed of Riley’s work and the urgency of the investigation, that she did her digging first and, to judge by her own

records, worked on securing subpoenas thereafter. Not even her fiercest FBI detractors begrudged her that—they said they would have done the same, and could not imagine a judge or jury objecting, given the scale and urgency of the investigation. The executives at MCI and WCT were on stickier ground, because of their own obligations to protect their customers' privacy. But the time lag between information and legal cover was not great at this stage.

Then the information flow turned from a trickle to a flood. Already on April 21, Riley had a printout from Kane of hundreds of Daryl Bridges calls from December 1993 to April 17, 1995, two days before the bombing. These included calls to Terry Nichols's number in Herington, Lana Padilla's number in Las Vegas, and a cluster of numbers in the Philippines. Riley also learned that the all-important call to Eldon Elliott's body shop on the morning of April 14 came from a pay phone in Junction City—a discovery that would establish a significant link to McVeigh, because he had been across the street that morning, exchanging his clapped-out station wagon for the Mercury Marquis.

Riley's notes indicate that she believed her findings would move quickly into the hands of front-line investigators. She even communicated directly with some FBI agents. But the task force commanders somehow did not receive the information. Riley faxed everything to Don Stephenson, the Secret Service liaison in Oklahoma City, who should have briefed the task force leadership. While there is evidence Stephenson spoke to individual FBI agents, it's unclear if he did or did not talk to their commanders. There was definitely a monstrous communication failure. The FBI team who questioned Terry Nichols in the Herington police station would have been delighted to know about the Bridges card on the night of April 21; Riley had the information that afternoon, including evidence contradicting Nichols's assertion that he and McVeigh had had no phone contact for months before Easter Sunday.

Was the Secret Service leadership holding on to the information for itself, as some senior FBI agents have alleged? Or did something go wrong in the internal workings of the FBI? The available documentation, along with the memories of senior investigators and prosecutors, make it difficult to draw a conclusion, except that miscommunication was rampant. In one instance, Riley called a phone company in Michigan to get a subscriber name for what turned out to be James Nichols's number, only to be told that a bureau agent had already been in touch to ask the same question. (The bureau person, though, had two of the digits transposed.)

The problem with the second line of communication started on April 22, when, according to Riley's notes, Bucella asked her to send four pending subpoena requests through her. Soon, they were in regular contact by both phone

and fax.

It was not a widely advertised relationship. The task force leadership was unaware of it, and remained so until some were questioned about it for this book. Weldon Kennedy said: “If I’d have known that, I would have taken her head off. I would have thrown her off the task force in a heartbeat.” Another top FBI case manager was equally harsh on Bucella: “If she didn’t know the basics of that, then she sure should have. She was one of the DOJ’s lead prosecutors at that time.”

Two days later, on April 24, Riley and the FBI were at cross-purposes again. Someone went to a pay phone near the Fort Riley command post at 3:30 A.M. and used the Daryl Bridges card to call a second pay phone nearby. Nobody picked up. This had to have been an FBI agent testing the card, but neither Riley nor John Kane at West Coast Telephone understood that, because the FBI did not tell them. They thought they might have picked up the trail of another conspirator. And so, they spent hours addressing an issue that was, in fact, no issue at all.

Later that same day, Riley contacted the Boston Financial Group and asked for the payment records of every Spotlight calling-card holder—about five thousand people in all. According to Riley’s notes, she fired off a subpoena request to Don Stephenson in Oklahoma City, and Stephenson later told her the subpoena had been issued. But the FBI soon came to worry that this line of inquiry was too broad, and that it somehow threatened the admissibility of the phone records. And it was not just the FBI that was concerned. By the next day, a manager at the Liberty Lobby, the avowedly racist organization behind *The Spotlight*, called John Kane’s office, demanding assurances that no information on his customers would be divulged. On April 26, the FBI decided, as one agent told John Kane, to “start at the beginning” and reanalyze the phone records as though Mary Riley never existed.

Nobody at the FBI has ever given a satisfactory explanation of what Riley did to incite the bureau’s wrath. Weldon Kennedy suggested she made mistakes in the actual technical analysis of the phone records. But Riley’s field notes address the points Kennedy raised. Kennedy’s successor as head of the task force, Danny Defenbaugh, said more explicitly he could not talk about the subject in any detail. When asked if Riley or the Secret Service had somehow overreached in the number of records they requested, Defenbaugh replied: “That’s a great theory.” He also confirmed that once the FBI took control, they no longer pursued the financial records of the Spotlight card holders.

There has been no explanation, either, of why the FBI placed so much blame solely on Riley. Didn’t she have bosses? Didn’t someone sanction what she was up to? What about Don Stephenson, who received her field notes on a regular

basis? Was the FBI entirely blameless, given the contact its own agents had with Riley?

Riley was fired from the task force within days of her trip to Oklahoma City and ended up under internal investigation by the Secret Service—an inquiry that was not made public but resulted in Riley being cleared, leaving government service, and moving into a high-level, high-paying job with Bank of America.

Donna Bucella's career was left entirely unblemished. She was soon promoted to head of the Executive Office of U.S. Attorneys and has since occupied high-level government jobs in the FBI and customs and border patrol, interspersed with stints in private practice. Interestingly, she also worked at Bank of America for a while.

Not everyone blamed Riley. John Kane, who worked equally closely with the FBI when they took over the records search, saw her as the victim of a crude power play: the FBI was jealous of her work, and wanted to take credit for it. "She was as committed to finding the answers in this case as anybody could be," he said. "Her attitude was, I don't care what badge I'm carrying in my pocket.... Anything that could be done to get after these guys sooner, faster, better, she was all over it."

When a couple of FBI agents visited Kane's California offices and said they were there to investigate Riley, Kane wasn't pleased. "I rolled my head and my eyes and said, fine, whatever.... They probably spent an hour and a half asking questions that didn't seem like anything I could relate to the case," he said. "She lost, and they won."

Riley's field notes were never handed over to the defense teams ahead of McVeigh's and Nichols's federal trials—a potential violation of the rules of evidence. The task force leadership insisted it, too, never saw the notes. "This is the first time I've seen this," one senior FBI manager said when shown them. "If Judge Matsch sees this, I don't even want to be in the same country as the guy. He will blow up, he will be seething, he will go try to find heads, and I don't want him to go find mine."

A more nuanced view was offered by a member of the federal prosecution team, who did not think the notes would cause much of a stir more than a decade after the trials, because they were not exculpatory to either McVeigh or Nichols. The prosecutor agreed that the primary problem was a turf war between the Secret Service and the FBI, in which nobody was blameless.

"The Secret Service was dying to do everything they could to hold on to that piece," he said, "and they got shut out. There was a fundamental quandary whether they had the experience to do the job. But I never doubted Mary Riley."

THE FBI WENT OVER EVERY INCH OF JAMES NICHOLS'S FARM, BUT they did not find a whole lot. For Nichols, having the feds crawling over his private property was the nightmare his radical politics had taught him to fear the most. He railed that he was never shown a search warrant and he might have been right about that—the warrant was signed by a judge at 6:54 P.M., more than four hours after the raid began.

“You people have no right to be in here,” Nichols remembered shouting. “I demand to see a Fourth Amendment warrant. I demand to talk with Janet Reno.” An ATF agent supposedly responded: “Oh shut up. We have more rights in here than you do.”

Still, Nichols answered all the feds' questions. He was not shy about his friendship with McVeigh or their shared interest in explosives. But he was quicker than his brother in understanding the seriousness of his situation, and his show of candor was almost certainly calculated to minimize the trouble he faced. Nichols told the FBI that, in 1992, he, his brother, and McVeigh made bottle bombs out of brake fluid, gasoline, and diesel fuel and detonated them on the farm, just for kicks. He also constructed small bombs using prescription vials, Pyrodex, blasting caps, and safety fuse. But he had never bought ammonium nitrate and did not know if his brother or McVeigh had purchased any. He said Terry owned a bunch of bomb-making books. And he was “confident” McVeigh had the knowledge to manufacture one from ammonium nitrate.

Like his brother, James Nichols made insinuations about McVeigh's involvement in the bombing, without offering evidence that might smack of collusion or out-and-out betrayal. He was also careful to proclaim Terry's innocence. Since he claimed never to have visited Terry in Herington—apparently true—he could make a plausible case that he knew nothing about any interactions between his brother and McVeigh in the final days before the bombing.

The feds found no ammonium nitrate on the farm; the best they came up with were twenty-eight fifty-pound bags of fertilizer “*containing* ammonium nitrate,” which was far from the same thing. They found several large tanks of diesel fuel, some nonelectric blasting caps, Pyrodex black powder, and safety fuse. None of this was evidence of collusion in the bomb plot. These were commonplace farm items; such explosives are often used to blow out tree stumps or remove boulders.

At Joe Martinolich's direction, agents divided the farm up into a grid, and went over all of it with metal detectors. But Martinolich ultimately concluded

the feds had no grounds to arrest James Nichols. This was not what Louis Freeh wanted to hear, and he said so. He wanted James Nichols charged with conspiracy. Martinolich responded, as calmly as he could, that he didn't have probable cause to seek an arrest warrant.

Freeh flew into a fury and said: "If you don't do it, I'll find someone who will."

"We don't have the evidence," Martinolich told him.

"We'll sort it out later," Freeh insisted.

Martinolich shared his director's gut feeling that Nichols was somehow involved in the bombing, but he questioned the ethics and the tactical wisdom of arresting him on charges that could not be backed up by real evidence. Freeh worried that Nichols might somehow disappear if he was not taken into federal custody. Martinolich was offended that Freeh questioned his ability to keep Nichols under surveillance; he understood the pressure Freeh was under to solve the case, but he also had his professional pride. The next day, he called headquarters and offered his resignation.

The last thing the FBI needed at this moment was a high-level defection pointing the finger at Freeh's leadership skills. Bear Bryant called Martinolich at once, apologizing profusely for the way he had been treated and promising that his concerns would be addressed. The bureau then appealed to the Justice Department, which fashioned a compromise. Nichols would be arrested, but instead of bombing charges, he would be accused of conspiring to possess unregistered firearms and explosives. It was not much of a charge—who makes a bottle bomb and registers it?—and it was thrown out as soon as it was heard by a judge. Still, it provided a temporary way for all parties to save face.

The episode killed Martinolich's desire to pursue his long and illustrious FBI career. He did not leave the bureau right away; it took another botched FBI job, the investigation of the 1996 Olympic Games bombing in Atlanta, to convince him to do that. Still, the pattern was set. For the second time in a few days, Freeh had ridden roughshod over one of his most experienced managers, exactly the sort of person he should have turned to, not against, during a major investigation.

THE HIGH-PROFILE ARRESTS OF McVEIGH AND THE NICHOLS BROTHERS were hailed at the time as great breakthroughs, but they came at a price, because they closed down avenues that could have led to other potential coconspirators. Nobody was a better candidate for more subtle treatment than James Nichols: the feds could have put him under surveillance, given themselves time to analyze his phone records, and waited to see who visited or called over the next several days.

Someone important might still seek refuge in Decker, or receive a phone call from Nichols to discuss another planned attack.

That was certainly on the minds of task force leaders in Oklahoma City. “At the beginning, we were not even sure McVeigh was the one responsible,” Bob Ricks recalled. “Was he part of some larger conspiracy?...Was he just a driver? A lot of times police arrest a driver, and the bad guys disappear.”

The investigation was further hampered by its inability to prevent media leaks. If the Nichols brothers’ names had not been all over the radio and television in the late morning of April 21, *both* brothers could have been put under surveillance. Lana Padilla, or Josh, could have made a monitored call to Terry to see what he might volunteer—not as a suspect in custody but as a free man. Mary Riley and the executives at West Coast Telephone could have kept monitoring the Daryl Bridges card.

The task force leadership did not understand at first why crucial leads were seeping into the public arena. Then Weldon Kennedy learned that ATF headquarters was routinely forwarding the Oklahoma City briefings to its entire staff, and so creating hundreds of potential news media sources around the country. “I blew up,” Kennedy said. “I went completely nutso.”

He plugged the leak as quickly as he could, but others soon developed in its place. For example, a reporter for the *Dallas Morning News* in Oklahoma City was having an affair with an ATF agent she knew from Texas and was pumping him for everything he knew. Several front-page scoops later, the agent was sent back to Dallas.

For these reasons, the early arrests were never more than a qualified success. Members of the Decker raid team became convinced that James Nichols had known they were coming and removed incriminating evidence—something Nichols himself has always denied. One odd thing Nichols insisted on was that his incarceration was somehow designed to prevent him from retrieving crucial evidence from the scene in Oklahoma City, which he said could have exonerated him, and his brother, and McVeigh, and pointed to the “real” perpetrators.

What was it that James Nichols was so anxious to do in Oklahoma City? Why, too, did he seem determined to make contact with Terry and McVeigh? Over and over, Nichols expressed a wish to talk to one or both of them face-to-face, a move he seemed to think would help clear all their names but which, to law enforcement, suggested he wanted the three of them to get their stories straight.

Such face-to-face meetings might have been very useful to the investigation, of course, if the participants could somehow have been lulled into thinking they were not being monitored or recorded. Once the feds launched their raid,

however, this was no longer an option.

WAR FEVER

Tim McVeigh woke up on February 24, 1991, to the greatest test of his young life, the launch of the ground war to expel Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The battle plan envisaged up to 70 percent casualties, effectively turning McVeigh's company and others like it into sacrificial lambs for the next wave of tanks and ground troops. They expected to encounter mines, barbed wire, artillery and antitank fire, and maybe nerve gas. "Take your worst nightmare, then quadruple it, then quadruple it again," a Vietnam veteran who led the platoon next to McVeigh's said, "and you still won't get to where you'll be this time tomorrow."

At 3:00 P.M., a line of M1 Abrams tanks, equipped with giant blades, began plowing up the desert sand. McVeigh's job, as a gunner atop his own infantry tank, a Bradley Fighting Vehicle, was to take out enemy positions before they could fire on him. "No one knows," he later told the journalist Jonathan Franklin, "what the feeling is like to know that any second you could be hit by a bullet or shell from indirect fire or from a tank."

Once the fighting began, the Iraqi frontline units—tired, hungry, lice-infested conscripts—wanted nothing more than to surrender. Many did not get the chance. Those who crawled out of the sand churned on top of them by the M1 tanks immediately faced Bradley gunners like McVeigh. The battlefield was a slaughterhouse. Trench by trench, the Iraqis were given sixty seconds to surrender, and those who hesitated, or did not hear the warning, were buried alive or blown to smithereens. Thousands of Iraqis were pulverized, dismembered, or burned. Many were plowed into shallow desert graves.

This went on for four straight days. When McVeigh wasn't manning his gun, he took hundreds of photographs of corpses and mangled Iraqi equipment. James Rockwell, the unit's supply sergeant, was given several as keepsakes. "One of them," Rockwell said, "was of an Iraqi soldier sitting in a deuce-and-a-half truck that had been bombed. The guy was literally burned like a piece of toast, but his hands were still on the steering wheel."

McVeigh and his comrades were high on killing. "If it's in front of us, it dies" was one infantry company's slogan. McVeigh nicknamed his Bradley "Bad Company," after the rock song he liked to blast through the vehicle. The crew sang along to the lines about killing "in cold blood," and fighting, gun in hand,

“‘til the day I die.” On the second day, McVeigh wowed everyone with his gunnery skills, using just a single round to hit two Iraqi soldiers dug in at a machine-gun emplacement a thousand yards away. He hit the first man in the chest, obliterating his upper body and leaving a red vapor trail where his head used to be. The episode became legendary across the 16th Infantry, earning McVeigh an Army Commendation Medal. That was one of five awards he won by the end of Operation Desert Storm, including the Bronze Star. He was described as an inspiration to his fellow platoon members and a credit to the army—the most lavish praise he had received over his brief and troubled life. And it stemmed from his skills as a killer of devastating efficiency.

EVEN BATTLE-HARDENED VETERANS OF VIETNAM AND OTHER WARS thought the rout of the Iraqi forces was particularly grim, a spilling of largely innocent life that prompted lawyers and human rights activists to accuse the United States of war crimes. The dead were not counted or identified, much less “honorably interred” as the Geneva Conventions prescribed. And there were multiple reports of Iraqis being killed after they had dropped their weapons and put their hands up.

According to at least three of his fellow soldiers, McVeigh breached a number of the rules of war himself. After the Oklahoma City bombing, Larry Frame, Richard Cerney, and Todd Regier disclosed that McVeigh had shot surrendering soldiers, including four who had already been taken prisoner. Frame told the FBI he was in the Bradley Fighting Vehicle directly behind McVeigh’s and saw him kill “several” Iraqi soldiers as they climbed out of a trench. Cerney called McVeigh a “cold-blooded bastard” who thought life was very cheap. When the FBI brought these allegations to McVeigh’s old company commander, Scott Rutter, he worried he was being investigated for war crimes himself and refused to answer their questions.

It is impossible to know how these experiences altered McVeigh’s psyche or otherwise hardened him for the slaughter he would perpetrate four years later. But his exposure to combat certainly changed his outlook and behavior. Before, he always strived to be the ideal soldier. He did not allow himself to succumb to boredom or get demoralized by the long months of waiting in the Arabian desert, as many of his fellow soldiers did. He took the conditions as a challenge and somehow kept his 25-mm cannon as well-greased as it would have been back at Fort Riley. Scott Rutter felt in retrospect he was almost *too* good. His compulsion to perform at the highest levels was in some ways a facade, a show of bravado covering something darker beneath.

After his return home, McVeigh lost focus. In the spring of 1991, he flew to

Fort Bragg in North Carolina to try out for Special Forces, but had to withdraw on the second day because his feet were too badly blistered to complete a five-mile march. This should have been only a temporary setback; everyone understood he was out of condition after his stint in the Gulf, and he was invited to come back for another shot. But McVeigh took this as a signal to get out of the army.

McVeigh had been thinking about his time in the Middle East and now recoiled at his own gung-ho enthusiasm amid the slaughter. He became convinced that the government had manipulated him into fighting an army of hapless conscripts who were not really enemies at all. “We were falsely hyped up [to kill Iraqis], and they are normal like you and me,” he told Jonathan Franklin.

McVeigh’s epiphany about American power was not a condemnation of neo-imperialism or of a lust for oil. He felt the military’s role was strictly to defend America’s domestic borders, and that the United States had been hoodwinked into a United Nations policing operation. These thoughts fed into his long-held belief that the United States’ true enemy was an international cabal of money-grubbing liberals, multiculturalists, and Jews intent on stripping citizens of their basic rights, starting with the right to bear arms. This view had been ingrained in him over and over in *The Turner Diaries*, a book he discovered during his earliest days in uniform.

Politics was the means by which McVeigh forged a new identity for himself after the security of his old world—the army, and his place in it—fell apart. Most likely, his fixation on government manipulation masked a severe bout of post-combat depression, as the psychiatrists who examined him after the bombing would later postulate. James Rockwell, the Charlie Company supply sergeant, remembered McVeigh coming into his storeroom at Fort Riley and talking about having a computer chip in his backside. It was not clear if he meant this metaphorically or literally. McVeigh said he was leaving the army, because the military had done things to him he didn’t like.

“Like what?” Rockwell asked.

“I think they’ve brainwashed me or injected me with something,” McVeigh said.

Rockwell was astonished. He probably knew the men as well as anyone; he encouraged McVeigh to sit and talk whenever he came in for tank supplies or tools. McVeigh visited regularly and opened up in ways he rarely did to others. He talked about his parents’ divorce when he was sixteen years old, and the bitter fights, about his mother moving to the next town with his two sisters and leaving him with his dad. Still, Rockwell saw McVeigh as the ultimate “squared

away” soldier, a man so in control it was hard to imagine him encountering anything he couldn’t deal with. The government conspiracy talk made no sense.

“Tim, you don’t really believe that, do you?” he asked.

McVeigh replied: “Yes, I do.”

Rockwell asked why he would throw away his promising military career and the recognition he had earned. McVeigh delivered a line Rockwell later recalled with a shiver. “There’s things I got to do, Sergeant Rock,” he said, “and I cannot do it from within here.”

AFTER TRYING AND FAILING FOR THREE DAYS TO CONVINCING Jennifer McVeigh to talk, the FBI put her on a plane back to Buffalo and got her father to urge her to cooperate. When she said no, she was taken to the FBI office and put on the phone to her mother. Still she would not answer questions about the bombing. “I didn’t know what was going on,” she said, over and over. She was clearly frightened.

The FBI had been through her room at her father’s house and found some incendiary documents on her computer. They were written by her brother, but the feds made it clear that if she didn’t speak up she would have to answer for the contents herself. The first document was a letter to the American Legion and characterized the ATF, FBI, DEA, and U.S. Marshals Service as “a bunch of fascist tyrants” and “power-hungry stormtroopers of the federal government.” The second document was an unsigned one-paragraph rant about the ATF. “All you tyrannical motherfuckers will swing in the wind one day,” it read, “for your treasonous actions against the Constitution and the United States. Remember the Nuremberg War Trials. But...but...but...I was only following orders!.....Die you spineless, cowardice bastards!”

Jennifer’s interviewers let her sleep on that, then upped the pressure the next morning by displaying poster-size photographs of her and Tim, along with a timeline of their movements leading up to the bombing and a list of charges they said they were considering. The agents even opened a book of federal statutes and showed her some choice paragraphs. “Whoever commits an offense against the United States or aids, abets, counsels, commands, induces or procures its commission, is punishable as a principal,” one of them read. Next to the printed words, an agent had scrawled: “I.e., death.” The next page had a section on treason, this time with a handwritten addendum that said: “Penalty equals death.”

Jennifer began talking and didn’t stop for the next eight days. She didn’t know the FBI’s threat to bring capital charges against her was strictly a scare tactic, or that treason can be prosecuted only in wartime. She talked until her

head was spinning and she was crying so hard she was all but gasping for breath.

For the first several days, she was determined not to rat out her brother, but the FBI kept applying more pressure. “They told me he was guilty,” she later testified, “and that he was going to fry.” She understood that if she did not want to be prosecuted herself, she needed to tell them everything she knew. It took her a full week to do that; she reached her breaking point only after the agents forced her to look at graphic, full-color photographs of mangled babies’ bodies from the Murrah Building.

“It was controversial at the time to show her pictures of dead children,” Weldon Kennedy, who gave the authorization, acknowledged—so controversial that it was omitted from the official record.

But the move paid off, and Jennifer was ultimately smart enough not to throw her own life away after her brother’s. “I think that was the reason, the tipping point, that made her decide she would cooperate,” Kennedy added. “There’s no question a lot of pressure was put on her.”

LIKE McVEIGH, NICHOLS WAS ROCKED BY HIS PARENTS’ DIVORCE. As a child, he sat so quietly in class his teachers wondered if he had hearing difficulties. Long after his arrest, it was determined that he had Asperger syndrome. Still, he was smart and resourceful, and dreamed of a career in medicine. But when his mother was given the Decker farm in her divorce settlement, she ordered him to leave college and help her run it. He complied without a murmur. The farm crisis of the early 1980s was setting in, compounded by floods that turned the Michigan fields to mud. Right away, the bounties of Terry’s childhood gave way to poverty and constant struggle. He hardly talked to his father anymore, and his older brother Les was an abiding worry after a horrific accident at a grain elevator, which left him with burns over 95 percent of his body. Joyce, a matriarchal figure with a propensity to drink, rammed her car into her ex-husband’s tractor, and was once found by a sheriff’s deputy throwing beer cans into a cornfield. When he challenged her, she turned on him with a chain saw. Mercifully, she was too drunk to start it up and threw it at him instead.

Nichols dabbled in property investment with the help of his real estate agent, then known as Lana Osentowski. She was twice divorced, with two children, and she encouraged Nichols to follow her into a sideline selling insurance. They married in 1981, and Josh was born a year later. By 1988, the marriage was in trouble, and Lana suggested that Terry enlist in the army. She filed for divorce shortly after he left for basic training, by which time she was living fifty miles away in Bay City and checking in on her three children, whom she left with

various relatives, just once or twice a week. Nichols requested a discharge so he could return home and take care of Josh.

James Nichols was no luckier in his marriage to Lana's younger sister, Kelli. Their 1987 divorce was so contentious that Kelli accused her husband of molesting their son. Nichols eventually managed to rebut the charge, but he could not forgive his ex-wife, or the courts; it was a turning point in his hostility toward the government.

By the end of the 1980s, James and Terry were back on the farm. Terry wanted to get married again, so he flew to the Philippines and selected a seventeen-year-old mail-order bride in Marife Torres, the daughter of a provincial police chief. Months went by while they processed the paperwork enabling Marife to come to the United States. And when Nichols flew back to the Philippines in June 1991 to pick her up, he discovered she was five months pregnant by another man—"complicating matters some," as he later put it.

Just about the only thing Nichols did not regret was his bond with Josh. Father and son were so close that Lana could not believe Nichols would ever jeopardize the relationship by involving himself in a major criminal conspiracy. Years later, as Josh struggled with drug and alcohol addictions and shuttled in and out of the Nevada criminal justice system, Padilla could not contain her anger at Nichols for abdicating his parental responsibilities. "I truly believe [Josh] is in prison because he depended on a father who abandoned him," she said. "Not to mention a mother who abandoned him, too. But I didn't blow up a building. People get divorced every day, but their ex does not blow up a building."

EARLY IN THE INVESTIGATION, THE FBI THOUGHT McVEIGH AND NICHOLS might be gay lovers, or at least that they had a strong homoerotic bond. Padilla said McVeigh was certainly controlling and possessive of Nichols, almost to the point of jealousy. But that, Padilla said, was as far as it went: "McVeigh never approached Terry, you know...in that way. He was always high on methamphetamines."

When they met, Nichols was thirty-three, at least ten years older than most of the recruits in basic training. They saw him as a natural leader, none more so than McVeigh, a skinny twenty-year-old unsure of his physical abilities. McVeigh began working out obsessively to build up his muscle strength, and would clean and re-clean every item of his equipment while others went out drinking and partying. He and Nichols stayed on their commanders' good side, but ran in a wild crowd including a kid from Boston who once lobbed a CS gas canister into a topless bar; Mike Fortier, who was into drugs; and another

troublemaker who accompanied them on secret outings to detonate black-powder bombs.

McVeigh and Nichols also delved into white supremacist literature. McVeigh read *The Turner Diaries* first, then passed it on to Nichols, Fortier, and anyone else in the unit he thought might be receptive. They were radicalized by the book's revolutionary spirit more than its breathtaking racism. Still, McVeigh and Nichols had grown up in places where there was a casual disdain for blacks, Jews, and foreigners, and they were uncomfortable around many of the African-Americans in their unit. They weren't beyond cracking jokes about "niggers" and "porch monkeys," as McVeigh freely acknowledged in his prison interviews. Before he was out of uniform, McVeigh also signed up with the Ku Klux Klan.

SENIOR CASE MANAGERS BEGAN TO SUSPECT SOMETHING WAS WRONG with the sketch of John Doe Two. They issued two versions, one bare-headed and one with the zigzag-patterned cap described by Tom Kessinger, but the leads these generated were a waste of time. By April 26, a week after the bombing, the task force brought in Jeanne Boylan, a different sort of sketch artist, whose technique did not involve showing witnesses stock facial features but rather used an idiosyncratic method of interviewing subjects to draw out their memories strand by strand. Time and again Boylan had corrected the work of conventional artists and helped crack cases. Now Danny Coulson was instructing her tersely: "Find out what's wrong with these damn drawings."

Within hours, Boylan was face-to-face with Kessinger at Eldon Elliott's shop and picking up a welter of new details. Kessinger had seen John Doe Two only from the side, not head-on as the original sketch portrayed him, and many of the facial details were wrong. Kessinger saw him only briefly, as he stood with his arms crossed in front of a poster, but noticed his muscular frame and the beginnings of a tattoo poking out from beneath his left T-shirt sleeve. Boylan started working up a brand-new sketch.

Kessinger also wanted to talk about John Doe One and offered a fascinating new detail. Robert Kling was a tobacco-chewer, and did something that made Kessinger stare and stare. "When a guy chews," he told Boylan, "he tucks the chaw over to one side or the other so he can talk, know what I mean? But he doesn't divide it in two. This guy standing at the counter had a long, thin face, blue eyes, this sorta flat-top hair like an army guy, and two puffs, two plugs of chew, one tucked over on each side of his bottom lip. Funniest damn thing I ever seen."

The FBI was working on the basis that McVeigh and Kling were the same

person, but McVeigh was not a tobacco-chewer. With the other inconsistencies raised by Kessinger and his fellow employees—that Kling was five foot ten (three inches shorter than McVeigh), had a line or deformity across his chin, and rough skin (McVeigh’s was smooth)—the government’s case was starting to look shaky.

When Boylan told one of the top FBI supervisors what Kessinger had said, he had her escorted to a hotel room in Junction City and told her to stay put until further notice. Two agents subsequently grilled her about her interview with Kessinger. She felt she was being interrogated and told them to lighten up.

Come on, she said, we’re all on the same side. They paid no attention.

An hour later, one of the agents returned to her room. “Ms. Boylan?” he said, looking straight at her. “The information you produced this afternoon does not exist.”

Boylan was stunned. “Wh-what information?” she stammered.

“Very good,” the agent replied. He nodded once, turned around, and left.

IN THE WINTER OF 1991–92, TERRY AND JAMES NICHOLS BEGAN FOLLOWING Ralph Daigle, a local extremist preacher, who persuaded Terry to max out his credit cards on the quaint theory that the banks were not backing up their money with silver or gold, and so were defrauding the American people every time they made a loan. Daigle—who was later prosecuted and convicted of tax evasion—was a common-law advocate who argued that the government and the banks were an offense to the Constitution. Daigle derived many of his ideas from a notorious racist preacher James Wickstrom, who once argued that “Jew money barons” created the farm crisis of the 1980s and were “financially and morally rap[ing] the white Christian-American people.” Credit card bills, Daigle preached, merely needed to be returned with the phrase “dishonored with due cause,” and the banks would have no option but to cancel the debt.

The Nichols brothers certainly liked the idea of fleecing the banks, especially now Terry was married and starting a new family, and signed up to the ideology that went with it. Terry ran up credit card bills of more than \$26,000 with Chase Manhattan and the First Deposit National Bank of Pleasanton, California, and then tried to challenge his creditors in court, acting as his own counsel.

It did not go well. Nichols argued that the court had no jurisdiction and the banks should pay him damages of \$50,000, or 14,200 ounces of silver, for “fraud and misrepresentation.” He also attempted to invalidate his own signature as a way of nullifying the pledge he made on his credit card applications to honor his

debts. He was a no-show when the First Deposit National case came up for trial. And in the Chase Manhattan hearing, he refused to recognize the Chase lawyer and said he wanted the bank's whole board of directors to come and face him instead. He refused to approach the microphone recording the proceedings, saying he didn't want to acknowledge the court by walking all the way into the room. The judge threatened to throw him in jail for contempt.

By June 1993, even Nichols realized his quixotic adventures in court were futile. His only choices were to conjure up more than \$30,000 in debt and accumulated interest, or drop out of the system. He chose the latter. "I was pissed at Ralph [Daigle], the banks, and myself, and I decided not to pay the judgment," he said. "I went on a cash basis with everything.... And I decided not to put my name on anything that would be on a database to where the banks could track me down." And so Nichols sabotaged any remaining chance of a normal life.

McVEIGH WAS ALSO COMING UNSTUCK FROM MAINSTREAM SOCIETY. Quitting the military left him with few enviable options. It was not a good time to be a white working-class man. The Buffalo area was depressed, and the only work he found was as a minimum-wage security guard. On the side, he joined the National Guard reserves and found a part-time job at a gun store.

For more than a year, McVeigh wavered between depression and anger. He read comic books and spent money he did not have betting on the Buffalo Bills. With thoughts of suicide in his head, he called a Veterans Administration hospital in Florida and asked about mental health counseling. But he let the idea go when he was told he had to give them his name. He dropped his memberships to the Ku Klux Klan and the National Rifle Association because he could not afford them. But he was still absorbed by politics and read radical right-wing periodicals and books voraciously.

In early 1992, he wrote a revealing letter to the local paper, expressing his belief that stable employment and anti-Communism seemed to be giving way to social incoherence and political corruption. "America is in serious decline," he wrote. "We have no proverbial tea to dump. Should we instead sink a ship full of Japanese imports? Is a civil war imminent? Do we have to shed blood to reform the current system? I hope it doesn't come to that, but it might."

This is when McVeigh started spending weekends at gun shows. He was interested in firearms and thought he could generate a little extra income by selling blast simulators, smoke grenades, and copies of *The Turner Diaries*. Principally, though, the shows offered McVeigh a new social network, one where

taboo ideas like white supremacy, nostalgia for the confederate South, and radical antigovernment action could be discussed openly. William Pierce, the author of *The Turner Diaries*, described the gun shows as a “natural recruiting environment” for his brand of race warriors; the number of shows, and of firearms changing hands outside the context of licensed gun dealerships, increased so rapidly in this period that both the government and the gun-control lobby lost count.

The militancy of the shows escalated decisively after the Ruby Ridge incident of August 1992. What began as a misguided attempt to dismantle the Aryan Nations turned to needless tragedy, as the man the ATF tried to recruit as an informant, Randy Weaver, refused to play along and slowly grew in agents’ minds into a Rambo-style menace.

Weaver reacted angrily when an undercover ATF agent sold him an illegal weapon and tried to trap him into ratting out his friends in the white supremacist movement. He became angrier still when the government pressed charges, retreating up his mountain and refusing to come down no matter how many times he was summoned to court. Weaver’s wife, Vicki, then raised the stakes by writing a letter to the local U.S. attorney, whom she described as “the servant of the Queen of Babylon,” and declaring that a war was imminent.

Eventually, a small army of federal agents surrounded the Weavers’ cabin to bring matters to a head. Shooting began when the Weavers’ Labrador heard the surveillance team and started barking. Minutes later, the dog, fourteen-year-old Sammy Weaver, and a U.S. marshal were all dead. The next day, an FBI sharpshooter, operating under hugely controversial rules of engagement authorizing him to shoot to kill on sight, hit Vicki Weaver in the face while she was cradling her fourteen-month-old baby. She died instantly. Randy Weaver and a family friend were wounded, and it seemed they were all destined to die before the siege was over. The feds, though, revoked the rules of engagement they had imposed, and open hostility gave way to more psychological forms of confrontation.

After nine days of negotiation, the surviving members of the Weaver household gave up peacefully and were later absolved of murder and multiple other charges. The government walked away shamed and humiliated.

The mainstream media hardly covered Ruby Ridge, but its impact on the populist right was profound. On the radical fringe, it inspired a widely publicized meeting of the country’s top neo-Nazis and antigovernment agitators, who vowed to resist a federal government “gone mad”—Louis Beam’s words—with bloodlust for its own citizens. “Over the next ten years you will come to hate government more than anything else in your life,” Beam told his fellow Patriots

in Estes Park, Colorado. “If you think that this generation of men will maintain its present freedoms without also having to fertilize the tree of liberty with the blood of both patriot and tyrant, then you are mistaken.”

McVeigh was as transformed by the moment as anyone. The “tree of liberty” line would, of course, end up on the T-shirt he wore when he was arrested. He was also deeply influenced by an essay Beam had republished earlier that year, which advocated a revolutionary strategy of “leaderless resistance.” If the soldiers of the radical right worked autonomously or in small cells instead of taking orders from a centralized command, Beam argued, law enforcement agencies and their informants were less likely to find out about their plots in advance and could never catch up with the entire movement. “Let the coming night,” he declared, “be filled with a thousand points of resistance.”

McVeigh was determined to be one of those resistance points and started cutting many old ties. He had already quit the National Guard. In September 1992, he sold a rural plot of land near Buffalo he had bought in his more narrowly survivalist pre-army days and used the \$9,000 proceeds to travel more extensively, including his first trip to the Nichols farm in Decker. He also built a file of newspaper and magazine clippings pointing to egregious abuses of government power—a list of grievances that would feed his growing rage for the next two and a half years. Usually the episodes involved federal agents acting on faulty information, who burst into the homes of innocent citizens: a computer executive from San Diego shot three times by customs and DEA, or a Washington housewife slapped in handcuffs while the feds tore the place apart, leaving her twenty-one-month-old daughter alone in a bathtub.

In early February 1993, McVeigh piled some possessions into his trusty 1987 Chevy Geo Spectrum and left New York for good. He later told Michel and Herbeck that the spur for leaving was losing a thousand-dollar bet he made on the Buffalo Bills in that year’s Super Bowl. But McVeigh had quit his security guard job on January 26, five days before the game, and had been selling off anything he could not comfortably fit in his car.

A more likely motivation was an invitation to go into business with a rich gun dealer in his late fifties, whom he had met at a recent show in Fort Lauderdale. The dealer was known to McVeigh as Bob Miller, but his real name was Roger Moore. He would play a pivotal role in the events leading to April 19, 1995.

THE FBI AGENTS QUESTIONING JENNIFER McVEIGH WERE INTRIGUED by a December 24, 1993, letter from her brother that suggested he was funding his revolutionary enterprise

through bank robberies. The letter denounced the banking system as the financial arm of a corrupt and evil government, echoing the “common law” language Ralph Daigle had used with Terry Nichols. And it cast robbers, credit fraudsters, and illegal arms traffickers as romantic heroes fleecing the rich to champion the poor. McVeigh said he and his unnamed friends were justifiably breaking the law to fight against a “higher evil.” He continued: “We are at war with the system, make no mistake about it.... We have to fund our war efforts with, sometimes, ‘covert’ means.”

Jennifer could not, or would not, say what those covert means were. McVeigh referred to a “friend who knocks over banks,” and a credit scam of some sort. “In the past,” McVeigh wrote, “you would see the news and see a bank robber, and judge him a ‘criminal.’ But, without getting too lengthy, the Federal Reserve and the banks are the real criminals, ‘cash’ as we know it is counterfeit, and a dollar is just worthless paper, so where is the crime in getting even...? I guess if I reflect, it’s sort of a Robin Hood thing, and our gov’t is the evil king.”

On the third day of Jennifer’s questioning, one of the agents asked the FBI crime lab in Washington to check McVeigh’s and the Nichols brothers’ fingerprints against evidence left behind at a string of unsolved bank heists across the Midwest. This was the beginning of an attempt to tie McVeigh to the Aryan Republican Army. It was never discussed in court, but it would consume untold man-hours over the next several months.

CHRISTOPHER BUDKE, AN FBI AGENT FROM KANSAS CITY, WAS IN line at the Fort Riley Burger King when a man in uniform approached and asked: “How long are you all going to be here?”

Budke was startled and initially brushed him off. But the man approached again and introduced himself as Sergeant Rick Wahl. He explained how he had gone fishing at Geary Lake with his son the day before the bombing and had seen a Ryder truck with a second vehicle. Wahl knew right after the disaster that his information could be important, and he put in a call to the FBI’s tip line. A dispatcher said someone would get back to him, but nobody had in days.

Budke scrawled a few notes in pencil and promised to follow up. Wahl would soon prove invaluable, telling the FBI where and when the bomb was built and leading them to the exact site. A more alert FBI could have started working on all that on April 19 or 20. As it was, only a chance encounter almost a week later prevented them from missing it altogether.

TIM McVEIGH WAS WEARING HIS FULL GULF WAR BATTLE DRESS and carefully polished black boots when he encountered Roger Moore for the first time. Moore had never seen combat duty, but he was fascinated by anyone who had. So he and McVeigh started talking about McVeigh's service in Desert Storm and his political ideas. They became fast friends.

Ostensibly, Moore should have been enjoying his retirement but he was also driven by an abiding anger against the government, if not the world. He had made a fortune in the boat-building business in the 1970s, and now divided his time between Arkansas and southern Florida. He had a wife, who generally stayed in Florida, and a girlfriend he kept openly in Arkansas. He ran an ammunition supply business with his girlfriend, because it gave him an excuse to travel to gun shows and meet fellow right-wing radicals. Officially, the company was called the American Assault Company, but more commonly it went by the nickname, The Candy Store.

After the bombing, Floyd Hays, an FBI agent in Arkansas, spent many hours with Moore and described him as "infatuated" with McVeigh. That Desert Storm uniform clearly spoke volumes, because everything else about McVeigh was down-at-the-heels that January weekend at the National Guard Armory in Fort Lauderdale. He barely had money for gas, slept in his car, and was never sure where to find his next meal. Moore's wife, Carol, took pity on him and fetched some sandwiches. Later, Moore invited him to split the costs of a table at an upcoming gun show in Miami's Coconut Grove. McVeigh was thrilled. A few weeks later, Moore called McVeigh at his sister's house near Miami to confirm the invitation. They worked the show together, then planned to meet again for another show in April.

At the end of February, McVeigh's antigovernment fire was further fueled by the botched ATF raid on the Branch Davidian compound outside Waco. The ATF believed the community had built an armory of automatic weapons, grenades, assault weapons, and 50-caliber Barrett rifles and launched a full-scale assault on the property. The Davidians, though, were forewarned, and soon four ATF agents and six Davidians lay dead, with two dozen others injured. The FBI moved in, for what would turn into a fifty-one-day siege. Unlike Ruby Ridge, this grim spectacle was prime-time news on every station, confirming to citizen militias and the Patriot Movement every suspicion they had harbored about the government's propensity for waging war against its own citizens. The FBI borrowed hardware from the military, including a line of Bradley Fighting Vehicles, which were particularly shocking to McVeigh, because he knew firsthand how much damage they could do.

McVeigh drove to Waco in the middle of March. He could not get within

three miles of the compound, because of police barricades and checkpoints, so he parked his car in a field alongside dozens of others and laid out a bunch of bumper stickers. FEAR THE GOVERNMENT THAT FEARS YOUR GUN, one read. WHEN GUNS ARE OUTLAWED, I WILL BECOME AN OUTLAW, read another.

Although McVeigh never said so, one person he probably met in Waco was Louis Beam. Beam arrived as a credentialed journalist for the far-right magazine *Jubilee* and drew immediate attention when he likened the ATF to the Nazis and the KGB at a press briefing on March 14 and asked if a police state was on the way. Beam was swarmed by police and security guards, who checked him for outstanding warrants before letting him go. Three days later, when he tried to return for another briefing, he was slapped in handcuffs and arrested for trespassing. Beam relished the attention, telling every television reporter he was being punished for asking “the forbidden question.”

McVeigh almost certainly heard about Beam’s misadventures, and would have had plenty to talk about if he sought him out. Was this where the godfather of “leaderless resistance” passed on some lessons to his most ruthless disciple? FBI and ATF agents worried about the radical far-right at the time were in no doubt about Beam’s potential for fomenting violence on an alarming scale. Jim Cavanaugh of the ATF described him as “the most dangerous man in America.” Beam and his blisteringly charismatic speaking style were to the Patriot Movement, Cavanaugh said, what Reinhard Heydrich, Hitler’s pitiless protégé, had been to the planning of the Holocaust at Wannsee.

THE FBI KNEW MICHAEL FORTIER WAS TROUBLE WHEN HIS FRIEND and neighbor, Jim Rosencrans, came at them screaming and waving an SKS assault rifle. That was on April 21. They couldn’t help noticing, too, the coiled-snake flag in the front yard of Fortier’s trailer home bearing the Revolutionary War slogan DON’T TREAD ON ME. This guy did not love the federal government.

The agents grilled Fortier for four days while he continued to say he knew nothing and that McVeigh was not capable of slaughtering so many innocent people. The FBI became ever more suspicious that he had foreknowledge of the bombing or that he had played a direct role. The more they delved, the more obvious it became that Fortier was lying. He said, for example, that McVeigh had not visited Kingman before February 1995, but the FBI knew McVeigh had been using a Kingman address for his correspondence for close to two years.

The FBI asked Fortier to take a polygraph test. He agreed to be asked about his whereabouts leading up to the bombing, but not about his knowledge of the plot itself. Having first pleaded ignorance, he now pleaded fear. “If I tell you

what you want to know,” he said on the fourth day, “I’m a dead man.” The agents were unimpressed. Kenneth Williams (who would later become known as the author of the “Phoenix Memo,” one of the disregarded pre-9/11 warnings about Middle Easterners enrolling in flight schools) called Fortier a “baby killer” and tried to scare him straight. It didn’t work.

When Fortier and his wife, Lori, were home alone after their interrogations, they tried to rid their house of incriminating items. Even before the FBI first came, Lori realized her typewriter ribbon still bore the imprint of the name Robert D. Kling, which McVeigh had typed onto his fake driver’s license. As soon as she heard the news that Kling had rented the Ryder truck, she ripped out the ribbon and burned it. Michael had taken a 50-caliber rifle and some explosive components and hidden them inside a kit car at his brother’s house on the other side of town. He still had to worry about a half-empty bag of ammonium nitrate, which Fortier and McVeigh had used to make test explosives; some galvanized steel tubing typically used to make pipe bombs; and a .22 Hornet rifle and scope left over from the stash of weapons he had obtained from McVeigh the previous December.

Fortier did not dare carry any of the items off his property himself, so he passed them over the fence to his meth-head buddy Rosencrans, who agreed to dispose of them. Rosencrans buried the ammonium nitrate in the desert, where it was recovered three months later, and he pawned off the rifle for cash and another weapon. Fortier also handed Rosencrans a paper grocery bag with a miscellany of smaller items from McVeigh, including books, two videotapes on Waco, an army supply catalogue, and a copy of the radical right-wing *Patriot Report*. Rosencrans took these to the safest place he knew, a house shared by his mother and his half-brother Chuck, who—improbably—was also his stepfather.

The only drug-related object the feds found at the Fortiers’ house was an old tinfoil pipe containing marijuana residue, raising the question of whether they had ditched drugs, too. Michael Fortier denied any attempt at concealment when he took the stand in McVeigh’s trial; he wanted the jury to believe his house had been empty of any illegal narcotics since the eve of the bombing, when he spent all night tweaking on crystal meth with Jim Rosencrans. Had they really smoked their way through everything? The feds did not pursue this. The FBI was itching for a member of McVeigh’s inner circle to come forward about the bomb plot, and Fortier seemed the most likely candidate. So Weldon Kennedy sent Danny Coulson, one of the bureau’s most experienced agents, to turn one or both Fortiers around. Coulson first applied for a warrant to search the Fortiers’ home, and then he drew up a proffer letter, a take-it-or-leave-it deal under which Fortier was invited to talk without risk of self-incrimination as a prelude to a plea

bargain. The one condition was that he could not lie.

With the warrant in hand, Coulson invited Fortier to meet him and his colleague Bob Walsh at a sheriff's substation near his house. They promised the search would be as noninvasive as possible. Fortier was welcome to stick around and watch. Coulson, who was intimately familiar with the mentality of right-wing radicals, also did his best to disarm any notion that the search constituted an assault on Fortier's fundamental rights. "This is not a war," he told him. "You and your friends may be at war with your government. Your government is not at war with you."

Coulson wasn't just making a fine speech; he was also playing for time, because he knew that agents were already swarming over the Fortier property. The media was right outside, tipped off by the local police scanner. So, too, was Jim Rosencrans, who was again brandishing his SKS rifle and doing a little dance up and down McVicar Avenue. He was raving about the "fucking FBI" and telling anyone willing to listen that the sheriff's department was stockpiling ammunition under the Kingman hospital for the United Nations and its New World Order shock troops. When he strapped on a gas mask and announced he was going coyote-hunting, sheriff's deputies and the FBI chased him into a field and disarmed him. The FBI search team, meanwhile, took advantage of Fortier's temporary absence to bug the phone and place listening devices around the house. Coulson's kid glove concealed a sharp fist.

MCVEIGH'S FIRST TRIP TO KINGMAN IN THE SPRING OF 1993 WAS A quick one. He dropped in on Michael Fortier and scouted for gun-show material. He also set up a mailbox, signaling his intention to return. But soon he was off again to a big gun show in Tulsa a thousand miles to the east. He was supposed to meet Roger Moore there, but ended up introducing himself instead to Moore's girlfriend, Karen Anderson, who was working their table alone. The next day, McVeigh brought his things and asked if he could share the space. Clearly, they got along, because by the end of the weekend, Anderson and Moore invited McVeigh to follow them back to the ranch for several days.

First, McVeigh made another significant acquaintance. Andreas Strassmeir, fresh in from Elohim City, wandered by the table and ended up buying McVeigh's Desert Storm battle uniform for \$2—a terrific bargain, he later told Justice Department lawyers—as well as a pair of gloves. Even better, he sold McVeigh a knife he'd been trying to offload all day. The two men talked and found they had similar views on Waco.

McVeigh joked around with Strassmeir, who wore a black leather jacket and

camouflage pants. “I was a little worried, because you looked like a Nazi,” he said. “I’m glad you’re not a Nazi.” Strassmeir said he was relieved that McVeigh was not a “right-winger,” apparently meaning he was not an overt racist. “He definitely was not a right-wing guy, I would not say that. And he liked the fact that I was not one,” Strassmeir insisted. “Tim was not antigovernment. He was against certain agencies making war against their own citizens.”

There is an irresistible streak of comedy in two adherents of radical right-wing ideology insisting that neither was right-wing at all. Clearly, though, they found each other memorable, far more so than Strassmeir was willing to admit after the bombing. According to McVeigh, Strassmeir called over the two friends he was with—most likely Pete and Tony Ward, or Dennis Mahon—and told them: “This guy feels the way we do.” The feeling was mutual: McVeigh thought he and Strassmeir were “brothers in arms.”

When reporters and investigators asked Strassmeir about the encounter two years later, he told them he could barely remember it and had not recalled McVeigh’s name until it was plastered all over the news. But his pinpoint recollection of their Nazi banter and the exact terms of the purchases they made from each other suggests otherwise.

Another indicator that Strassmeir felt a kinship with McVeigh was that he gave McVeigh a business card with the Elohim City address and phone number, and an invitation to drop by any time. Grandpa Millar had given Strassmeir some cards mostly to ensure he would not forget the Elohim City phone number; he certainly did not want him passing them out indiscriminately. “I was very careful handing out the Elohim City business card,” Strassmeir later acknowledged.

SOMETIME IN LATE APRIL, STEVE CHANCELLOR, THE ARMY CID man in Oklahoma City, noted the FBI’s interest in Elohim City and in Strassmeir. Chancellor had just come home from an undercover narcotics case in Hamburg, which was the last place Strassmeir had been stationed before coming to the United States. Chancellor told his colleagues: “I have a fantastic German informant from Hamburg. I’m telling you, he could talk the underwear off Mother Teresa. He’s that good. If you want, I’d be glad to introduce you guys.”

At this stage, the FBI had Carol Howe’s reports about Strassmeir’s threats to blow up buildings and wage war against the federal government. And the Daryl Bridges phone records indicated that one of the card users had made a two-minute call to Elohim City on April 5, two weeks before the bombing. At least some government agencies—the State Department, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and ATF—also knew that Strassmeir had overstayed his

visa.

Chancellor persuaded his army superiors to fly his informant in from Germany. “I had him meet with the FBI and ATF, and I made arrangements for him to work up a cover story [to go into Elohim City]. I think he would have been very successful,” Chancellor said. But the task force turned down his offer. Perhaps the investigation leadership was counting on Carol Howe to come back from Elohim City with some actionable intelligence. The State Department’s diplomatic security section had asked after Strassmeir’s criminal record, and reported back to the task force that he was clean.

Chancellor was surprised. “My feeling was, they didn’t believe this guy, which was too bad,” he said. “I offered it to the FBI. They chose to go a different way, or maybe they thought it wasn’t important. I just moved on.”

ON APRIL 19, 1993, McVEIGH WAS AT THE NICHOLS FARM IN DECKER and loading up his Road Warrior to take both brothers down to Waco, when Terry yelled at him to come inside. The television news was showing flames licking up around the Branch Davidian compound.

It was the fifty-first day of the siege, and the FBI had decided to choke the Branch Davidians out with CS gas. When that did not work, they punctured big holes in the property with M728 combat engineer vehicles on loan from the army. Soon, three separate fires fueled by sixty-mile-per-hour winds were raging in the main building, consuming everything.

Seventy-five people died, including twenty-five children. Some were burned to death, while others, including David Koresh, were found with gunshot wounds. In his own account, McVeigh was speechless and felt tears running down his cheeks. He and the Nichols brothers convinced themselves that the FBI had set the fires—not the Davidians, as the government and a number of subsequent official inquiries would conclude.

WHEN THE FBI SEARCHED McVEIGH’S MAILBOX IN KINGMAN, THEY found an extraordinary unopened letter sent from Little Rock, Arkansas, nine days before the bombing. Written in a near-illegible scrawl, it was signed by “Bob” and written to Tim Tuttle. There was no return address. Next to Bob’s signature, in block capitals, was the word BURN. The letter appeared to be answering a previous letter from McVeigh, and that made it even more difficult to decipher. One particularly alarming line read: “Plan is to bring the country down, and have a few more things happen, then offer the 90 percent a solution. (Better Red than Dead).” The letter referred to a robbery, to worries about security being compromised, and to

a plan for May that Bob said should now be dropped. It also mentioned someone named Karen, who was “not interested in risks” and “not interested in the slightest at this point.”

The FBI’s linking of this letter to Roger Moore was one of its more inspired pieces of detective work. Agents had been working for days to figure out the significance of two safety-deposit keys found in Terry Nichols’s garage. One was traced to a Union Bank of North Carolina branch in Florida and the other to the Arkansas Bank & Trust in Hot Springs. The banks said the keys belonged to Moore and reported that a few months earlier he had changed safety-deposit boxes because of a security problem connected to the loss of the keys.

A check on Moore revealed he had a live-in girlfriend named Karen Anderson, who was a plausible fit for the Karen in the letter. They also learned that the previous November Moore had reported a robbery at the ranch, in which he said he lost \$60,000 in guns, precious stones, gold and silver bars, photographic equipment, and rare artifacts, as well as almost \$9,000 in cash. Among the missing items were the two keys. Moore had volunteered the three names he thought most likely to have pulled off the robbery, and one was Tim McVeigh.

The FBI was perplexed. It had strong grounds to suspect McVeigh and Nichols of carrying out the robbery. But Roger Moore was also exchanging cryptic messages with McVeigh months later, suggesting that the two men still trusted and confided in each other. Was the Moore robbery intended as a fundraiser for the bombing? Or was the robbery a scam orchestrated by Moore as well as McVeigh, either to defraud the insurance company or to create some plausible distance between them as they plotted an antigovernment revolution? Investigators initially worked on both scenarios.

Moore was extremely indignant when he was brought in to meet with the FBI at the Garland County Sheriff’s Office in Hot Springs. “I obviously was lied to and fooled,” he said about the bombing. “I almost shit when I saw it on TV.” He gave the first of many accounts of the robbery, describing how a masked man with bad body odor, full camouflage dress, and Israeli combat boots confronted him with a shotgun fitted with a garrote. The intruder trussed him up like a turkey and spent ninety minutes ripping through the house in search of valuables before taking off in one of Moore’s own vans. In this iteration—the details would change over the next two and a half years—the man had a dark complexion and a beard visible beneath his ski mask. His accomplice stood ready to pounce at the slightest sign of struggle, and later helped load the wares. Moore said neither man was McVeigh—the intruder was shorter and thicker-set—but he suspected that whoever robbed him had done so at McVeigh’s behest.

When the FBI showed Moore the safety-deposit key from the Arkansas Bank & Trust, he exclaimed: “He robbed me!” Moore assumed the FBI had recovered the key from McVeigh; he didn’t know about the Terry Nichols connection.

Moore became discombobulated when he was shown the letter he had sent to McVeigh shortly before the bombing. He acknowledged he had written it and said “Bob” was a shortened version of his alias Bob Miller. But he insisted that most of the letter was about the gun-show business and the robbery. His aim was to lure McVeigh back to the ranch and figure out if he had been responsible. He said the line about security being compromised was a reference to the robbery and the fact that someone clearly knew he had a large number of valuables in the house. When he wrote that Karen was not interested in risks, he was referring to their efforts—which Karen no longer wished to make—to track down their stolen weapons in the militia movement.

Moore was winging it. When asked about the lines “the important thing is to be as effective as possible” and “let’s let May go,” he said he couldn’t remember what they meant. But the FBI was more inclined to believe him than not. In the official write-up of that first interview, the agents did not mention the most startling line in the letter, the one about the “plan to bring the country down.” They also appear to have forgotten to ask why he wrote BURN in upper case next to his signature.

Moore insisted he had nothing to do with the bombing and was never told anything about it. McVeigh was smart, he said, but probably it was the other guy—John Doe Two—who was the brains of the operation.

ONE MONTH AFTER WACO, McVEIGH ORDERED A BOOK CALLED *Homemade C-4*, published by Paladin Press in Boulder, Colorado, a fertile source of how-to books on guns, ammo, and explosives. It was sent to his mailbox in Michigan at a time when he was traveling extensively, so it probably sat around for several months before he read it. Over time, though, it would prove almost uncannily influential on the Oklahoma City bomb plot.

The term “homemade C-4” has nothing to do with plastic explosive; it is paramilitary slang for ammonium nitrate bombs, so called because they pack a big wallop and because their ingredients are readily available to ordinary citizens. Ragnar Benson, the book’s pseudonymous author, suggested purchasing the AN at farm-supply stores, which is exactly what McVeigh and Nichols ended up doing. He talked about the standard blend of AN and fuel oil commonly used by miners and farmers, but he also suggested using nitromethane. “The stuff is a real pissar,” he wrote, “as fast as TNT, with just as high a brisance. It is useful

for cutting steel and other paramilitary survival applications.” The best way to find nitromethane, Benson went on, was at drag strips and stock-car races. Sometimes, it could be found in hobby shops. McVeigh and Nichols would explore all of those options to obtain their own nitromethane.

All of that still lay some way off, however. McVeigh settled in Kingman for a while, finding a place of his own and a new job as a security guard. He was still doing gun shows, and sometime in June or July, he came across a videotape titled *Waco: The Big Lie*, which restoked the radical fire within him because it purported to show that the government had used tank-mounted flamethrowers to start the blaze that consumed the Branch Davidians at Mount Carmel.

The video gave McVeigh grounds to believe the incident was a premeditated crime. “No convincing will come close if you don’t actually see it for yourself,” the film’s promotional teaser said. “But be warned, you may not be able to sleep again.” McVeigh brought a copy to Kingman to show Mike Fortier. It was his new *Turner Diaries*, the call-to-arms he felt compelled to share with everybody.

JENNIFER McVEIGH WANTED TO LOOK OUT FOR HER BROTHER’S INTERESTS, but her resolve was no match for the FBI’s pummeling. On the eighth day of questioning, after her mother was flown in from Florida to plead with her, she finally spilled her guts. “Tim is fried anyways, so I might as well tell you,” she said. She was scared and exhausted and looking for a way out.

Her most startling stories concerned a visit McVeigh made to Pendleton in November 1994 to help settle the affairs of their grandfather, who had died a few weeks earlier. Jennifer said he had a wad of \$100 bills, three of which he asked her to exchange for other banknotes. When she asked where the money came from, he said it was his take from a bank robbery. Jennifer’s impression was that the robbery had taken place recently. Her brother told her he had not participated but knew the people who had. Her affidavit refers to “participants,” indicating more than one.

The affidavit also describes a time when Jennifer found her brother in a “fuming” rage. On the spur of the moment, Tim told her to leave him alone, but the next day he said that someone he knew had failed to carry out a murder as planned. “I believe my brother was then trying to decide what to do about the individual who had failed to carry out these orders,” the affidavit said. “I recall that prior to this revelation he had been awaiting a telephone call, and I now believe that this call was directly related to this murder plan.”

The intended murder victim was most likely Roger Moore. Maybe the robber was supposed to carry out the killing, or maybe someone was supposed to

come in afterward to kill Moore. Michael Fortier testified at McVeigh's trial that the motive for the robbery was to find a list of names of people Moore had threatened to turn over to the federal government if he ever got into trouble. That doesn't sound like a persuasive motive for a robbery—Moore would have been more likely to go to the feds, not less, if he felt under attack—but it could have been a plausible motive for murder.

Jennifer left the FBI office on May 2 determined to find a lawyer and negotiate an immunity deal in exchange for her testimony. The FBI came away with an impression of McVeigh as a multifaceted criminal more akin to a mafia boss than a lone-wolf domestic terrorist.

“I believe that my brother was more involved as a leader in his group rather than as a follower,” Jennifer said in her affidavit. The bank robbery and the attempted murder were, in her eyes, an indication that he had moved past the propaganda stage of his revolution. “My assumption,” she said, “is that my brother was now taking some kind of action in support of his political beliefs.”

THE GREAT JOHN DOE TWO DISAPPEARING ACT

By September 1993, McVeigh's antigovernment fury had grabbed the attention of law enforcement. Operating under his alias Tim Tuttle, he was at the Crossroads of the West gun show in Phoenix, when Al Shearer, an undercover hate-crimes investigator with the Maricopa County Attorney's Office, started up a conversation. McVeigh began telling him how to convert flares into rudimentary explosive shells and said: "It's great for shooting down ATF helicopters." Shearer was alarmed and called the local offices of both the ATF and FBI.

To his amazement, the feds said they couldn't do anything because selling a flare gun was not illegal. Technically, this was correct, but after Waco the assumption was that the feds were more attuned to trouble from the radical right. As Shearer's supervising attorney put it: "The issue wasn't so much that this guy was trying to sell flare guns. It's that he was a nut."

It was, in retrospect, a tantalizing early opportunity to put McVeigh on the law enforcement radar. But Shearer's instinct for danger was overlooked.

OKLAHOMA CITY WAS THE CASE DANNY COULSON HAD BEEN PREPARING for all his life. He knew his way around right-wing radicals. He had managed tricky arrests and potentially explosive stand-offs, had set up the FBI's elite Hostage Rescue Team, and had a reputation for doggedly following leads, no matter how difficult or politically inconvenient. He knew Weldon Kennedy was about to be replaced and assumed he was in the running for his job. But, shortly after he left Kingman in early May, he was called off the case completely.

"I was absolutely shocked," he said. "I should have been given the job of commander. *I* would have given the job to me."

First Bob Ricks, then Joe Martinolich, and now Coulson: the body count of senior bureau figures was mounting. Coulson abilities were impressive, even if he was not a universally loved figure. His maverick streak, and periodic insistence that he knew better than his bosses, did not always sit well. And he was definitely no "Friend of Louie."

Louis Freeh chose this same moment to appoint Larry Potts, one of his

closest associates, as the bureau's permanent deputy director—despite his controversial role in drafting and approving the rules of engagement at Ruby Ridge. Everybody thought Potts's career would be stalled until the Justice Department finished its investigation and determined whether or not he was responsible for the shoot-to-kill policy that led to Vicki Weaver's death. But Freeh believed the media was now distracted, and Potts was earning plaudits for his work directing the Oklahoma investigation's day-to-day operations.

Freeh's faith in Potts—stemming from their days working a mail-bombing case in Georgia in the late 1980s—was not misplaced. He was a bureau golden boy, an investigator of extraordinary talents with a glittering future. Still, Freeh had to expend much political capital to get his way. Congress had reacted poorly to an internal FBI investigation that rebuked Potts only for poor oversight at Ruby Ridge, and was considering hearings. And Jamie Gorelick, the tough-as-nails deputy attorney general, reacted to the proposed promotion with a flat no.

Freeh told Gorelick that if he did not get his way, relations between the Justice Department and the bureau would be irreparable. A game of political brinksmanship followed. The Justice Department had completed a report on Ruby Ridge in June 1994 in which it found that Potts and another senior FBI commander were responsible for drawing up the controversial rules of engagement; the report also found “numerous shortcomings” in the FBI's oversight of the operation. This report was not made public, but releasing it was an option the Justice Department had up its sleeve. Freeh, meanwhile, knew that Potts had observed Gorelick and Janet Reno closely during Waco, when he served as the bureau's liaison to the attorney general's office. In the end, Reno blinked first, publicly praising Potts as “the very best the FBI has” and announcing the appointment herself at one of her regular post-bombing news briefings.

The Potts promotion created an immediate backlash. Gene Glenn, who had been the FBI's on-scene commander at Ruby Ridge and was given a demotion and a fifteen-day suspension, complained to the Justice Department that he was being made the scapegoat even though Potts had conceived, drawn up, and approved the altered rules of engagement. Glenn accused the FBI's internal investigators of asking skewed questions to reach predetermined conclusions, adding that they were more interested in protecting senior management than in unearthing the truth. Glenn's reaction drew the ire of Freeh's general counsel, Howard Shapiro, who called his allegations “absolutely irresponsible and destructive to the FBI” when the bureau was engaged in a vast criminal investigation. Shapiro was right that the controversy was a dangerous distraction from the Oklahoma City case. But the distraction originated with Louis Freeh.

Potts remained nominally in charge of the bombing investigation, but he spent most of the next six weeks fighting for his job and reputation. The Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility opened an investigation into Glenn's allegations, and an incandescent Republican majority in the House of Representatives monitored it all closely.

Over time, it became clear that the bombing investigation's high points had already come and gone by May 3, 1995, the day the Potts furor broke. Individual street agents continued to do sterling work and make important breakthroughs, but for the institution it was all downhill from there.

RICK WAHL, THE ARMY SERGEANT WHO WENT FISHING AT GEARY LAKE on April 18 with his son, did not see the Ryder truck and pickup arrive or leave. Neither he nor a second witness who drove by, Bob Nelson, spotted anyone inside. So the feds set up a roadblock on Route 77, by the Geary Lake turnoff, and asked passing drivers if they had seen anything.

The results were notable, but not for reasons the government might have expected.

More than twenty witnesses said they had seen a moving truck at the lake, and at least five said they had seen it *in the week before Easter* as well as the Tuesday after. Georgia Rucker, a Herington real estate agent who helped Terry and Marife Nichols purchase their house on South Second Street, drove Route 77 twice a day to take her son to and from school. She saw a Ryder truck on Monday, April 10, and said it was still there on the next two days. She did not drive the route from Thursday to Monday. On Tuesday, April 18, she saw the truck shortly before 8:00 A.M.; but that afternoon it was gone. At times, Rucker saw the Ryder with other vehicles, but she could not recall what they looked like. Seeing the truck by the lakeshore was so odd, she and her son started to look out for it. "We joked that those people must have a real big fish to pack away," she said.

James Sargent told a similar story. On April 10, he retired from the army and instantly went fishing at Geary Lake. He remembered the day clearly, down to the pear he brought for a snack. He arrived in the early afternoon and spotted a Ryder truck on the shore. After a couple of hours, he saw a white car and a rust-colored pickup drive up. He saw the Ryder again on April 11 and 12, and he probably saw it on April 13, although he was not certain. Sargent said he enjoyed a drink or two on these outings, but he was also sure that alcohol had not distorted his memory. "It's pretty hard for someone to forget something when they have seen it four days in a row," he testified.

These accounts all bolstered the theory, which the FBI and prosecution considered, that a second Ryder truck was involved in the bombing. Lea McGown and her son Eric said they had seen McVeigh with a Ryder on Easter Sunday, more than twenty-four hours before the one used to destroy the Murrah Building was rented from Eldon Elliott's. Other witnesses later came forward with similar stories, notably three dancers from a Tulsa strip club, whose voices were captured on a security tape on April 8 as they discussed an obnoxious client matching McVeigh's description. "On April 19, 1995," the client said, "you will remember me for the rest of your life." A yellow moving truck was parked out back at the time. Now two new witnesses who seemed credible were talking about a Ryder truck popping up in the very place where McVeigh and Nichols would later mix the bomb.

What purpose could a second truck have served? Was it the bomb truck, but broke down or otherwise failed to meet the plotters' requirements? Was it a decoy? In the end, the government chose not to address these questions. Some members of the prosecution thought they were too difficult to answer with any certainty; others were incensed that the FBI erected the roadblock at all, because it developed material they might now have to argue against in court. "It only undermines the proof," one prosecutor said impatiently. "We already had Wahl. We didn't need all this other junk."

Bob Ricks, for one, disagreed with this vigorously; it was not enough to wish a difficult problem away. "Some things that were reported were obviously physically impossible," he said, "but you have to weigh all of that.... That's the nature of eyewitness testimony."

"The roadblock also led to people we believe were highly credible, who could give us valid descriptions of what was taking place there at Geary Lake. It doesn't have to be consistent with the theory. What we are trying to find are the facts."

This episode highlighted a growing tension between the Justice Department's more aggressive lawyers and many of the task force's top managers. While the prosecutors wanted to tie up loose ends and secure convictions, the FBI's gut instinct was to keep digging and figure out what happened. The friction was not without its complexities: some prosecutors were more willing than others to let the case head in unforeseeable new directions, and some investigators were more fearless than others in standing up to the Justice Department's pressure. On this, though, the hardliners prevailed: the second Ryder truck was soon dropped as a subject for investigation.

IN THE FALL OF 1993, McVEIGH CONTINUED TO ATTEND GUN SHOWS and told his sister he was establishing a “network of friends.” It is likely that these included Richard Guthrie, the wild man of the Aryan Republican Army. Pete Langan later said that Guthrie met McVeigh on the gun-show circuit, and one plausible venue was a big show in Knob Creek, Kentucky, that October. McVeigh attended, and it would have been an easy commute for Guthrie from his hideout in Cincinnati. After the show, Guthrie and Langan made plans to rob an armored truck in the Fayetteville area in northwestern Arkansas. McVeigh’s previous work as a security guard on an armored truck made him the right sort for Langan and Guthrie to approach for help.

If McVeigh and Guthrie did not meet at a gun show, they could have been introduced by Thom Robb, a Ku Klux Klan leader based in Harrison, Arkansas, near Fayetteville. Guthrie was in regular contact with Robb from about 1992, and Nichols supplied evidence suggesting McVeigh knew him, too. When Nichols and McVeigh drove through Missouri and Arkansas in October, Nichols remembered being surprised by how well McVeigh knew the area, and how he talked about a KKK sign just north of town before they had driven past it. This was Robb’s property.

Nichols later claimed he made this trip because he was thinking of moving his family to the Ozarks, and he was looking for land suitable for a blueberry farm. But it is also remarkable how close they skirted to Elohim City, including one documented instance when McVeigh was pulled over and cited for illegal passing less than ten miles away. McVeigh had held on to Strassmeir’s business card after meeting him six months earlier. This was also the period when Mike Brescia, Kevin McCarthy, and Mark Thomas’s teenage son Nathan all moved to Elohim City—and all but Nathan would later be deeply involved with the Aryan Republican Army.

Nichols denied knowing these people, but he did suggest someone else that he and McVeigh met: George Eaton, who was friendly with the Elohimites and lived in the next town. Eaton was the publisher of the *Patriot Report*, which McVeigh and his sister Jennifer read enthusiastically. McVeigh mentioned Eaton as the two of them were driving around. Nichols added: “Tim definitely knew the area and some people who lived there.” McVeigh also described an ideal place, a “safe haven” where someone could lie low for a while. “This place was on the border of the Oklahoma and Arkansas state line,” Nichols recalled. This had to be a reference to Elohim City.

Eaton, Strassmeir, Brescia, Guthrie, Robb—all were plausible members of McVeigh’s “network of friends.” And, in the fall of 1993, they all had revolution on their minds.

IN ARIZONA, THE FBI WAS TOLD THAT STEVE COLBERN, A FEDERAL fugitive with a biochemistry degree and a fascination with explosives, kept a mailbox with the same service McVeigh used in Kingman. The tip was not correct, but by the time the FBI established that, it had learned that Colbern had been under ATF investigation for months, because he was suspected of possessing a .50-caliber Browning machine gun. And the more the FBI dug, the faster he shot up their suspect list.

The previous November, a Metropolitan Water District employee had found a mysterious note attached to a power utility pole near Needles, on the California-Arizona border. It was addressed to "S. C." and appeared to be a recruitment letter. Its most inviting line was: "A man with nothing left to lose is a very dangerous man and his energy/anger can be focused toward a common/righteous goal." It also included this line: "I'm not looking for talkers, I'm looking for fighters."

When the FBI agents saw the note, they immediately recognized McVeigh's handwriting and saw it was signed "Tim T.," a shortened version of Tim Tuttle. Was "S.C." Colbern? And, if so, had he joined McVeigh's bomb plot? Colbern had the qualifications to build a bomb and, as the FBI soon learned, the ideological inclination as well.

The FBI soon learned, too, that in November 1994, one day before the robbery at Roger Moore's ranch, Colbern was in Texarkana, no more than two hours' drive from Moore's property, and mailed a resignation letter to his boss at Cedars-Sinai hospital in Beverly Hills, California, where he did DNA research. Colbern also owned a 1975 brown Chevy pickup, the same vehicle associated with McVeigh multiple times on April 19.

The feds found Colbern's pickup in Bullhead City, Arizona, in the yard of a double-wide vacation trailer belonging to his family. He lived there in the early 1990s with an Armenian wife he had since divorced. The neighbors said he was a freak in military fatigues, who lived in abject squalor and had snakes and other animals crawling all over the house.

The vehicle was not quite the jackpot the FBI had hoped for. It had not been driven in years, ruling it out as one of the vehicles seen in Oklahoma on April 19. But inside the car, the agents did find two bags of ammonium nitrate, one full and one glaringly empty.

BY LATE 1993, McVEIGH HAD COME TO REGARD TERRY NICHOLS AS some combination of friend, ideological soul mate, and open-door hotelier. Nichols had a robot-like

habit of doing whatever he was told, and McVeigh—like Joyce Nichols, Lana, and Ralph Daigle—took full advantage. Earlier in the year, when McVeigh was flitting between the Midwest and Arizona, he asked Nichols to drive to Pendleton, a ten-hour round-trip, and pick up his television set, a baseball glove, some cooking utensils, and a batch of sandbags. Nichols agreed without a murmur. Now McVeigh decided to base himself at the Decker farm, doing no more than occasional chores and begging off farmwork altogether, because, he said, the hay bothered his sinuses.

This arrangement came to a halt on November 22, when Marife found Jason, the Nicholse's two-year-old son, unconscious on his bedroom floor with a plastic grocery bag over his head. At the time, Terry and Marife were preparing to move to Las Vegas. Marife immediately assumed that Jason had climbed out of his crib to play with some packing materials left in the middle of the room. Terry and James, she later recalled, were in the fields, and McVeigh was still asleep. She picked up Jason, removed the plastic bag, and banged frantically on McVeigh's door. While McVeigh administered CPR, she ran out of the house screaming for her husband. Nothing, though, could revive the boy.

Local officials ruled Jason's death an accident, as there was no evidence to suggest anything more sinister. But the medical examiner refused to talk to Terry and Marife after the funeral, and Marife was herself riddled with doubts, mostly about her husband. She was convinced that Terry told the 911 dispatcher about the plastic bag before she had a chance to tell him about it. And it was Terry who had insisted on storing the packing materials in Jason's room. Had he harbored a plan to kill Jason? Was McVeigh in on it too?

Jason had been a cause for distress ever since Marife confessed to Terry in June 1991 that the child she was carrying had been conceived with her old boyfriend, Jojo Angelito Florita. She told Nichols it was too late for an abortion and would understand if he divorced her. Nichols chose to accept the circumstances, signed the birth certificate as Jason's father, and, by all accounts, treated the boy lovingly enough. Marife later complained that other members of the Nichols family refused to accept Jason, and even told Terry to use cloth diapers on him, because the boy wasn't good enough for disposable ones. Terry, for once, paid no attention.

After the bombing, the FBI reexamined Jason's death, wondering if they could pin one more murder on McVeigh or Nichols. They suspected that McVeigh might have killed the boy in some grotesque experiment, to see if he could snuff out a child's life, as he planned to do many times with the bomb. But, in the end, the feds found no more evidence than the county authorities.

Marife realized her initial suspicions might have been the result of shock,

and the need to blame someone. But she found it impossible to trust her husband again. When Nichols purchased *The Poisoner's Handbook*, she wondered whether he intended to murder her and Nicole to collect the life insurance. Bills from the hospital, the ambulance company, and the doctor who treated Jason kept arriving, and Nichols ignored them for so long they started coming in Marife's name.

To escape their creditors, the Nicholoses moved to Las Vegas at the turn of 1994. Yet Marife still felt trapped and desperate. Twice, she dreamed she was on a boat landing, walking toward a small craft containing the entire Nichols family, when she heard Jason's voice begging her to go no farther. She could only interpret it as a warning from her dead son to get out of Terry Nichols's life before it was too late.

THE EVIDENCE RECOVERY TEAMS AT THE MURRAH BUILDING HAD picked the place pretty much clean, but a huge pile of rubble, two stories high and thirty feet across, still covered one of the building's key structural supports. It was impossible to tell how solid that support still was. Engineers warned that if the rubble pile was disturbed, the rest of the structure could tumble and bury everyone. The teams painted the pile red and left it alone; it became known as the red pyramid.

Right after the bombing, the White House had directed the General Services Administration to preserve and rebuild the building, as a gesture of defiance against those who had destroyed it. But that was no longer realistic. "More than once," Weldon Kennedy remembered, "we had pretty serious thunderstorms and had to evacuate the building on the advice of the engineers."

Demolition was the only option. The evidence teams wanted to sort through the red pyramid, but couldn't as long as the building's shell was still standing. The fire department was sure two or three more bodies remained buried, and pressure was mounting to pull them out. Criticism would later fly that, by knocking down the building, the task force was effectively burying evidence about the size and composition of the bomb. Actually, demolition was the only way to extract the remaining evidence.

From an investigative standpoint, the bomb site continued to be as chaotic as it had been in the first few days. For nearly two weeks, there were reports of government agents sneaking out automatic weapons, ammunition, and small packages that looked, to trained eyes, like C-4. Some reports were probably accurate; others were fueled by a mounting distrust pitting federal agencies against each other. "It was comical in a way, because the ATF didn't want the Secret Service to see them remove things, and DEA didn't want the others to

know what they were doing,” Oscar Johnson, an elevator technician who stayed on site as a volunteer, recalled. “They all acted like little kids hiding stuff from each other.”

One senior ATF agent, Harry Eberhardt, was eventually asked to leave the task force, because Danny Defenbaugh, who arrived in Oklahoma at the end of April and soon took over from Weldon Kennedy, suspected he had entered the building without authorization to remove a possible weapon. “He had a device, and he went back into the building to get it,” Defenbaugh said. Eberhardt denied any wrongdoing and said he felt Defenbaugh victimized him because of an unconnected grievance between the FBI and the ATF. But Defenbaugh insisted: “He was seen, he lied about it, and then he was investigated.”

AMONG THOSE OPPOSED TO DEMOLISHING THE MURRAH BUILDING was Stephen Jones, the newly appointed chief defense counsel for Tim McVeigh. Jones was a loquacious Southern gentleman, an inveterate Anglophile, a man of breeding and eclectic tastes, and a wily, well-connected political operator with a residual admiration for Richard Nixon, for whom he had worked as a young man. He seemed an incongruous fit for McVeigh, with his blue-collar roots and spiky resentment of privilege in all forms. Sure enough, they got along horribly.

Jones was not McVeigh’s first choice. After his two court-appointed public defenders recused themselves, McVeigh wanted Gerry Spence, the flamboyant Wyoming lawyer who claimed he’d never lost a case and rubbed the government’s face in the dirt when he defended Randy Weaver. When Spence was ruled out—it is not clear if he said no or was never asked—McVeigh pursued Dick DeGuerin, a similarly flamboyant Texan who had represented David Koresh. But DeGuerin turned down the case as well. Representing the most hated man in America was not an assignment to take on lightly.

Jones got the job because he was law-school buddies with David Russell, the federal judge in charge of finding legal representation for McVeigh and Nichols, and also because he was brave, or rash, enough to take it on. Criminal defense was not his specialty, although he had worked more than two dozen capital cases over his career; he called himself a county-seat lawyer, occupied mostly with clients like a local religious college or his hometown newspaper, the *Enid News and Eagle*. Just prior to the bombing, he had served as special counsel to Frank Keating, the newly elected governor of Oklahoma and a former FBI agent. Jones and McVeigh were out of step immediately. “I haven’t been brainwashed,” McVeigh said at their first meeting. “I did this for the movement, and no one else paid for it.”

Jones was intending to base his defense on the existence of a broader conspiracy, in which McVeigh was just a bit player. But now his client was telling him he was not willing to go along with a search for coconspirators. It was a problem he would not resolve for as long as he was on the case.

Jones's opening gambit in federal court, to forestall the demolition of the Murrah Building, was equally inauspicious. Every civic leader from the state congressional delegation to the mayor had endorsed the General Services Administration's finding that the wreckage posed a significant safety hazard. Jones, though, described the building as "the single most important item of evidence in this case" and asked for time to conduct an independent analysis.

The request was granted, and demolition was postponed for almost two weeks so Jones could send in a bomb expert and a small team of lawyers. They found nothing. Staff for John Coyle, one of the public defenders who represented McVeigh for the first two weeks, felt a bittersweet twinge as they watched the new defense counsel go about his business. "You watch," a Coyle clerk who knew Jones was overheard saying, "he'll make it all about himself." McVeigh certainly came to believe that he did.

DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF MAY, THE FBI BECAME CONVINCED that the second person at the Ryder truck rental was twelve-year-old Josh Nichols. The Oklahoma City command post even told division offices around the country to stop looking for anyone else. This made little sense, because Josh was not tied in any way to the acquisition of materials, and he had a rock-solid alibi for April 19. Even if he looked a little like the sketch of the second man seen at Eldon Elliott's, he wouldn't have gone there without his father, and Terry Nichols was not there. The FBI essentially mistook Josh's knowledge of the bomb plot—of which there were many tantalizing clues—for actual criminal involvement.

Until he was confronted directly with his resemblance to the mystery co-conspirator on May 6, Josh had been willing to answer just about any question thrown at him. He even made phone calls to Agent Calhoun after hours to tell her what was on his mind. The FBI, though, preferred to ratchet up the pressure to see if Lana, Josh, or Terry might crack and disclose something new. But they didn't; they just lawyered up.

Twice, agents asked Padilla to fly out to Oklahoma City to testify before the grand jury. The first trip was canceled at the last minute. The second time, there was still no grand jury hearing, only reporters and camera crews at the Oklahoma City airport, who had been tipped that Josh was now a John Doe Two suspect and ambushed her with questions. Padilla was appalled, but she still

continued to cooperate. The FBI asked her to repack the bag Josh had taken to Kansas for his Easter trip, so the clothes could be tested for bomb-making residue. She did so, and they were clean. A few days later, the FBI asked her for every baseball cap in Josh's collection so they could be compared to witness sightings of the cap worn by John Doe Two. Again, Padilla complied.

For about eight days, the FBI allowed the circus surrounding Josh to bring the hunt for John Doe Two to a complete standstill. According to the Secret Service, up to 150 new leads were held back from investigative field offices around the country. When it finally became clear, on May 11, that no joy was to be had from Josh, they were sent out again.

IN EARLY 1994, McVEIGH PAID AN IMPROMPTU OVERNIGHT VISIT TO Karen Anderson at the Arkansas ranch while Roger Moore was in Florida for the winter. Anderson cooked him a steak, and they talked about Waco. But did something else happen? Anderson, in one of her early FBI interviews, said McVeigh slept in her bed that night. She quickly added that she moved to the other bedroom, the one usually occupied by Moore (they kept separate rooms). Hers was next to the bathroom and she thought McVeigh would be more comfortable there. But this was a rather odd explanation. Had she really given up her bedroom, the government wondered, or had she invited him to join her?

Anderson denied any such thing; she thought of McVeigh "as a son." Still, many of McVeigh's friends and acquaintances noticed a pattern: McVeigh would form strong, almost obsessive attachments to his closest male friends and then hit on their wives or girlfriends behind their backs.

A few months later, McVeigh began dropping in regularly on Michael Fortier's then-fiancée Lori at the tanning salon where she worked. At the same time, McVeigh and Michael Fortier were so tight that Jim Rosencrans teased his neighbor about having a "second wife." Rosencrans had a similar dynamic with McVeigh; his girlfriend Patty complained about being treated like a second-class citizen, but she also recalled a time Rosencrans walked in on one of her own conversations with McVeigh and accused him of making a move on her.

There are two schools of thought about McVeigh's sexuality. The first says he was a highly ascetic person who sublimated whatever sexual energy he had into his war on the government. Sex either did not interest him or it scared him because he was unsuccessful at it. Much later, when he was on death row in Indiana, his fellow inmates nicknamed him "Virgin McVeigh."

But there is also evidence he was highly interested in sex, and grabbed at it wherever he could. Beyond his flirtations, he almost certainly had a brief affair

with Marife Nichols in the summer of 1994. Marife testified about it at trial, and Terry Nichols subsequently confirmed he had been betrayed by his wife and his best friend.

McVeigh seems to have viewed sex much as he viewed his need for food, as a craving to satisfy efficiently so he could get on with something more interesting. To stave off his appetite, he often resorted to military MREs, or Meals Ready to Eat; to assuage his interest in sex, he looked for people he could use quickly and discreetly.

Rosencrans told the FBI McVeigh was always talking about “getting a piece of ass” and was even willing to pay for it. Rosencrans described him as “a weird, quiet, and clean guy.”

ON MAY 10, A RURAL PROPERTY BROKER IN SOUTHWESTERN MISSOURI named Bill Maloney contacted the FBI and said he had met McVeigh, Nichols, and their presumed coconspirator. Maloney saw news reports about two drifters getting arrested thirty-five miles away in Carthage, Missouri, and recognized one of the names, Robert Jacks. The man he had met with McVeigh and Nichols was called Jacks, too, though he spelled it Jacques or Jocques. And he was very different from the drunken drifter—quickly dismissed as a suspect—who had been found with a bunch of discarded beer bottles and pizza boxes.

Maloney said that McVeigh had called the previous October from Kansas in response to an ad offering a forty-acre parcel “in the middle of nowhere.” Two weeks later—the date was later fixed as November 2—two men walked into Maloney’s office and introduced themselves as Jacques and Nichols. Someone had already made an offer on the forty-acre parcel, but Maloney offered them a larger one bordered on three sides by national forest. They were interested in that, too. After ten or fifteen minutes, a third man entered, wondering what was taking so long. The others called him Tim.

Maloney’s ability to recall the tiniest detail seemed almost too good to be true. He described, for example, how McVeigh was drawn to a green Remington shotgun shell on Maloney’s desk. Maloney said he used those to hunt coyotes, and McVeigh opened his mouth to laugh. Maloney recounted: “I could see a discolored eyetooth on the upper right side of his mouth. He had a filling showing through the enamel. I also remember that he had unusual hands that were deep set between the thumb and the forefinger. His hands looked like they could break if they were gripped very hard.”

Maloney was an ex-serviceman who had conducted eyewitness recall exercises with naval intelligence and was proud of his razor-sharp recall. He

remembered that Jacques wore olive-colored hiking boots with little suction cups and cleats on the soles. Jacques, he said, was a muscular man with large biceps and a bulging neck, about five foot eleven, swarthy complexion, possibly American-Indian, with a tattoo on his left forearm showing wings or some other insignia. He also had an unusually pointed, narrow nose, unlike the sketch.

All three were military types, Maloney said, and carried themselves confidently. Their inquiries suggested they were looking for a place to hide, but they did not have a vehicle appropriate for the terrain, only an old sedan, which Maloney would later recall as a Chevy Monte Carlo. Maloney became suspicious enough that he asked Jacques to handle a brand-new topographical map of the area and then put it in his safe, in case the FBI ever needed fingerprints. He handed it to his first FBI interviewer.

Maloney's uncanny command of detail was counterbalanced, over time, by indications that news reports were distorting his memory. Investigators did not know quite what to make of him. "Either Bill Maloney had fallen from the sky as a pure gift from the heavens, or he was completely certifiable," said Jeanne Boylan, the sketch artist, who interviewed him and produced a John Doe Three drawing based on his recollections. It is curious that the description Boylan got from Maloney was an almost exact match for a sketch she developed from Debbie Nakanashi, a downtown post office worker injured in the explosion. Nakanashi remembered seeing a Jacques look-alike, complete with tattoo on his left arm, with a tall, wiry blond guy, not unlike McVeigh, a day or two before the bombing. Investigators also found the name "Jacques" scrawled, in a number of different spellings, in Marife Nichols's address book. If Jacques was a phantom, he certainly had a way of popping up all over the place.

The easiest of Maloney's observations to check was the discolored tooth. Bill Teater, an Oklahoma City-based FBI agent, looked up McVeigh's military health records and discovered he had had a procedure, probably a root canal, on his right lateral incisor. A few weeks later, Teater observed McVeigh in person, when a gaggle of agents and lawyers met him at the federal courthouse in Oklahoma City, ostensibly to obtain handwriting samples. Teater's job was to watch his mouth. "I got him to smile," Teater recounted, "at which time I saw the tooth with a root canal."

The Jacques investigation would go on for close to five years. It generated just enough promise to keep going: a pair of Jacques brothers who went to school with McVeigh; and a Robert Jacques, now apparently dead, who once shared a mailbox with Jim Rosencrans in Odessa, Texas. But certain FBI agents and federal prosecutors, especially those who felt confident of where the case was going, suspected it might also be a colossal waste of time.

In the end, their biggest problem was not with Robert Jacques, whose existence remains a question, but with Danny Defenbaugh, the new task force leader, who kept Jacques on his priority list long after the prosecution team had lost interest. Defenbaugh, they felt, did not command the respect necessary to fulfill his responsibilities. He had spent most of his FBI career as a bomb technician, traveling the world to investigate attacks from Puerto Rico to Beirut. He had been in charge of violent crime investigations in Miami and had served as the number two in Mobile, Alabama. But he had never commanded a field division or occupied a high position in headquarters.

Most seriously, he was not seen as a leader with the authority to corral rival agencies, push for what he needed from his own bosses, and find a coherent path through a torrent of information. Defenbaugh was the straightest of straight arrows, but he was also impulsive, gruff, and had a volcanic temper. He made enemies as easily as he made friends, and freely acknowledged he was an investigator at heart, not a manager.

“The common view was that he was not the right choice that would get us to where we needed to be,” said one senior agent who might have expected the job for himself. Another overlooked candidate was blunter. “When I heard they’d made Defenbaugh commander, I just about crapped out,” he said. “He’s the last person I would have picked.” I. C. Smith, the top agent in Arkansas at the time, concurred that Defenbaugh was not highly regarded, and said: “The only thing he had going for him was that he was a butt-boy to Bear Bryant.” (Smith used the term “butt-boy” in a strictly figurative sense to imply that Defenbaugh did Bryant’s bidding in a sycophantic or servile way.) Bryant, the head of the National Security Division at headquarters, indeed became Defenbaugh’s champion and maintained close contact throughout the investigation.

Louis Freeh had already shown he was more interested in imposing his leadership stamp than in promoting harmony in the ranks. “My gut feeling is, they couldn’t control [Kennedy],” Smith said. “They wanted people there who were pliable.” Defenbaugh would defer to Bryant, because he did not have the political wherewithal to push his own agenda, and Bryant would make sure the task force did the director’s bidding. Defenbaugh all but acknowledged this when he characterized his role as “making a coordinating effort to make sure that certain things get done, that certain things do not fall through the cracks, that *somebody doesn’t make an independent decision on their own* that may or may not be approved by others.”

The result was that an enormous amount of energy was expended on certain investigative strands—beyond Robert Jacques, the FBI collected more than 13 *million* paper motel registration records—while other topics, such as Elohim

City or Roger Moore, were not investigated enough because Defenbaugh did not have the clout to insist. Some people, including members of the prosecution team, accused him of overreaching when he tried to broaden the case in one direction or another, while others accused him of lacking the nerve to do what it took to find McVeigh's coconspirators. The experience eventually left Defenbaugh burned and embittered.

"What they needed was a highly centralized investigation with clear lines of authority," Smith observed. "It didn't happen here."

AFTER A WEEKLONG SEARCH, THE FEDS FOUND STEVE COLBERN IN the semi-abandoned mining town of Oatman, about twenty minutes west of Kingman, where he shared a filthy trailer with three other drifters and he manufactured crystal meth in an outhouse. At first, he denied knowing McVeigh or having any involvement in the bombing. But he broke down quickly, especially when pressed for an alibi for April 19. "If I, like, tell you everything I know, can I, like, make a deal and get a break on my charges?" he asked.

Since his arrest in California, Colbern had spent several months in the Arizona desert, including extended periods in abandoned mineshafts. Most likely, he had also been on the road in his red Volkswagen Bug, as attested by the Texarkana postmark on his resignation letter to Cedars-Sinai hospital. His whereabouts on April 19 were uncertain. Preston Haney, the owner of his trailer, said he had been holed up for days, watching television and subsisting on a diet of spaghetti, beans, and vitamins. But agents had also accumulated reasons to wonder if he was not hundreds of miles away with McVeigh. The day before his arrest, his most recent girlfriend, Barbara Harris, had produced a letter he wrote the previous fall—also postmarked Texarkana and dated November 4—in which he talked about his desire to avenge Waco. On the day of his arrest, the ATF showed his picture to Lynda Willoughby, the manager of the Mail Room on Stockton Hill Road, and she said she recognized him as someone who had come in to pick up McVeigh's mail in the month before the bombing.

Extraordinarily, the FBI appeared indifferent to this information, disregarding not only the new leads from the ATF but also the unresolved question of the Browning machine gun.

Some iteration of the usual interagency rivalry was probably at work here. The FBI had a bombing to investigate, and apparently regarded the firearms violations as distractions from their goal of coaxing Colbern into talking about McVeigh. But they were also oddly quick in dismissing Colbern as a suspect, relying on information from Colbern's uncle, a retired orthopedic surgeon from

California, that he was a paranoid schizophrenic. But Dr. Edwin Colbern had said more than that: he also had been afraid, from the time Steve was a teenager, that his nephew would one day become a “mad bomber.”

Asked specifically about Oklahoma City, Dr. Colbern said he “believed Steven was capable of being involved.” The FBI not only disregarded this; the information was not handed over to the defense teams representing McVeigh and Nichols. “They even knew what Colbern smelled like,” Nichols’s lead defense lawyer, Michael Tigar, complained many years later, “but didn’t think to let us see the evidence against him.”

WHEN MICHAEL FORTIER HEARD ABOUT COLBERN’S ARREST, HE jumped into his Jeep Wrangler and drove over to one of the FBI agents keeping him under surveillance a block and a half away. Fortier passed him a Kit Kat candy wrapper, on which he had scrawled in block letters: “Heard about Caulbern [sic] on the news. Want see his picture. Maybe I could be of help.”

He also let the agent know he was at last willing to accept the government’s offer to consider a plea deal in exchange for his cooperation. “Talking to attorney today,” the Kit Kat wrapper added.

ON MAY 17, THE NEW YORK TIMES FEATURED A FRONT-PAGE STORY that said McVeigh had claimed responsibility for the bombing. For a man planning to plead not guilty in a death penalty case, it was not exactly ideal headline material. Many people assumed that prison guards at El Reno must have overheard something. But the source was McVeigh’s lawyer, Stephen Jones.

Jones had had a busy first week on the job. He initially wanted to strike a plea-bargain deal to save his client’s life. In his account, he lobbied for a meeting with Janet Reno, telling Justice Department officials he might be able to offer up John Doe Two if, in exchange, the government took the death penalty off the table. McVeigh never publicly acknowledged the existence of a John Doe Two, so we have only Jones’s word on that. In any event, McVeigh had an apparent change of heart and told Jones to cancel the meeting. “I would have argued for his life,” Jones said, “but he withdrew that authority.”

What McVeigh wanted, Jones said, was to plead a “necessity defense”—to admit his guilt but claim his actions were justified. Jones told him such a defense would never fly in court, but McVeigh would not accept his advice. Jones worried that McVeigh would make some glaringly public confession making him impossible to defend. And that was when the story appeared in the *New York Times*.

In the revised 2001 edition of his memoir *Others Unknown*, Jones acknowledged his responsibility for the leak but described it as a form of damage control, a way to satisfy McVeigh's itch for notoriety while minimizing the risk that he would call *60 Minutes* or ABC News and offer a lengthy, on-the-record disquisition. He and McVeigh discussed making a public admission but went back and forth on how it should be done. "It was incumbent on me," Jones wrote, "to find a way to protect Tim and at the same time assuage his craving for fame."

It was never clear how this protection was achieved by a front-page confession in the country's most authoritative newspaper, but Jones insisted he had McVeigh's full permission to speak to the *Times*. His book reproduces a letter of authorization initialed at every paragraph and signed by McVeigh on May 18—the day *after* the *Times* story appeared. Another lawyer on the defense team reported that Jones was very pleased with himself when he secured McVeigh's signature. "Jones talked to Tim alone when he got that paper signed. He had a chalk-striped suit on," the lawyer recalled. "He was patting the lapel of his suit and bragging...that he'd gotten it."

Jones also wrote that he agreed to the leak on condition that McVeigh not do any leaking of his own. "I wanted his pledge," he said. "No more." But there was no evidence McVeigh had made any attempt to talk to the press, so the "no more" line is a little baffling. Rob Nigh, Jones's number two on the defense team who got to know McVeigh better than anyone, directly contradicted Jones's premise. "I don't believe he [McVeigh] was itching to say anything," Nigh said. "If he had been, he would have said it."

Nigh also said McVeigh was not only interested in a necessity defense. He was also willing to sit back and say nothing, while the government struggled with the holes and contradictions in its evidence and—with luck—failed to prove its case, as was then happening in the O. J. Simpson trial in Los Angeles. "If you wanted to embarrass the federal government," Nigh said in an indication of his client's mind-set, "what better way than to be found not guilty?"

McVeigh later complained that Jones leaked the *Times* story entirely on his own. "S.J. gave that to 'em, my own attorney!" he told Michel and Herbeck. "I don't get this. I tell my attorney something, and it goes into the newspaper." When asked about this, Jones first offered no comment and then, a few days later, said he had McVeigh's oral permission before speaking to the *Times* reporter. But the other member of Jones's defense team questioned the accuracy of this, saying that Jones leaked the story by himself and sought permission only subsequently.

Jones, the lawyer said, was trying to push a different talking point in the

Times story. “The strategy was to get out in front on the subject of the kids. That’s item number two in Tim’s sworn statement and also in [the] story. The line Stephen wanted to push was that McVeigh had been past the building but not in it, and didn’t know about the day-care center.” Sure enough, the *Times* reported that McVeigh had no idea there were kids in the building and was “surprised” to learn that many of them had been killed. In the authorization letter, which Jones drafted in his own handwriting, McVeigh signed off on a similar sentiment—“that I am saddened children were killed 4/19/95.”

This strategy would mean that, barely a week into his tenure as McVeigh’s lawyer, Jones had all but given up on seeking an acquittal and was now hoping to soften the public’s view of McVeigh by characterizing the children’s deaths as an unfortunate mistake.

Jones was certainly smart. If he had to cajole McVeigh into signing the authorization letter, he most likely appealed to McVeigh’s desire to protect his friends and coconspirators. McVeigh’s claim of sole responsibility sent a reassuring message to the people under the most pressure from the FBI. Jones wrote in his book that this was never explicitly discussed, but he acknowledged it might have been a motivator for McVeigh.

“If Mike and Lori Fortier and James and Terry Nichols knew he was not ‘ratting them out,’” he wrote, “they wouldn’t be inclined to turn against him.” They could also do what it took to limit their own exposure to prosecution, in the knowledge that they had McVeigh’s blessing and protection.

AFTER THE FBI BUGGED THE FORTIERS’ HOUSE AND PHONE, THEY overheard one indiscretion after another. Michael laughed at the idea of being called as a witness in federal court and said he would “sit there and pick my nose and flick it...and kind of wipe it on the judge’s desk.” He said he would sell his story to the tabloids, and bragged in the cockiest way imaginable about being “the key” the government needed to crack the case. Investigators found this insufferable, but they knew Fortier was right. They needed an insider to testify against McVeigh, and he was it.

Michael and Lori were taken to Oklahoma City and began providing rich and interesting material, though it was hard to tell how much of it was true. And the FBI seemed afraid to ask. They were interviewed together rather than separately, and afforded an hour of complete privacy to go over what they intended to say.

Fortier did most of the talking, focusing mainly on the trip he and McVeigh took to Oklahoma and Kansas in December 1994. McVeigh said he had a lot of

guns to pick up in the Midwest, and Fortier was welcome to resell them for his own profit. The only thing McVeigh wanted in exchange was a wooden gun stock from Fortier's collection. Fortier suspected something fishy, but McVeigh handed him an AR-15 rifle and said he could keep it as long as he accompanied him to retrieve the rest. The deal was on.

The guns were in Kansas, but McVeigh detoured to Oklahoma City to show Fortier a building he intended to blow up. Fortier said the target was tall, U-shaped, with glass frontage—an adequate description of the Murrah Building but one he could easily have picked up from the news after the bombing. Fortier said they did a quick drive-by and left—a statement contradictory to the eyewitness reports of McVeigh walking into the Murrah Building that same day and asking unusual questions.

The next day, Fortier rented a Crown Victoria sedan to transport the guns back to Arizona. They headed to a nearby storage locker—he did not remember the exact location—where McVeigh gave him twenty-five or thirty rifles and shotguns. Fortier asked where they'd come from, and McVeigh told him: "Bob in Arkansas." Fortier asked if they were stolen, and McVeigh winked. Fortier did not take this entirely as a yes; he told the FBI he thought "Bob in Arkansas" was John Doe Two and that the guns somehow tied him and McVeigh together.

Fortier said that McVeigh repeatedly attempted to recruit him for the bombing. At one point he asked McVeigh why he was targeting Oklahoma City, and McVeigh answered: "Because it's easy." McVeigh asked what would persuade him to join the plot, and Fortier said he would not act until he saw a United Nations tank in his front yard.

Fortier and the prosecution team later agreed that the tank-in-the-front-yard conversation took place in August 1994. But if McVeigh had told him about the Oklahoma City plan then, why did Fortier characterize it as a revelation when they were en route to Kansas four months later? Fortier would acknowledge under cross-examination in the trial that he lied to the FBI that day. And the FBI did not call him on it.

BY THE SPRING OF 1994, McVEIGH APPEARED TO BE LIVING A NORMAL life in Kingman, working a stockroom job at True Value Hardware, earning extra money as a gardener, and continuing to peddle his wares at gun shows. But this was all a cover for his true passion: heading out to the desert for target practice and trial runs with pipe bombs and other explosives.

He was putting himself through a rigorous training program for his future as an outlaw. Jim Rosencrans remembered several occasions when Lori Fortier

drove her husband and McVeigh to the middle of nowhere and left them, with full backpacks and weapons over their shoulders, for two or three days at a time. Other times, they would all go out with Ruger mini-14s and Glocks and shoot the crap out of rocks and empty cans.

They also experimented with explosives but had little success. Their pipe bombs were not much better than giant firecrackers. Fortier testified that on one occasion McVeigh placed a large pipe bomb under a boulder, hoping it would split apart, but the boulder merely trembled and rolled a little.

McVeigh's first forays into criminality were equally unimpressive. One night, he and Fortier headed to the National Guard armory to check a rumor that United Nations troops were massing in Kingman. When a diesel truck pulled in with its headlights blazing, they stole some tools from the undercarriage of two Humvees and fled. This was hardly the way to start a revolution.

Around this time, they met Walter "Mac" McCarty, a grizzled former marine who shared much of their antigovernment fervor. Fortier first spotted the pistol on McCarty's hip as he was walking the aisles of True Value. Soon the three men were regularly discussing the Trilateral Commission and the New World Order and going to McCarty's house for handgun shooting lessons. McCarty liked the young men, particularly McVeigh, but did not see them as sophisticated thinkers, or leaders. "They are both frustrated men and great brainwashing material, very impressionable," he said after the bombing. "They remind me of recruits I had in boot camp. You could feed them, teach them the Marine Corps hymn, creeping and crawling and 'yes sir, no sir,' lull them into becoming fighting machines, and send them overseas to kill."

Another person McVeigh almost certainly encountered—though both later denied it—was Jack Oliphant, the leader of a right-wing revolutionary gang called the Arizona Patriots, who attempted an armored car robbery in Nevada in the 1980s and plotted a string of bomb attacks across the Southwest. The Patriots were, in many ways, a knock-off of The Order, the notorious white supremacist gang from the Pacific Northwest, who pulled off a string of assassinations and a spectacular armored car robbery before going down in flames in a showdown with the FBI near Seattle in 1984. The worst damage Oliphant ever caused was to himself, shooting off his right arm in a misadventure with a shotgun. Still, his armored car robbery plan, involving a staged traffic accident and sleeping gas to neutralize the guards, earned him four years in prison.

Oliphant's remote Hephzibah Ranch was a gathering spot for local skinheads and an ideal place for weapons or explosives training. The caretaker of the Lazy L ranch next door, Dyane Partridge, told the FBI after the bombing that she regularly heard gunfire, although no explosions. She also remembered seeing

McVeigh, Nichols, and another man chop wood with Oliphant sometime during the winter of 1993–94. (Nichols had just moved to Las Vegas, ninety miles away.) She remembered the encounter because Oliphant had made it clear that she and her dog should not get too close.

When Oliphant’s wife, Margo, spoke with the FBI, she referred fondly to “Timmy,” leaving the interviewing agent skeptical of her claim that she did not know McVeigh. Oliphant kept a mailbox at the same office as McVeigh. And McVeigh acknowledged that one of his favorite shooting spots was right around the Oliphant ranch.

If McVeigh did, in fact, know Oliphant and sought to learn from him, the chances are he did not get too far. The Arizona Patriots veteran Tom Hoover described Oliphant’s crowd as “a ragtag bunch of dipshits from the weeds with shoulder weapons” and remembered only one explosives expert, a character named Lefty, who accidentally blew his thumb off while fooling around with a grenade.

The Fortiers’ social circle was no more promising for fomenting a bomb plot, because it was as much about crystal methamphetamine as it was about revolution. Jim Rosencrans told the FBI: “Getting high is the only thing left we can do in America.” While McVeigh used the drug himself, especially to stay awake on cross-country car journeys, he also understood that if he wanted to complete his mission, he would need to find other friends.

PERHAPS THE MOST INTERESTING THING STEVE COLBERN TOLD FEDERAL prosecutors was that he was put in touch with McVeigh by Roger Moore and Karen Anderson. Colbern was a regular customer of the couple’s ammunition business, the Candy Store, and in late 1994 he asked if they knew of a hard-core antigovernment group he could join. Anderson mentioned McVeigh by his alias Tim Tuttle, and gave Colbern his P.O. box number.

Colbern and McVeigh corresponded to set up first one, then another meeting, but McVeigh never showed. When Colbern learned—from Roger Moore—about the message McVeigh left on the power utility pole, he was too scared to pick it up. In the end, he said, he never met McVeigh, and gave up on the idea of joining a radical group.

The attorneys accepted this, despite the ATF’s evidence that Colbern and McVeigh were acquainted. This was likely influenced by Lori Fortier, who told the FBI three days earlier that McVeigh had not been interested in reaching out to Colbern. The prosecutors—led by Janet Reno’s top aide, Donna Bucella—either ignored or were never given the countervailing evidence. Dennis Malzac,

one of Colbern's roommates at the Oatman trailer, told the ATF he had heard Colbern talking about making an ammonium nitrate bomb and adding nitromethane to "step it up a little." If the FBI had talked to Malzac, they might have pressured him to say what he told a California detective five years later—that a clean-cut man with blond hair and a military bearing had visited Colbern at the trailer a week or two before the bombing. Malzac was 90 percent sure the visitor was McVeigh. Around the same time, he remembered Colbern asking an odd question: he wondered how big a bomb it would take to destroy the federal building in Oklahoma City.

This material does not create a criminal case against Colbern, because he could have been interested in ammonium nitrate bombs independently of McVeigh, and Malzac could have been exaggerating or lying. But the FBI and the Justice Department did not pursue this, just as they did not pursue the possibility that Colbern owned an enormously dangerous 50-caliber machine gun. The deal that prompted Colbern's release as a bombing suspect did not say anything about this gun, despite evidence he had bought ammunition for it from Moore and Anderson. The gun never came up in *any* of Colbern's subsequent dealings with the criminal justice system, and was never recovered. Colbern's lawyer, Richard Hanawalt, called it "the eight-hundred-pound elephant in the room."

Colbern served less than four years for the charges arising from his 1994 arrest in California, and he was barely mentioned in any of the Oklahoma City bombing trials. According to Bob Sanders, a former deputy director of the ATF, Colbern could—and probably should—have been sentenced for life, given his serious weapons violations and links to McVeigh. "I'm very surprised," Sanders said, "that this guy is walking the streets today."

CAROL HOWE RETURNED TO ELOHIM CITY FOR THREE DAYS IN EARLY May and reported that someone there had talked about a "big secret" connected to the bombing. She had not been able to figure out what this secret was. As the government's sole eyes and ears in the community, she was debriefed by both the ATF and the FBI in Oklahoma City—the FBI never produced a paper trail connected with the meeting—and then returned home.

Only on May 18, when she was formally reinstated as an ATF informant and paid \$250, did she agree to have another go at penetrating the community. But she never made it back. Within days, Howe called her handler, Angela Finley, and said she'd received two separate warnings to stay away. The ATF later learned that Grandpa Millar had fingered Howe as a government snitch, a

potential death sentence. They never sent her to Elohim City again.

MICHAEL TIGAR, THE LEAD COUNSEL APPOINTED TO REPRESENT Terry Nichols, won his client's confidence with an immediate string of courtroom victories. Tigar was one of the more brilliant defense attorneys in the country—dogged, erudite, charming, and a scourge to underprepared prosecutors and law enforcement agents. On May 25, he poured out a torrent of indignation at the treatment not only of his client but also his client's wife, who had been held in “protective custody” at a variety of motels in Kansas and Oklahoma for thirty-four days. Marife Nichols, he charged, was being kept “virtually incommunicado and without counsel” even though she was accused of no wrongdoing. She was interrogated continuously, denied access to her husband's lawyers—never mind her husband—and subjected to search and seizure of her personal property, including her journal. Tigar said this was grossly unfair, and reflected the “lamentably thin” case against Terry Nichols.

Some of this was lawyerly bombast, calculated to secure his client's cooperation as much as it was a shot at the Justice Department. But his description of Marife's predicament was on point. Shortly after Nichols's arrest, Marife learned she was pregnant, but did not dare tell her husband right away. She was still hoping to catch a flight to the Philippines on May 10. When that became impossible, she begged the FBI for the \$5,000 they took from her bedsprings so she could make new plans to leave. They refused.

Once Tigar got involved, she and Nicole were allowed to visit Nichols. She was also given the \$5,000 and allowed to book a flight to the Philippines. Still, she was mad that the FBI had transported her to Oklahoma City but now would not pay for a hotel or take her back to Kansas. She left a scathing voice-mail message with Gene Thomeczek, an FBI agent who had questioned her extensively back in Kansas. “I'm still in Oklahoma City and everything is going bad,” she said. “I mean, thanks a lot...for leaving me here. I just feel like, you know, this is a great time really. You really are a nice guy, but I can't believe these people are doing this to me.”

She and Nicole flew to the Philippines the next day.

JUST AS THE FBI WAS TIRING OF THE HUNT FOR JOHN DOE TWO, AN army sergeant newly based in Fort Benning, Georgia, came forward with information suggesting he might never have existed. Sergeant Michael Hertig told agents that he and a friend had rented a Ryder truck from Eldon Elliott's the day before the Oklahoma City bombing. He thought he should mention this, because his friend Todd Bunting

looked a bit like John Doe Two and, at the time of the rental, was wearing a multicolored Carolina Panthers ball cap, not unlike the one in the composite sketch.

Agents viewed this as a near-providential answer to one of their biggest problems. The man calling himself Robert Kling had rented his Ryder truck on April 17, one day before Hertig and Bunting, and at almost exactly the same time in the afternoon. Had Tom Kessinger and his colleagues confused John Doe Two with Bunting, and, if so, did that mean McVeigh had come into the shop alone?

The FBI tracked down Private Bunting at Fort Riley, and he was indeed a plausible fit for the composite sketch—muscular, with tattoos on both biceps. Bunting said he was a smoker and might have lit up at the body shop, just as Vicki Beemer remembered. Bunting allowed the agents to photograph him wearing the Carolina Panthers hat and the same T-shirt he had worn on April 18 so they could gauge the precise way the tattoos jutted out from below the sleeve. The look was remarkably close to Tom Kessinger’s description.

After this, the FBI held firm to its belief that the events Kessinger and the others described seeing on April 17 had actually occurred a day later. The match was far from perfect. The body shop witnesses remembered John Doe Two being shorter than Kling, but Bunting was five foot ten, about the same height or slightly taller than Hertig. And Hertig did not look like John Doe One, because he had a bushy mustache on the day of the rental; Kling, everyone agreed, was clean-shaven. There were two other major flaws in the government’s theory. First, Eldon Elliott was away on the afternoon of April 18, so he could not have confused Bunting with the second man he saw accompanying Kling. Second, Vicki Beemer knew Michael Hertig and recognized him when he came in on April 18. For that reason, she was certain she did not confuse him with Kling.

What really happened? Tom Kessinger probably did confuse some of Todd Bunting’s features with what he remembered of John Doe Two—particularly the arm tattoo sticking out from beneath the sleeve of his T-shirt. But that did not mean he was wrong about his recollection of how many people came into the body shop on Monday, April 17.

Many people saw the Todd Bunting theory as a genuine breakthrough. Danny Coulson thought so at first, until he heard the objections raised by Elliott and Beemer and determined that the FBI was hiding the John Doe Two problem instead of getting to the bottom of it. “The bureau ended up undercutting its own witnesses,” Coulson said. “They wanted only one guy.” He felt this constituted a violation of the FBI’s fundamental mission. “If I was a commander and they were coming up with invented stuff,” he said, “I’d be pulling their tongues

through their butts.”

Bunting caused some friction among the FBI’s higher-ups, too. I. C. Smith, back in Arkansas after his stint in Washington, remembered asking Bob Blitzer of the bureau’s counterterrorism section about “Unsub Number Two”—their term for John Doe Two—and being surprised when Blitzer said he did not exist. “Is the issue that he doesn’t exist,” Smith countered, “or that you couldn’t find him?”

MICHAEL FORTIER WAS BECOMING A REGULAR LAW ENFORCEMENT tour guide. He took the FBI to the storage locker where McVeigh had stashed blasting caps and other explosive components at the end of 1994, and showed them where he and McVeigh liked to camp and shoot. He also told them about a duffel bag full of supplies that McVeigh buried in the desert so he could hide out after the bombing.

The feds had a few theories on where McVeigh would have gone if he had not been arrested. The one that intrigued them most had him heading to a major airport, either in Wichita or Kansas City, and flying to Arizona—even though this would have forced McVeigh to go through airport security.

Fortier told the FBI he thought McVeigh had filled up several bags with food, money, guns, and ammunition, and stashed them all over the desert. And he mentioned one instance in which he had driven McVeigh into a box canyon and waited for an hour while his friend dumped a green duffel bag somewhere in the wilderness. The feds asked Fortier for directions, and started hunting. “We had the army, the FBI—every method known to man—searching by grid and by rock, but we never found that duffel bag,” Weldon Kennedy said. “I presume it’s still out there.”

Fortier could easily have fabricated the whole thing. But the FBI did not seem to consider that. “Why would Fortier make up a story like that?” Kennedy asked, years later. “There was no reason for him even to tell us that.” No reason—other than Fortier’s desire to tell the feds what they wanted to hear, and the pleasure he would get from wasting their time. The question of where McVeigh was heading after the bombing has never been resolved.

BEYOND THE JOHN DOE TWO DILEMMA, THE FBI HAD TO STRETCH the evidence to prove that McVeigh was John Doe One. Not only did they lack physical evidence putting him in the Junction City body shop, they could barely figure out how he arrived in time to sign the rental contract.

A video surveillance camera at a McDonald’s just over a mile away captured

McVeigh at 3:57 P.M. on April 17, the day the Ryder truck was rented. McVeigh no longer had a car and, according to the government, was alone, so he presumably walked to Eldon Elliott's, a good twenty minutes away. In the FBI's narrative, he made it there in time to enter, introduce himself, and have Vicki Beemer print out the rental form, which was time-stamped at 4:19 P.M. It was raining at the time—a "light mist," as Elliott later testified—but when Kling arrived at the body shop, he was dry. The FBI assigned an agent from the Kansas City bureau to reproduce McVeigh's movements and see if he could make the journey in time. Agent Gary Witt left McDonald's at 3:57—perhaps a touch earlier than McVeigh's actual departure—and arrived at 4:16, with three minutes to spare. One can assume he didn't dawdle; one of his colleagues conceded he walked "at a brisk pace."

When McVeigh talked to Michel and Herbeck, he felt compelled to give a more elaborate explanation of how he got to Eldon Elliott's. About three-quarters of the way there, he said, a young man pulled over and asked if he needed a ride. In the car, he "ran a hand through his brush cut, drying off his hair." No man has ever come forward to match McVeigh's account, and even the FBI gave it no credence. That leaves two other possible scenarios. Either McVeigh was not alone at the body shop, and was driven there by John Doe Two; or he never went at all, and John Doe One was an associate who looked a little like him but was shorter, with rougher skin and an odd way of chewing tobacco.

Most agreed that the best evidence tying McVeigh to the Ryder rental was not the eyewitness testimony, or the John Doe One sketch, but the name Kling, a known alias for which McVeigh had prepared a fake ID with the help of Lori Fortier's typewriter and iron. But McVeigh could have given this ID to someone else so the rental could not be traced directly to either of them. College students, after all, lend their driver's licenses—both real and fake ones—to underage friends. This would not be much different.

McVeigh left no fingerprints at Eldon Elliott's, on the counter or on the rental form. And the handwriting on the rental papers was also inconclusive. A prominent handwriting expert consulted for this book said that the evidence presented at trial linking McVeigh to the Robert D. Kling signature was too weak to determine they were the same. Linda James, the president of the National Association of Document Examiners, said the signature was clearly disguised writing, and "only indications at most" suggested that the originator was McVeigh. Even the backward slant that had excited Agent Mark Bouton did not prove anything, she said, because seven out of eight people who disguise their writing—as was the case here—slant it in a different direction.

By early June 1995, the investigation was driven by two deeply flawed principles. The first was that the eyewitnesses were unreliable and could be dismissed if their contentions clashed with the government's theory of the case. This became a circular argument, to the extent that testimony was then cherry-picked to reinforce a predetermined viewpoint. Of course, assessing eyewitnesses' reliability is important, but there is little evidence it was done dispassionately or fairly in this case.

Prosecutor Scott Mendeloff gave a revealing illustration of the mind-set when he insisted that the Dreamland witnesses must have been mistaken about seeing a second Ryder. "They got their timing off," he said. "There is no indication McVeigh rented a second truck. There's one truck." Perhaps the most instructive way to understand Mendeloff's argument is to read his sentences in reverse, beginning with the last one. He *started* from the premise that there was only one truck—a notion that four eyewitnesses, interviewed separately, all challenged. Rather than allowing himself to challenge the premise, he challenged the eyewitnesses.

The second flawed principle was that the Daryl Bridges phone records could track anything and everything related to the bomb plot. Certainly, a lot of things could be—the hunt for bomb components, the attempt to secure help from people like Dave Paulsen, the frequency of communications between McVeigh and Nichols, and their movements around the country. But the phone records were elevated beyond an investigative tool. "There is absolutely, unequivocally, no way there could have been other conspirators, because the phone records would have shown that," Weldon Kennedy argued. "We interviewed every single recipient of a phone call from Nichols or McVeigh." Kennedy rejected the notion that Elohim City, for example, had not been properly investigated—he called the idea "bullshit." "There was no extensive investigation of Elohim City," he said, "because there was only one call there, which lasted a few seconds."

This reliance on phone records lost sight of a number of things. First, the records could not identify who was making a call. (At least three people—McVeigh, Nichols, and Marife—had the PIN code, and they could have passed it to others.) Second, even though Nichols purchased the card, McVeigh could have used it to set his friend up as a fall guy. And, third, the dependence on the Bridges records assumes that McVeigh and Nichols had no other means of making phone calls away from home.

The last assumption seems particularly perilous. Roger Moore and Karen Anderson told the FBI about phone calls they received from McVeigh, none of which appeared on the Bridges records. Anderson testified, for example, that he phoned just hours ahead of his overnight visit in early 1994; it was not a Bridges

call. Years later, Terry Nichols described how it was a constant source of irritation that McVeigh kept using the card, and he badgered him to get one of his own. According to Nichols, when they met in Kansas on April 14, 1995, McVeigh had obtained a prepaid debit card, and showed it to him to end the argument. There may have been other cards besides.

In June 1995, the investigation had been going just over a month and already, despite the FBI's protestations about leaving no stone unturned, the shape of the government's case was set. It was as notable for what it left out as it was for the oddly truncated version it presented as the whole story.

THE MANY MYSTERIES OF “BOB FROM ARKANSAS”

When Roger Moore was asked by investigators about his relationship with Tim McVeigh, he described it as a catalogue of disappointments and betrayals. Moore had welcomed the young man into the gun-show business, he said; he had fed him, let him share hotel rooms, and invited him to the ranch in Arkansas. In return, McVeigh sponged off him, embarrassed him in public, stole his idea for converting flare guns into rudimentary rocket-launchers, and set him up for a robbery in which Moore lost tens of thousands of dollars’ worth of cash, precious stones, and firearms, as well as personal keepsakes—rare curios from his travels and a .22 Hornet Winchester rifle given to him by his father—which no amount of money could replace.

As FBI agents broadened their investigation, they understood that Moore and his girlfriend, Karen Anderson, had played down both the number of times they had met McVeigh and the length of their encounters. The couple described big, blow-up arguments, including one at the Soldier of Fortune Convention in Las Vegas in 1993, in which McVeigh got into Moore’s face “like a top sergeant” before storming out. But they offered no explanation of why they continued to extend invitations to him. This seemed particularly puzzling, since the couple was intensely private and had offered hospitality to only three or four other people in their ten years in Arkansas.

Moore described McVeigh as paranoid to the point of instability. On an April 1994 visit, he had insisted on sleeping near a window with his Glock .45 under his pillow. He spent hours feeding bullets into his Ruger mini-30 and cranking them out again on Moore’s gravel driveway, apparently convinced that the government was after him and likely to pounce at any moment. Such bizarre behavior did not deter Moore from continuing to write to McVeigh and, as we have seen, using a near-impenetrable private language to convey sensitive information.

In the run-up to the trials, the government largely accepted Roger Moore’s account and groomed him as a prosecution witness. But the government’s own information, along with previously unpublished research by defense investigators and a firsthand account from Terry Nichols, all suggest that Moore could as easily have been a participant in the plot, not only facilitating the

supposed robbery but also offering valuable instruction on bomb-building.

Moore and Anderson said the April 1994 visit was McVeigh's last, but McVeigh's defense team later obtained information suggesting that he returned once or twice more that summer to pick up batches of Kinestik, a binary explosive kit whose components were ammonium nitrate and nitromethane—the very ingredients later used to blow up the Murrah Building. Moore, according to this information (later deemed genuine by McVeigh in his interviews with Michel and Herbeck), had cases of the stuff and did not sell it “to just anybody.” Terry Nichols said Kinestik packs supplied by Moore were used as boosters for the ammonium nitrate barrels he and McVeigh mixed at Geary Lake. According to Nichols, Moore also gave McVeigh blasting caps and cannon fuse.

Nichols is not a neutral source, of course. Since 2005, when he first started talking about his own role in the bomb plot, he has pushed to have Moore arrested and prosecuted as a coconspirator. He told the FBI they could find Moore's fingerprints on a box of nitromethane tubes, originally components from Kinestik kits, which were hidden beneath his house in Herington. When Nichols's accusations first surfaced, Moore not only denied any wrongdoing; he accused Nichols of acquiring the Kinestik himself because he was an “angry man” with his own agenda. The FBI found fingerprint traces on the box Nichols was talking about, but they did not test them for almost three years and then concluded that the prints were unreadable.

McVeigh certainly obtained Kinestik from somewhere. He told Michel and Herbeck he possessed “a couple of small cylinders,” one filled with white powder and the other a red liquid—an exact description of Kinestik, even if he chose not to call it that. (The white powder would have been the ammonium nitrate, the red liquid nitromethane.) According to Nichols, McVeigh had bragged about having Kinestik since mid-1993; in September 1994, they detonated a kit in a creekbed in Kansas.

We also know that, before then, McVeigh's trials with explosives had come to naught. Afterward was a different story.

BY THE SUMMER OF 1994, TERRY NICHOLS WAS WORKING AS A FARMHAND outside Marion, Kansas. The work was tough and offered little financial reward. And it did nothing to improve his marriage: Marife had taken Nicole back to the Philippines earlier in the year, and was planning to attend college there in the fall. Nichols still dreamed of starting a blueberry farm and settling down properly, but he had hardly shaken off the radical antigovernment ideology he developed in Michigan. One of the first things he did when he moved to Kansas

was to walk into the local county clerk's office and, using a lot of the pseudo-legal language he learned from Ralph Daigle, renounce his U.S. citizenship. The clerk remembered him as polite but "not friendly."

One day, McVeigh showed up on one of his frenetic cross-country road trips and suggested they go full-time into the gun-show business together. Immediately, McVeigh suggested buying fifty-pound bags of ammonium nitrate, ostensibly to sell to survivalists and homemade explosives enthusiasts. Nichols paid no attention to this red flag. Following McVeigh appealed to his romantic spirit of rebellion, and he gave his employer a month's notice.

Nichols had about \$12,000 in cash, from the sale of a farm he and Lana had owned, plus another \$12–15,000 in gold coins he bought with the proceeds of his credit-card scams. He turned almost all of it over to McVeigh, who assured him he would get it all back once the business was up and running. McVeigh, though, wanted the money to purchase bomb components. He was essentially leeching off Nichols and relying on his naive willingness to do whatever he was told.

McVeigh didn't just take Nichols's money. He also slept with his wife over several days in September 1994, while Nichols was still working in the fields and she was preparing to leave for the Philippines. McVeigh's motivation—absolute ownership over Nichols—was a lot clearer than Marife's. She later said McVeigh had simply "taken over," helping himself to her like he did to everything else. Nichols concurred: "McV was clearly in the mind-set of using everything I had—my home, my phone, my food, my truck, my trust, myself, and even my wife! And [he] did it all as a means of setting me up to take the fall as part of his goal to achieve his mission."

Nichols, though, did not know how to resist McVeigh's demands, and McVeigh seemed to derive sadistic pleasure from pushing him ever further. Prosecutors would later argue that Nichols unambiguously crossed the line between coercion and cooperating with McVeigh, but the evidence suggests that he did not always understand the difference. One day McVeigh wanted to demonstrate what it was like to be shot at, as he had been in the Gulf War. So he took Nichols into the fields, told him to crouch behind a big rock, and opened fire, most likely with his Ruger assault rifle. "When I count, you roll," he ordered. Nichols was terrified, but did exactly as commanded.

INVESTIGATORS WORKING FOR THE NICHOLS DEFENSE TEAM SPENT two years unearthing everything they could about Roger Moore. And the more they dug, the more bewilderingly complex the man became. He had spent years working for the

federal government he later professed to hate, first for the Social Security Administration in Iowa, and then for the air force. In the 1960s, he and his wife, Carol, had jobs and top-secret security clearances at North American Aviation. From there, they moved to Florida, where they made a fortune in the boat-building business, cashing out in 1977 to settle into a long retirement.

The impression Moore gave to his neighbors and acquaintances in Arkansas was of an angry, suspicious, conspiracy-spewing, tight-fisted gun nut who did not know how to make friends or observe basic rules of civility. He would fire high-powered rifle-rounds and mortars on his ranch after dark, which even in rural Arkansas was regarded as eccentric. Once, he let off a smoke bomb and knocked one of his neighbors unconscious for twenty minutes. He never apologized.

His aversion to having people in the house went back at least to 1986, when a housekeeper ran off with thousands of dollars in cash, and a friend he and Anderson invited to house-sit committed suicide in their garage. He didn't even like attending gun shows much. Bill Stoneman, a local gunsmith, who was the closest thing Moore had to a best friend, said Moore usually let Karen Anderson go by herself so he could stay home with the horses, ducks, geese, parrots, and cats. When he did tag along, Anderson would lug all the gear and do most of the selling. "I hate this shit," Moore himself acknowledged to defense investigator Roland Leeds. "It bores me to death."

Still, rumors about Moore abounded. Some of the more fantastical—and unverified—stories that circulated after the bombing suggested he might have taught sabotage techniques for the CIA at the Camp Peary military base in Virginia, or had been a participant in the Reagan administration's illicit efforts to sell arms to the Nicaraguan contras, or had manufactured pontoon boats used by the CIA to mine three Nicaraguan ports in 1984, or had funneled information to the government on Barry Seal, a former CIA pilot who organized drug transports to Central America from Mena, Arkansas, not far from Moore's ranch.

The Nichols team did not know what to make of such stories, but they found more reasons of their own to question Moore's connections and activities. Despite his background as a successful businessman, and the existence of at least two bank accounts in his name, they found he had almost no credit history. They never figured out why. They also puzzled over a line Moore had given to Rodney Bowers of the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* shortly after his first FBI interviews became public.

"Whatever I was doing for the FBI," Moore said, "is fucked up, because they blew my cover." Bowers later told defense investigators that Moore had called him in a fury when he saw this quoted in the paper. But he would not elaborate

on what he meant.

FBI AGENTS WITH THE BOMBING TASK FORCE ALSO FOUND REASONS to raise questions about Moore's past. They learned that, in 1988, he was caught up in an FBI sting operation, code-name Operation Punchout, which tracked the theft of equipment and supplies from Hill Air Force Base near Salt Lake City. Items as big as F-16 engines—worth about \$2 million each—were disappearing and ending up in the hands of private military surplus dealers. So the FBI set up a fake storefront staffed by a team of undercover agents and handed out flyers at gun shows to lure the thieves into doing business with them. Among the first people to respond to the flyers were Roger and Carol Moore.

Hidden cameras recorded the Moores as they sold \$2,100 worth of .223-caliber ammunition and said they could also come up with explosives and a large number of bootlegged porn videos. The agents asked about their suppliers and they said they were plugged into an “underground” network.

A major investigation appeared to be warranted, but none ever took place. The ammunition rounds the Moores sold were reloads, which made it less likely they had been stolen from the air force. The FBI did not pursue this or any other angle, according to the available records, so the U.S. attorney in Salt Lake City had no grounds to prosecute. A member of the Arkansas State Police Intelligence Unit later said he and a Garland County police lieutenant had looked into the porn distribution issue and could not substantiate it. Oddly, the Garland County Sheriff's Department kept no paperwork on the investigation and, when asked, said there was none.

Moore caught another lucky break in 1989. Using his gun-show alias Robert Miller, he struck a deal with a man in Florida, who said he wanted a hundred pounds of C-4 plastic explosive. They exchanged addresses and phone numbers, and Moore said he would send the C-4 by UPS once he was home in Arkansas. But the man was an undercover informant for the ATF, and he passed Moore's personal information to his handlers. Then something strange happened. The same Arkansas State Police Intelligence Unit officer who found no evidence of wrongdoing in the porn investigation started to pursue a different Robert Miller, a young gangbanger involved in drugs and sex crimes. The officer, Don Birdsong, said he never received Moore's contact details or other information that would have told him he should have been looking for a middle-aged arms dealer.

Four years later, the ATF was on Moore's tail again, this time in response to an alert that Moore and Anderson were selling incendiary ammunition rounds

and flares to an ex-convict in Oregon. Federal law forbade out-of-state sales to anyone without a federal firearms license, much less a convicted arsonist and attempted murderer who could not legally buy weaponry at all. The ATF considered bringing a case but ultimately decided not to.

Did this history of abortive investigations indicate that Moore enjoyed special protection? Bill Buford, the head of the ATF in Arkansas in the early 1990s, did not exclude it. He cited other possible reasons—evidence rules and gun lobby pressure not to enforce federal firearms license regulations—why the two ATF-related cases did not go forward. Buford would not confirm that the ATF faced political obstacles beyond these procedural difficulties. But he also did not deny it.

ON SEPTEMBER 13, 1994, PRESIDENT CLINTON APPROVED A TEN-YEAR assault weapons ban, and McVeigh wondered if he hadn't been plunged into the opening chapter of *The Turner Diaries*, in which passage of a repressive new gun law inspires the beginnings of a white supremacist resistance movement. Nichols said McVeigh experienced the weapons ban as a “prophecy...coming true before his very eyes.” There and then, McVeigh started driving around Kansas looking for bags of ammonium nitrate. He needed eighty or ninety bags for his bomb, but he never found more than a few at a time. Nichols chalked this up to McVeigh's “city mind,” and told him to go to a farm co-op. He even told McVeigh how to look one up in the yellow pages.

They ended up going together to the Mid-Kansas Co-op in McPherson, immediately after Nichols finished his last day's work on the farm. But McVeigh had apparently decided he did not want to be seen making the purchase. As they were approaching the co-op, he jumped out of Nichols's pickup, saying he needed to make some phone calls. Nichols bought forty fifty-pound bags of ammonium nitrate on his own, in cash, and told the salesman, Rick Schlender, that he was planning to spread them on some freshly planted wheat fields.

Schlender found that odd, because the weather was not good for planting and most wheat farmers used liquid fertilizer. Schlender had no strong memory of the man—or men—who made this purchase; he told the FBI he remembered two of them. Since it was raining, Nichols bought a light-colored camper shell to fit over his truck bed—a feature many witnesses would pick up in the months to come.

He and McVeigh dumped the ammonium nitrate in a storage locker in Herington, where Nichols had originally intended to store his furniture. Now he noticed that McVeigh had not rented the space in his name, as he requested, but

under the alias Shawn Rivers. It was another warning sign about McVeigh's intentions that he failed to pick up on until much later.

That night, McVeigh pushed Nichols further into criminality by suggesting they scope out a nearby mining quarry and take whatever explosives they could find, just for fun. McVeigh presented it as something similar to his misadventure with Fortier at the National Guard armory in Kingman. But, this time, he and Nichols conducted a thorough reconnaissance and made plans to come back the next night. They brought Nichols's Makita drill to break the padlocks and took care to park McVeigh's Chevy a quarter-mile away on the far side of a field.

They hauled away enough material to build several large bombs: 299 sticks of Tovex, 544 electric blasting caps, and 93 lengths of Primadet shock tube fitted with nonelectric caps. Even now, Nichols would not see what trouble McVeigh was leading him into. "I was in denial that this one act would suck me into worse things that McVeigh had up his sleeve," he wrote in 2010.

They were remarkably lucky they weren't caught. A trucker named Craig Knoche usually parked his vehicle outside the quarry at midnight so he could catch a few hours' sleep before loading up in the morning. That Saturday, though, he was out late and did not pull in until about 4:00 A.M. He spotted lights from a stationary vehicle half a mile away, but nodded off to sleep when he saw no signs of people moving about. When the local sheriff, Ed Davis, investigated, he found four padlocks missing but recovered a fifth, which had been drilled through and abandoned—possibly because McVeigh and Nichols heard the truck coming.

Sheriff Davis drew up a list of suspects, but Nichols and McVeigh would not have crossed his radar, because they did not have criminal records. Besides, Nichols and McVeigh were gone the next day—off to Arizona with eight and a half boxes of Tovex beneath Nichols's camper shell and the blasting caps in the trunk of McVeigh's Spectrum. Any obvious trace in Marion County was gone with them.

IN OCTOBER 1993, ROGER MOORE WAS SLUNG IN JAIL IN WAGONER, OKLAHOMA, for pulling a loaded gun during a road-rage incident. The Oklahoma Highway Patrol could never prove that Moore opened fire, as the occupants of the other vehicle alleged. But they still charged him with illegal possession—of the gun, and of "controlled dangerous substances" they found in his car.

As soon as Karen Anderson heard, back in Hot Springs, she started digging for \$50,000 in cash she had buried at the ranch and sped to Oklahoma to bail him out. She tried to hand the money in great wads to the sheriff's office, but the

desk officer wouldn't accept it and sent her to a bail bond agency across the street. Anderson befriended the agent, and was soon in touch with the best-connected lawyer in town, Richard McLaughlin. Soon after, Moore walked away with just \$303 in fines and court costs.

The story might have ended there, except that six months after the Oklahoma City bombing Moore reappeared in McLaughlin's office and complained he had been overcharged. He was so obnoxious that McLaughlin lost his temper and told Moore he hoped the FBI indicted him for the bombing. Moore said the feds would not touch him, "because he was a protected government witness." McLaughlin either missed the significance of this or did not believe it. Instead, he accused Moore of financing the bombing. Moore, in McLaughlin's account, "got a funny look on his face." Sensing that things were about to get violent, McLaughlin reached for his gun, pointed it at his client, and told him to get out. He kept an eye on Moore all the way to the parking lot.

When McLaughlin told this story to Moore's bail agent, Dianna Sanders Burk, he heard an even stranger one in return. In April 1995, right after the bombing, Burk learned that Moore had been trying to reach her to get someone out of jail. In fact, he drove to Wagoner just to see her. She had sold her business by then and did not see him or speak to him for several days. They maintained regular contact over the next few months, and Burk became ever more intrigued when Moore started talking about his friend Tim McVeigh, who he said was "not a bad guy" but had been set up by the feds.

Even before she swapped notes with McLaughlin, Burk became convinced that Moore had come looking for her in April to bail McVeigh out of the Noble County jail.

BACK IN KINGMAN, McVEIGH AND NICHOLS COULD NOT WAIT TO test their new explosives, so they went to the desert to detonate an improvised ammonium nitrate and nitromethane device inside a gallon milk jug. It did not work. Nichols thought McVeigh did not allow enough time for the liquid to soak in. McVeigh was too embarrassed to talk about it, and just kept experimenting. A few days later, he went back to the desert alone and this time, he said, the mixture blew without a hitch.

McVeigh used some of the new materials that he and Nichols had stolen from the quarry, but the bulk of the Tovex and blasting caps were now in a storage unit in Kingman, which McVeigh rented as soon as he arrived. Then, on October 11, McVeigh called Nichols back from Las Vegas, where he was visiting Josh, and insisted they move the blasting caps—just the caps—right away to a

new storage unit 140 miles away in Flagstaff. Ostensibly, McVeigh did this to spread the risk of discovery, but Nichols said there might have been another purpose. “McVeigh had to hand about half of those blasting caps off to someone,” he said, “because only about half were ever recovered.” The FBI never looked into it, because they never knew about the Flagstaff storage locker; Nichols did not disclose this until 2007.

On October 16, the tension between the two men exploded into open animosity. They were driving from a gun show in Colorado Springs back to Kansas when McVeigh gave the order to buy a second ton of ammonium nitrate. Nichols asked what it was for, then tried to say no when McVeigh spelled it out for him. “He became very angry,” Nichols recounted. “As he spoke, he shifted his body, turning toward me a bit, lifted up his left arm over the top of the seat back, which caused his plaid flannel shirt to swing back..., and exposed his Glock .45 handgun.”

McVeigh said he knew where Nichols’s son Josh lived, where his brother James lived, where his mother lived, and would have no problem “eliminating them” if necessary. If he even suspected Nichols of running to the authorities, he would put a bullet in his head. “No one is going to stop me carrying out my plans,” he said.

This was the turning point, Nichols said, the moment when he finally understood how much trouble he was in. But he was too scared by McVeigh’s volcanic moods and too confused to know how to back out. So he kept doing as he was told.

The next day, McVeigh extended the contract on the Herington storage locker, still using his alias Shawn Rivers, and told Nichols it was no longer available for his furniture. Nichols found another space and lugged his things without a protest. A day later, Nichols bought the second ton of fertilizer at the Mid-Kansas Co-op.

Next, McVeigh demanded another \$4,000 to pay for the rest of the bomb components. Nichols said the only way he could get the money was to sell off part of his gold coin collection. McVeigh ordered him to do it and accompanied him to his coin dealer in Wichita to make sure it happened.

So it went with the rest of the shopping spree. When McVeigh and Nichols visited a stock-car race south of Dallas the next weekend, they had no problem acquiring three fifty-five-gallon barrels of nitromethane; the salesman was happy to take the cash—Nichols’s cash—and ask no questions. That left just a dozen barrels to complete the bomb components. McVeigh was so particular about what he wanted that it took almost a week of driving around Kansas to find them. They eventually picked up six refurbished black steel barrels with

removable lids from a recycling center, and six white plastic barrels from a dairy processing plant. The total cost of all twelve: just \$54.

McVeigh and Nichols stored everything in the Herington locker and headed back to Kingman. Despite Mike Fortier's later testimony, it seems unlikely McVeigh had picked out a specific date or target city yet. Nichols was sure he was planning a bombing for Thanksgiving, Christmas, or New Year's. Either way, his intention was set. He told Fortier he intended to inflict mass casualties, which he rationalized by likening his targets to storm troopers in *Star Wars*. "They may be individually innocent," he said, "but they are guilty because they work for the Evil Empire."

Nichols headed back to Las Vegas to visit Josh, and to put some distance between himself and McVeigh's plans, but within days McVeigh was ordering him to come back to Kingman again. McVeigh was going to New York because his grandfather just died and he wanted to give Nichols instructions before he left. Nichols was afraid of what those would entail, so he blew off the meeting and headed to Kansas where he did not think he could be discovered.

To his astonishment, McVeigh showed up the next morning at the Geary Lake camping ground where he had pitched his tent—a favorite spot that was probably not all that difficult to guess—and told him the new assignment had to do with "Bob from Arkansas." Nichols thought McVeigh was going to suggest bringing Roger Moore into their gun-show business; he had mentioned in the past that "Bob" was interested in providing sale items to help get them going.

But McVeigh had a completely different proposal. "We are going to rob him," he said. Or, more specifically, Nichols was going to rob him. "It will be much easier than you think," McVeigh said. "He will be like a kitten and give you absolutely no trouble at all. Just trust me."

ON THE MORNING OF SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 5, ROGER MOORE WAS wandering out to feed the animals when a masked man pointing a pistol-grip shotgun ordered him to lie flat on the ground. Soon he was lying trussed up on the living-room couch while the intruder picked the house clean. Nichols, who carried out the robbery, felt it was all too easy and couldn't help wondering if it had been prearranged with Moore's consent. He was not the only one who thought the whole thing stank.

Moore told many different versions of the story, and they all begged a lot of questions. According to most of his accounts, he was initially immobilized with plastic police ties but successfully sweet-talked the gunman into replacing them with duct tape, because they were cutting off the blood circulation to his hands. The unusually indulgent robber was also thoughtful enough to leave an opened

penknife on an end table next to the couch, enabling him to slice through his bonds once the robbery was over. Moore described the intruder as a ruthless Special Forces type, but the man's behavior seemed neither ruthless nor especially careful. Beyond the penknife, he also left a loaded stainless-steel revolver sitting in a magazine box just a few feet from his purported victim.

Moore said the robber took more than seventy firearms, but the insurance adjuster noticed that the closets where the guns were supposedly kept were too small to hold that many. Bill Stoneman told investigators that Moore and Anderson usually kept their cash and jewelry buried on the property, but the robber found silver and gold coins and bullion, precious, and semiprecious stones, pre-Columbian jade from Costa Rica, and close to \$9,000 in cash all lying openly around the house.

Moore's uncanny memory of the robber's appearance was also suspect. In his court testimony, he described a swarthy man, just under six feet tall, who stank like a "pig yard" and was wearing a black serge ski mask with generous eye and mouth openings, and unusual gray Israeli combat boots. Terry Nichols later contradicted this by saying he wore 1990s-era camouflage gear, ordinary brown jersey gloves, and standard-issue black boots. He had a nylon stocking over his head, not a ski mask, with holes cut out for his eyes and his glasses perched on top.

"My glasses on the outside should have been obvious to Moore, but he never describes the robber as wearing glasses," Nichols wrote in 2010. Nichols's lawyers suggested in court that Moore had taken his description of the black mask from a photograph on a gun-show flyer, which the FBI found in his van.

If Moore's description was wrong, could it have been an attempt to protect Nichols, or to incriminate someone else? Richard Guthrie, the Aryan Republican Army bank robber, was one of the few people on the radical right who had a pair of Israeli combat boots and he was also known to neglect his personal hygiene. Had he done something to anger Moore? Intriguingly a Robert Miller driver's license and several Kinestik packs were recovered after Guthrie and Pete Langan, his fellow ARA ringleader, were arrested in early 1996. But the FBI never made serious inquiries into this link.

McVEIGH TOLD NICHOLS THAT ROBBING MOORE WOULD BE HIS reward for fronting so much money over the previous two months. All McVeigh wanted were the guns and a \$2,000 cut of the cash; Nichols was welcome to the rest. In the run-up to the robbery, McVeigh told Nichols with great precision where to find everything—including Moore's camper van, which was parked by the back door for easy

loading. McVeigh said the robbery had to take place on November 5, because Karen Anderson would be away at a gun show—something she had told almost nobody, according to an interview she later gave the FBI. McVeigh also knew that Moore would walk out of the house around 9:00 A.M.

Nichols found everything as McVeigh described, except the cash, which was not in a filing cabinet but—even more obviously—on Moore’s desk. Nichols, ever the stickler for following instructions, had to ask Moore for help locating it, prompting a sarcastic comeback from Moore. He took nothing of value from Anderson’s room, as instructed, although he did help himself to two pillowcases to carry some smaller items, and removed the quilt from her bed so he would have something to cover the loot in the back of Moore’s camper van. The quilt later showed up on the Nicholsons’ bed in Herington.

ROGER MOORE’S NEIGHBOR VERTA “PUDGE” POWELL THOUGHT HE was playacting from the moment he rang her doorbell and said he had been robbed. His phone lines had been cut, and he barged past her, demanding to use the phone. She glowered when she saw a revolver sticking out of his sweatpants.

Pudge said Moore talked in a suspiciously low voice on his calls. When her husband came home, they found out Moore had not even phoned the police. Moore said something about the government trying to shut down a movement he was leading and suggested he had been robbed to keep him “in check.” When the sheriffs arrived, at Powell’s insistence, they asked Powell if he thought the robbery was genuine. He, like the rest of the family, did not believe any of it.

Farmers Insurance was also skeptical. The company adjuster handling Moore’s claim thought the story sounded like a “rehearsed script.” He would have launched a full investigation, but the caps on Moore’s policy left more than 90 percent of his claim uncovered. Quibbling over a \$5,900 settlement was not worth the company’s time, so he let it go unchallenged.

Moore had no apparent problem with the money—he had deliberately underinsured himself because he didn’t want anyone, even his insurance company, to know how many valuables he kept on his property. But he was oddly upset not to have the robbery investigated. He made an angry phone call to his insurance agent and told her daughter, who answered the phone, he would “smear [her] all over the counter.”

ON THE EVENING OF THE ROBBERY, McVEIGH CALLED MICHAEL FORTIER and told him that “Terry did Bob.” He also advised him to watch his back. “He thought that Bob would send private investigators out to Arizona to look for him,” Fortier later

testified. “And if those investigators would be in Kingman, they would find me, because I’m associated with Tim.”

Curiously, McVeigh knew all about the robbery before Nichols had a chance to tell him. The Daryl Bridges records show that Nichols did not call McVeigh that day; Nichols said he did not contact McVeigh until Monday, November 7, after he had dumped the robbery loot in a new storage locker in Council Grove, Kansas.

If Nichols did not tell McVeigh the robbery had gone off smoothly, then someone else must have, possibly Moore himself. McVeigh was at a gun show in Akron, Ohio, and not easy to reach, but he could have waited by a pay phone at a prearranged hour, or used an intermediary at the gun show to take a message for him. The FBI preferred to believe that the phone call to the Fortiers did not take place until several days later—even though it is in the Bridges records at 8:09 P.M. Eastern Time on November 5.

ONCE NICHOLS HAD SECURED THE GUNS, HE DROVE TO LAS VEGAS with the rest of the stolen goods. He had decided he wouldn’t tell anyone where he had stashed everything; he had a feeling that if McVeigh found out, the loot would not remain his for long, But he found himself telling McVeigh about the guns anyway as soon as he was asked. He was angry with himself about that, and determined not to let anything else elude his grasp.

Nichols’s plan was to fly to the Philippines and stay until the New Year so he could not be blamed for any catastrophes over the holidays. The Philippines was not exactly a risk-free destination; he was deathly afraid of Marife’s ex-boyfriend, and far from convinced that Marife still wanted to be married to him. But that was a chance he would have to take.

He arrived at Lana Padilla’s house beside himself with paranoia. He was terrified about being drawn into a criminal conspiracy and did not know how to share his troubles without burdening Lana or Josh with guilty knowledge. Lana thought his strange behavior was a sign of suicidal depression. Nichols had been out of touch for the second half of October, and while he hadn’t told Lana about quitting his farm job, she suspected it, because he was no longer answering his phone there. Eventually, she sent a note to his post office box in Kansas, which said: “Call me. It’s urgent. We need to talk about Josh.”

Nichols needed to devote some proper time to his son, so he postponed his flight to the Philippines until November 22—the anniversary of Jason’s death—and started planning the disposal of his property in case he didn’t make it out of Southeast Asia alive. In context, the “Go for it!” note from Nichols to McVeigh

takes on new, or at least more shaded, meanings. This phrase follows on from a paragraph describing locker #37 in Council Grove, the one with Moore's guns in it. Nichols explained—and it seems plausible—that the line “As for heat, none that I know of” refers to the Moore robbery, not the purchase of bomb components. And “Your on your own, go for it!!” could mean: if I'm out of the picture (because I'm dead), take the guns and do what you will with them.

Nichols barely made it out of the country. As he boarded the first leg of his flight, from Las Vegas to Los Angeles, a security guard spotted a stun gun in his hand luggage. He had packed two as gifts for Marife's family. Although carrying an offensive weapon on a passenger aircraft was a federal offense, the episode was treated, amazingly, as no big deal. Nichols repacked the stun guns in his checked luggage and was allowed to proceed.

ONCE McVEIGH REALIZED NICHOLS WAS OUT OF THE COUNTRY, HE turned to his other best friend, Michael Fortier, and used the loot from the Moore robbery as leverage to try to talk him into helping carry out the bombing.

His promise of a \$10,000 payday certainly concentrated the Fortiers' minds. Lori ironed the plastic cover on McVeigh's fake Robert Kling ID and disguised the blasting caps from the quarry robbery by wrapping them in Christmas paper. According to Lori, McVeigh also performed a little demonstration, taking a pile of soup cans from the Fortiers' kitchen cupboard and arranging them into the configuration he had in mind for the ammonium nitrate and nitromethane barrels. The prosecution used this story at McVeigh's trial to show a high degree of premeditation, but there are grounds to doubt its veracity. When Michael Fortier was asked on the witness stand if Lori had told him the story before she shared it with the FBI, he said she had not.

Either way, McVeigh lured Michael Fortier into traveling with him to Kansas and Oklahoma with two boxes of blasting caps in the trunk. But he could not convince him to carry out the bombing then and there. A frustrated McVeigh drove on to Michigan, but on the way, his car was hit hard from the rear on the I-90 highway. “In ½ a second,” he later wrote, with his customary blend of fact and self-dramatization, “I restarted the car, floored it and popped the clutch.” With his front wheels spinning and his back wheels dragging against the smashed fender, he maneuvered himself out of danger in the nick of time.

The stark reality, not lost on McVeigh, was that the thump could have set off one or more of the blasting caps and blown him to smithereens. By the time McVeigh wrote about the accident—to Roger Moore, of all people—he had convinced himself that the accident was intentional, most likely the work of a

government agent. “This makes me real nervous. Has anyone else had anything happen to them?” he asked in his letter, dated January 10, 1995.

Why was Moore still corresponding with the man he saw as the lead suspect in the robbery? Moore said he wanted to draw McVeigh back to the ranch and confront him face-to-face. “I could kill that motherfucker for robbing me,” Moore later railed to a defense investigator. “I didn’t need this.” The surviving correspondence, however, suggests that Moore and McVeigh were on remarkably good terms, writing cryptically but unmistakably about starting a revolution against the government. “The important thing is to be as effective as possible,” Moore wrote in the letter recovered from McVeigh’s mail drop after the bombing. Was he really just talking about recovering his guns?

AFTER THE BOMBING AND THE INITIAL ROUND OF INTERVIEWS, the FBI assigned Mark Jessie, an agent out of the Hot Springs office, to keep an eye on Moore. But Moore did not get along with Jessie, and he was replaced with a softer agent, Floyd Hays, who struck up an unlikely friendship with Moore that earned him repeated—and unheard of—invitations to the ranch. “Roger was a person who wanted everyone to like him,” Hays said years later. “He was a little bit different. But he was not a mean guy or a bad guy.”

This was hardly conventional wisdom in Hot Springs. But it was not an uncommon view in the FBI, where Moore was being considered as a prosecution witness, and any suspicions about him were increasingly viewed as an inconvenience. Jon Hersley, an agent from Oklahoma City who helped interview Moore and Anderson and later helped prepare the case for trial, believed everything Moore said and, in a book he cowrote, argued that Moore’s association with McVeigh was the consequence of an overly trusting nature. “Moore had learned over the years that being in the gun-show business meant meeting all kinds of people,” Hersley wrote. “Some were wonderful—and there were some whose intentions were not so noble.” Somehow, Roger Moore had morphed into a poor, fragile flower of a man. “He was nervous about being suspected,” Hays concurred, “almost to the point of crying.” Within months, all investigative interest in him evaporated.

NARROWING THE INVESTIGATION’S FOCUS WAS NOT MET WITH UNIVERSAL approval, even within the government. “There was intense discussion inside the prosecution team, in terms of...whether McVeigh and Nichols were the only two responsible,” said Larry Mackey, one of the prosecutors most open to new avenues of investigation. Some of Mackey’s colleagues were willing to give up on John Doe

Two and accept the Todd Bunting theory, while others remained skeptical. Some were intrigued by Robert Jacques. The possible link to the bank robberies grew more enticing after a newspaper article about the Murrah Building bomb was left at the scene of an ARA heist in Missouri in August 1995.

John Magaw, the ATF director, spent the summer expecting Roger Moore to be indicted, along with at least one or two others. “Any investigative effort worth its salt would have pursued it, and pursued it hard,” he said of Moore. “That may be one of the people I felt all along was culpable—involved in one way or another.”

Broadening the investigation’s focus, however, became unlikely once the Fortiers struck a deal on August 4 to testify against McVeigh and Nichols. Michael Fortier pled guilty to charges of transporting and selling stolen weapons and failing to alert the authorities to the bombing in advance. In exchange, the government promised to go easy on his sentence, provided he held up his side of the bargain on the witness stand. Lori Fortier, who was four months pregnant, was given immunity.

The indictment, which appeared six days later, set the start of the conspiracy at September 13, 1994, but did not explain why. This led to speculation in some quarters that the date was somehow connected to Elohim City, because McVeigh checked out of a nearby motel in eastern Oklahoma that morning. The date, though, had nothing to do with the evidence. It was the day President Clinton signed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, which first introduced the death penalty for using, or conspiring to use, a weapon of mass destruction. Prosecutors worried that if they put the start of the conspiracy any sooner, the capital charges might get thrown out. It didn’t mean that evidence before that date was inadmissible; plenty was admitted, in both trials. It was a technicality—“legally relevant,” in Mackey’s words, “but factually irrelevant.”

The indictment was not entirely blind to the continuing investigation and referred to “others unknown” besides McVeigh and Nichols. But it did not point fingers at anybody else by name. It was, in essence, a promissory note on the outcome of further investigation, which never materialized.

OKLAHOMA'S OWN PRIVATE AFGHANISTAN

Even before Carol Howe learned Andreas Strassmeir's full name, she had him marked for a dangerous man. They met when she and Dennis Mahon drove up to Elohim City for weekends in the fall of 1994, and she was immediately startled by the vehemence of Strassmeir's antigovernment rhetoric. "His plans," she wrote in her notes, which she later passed on to the ATF, "are to forcibly act to destroy the U.S. government with direct actions and operations. Assassinations, bombings, mass shootings etc. He believes we cannot outbreed the enemy so we must use mass genocide against them and of course the biggest enemy—the U.S. government."

Howe saw Strassmeir and his ragtag security team on their regular patrols around the perimeter of Grandpa Millar's community, and she heard him talk about converting an SKS rifle to full automatic using a piece from a food can. When he boasted he was stockpiling weapons and might have access to an M60 machine gun—a serious piece of military hardware unavailable on the open market—her handlers' ears pricked up and they told Howe to find out as much as she could about the strange, belligerent man she knew as Andi the German.

As an attractive blonde in a predominantly male world of gun nuts and would-be revolutionaries, Howe did not have to try hard to coax Strassmeir, or anyone else, to open up. She accompanied him to a nearby swimming hole, giving him a good look at her inky-black swastika tattoo, and flashed her knowledge of military hardware. Howe knew she had Strassmeir's attention when he shoved his hand down her shirt, although she later wondered if he was feeling for a wire. By Christmas 1994, she had his full name and birth date, enabling the ATF to check his immigration status and establish he was an overstay on his visa.

Howe was equally efficient in collecting evidence against Mahon. She gave him grenade hulls, which she obtained from Angela Finley, her ATF handler, and induced him on at least two occasions to fill them and detonate them in the woods. She recovered shrapnel pieces to pass on to the ATF, and she also reported with glee how he "hailed his fat butt" to safety after he had pulled the grenade pin, then demanded sex, or at least a back rub, as a reward for what he had done. "You realize we just committed a major felony here," she reported him

saying with obvious elation. Howe rejected his advances and said that if he found her cold, it was because good terrorists needed ice in their veins; he had told her so himself.

Nothing in Howe's file suggests she came across Tim McVeigh or Terry Nichols at Elohim City, but she provided plentiful information pointing to threats of violence from within the community. As 1995 dawned, she told her handlers about a sermon in which Millar gave his blessing to a war against the ATF and the rest of the government. Patriots from Texas, Missouri, Arkansas, and Oklahoma would join forces for the coming fight, Millar predicted, and carve out a swath of independent territory. She also reported Mahon boasting about a five-hundred-pound ammonium nitrate bomb he set off in Michigan.

Several people in and out of government have attempted to discredit Howe as a fantasist and a liar. Strassmeir dismissed her, with the benefit of hindsight, as a "dress Nazi"; Kirk Lyons, apparently taking umbrage at the way she flirted with Strassmeir to win his confidence, called her "a very screwed up little vamp." But her work proved to be right much more than it was wrong. Bob Sanders, a former deputy director of the ATF, was impressed when he reviewed her file in 1997, and saw no reason to think she attempted to fabricate information, deceive anyone, or exaggerate. Dave Roberts, Angela Finley's boss at the ATF's Tulsa office, told a grand jury hearing in 1998: "I felt that Carol Howe was being effective as an informant, and I felt that she was sincere in her efforts."

And yet her information did not lead to a broader investigation, or even to explosives and weapons charges against Strassmeir and Mahon, as Howe and her handlers expected. Bob Sanders thought this was an outrage. "The entire manpower devoted to this investigation seems to have been nothing but one trainee agent [Finley]," he wrote incredulously in a report for Howe's legal representatives. "If the information provided by [Howe] is to be believed, as it clearly was, then the lack of investigation by BATF amounts to gross nonfeasance per se.... This was amateur hour in Oklahoma."

It was not the first time the federal government had tiptoed around Elohim City, only to lose its nerve and shy away. Nor would it be the last. After the Oklahoma City bombing, many people in law enforcement wanted to know what had gone on there, and felt there was a strong chance it had some connection to McVeigh. But they were either reluctant to investigate, or ordered not to.

JACK KNOX KNEW ELOHIM CITY WOULD BE A PROBLEM AFTER THE bombing, because he had come unstuck in his own efforts to investigate the place eight years earlier.

At that time, he was still an FBI agent, based in Fort Smith, Arkansas, and he had a very personal reason to be suspicious of Grandpa Millar, because he had been targeted for assassination by Millar's friends Jim Ellison and Wayne Snell. Both of those men were now serving hard time, but Knox and the U.S. Attorney's Office in Fort Smith had ambitious plans to retry them, along with their most prominent brothers in arms, for the rarely prosecuted crime of sedition. It was only the third time in the country's history that such a charge had been brought, but the government was determined to eradicate the threat from the radical far right once and for all. Many of the defendants in the case were in prison already but some, including Louis Beam, now started appearing on FBI Wanted posters.

One fugitive of particular interest to Knox was James Wallington, who had been a peripheral figure in The Order, the most dangerous of the 1980s white supremacist gangs. Wallington was suspected of having transported and hidden millions of dollars from a spectacular armored-truck robbery in northern California in 1984. And now the word was that he was hiding out at Elohim City.

Knox had Millar's blessing to visit the community, but when he arrived with a full FBI search party, he was greeted by a posse of teenagers with semiautomatic and fully automatic weapons. "We radioed down for Millar and an assistant of his to come before there was an incident," he recalled. The teenagers backed off.

Knox was disinclined to ruffle community feathers by sending armed agents into the Elohim City church, so he told Millar they would stay away as long as he had his word that Wallington was not inside. Millar assured him he was not. "I didn't think they would disrespect God so much that they would hide a fugitive in there," Knox said.

But Knox heard a few days later that Wallington was in the church after all. He had been living in a disused bus under the alias Charlie Green and raising a daughter, Sarah, who later married Dave Hollaway of the CAUSE Foundation. Sarah had vivid memories of spending part of her itinerant childhood sleeping on a sack full of banknotes from the California robbery in the back of a truck. The money was never recovered.

The sedition trial did not go well, either. Jim Ellison was the star prosecution witness, but he had no credibility, because he was so manifestly in it to reduce his prison sentence at everyone else's expense. The defendants hated him for ratting them out, and the jurors were little better disposed. In the words of one observer, he came across as a "lying, deceiving sociopath."

The dock included former members of The Order and Ellison's Covenant,

the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, plus the radical right's three most recognizable national leaders: Richard Butler of Aryan Nations; Robert Miles, an incendiary Ku Klux Klan leader from Michigan accused of plotting to put cyanide in the nation's water supply; and Beam, who was arrested at a lakeside hideout in northern Mexico after a dramatic shootout with the federal police.

To the government's dismay, Judge Morris "Buzz" Arnold dispensed with the usual jury selection procedure and handpicked an all-white jury who knew nothing about the defendants' crime sprees and previous trials. One juror flirted openly with David Lane, who was involved in the murder of the Denver radio host Alan Berg, and another ended up marrying David McGuire, one of Jack Knox's suspected would-be assassins. "The judge," Knox complained, "was dredging right at the bottom of the barrel."

After seven weeks of testimony, the jury acquitted everybody—a humiliation for the government and an unalloyed triumph for the radical right. The defendants marched from the courthouse to a nearby Civil War memorial and raised a Confederate flag. "The message was the same one God told Pharaoh," the Arkansas Klan leader Thom Robb crowed. "Let my people go."

The FBI conducted an agonizing postmortem. "The bottom line was, the jury couldn't understand how a dozen people could get together and overthrow the country," Horace Mewborn of the bureau's domestic terrorism unit said. The FBI decided that if it ever tried another case against white supremacists, it would keep the evidence as simple as possible: no subplots, no overreaching, and no attempts to tie individual crimes to a broader movement.

"We learned that the hard way with Fort Smith," Mewborn said. Inevitably, this influenced FBI thinking after the Oklahoma City bombing and accounted for some of the reluctance to take the case beyond McVeigh and Nichols.

Soon, the FBI was further hamstrung by a scandal over its monitoring of CISPES, a left-wing group opposed to the Reagan administration's policies in Central America. Since Watergate, the Justice Department had insisted that the bureau focus only on bona fide crime investigations, to the exclusion of more speculative intelligence-gathering. But when the FBI director was forced to admit to Congress that the bureau's lengthy investigation into CISPES was groundless, the rules were tightened, and any subject that risked blurring the line between violence and legitimate political speech was suddenly deemed radioactive. That included investigations into the far right. "Everybody just walked in fear of domestic terrorism cases," Mewborn said. "They were positive they were going to blow up in their face."

The FBI never went back into Elohim City. Mewborn lobbied for a new warrant on Wallington and won the backing of the FBI's Little Rock division.

But Bob Ricks, then a deputy assistant director, killed it in Washington. “I don’t even remember if he gave me a reason,” Mewborn said.

The decision was almost certainly not Ricks’s alone, nor was it necessarily the wrong one at the time. “I was told that everybody was armed in there,” Ricks said in a 2010 interview. “The element of danger was extremely high.... A lot of people would have gotten killed, more than likely, all for a potential witness. It seemed to me that other means needed to be deployed.”

Sooner or later, though, the notion that the FBI would do nothing about Elohim City *because* it was dangerous risked looking like a dereliction of its fundamental responsibilities.

BY THE TIME ANDREAS STRASSMEIR CROSSED PATHS WITH CAROL HOWE, he assumed he was going to die in a firefight with the FBI or ATF. Years later, he made the extraordinary admission that he was more afraid of being sent back to Germany than of getting shot to pieces by the feds. “I wished they had come,” he said in a 2010 interview. “Why didn’t they?”

Since the Waco siege, the Elohim City elders had been jumpy about being next on the government’s hit list, and Strassmeir made it his business to ensure the community would not go down without a fight. He attended gun shows—where he befriended McVeigh—and arranged purchases of weaponry and ammunition. He organized platoons of young men, set up a shooting range, and showed them how to handle grenades and Claymore mines. With his military-trained eye, he surveyed the hilly terrain and saw in it “a mix of the Afghani mountains and the Vietnam jungle.”

“Helicopters are useless, tanks are useless,” he said. “It’s all about infantry.”

At different times, his crew included Pete Ward, Kevin McCarthy, and Mike Brescia, with whom he shared a house. He taught Cheyne Kehoe to shoot and remembered him as a “rebellious spirit” and a “cool guy.” Once, a sheriff’s department narcotics officer dropped in unannounced and walked straight into an armed exercise. “He was impressed,” Strassmeir recalled. “The message was: We’re not some Jesus freaks on the mountain. It won’t be a cakewalk.”

Grandpa Millar placed greater confidence in Strassmeir and his military experience than in Zera Patterson, his nominal security chief, who had been Strassmeir’s host when he first arrived. Strassmeir’s ambition was to equip every adult with at least two firearms, and Millar gave his blessing to acquire SKS assault rifles, AR15s, and Ruger mini-14s.

Since nobody at Elohim City had any money, the budget did not permit a lot of frills. Strassmeir purchased Chinese SKS knockoffs by the crateload, and

ammunition to go with them. “You get the rifle, bandolier, stripper clips, and folding bayonet for fifty dollars,” he said. A crate of 7.62 × 39–mm ammo, containing more than a thousand rounds, ran to just \$90.

The ATF eventually caught up to his cut-price suppliers, warning thirty-five leading importers and all federal firearms license-owners in early 1994 that the government now regarded the ammunition as armor-piercing and therefore illegal. Strassmeir and his friends raced around every tackle shop they could find to snap up the dwindling supplies of “Chink” ammo.

Strassmeir was walking a dangerous line between defensive maneuvers and outright provocation. He knew he could not provide real protection from a full-on federal raid, but that did not deter him. “The funny thing,” said Dave Hollaway, who was furious when he found out about his friend’s activities, “is that Andi can’t shoot *himself*. He’s prehistoric, man, prehistoric!... You can only keep people out of trouble if you can command respect yourself. Andi was a quarter-eyed guy.”

It didn’t help that, as a foreign national, Strassmeir was not legally permitted to purchase firearms, or that he had ignored the stamp in his passport limiting his last entry into the United States to three months. Before he went to live in Elohim City, in 1991, he had kept his immigration status in order, either by flying back to Germany or hopping over the Mexican border. Now, though, he was an overstay, at risk of deportation at any time.

He was appropriately cautious about one thing, and that was the risk of informants. “Betraying the right wing in America,” he said, “is a career, not a death sentence.” He was forever telling Grandpa Millar not to trust outsiders, but Millar, to his endless frustration, paid no attention, repeating only that everyone came to him from Jesus.

This Strassmeir, the paramilitary radical, was very different from the young man who impressed the Israeli army and talked a seasoned CIA operative into considering him for a high-risk job on the Mexican border. He had been sucked into the far right during his time with Lyons and Hollaway in Texas and immediately felt comfortable mixing with weekend-warrior types. One place he visited was a gunnery range that Louis Beam co-owned in the mosquito-ridden rice fields east of Houston. Hollaway was married at the time to the daughter of Beam’s business partner, a Korean War veteran named Bob Siente, whom Hollaway himself described as a “freakin’ gangster” with a “concrete head, neck, and shoulders, and a body of metal.” Lyons fell in love with the sister of David Tate, a member of The Order serving a life sentence for murdering a Missouri state trooper, and married her in a double ceremony with his best friend Neill Payne, who paired up with another Tate sister. The ceremony was at Aryan

Nations headquarters in Idaho, with Richard Butler officiating and Louis Beam as best man.

Strassmeir was so enamored of this world that it did not occur to him that Lyons and Hollaway sent him to Elohim City to get rid of him. He said he loved the frontier spirit of rural Oklahoma, and loved being able to get by on just a few days' construction or wood-chopping work each month. He lived for long stretches off homemade bread, garden cucumbers, poached deer jokingly known as "wild goat," and expired almond butter supplied in industrial quantities by Tony Alamo, an eccentric preacher later convicted of child abuse and pornography crimes in Arkansas.

Strassmeir needed no money for everyday transactions, because Elohim City operated on a barter currency based on glass beads known as "glows." Until the advent of a phone line, which the Elohimites rigged up by digging a trench and extending the public line, the only way to communicate with the outside world was to walk a mile and a half to a phone in a padlocked shed, nicknamed "EC phone home." Strassmeir marveled: "We were like the first settlers on the continent, with a gun rack in the church.... It was like going back three hundred years."

Strassmeir's rural idyll was not without its deeper oddities. In February 1992, Pete Ward borrowed his car to buy some chewing tobacco, only to be pulled over by a state Highway Patrol trooper who had been on the lookout for Strassmeir for some time. Trooper Vernon Phillips issued Ward with two tickets—for driving without Oklahoma plates and failing to produce a license—and had the car impounded and searched. When Strassmeir found out, he had "an absolute fit," according to the tow truck driver, Kenny Pence, and demanded his car back, claiming diplomatic immunity.

A flurry of phone calls followed—from Kirk Lyons, and from people saying they were officials from the state police, the military in North Carolina, and the State Department in Washington. Pence found the whole thing a "really strange deal." One caller told him the governor was involved and urged him to release the vehicle without delay. Pence, assuming these people were who they said they were, complied.

Strassmeir gave the impression, once again, of having friends in very high places.

THE FBI TALKED TO ROBERT MILLAR ON A REGULAR BASIS BEFORE the Oklahoma City bombing, but could never tell if he was a stand-up guy or just stringing them along. Horace Mewborn said his domestic terrorism unit in Washington would

funnel questions through the Muskogee resident agent, but would never receive helpful answers. “I don’t know who was playing whom,” he said. “Sometimes I got the feeling Millar was playing the resident agent, and feeding us a bunch of poop. It was all general information, of no help to us.”

The ATF also kept an eye out, liaising with the Oklahoma Highway Patrol to watch the roads so they could track who was coming and going. Periodically, the ATF and FBI would get together for informal meetings to pool their knowledge on Elohim City. But Bill Buford, who was the ATF’s top agent in Arkansas at the time, said these were a joke, because nobody knew much, and nobody was willing to give away what little they had. “If the FBI had information,” he said, “they wouldn’t share it with us. And when we got information, we wouldn’t share it with them.”

This was a crucial period in the development of Louis Beam’s “leaderless resistance” movement, and Elohim City was as regular a meeting point for revolutionary fighters as anywhere in the country. Among those known to have sought shelter and support in the community at the time were Willie Ray Lampley, who was plotting bomb attacks on abortion clinics, gay bars, and antiracist groups; Chevie Kehoe, who murdered a gun dealer and his family in Arkansas in early 1996; and, of course, Mahon and most of the Aryan Republican Army.

Yet the feds were only dimly aware of the danger these men posed and— with the exception of just a handful of agents—did not think it worth the trouble to find out. Buck Revell, a veteran of the FBI’s top brass, felt the bureau knew “almost nothing” about the radical right, because of its aversion to intelligence-led investigations. Certainly, if McVeigh had visited—one of the persistent unknowns of the Oklahoma City investigation—there was no direct channel of communication to let them know, or to tip them off to what it portended.

Millar was a slick operator, rarely turning down an invitation to talk to law enforcement, or to the media. Each time, he drew on the pacifist rhetoric he had learned from his father, a Canadian Mennonite preacher, to depict Elohim City as a wholly innocent place of close-knit family values, hard work, and self-sufficiency. His credit with the feds went back to 1985, when he helped the FBI negotiate a peaceful end to a siege at Jim Ellison’s compound at Bull Shoals Lake, Arkansas. Danny Coulson, the head of the FBI’s Hostage Rescue Team who oversaw the operation, remembered Millar as a spindly figure who strolled up the road “dressed as if a pretty widow had invited him to an ice cream social,” in a vanilla suit and shiny alligator shoes.

To many in federal law enforcement, Elohim City seemed more pleasantly quirky than dangerous. The Elohimites ran their clocks on sundial time, used the

Hebrew calendar, organized daily services at high noon in a church with only circular walls, spoke in tongues, and healed the sick by laying on hands. To earn a living, they had a sawmill and a trucking company, which were run by two of Millar's sons. On his business card, Millar proclaimed his community "a city of the universe."

But there was a darker side. Millar was fascinated from an early age by theories of racial separation and the apocalypse. When he first settled in the United States, he established a community school in rural Maryland, whose brochure depicted him with a pencil mustache and arm outstretched in a Nazi salute over the caption: "Heil Hitler."

He not only befriended Jim Ellison but anointed him "King James of the Ozarks," the direct heir to King David. Two nasty child-custody disputes from this time, the early 1980s, elicited testimony depicting Elohim City as a cultlike community in which obedience was all, polygamy and incest ran rampant, and the Millar clan routinely took the law into its own hands. When one father showed up with a custody order to demand his daughter, he was beaten back by men with guns. The neighbors testified they were afraid of being "burned out" if they crossed the Millars in any way. A Canadian court, where one of the cases was heard, denounced a "lifestyle that reeks of hypocrisy and self-indulgence."

Much of this history was overlooked or forgotten by the mid-1990s. Tim Arney, the FBI's agent in Muskogee, drove to Elohim City several times—part of a nationwide initiative to sound out isolationist communities for signs of trouble after Waco—and never saw anything he found disturbing. "Most of them were pretty sweet people," he recalled. "They didn't flash guns, or throw up roadblocks... Millar certainly attracted a lot of nutcases and right-wingers, but I think he left them disappointed."

Arney was taking direction from his boss in Oklahoma City, Bob Ricks, who also appeared to view Millar as a reasonable man; he felt Millar would neither encourage violence nor do anything to provoke a government attack. According to Danny Coulson, Ricks and Millar talked once a week.

Was the FBI too indulgent? Arney and Ricks both bridled at the suggestion. "Don't get me wrong," Arney protested in a 2010 interview, "I'm not saying Millar is an innocent guy. He always looked unhealthy when I visited." Ricks said it was an "overstatement" to say, as Coulson had, that he felt Elohim City was under control. But he acknowledged he had been reassured by Millar's repeated undertakings to cooperate in the event of a crisis. "Anything you want to see," Ricks remembered him saying, "we're open."

Regrettably, the FBI never properly took him up on that offer.

THE ATF HAD TWO REASONS NOT TO GO AFTER DENNIS MAHON after Carol Howe delivered the shrapnel pieces and the descriptions of him making grenades. The better reason was that the agency was investigating Mahon for as many as ten attacks on people and property since the early 1980s, and did not want to stop building its case for the sake of two harmless detonations in the woods. The less good reason was that the ATF did not want to share its information with the FBI.

The ATF needed the FBI's help to make its case because of the bureau's broader experience of criminal prosecutions. But it also knew the FBI was unlikely to help, because the bureau had looked at Mahon, too, and concluded he was all talk, a provocateur too unstable to be trusted with a real mission. And so the ATF decided to keep its information to itself.

After the bombing, the FBI was furious not to have been informed when Howe first reported on Mahon and Strassmeir. And Tommy Wittman, the ATF's assistant special agent in charge in Dallas who kept a supervisory eye on Howe, said the bureau was right to be furious. The layers of bureaucratic infighting, as he described them in a 2010 interview, were almost too dizzying to comprehend.

"The thinking was, we don't want to talk to Mahon, because, if we did, he'd know we're super-interested in him and he might change his activities," Wittman said. "But of course he already knew we were interested. The thinking was also, we don't know if the FBI or another agency may be looking at him, so we won't. If we make an inquiry, they'll want to know what we know, and we don't want others to know, because they'll know we are interested and won't share information with us."

This was Milo Minderbinder logic straight out of the pages of *Catch-22*. "In hindsight," Wittman acknowledged, "a lot of things should have been done very differently. A lot of things that made sense then look very different now, from the outside."

The government tried to argue after the bombing that Howe's evidence against Mahon did not amount to much. One federal prosecutor called it "crap." But it wasn't seen that way in the ATF. Tristan Moreland, an ATF agent who eventually arrested Mahon on bombing charges in Arizona in 2009, said the decision not to go after him was purely strategic. "If they had prosecuted him then for weapons manufacture and possession," he said, "I have no doubt Mahon would have gone to prison."

The awkward truth was that the ATF's confidence was shot in the wake of its disastrous mishandling of Ruby Ridge and Waco, and senior managers did not want to confront another group of heavily armed survivalists with a grudge

against federal agents.

“Elohim City, to me, was a situation [where] we had to be very delicate,” the head of the ATF’s Dallas field division, Lester Martz, later testified. “I specifically told Angie [Finley], Dave Roberts, and ASAC Wittman that I do not want any overt, covert, on-the-property surveillance—nothing done in Elohim City without my prior approval.”

The ATF knew, too, that the last thing the FBI wanted was to bail them out of another botched raid, as it had in Idaho and Texas. As the saying in bureau ranks had it at the time: “We’re not taking a bite out of that shit sandwich.”

In some ways it is remarkable, given the ATF’s pervasive fear of another armed standoff, that the Carol Howe investigation went as far as it did. Dave Roberts kept going mostly because of Howe’s report about the M60 machine gun. Roberts gave preliminary briefings to the U.S. Attorney’s Offices in Tulsa and Muskogee, and sought advice on whether Howe’s sexual history—particularly her liaisons with people she was investigating—might affect her credibility in court.

Finley asked the Immigration and Naturalization Service for a formal certificate that Strassmeir was in the country illegally. She also invited the INS to participate in a raid the Tulsa office was planning to arrest Strassmeir—an invitation they took under advisement.

All the while, Howe’s work continued unabated. In January 1995, she accompanied Grandpa Millar and a group of elders on a trip to Oklahoma City, where they met, incongruously, with the pastor of a mixed-race Baptist church. Howe said Millar and the pastor talked about going into the weapons business—another potential violation of numerous gun laws.

The ATF also continued to talk to the Oklahoma Highway Patrol. In early February, Wittman and Finley decided they should join an OHP flight to conduct aerial reconnaissance over Elohim City and see the extent of Strassmeir’s preparations for war. Ordinarily, the ATF would use its own planes, but Wittman understood that if he asked Lester Martz for one, he would be turned down. So he, Finley, and an ATF photographer hitched a ride with pilot Ken Stafford on his Highway Patrol plane and scoured the landscape for signs of military defenses, gun positions, trenches, or razor wire. “It doesn’t stick out in my mind that [the flight] was overly productive,” Wittman recalled.

That was the moment the Strassmeir investigation started falling apart. Somehow, the Elohimites heard rumors of an impending raid. Most likely, this was from a trooper safety notice put out by the OHP in mid-February, describing Strassmeir as an illegal alien who carried a .45. Millar was alarmed enough to visit Tim Arney in Muskogee and demand an explanation. Arney didn’t have

one. But he did alert Bob Ricks, and Ricks was staggered by what he heard.

“My thought was, Jimminy Christmas, are we going to do that again?” he said. Ricks chewed out the ATF office in Tulsa, demanding to know if they really were contemplating a raid. They said no. Still, he wanted to know what information they had. Did it warrant an FBI investigation?

The ATF told Ricks nothing—about Howe, or Mahon, or Strassmeir. Ricks said he arranged a lunch with Lester Martz, because he had a feeling the ATF was stonewalling. But Martz insisted there was nothing going on. “He passed off what I was hearing as greatly exaggerated,” Ricks said. “It was not a lengthy meeting. I tried to make it unequivocal, that if there was going to be a raid, we wanted to know about it. I didn’t want to be called upon to clean up their mess.”

AS SOON AS TERRY NICHOLS WAS BACK FROM THE PHILIPPINES IN mid-January, McVeigh pressed him to keep helping with the bomb plot. Nichols wanted to say no: Marife was returning to America, he was looking for a house to buy, and he had started attending surplus auctions at Fort Riley to get back in the gun-show business, as a solo operator this time. But something about McVeigh, once again, proved too strong to resist.

McVeigh gave Nichols the impression he had changed his intended date or his intended target, but he offered no specifics. All McVeigh said—following the plot of his second-favorite book, *Hunter*—was that he was acting at the behest of a high-level government handler who had switched the mission. McVeigh called this handler “Potts,” after the FBI’s acting deputy director, Larry Potts. An overtrusting Nichols believed the handler really *was* Potts. But the name was most certainly symbolic, an indication that Waco was in the forefront of McVeigh’s mind and he had now chosen April 19, the day David Koresh’s compound went up in flames, as his new day of action.

Meanwhile, McVeigh was out of money. He told Nichols he needed \$2,000 to pay for a Ford Ranger truck, which, in reality, he had already purchased. (This was the mystery vehicle for which the FBI subsequently found title documents but no other trace.) Simultaneously, he told Michael Fortier he needed \$2,000 to repay Nichols; he didn’t mention that Nichols already had the Roger Moore loot to compensate him for everything he had fronted in September and October.

In short, McVeigh lied to both of them.

Fortier said he was broke, too, so McVeigh asked what he had done with Moore’s guns. When McVeigh learned they had not yet been sold, he drove straight to Kingman and dragged Fortier to gun shows in Reno and St. George so he could start offloading them and generating some cash. Fortier later went to a

third show to sell the rest.

McVeigh understood at this point that he probably needed new recruits. Investigators on his defense team found witnesses who said that, around this time, he made repeated contact with Dick Coffman, a leading neo-Nazi in Arizona, and through Coffman introduced himself to a Utah skinhead leader named Johnny Bangerter.

McVeigh also made an offer to Jim Rosencrans. He needed someone, he said, to drive him a long way across the country and drop him off at an airport. If Rosencrans was willing to do this, he could have the car, plus \$300 in cash and a rifle. Rosencrans, who was even more broke than McVeigh, discussed the offer with his girlfriend, Patty Edwards, but she was immediately suspicious. Why would McVeigh offer his car so freely? She told Rosencrans if this was something dangerous, he would have to make a choice between the job and her.

He chose her.

IN FEBRUARY 1995, HOWE TOLD HER HANDLERS SHE COULD NOT SUBSTANTIATE the M60 story, knocking the legs out from Dave Roberts's best justification for pursuing Strassmeir. Then she failed to return to Elohim City as expected and cut back dramatically on her contacts with Finley. Finley stalled as long as she could, telling her bosses Howe "had personal matters to attend." Howe herself claimed she was infiltrating a skinhead group in Tulsa at Finley's direction, but the ATF later accused her of associating with the skinheads without authorization. Given how quickly their relationship soured, it is hard to say who was right.

In mid-March, Finley unexpectedly heard from Howe's landlord, who said he knew about Howe's informant work—a serious security breach in itself—and also that she had been admitted to a mental institution. Howe had gone to Parkside Mental Health Center with a police escort, on February 8, after officers found her with self-inflicted cuts on her face, neck, arms, and hands. They described her as "out of control." Howe later confirmed the bulk of this, saying she felt under enormous pressure because of her ATF responsibilities. She spent just four hours at Parkside before transferring to a regular hospital.

On March 19, the Tulsa police told Finley that Howe was back in the hospital, this time because she had been pistol-whipped by an African-American man while out on paramilitary night exercises in the woods. The next day, the ATF severed its relationship with her, saying she was "no longer loyal or competent to operate."

The ATF later made many excuses for failing to follow up on the leads Howe had established at Elohim City. One was that Howe had been a nightmare

from start to finish and her information unusable—an argument undermined by the reliability of much of what she reported back. Another was that they were ordered by Bob Ricks to back off. That, too, appears to be untrue. John Magaw, the ATF director at the time, said the decision to stop almost certainly came from within his agency, before Ricks had a chance to express an opinion.

“I wanted to make sure that before we conducted any more raids of those kinds of places, we were properly retrained, had the right equipment, did really good intelligence, and had done very good practicing and planning,” Magaw explained in a 2010 interview. “We weren’t ready at that time.”

Magaw could not remember exactly how the decision was made, but Lester Martz most likely brought the problem to him, and he and his assistant director for operations supported Martz’s inclination to close Howe down. Remarkably, Magaw also acknowledged that the decision might have cost the federal government an opportunity to prevent the bombing.

When reminded of the human toll at the Murrah Building, Magaw blanched visibly, and did not deny that it might have had something to do with the decisions he made about Elohim City. He said his room for maneuver was constrained by the culture of the time: the aversion to domestic intelligence work (even though the ATF did not operate under the same restraints as the FBI), the frustrating reality that the ATF did not know how to handle volatile standoffs with extremists, and a generalized inability to assess threats from the radical right.

“It was a situation where everyone was hands-off,” he said. “Would Waco happen now? Absolutely not. Would the Oklahoma City bombing have occurred? Probably not. We would have moved in on that group [at Elohim City]. But at the time I wasn’t about to take chances I didn’t need to take.”

A case has been made over the years that Howe gave the government enough material to see the Oklahoma City bombing coming. But that is not corroborated by the available documentary evidence of her informant work. Howe certainly reported on Strassmeir, Mahon, and Millar expressing a desire to set off bombs and attack government buildings, but she offered nothing more specific than that before April 19, 1995. (Afterward was a different story.)

Were there grounds to follow up on these threats anyway? Bob Sanders, the former deputy director of the ATF, certainly thought so, and so did Tristan Moreland, the agent who pursued and ultimately arrested Dennis Mahon. “If they had looked into the files, they would have seen Mahon had a predisposition to blowing up buildings,” Moreland said. If Howe’s information was deemed to be solid and the concern was about her stability, Moreland argued, the logical thing to do would have been to replace her, not shut down the entire operation.

In the heat of the bombing investigation, the government took the line that the threats were not a big deal because such talk was part of the rhetoric of the radical right and did not, on its own, imply anything. That was Finley's line of defense when she was questioned in court in 1997. She confirmed she had heard threats to blow up government buildings, but only "in general."

It was also the official position of the Justice Department once news of Howe's existence became public in early 1997. Don Thrasher, a producer with ABC News who was working on pieces about Howe and Elohim City, remembered being warned by Leesa Brown, the department spokeswoman, about the danger of jumping to conclusions based on threats alone.

"If you go beyond the story of an informant in a white supremacist compound hearing all of these stories," he quoted Brown saying, "what have you got? This happens all the time."

"Yeah, but there's one difference here, Leesa," Thrasher responded.

"What?"

"The goddamn building blew up, that's what."

The government, of course, had every reason to be defensive. The ATF had had a pair of eyes and ears in Elohim City and pulled her out, not because she was failing to pick up indications of serious criminality—she was—but because the agency was too afraid to act on them. It adopted a posture of studied ignorance and hoped for the best.

After the bombing, the ATF wanted desperately to avoid talking about Elohim City. Even after the FBI was given the Carol Howe file, Bob Ricks and Danny Defenbaugh never quite believed they had the full story. "Shame on them," Defenbaugh said. "In upper case—SHAME ON THEM. Sometimes dealing with other players in this is like pulling teeth from a toothless tiger. Ask them why [they didn't tell everything they knew]. They didn't ever give me a good reason." A contrite Magaw did not say a lot in the ATF's defense. "He's right," he responded when Defenbaugh's words were read back to him. "If we did know something and didn't bring it forward, then shame on us."

The FBI was far from blameless itself, having avoided looking into Elohim City for years. The decision to expend only token energy on the community after the bombing was the bureau's alone. That mystified some of the FBI's old pros, none more than Danny Coulson, who had spent his career chasing right-wing radicals and found the idea of shying away from Elohim City offensive and ridiculous.

"You still do your job, I'm sorry," Coulson said. "You've taken an oath. You're a professional, you figure out a way to do it. They're afraid of another Waco.... If that's your attitude, get out of the business. Go into the shoe

business. Be a chef. By its nature it's risky. You've got to be smarter than that."

LATE ONE NIGHT IN FEBRUARY 1995, TIM McVEIGH WAS WALKING across the Colorado River bridge from Nevada to Bullhead City, Arizona, when a man in a Ford Mustang slowed down and asked if he wanted a ride. McVeigh had no better idea how to get back to Kingman, which was thirty miles away, and offered him \$5. The man, whose name was Richard Rogers, laughed off the offer; he was looking not for payment but for casual sex. He had spent the evening at a casino in Laughlin and, as he later told the FBI, was feeling "a little horny."

McVeigh's camouflage fatigues and combat boots did not exactly fit the sexpot mold. But Rogers recognized him from an earlier hitchhiking encounter and remembered how McVeigh played with his penis and asked if he wanted to party. Rogers hadn't been interested at the time, because he was on his way to meet another friend.

The conversation quickly turned to sex, and McVeigh asked Rogers, as he had six months earlier, if he wanted to party.

Rogers responded: "What do you mean?"

McVeigh spread his legs and groped himself. "We could have a really great time," he said. McVeigh started rubbing Rogers's penis through his clothes.

An hour later, the two of them were in Rogers's trailer ten miles north of Kingman, sizing each other up and half-wondering if this was really a good idea. McVeigh talked about Waco, nobody's idea of good foreplay, and peppered Rogers with questions about an airstrip in the desert hills. At 3:00 A.M., McVeigh grabbed his crotch again and said it was time for bed.

They took their clothes off and went at it. McVeigh's tongue and throat action, Rogers later told the FBI, was "incredible": "He was good at what he did." McVeigh expressed an interest in anal sex, but Rogers turned him down, because he didn't have a condom. According to Rogers, they were both too tired to reach orgasm. In the morning, Rogers made McVeigh eggs and bacon, and drove him into Kingman. Apart from brief sightings in the grocery store, they never saw each other again.

Assuming this story is broadly true—the FBI found Rogers credible enough to interview him seven times—it suggests that McVeigh, like Pete Langan, had some personal baggage he was not in a rush to share with the rest of the Patriot Movement. Rogers thought it unlikely he was actually gay, just fooling around. He told the FBI McVeigh was most likely bisexual.

Intriguingly, this is the one intimate encounter of McVeigh's anybody has ever come forward to describe—either in the graphic detail offered by Rogers, or

any other way.

OF ALL THE MYSTERIES SURROUNDING ELOHIM CITY, NONE IS MORE vexing than the question of whether McVeigh visited and, if so, whether he derived any part of the bomb plot—inspiration, training, manpower—from the contacts he established in the community. Nobody has come forward with definitive evidence that McVeigh spent time at Elohim City. On the other hand, a large number of people—from law enforcement, the federal prosecution team, the radical far right, and even Elohim City itself—have dropped hints that he was there, that the government either knew or strongly suspected he was there, and that the information was kept quiet to prevent the criminal case spiraling out of control.

We know McVeigh called Elohim City for just under two minutes on April 5, 1995, because there is a record of it on the Daryl Bridges card. Millar's daughter-in-law took the call and later said the young man on the line was looking for Andi the German. McVeigh told her he was thinking of visiting in the next few days, and Joan Millar replied that, as a friend of Strassmeir's, he was welcome any time.

The timing of the call was interesting: McVeigh had just spoken to a Ryder truck rental agency in Lake Havasu City, not far from Kingman, and was presumably making his bomb delivery plans. Was Strassmeir, or his planned visit to Elohim City, part of the calculation? Was he, as an FBI teletype later surmised, looking for new recruits because he did not think he could count on Nichols or Fortier?

The FBI files contain a reference to a second call from McVeigh to Strassmeir at Elohim City, this one on April 17, the day the Ryder truck used in the bombing was rented from Eldon Elliott's. The information on this call is sketchier, because it was never linked to a specific set of phone records. According to an FBI teletype discovered in 2003, the bureau heard about the call from the Southern Poverty Law Center, the anti-extremist campaign group, but the SPLC has been reluctant to vouch for its authenticity ever since. Richard Cohen, the group's president, said it was possible that the line in the teletype referring to a call "two days prior to the OKBOMB attack" could have been a clerical error and that the line should have read "two weeks." In other words, just another reference to the April 5 call.

Over the years, the SPLC has backtracked from a lot of information connecting McVeigh with Elohim City. Twice in the 1990s, the group's founder, Morris Dees, was quoted saying that he had information that McVeigh visited numerous times. He said it in answer to a reporter's question at the Denver press

club in May 1996, and he said it in an interview with the Indiana State University criminologist Mark Hamm in 1999. But when he addressed the issue again during a talk at Southeastern Oklahoma State University in 2004, he played down his previous statements. “McVeigh probably was at Elohim City, based on evidence we’ve been able to pick up—stuff I really can’t go into,” he said. “But I don’t think the entire connection is really there.”

If Dees was suddenly tentative on the question, other SPLC officials were emphatic: as far as they knew, McVeigh never went to Elohim City. “[Dees] may have said it,” a surprisingly dismissive Mark Potok, editor of the SPLC’s *Intelligence Report*, said in 2010, “but I very much doubt it’s true.” Both Potok and Cohen sought to minimize Dees’s role in the organization’s intelligence-gathering, and refused to make him available for interview.

All of this was starkly out of character for the SPLC, which usually broadcasts any sinister connection involving the radical right as loudly as it can. One possible reason for its reticence was its close relationship with the Justice Department, which had every reason to play down links between McVeigh and Elohim City. (Its official position throughout the federal trials was that no such link existed.) If the government had information, even secondhand information, placing McVeigh at Elohim City, failing to hand it over to the defense teams could have constituted a serious violation of the rules of evidence.

Did the government have such information? Bill Buford, the former ATF chief in Arkansas, said he was briefed on both verbal and written reports putting McVeigh at Elohim City. The material was not handed over in discovery, he said, but was put into a summary report written by the FBI and sent to the Justice Department. “I’d heard it by word of mouth and it was also in the report,” Buford said. “There’s a lot of information in there that has not been made available to the public.”

Buford could not remember the specifics, but the information referred to an actual visit, not just the April 5 phone call. How sure was he about this clamorous revelation? “I’m sure,” he said.

A number of other senior law enforcement officials were approached about Buford’s information, and none denied it. Bob Ricks said the FBI had found no evidence that McVeigh spent evenings or nights at Elohim City, but acknowledged: “He was always passing through.” Danny Defenbaugh said he could not remember what was in the FBI reports sent up to the Justice Department, but did not exclude it. Perhaps the most revealing line came from Scott Mendeloff, one of McVeigh’s prosecutors, who sought to argue forcefully that Elohim City was irrelevant to the investigation. “It’s not like we didn’t think he was there,” he said testily. “So he visited, but so what?”

When McVeigh's own legal team asked about Elohim City, he did not acknowledge having been there, but he seemed to know all about Strassmeir patrolling the perimeter and standing guard in the driveway when visitors pulled up. McVeigh told his defense lawyer Randy Coyne that Elohim City was "pretty fucking hard-core." And he said that Strassmeir and he were "brothers in arms."

When would McVeigh have been at Elohim City? He received a traffic ticket just over the Arkansas state line in the fall of 1993, and spent the night in a nearby motel on September 12, 1994. Those have to be strong possibilities. Another intriguing date is November 1, 1994, when Tom Metzger, one of the godfathers of the radical right, paid a visit to Elohim City with Dennis Mahon. As Metzger remembered it, he spoke for half an hour in the church, watched the kids perform a dance, shook a few hands, and left again. But he also dropped a hint of more. "Those stories about sitting in another room and talking about stuff," he said, without prompting, "that didn't happen." Was this Metzger pointing to the very thing he sought to deny? It is tempting to think McVeigh would have been there to take lessons from the master, and it was not far out of his way—he was driving from Kansas to upstate New York at the time. It would also have been an opportunity to meet Strassmeir, McCarthy, and Brescia.

The last time McVeigh could have visited—following the intentions he announced in his phone conversation with Joan Millar—was during the two weeks before April 19. This would put Elohim City at the center of the bomb plot. The timing would have been tight: McVeigh checked out of the Imperial Motel in Kingman on April 11, bought an oil filter in Arkansas City, Kansas—just over the Oklahoma state line—on April 13, and arrived at the Dreamland in Junction City on April 14. But it is also possible that he made a quick trip to the Midwest between April 7 and April 11. He was checked into the Imperial Motel on those dates, but the owner later said he did not see him, he used no towels, and his bed was undisturbed. There was a flurry of Daryl Bridges calls from the Imperial up to April 6, then nothing. Would McVeigh have wanted to keep paying for an empty motel room? He might have done if, say, he was transporting blasting caps, or the second Ryder truck seen by Lea McGown and her son on Easter Sunday. It was one way to cover his tracks and minimize the risk of exposure.

If all that sounds speculative, it is. The first two weeks of April are a big mystery when it comes to McVeigh's movements, activities, and associations. On Saturday evening, April 8, a dancer at the Lady Godiva strip club in Tulsa was told by someone she later believed to be McVeigh that on April 19, 1995, she would remember him for the rest of her life. He was with two other men. Did they travel from the club to Elohim City? Kirk Lyons, of all people, did not

exclude it—and he would have had an opportunity to know, because he was Strassmeir’s lawyer and confidant. “It’s possible he went through there on a weekend before the bombing,” Lyons said of McVeigh. “That’s possible.”

Grandpa Millar also did not exclude that McVeigh had been to Elohim City. A defense investigator who spoke to him in 1995 reported Millar saying “it was possible that he could have met Mr. McVeigh once or twice and that it was also possible that Mr. McVeigh could have visited Elohim City.” Millar was fiercely protective of his community, more interested in damping down speculation about criminal associations than in talking them up, so the indiscretion was unusual. In 1997, he was strikingly forthcoming once again when asked by the journalist Jonathan Franklin if any Elohim City residents were involved in the bombing. “There are legitimate questions to be asked, though I don’t know the answers,” he said. “I don’t mind an honest investigation.”

By that point, of course, Millar knew that no investigation had taken place, and after the trials there was little danger of one starting up. He had played the government masterfully for more than a decade. Jim Ellison’s disenchanted former deputy Kerry Noble summarized it neatly. “Two things the government doesn’t want,” he said, “another sedition trial that fails, and another Waco that fails. What have you got with Elohim City? A possibility of another sedition and conspiracy trial that fails, and another raid that fails. That makes Elohim City, unfortunately, have the upper hand.”

ARYAN PARADISE LOST

One day after McVeigh and Nichols were indicted, Larry Potts was booted out as deputy director of the FBI and Danny Coulson was dismissed as special agent in charge in Dallas. They and three other senior agents associated with Ruby Ridge were placed on indefinite administrative leave. They were never told why they were suspended, nor were they formally accused of anything—not even by the Justice Department, which continued to hold on to its 1994 report holding Potts jointly responsible for the change in the rules of engagement at Randy Weaver’s cabin. Over time, it became clear that their removal was Louie Freeh’s way of being seen to do something to address a scandal that refused to go away. But it also had a chilling effect on the bombing investigation.

“They took out my unit chief, my section chief, the assistant deputy, Danny [Coulson], and Larry Potts. I lost the next four levels above me,” said Horace Mewborn, an agent with the FBI’s domestic terrorism unit, who specialized in the radical far right. “I thought, God, this couldn’t happen at a worse time.”

Buck Revell, who had recently retired as associate deputy director, called it an unprecedented abuse of authority and said: “At least Senator Joe McCarthy confronted his victims with his misplaced suspicions, hearsay, and innuendo, and they had an opportunity to respond.”

Coulson and Potts were eventually absolved and allowed to retire. But for the next two years, they were forbidden to talk to each other—about Oklahoma City or anything else. Coulson never lost the feeling that parts of the bombing investigation were dropped when he and his colleagues were removed. “I’ve been involved in thousands of investigations, but I’ve never seen that before—that the bureau would shut down an investigation to focus guilt on one person,” he said. It was something that he and Potts would never have tolerated.

NICHOLS’S LAWYER, MICHAEL TIGAR, BELIEVED THE ONLY WAY TO guarantee a fair trial—to provide a “sanctuary in the jungle” for his client, as he put it—was to move proceedings out of Oklahoma. Wayne Alley, the Oklahoma City judge who had been assigned the case by lottery, did not agree, and would not recuse himself even when Tigar pointed out that his offices were right next to the Murrah

Building and the windows of his chambers had shattered in the bombing. “I have experienced greater loss of courtroom time because of water leaks and utility failures,” Alley said.

Tigar found this response cavalier and irresponsible, and his fury only grew when Alley announced that the trial would take place in Lawton, a town a hundred miles from Oklahoma City, which presented considerable logistical and security challenges. Tigar won the argument: the Tenth Circuit appeals court moved the trial to Denver and assigned Richard Matsch, a judge with previous experience of trying right-wing revolutionaries, whom Tigar had wanted all along.

Tigar had to make this argument alone, though, because Stephen Jones did not want to ruffle judicial feathers in his home state and would not join him on the appeal. They argued about the reasons for years, but for Tigar, at least, this was the moment when their relationship soured decisively.

Tigar did not respect Jones, and Jones found Tigar to be insufferably sure of himself. To some extent, the tension reflected the conflicting interests of their clients: Tigar’s team argued that McVeigh had manipulated Nichols and set him up, while the McVeigh team portrayed Nichols as a conniver and a liar. But it also had to do with the differences in their assignments.

Tigar had the easier case. His client was not in Oklahoma City when the bomb went off, had voluntarily answered the FBI’s questions, and was now talking in great detail to his legal team. From the beginning, Tigar formulated the mantra he would take to court: that in April 1995 Terry Nichols had been building a life, not a bomb.

Jones, on the other hand, did not like or trust his client and was not sure he could construct a viable defense for someone who was both manifestly guilty and unwilling to tell his full story. “I could file all the procedural motions I wanted, but ultimately, when the trial started, I had nothing with which to defend him,” Jones later wrote. He became so exasperated he forced McVeigh to undergo a polygraph and tried to confront him over the signs of evasion he showed when he was asked about the involvement of others besides Nichols.

Jones took more pleasure in building relationships with news reporters, sharing his thoughts, and parts of the evidence, in exchange for any information or leads to witnesses they had. The strategy was unceasingly controversial, and at one early hearing, Judge Matsch rebuked Jones for trying the case in the press. “We don’t want to be talking about the evidence outside,” Matsch told him sternly. “It’s not productive.”

Jones understood he needed to court Matsch’s favor assiduously, and made every effort not to upset him again. But he never stopped talking, or sharing

documents with the media.

IN LATE SUMMER 1995, GRANDPA MILLAR TOOK ANDREAS STRASSMEIR aside and told him he had to leave Elohim City immediately, because the feds were after him. A government informant had recently spotted Strassmeir at a gun show with an SKS rifle and revolver, and Millar had enough to worry about after the bombing without answering for Strassmeir's illegal weapons. As Strassmeir and others later understood it, Millar reached an agreement with his law enforcement contacts that Elohim City would not be raided as long as he got rid of the troublesome German.

Strassmeir hitched a ride to Black Mountain, North Carolina, the new home of Kirk Lyons's CAUSE Foundation, because he didn't know where else to go. "I figured I would find a way to get back and straighten things out with Millar," he said. "I had no alternative plan."

But when he returned to Elohim City for his things, he found them either stuffed haphazardly in the back of his car, the Suburban he had bought from Scott Stedeford, or abandoned on a roadside. Strassmeir struggled to come to terms with the many ways that Elohim City rejected him or played him for a fool. Once he had left, Grandpa Millar and the other elders told the media that Strassmeir might well have been involved in the Oklahoma City bombing. They repossessed the stone house Strassmeir thought he had bought. And he learned, much later, that the car he had purchased was "hot," because Stedeford had used it in the bank robberies. He had even been the unwitting recipient of stolen money: a \$100 bill Mike Brescia had given him as a thank-you for hosting Stedeford and McCarthy over Easter, which also came from a bank job.

"I'm over it now," Strassmeir said fifteen years later, "but it took many, many years.... I got exiled from Paradise. The Garden of Eden is gone for me."

THE FBI'S INTEREST IN ELOHIM CITY WAS SO LOW AFTER THE BOMBING that Millar came to them, not the other way around. He traveled to Oklahoma City in June 1995, after news stories began linking his community to the bomb plot, and seemed to work his way around every question the feds asked him. He remained entirely in the clear, in fact, until Richard Reyna, a defense investigator for McVeigh, started visiting Elohim City and learned it was Strassmeir McVeigh had asked for when he called on April 5.

Reyna's motivation was straightforward: if he could incriminate Strassmeir, it might diminish his own client's guilt. So he threw himself into the task, interviewing Strassmeir in Black Mountain and concluding that Strassmeir's

relationship with McVeigh extended well beyond the one meeting they both acknowledged in Tulsa in 1993. When Reyna made his next trip to Elohim City, Millar fueled his suspicions by telling him that Interpol was interested in Strassmeir. Strassmeir, he said, was either a German government agent, or McVeigh's accomplice, or perhaps both. Reyna reported that Millar "did not think [Strassmeir] could orchestrate something so big such as the bombing in Oklahoma City, but...[he] could be depended upon to follow orders with precision."

Kirk Lyons knew Strassmeir was in trouble, because reporters started calling him and asking about Reyna's findings. The mounting suspicions dealt an immediate blow to the CAUSE Foundation's credibility, especially its efforts to sue the government on behalf of some of the Waco survivors and family members, which had earned Lyons and Hollaway unprecedented mainstream respectability. The Strassmeir controversy "put the CAUSE Foundation out of business," Lyons said. "If I ever committed actionable malpractice, it was allowing Andi to talk to Reyna."

Shortly before Christmas, Strassmeir told Hollaway he had not only met McVeigh but owned his Gulf War field jacket. "Oh come on, Andi," Hollaway remembered saying. Strassmeir became angry that his friend wouldn't believe him, and pulled a duffel bag from his closet. "There it was," Hollaway said, "with the insignia of the Big Red One on the frickin' sleeve and the name McVeigh on the front....I said, 'Holy fuck!' You can quote me on that. Holy fuck! I almost had a fucking heart attack."

Lyons and Strassmeir insisted there was no McVeigh label on the jacket, but Hollaway was absolutely sure. "The only reason I was struck dumb was because it had the frickin' name on it," he said. "All sorts of things flew through my mind. I wondered, maybe he really was John Doe Two." He said Lyons cut the tags off as a precaution. "I called Kirk right away," Hollaway recalled. "Holy mackerel, man.... What are the odds, what are the frickin' odds?"

Lyons and Hollaway realized that if reporters were asking questions, the FBI could not be far behind. When they received a tip, in mid-December, that Strassmeir was on a government watch list, they decided he needed to leave the country immediately, before a warrant went out for his arrest. One of their most loyal donors FedExed \$7,000 overnight, and Lyons pulled Strassmeir out of the lunch shift at the Berliner Kindel restaurant, where he worked as a short-order cook. He was given just ten minutes to pack before Hollaway started driving him toward the Mexican border.

There was no time to formulate a plan. Strassmeir had recently obtained a valid passport, but it was an open question whether he could present his ID at

any U.S. Customs post without risking arrest.

THE DEFENSE TEAMS STRUGGLED TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THE CASE, BECAUSE the government would not hand over its witness interview reports and other crucial discovery documents. In theory, the prosecution team had an “open file” policy, allowing the defense to look at anything, but over the first eight months the Jones and Tigar teams received only a handful of lab reports, without accompanying explanations. They tried to interview key witnesses themselves, only to learn that the FBI had issued instructions telling them not to talk. The government said repeatedly that it needed more time. Stephen Jones described the attitude as “the prosecutorial equivalent of ‘the check is in the mail.’”

In December 1995, Judge Matsch agreed the government needed to hand over material from the investigators more quickly and also catalogue and explain it. He would not tolerate an indiscriminate document dump, a “go fish” approach to discovery, which courts almost always frown upon.

The two sides hammered out a deal that should have clarified everyone’s responsibilities. Ron Woods, the chief negotiator for the defense and Tigar’s deputy on the Nichols team, had been an FBI agent and a federal prosecutor and knew the culture he was dealing with. He persuaded the government to hand over all its witness interview reports, with an index, all shorter investigative memos known as inserts, plus handwritten lead sheets and the agents’ original notes. This was far from usual practice in criminal cases, and the prosecution wanted to know what it could expect in return. Woods agreed the defense would hand over its own investigative reports—another departure from usual practice—except those on the defendants themselves and their families.

In January 1996, the government unloaded an initial eleven thousand FBI witness interview reports, or 302s. The number would eventually balloon to more than eighteen thousand, and the total number of discovery materials would rise to about a million pages. Still, defense lawyers never stopped feeling the government was holding out and noticed one thing after another that appeared to be missing. Early on, Jones had to badger the chief prosecuting attorney, Joseph Hartzler, for 302s on the body shop witnesses, the Fortiers, Lea McGown, and other key players. Later, there were complaints about missing documents on Elohim City, Steve Colbern, and witnesses who saw other people with McVeigh and Nichols. The delays and omissions were always most pronounced on the issue of possible coconspirators. “It’s about the worst I’ve ever seen,” said Rob Nigh, McVeigh’s number two lawyer, who had worked as a federal public defender before entering private practice. “It didn’t matter how specific we were,

the government's response was that everything had been provided.”

The government had its own pressures: an almost unimaginable avalanche of material, close public scrutiny of its every move, and a basic lack of experience in disclosing so much. The stakes were almost impossibly high. “If you convicted [McVeigh] but did not get the death penalty, that would not be okay,” prosecutor Scott Mendeloff said. “A lot of the victims were pinning some sense of resolution on us getting justice for this guy. We couldn't lose this.... It was like a pressure cooker.”

Nigh acknowledged that, culturally, the disclosure requirements were difficult for the prosecution. But he and Ron Woods both expressed astonishment at how little the discovery agreement was respected. “We thought we were dealing with honorable people,” Woods said. When asked who was least honorable on the prosecution team, he answered, cautiously: “I think that Larry Mackey and Joe Hartzler were honorable people.”

BY THE TIME DANNY DEFENBAUGH BECAME INTERESTED IN ANDREAS STRASSMEIR, it was already too late. A report from the Southern Poverty Law Center, sent to the task force on December 21 from the FBI's field office in Mobile, where Defenbaugh had recently been posted, described Strassmeir as an “associate” of McVeigh's and also appeared to disclose—the redactions make it less than clear—that McVeigh visited Elohim City shortly before the bombing. But, by then, Strassmeir had already left Black Mountain.

Two weeks later, a second FBI report based on SPLC information reported that Strassmeir was now planning to leave the country via Mexico. The bureau issued an alert to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, urging them to arrest Strassmeir on sight. “Subject is possibly armed and may be dangerous,” it said. But Strassmeir slipped across the border anyway.

DAVE HOLLOWAY CALLED HIS ESCAPE PLAN OPERATION NACHT UND NEBEL—a Nazi-inspired name also used by President Nixon's Plumbers. Hollaway thought it was a mistake to try to cross the border quickly, while any alert was at its highest. So he drove Strassmeir to Port Aransas, near Corpus Christi, and left him with a friend for Christmas while he returned to his children in Houston. Really, his plan was to have no solid plan at all.

Just after New Year's, Hollaway persuaded Strassmeir to give an interview to Rick Sherrow, the former ATF agent turned reporter for *Soldier of Fortune* magazine. “I wanted something on the record that would show Andi was not involved in the bombing,” Hollaway explained. Sherrow did as asked,

publishing his piece long after Strassmeir was gone, but he also took a photograph that was reproduced across the Internet and probably did more than anything to fuel the rumor that Strassmeir was John Doe Two. “It pissed me off that Sherrow was brought in,” Kirk Lyons said. “We never heard the end on that stinking picture.”

Strassmeir and Hollaway did not cross the border until mid-January 1996. They chose Nuevo Laredo, just 130 miles from Corpus Christi, but Hollaway decided that driving there would be too obvious. He told Strassmeir to book a plane ticket to join him in Houston, and then book another flight from Houston to Laredo. He also promised Strassmeir he wouldn't need to present an ID on a domestic flight, which was not true, even in the pre-9/11 era. Strassmeir cursed Hollaway as he approached the ticket counter in Corpus but somehow managed to think on his feet. He had his host in Port Aransas, Claud Brown, purchase the ticket and walk with him through security, as though Brown were the traveler and he was a friend accompanying him to the gate. Strassmeir had to show his driver's license but was not obliged to have a ticket to go with it. Once through the metal detectors, he took the ticket and traveled under Brown's name, while Brown turned around and left. Strassmeir's ID was not checked again.

In Laredo, he and Hollaway took a taxi from the airport and talked the driver into taking them through to Mexico. At the crossing, Strassmeir noticed no other taxis were in line and said he wanted to walk across the footbridge, leaving Hollaway to bluff his way past the border police. But Hollaway told him to stay put.

U.S. Customs immediately ordered everyone out of the car. Strassmeir and Hollaway were asked to produce their passports, and uniformed officers went through their luggage. “Shit,” Strassmeir thought, “we're fucked.” The first thing that grabbed the officials' attention were some charcoal pills Strassmeir had handy in case of diarrhea. Hollaway, being Hollaway, turned them into a joke. The officers were briefly charmed, taking him and Strassmeir for a harmless gay couple. Then they found a copy of *Playboy* in Strassmeir's bag, they weren't gay any more, and the mood turned.

Strassmeir shot a panicked look at Hollaway as if to ask, should I run for it? Hollaway shot a look back that said: relax. He later claimed he had known they would be all right, because Strassmeir's name was spelled wrong in the FBI computer files. In fact, the INS alert had the spelling right, but in Strassmeir's German passport the double “s” was rendered with the Germanic ß, which to American eyes would look like a capital B. Customs most likely ran a check on Andreas STRABMEIR and didn't come up with anything. Their passports were returned, and they were waved through.

In Nuevo Laredo, they lingered just long enough to eat *cabrito*, the local goat specialty, then jumped on a bus to Monterrey, which was in turmoil, because the local drug lord's lawyer had just been shot dead over lunch with the state police chief. The distraction was perfect for Hollaway and Strassmeir, who took two taxis to a fleapit hotel on the edge of town. Hollaway checked in regularly with Kirk Lyons, using an untraceable AT&T card. "We used the same codes that the French Resistance used in World War II," Hollaway said. "If Kirk had said, 'John has a long mustache,' I would have hung up the phone and gone underground. If he said, 'The chair is against the wall,' it would have been really ugly. As it was, he just said, no developments."

From Monterrey, Hollaway and Strassmeir flew to Mexico City, and Hollaway picked another fleapit. When Strassmeir protested—he called it "the crappiest hotel I've ever been in"—Hollaway spun the story that it was a former CIA safe house he frequented in the 1980s when he worked as a pilot making secret runs to Central America for the Nicaraguan contras. It is unclear if that story was true.

After two days, they flew to Cancun, then took an Air France flight to Paris, and from there the night train to Frankfurt. This was the most nerve-racking part of the trip, because the conductor collected their passports and did not return them until they were close to their destination. If Strassmeir's name was on a watch list, he could be arrested on arrival. It was unlikely that Germany would apprehend one of its own citizens so quickly for crimes committed in the United States, even with an international warrant out for his arrest. But Hollaway and Strassmeir were too panicked to think this through clearly.

In Frankfurt, they were met by Strassmeir's mother, who fed them at one family house and put them on a train to the principal Strassmeir residence in Berlin. Hollaway stayed for several more days, most of them in bed with the flu, before buying himself a plane ticket home. Strassmeir suspected Hollaway was just along for the ride, enjoying Berlin as the capper after Cancun and Paris. But Hollaway was also out of money for the return journey, and had to wait for Lyons to wire him more.

They never spoke again. Hollaway called Strassmeir an "ungrateful yahoo" who never appreciated how much time and money had gone into bailing him out of trouble. Strassmeir felt deeply nostalgic for Elohim City, but hardly gave Kirk and Dave another thought. "When I got back to Germany," he said, "I dreamed of the hills of Oklahoma." Knowing he would never go back, he reflected, was the greatest devastation of his life.

BY THE BEGINNING OF 1996, THE ARYAN REPUBLICAN ARMY WASN'T generating enough income from its robberies to justify the risk of being arrested or shot. The gang's ambition to hold up an armored truck—where, in Richard Guthrie's words, "the big *bolitas* were at"—had gone nowhere. They tried to expand, but their newest member, Michael Brescia (who had been Strassmeir's Elohim City roommate), was thought to be a liability for mishandling a smoke grenade, and he was dropped almost as soon as he was recruited. Intriguingly, Brescia went by the alias "Tim," which could have been a nod to McVeigh, if not also an acknowledgment that another "Tim" had helped the gang in the past.

The rest of the gang quickly turned on each other. Guthrie was marginalized because of his drinking and volatile behavior. McCarthy and Stedeford lost the will to carry on without Brescia, their friend and Nazi punk bandmate. Langan was torn between waging a revolutionary war and exploring his gender identity.

The final unraveling came when Guthrie tried to recruit an old friend from Cincinnati, Shawn Kenny, without realizing he was a government informant. As Guthrie drove to meet Kenny at a suburban Italian restaurant, he noticed a "secret admirer" on his tail and tried to get away. After a short chase, he slammed his Ford van, the Blitzenvagon, into a snowdrift and soon had a clutch of federal agents "piled on top of my back like they were tackling Joe Montana while he was throwing the winning touchdown in Super Bowl XXII."

Within three days, Guthrie had led the feds to Langan. A posse of federal agents moved in on an ARA safe house in Columbus, Ohio, and pumped dozens of rounds of semiautomatic weapons fire into Langan's white van. Amazingly, Langan survived; he had dived into a wooden toolbox in the back of the van and took no direct hits—although he had a shotgun shell pad lodged in his left cheek, and other injuries. When paramedics cut off his clothes to look for bullet wounds, they noticed his chest, legs, and pubic hair were shaved, his fingernails were two inches long, and his toenails bore traces of pink polish.

The Oklahoma bombing investigation showed little interest in Guthrie and Langan, which was surprising, given their earlier inquiries into McVeigh's possible involvement in bank robberies. But they were also not properly briefed. They were not told, for example, about a batch of electric blasting caps wrapped in Christmas paper, which were recovered from the Columbus safe house. These would have triggered an immediate association with the Christmas-wrapped caps McVeigh had in his Spectrum when he was rear-ended in Michigan. But, as an FBI explosives expert later disclosed in court, the caps were destroyed by the Columbus Fire Department. Danny Defenbaugh did not learn this until eight years after the fact, and then only because a journalist told him. "I was definitely lied to," he told Leslie Blade of *Cincinnati CityBeat*.

Other things Defenbaugh never saw from Columbus included a driver's license for Bob Miller, Roger Moore's gun-show alias, and video footage of several properties, which, according to Langan, included Moore's and Anderson's ranch. These things did not make a rock-solid case for the ARA's association with McVeigh, but they cried out for further investigation. The bombing task force was never given the chance.

DEFENBAUGH WAS DETERMINED TO INTERROGATE STRASSMEIR, AND contacted the U.S. legal attaché in Germany about sending an FBI team to Berlin. But before he could obtain clearance, the FBI needed to alert Strassmeir about another issue—a death threat from Dennis Mahon—which slowed everything down and ultimately worked in Strassmeir's favor.

Mahon had threatened to have Strassmeir kneecapped and executed, after being told by the amateur investigative reporter J. D. Cash that Strassmeir was a government informant. Cash's assertion was little more than guesswork, a deliberate provocation intended primarily to elicit an unguarded reaction from Mahon. And he certainly got one. "Sweet Jesus I'm fucked!" Mahon exclaimed on hearing the news. He jumped on the phone, first to Mark Thomas and Mike Brescia to warn them, then to a neo-Nazi contact of his in Germany. Through his German-speaking twin brother, he said Strassmeir should be hunted down and forced to confess before being killed.

It is doubtful whether the Mahons' interlocutor took this seriously. But Cash shared his interview notes with McVeigh's defense team, and they notified the FBI. A day or two later, Strassmeir was summoned by the Bundeskriminalamt, the German equivalent of the FBI, who briefed him on the threat and indicated that the FBI wanted to talk to him about the bombing. Back in the United States, Kirk Lyons and Dave Hollaway decided the best way to ward off a full interrogation was to release a lengthy statement in Strassmeir's defense. It worked. Somewhere between FBI headquarters and the Berlin embassy, Defenbaugh's request for a sit-down interview was turned down.

Defenbaugh next heard about Strassmeir three months later, when he walked in on two federal prosecutors and an FBI agent on the phone to him in Germany. Defenbaugh had not been informed in advance, let alone asked for approval. He also understood this was not the full interrogation he intended, just a perfunctory walk-through of Strassmeir's earlier written statement. Strassmeir later dismissed the interview as a "joke." "They didn't want to know anything," he said.

There were other signs that some of Strassmeir's official history in the

United States was being rewritten. Two weeks before the prosecutors' call, the State Department reissued a list it kept of his entries into the United States. The document incorrectly said he had come in on two separate tourist visas—in reality, he had a multiple-entry visa. And this version of the document also excised the intriguing code letters “A O,” which had previously appeared under the rubric “special status.” These had generated speculation that Strassmeir was under some sort of official protection; now they were gone.

The Justice Department never publicly acknowledged Defenbaugh's suspicions about Strassmeir's involvement in the bombing, and, shortly before McVeigh's trial, flat-out denied their existence. “At no time,” prosecutor Beth Wilkinson wrote to Stephen Jones, “did the FBI consider Andreas Strassmeir...a subject of the Oklahoma City bombing investigation.”

AFTER MONTHS OF AGONIZING OVER A STRANGE DISCREPANCY IN ITS tally of severed body parts found in the rubble of the Murrah Building, the Oklahoma state medical examiner's office realized it might have stumbled on evidence of a possible coconspirator among the dead. Early on, the office was at a loss to match a lower left leg, with a military boot attached, to any of the known victims. Extensive DNA testing revealed that the leg belonged to Lakesha Levy, a twenty-one-year-old air force recruit now buried in New Orleans. Levy had previously been matched with an entirely different left leg, whose provenance was now in question.

This was a professional embarrassment, but also an investigative conundrum. The authorities had one more left leg than they had right legs. Who could it belong to? Stephen Jones brought this problem to Dr. T. K. Marshall, the chief state pathologist for Northern Ireland, and Marshall told him that, in the Western world, there was no such thing as an unclaimed innocent victim. Marshall had seen dozens of cases of IRA “mules” who died when bombs exploded in their laps. This looked similar to him—a conspirator so close to the source of the blast that the rest of his body simply vaporized.

Lakesha Levy's body was exhumed in February 1996, and the leg mistakenly associated with her analyzed by one of the country's leading forensics experts, Dr. Clyde Snow. Snow concluded it probably belonged to a dark-skinned white man measuring five foot six, or a slightly shorter woman. The chief medical examiner later testified that his office never found a match, but two people closely involved in the investigation said this was not exactly right. The FBI was confident the leg belonged to a Secret Service agent named Cynthia Campbell Brown, but did not want her remains tested. Doing so could

raise the question of whose leg *she* was buried with—and perhaps set off an uncontrollable chain reaction of exhumations and mistaken body-part reidentifications.

Dr. Snow said he was not told about Brown. He blamed the original mistake on the evidence recovery team, saying they disregarded instructions to bag every body part separately and just assumed that the leg found next to Lakesha Levy's body must belong to her. A senior FBI source said this was far from the only such mistake. The FBI liaison to the medical examiner's office was dismissed from the task force, because, the source said, it became impossible to present detailed body-part evidence at trial. If the extra leg did belong to a coconspirator, he was never investigated, much less identified.

AT THE END OF MARCH 1996, ANGIE FINLEY TOLD CAROL HOWE her identity had been compromised. An FBI agent forgot to redact her name in a debriefing document before releasing it to the McVeigh and Nichols defense teams, and now her life was in danger from the white supremacists whose confidences she had betrayed. Finley offered to put Howe up for the weekend, but she declined. She was far from sure the federal government had her best interests at heart.

Ever since her removal from the Elohim City beat in March 1995, the paperwork on Howe had been a study in contradictions. At first, the ATF declared her mentally incompetent, but two months later, when they needed her to go back to Elohim City to investigate the bombing, they said she was “stable and capable of working in this investigation.” In January 1996, Finley and her supervisor, Dave Roberts, wanted to remove Howe a second time, because they found her unreliable. But when her name leaked out, they switched gears again. “This informant,” Finley wrote, “has not been overly paranoid or fearful during undercover operations.”

Finley acknowledged in court that the reason she had said nice things about Howe in May 1995 was that she needed to write whatever it took to get her reinstated. Journalists and lawyers who championed Howe were equally suspicious that the negative assessment just two months earlier was prompted by a political decision to get her out of Elohim City as fast as possible.

With her name in the open, Howe started complaining about strange phone calls and people following her. Rather than trust the FBI or ATF, she associated herself ever more closely with the radical right—in an effort, she said, to rebuild her credibility. It was a highly dangerous game.

THE EVIDENCE RECOVERED FROM THE ARA SAFE HOUSE IN COLUMBUS revealed an interest in

bomb-making going far beyond the hoax devices the gang liked to leave behind at bank robberies. It included pipe bombs, blasting caps, timers, switches, Semtex, nitromethane and Kinestik packs. But the FBI did not see this as evidence of a possible link with the Oklahoma City bombing until Pete Langan suggested it to them.

By the summer of 1996, Kevin McCarthy and Scott Stedeford were also in custody—they were traced through McCarthy’s uncle, a Philadelphia city policeman—and Langan was concerned about McCarthy testifying against him as part of a plea deal he had been offered. So Langan decided to throw a wrench into the government’s plans. He told Agent Ed Woods: “You’re going to have problems with your witnesses, because they have the blood of Oklahoma City on their hands.” Woods responded: “You certainly have my attention now.”

Langan was told that if he spilled everything he knew about the bombing, he could qualify for a plea deal, too. Langan, though, was suspicious; the negotiations broke down and the offer was withdrawn. In the end, the government chose not to question McCarthy’s credibility by looking into his alibi for April 19, 1995, or any of the other bombing-related “liabilities” Langan accused him of having. The immediate priority was to send Langan away for life, and they knew McCarthy could help them do that with his testimony. A fishing expedition to explore whether he played a role in the bombing conspiracy seemed too uncertain to be worth the risk.

The strategy for prosecuting the bank robberies became clear after Guthrie—the other key witness the government was grooming to testify against Langan—hanged himself in his jail cell in mid-July. Guthrie had described his crimes in extraordinary detail and given up his best friend, only to be told the U.S. Attorney’s Office in Cincinnati would still insist on him serving thirty years behind bars. Even the FBI agents who had questioned him found this a “draconian” decision. But the prosecutors were adamant. Guthrie reluctantly signed the plea deal, and immediately drafted suicide notes to his brother and his lawyer. He even went on a crash diet to minimize the risk of his noose snapping.

According to Matthew Moning of the Cincinnati Police Department, the FBI also questioned Guthrie about the bombing and threatened him with the death penalty if money from the robberies was ever tied to the financing of McVeigh’s plot. If the questioning was intended to shock Guthrie into making revelations, though, it did not work. Guthrie’s lawyer, Kelly Johnson, said his suicide had nothing to do with threats from the FBI. It was a “final tweak of the nose” at the government he despised. If he harbored any secrets, they died with him.

IN SEPTEMBER 1996, THE THREE WARD BROTHERS AND A FOURTH man were arrested in Oregon. A state trooper caught them filching gas from a service station, and soon established that they had stolen their car in northern Canada two days earlier. Too broke to make bail, they stewed in jail for four days, until an FBI agent turned up and interviewed Pete Ward—just Pete—about the Oklahoma City bombing. Within hours, all four were released.

The FBI agent, Kerry Larsen, did not explicitly deny paying the \$60,000 in bail money, saying in an interview: “I don’t know anything about it.” (This was moments after his wife, who answered the phone, could be overheard saying: “Just tell him you don’t remember anything.”) Larsen was similarly cagey when asked if Pete Ward might have been recruited as an informant. “That would generate a lot of paperwork,” he said. Asked if that was a yes or a no, he responded: “I don’t want to get into who’s an informant and who’s not an informant.”

The FBI had grounds to be suspicious of all three Ward brothers. Carol Howe had named Pete and Tony as possible matches for John Does One and Two. Pete was a tobacco chewer, and Tom Kessinger, the mechanic at Eldon Elliott’s, said he remembered John Doe One chewing tobacco in an unusual way. Sonny had been brought to the attention of the Oklahoma Highway Patrol as a possible bombing suspect.

Pete Ward’s interview with Agent Larsen offered further leverage for the FBI, because it contained obvious contradictions with the known factual record—about the timing of his departure from Elohim City, about the number of weapons in the community, and about his grandfather, who he said was a retired FBI agent. But there is no evidence that the bureau challenged him on any of these things.

FOR MUCH OF 1996, STEPHEN JONES TRAVELED EXTENSIVELY, SEARCHING for expert witnesses and alternate explanations of who was behind the bombing. Some of these trips, like his visit to T. K. Marshall in Northern Ireland, led to witness appearances at trial. Jones argued that it was almost impossible to find qualified pathologists or bomb analysts in the United States willing to take the stand, because they either worked for federal law enforcement or would not help defend the country’s most notorious criminal.

Jones traveled to London (four times); to Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; to Israel and Syria, Hong Kong and the Philippines. Sometimes he talked to obvious experts, like Dr. Jehuda Yinon, an Israeli bomb-trace analyst, who gave an authoritative critique of the FBI crime lab. Other choices were

more difficult to understand, like the side trip he made to the Polish ambassador in Damascus, Stanislaw Pawlak, to ask about Terry Nichols's contacts in the Philippines and the likelihood that he had met Ramzi Yousef. Pawlak was an odd man in an odd location for this, and none of the material about the Filipino terror connection—from him or anyone else—made it to open court. Jones himself likened the Filipino connection to the Virgin Mary's "unrevealed third secret" in her apparition at Fatima, prompting his legal team to nickname his Far Eastern trips the "Fatima Project."

Despite some complaints that he was globe-trotting at government expense, these trips did not cost a lot—around half a million dollars, out of \$15 million in total defense expenditures—and were all approved by Judge Matsch. But it was not exactly clear what they achieved. One of Jones's lawyers, Ann Bradley, flew to Amsterdam to chase a report that John Doe Two was in the custody of Dutch police. He was not. Jones acknowledged that a lot of what he learned was about global terrorism, not leads related to the Oklahoma bombing. He described Yitzhak Rabin's former chief of staff, Amos Eilan, as being on the "must-see list," without saying why. He described a contact at Israel's National Police Headquarters as "someone who might have been of assistance to us." In Hong Kong, he said he visited retired CIA operatives "who assisted."

On the eve of McVeigh's trial, Jones distilled much of what he had learned into a lengthy brief, called a writ of mandamus, in which he said a foreign power, probably Iraq, brought down the Murrah Building. This power, he went on, hired a Middle Eastern engineer with the skills to make a bomb that could be transported and detonated safely, and then contracted the job out to the American neo-Nazi movement. He also suggested the FBI was looking into a possible bombing suspect in the Philippines, whom it had not named but who had links to Ramzi Yousef. Jones wanted the government to produce more discovery material—on subjects including Elohim City, Carol Howe, Dennis Mahon, and Andreas Strassmeir—and the writ was no doubt written broadly to obtain the broadest possible results. It failed to do so.

The government's chief prosecutor, Joseph Hartzler, had already spent months attacking people who peddled "wacky theories"—a line widely interpreted as an attack on Jones. Certainly, Hartzler was as anxious to bury some of the legitimate questions about the government's role as he was to poke fun at the criticisms and alternate theories that clearly departed from plausible reality. But the more Jones chased seemingly incredible connections to the Middle East and other parts of the world, the easier Hartzler's job became. The Nichols team, after all, did not travel the world in search of expert witnesses, or engage in learned conversations with ambassadors and far-flung university

professors.

McVeigh made no secret of his disapproval, describing his attorney's trips as "a waste of time, defense resources, and taxpayer money."

THE PROSECUTION TEAM HAD ITS OWN DISAGREEMENTS AND STRONG personalities to contend with. Its members had fundamentally different views of the case—from the hawks, who wanted to paint McVeigh and Nichols every shade of black, to more subtle minds, who questioned the degree of Nichols's guilt and wondered who else might be involved. They had one "knock-down, drag-out fight" over the fuel meter found in Terry Nichols's garage, with one lawyer wanting to introduce it as evidence on the grounds that it *could* have been used to mix the bomb, and everyone else arguing that it was broken and proved nothing. And they fought again, in the fall of 1996, over the question of whether to hold separate trials for McVeigh and Nichols. "It was not a merry trial team," one prosecutor said. "I was very proud of the job we did. We were very efficient. But it's not like we had fun doing it."

Instinctively, the prosecution preferred a single trial in which the guilt of one defendant could more easily spill over and taint the other. But Judge Matsch refused to admit Terry Nichols's eight hours of voluntary questioning at the Herington police station as evidence unless the trials were separated. It would be wrong in a joint proceeding, the judge argued, not to give McVeigh's lawyers the opportunity to question Nichols about what he said. But if Nichols did not take the stand, that would not be possible. Matsch offered the prosecution a choice: hold a single trial but omit the Herington testimony, or fall in line with the defense teams and agree to separation.

In the end they agreed to two trials. But it was a bitter argument, and years later Larry Mackey said they—and he personally—made the wrong decision. "If they had been tried together," Mackey acknowledged, "Nichols would have been convicted by the first jury and executed."

ON DECEMBER 13, 1996, THE FBI ARRESTED CAROL HOWE WITH her new boyfriend, James Vieffhaus, and accused them of fomenting bomb plots at their Tulsa home. The agents did not appear to know that Howe had worked as a government informant, even though one of them was Angie Finley's husband. They were responding to a telephone hotline message delivered by Vieffhaus, which warned of bombs hitting fifteen American cities on December 15. When the FBI agents searched the house, they found bomb-making paraphernalia, including black powder, cannon fuse, and sections of pipe fitted with "nipples," or connector

pieces common in bomb assembly.

The arrests were understandable: Bill Morlin, an investigative reporter specializing in the radical right, alerted the FBI as soon as he heard the hotline message, which referred to the Oklahoma City bombing and said innocent civilians should be considered “expendable if necessary.” But the evidence was problematic, because the most sensitive materials were either given to Howe by Finley to help with her undercover investigations, or had been gathered by Howe as evidence for the ATF.

Viefhaus was indicted almost immediately on charges of making threats and possessing an unregistered explosive. Howe’s fate remained uncertain until March 1997, two weeks before the start of McVeigh’s trial. The decision to indict her, too, dealt a huge blow to her credibility as a would-be defense witness for McVeigh, and raised the question of whether the government had pressed charges expressly to keep her out of the bombing trial. The jury hearing her case could never shake this suspicion.

IN LATE 1996, DAVE HOLLAWAY FOUND AN AGITATED MICHAEL BRESCIA and his girlfriend holed up at his house, saying the feds were after him for a string of bank jobs. Hollaway wanted to know how many bank jobs he was talking about.

“I think the boys committed about twenty-six.”

“Twenty-six! How much did you make?”

“About nineteen hundred bucks.”

Hollaway was incredulous. “You could have worked at the CAUSE Foundation and made more money.”

The FBI had been sniffing around Brescia for months, asking questions about McVeigh’s April 5 phone call to Elohim City as well as the bank robberies. He had fled Elohim City after getting into a fistfight with one of the elders and was living back in Philadelphia, where he enrolled in night school and worked as a bookkeeper for a computer company in a bid for normality. But supporters of a militia leader from Alabama were waging a publicity campaign against him, based on his supposed resemblance to John Doe Two, and affixing UNWANTED BY THE FBI posters on telephone poles around Philadelphia.

Hollaway suggested he give himself up. Brescia understood, and did not resist when he was arrested in Philadelphia—on robbery charges only—on January 30, 1997. He later agreed to a plea deal under which he admitted participating in one bank robbery in Madison, Wisconsin, and helping to plan six others.

Also on January 30, Mark Thomas was arrested at his farmhouse near

Allentown. He, too, seemed to be expecting the feds, and made sure the house was full of television cameras and journalists. “I was afraid,” he said, “if they didn’t know the cat was out of the bag, they might try to kill the cat.”

The FBI spent five hours searching Thomas’s farmhouse for weapons or explosives, but didn’t find anything. Thomas had an old blue bus concealed on the farm, where he stashed his explosives, weapons, and ammunition, but the FBI did not unearth it for another three months. They also failed to follow up on Thomas’s ex-girlfriend, Donna Marazoff, who had reported him boasting about blowing up a federal building during the day, or on Thomas’s allegation that Kevin McCarthy had “taken out the Murrah Building”—a line he said he heard from Richard Guthrie.

Michael Schwartz, one of the U.S. attorneys who prosecuted the ARA, said in an interview that he was sure the bank robbers and McVeigh had “at least crossed paths.” Why wasn’t this link investigated? Schwartz did not answer directly, saying only that if evidence had emerged of the ARA’s involvement in the bombing, they would surely have been prosecuted for it. His focus, though, had been elsewhere. “We went to bat for McCarthy at his sentencing,” he said, “because he had cooperated with the government in the investigation. He was instrumental in his cooperation, and he received a significant sentence reduction. Had he been involved in the Oklahoma City bombing, we would not have done any of that.”

The prosecutors felt no pressure, either, to explore Brescia’s resemblance to John Doe Two. One day before Brescia’s arrest, the Justice Department unsealed a brief laying out the Todd Bunting mistaken-identity theory and declaring, as a matter of public record, that John Doe Two did not exist.

MCVEIGH’S PROSECUTORS WERE NERVOUS ABOUT RELYING TOO HEAVILY on testimony from Jennifer McVeigh and the Fortiers, but many of the other witnesses either could not identify McVeigh or had seen things—extra conspirators, or more than one Ryder truck—that the government did not want mentioned on the stand. So the prosecutors, along with a handful of trusted FBI agents, set about making the problems go away.

They interviewed and reinterviewed witnesses, looking for weaknesses in their stories or ways to get them to change their minds. Lea McGown would not back down from her story that she had seen a second Ryder truck at the Dreamland Motel, but her son Eric conceded that his memory might not have been reliable. He took the stand; she did not. They could not sway Jeff Davis, the delivery boy who brought Chinese food to room 25 at the Dreamland on April

15 and was adamant someone other than McVeigh opened the door. The FBI thought Davis was being obstinate and grilled him for twelve hours over two days when he arrived in Denver for trial. But Davis insisted he saw a shorter, fuller-built man than McVeigh, with tousled hair and rounder facial features. He never testified.

Daina Bradley, the young woman who endured the most harrowing of rescues and lost her mother and two children, was a little easier to work with. She threatened to be a powerful defense witness because of her vivid physical description of a second man stepping out of the passenger side of the Ryder truck moments before the explosion. But she also remembered the truck being parked backward, against the one-way system, which had to be wrong—if only because it would have put the passenger side of the truck on the far side, as she looked out. This was a new observation; in her first two interviews right after the bombing, she made no mention of the incorrectly parked truck. But the prosecution ran with it, blaming her confusion on memory-loss problems associated with her medication.

They relied on similar inconsistencies to neutralize Bill Maloney, the Cassville real estate agent, who had been so precise about McVeigh's discolored tooth and might conceivably persuade a jury that the mysterious Robert Jacques, with his take-charge demeanor, was the real bombing mastermind. Jon Hersley, the FBI case agent who worked most closely with the prosecution to prepare the case for trial, undermined Maloney by arguing that the vehicle Maloney said he spotted in November 1994 was "eerily similar" to the yellow Mercury McVeigh was arrested in—a vehicle McVeigh did not buy until five days before the bombing. Maloney even said the vehicle was a Mercury in his later interviews, reinforcing the impression that media coverage had scrambled his memory. Earlier, though, he had been sure it was a Chevy Monte Carlo.

Hersley was the prosecution's go-to person to resolve many of the holes in the case. Notably, he and Scott Mendeloff made extensive efforts to convince Tom Kessinger that John Doe Two was a phantom. For close to two years, Kessinger would not budge from his contention that two people rented the Ryder truck on April 17. He could not have mistaken John Doe Two for Todd Bunting, he said, because Bunting's face was wrong, and so was his Carolina Panthers hat. But Mendeloff and Hersley won him over—or wore him down. First, they convinced him the arms and the tattoo poking out from his left arm sleeve were the same as Bunting's. Then they presented him with evidence that his recall in 1997 was inconsistent with what he told the FBI sketch artist on April 20, 1995. The face was Kessinger's last line of resistance. "That's him [Bunting]. I must have made a mistake," Mendeloff remembered him saying.

Such methods were not universally condoned by the prosecution team. “My rule of thumb is, never trust an identification that got better over time,” Larry Mackey said. “I was far more ready to rely upon other evidence, without trying to hammer people.” Ironically, the government never called Tom Kessinger, because they knew he had a dubious past that could cloud his credibility, and they were also worried about how solid his identification of McVeigh as John Doe One really was. The main purpose of the Mendeloff-Hersley effort was to neutralize him as a potential witness *for the defense*, all the better to keep the John Doe Two issue out of the trial. When asked about this, Mackey would not criticize a colleague. But he did say: “I think it’s fair to say there was a lot of hammering. But I wasn’t the one on the other end of the hammer.”

Mackey was not the only one who felt uncomfortable. Danny Defenbaugh was appalled at Hersley, not least because, he said, Hersley often acted without his authority or approval. “We had to watch over Jon,” Defenbaugh said. “If the prosecution said, we want that leak covered, he’d do it. He’d go around trying to stop viable investigations, especially if they involved other people in the conspiracy. Every time we caught him, I had to bring him in the woodshed to paddle him. Then he’d go right back at it.”

Defenbaugh was not against going back over the evidence and plugging holes. He had a whole team he left behind in Oklahoma to take care of exactly that—making sure the FBI had an answer for any question that might come up in court, or in the media. But it was one thing to find answers, and another to distort the evidence, which he thought Hersley was doing. He was particularly exercised by Hersley’s characterization of the Cassville material. “It wouldn’t be the first time Mr. Hersley was inaccurate,” Defenbaugh thundered. “He wasn’t there, he didn’t investigate it, but he’s going to try to tell you that he did.”

Defenbaugh even accused one prosecutor, whom he would not name, of “trying to undermine the investigation.” Scott Mendeloff, speaking for all his colleagues, took vigorous issue with this. “What he is saying is categorically false,” Mendeloff said. “Nobody tried to shut down anything. We had every incentive to explore wherever the leads took us, and we did. And he wouldn’t know, because he was not involved in the day-to-day investigations I conducted with the case agents.”

No one on the prosecution team would say more on the record. Off the record, though, one of them pointed to a lack of respect for the FBI’s top investigator. “None of us did anything to undermine him,” he said of Defenbaugh. “We just didn’t want to work with him.”

ON FEBRUARY 28, 1997, THE *DALLAS MORNING NEWS* RAN A FRONT-PAGE story saying McVeigh had admitted responsibility for the bombing and took pride in the “body count” he had inflicted. Even more damaging, the source was a trove of documents the paper said had emanated from the defense team.

Stephen Jones learned about the piece shortly before it appeared on the newspaper’s Web site. He tried to scare the reporter, Pete Slover, into holding it, without success. He knew this story could render his client indefensible and he briefly contemplated filing a lawsuit against the paper. But he contented himself with a waiver from Judge Matsch allowing him to disregard a court-imposed gag order and defend himself in public.

It was not easy. First, Jones told the media that the *Dallas Morning News* had been the victim of a hoax. Then he changed tack and accused the newspaper of stealing documents—legitimate documents—thereby breaking numerous federal laws. In a third iteration, he announced that the *Dallas Morning News* had perpetrated both a hoax *and* a theft. The supposed confession, written up by one of Jones’s investigators, was a concocted document drawn up to secure some unspecified advantage with the radical far right and not, as he put it, a “legitimate defense memorandum.” The media’s response was unforgiving: the *Rocky Mountain News* accused Jones of weaving a “tangled web” that pushed against the limits of legal ethics.

The real story is not easy to discern. According to members of Jones’s team, Slover had swiped tens of thousands of documents off a defense investigator’s laptop. Either the investigator was careless, as one account had it, or he deliberately left a document on his computer for Slover to read while he left the room, never suspecting that Slover would download everything. It is also conceivable that the investigator or another member of the defense team gave Slover the files, inadvertently or otherwise. Jones later filed a bar complaint against Slover, who was a fully qualified lawyer in Texas as well as a news reporter, to press his contention that the documents were essentially stolen. But it was Slover who prevailed in the closed-door disciplinary hearing, suggesting he had done nothing seriously wrong.

It was also unclear to what extent the headline-grabbing McVeigh material was bogus. The most damning items in the *Dallas Morning News* piece came from write-ups of interviews McVeigh purportedly gave to Richard Reyna. But Reyna—according to both Jones and his number two, Rob Nigh—never spent time alone with McVeigh. The lawyers had no idea Reyna had written up these interviews until the leak fiasco broke.

Still, the defense had a secret it didn’t want revealed. McVeigh might not have told Reyna the killer line: “We needed a body count to make our point.”

But he said something similar to Stuart Wright, a Waco expert from Lamar University in Texas, whom Jones had invited to talk to McVeigh on numerous occasions. When Wright asked why he blew up the building during the day, McVeigh answered: “Because in order to really get the attention of the government there has to be a body count.” Beyond its frankness, this was an almost exact echo of Jim Ellison’s rationale for attacking the Murrah Building in 1983.

Most likely, the rest of Reyna’s memos were based on real material, too, including an admission by McVeigh that he had purchased Kinestik from Roger Moore. McVeigh himself confirmed the veracity of the material in his interviews with Michel and Herbeck. “Behind the scenes, the thinking in the defense team was that these documents did have credibility, that this was real stuff,” Wright recalled. “Everything in that [*Dallas Morning News*] report looked spot-on to me.”

A few days later, with jury selection looming, the *Playboy* magazine Web site posted a detailed defense chronology of McVeigh’s movements, deepening the gloom in the McVeigh camp. The authenticity of the document was never questioned, although Jones argued it was out of date and far from definitive. Clearly, the defense had lost control of its confidential materials, and Judge Matsch indicated he was willing to give McVeigh a new legal team and a new trial. But McVeigh preferred to proceed, requesting only that the jury pool be expanded to lessen the potential impact of the leaks.

The McVeigh defense team would make further serious mistakes before the trial was over. But, to Jones, this was the moment the enterprise slipped “beyond redemption by even the most skilled of our craft.”

TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT

Stephen Jones's best hope for salvaging the case from the *Dallas Morning News* disaster was to construct an entirely new narrative in the courtroom from the moment he began interviewing prospective jurors. Jury selection, which can often seem dry and tedious to the casual observer, is always regarded as an important opportunity to shape perceptions, sound out initial reactions to the evidence, and, in a capital case, eliminate jurors disinclined to settle for a lesser punishment than death. Under the circumstances leading into this trial, it became crucial.

Jones and his colleagues were still optimistic about poking significant holes in the government's evidence and sowing real doubt that McVeigh had conceived and carried out the bombing alone; enough, anyway, to take the death penalty off the table. But jury selection caused some of the most experienced members of the team to change their mind.

Jones asked so many questions about the *Dallas Morning News* leak and the political views of the potential jurors that he antagonized as many as he won over. The *American Bar Association Journal* described his questioning as "inept" and needlessly hostile; even Judge Matsch felt compelled to comment.

Jones cracked jokes and flashed his learning and tried to find common ground, but one of his fellow defense-team members said he was ultimately "ineffective at accomplishing anything." The colleague added: "If you read through the transcript looking for evidence of a systematic process, you're not going to find one."

Jones's approach, his colleagues said, was to think that jurors with a military background and a fondness for guns would find an affinity with McVeigh. He picked a navy veteran who managed real estate, a Mormon woman from a military family, and a former liquor-store attendant who was once held up at gunpoint. He also picked an air-force-veteran-turned-business-owner, who attended gun shows and believed firearm ownership should be mandatory. He had written in his questionnaire: "Penalty of death is justified in all cases in which someone has been killed by a criminal act."

Unless Jones could somehow convince this juror that McVeigh was not in Oklahoma City on April 19, he was a surefire vote for execution. A Nichols

defense lawyer whispered to Richard Burr, Jones's designated point man on arguing against the death penalty: "Dick, your penalty phase is fucked right here."

Burr chalked a lot of the problems in jury selection up to his side's inexperience. The team never challenged a ruling from Judge Matsch barring them from asking prospective jurors whether they could consider a sentence lesser than death; it made some of them feel they could only shoot for acquittal, a daunting prospect. "We knew nothing about voir dire," Burr acknowledged. "We didn't have a real death-penalty trial lawyer on the team, and we suffered from that.... It's a delicate matter, and it takes some real skill that none of us had."

The government's lawyers did much better at assessing the jury pool and testing out parts of the case that made them nervous. Revealingly, prosecutor Pat Ryan asked juror candidate number 947 how he would feel if he suspected other people were responsible for the bombing, besides McVeigh. Outside the courtroom, the prosecution was insisting that McVeigh acted alone and that nobody else was involved. But the team realized this would not go unchallenged and, privately, they had doubts, too. "Sometimes, perhaps, the investigation simply hasn't uncovered every last detail," Ryan said. "My question to you is, is it going to cause you any pause in returning a guilty verdict?"

Number 947 responded: "I don't think it would be a problem." His selection went unopposed.

IN THE MIDST OF JURY SELECTION, THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT RELEASED a much-delayed report lambasting the work of the FBI crime lab, including a comprehensive takedown of just about every aspect of its work in Oklahoma City. The focus was on Dave Williams, the FBI's top explosives analyst, who was accused of failing to base his conclusions on the forensics of the bomb scene, working instead from evidence gathered by other investigators and passing off the findings as his own.

Williams concluded, for example, that the bomb was an ANFO device, but he based this solely on the ammonium nitrate receipt found in Terry Nichols's house, not on actual ammonium nitrate traces from the crime scene. He also said the bomb components were contained in fifty-gallon barrels, just like the ones found in Nichols's garage, but the Justice Department inspector general said it was impossible to estimate the size, because no measurements had been made of the curvature of the barrel fragments at the bomb site. Williams suggested Primadet was used as a detonator, but the I.G. said the only indications of this were the Primadet boosters found in Nichols's house. Williams was also accused

of mishandling tests on McVeigh's knife and clothing, making it impossible to determine if they bore traces of pentaerythritol tetranitrate, a telltale sign of contact with Tovex.

The Justice Department report was a 530-page declaration of no confidence in almost every aspect of the FBI's work, in this and six other major cases. John Lloyd, a fellow of the Royal Society of Chemistry in Britain who examined the bombing lab reports on behalf of the defense, said: "It is impossible to determine from them the chain of custody, or precisely what work has been done on each item, or the reliability of the reported results."

JOE HARTZLER, THE GOVERNMENT'S CHIEF PROSECUTOR, HAD BEEN diagnosed six years earlier with multiple sclerosis, and delivered his opening statement from a motorized wheelchair. The handicap, and its visible manifestation, resonated immediately with bombing survivors. He began with the anguish of a mother, Helena Garrett, who had dropped off her sixteen-month-old son, Tevin, at the day-care center as she would on any other morning. Hartzler's rhetoric was restrained; he didn't bandy words like "callous," or "evil," or "monstrous." To elicit revulsion, he highlighted little details—notably, the earplugs McVeigh popped into his ears as he was walking away from the Ryder truck, a luxury his victims were not afforded. He promised the jury: "We will make your job easy."

Hartzler built a simple and straightforward narrative, touching on McVeigh's ideological fervor, his purchase of books on explosives, the Daryl Bridges card, the evidence tying him to Junction City and the Ryder truck, and, finally, the many indications that he personally detonated the bomb. Hartzler, like Pat Ryan, anticipated the jurors' consideration of "others unknown" and sought to detach it from McVeigh's guilt. "We don't bear the burden in this trial of proving whether there is or is not another person with McVeigh," he said.

Hartzler demonstrated his knowledge of the jury by drawing a clear distinction between people who espoused the right to speak their minds and purchase firearms unhindered, and those, like McVeigh, who used the ideals of the American Revolution to justify criminal violence. "Our forefathers didn't fight British women and children," he said. "They didn't plant bombs and run away wearing earplugs."

WITH HIS OPENING SENTENCE, STEPHEN JONES PROMISED HE WOULD not just raise reasonable doubt but would demonstrate "that my client is innocent of the crime that Mr. Hartzler has outlined to you." The statement was bold enough to elicit gasps. Minutes later, Jones was reading out the names of all 168 people who died in the

bombing. Jones thought this would communicate his appreciation of the crime's enormity, but to many it came across as rank opportunism. The head of an Oklahoma City survivors' support group called it "dishonorable." A bereaved stepfather was disgusted.

For the next two and a half hours, Jones delved deep into the minutiae, with little of Hartzler's smoothness or narrative vision. The *ABA Journal* said his presentation was rambling and disjointed. He never plainly stated his strongest argument: that the government could not prove McVeigh was John Doe One, let alone say for sure that John Doe Two did not exist. Instead, he walked through every statement Tom Kessinger had made to the FBI over the previous two years at a level of detail the jury found confusing and dull.

Jones did better when he mentioned the crime-lab disaster and highlighted the prosecution's questionable reliance on the Fortiers, saying the case stood or fell on their credibility. By then, though, many of the jurors were no longer following.

THE PROSECUTION MOVED SWIFTLY THROUGH THE EVIDENCE, INTERSPERSING the drier, more technical parts with carefully paced eyewitness accounts of the bombing's horrors. The Jones team had expected the trial to be a slog lasting several months, but it turned into a sprint and many of the witnesses they were hoping to grill were not called at all. "We underestimated, and underestimated grossly, the extent to which the government would rely on emotional testimony about the bombing, and the impact it would have," Rob Nigh said years later.

Pointing out that the government had no witness to place McVeigh in Oklahoma City on April 19 could not compete with distraught parents describing how they said good-bye to their toddlers for the last time. In retrospect, Nigh felt his team should have seen this coming, because the emotional material was the prosecution's "best evidence."

BEHIND THE SCENES, THE PROSECUTION WAS TRYING TO DECIDE whether to call Roger Moore. Some believed that Moore had an important story to tell; others didn't want to expose the jury to a witness with so little credibility.

The issue exposed a fault line between the hardliners on the team, who never doubted the official story that McVeigh robbed Moore and wanted the evidence aired, and pragmatists like Larry Mackey, who had their doubts about the robbery and did not believe it had financed the bombing.

The argument grew heated, drawing in Danny Defenbaugh, who thought the only place in a courtroom Moore belonged was in the dock. He felt so bruised by

the argument that, years later, he would not discuss the details. Still, his side won, and Moore was not called to the stand.

THE FEDS' ONLY PHYSICAL EVIDENCE POINTING TO AN AMMONIUM nitrate bomb was a book-size chunk of the Ryder truck with painted fiberglass on one side and partially burned plywood on the other. An FBI scientist, Steven Burmeister, claimed to have found ammonium nitrate crystals embedded in the plywood side about a month after the bombing. The discovery was initially hailed as brilliant, but McVeigh's team referred derisively to "magic crystals" and asked how they had survived the heavy rainstorms in Oklahoma City on the night of the bombing. Fred Whitehurst, a whistle-blowing chemist at the FBI lab who triggered the Justice Department investigation, testified for the defense and told the court he did not believe they could have survived, because ammonium nitrate liquefies on contact with moisture.

The FBI argued that the plywood side of the piece was facing down and so protected the crystals from the rain. Burmeister said that chemicals coating the ammonium nitrate prills—aluminum, silicon, and sulfur—helped with the preservation. Whitehurst said this made no scientific sense.

The defense won a rare victory here, sowing genuine doubt about the FBI's credibility beyond the Justice Department's findings. But it made little difference, because jurors never doubted that an ammonium nitrate bomb destroyed the Murrah Building, regardless of the chemical evidence.

So it was with much of the rest of the case. Jones hammered away at the Fortiers, doing a passable job of demonstrating that they continued to lie long after they promised the FBI to tell only the truth. But the jury believed enough of their testimony, particularly the parts about McVeigh's bomb plans, to make the rest seem secondary.

THE JONES TEAM PLACED ITS HOPES, INSTEAD, ON A DRAMATIC courtroom appearance by Carol Howe. Not only did Howe's defense attorney, Clark Brewster, convince her to take the stand; he also passed on information from Howe's criminal case, which the government had withheld from discovery in the bombing trial.

The trial judge in Tulsa, Michael Burrage, was deeply worried that evidence from his courtroom could affect the McVeigh case, but he allowed Howe to fly to Denver as long as she was transported on a government plane and held in shackles. He also forbade Jones and Nigh to talk to her directly, obliging them to sit down with Brewster instead to prepare a proffer—a rundown of her testimony explaining how Mahon, Strassmeir, and Millar had talked about blowing up

federal buildings and waging war.

Judge Matsch was also skeptical about taking her evidence on Elohim City in isolation, and ruled that the proffer was “not sufficiently relevant to be admissible”—a controversial decision that provoked some criticism in the legal profession.

Howe was put back on her Learjet and returned to Tulsa; Jones, who had hoped to broaden the case into the sort of terrain he had been exploring for two years, could only face the inevitable.

SITTING SILENTLY AT THE CENTER OF THE TRIAL, McVEIGH WAS fully engaged, taking notes and exchanging comments and jokes with his attorneys. The world might have remembered his steely stare outside the Noble County courthouse, but the jurors and witnesses saw a more relaxed man, who cracked an occasional smile.

In the run-up to trial, McVeigh had some second thoughts about the bombing. He told Michel and Herbeck he was so impressed by the novel *Unintended Consequences*, a potboiler about violent revolution, in which the protagonist chooses assassinations over bombings, that he now regarded it as a better book than *The Turner Diaries*. “It might have changed my whole plan of operation if I’d read that one first,” he said.

But McVeigh felt no remorse. “To these people in Oklahoma who lost a loved one,” he told his biographers, “I’m sorry, but it happens every day. You’re not the first mother to lose a kid, or the first grandparent to lose a grandson or granddaughter.... I’m not going to go into that courtroom, curl into a fetal ball, and cry just because the victims want me to do that.”

Often, during the trial, he felt prickly and defensive. He hated Joe Hartzler calling him a coward and dismissing his political beliefs as a “manifesto.” He winced at Jones’s performance, particularly his cross-examination of the Fortiers, which departed from the script he and Rob Nigh had worked on. He had to fight off his fury when one witness, the nitromethane salesman Tim Chambers, said he had the face of a possum.

John R. Smith, the psychiatrist who examined McVeigh most extensively, said McVeigh had created a vivid fantasy life in which he saw himself as the cartoon superhero, righting all wrongs and taking up arms on behalf of an oppressed world. In court, he took solace in the role of lone warrior, defiantly confronting his uncomprehending enemies.

THE PROSECUTION HAD ONE MORE SURPRISE, WHICH THEY SLIPPED into Larry Mackey’s closing statement, leaving the defense no time to respond. The subject was Robert

Kling's handwriting, which Judge Matsch had disallowed as a subject for witness examination. The defense, having successfully argued against the scientific validity of handwriting analysis, assumed it was a dead issue. But the prosecution was anxious to address arguably the biggest hole in its case and provide some physical evidence, however tentative, that McVeigh was at Eldon Elliott's to pick up the Ryder truck.

Mackey showed the jury examples of McVeigh's cursive script, pulled them together letter by letter, and declared that they were a match for the Kling signature. Mackey did not cite a single authority for his assertions, which professional document-examiners found questionable, but that no longer mattered. Jones told the jury: "I can't cross-examine his closing argument." It was the lawyerly equivalent of a white flag.

In his summation, Jones was unable to counter Mackey's central assertion that he had failed to prove his client's innocence. Other than a last-ditch attempt to discredit the Fortiers—he likened them to Tarzan and Jane, swinging from one disconnected clump of government evidence to another—he steered clear of the evidentiary nitty-gritty. He quoted old-fashioned authors—Edmond Marjoribanks, George Bernard Shaw, James Gould Cozzens—unlikely to resonate with the jury. And he all but conceded that his client would be found guilty. "McVeigh," he said, "was convicted in the court of public opinion... before the first witness had testified, before the first piece of evidence had been introduced, even before his lawyer was appointed." The jury deliberated for only three and a half days before convicting McVeigh on all counts.

The penalty phase was equally one-sided. This was when the defense team stood the best chance of reaping any rewards from the holes they had poked in the government's case, but they were divided in their approach and had little to work with. The character witnesses for McVeigh could do little more than echo a gloriously tone-deaf line of Michael Fortier's from the evidence phase of the trial: "If you don't consider what happened in Oklahoma, Tim is a good person."

Dick Burr, an experienced Texas jurist who had helped pioneer the art of giving jurors reasons to spare the life of convicted criminals in death-penalty cases, said he could have done more—even at this stage—to talk about McVeigh's traumatic experiences in the Gulf War, his post-combat depression, and the influence of others on his fragile sense of self. But he was instructed not to delve too deeply into McVeigh's psychology and family background, or into the aberrant behavior of adherents of the radical far right. "At almost every turn," Burr said, "when we started getting to that sort of information, we got pulled back.... [It was] because of an ideological notion that it was somehow dishonorable to Tim to portray him as someone vulnerable and shaped by things

beyond his control.” It was no secret on the defense team that Burr and Jones did not get along; other members of Burr’s mitigation team said—and Burr did not deny—that he came very close to quitting.

In the end, Jones conceded that his client was guilty, a stunning reversal from his earlier position. McVeigh, he now said, had “killed more people in Oklahoma City than all of the American dead in the Persian Gulf War.” The jury deliberated for just three hours before voting unanimously for death.

Rob Nigh agreed with Burr that this had not been inevitable. Ramzi Yousef, after all, did not receive the death penalty for the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center, and neither did the Unabomber; no prisoner had been executed in the federal system since 1963. “Of course it would have been possible for [McVeigh] not to get the death penalty,” Nigh argued, years later. “It was a very realistic possibility. It was difficult—but doable.”

Everyone on the team knew this meant that McVeigh would go to his grave without divulging the identities of any others involved in his bomb plot. He had no motive to talk now. The trial had validated him as the bombing’s lone mastermind, and he was happy to take full credit.

THE TRIALS OF CAROL HOWE AND JAMES VIEFHAUS, WHICH TOOK place back-to-back at the end of July and the beginning of August, were a disaster for the government. Viefhaus was convicted of making threats and possessing an unregistered explosive, principally because Howe testified against him. And that put Neal Kirkpatrick, the prosecuting attorney, in an impossible position. How could he portray Howe as hostile to the government when she had just turned in her own boyfriend? Did this not show she was still interested in helping out, as she had when she worked as an informant and gathered up the very bomb components now being used as evidence against her?

The jury acquitted Howe on all charges. Afterward, Kirkpatrick was frustrated that the court never saw her swastika tattoo, which was always artfully covered by her courtroom dresses. “She looked pretty in pink,” he said. “I got outlawyered on that case.”

The defeat had a devastating effect on Howe’s former handlers at the ATF. Even before the verdict, Dave Roberts and Angie Finley felt they were being set up, because the U.S. Attorney’s Office refused to grant Finley access to her full files ahead of her testimony. They saw themselves as scapegoats for running a promising, potentially game-changing operation at Elohim City that their superiors were not anxious to advertise—or apologize for closing. “If it weren’t for me,” Roberts said of his protégée, “she’d be totally flapping in the wind.”

Roberts was soon targeted and transferred out of his job as resident agent in Tulsa. He retired from the ATF, against his will, in April 1998.

MCVEIGH WANTED NOTHING MORE TO DO WITH STEPHEN JONES, but getting rid of him was not so easy. Jones was on vacation for several weeks after the trial. McVeigh grew impatient and called Lou Michel of the *Buffalo News* to dump all over his defense attorney. Jones had screwed up and “screwed up badly,” he charged. “You would not believe some of the things that have occurred in this case. The man has repeatedly lied to me in the past.” He wanted Congress to investigate.

Some of McVeigh’s allegations were demonstrably false, for example a charge that Jones had lied to the judge so he could stay on the case after the *Dallas Morning News* leak. (Court records showed McVeigh had indicated his consent to proceed independently.) But that made no difference, and an outraged Jones immediately announced his intention to withdraw.

First, though, they had to endure the formal sentencing hearing. As Jones and McVeigh entered court together for the last time on August 14, 1997, they avoided eye contact and did not shake hands, as they had every day during trial. Jones said nothing on his client’s behalf, and McVeigh offered only a line from Justice Brandeis: “Our government is the potent, omnipotent teacher. For good or ill, it teaches the whole people by its example.” The passage goes on to say more about government law-breaking, but McVeigh stopped and said: “That’s all I have.” Having never spoken in court before, he now withdrew into silence as Judge Matsch condemned him to die.

Within two weeks, Jones was out of McVeigh’s life. Rob Nigh took over as lead counsel, and Dick Burr became cocounsel. Jones, though, could not resist letting McVeigh know exactly what he thought of him. In a formal communication to the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals, he said his client “has raised the definition of the term ‘ingratitude’ to new meanings,” with an outburst that was “small, graceless, and petty.” He said he hoped his withdrawal would cause McVeigh to “come to his senses.”

THE PROSECUTION TEAM PLANNED TO LEAVE THE NICHOLS TRIAL TO Scott Mendeloff, but his unapologetically belligerent manner had made him a deeply polarizing figure, and some of his fellow prosecutors could no longer work under him. That alarmed the top echelon of the Justice Department—especially now that Mendeloff’s main champion in Washington, the Criminal Division chief, Merrick Garland, had left to take up a federal judgeship.

Garland’s replacement, Bob Litt, flew to Denver one weekend when

Mendeloff was away, so he could assess the situation firsthand. Mendeloff was not fired, but was told on his return that his appointment to head the Nichols team was now in question. Mendeloff quit to take a long-promised position in the private sector. He felt deeply aggrieved to have worked so hard on the case, and on a modest government salary, only to be abandoned by his colleagues.

Larry Mackey, meanwhile, received a phone call from Janet Reno, asking if he would consider taking on Nichols. Mackey said he had a family to get back to, but Reno flew to Denver to convince Mackey and his wife, Ann, at a secret meeting at the airport. By the time of the first pretrial hearing on Nichols, on August 6, 1997, Mackey was ready for another long round in Judge Matsch's courtroom.

FROM THE FIRST PROSPECTIVE JUROR, IT WAS CLEAR THE NICHOLS trial would be very different than McVeigh's. Her name was Niki Deutchman, and she was a forty-seven-year-old nurse and midwife interested in energetic healing and world travel. She appealed to the prosecution, because she was a dues-paying supporter of the Southern Poverty Law Center and a convert to Judaism. But a childbirth practitioner seemed an unlikely advocate for the death penalty, and Michael Tigar, Nichols's chief counsel, could not imagine a more ideal juror.

Tigar won her over almost immediately with a learned discussion of the Lamaze method. He was already thinking ahead to evidence Deutchman knew nothing about, a book on Lamaze that had been recovered from Nichols's house. As he asked his questions and flattered her intelligence, their *voir dire* gave way to something akin to a Spencer Tracy–Katharine Hepburn movie.

Deutchman's questionnaire said she distrusted lawyers, so Tigar asked for an example of an attorney manipulating the system. "It's okay," he said playfully. "I can take it."

"I haven't seen *you* manipulating the system," Deutchman responded.

"We hardly know each other."

"Right. No."

This was the courtroom equivalent of love at first sight, the formation of a special bond between lawyer and juror that the prosecution would not detect until too late. Not only did Niki Deutchman end up on the jury; she became the foreman.

TIGAR AND HIS COLLEAGUES HAD THE ADVANTAGE OF WATCHING THE prosecution work in the McVeigh trial. They also had an easier client to defend, and significantly less public scrutiny. But Michael Tigar and his cocounsel Ron Woods also put on a

masterful performance full of energy, purpose, and wit that embarrassed the government time and again.

Tigar was not shy about challenging Judge Matsch and argued, successfully, that jurors overtly itching for the death penalty should be thrown out by the judge (a provision that would have got rid of that obvious death juror in the McVeigh trial). He persuaded Judge Matsch to set strict limits on the use of emotional victim-testimony—which had been so effective against McVeigh. And he even extracted a rare apology from the judge for losing his temper with a jury candidate.

“All that,” Tigar explained many years later, “was a way of saying to the judge: ‘Everyone’s looking. There’s an enormous premium to do this right.’”

Some on the prosecution side felt Judge Matsch was tipping his hand and deliberately sparing Nichols the death penalty. But Tigar said Matsch could not be accused of leaning. “We argued for everything by going toe-to-toe with the other side,” he said. “We earned it.”

WHEN LARRY MACKKEY AGREED TO RUN THE NICHOLS TRIAL, HE told Janet Reno he wanted to resolve the case on whatever terms he thought best. Although the official line remained that all the bombing perpetrators had been caught, he went to Nichols in late summer 1997 and offered him a deal in exchange for naming other coconspirators. Nothing came of it. “He was not realistic,” Mackey recalled, “about accepting his own responsibility.”

Privately, Mackey never stopped wondering if others were involved, and he said many of his colleagues felt the same way. “If you had said to us, ‘Anybody in the room 100 percent confident that McVeigh was alone, raise your hand,’ we would have all kept our hands in our laps,” he said.

Mackey also wondered if Nichols really deserved the death penalty. “There’s an interpretation one can make that, by the end, Nichols was withdrawing from the conspiracy,” he said. “He was clearly not as committed by April 19.”

In some ways, the prosecution of Nichols was more straightforward than McVeigh’s, because he was tied directly to the two tons of ammonium nitrate, the loot from Roger Moore, and other physical evidence. But the government’s challenge was that Nichols was being tried for murders he did not directly commit. At times, the government was tentative; at other times it came across as overconfident. The defense exploited both weaknesses to withering effect.

In his opening, Mackey told the jury Nichols “was there at the beginning, and he was there at the end.” But Mackey knew Nichols was probably *not* there at the beginning—waging war on the government had been McVeigh’s idea—

and he was *not* there at the end, when the bomb actually went off.

Michael Tigar addressed this right away. The only evidence that Nichols was in on the plot early on, he said, came from the Fortiers. “Here is the prosecutors’ problem,” he went on. “Neither Michael Fortier nor Lori Fortier ever heard Terry Nichols say he was going to bomb anything, wanted to bomb anything, planned to bomb anythin.... All they know is what Tim McVeigh told them. And the evidence will be that what Tim McVeigh told them was a series of lies, provable lies.”

TIGAR AND WOODS SCORED AT LEAST FIVE SIGNIFICANT COURTROOM victories, and each one eroded more of the jury’s confidence in the FBI’s evidence-gathering, and in the government’s commitment to the truth. In contrast to the Jones team, which repeatedly hinted that the real story lay outside the parameters of the prosecution case, they engaged the government entirely on its own terrain and pulled the evidence apart, piece by piece.

While questioning Louis Hupp, the FBI’s top fingerprint specialist, they got him to admit that 1,034 latent prints collected from McVeigh’s car, his room at the Dreamland Motel, and the Ryder rental agency had never been checked against the FBI’s computer databases. Hupp said the task force leadership made sure the prints did not match a list of known potential suspects, but decided that a broader computer analysis “would not be necessary.” The FBI did not even do an intercomparison—and figure out how many of the 1,034 fingerprints belonged to the same people.

The prosecution was so surprised that it could not come up with an explanation. So, Tigar provided one, which went unchallenged: “They didn’t care.”

Next, the defense wrong-footed Karen Anderson. The government knew it would be uncomfortable to have her and Roger Moore on the stand, but felt there was no choice this time, because of the many guns of theirs that ended up in Nichols’s possession. Anderson testified that, after the robbery, she found an old list of Moore’s firearms that she provided to the FBI. But defense researchers, checking each firearm against ATF records, discovered that one of them was a Ruger mini-30 legally registered to Nichols since 1993. Tigar moved in for the kill.

“Isn’t it a fact,” he asked Anderson, “that this list that you prepared is a fraud?”

“No, sir, it is not,” she responded weakly.

Anderson was not Tigar’s main target here, so he left it there, but in his

summation, he said: “There is only one place in the world she could get [the list], and that’s because the Federal Bureau of Investigation showed her a bunch of guns that had been recovered from Terry Nichols’s house, told her what the serial numbers were so that they could make up this phony document and then pretend to find it and bring it in to you.” The government could only fold. Wilkinson told the jury: “We are not asking you to rely on that list in any way.”

Defense triumph number three involved embarrassing FBI agent Stephen Smith about the notes taken during the nine-hour interrogation of Nichols in the Herington police station. Ron Woods knew from his own experience as an FBI agent that any discrepancies between the notes and the official 302 write-ups could be fertile ground, and he asked Smith to read his twenty-two handwritten pages, critiquing him line by line and in particular noting their relative skimpiness. “This is a disgrace,” Tigar thundered later in the trial. “The top law enforcement agency in the world, the large criminal case, and this is their evidence of what they obtained from the suspect?” This was highly influential with the jury.

Victory number four concerned the prosecution’s attempt to tie some plastic fragments found at the bombing scene to empty barrels found at Nichols’s house. Its key witness, an employee of the Smurfit plastics company named Theodore Udell, was such a disaster the defense recalled him later and forced him to acknowledge that much of his previous testimony had been incorrect. Judge Matsch threw out almost everything he said.

The government claimed that at least one fragment found at the bomb scene was made by Smurfit, and had been made according to a proprietary formula that clearly identified its origin and created a link to the barrels belonging to Nichols. The premise was dubious to begin with, since between 1992 and 1995 Smurfit made about 2.5 million barrels just like the ones at Nichols’s house. Then Tigar got Udell to admit that the formula was no longer proprietary but was freely available to Smurfit’s competitors.

Then came the biggest bombshell: the FBI agent working with Udell disclosed that the whole plastic-fragment theory had come from Scott Mendeloff, who circumvented the FBI chain of command and instructed him not to file any 302 reports—a violation of bureau protocol. Had Mendeloff still been on the case, this might have crippled the prosecution team.

Tigar used this moment to accuse the government of working backward from Nichols’s Smurfit barrels with the intent of incriminating him. “Why didn’t they test the barrels in Michael Fortier’s house?” Tigar asked. “Why didn’t they test any of the other hundreds of pieces of plastic? Well, it’s just like Agent Hupp’s 1,034 fingerprints: because they didn’t care.”

THE JURY BEGAN TO LOOK FORWARD TO THESE PERRY MASON MOMENTS. Tigar used students from the University of Texas as his research assistants, and put his former student Jane Blanksteen, the fourth Mrs. Tigar, in charge of whittling down information and putting it on index cards, which she placed in a box on his desk. One juror was overheard observing: “Have you noticed, whenever Mrs. Tigar puts a purple card in the box, that means Mr. Tigar is going to beat up on the witness some more?”

For all the fun they appeared to be having, Tigar and Woods knew the trial was a high-wire act. Woods would turn to his colleague as they walked in each morning and say: “Time to go throw up.” Tigar was appalled by what he saw as the prosecution’s desire to get the death sentence at any cost, and later accused the government of “some of the most unprofessional conduct I have witnessed.”

One example—and their fifth significant victory—occurred during Tigar’s cross-examination of FBI agent Christopher Budke, who bumped into Sergeant Rick Wahl and discovered he had seen the Ryder truck at Geary Lake the day before the bombing. Tigar and his team had looked for an FBI 302 from Budke’s encounter with Wahl in the Fort Riley cafeteria, but never found one. Tigar asked Budke directly if he had written a 302.

“No, I did not,” Budke replied.

“Did you ever memorialize—that is to say, write down—‘Sergeant Wahl told me about a Ryder truck and a pickup truck?’” Tigar asked.

“Yes I did.”

This admission meant that Tigar had caught the government withholding a document, so he approached the bench, persuaded Judge Matsch to halt proceedings, and asked the prosecution to produce it immediately.

The document turned out to be a handwritten lead sheet, and Larry Mackey had a copy of it in his briefcase. This sheet showed that Sergeant Wahl had initially described the second vehicle as a gray Chevy pickup. Only later, once it became known that Nichols owned a dark blue GMC, did Wahl say his memory was of a dark-colored vehicle. When the cross-examination resumed, Budke tried to save himself by suggesting Wahl had told him the pickup was “dark-colored...possibly gray”—in other words: both things at once.

“Sir, do you see the words ‘dark-colored’ anywhere on this document that you wrote?” Tigar asked.

Budke said it might not have been what he wrote down, but it was what Sergeant Wahl had said. Tigar retorted: “Is it your habit, sir, to write down something different from what witnesses tell you when you’re conducting

investigations?”

The broader significance of this was not the evidence—Wahl had seen Nichols’s truck. But it showed that the government had never handed over a large library of handwritten lead sheets, later estimated to number forty thousand, despite promising to do so in its discovery agreement with the defense. Matsch ordered the release of about twelve thousand lead sheets after Nichols was convicted, and the rest were contested all the way to the end of his Oklahoma state trial in 2004. They included McVeigh’s and Nichols’s old army buddies offering ideas on the identity of John Doe Two, which both federal defense teams could have found useful.

Mackey argued that withholding lead sheets was not as serious as Tigar made out, because the differences in Wahl’s testimony were insignificant. But Tigar was not satisfied. The whole point of the discovery agreement, he said, was to go beyond the federal rules of evidence established by the Supreme Court’s 1963 *Brady v. Maryland* decision. “What the government agreed to hand over was independent of *Brady*,” Tigar argued. “If we had just wanted *Brady*, we would not have made an agreement.”

TIGAR AND WOODS ENDURED ONLY TWO REAL SETBACKS. They talked Judge Matsch into allowing Carol Howe to testify this time, but her appearance was a net gain for the prosecution. Howe, her swastika tattoo now lasered off her shoulder, said she had seen McVeigh at Elohim City in 1994, something she had not claimed before. Beth Wilkinson did an adept job of casting doubt on her truthfulness, the judge precluded any mention of her work as an informant, and she was not brought up by either trial team again.

Even more damaging was Marife Nichols, who was called to cast her husband in a positive light but never looked at him, could not remember their wedding date, and provided details of a coded letter from McVeigh to her husband indicating not only that they were in touch before Easter Sunday 1995, but that they were getting ready to “shake and bake”—a line that seemed to refer to the bombing.

Wilkinson gave as red-blooded a closing argument as she could muster, but she had to acknowledge problem areas. Tigar, in his closing, played directly to Niki Deutchman’s suspicions about the legal profession. “Ask yourself,” he instructed the jury, “was that lawyer guessing, does that lawyer have evidence..., or is that just a guess, is that a leap, is that speculation?”

As the jury retired, they were given something the McVeigh jury did not have—instructions on considering a guilty verdict on lesser charges. When the

jurors returned after five days, they upheld just one of the listed charges, conspiracy to use a weapon of mass destruction. They found him not guilty of carrying out the bombing, and reduced each of the eight murder charges (one for every federal employee) to involuntary manslaughter.

The death penalty was not yet off the table, because of the guilty verdict on the conspiracy charge, but the prosecutors now faced a much bigger challenge to talk the jury into it. Tigar, in his final appeal, did something utterly unexpected: he physically embraced Nichols and called him his brother, evoking the way Joseph, in the Old Testament, had revealed himself to his brother Benjamin when he stood in judgment over him. The point, Tigar explained, was not to negate the loss of all the brothers, mothers, fathers, and sisters in the bombing, but rather to understand something fundamental about Western civilization. “He reached out,” Tigar said of Joseph, “because even in that moment of judgment he could understand that this is a human process and that what we all share looks to the future and not to the past. My brother is in your hands.”

Beyond the rhetorical power of this closing—perhaps the crowning moment of his career—Tigar was also addressing a particular audience, an audience as small as one. He knew Niki Deutchman would appreciate his appeal, because she was a student of Judaism. Hence the reference to Joseph, and also to the old Israelite court, the Sanhedrin, which Tigar described moving out of the Temple in Jerusalem specifically to avoid passing death sentences. Many people later complained that the entire case swung on the connection Tigar forged with Deutchman. But it takes just one jury member to vote down a death sentence, so why not court just one?

Ultimately, five jurors were against death, more than enough to bounce sentencing back to Judge Matsch. Some jurors who had advocated execution were in tears. In Oklahoma, “Hangin’ Bob” Macy, the district attorney of Oklahoma County, vowed to retry Nichols on capital charges for the 160 dead not covered by the federal indictment. A lot of people were angry with Deutchman, especially after she held an impromptu news conference on the courthouse steps. “The government didn’t do a good job of proving that Terry Nichols was greatly involved in all of this,” Deutchman told the media scrum around her. She found the FBI “arrogant” for thinking it did not need to record its interviews; the evidence-gathering had been “sloppy.” Deutchman denied that Tigar had singled her out, or that she had smiled at him every morning as he walked into court. But when a reporter asked what she thought of the defense team, she couldn’t help herself. “Michael Tigar,” she said, “is one heck of an attorney.”

Within hours, she and her family were receiving death threats.

JUDGE MATSCH AND THE PROSECUTION GAVE TERRY NICHOLS ONE final chance to name the “others unknown” cited in the indictment. “If the defendant in this case comes forward with answers or information leading to answers to some of these questions,” Matsch said in a post-conviction hearing in March 1998, “it would be something that the court can consider in imposing the final sentence.”

Nichols would not play ball. “My attorney,” he later wrote, “recommended to me to keep my mouth shut because Bob Macy...was on the warpath to get me to Oklahoma and get me executed.” And so Judge Matsch sent Nichols away for life without possibility of parole. Matsch urged the government to keep investigating the bombing but was pessimistic this would actually happen. “I don’t know that there is an ongoing federal investigation,” he said from the bench. “If the government can provide us with any information about whether there is, we will gratefully receive it.”

Officially, the government was still investigating, but had little to show for it. Kathy Wilburn, the grandmother of two of the youngest bombing victims, remembered telling Jon Hersley, the FBI agent who liaised most closely with the prosecutors, that she was upset about the 1,034 uninvestigated fingerprints. “Kathy,” she remembered Hersley saying as they both attended one of the Nichols hearings, “don’t worry about that. We’re not going to give Michael Tigar any more ammunition to point the finger at someone else. When this is over we’re going to run those prints.” It didn’t happen. Hersley later told Wilburn she had misunderstood him, but she was adamant. “I’d be happy to take a polygraph test,” she said.

MCVEIGH WAS MOVED TO THE SUPERMAX PRISON IN COLORADO after his sentencing and housed in the same wing as Ted Kaczynski (the Unabomber), Ramzi Yousef, and Luis Felipe, a Cuban gang leader from New York. The guards nicknamed the wing Celebrity Row. When Michael Fortier and Terry Nichols showed up, they were kept in another part of the prison. Nichols wanted nothing to do with the friend who, he felt, had ruined his life. Fortier spoke to him just once.

McVeigh had not given up on embarrassing the government. His new legal team filed an appeal, raising everything, from the government’s failure to hand over documents to Judge Matsch’s decision not to call Carol Howe at his trial. One filing was so long Rob Nigh and Dick Burr were fined \$10,000 for excessive wordiness. The appeal failed anyway.

McVeigh, meanwhile, did his best to blend in with prison life, forming perhaps the most surprising friendship with Kaczynski. They may have been

from different places on the political spectrum, but they were both ideologues who believed in violence. Kaczynski was intrigued to learn about McVeigh's Gulf War service. McVeigh commented: "Yes, sir. Ironic, isn't it? In Desert Storm I got medals for killing people."

Kaczynski thought the Oklahoma City bombing had been "unnecessarily inhumane." But he found McVeigh more intelligent than he imagined, and more open to other people and other cultures. "I suspect that he is an adventurer by nature," Kaczynski later wrote, "and America since the closing of the frontier has had little room for adventurers."

In July 1999, their association came to abrupt end when McVeigh was handcuffed, chained, and flown, with nineteen other prisoners, to a new federal death row facility in Terre Haute, Indiana. This was the real-life version of the popcorn Hollywood movie *Con Air*, with heavily armed federal marshals watching nervously over the likes of Anthony Battle, a mentally disturbed serial offender from Georgia, and David Paul Hammer, a brilliantly devious con man and murderer who inspired both Cyrus the Virus, the John Malkovich character in *Con Air*, and Thomas Harris's man-eating evil genius, Hannibal Lecter.

The first time McVeigh spoke to Hammer, who was feared by almost all his fellow inmates, he bragged about the destruction in Oklahoma City, saying: "The official score is 168 to 1. I'm up." To which an unimpressed Hammer replied: "Well, I guess they can't kill you more than once."

Gradually, McVeigh, Hammer, and a third inmate, Jeffery Paul, began holding meetings they nicknamed "Klan rallies," because they were the only whites on death row. They were not friends, exactly, but they looked to each other for companionship and protection. McVeigh was called "baby killer" by his fellow inmates, and teased for his dearth of sexual experience, but Hammer was his insurance policy against enduring anything worse.

Hammer also helped McVeigh move up the date of his execution by waiving all final appeals on his own death sentence. Hammer did not want to die, although he vacillated about that for years; his principal goal was to set a legal precedent McVeigh could follow. "I'll be glad to leave this fucked-up world," McVeigh told Michel and Herbeck. If his last habeas corpus petition was turned down, as he was almost sure it would be, he wanted to close down the legal process. The problem was, he knew of nobody on federal death row who had done this before. So Hammer put in his own request. It was accepted, and McVeigh had his precedent. Later, Judge Matsch quizzed McVeigh to make sure he understood the consequences of his decision. Once Matsch was satisfied, he set the execution for May 16, 2001, and McVeigh began saying his good-byes.

Everything was thrown into doubt again eight days before the execution

date, when McVeigh's lawyers were suddenly told that the FBI had found several hundred new 302s, inserts, and other documents that should have been handed over in discovery. The media, which was about to descend on Terre Haute en masse, sniffed a major scandal. The families of the bombing victims were appalled, and McVeigh let it be known he was considering a legal challenge to his execution after all. On May 11, Attorney General John Ashcroft announced he was postponing the execution for a month to give the attorneys time to conduct a "careful study" of the new material.

Rob Nigh and his colleagues raced through the new documents in search of exculpatory material they could use in an appeal. Then, two weeks later, seven hundred documents became more than a thousand, raising questions about what else might still be out there. The final inventory and analysis presented by the defense has never been unsealed by Judge Matsch, but the discovery files themselves have become available, and they make it possible to reconstruct a list of the most troubling items. These included some significant Steve Colbern material—a videotape of him brandishing a machine gun, and the letter he wrote to his girlfriend in November 1994, saying he wanted to join a movement to avenge Waco.

Other items included testimony from a previously undiscovered Dreamland guest, who never saw a Ryder truck or a Mercury Marquis. They included an entire file on Dave Shafer, an Indiana seed salesman who claimed to have heard James Nichols talking about a plot to attack the Murrah Building as far back as 1989. And they established possible links between Terry Nichols and members of the radical Posse Comitatus movement in western Kansas, most notably the entourage of a Wichita militia leader named Brad Glover. One of the 302s described a person fitting Glover's physical characteristics, who said that in February or March 1995 "someone was going to smoke some Okies...wait until Timmy V. does his job."

Most of the rest of the material was entirely useless, and a defense team would have had a hard time extracting much from it at trial. Nonetheless, the failure to disclose the documents earlier was taken very seriously. The government was forced to acknowledge it had failed to meet its legal obligations. Louis Freeh, the FBI director, had to explain himself before Congress. And the Justice Department launched an investigation.

The issue, as the Justice Department inspector general later wrote, went beyond complying with the rules of discovery, touching on the FBI's "troubled" information-management systems and their likely impact on future investigations. In December 2000, the FBI archivist had suggested a way of consolidating the bombing records and preparing them for long-term storage. To

that end, he asked the FBI's field offices to eliminate duplicate files and send the rest to Oklahoma. When they did, agents started noticing things they had never seen before. Danny Defenbaugh, by then the FBI's special agent in charge in Dallas, became aware of the new documents at the end of January but did not raise the alarm for three more months—a delay the inspector general said was due to his “lack of attention,” “lack of direction” to his review team, and “lack of follow-up” until the last possible moment.

It is not clear if Defenbaugh was as negligent as the report made out, or if he was being directed by his superiors in Washington to take responsibility. The experience clearly embittered him, especially after he was faced with getting disciplined and kicked back to Washington or retiring. He chose retirement. He also said: “Whenever they issue an I.G. report, even if it is politically charged, they always allow for the person being accused...[to respond] and include the response in the final report. Mine was not. I did respond. They failed to put in my response.”

In his autobiography, Louis Freeh spun the episode as a triumph for his organization. “The FBI did exactly what the public should expect,” he wrote. “It gave full disclosure.” But Rob Nigh and his colleagues argued the exact opposite in their last-ditch petition to Judge Matsch. They itemized sixteen separate occasions when government lawyers told the court that they had handed over everything, only to be upbraided by the court for some oversight or omission or delay. On November 14, 1996, a government lawyer stated: “We have disclosed our entire investigation in this case.” Nigh's brief showed that wasn't true.

McVEIGH'S FINAL DAYS SAW ANOTHER DISPUTE WITH STEPHEN JONES. The catalyst, this time, was the publication of *American Terrorist* by Lou Michel and Dan Herbeck. Several reporters had courted McVeigh for in-depth interviews, and initially he refused them all. He said his mind was changed by the publication of Jones's book *Others Unknown*, in 1998, which “enraged him to the point of action.” *American Terrorist* hit the bookshelves on April 3, 2001, weeks before his scheduled execution.

The first edition of Jones's book had included nothing of his interactions with his client, as he was bound by a professional obligation of confidentiality. But once he knew McVeigh was planning a tell-all book, Jones decided the attorney-client privilege no longer applied. The second edition of *Others Unknown* appeared on April 27, 2001, three weeks after *American Terrorist*, and included an open letter “to my colleagues at the bar” justifying his position. Jones said he had found as many as forty precedents to support the view that

McVeigh had ended the attorney-client privilege before he did. The decision to break his silence about his client was “unquestionably among the most difficult...I have ever had to make,” but the upshot was clear. “It was critically important,” he wrote, “that the record be set straight, and who really in the final analysis could set it straight more fully than I?” Jones even called his decision an act of bravery. “To remain silent,” he suggested, “would have been cowardice. How could I live with myself?”

Many lawyers were stunned by Jones’s actions and by how few critical statements McVeigh actually made about Jones in *American Terrorist*. In his open letter, Jones objected to descriptions of himself as “befuddled” and “craving notoriety and the spotlight,” along with McVeigh’s complaint that he had failed to provide the “necessity” defense McVeigh wanted. McVeigh had said much worse in his habeas appeal, where he accused Jones of defending him for the sole purpose of writing a book.

Michael Tigar was appalled by Jones’s “ratting out his client” and wrote to Judge Matsch arguing that McVeigh’s execution should be stayed on the grounds of ineffective assistance. The letter has never been made public, but Tigar described it as saying: “You have a chance here not to kill this guy. Here are the reasons you ought to think about it.” Jones said he was never told about Tigar’s attack. “I was not aware of any such letter,” he said, “and frankly doubt it was written.”

Judge Matsch saw nothing in the late discovery materials to shake the validity of McVeigh’s conviction, and rejected the argument, made by Rob Nigh, that a delay would create the opportunity to investigate people who helped McVeigh bomb the Murrah Building. The pressure on Matsch was, of course, enormous, and the decision he made was both legally and politically a lot safer than denying the execution that the government and McVeigh both desired. Did he have any room, really, to rule differently? “He could have,” Rob Nigh opined. “I don’t think he was happy about it, by any stretch.”

McVEIGH WAS NOT HANGED FROM THE GALLOWS IN THE TOWN square, but his death by lethal injection on June 11, 2001, broadcast via closed-circuit television to the media and relatives of the victims, was the closest thing to a public execution in modern American history. McVeigh called it “Bloodstock.”

Inside the prison, and especially in the death row wing known as Dog Unit, the first federal execution in thirty-eight years was met with a sense of unshakable gloom. McVeigh had a knack for making himself popular, and found a way of laughing and joking even about his own death. “Still breathin’,” he

signed off his last letter to Jeralyn Merritt, a Denver-based lawyer on his trial team with whom he had formed a close bond. David Hammer remembered McVeigh forming his hand into a noose and making a yanking gesture whenever anyone asked how he was. “I will grieve for what Tim once was, and for who he is now, because no man ceases to be a human being, no matter his actions or how horrid those actions were,” Hammer wrote in his journal three days before the execution.

Many of the inmates had difficulties eating and sleeping. They were put on lockdown, and the prison authorities replaced the usual menu of cable television programs with comedy films to alleviate the tension. Hammer, a diabetic, gave himself an insulin overdose the night before McVeigh’s death. “I did so hoping to die,” he later wrote.

McVeigh was wheeled into the execution chamber looking significantly thinner than he had at trial. Hammer said he deliberately undernourished himself so he would look like a concentration camp victim. He stared the same hard stare the country remembered from his perp walk outside the Noble County courthouse six years earlier, and held it as the poisonous chemicals pumped into his leg. He left behind the poem “Invictus,” by William Ernest Henley, to speak for him. “I am the master of my fate; I am the captain of my soul,” the last lines ran—an echo of McVeigh’s belief that his execution was something he was inflicting on the government, not the other way around. He died, unflinching, with his eyes open.

The bereaved in Oklahoma City expressed satisfaction that he was gone. President George W. Bush, who had approved a record number of executions as governor of Texas, said the bombing victims had been given “not vengeance, but justice.” He then uttered a line that indeed credited McVeigh with being captain of his soul. “One young man,” Bush said, “met the fate he chose for himself.”

Rob Nigh was given the excruciatingly difficult task of paying homage to the moment, and to the devastation that the bombing wrought, while at the same time finding appropriate expression for the many misgivings he felt about the way the story had ended. “To the victims in Oklahoma City, I say that I am sorry that I could not successfully help Tim to express words of reconciliation that he did not perceive to be dishonest,” he said. “I do not fault them at all for looking forward to this day or for taking some sense of relief from it.” But he also questioned what kind of justice had been done exactly. “We have made killing a part of the healing process,” he said. “In order to do that, we use such terms as ‘reasoned moral response.’ But I submit there’s nothing reasonable or moral about what we have done today.”

This was not his client’s perspective, but it was an eloquent plea that went

beyond simple opposition to the death penalty. Nigh's words were an appeal to light over darkness, to truth over obfuscation and lies, to the importance of seeking a fuller understanding of the bombing in all its complexity, not just settling for a distorted account and hoping for closure from one more cold-blooded killing. Nigh knew the story of the bomb plot better than anyone, because McVeigh had told him things he hadn't shared with anybody else. He knew much more than what had come out in court, or in books, or in the wilder speculations in cyberspace. Nigh's knowledge, though, could not be passed on. McVeigh was his client, and this time, attorney-client privilege would extend beyond the grave.

McVeigh's secrets died with him. The rest of us can only seek to reconstitute them from the broken pieces that he and his terrible act left behind.

AFTERWORD

VENGEANCE AND TRUTH

“I want him dead! I want his family dead! I want his house burned to the ground! I wanna go there in the middle of the night and I wanna piss on his ashes!”

—ROBERT DE NIRO AS AL CAPONE IN *THE UNTOUCHABLES* (1988)

Almost four years after McVeigh’s execution, and close to ten years after the bombing, Terry Nichols revealed the secret of the missing explosives under his house in Kansas. He did not tell a lawyer, or the FBI; rather, he confided in his two closest cell mates in the Supermax prison.

Gregory Scarpa Jr. was a member of New York’s Colombo crime family, forever on the lookout for information to trade. Nichols saw him as someone to whom you give a scrap of truth and “he will twist it, weave in lies, and fabricate a story that sounds very convincing.” Tito Bravo was a man of equally low scruples, whom Nichols trusted more but whom Scarpa described as “an almost pathological rat, a double-crosser who would say anything to anyone for a ham-and-cheese sandwich.” The three of them were locked down in individual soundproof cells for twenty-three hours a day, but they managed to communicate through the plumbing.

Nichols told Scarpa he could produce evidence that might get Roger Moore arrested for involvement in the bombing, but he was concerned the feds might destroy it if they got to it first. Then he hinted he knew the whereabouts of explosives left over from the Oklahoma City plot. Scarpa promised Nichols \$450,000 for his information. An overtrusting Nichols believed him and made arrangements for Scarpa to send the money to his church minister. Soon, he told Scarpa the full story of the boxes beneath his old crawl space in Herington.

Scarpa contacted Stephen Dresch, an investigator he knew in Michigan, and said he had a tip about an imminent bomb threat. Dresch guessed that Scarpa must be talking about Terry Nichols and, suspecting that a tenth-anniversary plot might be in the works, notified the FBI and the office of William Delahunt, a Massachusetts congressman on the Homeland Security subcommittee.

That was on March 1, 2005. On March 3, an FBI polygraph expert flew to Colorado and talked to Scarpa, and determined that he was not credible. Next,

Scarpa turned to a forensics expert named Angela Clemente. She and Dresch came to the Supermax and were given astonishing detail on the Herington cache—the boxes' exact dimensions, a description of the contents, even specifics on the insulating wrap. According to Scarpa, Nichols was talking because he, too, was worried about an anniversary attack and did not want any more blood on his hands. Nichols later said he was worried about no such thing.

The only thing Scarpa wouldn't disclose was the address where the materials could be recovered; he wanted a deal first. Dresch, however, found the address on his own, using his Homeland Security contacts. They agreed on a plan: Homeland Security would recover the materials, and Scarpa would be appropriately credited. But when Dresch traveled to Herington, he found no sign of government or law enforcement presence. The deal had gone sour.

Dresch's next move was to cajole the FBI into looking under the crawlspace, the exact outcome Nichols did not want. The feds did nothing until two big news stories—Pope John Paul II receiving the last rites and Terri Schiavo, the brain-dead Florida woman being taken off life support—broke on the same day, giving them the cover they wanted from the media. After digging deep enough to see that the tip was valid, the FBI called in a bomb squad from Topeka and worked all night to recover everything.

Nichols ended up with nothing for his disclosure. The Roger Moore fingerprints never materialized, and neither did the \$450,000. Still, the episode was significant, because it marked the first time Nichols admitted his role in the bomb plot. By scrambling the information Nichols was interested in pushing, Scarpa did everyone a grave disservice.

The one public official who took significant action was Dana Rohrabacher, a conservative Republican congressman from southern California, who visited Nichols in June 1995 and wrote a report for the House International Relations Committee. Rohrabacher's focus, though, was on establishing a foreign connection to the Oklahoma City bombing, which did not interest Nichols. "I don't believe Congressman Rohrabacher will be much help," Nichols wrote afterward. In 2006, Rohrabacher offered to see Nichols again. "If he's only interested in a Philippine connection," Nichols recounted, "tell him not to waste his time, because there is none."

Nichols had many other valuable things to say about the Oklahoma City bomb plot. His writings, to the authors of this book and to others, went into great detail about his relationship with McVeigh, how they built the bomb, and other matters. Rohrabacher missed the chance to glean that information, as did the FBI, which wanted to know if he was willing to name names of possible coconspirators other than Roger Moore, in whom they continued to show no

interest.

Nichols might have spoken out a lot sooner if it had not been for the determination of the Oklahoma authorities to retry him after he was spared the death penalty in federal court. Bob Macy, Oklahoma County's gung-ho district attorney, wanted to see him executed at all costs and, in late 1998, indicted him on 160 counts of first-degree murder, plus one count of manslaughter of an unborn fetus, later upgraded to a 161st murder charge.

In May 1999, Macy had his funding for the prosecution pulled and redirected to tornado victims. Eighteen months later, Macy was ordered off the case altogether after a judge blasted him for "blatant violation of the rules of professional conduct," including breaking a gag order and showing unseemly enthusiasm for killing Nichols.

Just when prosecution seemed to be off the table, Macy's successor, Wes Lane, surprised everyone by announcing that he wanted to go ahead. Nichols's talented state defense team strove to carry on where Michael Tigar and Ron Woods had left off, accusing the government of withholding documents and failing to conduct an adequate investigation into other suspects. One of the new lawyers, Mark Earnest, did some remarkable legwork to establish that the FBI had researched phone calling cards used by Pete Langan and the other bank robbers and checked for possible connections to the bombing. The ARA had made a striking number of calls from a rest area on I-35, just north of the spot where Charlie Hanger arrested McVeigh, suggesting—at least to Earnest, and perhaps also to the FBI—that the robbers might have been waiting to pick him up there.

Judge Steven Taylor dismissed the ARA connection as "melodrama and hyperbole" and would not allow Langan, Mark Thomas, and other ARA witnesses to testify. The jury in rural McAlester, ninety miles south of Tulsa, took just five hours to conclude that Nichols was guilty of first-degree murder on all counts. When it came to the penalty phase, however, they deadlocked. No more than eight jurors voted for the death penalty. Some were impressed that Nichols had embraced Christianity in prison and, as they heard it, prayed so hard during the trial he wore out four Bibles. Others thought a life sentence was worse punishment than death for a man who now believed he was going to heaven. The effort to "correct" the outcome of the federal trial proved futile, and cost Oklahoma taxpayers—who had consistently expressed their misgivings—more than \$10 million.

Even before it was over, Terry Nichols wrote to Attorney General John Ashcroft, offering to tell everything he knew if the Justice Department would take his allegations against Roger Moore seriously. The letter was more

threatening than respectful. “If you want this to work in a positive way,” Nichols wrote, “then I strongly suggest that you contact me as soon as possible.” Ashcroft never responded. That’s when Nichols wondered whom else he could tell about the whereabouts of the explosives boxes.

For ten years, Nichols did not tell his family that he helped McVeigh build the bomb. It was cathartic when he finally confessed to the crime, but also a shock to those he loved the most. Josh, whose young adult life was already marked by alcohol and addiction, was deeply affected. Josh had always defended his father, and now his worst fears about him were confirmed. For Terry, the knowledge that he had betrayed his family weighed almost as heavily as the 168 people who died as a consequence of his actions.

THE VETERAN ATF INVESTIGATOR JIM CAVANAUGH HAD A SAYING HE would share whenever he worked high-profile cases: “We’ve got to run this lead *De Niro–dead*.” It was a reference to *The Untouchables*, and expressed the idea that law enforcement agents should keep digging until they are quite sure there is nothing left to check, second-guess, or look at from another angle. “It’s a failure not to do that,” Cavanaugh said. “People will always be tempted to say about one piece of information or another: ‘We don’t need it for the prosecution.’ The way it worked on a lot of these cases, we would have to run all these leads out, even if we thought we’d come to a dead end. And that’s how it should be.”

The “De Niro–dead” principle operated at many levels in the Oklahoma City investigation. At Danny Defenbaugh’s behest, agents took copies of more than 13 million hotel and motel records to track McVeigh’s movements. The bureau impounded more than 6 million rental records from Ryder, covering every vehicle rented nationwide between January 1, 1994, and the day of the bombing. They ran 160,000 license plates. The FBI crime lab shipped the entire counter from Eldon Elliott’s body shop to headquarters. A pay phone outside a McDonald’s in Junction City was shrink-wrapped, uprooted, and opened so forensics experts could check every coin inside for fingerprints.

But they may also have lost sight of the big picture. Investigators never made more than a token effort to investigate Elohim City—much less follow through until every lead was De Niro–dead. They did not touch Louis Beam, despite indications he had knowledge of a bomb plot and of the young man who would carry it out. They did not properly investigate the historical connection between Jim Ellison, Wayne Snell, the 1983 plot to blow up the Murrah Building, and Grandpa Millar. Snell wound up dead, but far from De Niro–dead.

The feds talked to Andreas Strassmeir, eventually, but challenged him on

nothing of significance. The same was true of Grandpa Millar. They did not question Dennis Mahon, even though they had material for an indictment against him. They gave a free pass to the Ward brothers, even though their movements around the time of the bombing were suspect, and Pete and Tony Ward were identified as possible John Does One and Two.

The feds showed little interest in running down the Aryan Republican Army bank robbers, because they were more interested in Kevin McCarthy's testimony against his fellow gang members than they were in investigating his two bogus alibis for April 19. The investigators who pursued the robberies did not share crucial evidence with the bombing task force, sabotaging any chance of making a meaningful link between the two cases.

The prosecution could never prove that McVeigh rented the Ryder truck in person, or that he—or his surrogate—had done so alone. Whatever one thinks of Todd Bunting and the theory of eyewitness mis-association presented at trial, the story left room for objections; it was not De Niro—dead. Prosecutors could not explain why two dozen witnesses had seen McVeigh in Oklahoma City on the morning of the bombing with at least one other person. They could not explain the brown Chevy pickup sightings, or the second Ryder truck seen at the Dreamland Motel on Easter Sunday, or the voices heard in McVeigh's room while he was in Oklahoma City dropping off the Mercury, or the identity of the man who took the Chinese food delivery the night before. The multiple suspicions about Roger Moore were simply left hanging, making him perhaps the luckiest man in the entire investigation.

One of the prickliest problems with the government's case was its failure to explain how McVeigh and Nichols could build a huge destructive device without advanced explosives training and be confident it would go off. The government claimed the pair learned from books, fooled around on James Nichols's farm in Michigan, and conducted experiments in Arizona once they had begun to assemble their bomb components. But the narrative was still missing huge chunks. The government had McVeigh detonating a pipe bomb—nothing to do with ammonium nitrate—in the desert outside Kingman in the summer of 1994, with modest results. Then, a few months later, they had him mixing ammonium nitrate and nitromethane in a gallon-size plastic jug and setting that off, too. According to Terry Nichols, the experiment was a failure. How did the bombers go from amateur hour in October 1994 to mass murder on a horrific scale six months later? The official record is silent.

The missing explosives were never properly run down, either. Since the FBI crime lab could not figure out the composition of the bomb, it was difficult to know which of the known components assembled by McVeigh and Nichols were

used to destroy the Murrah Building and which were left over. The topic was certainly a cause for concern: Defenbaugh pushed unsuccessfully for an eleventh-hour FBI interview with McVeigh to ask him about it. According to Terry Nichols, he and McVeigh exhausted the supply of ammonium nitrate and nitromethane, but not the Tovex or the blasting caps. Nichols said they used just one case of Tovex to mix the bomb, leaving another seven and a half cases unaccounted for, along with about 60 Primadet nonelectric blasting cap systems and 340 electric blasting caps. Where did this material end up?

This book has examined how institutional failure, lack of nerve, turf wars, and a political imperative to prosecute the Oklahoma City bomb plot swiftly and cleanly all impeded the FBI and the other investigative agencies from meeting the standards expected of them. Ironically, by the time McVeigh and Nichols went on trial, the leaders of each prosecution team, Joseph Hartzler and Larry Mackey, were more willing to acknowledge the possibility of other coconspirators than the FBI. This wasn't just about serving justice; it was about the FBI's need to defend its reputation, at the expense of the truth.

"Two evil men did this and two evil men paid," Frank Keating, the FBI agent who became governor of Oklahoma, declared in 2004. That's the story the bureau has told itself for fifteen years.

McVeigh certainly helped the FBI make this argument. His desire to be recognized as the lone mastermind of the bombing converged with the FBI's desire to say that nobody else was involved. In 2002, Louis Freeh wrote in his autobiography: "It was Timothy McVeigh himself...who persuaded me that the conspiracy didn't go beyond what we had uncovered." Freeh was too smart not to see this as an argument of convenience as much as investigative fact. But he was not the only one who made it. "Reading the interviews with McVeigh [in *American Terrorist*], I was astounded how close to the truth we were," said Weldon Kennedy, the FBI's first on-scene commander who later served as Freeh's deputy. How astounding was it, though, that McVeigh dovetailed his account with the government's? He was familiar with the official narrative of the bombing, having read all the discovery materials and sat through more than a month of court testimony. Was it not *more* astounding to think that the perpetrator of the worst domestic bombing in American history—a man who lied to his friends, made sexual advances to their wives, was prone to self-aggrandizement, and thought the bereaved of Oklahoma City should stop whining and just get over themselves—would give a book-length account of his crimes and tell nothing but the truth?

There is, as both Rob Nigh and Michael Tigar intimated, a fundamentally antithetical relationship between vengeance and truth. One has a tendency to

block out the other. Nobody can fault the bombing victims for the desire to pin their grief and rage and loss on readily identifiable culprits, and to see those culprits punished swiftly and severely. But when law enforcement agencies and higher government institutions allow that same emotional response to guide their actions—or, worse, allow themselves to exploit the victims' raw emotions to cover up mistakes and lash out dishonestly at their critics—then the truth suffers, and with it the most salient qualities of a civilized society.

SOURCES

Prologue

Matsch quote from a March 25, 1998, post-conviction hearing in the Nichols federal trial; quote from Kerry Noble, Jim Ellison's sidekick in the 1980s paramilitary sect the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), from a never-released documentary made by a production company named MGA (Made for General Audiences); transcript of interview, dated March 22, 1999, obtained by authors. Ashcroft turned down FBI requests for \$50 million in new counterterrorism funds the day before 9/11; see Richard Clarke, *Against All Enemies*, p. 254, and Dan Eggen, "Ashcroft's Pre-9/11 Priorities Scrutinized," *Washington Post*, April 13, 2004. He faced at least two high-profile lawsuits, *Raich v. Ashcroft* and *Santa Cruz v. Ashcroft*, because of his opposition to California's medical marijuana laws. Infamously, Ashcroft paid \$8,000 to cover up a nude female statue, the *Spirit of Justice*, in the Great Hall of the Main Justice building in Washington. "Curtains for Semi-Nude Justice Statue," BBC News, January 29, 2002. Janet Reno on deadbeat dads, see Justice Department news release of December 22, 1994, "Attorney General Reno Announces Plan to Crack Down on Dead-Beat Parents Who Fail to Pay Child Support"; Danny Defenbaugh said in an April 5, 2011, interview (Gumbel) that this priority was met with consternation at the FBI, because it tied up resources the offices wanted to expend on serious crime. Reno did not respond to interview requests. The Department of Homeland Security study, prepared in coordination with the FBI, is *Rightwing Extremism: Current Economic and Political Climate Fueling Resurgence in Radicalization and Recruitment*, published April 7, 2009. Most controversial was its finding that neo-Nazis, skinheads, and other white supremacists were learning combat skills in the army and that "rightwing extremists will attempt to recruit and radicalize returning veterans in order to exploit their skills and knowledge derived from military training and combat.... The willingness of a small percentage of military personnel to join extremist groups during the 1990s because they were disgruntled, disillusioned, or suffering from the psychological effects of war is being replicated today." Jonathan Franzen, *Freedom*, p. 445; James William Gibson, *Warrior Dreams*, p. 12. Sign on prosecutors' door related by Larry Mackey, interview (Gumbel), April 28, 2011; Joe Hartzler remembered the sign reading: "Don't hide the crime in the clutter," interview (Gumbel), June 2, 2011. Keating quoted in Jon Hersley,

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Chapter 1

EOD team:

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McVeigh and Nichols meet to build the bomb:

Terry Nichols handwritten account, “Morning of April 18, 1995,” November 29, 2007; Nichols’s written answers to author questions, March 20, 2010; McVeigh’s version in Lou Michel and Dan Herbeck, *American Terrorist*, pp. 214–20.

Wayne Snell predicting a bomb:

Prison official Alan Ables’s interview with Canadian Broadcasting Service *Fifth Estate* program, broadcast October 22, 1996. Also quoted in Howard Pankratz, “Blast blamed on revenge attack linked to militant’s execution,” *Denver Post*, May 12, 1996, and in John Solomon, “Government had information suggesting Oklahoma City attack weeks before McVeigh struck,” Associated Press, February 12, 2003; Ellison quoted in Kerry Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate: Why They Bombed Oklahoma City*, pp. 134–35.

Walter Reed Army Institute of Research:

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Trigen log quoted in Richard Sherrow, “Aftershocks and Subterfuge: Cloud of Doubt Lingers Over Government Cover-Up,” *Soldier of Fortune*, April 1996; Glenn Wilburn’s conversations with Charles Gaines and Harvey Weathers

quoted in Kathy Sanders, *After Oklahoma: A Grieving Grandmother Uncovers Shocking Truths About the Bombing...and Herself*, pp. 89–90; Wilburn also interviewed by Tom Jarriel of ABC's 20/20, November 18, 1996. His account is corroborated by Harvey Weathers in his FBI FD-302 interview of May 15, 1996, file no. 14935, and by Oklahoma City fire chief Gary Marrs in his FBI FD-302, May 21, 1996, file no. 15006. The sarin gas alert story is also from Marrs. See also Judy Keen, "An Army of Agents, Experts Following Hundreds of Leads," *USA Today*, April 20, 1995.

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Millar quoted in interview with MGA documentary crew, May 23, 2000; Andreas Strassmeir, interviews (Gumbel), June 30–July 3, 2010; "Field marshal of Elohim City" line from Dave Hollaway interview (Gumbel), July 10, 2010; information on Aryan Republican Army robberies/meeting to disband from FBI FD-302 interview with Richard Lee Guthrie, case no. 91A-CI-63809 (MC-124), dated March 4–15, 1996, esp. p. 17 for this time frame; and also Guthrie's unpublished handwritten prison memoir, *The Taunting Bandits*, aka *Banks for the Memories*, esp. p. 155; on Thomas getting money from the Des Moines robbery and giving Stedeford a fake driver's license, see Mark S. Hamm, *In Bad*

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November 7, 1995; Heady reinterviewed May 20, 1996, file no. 15002; witnesses include Dan Adomitis, interviewed by Tom Jarriel of ABC News, November 19, 1996 (information taken from raw ABC transcript); J. D. Reed, who wrote an account titled “Wednesday, April 19, 1995, A Black Day for Us All,” in *Workin’ Interest*, a company newsletter of Parker & Parsley Petroleum USA Inc., vol. 96, issue 3; and Norma Joslin, quoted in Laura Vozella, “Pair See Conspiracy in Blast; Government Tipped Off, Couple Say,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, March 31, 1996. Joslin’s insistence on being driven into underground garage for grand jury hearing taken from notes (Charles) from her meeting with Oklahoma State Representative Charles Key, October 3, 1997; Sheriff J. D. Sharp denying presence of bomb squad downtown to local Oklahoma media cited in Petition for Writ of Mandamus of Petitioner-Defendant, Timothy James McVeigh and Brief in Support, filed in the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals on March 25, 1997; bomb squad in blue jeans, quoted in *NBC Extra*, March 19, 1997; interviews (Gumbel) with bomb squad members Kyle Kilgore and Stanley D. Brown, September 21, 2010.

Bomb squad/sniffer dogs:

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Chapter 2

Oklahoma Military Academy:

Stanley Brown, contemporaneous notes, written April 19, 1995, and revised April 20, 1995, made available to authors. Also, interview (Gumbel), September 21, 2010.

Federal courthouse:

Gary Knight, interview (Gumbel), September 1, 2010; more details in John Perry, “A Day of Terror,” *Daily Oklahoman*, April 23, 1995.

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Nichols testified in the McVeigh trial, May 14, 1997. Nichols is no relation of Terry or James Nichols.

Glenn Wilburn on scene:

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<http://www.tedgunderson.net>, October 20, 2010; Brown told an Oklahoma County grand jury in September 1997 he now regarded the results as inconclusive and they could not, on their own, support the two-bomb theory. His boss, OGS director Charles Mankin, told the grand jury the two-bomb theory had been a mistake. See Ed Godfrey, Diana Baldwin, and Judy Kuhlman, "Grand Jury Told Seismic Readings Unclear in Bombing," *Daily Oklahoman*, September 19, 1997, and Diana Baldwin, "Expert Rejects 2-Bomb Idea, Grand Jury Told Seismic Report a Mistake," *Daily Oklahoman*, October 7, 1997; for a scientific explanation of why the seismograms are consistent with a single bomb, see Thomas L. Holzer, Joe B. Fletcher, Gary S. Fuis, Trond Ryberg, Thomas M. Brocher, and Christopher M. Dietel, "Seismograms Offer Insight into Oklahoma City Bombing," *Eos* (a publication of the American Geophysical Union), vol. 77, no. 41, October 8, 1996; Brigadier General Partin's report, "Bomb Damage Analysis of Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma," is dated July 30, 1995, and was sent to Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, then the Senate Majority Whip. For a take-down of his arguments, and a cogent explanation of the bomb blast and its effects, see Richard Sherrow, "Bombast, Bomb Blasts & Baloney," *Soldier of Fortune*, January 1996, pp. 41–43 and 72–77; others supporting Sherrow's contentions about the negative blast-pressure wave include Bill Buford, another veteran bomb expert for the ATF turned commander of the Arkansas State Police Bomb Squad, interview (Gumbel), May 11, 2010. See also, Globalsecurity.org's online article on munitions damage at <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/systems/munitions/damage.htm> (accessed October 20, 2010); Dave Hollaway interview (Gumbel), May 6, 2010.

Scenes from the bowels of hell:

Franklin Alexander, account in official written statement, FBI FD-302, file no. 15498, dictated July 7, 1996; John Avera, interviewed by his police department colleagues. Report included in undated FBI document F-9442, April 20, 1995 (not in bombing case file); some details also from Mike Shannon's piece in *Fire Engineering*, op. cit.

Suspicious of Middle East connection, smart suspicions of a Waco connection:

Jim Kamen quoted in Jim Naureckas, "The Oklahoma City Bombing: The Jihad that Wasn't," *Extra!* (a publication of FAIR, or Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting), Washington, D.C., July/August 1995; warning issued to federal courthouses, see John Solomon, "Weeks Before 1995 Oklahoma Bombing, Government Warned of Possible Terror Bombings of Federal Buildings," *Associated Press*, June 20, 2002, and Robert Rudolph, "Lawmen Get Warning of Plot on U.S. Targets," *Newark Star-Ledger*, March 22, 1995. Also Judge Wayne

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McVeigh and the missing license plate:

McVeigh’s version of purchasing the Mercury, stashing it in Oklahoma City, and driving away after the bombing: see Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 206–207, 211–13, and 230–32; theories of why no license plate: Bob Ricks, the FBI special agent in charge in Oklahoma City (interview by Gumbel, August 9, 2010), thought McVeigh simply forgot to reattach it in the heat of the moment; Scott Mendeloff, a member of the government prosecution team (interview by Gumbel, July 16, 2010), thought it fell off; Weldon Kennedy, the FBI’s first on-scene commander (interview by Gumbel, August 26, 2010), thought the license plate was stolen; Terry Nichols, echoing some of the crazier theories floating around the Internet, has suggested that McVeigh was programmed by a government “handler” to (a) remove the license plate and (b) make sure he was caught and take the fall for the bombing (Nichols’s handwritten answers to questions posed by Salt Lake City lawyer Jesse Trentadue, dated January 27, 2010); McVeigh said (Michel and Herbeck, p. 226) he expected to be captured or killed, though he didn’t say this in connection with the missing license plate. Two witnesses who saw plate dangling by a single bolt: Lea McGown, owner of the Dreamland Motel in Junction City, Kansas, where McVeigh checked in hours after purchasing the Mercury (McGown interview with MGA documentary crew, March 13, 1999, transcript obtained by authors; and Gary Lewis, the *Journal Record* employee, who saw what he believed was an Oklahoma license plate dangling by a single bolt—see notes to chapter 1); “Nice and solid, two screws right on top” quote reported by defense lawyer Jim Hankins (see notes to chapter 1) based on interview with McVeigh in May 1995. “Network of friends” letter to Jennifer, which is undated, is quoted in Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 197. In her grand jury testimony on August 2, 1995, Jennifer told prosecuting attorney

Vicki Behenna she thought the letter was written sometime after October 1993. (Summary of her testimony in Alliance Services investigative memo to the Nichols federal defense team, memo written by H. C. Bodley, July 10, 1997.) Items in McVeigh's car, exhibits at his trial including nos. 447 ("abandoned do not tow" note under windshield), 448A (copy of Declaration of Independence with message on the back), 451 (quote from John Locke, hand-copied by McVeigh), 453 (photocopied excerpt from *The Turner Diaries*), and 458 (article on Lexington and Concord); Terry Nichols corroborating story about removing license plate, from Nichols's handwritten answers to author questions, March 20, 2010.

The getaway from Oklahoma City:

McVeigh's version reported by Hankins as well as Michel and Herbeck; Germaine Johnston account based on her testimony at the Terry Nichols trial (December 5, 1997). Johnston estimated she saw McVeigh 20–25 minutes after the bombing, which would not leave him enough time to drive the Mercury to the point on I-35 where he was arrested just before 10:20 A.M. The FBI never seriously considered the possibility that Johnston was mistaken about how much time had elapsed (as opposed to mistaken about absolutely everything else); the other witness who saw McVeigh in the alley was Morris John Kuper (see notes to chapter 1).

Chevie Kehoe at the Shadows Motel in Spokane:

Details in Bill Morlin, "McVeigh in Spokane Before Bombing? Innkeeper Links Kehoe, McVeigh in Months Before Oklahoma City Blast," *Spokane Spokesman Review*, January 16, 1998; Morlin, "Kehoe Implicates Brother in Bombing; Cheyenne Kehoe Says He Has Knowledge of Chevie's Role in Attack on a Federal Building," *Spokane Spokesman Review*, January 21, 1998; and in Kim Murphy, "Savage Saga of Radical Right Told in Trial," *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1999. Kehoe at Elohim City, interview (Gumbel) with Andreas Strassmeir, June 30, 2010; talk of "delivery," see FBI FD-302 interview with Montana prison inmate John Shults, file no. 17735, dated April 2, 1997. For a more detailed report of the first interview see ATF Report of Investigation, Helena Field Office, dated April 3, 1997.

Wayne Snell's final day:

Details from death row prison guard log, as reported in Howard Pankratz's May 12, 1996, piece for the *Denver Post*, cited in chapter 1; in Associated Press's "Chronology of an Execution," published April 20, 1995; in "Snell Executed at Cummins; Last Words Lash at Governor," *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, April 20, 1995; and in Michael Daly, "His Hatred Survives," *New York Daily News*, April 23, 1995; Jeff Rosenzweig's account of Snell denouncing the bombing as

unprofessional because it targeted children is echoed in an FBI FD-302 interview with Mary Snell, file no. 9384, August 12, 1995.

Radical anger at McVeigh/time of attack changed:

Kale Kelly, prison interview with FBI agent Tym Burkey, quoted in Dave Hall and Tym Burkey, with Katherine Ramsland, *Into the Devil's Den*, p. 78; Strassmeir quotes, interview (Gumbel), July 3, 2010; Oliphant talking about "something big," see FBI FD-302 interviews with Dyane Partridge, file no. 1215, May 10, 1995; Oliphant saying McVeigh would have been a hero if he had blown up the building at night, quoted in, e.g., Tony Perry, "Godfather of Arizona's Militiamen; Oklahoma City Bombing Puts Jack Oliphant, an Ex-Con and Survivalist, Back in Limelight," *Los Angeles Times*, May 21, 1995; Bobby Joe Farrington, FBI FD-302, file no. 13458, April 29, 1995. Terry Nichols also alluded to a series of attacks on federal courthouses, according to an FBI Synopsis of Investigation dated March 3, 2005 (when the feds were trying to establish the veracity of claims that more explosives were concealed under Nichols's old house in Herington). "Nichols advised that the aforementioned bomb components were to be used by the group to bomb other federal courthouses after the Oklahoma City bombing," the synopsis said. The word "other" implies, of course, that one had already been targeted if not actually hit. Nichols did not repeat this line in his correspondence with the authors, saying instead that he had no idea what McVeigh's target might have been; in *The Turner Diaries*, the FBI building bomb goes off at 9:15 A.M. on October 13, 1991, see Macdonald, op. cit., p. 38.

Fishy stories from the ATF:

Franey's story, from his testimony in the McVeigh trial, May 6, 1997. Also, interviews (Gumbel) March 1 and March 19, 2010; sheriff's office video shot by Sergeant Melvin Sumter, obtained by authors; Magaw interview (Gumbel), January 18, 2010; Harry Eberhardt, FBI FD-302, file no. 13012 (written by Eberhardt), February 3, 1996. Franey squirmed around considerably when challenged on his story. First, after he was shown a still picture from the sheriff's office video with his hands unbandaged, he said he "had a good chuckle," because the figure in the picture clearly was not him. Then, given the opportunity to review the video as a whole, he backed down, acknowledged the figure was him, after all, and suggested that he and a colleague from across the country jump on a plane to explain in person. Soon after that, he dropped the in-person visit idea, and said he stood by his original story. DEA agent who went up to ninth floor, see FBI interview with customs office chief Terry Don Wilson, November 16, 1995, file no. 11457; Wilson describes Dave Schickedanz going up shortly after getting out of the stalled elevator. McCauley story, see ATF news

release dated May 23, 1995. Also pleading in McVeigh case, November 7, 1996, in which Joe Hartzler repeats the story; Duane James and Oscar Johnson, interviewed by Tom Jarriel of ABC, November 19, 1996, transcript obtained by authors; Dave Schickedanz, interview (Gumbel), August 13, 2010. For other versions of his account, see, e.g., Pam Proctor, “A Portrait in Bravery,” *Parade* magazine, October 27, 1996; the elevator story being a factor in McCauley’s transfer, from interview (Gumbel) with Tommy Wittman, at the time an assistant special agent in charge in Dallas, with oversight responsibility for Oklahoma City, interview date September 27, 2010.

McVeigh arrested by Charlie Hanger:

McVeigh’s version, see Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 238–43; Hanger’s version taken from transcripts of testimony in the McVeigh trial, April 28, 1997, and Terry Nichols’s federal trial, November 5, 1997. Speculation on McVeigh’s destination: Wichita suggested in interview (Gumbel) with Randy Yount, September 30, 2010, based on his law enforcement contacts. Fortier telling FBI McVeigh was headed to Arizona via the Kansas City airport, interview (Gumbel) with Weldon Kennedy, August 26, 2010. The possibility he was heading to Pittsburg was apparently investigated by FBI, which subpoenaed pay phone records along the most likely route from the location of McVeigh’s arrest to the safe house.

10:30 bomb scare and evacuation:

Stanley Brown interview (Gumbel), September 21, 2010; also his contemporaneous notes. Second bomb bigger than the first: see John Avera’s interview with the FBI, cited above. Leaving Daina Bradley: Mike Shannon’s article in *Fire Engineering*, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 69, 71; Don Browning, interviewed by MGA documentary crew, March 18, 1999. Possible causes of evacuation: Shannon interviewed by FBI, see FD-302, file no. 17238, August 22, 1996; Danny Defenbaugh interview (Gumbel), September 22, 2010. Evidence of ordinance and government weaponry in Murrah Building: assault rifles seen taken out of the rubble in a sheriff’s department video shot by Sumter; see also discussion later in this chapter of TOW missile, whose presence has been confirmed; Virgil Steele, sworn statement dated June 22, 1998, obtained by authors. Such storage issues were relatively common. The Tulsa ATF office was later the subject of internal scrutiny, because of problems with its weapons inventory, as revealed by ATF supervisor Tommy Wittman, interview (Gumbel), September 27, 2010. FBI headquarters was damaged by a fire in 1987 caused by explosive materials accidentally ripping through the crime lab. The incident was investigated internally as well as by the ATF, but kept largely out of the public eye. Shane Slovacek interviewed by the FBI November 16, 1995, insert no.

13569; Randy Yount interview (Gumbel), September 30, 2010; John Magaw interview (Gumbel), January 18, 2010; John Haynie, FBI FD-302 interview, file no. 11699, October 25, 1995.

McVeigh booked at the Noble County courthouse: Hanger's account taken from testimony in the Nichols federal trial, November 5, 1997. See also Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., p. 244. McVeigh throwing the Nichols brothers to the wolves: McVeigh also used the Decker address when checking into the Dreamland Motel in Junction City, Kansas, on April 14. Many years later, Terry Nichols expressed fury against McVeigh. "It's clear McVeigh holds some grudge or animosity of some type against me," he wrote on March 20, 2010. The use of the present tense, almost nine years after McVeigh's execution, underlines how keenly he still felt the betrayal.

FBI gets an early jump on McVeigh, which it ignores:

Interview (Gumbel) with Dennis Dutsch, June 22, 2011.

Doctors get to work rescuing Daina Bradley:

Material taken from Andy Sullivan's testimony in the McVeigh trial, June 5, 1997, and from Roy Wenzl, "In Search of an Ending; Timothy McVeigh's Deadly Act Turned Two Doctors into Reluctant Heroes," *Wichita Eagle*, May 16, 2001.

TOW missile episode:

Account from Stanley Brown's handwritten journal; FBI interviews with OHP officers Fred Horn (November 8, 1995) and John Haynie (October 25, 1995), both under insert file no. 6853; Bill Grimsley's testimony to the Oklahoma County grand jury, February 25, 1998, transcript obtained by authors; Oklahoma County Sheriff's Evidence/Ordnance Acceptance Form dated April 19, 1995, and completed by Bob Heady, the head of the sheriff's office bomb squad. That form says the missile was checked by an army explosives and ordnance disposal technician from Fort Sill; the army's own paperwork (per an e-mail, obtained by the authors, from Lieutenant Colonel Frederick S. Gisler of Forces Command headquarters, time-stamped 12:10 P.M.) shows that the 61st EOD from Fort Sill was not yet in Oklahoma City at that time. Even at 12:10 P.M., the EOD team was only on standby. The missile was shown to the county grand jury on September 15, 1998, according to an article three days later in the *Daily Oklahoman*. Bob Sanders quote taken from transcript of interview with MGA documentary crew, March 13, 1998; technical details of TOW missile, both in fully operational and inert mode, from FBI FD-302 interview with Bill Stewart of Army CID at the Anniston Army Depot, file no. 15530, June 22, 1996. Lack of paperwork on TOW missile detailed in a letter to the FBI from Bruce F. Murray, acting assistant director (operations) of Strategic Investigations Division of the U.S.

Customs. The letter, dated January 13, 1997, includes this observation: “A member of my staff...personally searched all available headquarters files for any documentation relating to the inert TOW, with negative results.” Murray speculates any records may have been purged. Stanley Brown quote about Bob Heady taken from interview (Gumbel), October 18, 2010. Wrong story circulated about timing of TOW missile discovery: see, e.g., Diana Baldwin, Judy Kuhlman, “Jury Shown Missile from Bomb Site Weapon Triggered Post-Explosion Bomb Scare,” *Daily Oklahoman*, September 18, 1998. In this version, the missile triggered the first evacuation; the second was triggered by the discovery of a desk clock that looked like an explosive. Such a clock was on the desk of ATF agent Harry Eberhardt, but there is no evidence it was connected to either alert.

Chapter 3

Louis Freeh passes over Bob Ricks:

Ronald Kessler, *The Bureau*; I. C. Smith’s review of Freeh’s book *Sins of Omission* in *American Spectator*, vol. 38, issue 10 (December 1, 2005), pp. 24–29; Weldon L. Kennedy, *On-Scene Commander*; Oliver “Buck” Revell and Dwight Williams, *A G-Man’s Journal*; Freeh praising field agents for doing “the real work,” see Freeh, p. 200; Ricks recommended for FBI director, see Revell and Williams, pp. 448–49; Kennedy interview (Gumbel), August 26, 2010; Ricks interview (Gumbel), August 9, 2010.

Bragging rights over rear axle discovery:

McPherson version told, e.g., in Harry Levins, “The Pieces of the Puzzle; Bent Truck Axle Spotted by Alert Detective Provided Key Clue in Finding Oklahoma Bombing Suspect,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 28, 1995; traffic cops Earl Faubion and Fred Moon variation told in Arnold Hamilton, “Puzzling Pieces Tell a Story; Officers’ Efforts Yield Bomb Truck’s Axles,” *Dallas Morning News*, May 15, 1995; for FBI version, see Kessler, op. cit., p. 392, and also Jon Hersley, Larry Tongate, and Bob Burke, *Simple Truths*, pp. 35–39; Sumter interviewed by the FBI, FD-302, file no. 3705, May 3, 1995; Agent Jim Norman written declaration, FBI FD-302, file no. 392, April 19, 1995; Agent James F. Elliott Jr. written declarations, FBI FD-302, file nos. 12 and 1360, April 19, 1995.

Investigators lose control of the crime scene:

Joe Van Bullard interview (Gumbel), August 25, 2010; some information about perimeter also in Mike Shannon, “Rescue Operations: Doing Battle with the Building,” *Fire Engineering* magazine, October 1995, p. 71; Powell, Kelso, and Gadson testimony to Department of Justice inspector general, quoted in John F.

Kelly and Philip K. Wearne, *Tainting Evidence*, pp. 199–200. The interviews did not make it into the final report, titled “The FBI Laboratory: An Investigation into Laboratory Practices and Alleged Misconduct in Explosives-Related and Other Cases” (USDOJ Office of Inspector General Special Report, April 1997); John Magaw interview (Gumbel), January 18, 2010; Magaw estimates bomb at 1,000–1,200 lbs., CNN, April 19, 1995 (transcript headlined “One ATF Agent Vows Intensive Investigation into Bomb”). The same figure is later found in Forscom (U.S. Army Forces Command) logs.

Pete Langan and Richard Guthrie on the morning of the bombing: List of ARA hardware including explosives taken from: Guthrie’s FBI FD-302, dated March 4–15, 1996; from an FBI inventory of items recovered from a second safe house in Columbus, Ohio, after Langan’s arrest on January 18, 1996—see Mark S. Hamm, *In Bad Company*, pp. 10–12; and from MGA documentary interview with Langan, April 7, 2000, transcript obtained by authors. ARA plans to stage multipronged attacks on the government, see Guthrie’s memoir *The Taunting Bandits*, p. 74; recruitment video, *The Aryan Republican Army Presents: The Armed Struggle Underground*, obtained by authors; biographical information on Langan taken from Hamm, op. cit.; “small person you didn’t wanna fuck with” quote, Hamm, p. 80; biographical information on Guthrie taken from his FBI FD-302 and from his memoir; his threat to blow up the White House taken from Secret Service memorandum, dated December 29, 1995. Evidence of McVeigh’s possible involvement with ARA: Terry Nichols said in a letter to Salt Lake City lawyer Jesse Trentadue, dated October 18, 2006, that McVeigh talked “a couple of times” about robbing a bank; on the car ride from Oklahoma City back to Kansas on April 16, 1995, McVeigh alluded to big plans and Nichols asked him: “What are you going to do, rob a bank?” (from Nichols’s letter to reporter John Solomon, dated September 30, 2007). Nichols’s ex-wife Lana Padilla said she wondered about Nichols and McVeigh both being involved in a bank robbery after finding wigs, masks, and pantyhose, as well as \$20,000 in cash, at her home and at a storage locker in Las Vegas in November 1994 (Padilla interview [Gumbel], September 25, 2010). For McVeigh telling his sister of involvement in a robbery, see Jennifer McVeigh affidavit dated May 2, 1995, admitted into evidence at her brother’s trial. Guthrie account of April 19 taken from his memoir, p. 156; Langan’s account taken from MGA documentary interview, op. cit., and also from a legal declaration filed with the U.S. District Court in Salt Lake City, April 9, 2007, case no.: 2:04 CV 00772 DAK. Detail about 1979 Chevy van, see Hamm, op. cit., p. 225, and also Guthrie’s FD-302 interview, March 22, 1996, pp. 25–26; details on Langan’s “mysterious,” see Hamm, op. cit., p. 183. McCarthy’s extreme views on homosexuals and cross-dressers from

a document by Mark Thomas, “Bible Cites Against Sexual Deviancy,” date unknown. McCarthy, Thomas writes, “was especially disgusted by any moral departure from the Law of Moses.” Thomas cites Leviticus 20:13: “If a man lieth with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination: they shall surely be put to death; and their blood shall be upon them.” And Deuteronomy 22:5: “The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth to a man, neither shall a man put on a woman’s garment: for all that do so are an abomination unto the Lord thy God.” Thomas continues: “The penalty for ‘abomination’ is universally understood to be death. It is important to note that Identity is unique from institutional Christianity in that it is considered to be a terrible sin not to execute the penalty upon the transgressor.” Langan quote about Guthrie, Hamm, op. cit., p. 22; sketch resembling Langan drawn by regular FBI sketch artist Jeanne Boylan based on the recall of David Snider, the warehouse foreman in Bricktown, who saw the Ryder truck. Sketch reproduced in Hamm, op. cit., opposite p. 119.

McCarthy and Stedeford unable to account for whereabouts:

Biographical information on McCarthy and Stedeford from Hamm, op. cit. Quote from Stedeford, see Hamm, p. 115; McCarthy’s first statement to FBI, FD-302, file interview, June 17, 1996 (not in bombing case file), summarized in FD-302, file no. 15847, August 1, 1996. A follow-up statement is in FD-302, file no. 16027, September 18, 1996. The information on the Chevy Suburban comes from an FBI intra-agency memo dated August 22, 1996, which shows that the car was purchased in Fort Smith on April 17 and registered in Iowa on April 21. Quote: “The Iowa Certificate of Title was issued on 4/21/1995”; Langan’s version taken from his legal declaration filed with the U.S. District Court in Salt Lake City, April 9, 2007; Guthrie’s “young Mr. Wizard line” quoted by Mark Thomas in an interview with the *Allentown Morning Call* on the day of his arrest. See “Thomas Indicted in Bank Robberies,” *Allentown Morning Call*, January 31, 1997; Guthrie leaves article about McVeigh at bank robbery scene, see his big FD-302 interview, March 4–15, 1996, p. 85. Detail about him being drunk on tequila, see Hamm, op. cit., p. 255; Donna Marazoff quoting Mark Thomas, see Marazoff’s FBI FD-302 interview, file no. 17777, dated April 2, 1997; Thomas interview with *Washington Post* reporter Rich Leiby, January 23, 1997. Unpublished. Tape of interview kindly provided to Gumbel by Leiby.

Video surveillance cameras: John Hippard interview (Gumbel), June 15, 2010; Tom Hunt interviews (Gumbel), December 16 and 17, 2010; Danny Defenbaugh interview (Gumbel), December 9, 2010. Channel 4 report on surveillance tapes, exact date unknown, viewed January 4, 2011, on YouTube.com under title “Oklahoma City Bombing Federal Surveillance Tapes Coverup”; Secret Service

timeline references to video tape of the detonation site at 1745 hours for April 25, 1995, and at 1930 hours for April 24, 1995. Stacy Bauerschmidt, the assistant to the special agent in charge of the Secret Service's intelligence division, testified at Terry Nichols's state trial that the government knew of no such videotape; according to the Associated Press, she said that reports in the timeline "may have been based on mere speculation and the agency does not vouch for its reliability" (John Solomon, "Secret Service Documents Cite Mystery Video in Oklahoma City Bombing," Associated Press, April 19, 2004). Confirmation of no video cameras at from GSA Federal Protective Service Physical Security Survey, dated February 21, 1995, and obtained by authors; the same report indicates that there was a video surveillance camera trained on Don Rogers's office door and another at the HUD office; Don Rogers interview (Gumbel), February 14, 2011; Regency Towers tape handover detailed in handwritten report by Oklahoma City police officer Ritch Willis (see FBI FD-302, file no. 1818, April 19, 1995) and in an undated written statement, obtained by authors, from John Hurley, the building's security chief. See also Hurley's testimony in McVeigh trial, May 13, 1997; *Journal Record* handing over tapes still in video players, see FBI FD-302 interview with Danny Payne of TMK Hogan Commercial Real Estate Services, who was in charge of the building's security; interview date April 19, 1995, file no. 4553; inventory report by FBI on video collection on April 19, insert no. E-8981, dated April 19, 1995. A different report, file no. 3105, dated April 20, 1995, states that Walt Lamar released six videotapes for transport to FBI headquarters in Washington at 9:00 A.M. on April 20. The tapes correspond to the locations given in the text. Lamar's "son of a bitch!" moment, interview (Gumbel) with FBI source speaking on condition of anonymity, January 27, 2011; FBI tries and fails to enhance *Journal Record* video footage, interviews (Gumbel) with John Hippard, June 15, 2010, and Danny Defenbaugh, December 9, 2010; gaps in post office footage detailed in a letter dated June 23, 2009, from the FBI records department to Jesse Trentadue, in response to FOIA request.

Dave Hollaway's curious memory lapse:

Hollaway's different versions, from interviews (Gumbel), May 6, May 20, May 24, July 10, and July 13, 2010, and voice-mail message left January 26, 2011. Among those sure Hollaway was not at the Waco commemoration were Jim Pate of *Soldier of Fortune*, who had hosted Hollaway at his Virginia home weeks earlier, interview (Charles), May 27, 2010, and ceremony organizer Carol Moore, interview (Charles), June 14, 2010. Video of the event available via the "Ashes of Waco" collection (the papers and documents of journalist Dick J. Reavis) at the Texas State University, San Marcos. Dick DeGuerin, interview

(Gumbel, via e-mail and phone), July 13, 2010; Joe Phillips, interview (via e-mail, Gumbel), July 18, 2010; Rick Sherrow, interview (Gumbel), January 24, 2011; Kirk Lyons, interview (Gumbel), May 27, 2010.

Andreas Strassmeir’s conveniently watertight alibi:

Dave Hollaway, interview (Gumbel), July 9, 2010; Kirk Lyons, interview (Gumbel), January 26, 2011; Strassmeir alibi corroborated, e.g., in FBI FD-302 interview of Otis Phelps, file no. 14948, May 25, 1996. FBI appears to accept alibi, see FD-302 interview with Strassmeir, file no. 14897, April 30–May 1, 1996.

Strassmeir’s surprising past:

Strassmeir, interviews (Gumbel), June 30–July 3, 2010; a copy of Strassmeir’s open-ended multiple-entry visa obtained by Gumbel. The Justice Department would later misrepresent his entries into the United States, saying he traveled each time on single-entry tourist visas (see also chapter 9). Kirk Lyons disclosed the Petruskie story about the dead Soviet spy in an e-mail, December 1, 2010. Lyons also said Petruskie “may very well have worked for the CIA,” interview (Gumbel), April 22; 2010. On Strassmeir as a possible government agent: a retired senior CIA official told Charles in 2006 that, in 1995 or 1996, he reviewed a report by the CIA inspector general in the course of his official duties and remembered seeing a mention of Strassmeir as a German government asset whose information was shared with the FBI. He gave no specifics on how this was sourced in the document or what time period it referred to. Sofameir line, story about Helmut Kohl, from Lyons interview (Gumbel), March 23, 2010. “Shameless hobo,” financial arrangement enabling Strassmeir to stay after his German pay ran out, Hollaway interview (Gumbel), May 6, 2010; “Go nuclear” line confirmed by Lyons, interview (Gumbel), April 19, 2011.

FEMA makes itself unpopular:

FEMA complaints, from interviews (Gumbel) with Magaw, Bullard, and Kennedy, August 26, 2010. “Leon” story also told, slightly differently, in Danny O. Coulson, with Elaine Shannon, *No Heroes*, pp. 487–88. “Whining” line from Forscom (U.S. Army Forces Command) log for April 28, 1995, at 0915, log obtained by authors; Don Browning, interview with MGA documentary crew, March 18, 1999; Witt seeing himself as in charge, see James Lee Witt and James Morgan, *Stronger in the Broken Places*, p. 104. Kennedy accusing Witt of dragging out the rescue operation, see Witt and Morgan, pp. 112–13; line confirmed by Kennedy, interview (Gumbel), December 16, 2010. In the book, Witt characterizes the overextended rescue phase as a good thing and a personal victory; erroneous information about FEMA carrying out the bodies at the Web site of the Disaster Assistance and Rescue Team at the NASA Ames Research

Center, as of December 14, 2010. <http://dart2.arc.nasa.gov/Deployments/OklahomaCityBombing1995/Oklahoma.htm> FEMA Web site with misleading information, as of December 14, 2010; <http://www.fema.gov/emergency/usr/usrok95.shtm>; Witt's failure to acknowledge Oklahoma City Fire Department, see Witt and Morgan, p. 104; Witt was given a full rundown of the accusations in this section, and chose not to comment.

The FBI reaches Eldon Elliott's body shop:

FBI FD-302 reports on interviews with Elliott (file nos. 1347 and 1348), Vicki Beemer (nos. 8570 and 1349), and Tom Kessinger (nos. 1197, 14259, 14803), April 19 and April 20, 1995; Eldon Elliott, interview with MGA documentary crew, March 9, 1995, transcript obtained by authors. Prosecutors have low opinion of body shop employees' value as witnesses, argue they talked among themselves and tainted their own reliability: interviews (Gumbel) with prosecutor Scott Mendeloff, July 16, 2010, and prosecutor Larry Mackey, October 11, 2010; Kessinger on Ray Rozycki's picture book, see Jeanne Boylan, *Portraits of Guilt*, p. 206.

Tim McVeigh at the Noble County jail:

Herbert Ferguson (mistakenly identified as a guard) quoted in Jonathan Franklin, "Timothy McVeigh, Soldier," *Playboy*, October 1995, p. 78; account of his time in the jail taken from Richard Serrano, "Clues Sought in Details from McVeigh's Arrest," *Los Angeles Times*, September 10, 1995, and Paul Queary, "Cellmate Calls McVeigh Calm at First, Then Anxious," *Associated Press*, May 19, 1995; interview with Brent Goad from David Talbot, "McVeigh Was Desperate for Freedom," *Boston Herald*, May 3, 1995. Detail about need for cosigner on bond, from Julie Delcour, "Bondsman Tells of McVeigh Call," *Tulsa World*, April 24, 1995; call to Goad captured in Noble County jail phone records subpoenaed by the FBI and obtained by the authors. The call was made at 8:23 A.M. on April 20 and lasted 2 minutes 27 seconds; for clinical details on methamphetamine withdrawal, see, e.g., C. C. Cruickshank, K. R. Dyer, "A Review of the Clinical Pharmacology of Methamphetamine," *Addiction*, July 2009, pp. 1085–99; T. F. Newton, A. D. Kalechstein, S. Duran, N. Vansluis, W. Ling, "Methamphetamine Abstinence Syndrome: Preliminary Findings," *American Journal on Addictions*, May–June 2004, pp. 248–55; C. McGregor, M. Srisurapanont, J. Jittiwutikarn, S. Laobhripatr, T. Wongtan, J. M. White, "The Nature, Time Course and Severity of Methamphetamine Withdrawal," *Addiction*, September 2005, pp. 1320–29; Mark Gibson quote, interview with Ted Koppel on ABC's *Nightline*, April 21, 1995.

Mark Bouton and Garry Berges visit the Dreamland Motel:

Chronology of what Lea McGown said when, taken from FBI FD-302

interviews dated April 20–21, 1995 (single document), April 22, April 23, April 25, April 26, and April 27, 1995; file nos. 2612–2617, sequentially. The complete roster of FBI 302s, inserts, and lead sheets handed over in discovery to the defense teams in the McVeigh trial and in the two Nichols trials includes no document dated April 20 alone from either Lea or Eric McGown. McGown’s account of Bouton and Berges’s first visit taken from McGown interview with MGA documentary crew, March 12–13, 1999, transcript obtained by authors; Bouton’s version taken from interview (Gumbel), July 24, 2010, and follow-up e-mail correspondence July 27–31, 2010, and January 14–February 12, 2011; Garry Berges interview (Gumbel), July 26, 2010; Joseph Bross, interview (Gumbel), December 2, 2011; through his former FBI colleagues, Bross obtained the text of the teletype he sent from Fort Riley in the middle of the night and read it out; Michael Fleenor was considered suspicious, in part, because he faced a disciplinary proceeding over his use of a credit card, see his FBI FD-302, file no. 8005, May 1, 1995; by coincidence, Terry Nichols had bought a bedroom set from his wife Donna a few days before the bombing, see her FD-302, file no. 8004, May 1, 1995, and Nichols’s answers to authors’ questions, dated January 3 and January 27, 2010 (this was not yet known on April 20, however); details on the criminal division at FBI headquarters being understaffed and overwhelmed, interview (Gumbel) with I. C. Smith, who took over the night shift a day or two later, December 5, 2011. The two Dreamland guests who also saw the Ryder truck on Easter Sunday were Herta King and Renda Truong (see their testimony in McVeigh trial; both appeared on May 22, 1997). Criminal complaint against McVeigh filed in U.S. District Court in Oklahoma City, April 21, 2010.

Pat Livingston fingers McVeigh:

Pat Livingston interviews (Gumbel), August 20 and December 21, 2010; record of McVeigh’s Glock purchase, ATF 4437 form and bounced check, copies obtained by Gumbel; Livingston account largely corroborated by FBI FD-302 interviews, file nos. 3946 and 3947, dated April 21, 1995; the FBI at Fort Riley not getting his information right away, per Joseph Bross e-mail correspondence with Gumbel, December 11, 2011; rapid acquisition of information on Nichols brothers, from Chancellor interview (Gumbel), see above; Sanilac County, Michigan, sheriff having information on the Nichols brothers, including Kelli Langenburg’s November 1994 complaint, see Howard Pankratz and Peter G. Chronis, “Family Says U.S. Framing Nichols but Some Neighbors Saw Signs of Trouble,” *Denver Post*, September 21, 1997; information, including Sheriff Virgil Strickler pegging the Nicholises as “crazies,” confirmed by senior FBI source speaking on condition of anonymity; Kelli Langenburg talks to FBI, see Serrano, *One of Ours*, p. 200; her information, given without her name, is

included in the criminal complaint filed against McVeigh on April 21, 2010.

Nichols shipping supplies to the Philippines, seeming flush at Fort Riley auctions, confirmed by Junction City army surplus salesman David Batsell, interview (Gumbel), August 24, 2010. Livingston talked about the overspending in an e-mail dated March 2, 2011. Nichols told the authors (handwritten answers to questions, dated February 23, 2011) that he sent a small number of military uniform items as a present for Marife's younger brother Michael, who was going through military school in the Philippines, where battle-dress uniforms were hard to find. Nichols said he spent little at the first couple of auctions he attended at Fort Riley in early 1995, because he was still getting a feel for how they worked. At the auction that raised Livingston and Batsell's eyebrows, in late March, he spent about \$3,000, he said, because he saw lots of items he felt confident he could sell at shows and because it was an open auction, which he preferred to the closed type.

List of names of extreme interest posted at Oklahoma City command post, interview (Gumbel) with FBI source who did not wish to be named, August 30, 2010.

“Dust storm” postcard sent to Liberty Lobby:

Mark Lane, MGA documentary interview, June 23, 1999, transcript obtained by authors.

Nichols clears McVeigh's stuff from storage locker:

Nichols's account taken from handwritten document, “Events Leading Up to the Oklahoma City Bombing, a Condensed Narrative,” dated November 9, 2006, and from his written answers to author questions, dated January 22, 2010. Some details about the electric blasting caps from handwritten document “OKC Bombing Materials and the Missing Explosives,” December 1, 2007, from handwritten document “Morning of April 18, 1995,” November 29, 2007, and from Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., p. 218.

Louis Freeh breathes down necks of field office SACs:

Account of Freeh's approach taken from Buck Revell's book, *A G-Man's Journal*; from Ronald Kessler's book, *The Bureau*, and from interview (Gumbel and Charles) with I. C. Smith, June 18, 2010; senior FBI manager quote, from interview on condition of anonymity, January 5, 2011. Walt Lamar initiates NCIC offline search, see Hersley, Tongate, and Burke, op. cit., pp. 53–54. Account confirmed by FBI source speaking on background.

FBI hits the jackpot with Lana Padilla:

Padilla's account laid out in her testimony at the Nichols trial, November 19, 1997; see also her book, *By Blood Betrayed*; some material from interviews, August 14 (Charles) and September 25, 2010 (Gumbel).

Carl LeBron's providential phone call to the FBI:

Bare bones of his call laid out in the criminal complaint against McVeigh filed in U.S. District Court, April 21, 2010. For more details, see Richard A. Serrano, "Friend of McVeigh Proved Key for FBI, Papers Reveal," *Los Angeles Times*, January 4, 1997. Also Serrano, *One of Ours*, p. 194.

Nichols gets rid of incriminating evidence:

Account from Nichols's written answers to author questions, January 22, 2010, and March 30, 2010. Details on disposing of the fertilizer come from his initial FBI interview, see FD-302 of Nichols, file no. 9954, interview date April 21–22, 1995; also trial testimony of Gladys Wendt, November 20, 1997. Details of 50-caliber rifle and grenade included in a memo from the FBI Kansas City office, case ID no. 11117, May 16, 2005; "dumbass" quote from Mike Batsell interview (Gumbel), August 24, 2010; nitromethane tubes and other items recovered from beneath the crawl space detailed in an FBI crime lab analysis and inventory obtained by authors, dated April 8, 2005.

Feds find McVeigh:

Account taken from Coulson, *No Heroes*, pp. 495–96, Hersley, Tongate, and Burke, op. cit., p. 54, interview (Gumbel) with Steve Chancellor (who was sitting next to Michalic), August 12, 2010, and interview (Gumbel) with FBI source who did not want to be named, August 30, 2010. Michalic's own version, in various media interviews, is more or less consistent with the others, see, e.g., Peter Annin, Evan Thomas, and Randy Collier, "Judgment Day," *Newsweek*, March 24, 1997.

Chapter 4

FBI questions McVeigh:

Bare bones of the account taken from Serrano, *One of Ours*, pp. 3–7, Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., pp. 253–55, and Coulson and Shannon, op. cit., pp. 500–503; Mark Gibson ironed out some of the contradictions and conflicting versions, interview (Gumbel), January 10, 2011; detail of three phone calls to Royce Hobbs from Hobbs's FBI FD-302, file no. 4692, May 4, 1995; some of the Walt Lamar material and other insights provided by Hank Gibbons, interview (Gumbel), January 7, 2011; Gibbons, an FBI agent in Oklahoma City, wrote the criminal complaint against McVeigh that day, as well as the warrants to search his car and personal effects; details on news crew that got wise to events in Perry, interview (Gumbel) with former FBI agent who did not wish to be named, January 27, 2011; Jerry Cook, interview (Gumbel), February 4, 2011; "I think they think it's me" line, quoted by cell mate Cecil Brown in Paul Queary,

“Cellmate Calls McVeigh Calm at First, Then Anxious,” *Associated Press*, May 19, 1995.

Feds swoop on James Nichols:

Details of FBI deployment from source who was present but did not wish to be named, interview (Gumbel), January 6, 2011; details of evidence-gathering, witnesses, from the criminal complaint filed against James Nichols in the Eastern District of Michigan, April 25, 1995; James Nichols’s account of the start of the raid, see James D. Nichols, as told to Robert S. Papovich, *Freedom’s End*, pp. 15–20.

Agent Smith tails Terry Nichols:

See Smith’s testimony in Nichols’s federal trial, November 20, 1997.

Josh Nichols makes telling revelations:

Lana Padilla, *By Blood Betrayed*, pp. 41–42; Padilla interviews (Gumbel), September 25, 2010, and January 17, 2011.

Terry Nichols panics, goes to the Herington police station:

Nichols gives his own account in a handwritten document, “Events Leading Up to the Oklahoma City Bombing,” dated November 9, 2006, obtained by authors; see Nichols federal trial testimony from Dale Kuhn (December 9, 1997), Barry Thacker (December 9, 1997), Marife Nichols (December 10–11, 1997), and Stephen Smith (November 20–21, 1997); details about Marife getting mad, wanting to go home to the Philippines, from Agent Smith’s testimony on cross-examination (November 21, 1997) and from Nichols’s handwritten answers to author questions, January 3, 2010; phone calls to James and Lana, and the call from CNN, from phone records on Nichols’s home line obtained by authors.

Michael Fortier sweats:

Account from FBI FD-302 interview with Jim Rosencrans, July 5–6, 1995, file no. 9178, and from FD-302 interview with Rosencrans’s girlfriend Patty Edwards, July 1, 1995, file no. 6696. “Our boy’s been busy” quote from Rosencrans interview in Richard A. Serrano and Ronald J. Ostrow, “McVeigh Viewed as ‘A Driving Force’ in Six-Month Plot,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1995.

FBI takes McVeigh into federal custody:

Richard A. Serrano and Ronald Ostrow, “Legal Issues May Jeopardize Evidence Against McVeigh,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 14, 1995; Mark Gibson interview (Gumbel), January 10, 2011; Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., pp. 255–59; Coulson and Shannon, op. cit., p. 504.

Day-care center operator recognizes McVeigh:

Danielle Hunt interview (Gumbel), February 14, 2011; Tom Hunt interview (Gumbel), December 16, 2010; FBI FD-302 interview with Danielle Hunt, file

no. 466, April 29, 1995.

McVeigh not a match for John Doe One:

Eldon Elliott not asked to match McVeigh to John Doe One until June 8, from his testimony in the McVeigh trial, May 9, 1997. See also FBI FD-302, file no. 6107, dated June 8, 1995; no McVeigh fingerprints found at body shop, testimony of FBI fingerprint expert Louis Hupp at the McVeigh trial, May 15, 1997; official doubts also reflected in Secret Service timeline entry for 1440 on April 21: “SA [Special Agent] Stephenson, OKC/CP [Oklahoma City Command Post], reports that McVeigh does not physically match the composite of the two featured suspects.”

Carol Howe hands the feds a monster lead, which they disregard:

Detail on swastika tattoo, other biographical details from Carol Howe’s testimony in the trial of James Viehhaus in federal court in Tulsa, July 24, 1997, transcript viewed by Gumbel; Mahon appeared on *Oprah* sometime in the late 1980s, confirmed by ATF agent Tristan Moreland, who arrested him in 2009, Moreland interview (Gumbel), October 14, 2009; drug buy to test her loyalty, see Finley’s testimony in pretrial hearing in federal court in Tulsa, April 24, 1997; ATF Report of Investigation on Carol Howe, May 22, 1995; also, FBI insert on Howe (named only as “Carol”), lead control no. E427, April 21, 1995; Millar’s inconsequential son-in-law was Larry Duncan, who offered no information of consequence, interviewed April 22, 1995, file no. 3952; Bob Ricks interview (Gumbel), August 17, 2010; Danny Defenbaugh interview (Gumbel), May 17, 2010; Andreas Strassmeir interview (Gumbel), June 30, 2010.

Nichols sits down with the FBI:

FBI FD-302 interview with Nichols, dated April 21–22, 1995, file no. 9954; many details corroborated by Agent Stephen Smith’s testimony in Nichols’ federal trial, November 20–21, 1997. Application and affidavit for search warrant, signed by Scott Crabtree, April 22, 1995; Nichols’s later comments on his initial interview from handwritten answers to author questions, March 20, 2010, and July 22, 2010; McVeigh thought Nichols “hosed” him, see Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 297. The timing of the material witness arrest warrant is detailed in an order issued by Judge Matsch on August 14, 1996, following a pretrial hearing on the admissibility of evidence from Nichols’s nine-hour interrogation in the Herington police station; the efforts of federal public defender Dave Phillips to reach Nichols on April 21 were detailed by defense attorney Ron Woods in his opening statement in the Nichols trial, November 3, 1997.

Jennifer McVeigh tracked down in Florida:

Account taken largely from Jennifer's testimony in the McVeigh trial, May 5–6, 1997; see also Joseph B. Treaster, "The Sister's Story: For Figure in Oklahoma Inquiry, Ties of Blood and Something More," *New York Times*, August 4, 1995.

McVeigh fingered in the lineup:

Steve Chancellor interview (Gumbel), August 12, 2010; Moroz lineup outcome described in FBI FD-302, file no. 69, dated April 22, 1995.

Jimboy fiasco:

Some details on Jimboy from interview (Gumbel) with Dave Dilly, December 13, 2010. On knife scars and knife play, FBI FD-302 interview with Larry Frame, file no. 3118, May 4, 1995; Bob Ricks interview (Gumbel), August 9, 2010; N. R. Kleinfeld, "For Bombing 'Suspects,' Looks Aren't Everything," *New York Times*, April 30, 1995; investigation tracked in FBI FD-302s, file nos. 234 and 832 (April 21, 1995) and 1094 (April 22), and also in Secret Service timeline ("Jimboy has legitimate alibi"—0058, April 22—"Jimboy polygraphed through the night, eliminated as suspect—0724).

Nichols digs himself in deeper, gets arrested:

Details taken from the FBI FD-302 interview with Nichols, dated April 21–22, 1995, and from Agent Smith's testimony of November 20, 1997; the two warrants for Nichols's arrest obtained by authors. The issue arose in pretrial proceedings and is discussed in Judge Matsch's August 14, 1996, ruling, in which he broadly accepts the government's explanation that the first warrant was a mistake, but makes clear Judge Russell was not informed that Nichols was in the Herington police station and already cooperating; FBI agents look through Nichols's garage window, FBI insert, number illegible, April 24, 1995; the link between the blue plastic shards and the barrels at Nichols's home was included in the criminal complaint filed on May 9, 1995; the recycling bins, kept next to the first-floor restrooms on the south side of the building, were described to the FBI by Richard Williams, the deputy building manager, FD-302, file no. 12707, January 26, 1996.

Manic hunt for coconspirators:

Freeh picking out lineup photos, Oliver "Buck" Revell and Dwight Williams, *A G-Man's Journal*, p. 474. Story confirmed by I. C. Smith, who worked the bombing case as a senior manager at headquarters, interview (Gumbel and Charles), June 18, 2010; quote on micromanaging from Louis Freeh, *My FBI*, p. 210; Steve Chancellor interview (Gumbel), August 12, 2010.

McVeigh screws Dave Paulsen:

Charlie Hanger, testimony in Nichols trial, November 5, 1997. Details of Paulsen interrogation in FBI FD-302, file no. 727 (April 23), in which he describes his interest in AR-15 parts, his purchases, McVeigh offering blasting

caps, and his explanation that he was “stringing McVeigh along”; file no. 719 (April 24, 1995), in which he admits lying about the number of phone calls he had received from McVeigh; and file no. 724, which details his polygraph test and gives his “cocksucker” line as a direct quote. The Daryl Bridges phone records entered into evidence at trial show 37 calls to Paulsen either at home or at the Paulsen’s Military Supply shop; not all were completed calls. McVeigh admitting he dropped the business card as a “dirty trick,” Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 243; Nichols’s version from answers to author questions, January 3, 2010.

The feds botch their search of Nichols’s house:

Testimony of Mary Jasnowski, an evidence recovery specialist sent in from Omaha, in the McVeigh trial (May 5, 1997) and in the Nichols federal trial (November 6, 1997); consent forms signed by Terry and Marife Nichols on April 21 obtained by authors. Agent Stephen Smith erroneously testified at the Nichols federal trial (November 20, 1997) that Nichols’s consent to search the house was conditional on Marife being present. The paperwork reflects no such stipulation. Nichols’s home phone records, admitted into evidence and obtained by authors, show a phone call from the Herington house to James Nichols’s number in Decker beginning at 8:40:45 P.M. and continuing for 19 minutes and 18 seconds; account of FBI agents’ activities, from insert, number illegible, dated April 24, 1995; Marife Nichols describing how she could not return home on the night of April 21–22, see transcript of her testimony in the Nichols federal trial, December 10, 1997. She repeated the story at a pretrial hearing in state court in Oklahoma on May 9, 2003; list of items found by evidence recovery team corroborated by official inventories obtained by authors.

Nichols on discovery of ammonium nitrate receipt, answers to author questions, January 3, 2010; incredulous U.S. attorney from Danny Defenbaugh, interview (Gumbel), January 25, 2011; Bear Bryant story told by I. C. Smith, interview (Gumbel and Charles), June 18, 2010; recovery of cash, gold coins, confirmed by FBI property receipt dated April 23 and signed by agents Larry Tongate and Eugene Thomeczek. Marife alerted agents at 4:55 P.M.; the valuables were reported to be safely retrieved at 6:59 P.M.; recovery of food mixer detailed in FBI FD-302, file no. 4223, dated May 8, 1995; affidavit supporting federal charges against Terry Nichols, filed May 9, 1995, with Magistrate Judge Ronald Howland of the western district of Oklahoma, case no. M-95-105-H; no lids on barrels confirmed in Jasnowski’s court testimony, among other places; FBI inventory based on search through the garbage, FBI FD-302, file no. 8588, April 23, 1995. The agents who searched the garbage were C. Allen Maxwell and Everett F. Barger.

The secret history of the Daryl Bridges phone records:

Accounts that either imply or state that the reconstruction of the phone records began with the discovery of the Daryl Bridges card at Terry Nichols's house include Coulson and Shannon, *No Heroes*, pp. 514–15, and Julie DelCour and Barbara Hoberock, "Bit by Bit, the Government Makes Its Case," *Tulsa World*, May 18, 1997. In the book *Simple Truths* (pp. 133–34), former FBI agent Jon Hersley finesses the issue when he mentions the Daryl Bridges phone calls, "evidence of which had been found in Terry Nichols's house when it was searched by the FBI.... The FBI *had already discovered* that the Daryl Bridges calling card was obtained from the Spotlight company in November 1993...." [Italics ours. Note that Hersley ascribes the discovery to the FBI, when, in fact, this discovery was secondhand and originated with Mary Riley's investigation.] Airbrushing Mary Riley from the record: In his testimony in the McVeigh trial (May 6, 1997), John Kane makes constant generic references to "investigators" and "they" without mentioning Riley's name. At one point he refers to "Secret Service investigators" in the plural, and is immediately interrupted by a government lawyer asking another question. One FBI FD-302 naming Riley (file no. 186, dated April 22, 1995) made it into discovery. But she was never mentioned in court. Fax copies of Mary Riley's field notes for April 20–26, 1995, titled "Information from Miami Field Office (Telephone Records)," obtained unredacted and mostly complete by the authors.

The April 14 phone call to Eldon Elliott was important to the prosecution, but it also offered an opening to the defense, because a technological glitch in the routing systems made it impossible to say conclusively that Daryl Bridges was the *Spotlight* subscriber who made this call, and because the car dealer who sold McVeigh the Mercury was interviewed eight times by the FBI, and twice more by the defense, without mentioning McVeigh leaving in the middle. At trial (May 6–8, 1997), the prosecution argued around both problems, and the defense could not get traction on its contention that the call was made by someone else.

Riley faxing her findings to Bucella and Stephenson mentioned in her notes, also substantiated by fax headers obtained by authors. Weldon Kennedy interview (Gumbel), August 26, 2010; Kennedy said in his interview that Riley had messed up the time stamps on the calls because she did not realize the West Coast Telephone records were all on Pacific time. But Riley did realize this and recorded in her notes repeated conversations with John Kane and others about both the time zone question and inaccuracies associated with the recent switch to Daylight Savings Time (mentioned in her field notes for April 22 and April 23, 1995). Danny Defenbaugh interview (Gumbel), December 9, 2010; internal investigation of Riley mentioned in John Solomon, "Secret Service Documents

Cite Mystery Video in Oklahoma City Bombing,” *Associated Press*, April 19, 2004, and confirmed by senior task force member cited here; John Kane interview (Gumbel), January 25, 2011.

Feds come up mostly empty at James Nichols’s farm:

The most incriminating findings are detailed in the affidavit supporting James Nichols’s arrest on firearms charges, May 11, 1995. Other details are in the FBI’s FD-302 interview report on Nichols, April 21, 1995, file no. 6384; see also Serrano, *One of Ours*, pp. 234–35; Nichols’s perspective from Nichols and Papovic, *Freedom’s End*, pp. 21, 58; law enforcement official involved in search, speaking on condition of anonymity, interview (Gumbel), January 5, 2011; Martinolich-Freeh confrontation reported by Kessler, *The Bureau*, pp. 349–50; corroborated by Revell, *A G-Man’s Journal*, p. 474, by I. C. Smith, interview (Gumbel and Charles), June 18, 2010, and by confidential FBI source. Story of resignation offer/Bear Bryant phone call from confidential source.

The shortcomings of the FBI’s sledgehammer approach:

Bob Ricks interview (Gumbel), August 9, 2010; Weldon Kennedy quotes information on the leaks, interview (Gumbel), August 26, 2010; James Nichols complaining that his arrest was part of a dark conspiracy to protect the “real” bombers, *Freedom’s End*, op. cit., pp. 57–58.

Chapter 5

McVeigh’s combat experience:

The work of Jonathan Franklin stands head and shoulders above the rest in assessing McVeigh’s military career. See his pieces “Timothy McVeigh, Soldier,” *Playboy*, October 1995, vol. 42, issue 10, p. 78, and “The Good Soldier,” *Spin*, April 1997, p. 133; Franklin very kindly provided the raw notes from his McVeigh interview, via e-mail (Gumbel), July 29, 2010; quadrupling nightmare quote provided by Greg Henry, interview (Gumbel), February 9, 2011; James Rockwell interview (Gumbel), January 4, 2011; Dave Dilly interview (Gumbel), December 13, 2010; McVeigh’s version of events from Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., pp. 66–88; medal and award citations, see McVeigh’s trial exhibit nos. AA2X-AA10X; these include the Bronze Star, Army Commendation Medal, and a Certificate of Commendation from the Gulf War, plus another Army Commendation Medal and one other award for target shooting; McVeigh’s marksmanship also merited a glowing write-up in the official history of the 16th Infantry, written well after his conviction and sentencing for the bombing: Steven E. Clay, *Blood and Sacrifice: The History of the 16th Infantry Regiment from the Civil War Through the Gulf War* (Cantigny

First Divison Foundation, Wheaton, Illinois, 2001), p. 364.

Possible involvement in war crimes, and McVeigh's disillusionment:

The relevant sections of the Geneva Conventions are the First Convention, Articles 16 and 17 (on treatment of the dead and wounded), and the Third Convention, Article 3 (on treatment of surrendering soldiers and noncombatants). Frame's FBI FD-302, file no. 3118, May 4, 1995; Cerney's FBI FD-302, file no. 488, April 28, 1995. Frame and Regier were interviewed by Jonathan Franklin, per e-mail to Gumbel dated August 21, 2010. Frame was interviewed by Franklin on May 17, 1995, and Regier on May 22, 1995; Scott Rutter interviews (Gumbel), December 6 and December 31, 2009; James Rockwell interview (Gumbel), January 4, 2011.

Jennifer McVeigh gets the third degree:

FBI FD-302 interview of Jennifer, April 24–May 2, 1995, file no. 2298. Many other details from her testimony in the McVeigh trial, May 5–6, 1997, and from Weldon Kennedy interview (Gumbel), August 26, 2011. FBI agents showing her photographs of dead children corroborated by FBI FD-302, file no. 2024, April 29, 1995.

Brief history of the Nichols family:

Details from Lana Padilla and Ron Delpit, op. cit., pp. 36–37, and 163–68, from James Nichols and Robert Papovich, op. cit., pp. 154–57, and from Stephen Braun and Judy Pasternak, “Nichols Brothers Swept Up in Dark Maelstrom of Fury,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1995; also, Padilla, interview (Gumbel), September 25, 2010, and Padilla's statements to the FBI, see her FD-302 interview reports for April 21, 1995 (file no. 9330) and April 28, 1995 (file no. 5827); Nichols's Asperger syndrome in an FBI memo of July 12, 2005, from the Oklahoma City office to the Denver office, case ID no. 11120, and confirmed both by Lana Padilla—interview (Gumbel), February 1, 2011—and by Nichols himself, written answers to author questions, February 23, 2011; “complicating matters some,” from Nichols's handwritten answers to author questions, January 3, 2010.

McVeigh and Nichols in the army:

Lana Padilla interview (Gumbel), September 25, 2010; Scott Rutter interview (Gumbel), December 6, 2009; Dave Dilly interview (Gumbel), December 13, 2010; James Rockwell interview (Gumbel), January 4, 2011; McVeigh's racism and Klan membership, Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., pp. 87–88.

Jeanne Boylan corrects John Doe Two sketch, told to forget about John Doe One:

Jeanne Boylan, op. cit., pp. 201–209. Also Boylan interview by MGA documentary crew, June 1, 2000, transcript obtained by authors.

Terry Nichols maxes out his credit cards:

Nichols's written answers to author questions, January 22, 2010; Wickstrom quotes taken from Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door*, p. 179, and from Susy Buchanan, "Return of the Pastor," Southern Poverty Law Center Intelligence Report, Winter 2004; Sanilac County court records on both the First Deposit National Bank and Chase Manhattan claims, including filings by Nichols and by the plaintiffs, exhibits, and hearing transcripts, obtained by authors.

McVeigh comes unstuck, hits the gun-show circuit:

McVeigh calling VA hospital for mental health counseling disclosed by Dr. John R. Smith, his prison psychiatrist, in an interview with NPR's Wayne Goodwin, *All Things Considered*, June 8, 2001; for McVeigh's version of the year between his discharge from the army and his departure from New York State, see Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–116; his letter to the *Lockport Union Sun & Journal* was published February 11, 1992; William Pierce on gun shows, quoted in Morris Dees with James Corcoran, *Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat*, p. 79; Kristen Rand, *Gun Shows in America: Tupperware Parties for Criminals*; McVeigh selling smoke grenades and blast simulators, Richard A. Serrano, *One of Ours*, p. 56; the best account of the Ruby Ridge fiasco is Jess Walter, *Ruby Ridge: The Truth and Tragedy of the Randy Weaver Family*; emergency meeting in Estes Park, Colorado—the Rocky Mountain Rendezvous—described at length in Dees and Corcoran, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–2, 46–66; video of Louis Beam speech obtained by authors; Louis Beam, *Leaderless Resistance, Seditonist*, issue 12, February 1992, available at Beam's Web site www.louisbeam.com; McVeigh's grievance list detailed in Stuart A. Wright, *Patriots, Politics and the Oklahoma City Bombing*, pp. 129–38; Wright was given access to McVeigh through his defense team and interviewed him at length; McVeigh quitting security guard job on January 26, from defense memo obtained by authors; Roger Moore meeting in Fort Lauderdale and plan to share a table at upcoming Miami gun show detailed in FBI FD-302 interview with Moore on April 28, 1995, file no. 810, and also in FBI FD-302 interview with Moore's wife, Carol, on November 7, 1995, file no. 12689.

Jennifer McVeigh and the bank robbery letter:

McVeigh's letter of December 24, 1993, entered into evidence at trial; the call to the FBI crime lab is documented in a May 4 memo from the lab to Bob Ricks, Lab no. E-3427. The subject line says, "Telephone call April 26, 1995." The tests on five latent prints from a Cleveland-area robbery and one latent impression from the St. Louis area came back negative.

FBI almost misses key evidence from Geary Lake witness:

Account from Budke's testimony in the Nichols federal trial, December 11, 1997. A handwritten lead sheet about his encounter with Wahl, timed 12:45 P.M. on April 26, 1995, was (belatedly) entered into evidence at trial.

McVeigh meets Roger Moore, goes to Waco:

Fort Lauderdale meeting detailed in FBI FD-302 interviews with Roger and Carol Moore, cited above; details about the Confederate flag and the camo pants come from an FBI FD-302 interview with Karen Anderson, May 19, 1995, file no. 5435; Floyd Hays interview (Gumbel), July 14, 2010; for McVeigh's account of this period, see Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–20. The Waco disaster has spawned an entire literature. See for example: Dick J. Reavis, *The Ashes of Waco*; Danny O. Coulson and Elaine Shannon, *No Heroes*, pp. 429–48; Gary Noesner, *Stalling for Time*, pp. 94–132; also, Department of Justice "Report to the Deputy Attorney General on the Events at Waco, Texas," October 8, 1993. Louis Beam gave his own account of the "forbidden question" in an interview with *The Spotlight* magazine, July 12, 1993. The confrontations were covered in the local media and in Mark Potok, "Siege in Texas Attracts a Crew from the Fringes," *USA Today*, March 19, 1993. Likelihood that Beam and McVeigh met: Beam was thrown out of the news briefing on March 14 and handcuffed at the news briefing on March 17. Student journalist Michelle Rauch drove to Waco on her spring break from Southern Methodist University and later testified (on June 10, 1997) about interviewing McVeigh. She did not specify the date of her interview, but SMU's spring break that year ran from March 13 to March 21 (per Veronica Decena of the SMU Registrar's office, e-mail sent February 10, 2011). So Beam and McVeigh were almost certainly at Waco at the same time. Jim Cavanaugh interview (Gumbel), August 2, 2010.

The FBI grills Michael Fortier:

Much of this material is from Fortier's testimony in McVeigh's trial, May 12, 1997; typewriter ribbon story from Lori Fortier's testimony in the McVeigh trial, April 29, 1997; "I'm a dead man" quote cited in U.S. Secret Service timeline for April 24, 1995, at 1930. Details of evidence the Fortiers ditched are only partly covered by their trial testimony; the Hornet rifle and galvanized tubing, which Fortier did not discuss, are detailed in an FD-302 interview report on Rosencrans, July 1, 1995, file no. 6700; and in an FD-302 on Rosencrans's girlfriend, Patty Edwards (Patricia Ann Edwards, July 1, 1995, file no. 6696). The detail about Rosencrans's half-brother being married to his mother comes from Edwards's 302, quote: "EDWARDS explained CHUCK and JIM have the same father, but different mothers. EDWARDS also advised CHUCK is JIM's priest"; Coulson's part of the story recounted in Coulson and Elaine Shannon, *No Heroes*, pp. 521–26; Rosencrans arrest story detailed in Mohave County

Sheriff's Department arrest report, dated May 1, 1995, obtained by authors.

McVeigh meets Karen Anderson and Andreas Strassmeir at Tulsa gun show:

Quick trip to Kingman detailed in McVeigh defense team memo, obtained by authors; encounter with Anderson from Anderson's testimony in the Nichols trial, November 17–18, 1997. Encounter with Strassmeir, see FD-302 interview with Strassmeir, conducted by phone with two Justice Department lawyers, April 30–May 1, 1996, file no. 14897; Strassmeir interview (Gumbel), July 3, 2010; and a confidential defense memo, obtained by authors, in which McVeigh says he and Strassmeir are “brothers in arms.” McVeigh variously told investigators he swapped the knife for several pairs of long johns, not the battle uniform and gloves, or that he wanted to swap the knife for the long johns but Strassmeir insisted on having the cash. Strassmeir's memory seems more reliable, since his account is more consistent and since he was the one who ended up with the items.

Offer of undercover agent to sniff out Strassmeir rebuffed:

Steve Chancellor interview (Gumbel), August 12, 2010; State Department diplomatic security memo of April 28, 1995, obtained by authors.

McVeigh visits Roger Moore's ranch, witnesses end of the Waco siege:

Account of visit to the Arkansas ranch mostly from Moore and Anderson testimony in the Nichols trial; McVeigh's account of seeing the end of the siege on television, see Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 135; episode also recounted by Michael Fortier at McVeigh trial, May 12, 1997.

Roger Moore's coded letter to McVeigh:

Letter entered into evidence at the Nichols trial. For federal law enforcement considering that Moore and McVeigh were in cahoots over the robbery, see Secret Service timeline entry for April 29, 1995, at 1034: “McVeigh and Terry Nichols may have been involved in an insurance fraud scam with a subject identified as Bob Moore AKA Roger Miller and Roger Moore.... An initial analysis of the letter indicates that Moore and McVeigh set up the robbery.” Details of interrogation of Moore and Anderson from their FD-302s of April 28, 1995, full citation above.

McVeigh orders a significant book, discovers *Waco: The Big Lie*:

Extracts from *Homemade C-4* cited in Hersley, Tongate, and Burke, *Simple Truths: The Real Story of the Oklahoma City Bombing Investigation*, pp. 124–25; specifics of McVeigh's purchases from Paladin Press detailed by the company's Dana Rogers in the McVeigh trial, May 1, 1997; an updated version of Linda Thompson's *Waco: The Big Lie* is available online (viewed February 17, 2011, at Google Videos); promotional teaser quoted in Serrano, *op. cit.*, p.

77.

Jennifer McVeigh comes clean:

Jennifer McVeigh affidavit, dated May 2, 1995, obtained by authors; McVeigh's mother flown in from Florida, Stephen Jones and Peter Israel, *Others Unknown*, p. 89; "Tim is fried anyways" line from her FD-302, April 24–May 2, 1995; details of FBI wanting her to testify against her brother from her testimony in McVeigh's trial, May 5, 1997; Fortier speculating on motive for Roger Moore robbery, from his testimony in McVeigh trial, May 12, 1997.

Chapter 6

McVeigh draws attention of law enforcement, FBI and ATF yawn:

Al Shearer, FBI FD-302, file no. 1974, April 28, 1995; this story was broken by Mark Flatten of the Cox News Service—see Flatten, "FBI and ATF Were Warned About McVeigh in 1993," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 2, 1995.

Coulson gets shafted, Potts gets promoted, Freeh gets distracted:

Danny Coulson interview (Gumbel), May 19, 2010; Reno announcement of Potts as deputy director contained in transcript of her news briefing, May 3, 1995, distributed by the U.S. News Service; Potts and Freeh working the Judge Vance mail-bombing case, Kessler, *The FBI*, p. 522; unreleased Department of Justice report is "Report of the Ruby Ridge Task Force to the Office of Professional Responsibility of Investigation of Allegations of Improper Governmental Conduct in the Investigation, Apprehension and Prosecution of Randall C. Weaver and Kevin L. Harris," June 10, 1994. Parts of this report were eventually released and were, as of November 2011, available at the DOJ Web site at http://www.justice.gov/opr/readingroom/rubyreportcover_39.pdf. Glenn letter covered in David Johnston, "FBI Leader at 1992 Standoff in Idaho Says Review Shielded Top Officials," *New York Times*, May 10, 1995; on Freeh's clash with Gorelick, see James Rowley, "FBI-Justice Clashes Are Nothing New," *Associated Press*, December 3, 1997; Office of Professional Responsibility investigation into Glenn allegations detailed in a Department of Justice news release, "Evidence from Investigation of 1992 Ruby Ridge Matter Only Sufficient to Charge One Official with Criminal Conduct," August 15, 1997.

Government disregards own evidence of second Ryder truck:

Rick Wahl initially identifying the pickup as gray, from lead sheet drawn up by FBI Agent Budke on April 26, 1995; Bob Nelson testified in the Nichols trial, November 20, 1997; Rucker and Sargent both testified in the Nichols trial on December 4, 1997. Rucker quote from MGA documentary interview, March 6,

1999; Sargent quote from MGA documentary interview, March 25, 1999 (transcripts obtained by authors); Bob Ricks interview (Gumbel), August 9, 2010. The government's initial interest in the second Ryder truck theory is documented, e.g., in attorney notes on a witness named Barbara Whittenberg, who claimed to have served breakfast to three men who drove up to her diner in Herington in a Ryder truck. The attorney review is dated October 22, 1996, and initialed ALM, an apparent reference to Larry Mackey, whose initials were, in fact, LAM but were accidentally transposed.

McVeigh creates a “network of friends”:

McVeigh and Guthrie meeting: in Mark Hamm's book *In Bad Company*, p. 145, Pete Langan is quoted as saying: “Guthrie knew McVeigh. Guthrie met him through the gun shows”; McVeigh and Nichols stayed at a Motel 6 in Fayetteville on October 11–12, 1993, and the booking was in Nichols's name; copy of McVeigh's October 12 traffic citation near Elohim City obtained by authors; Guthrie gives an account of the planned (but never attempted) armored car heist in the Fayetteville area in his unpublished handwritten memoir, *The Taunting Bandits*, pp. 13–16. He says the participants were himself, Langan, and Shawn Kenny, whom he calls Dan Kenny; Guthrie meeting Robb in 1992 included in his FBI FD-302, March 4–15, 1996; Nichols's account from a letter to Jesse Trentadue, October 18, 2006, obtained by authors.

The hunt for Steve Colbern:

Colbern is first mentioned in the Secret Service timeline at 1937 on May 5: “Steve Colburn [sic], a federal fugitive being pursued by the U.S. Marshal Service, shared a P.O. Box with McVeigh at one time. Colbern fits description of John Doe #2.” Colbern said in his first FBI interview (FD-302, file no. 2178, May 12, 1995) that he did once have a mailbox in Kingman but not in the last ten years. A U.S. Marshals' Report of Investigation into Colbern, May 6, 1995, details the letter postmarked from Texarkana and confirms the mailbox link. The report was shared with the ATF, and eventually handed over to defense lawyers in the bombing case in 2001. McVeigh's note to “S.C.” entered into evidence at the federal trials; court documents on the search of Colbern's pickup were unsealed in September 1995 and published, e.g., in Michelle Boorstein, “Judge Unseals Documents on Searches Involving McVeigh, Colbern,” *Associated Press*, September 14, 1995; Colbern's neighbor Maybelle Hertig quoted in David Johnston, “Bomb Inquiry Leads to Arrest of Biochemist,” *New York Times*, May 13, 1995; details on snakes, ex-wife, from FBI interview with Colbern's uncle, Dr. Edwin Colbern, FD-302, file no. 3223, May 12, 1995.

The brief, disturbing life of Jason Nichols:

McVeigh sends Nichols to Pendleton, Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., p. 138; the

account of McVeigh's 1993 stay in Decker and Jason's death is taken from a Nichols defense team memorandum amalgamating all of Marife Nichols's interview statements about her son, dated July 15, 1997; from Marife's FBI FD-302 interview report, file no. 4944, dated May 1, 1995; from Nichols's handwritten answers to author questions, dated January 3, 2010; and, regarding McVeigh's CPR efforts, from Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–50.

Evidence teams grapple with the “red pyramid”:

Weldon Kennedy interview (Gumbel), December 15, 2010; a FEMA Situation Report for April 25, 1995, 1:30 P.M. EDT, reads: “On April 24, President Clinton directed the General Services Administration to rebuild the Murrah Building after the recovery effort”; people who saw sinister intent in the decision to demolish the building were largely fans of General Partin's multiple-explosive theory of the bombing (debunked in chapter 2), see, e.g., William F. Jasper, “Explosive Evidence of a Cover-Up,” *New American*, August 7, 1995; Oscar Johnson, interview with a defense investigator for McVeigh, dated February 16, 1996. Defenbaugh-Eberhardt spat: interviews (Gumbel) with Defenbaugh, May 18, June 13, and September 22, 2010; interviews (Gumbel) with Eberhardt, May 26 and July 9, 2010. More than nine months after the bombing, Eberhardt wrote up an FBI FD-302 describing how he returned to his ninth-floor office sometime in early May, removed a dummy bomb device, threw it in a bag, and later disposed of it (file no. 13012, February 3, 1996). The existence and delayed timing of this 302 lend some credence to Defenbaugh's memory that Eberhardt's handling of the device was subject to FBI investigation. If there is further documentation on the matter, the FBI and ATF have not disclosed it.

Stephen Jones's inauspicious beginning as McVeigh's defense counsel:

Jones's biographical details, approach by Judge Russell, from *Others Unknown*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12; Michel and Herbeck (*op. cit.*, p. 281) have Gerry Spence turning down McVeigh's defense. But Spence said in an e-mail (to Gumbel, March 12, 2011) that, while he couldn't remember for sure, he didn't think he was ever asked. Dick DeGuerin turning it down, interview (Gumbel), July 14, 2010; Jones's first meeting with McVeigh recounted in a confidential memo by ABC producer Don Thrasher to his bosses, dated March 26, 1996, and obtained by authors; Jones's brief on halting the demolition of the Murrah Building: “Defendant's Motion to Preserve Evidence Scheduled to Be Destroyed by the Government, and Brief in Support,” filed around May 10, 1995 (no date on author copy); on delay in demolition of Murrah Building, see from the *Daily Oklahoman*, Chris Casteel, “Agency Plans to Raze Building, GSA Weighs Effects of Using Explosives,” May 9, 1995; Casteel, “Explosives to Demolish Building Work May Begin by This Weekend,” May 10, 1995; and Nolan Clay,

“Defense Experts Study Ruins, Team Disappointed to Find Crater Filled,” May 21, 1995; quote from Coyle’s clerk from Serrano, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

The FBI’s brief bout of insanity over Josh Nichols:

The Oklahoma City command post holding all John Doe Two leads “in abeyance,” from insert E-4153, dated May 3, 1995, written by Special Agent Thomas P. Ravenelle of the San Francisco office, explaining why he was no longer pursuing a John Doe Two lead he had taken up on May 3. Josh calling Agent Calhoun after hours, see Lana Padilla and Ron Delpit, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–43. Account of Josh being accused, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–106, and the following FBI FD-302s: Josh Nichols, file no. 5098, May 6, 1995; Lana Padilla, file no. 5834, May 6, 1995. Nichols (handwritten answers to author questions, March 30, 2010) said he regarded the naming of Josh as John Doe Two “a form of threat and coercion.” He wrote: “I took it as a sign that it would be best if I just shut my mouth and ‘take the fall,’ which is pretty much what I did in my federal trial.” Lana and Josh in Las Vegas, handing over clothes and baseball caps, *By Blood Betrayed*, pp. 112–32; the Secret Service timeline entry for May 11 discussing the resumption of investigation into John Doe Two leads is at 1810 hours.

McVeigh spends the night with Karen Anderson:

Karen Anderson, FBI FD-302 interview, file no. 5435, May 19, 1995; Anderson “very fond” of McVeigh, from FBI FD-302 interview with Steve Colbern, file no. 5344, dated May 20, 1995; McVeigh dropping in on Lori Fortier, see testimony of Deborah Brown, Fortier’s colleague at The Beach Club tanning salon, at McVeigh’s trial, May 28, 1997; Jim Rosencrans, FBI FD-302, file no. 6700, July 1, 1995; Patty Edwards, FBI FD-302, file no. 6696, July 1, 1995; “Virgin McVeigh” taunt, from a self-published memoir by McVeigh’s fellow federal death row inmate David Paul Hammer, with input from Jeffery Paul, *Secrets Worth Dying For: Timothy James McVeigh and the Oklahoma City Bombing* (2003).

Bill Maloney raises prospect of John Doe Three:

FBI FD-302 interview with Maloney, file no. 3576, May 10, 1995; Maloney interview (Gumbel), April 30, 2010. Terry Nichols denied being in Cassville in November 1994 (but did not say he had *never* been there) or knowing a Robert Jacques. When Marife was asked why the name Jacks or Jacques appeared in her address book, she said she was trying to write the word “yuk” or “yucky” but didn’t know how to spell it and tried a number of different ways, to see what looked right. (Terry Nichols, handwritten answers to author questions, January 3, 2010; Marife Nichols, interview with defense investigator H. C. Bodley, August 17, 1995, and also FBI FD-302, file no. 14297, dated August 4–8, 1995.) The

U.S. embassy official in the Philippines who interviewed Marife on this question did not find her answer wholly convincing (detailed in Teater's Robert Jacques report, see below). Bill Teater interview (Gumbel), August 11, 2010; Jeanne Boylan, op. cit., pp. 210–11 (about her interview of postal worker Debbie Nakanashi) and p. 228 (her quote about Maloney); confirmation of McVeigh's discolored tooth, from an FBI report written by Teater, "Comprehensive summary of investigation concerning Robert Jacques, possible associate of Timothy James McVeigh and Terry Lynn Nichols," April 19, 2000, obtained by Gumbel (Teater's name redacted, but his initials in lowercase, "wet," left visible); details of Defenbaugh's biography, taken from his Web site www.dannydefenbaugh.com; he formally took over the investigation on May 11, the day after Terry Nichols's indictment on bombing charges. I. C. Smith interviews, June 18 (Gumbel and Charles) and October 4, 2010 (Gumbel). The only other senior FBI veteran willing to address the issue of Defenbaugh's leadership on the record was Bob Ricks, who contrasted Weldon Kennedy's ability to set an agenda and exercise judgment on what mattered with "other people," who "may have a limited investigative background"; "It's about different capabilities people had, and putting people in the right spots," he said; interview (Gumbel), August 9, 2010. Teater quote from interview (Gumbel), August 13, 2010; Defenbaugh characterizing his role, interviews (Gumbel), May 17, 2010, and April 4, 2011.

Colbern gets arrested, the FBI loses interest almost immediately:

Account of arrest from David Johnston, "Bomb Inquiry Leads to Arrest of Biochemist," *New York Times*, May 13, 1995; Colbern's first FBI interview detailed in FD-302, file no. 2178, May 12, 1995; Preston Haney, interviewed by the ATF, see FBI FD-302, file no. 1879, May 15, 1995; letter to Barbara Harris, from FBI interview with Harris, FD-302, file no. 1294, May 11, 1995; the Mail Room manager recognizing Colbern's picture, from Lynda Willoughby's FBI FD-302, file no. 4461, May 12, 1995 (interview conducted by the ATF). Details on the Browning video from ATF and U.S. Marshals Service files handed over in discovery to Nichols's state trial lawyers in 2001, confirmed also by Richard Hanawalt, interview (Gumbel), March 18, 2011; Edwin Colbern, FBI FD-302, file no. 3223, dated May 12, 1995; government's belief that Colbern was too weird to be involved based on subsequent documentation on Colbern (detailed in later section in this chapter) and on interview (Gumbel) with Danny Defenbaugh, May 19, 2010; Michael Tigar interview (Gumbel), March 1, 2011; Edwin Colbern's 302 described Colbern smelling like a "billy goat."

Fortier reaches out to the FBI:

FBI FD-302, file no. 4477, May 12, 1995, was written by Agent David Beiter,

who received the Kit Kat wrapper from Fortier.

Stephen Jones leaks own client's guilt to the *New York Times*:

Pam Belluck, "McVeigh Is Reported to Claim Responsibility for the Bombing," *New York Times*, May 17, 1995; account of Jones's attempt to negotiate with Reno for his client's life, interview with Jones (Gumbel and Charles), September 17, 2010; leak justification in Jones and Israel, op. cit., pp. xv, 60–62. Jones never explicitly writes that he obtained authorization before talking to Belluck. The closest he comes is this line: "He gave me the authorization to proceed, and I called Pam Belluck at the *New York Times*." Jones could have been clearer about the time sequence in this sentence considering the importance of the issue. Jones was made aware of the allegations in this section. In an initial response (an e-mail dated March 16, 2011), he wrote: "These questions and the incident I discussed at length in the second edition of my book. I do not know I can add anything to them at this time. My memory would probably have been better ten years ago." In a second e-mail, on March 22, 2011, he raised the issue again, unprompted, and explicitly denied leaking the story before obtaining McVeigh's authorization. "I had met Pam Belluck," he wrote, "and may have talked with her briefly on the telephone, but we had no such discussion until after Mr. McVeigh and I discussed it at length and I had his authority to discuss it with her." Rob Nigh interview (Gumbel), April 5, 2011; McVeigh's version in Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., pp. 283–84.

Michael and Lori Fortier come clean...ish:

Account of May 17 FBI questioning taken from FD-302, file no. 3495, May 17, 1995, and from Michael Fortier's testimony in McVeigh's trial, May 12–13, 1997.

McVeigh's misadventures in Arizona:

Jim Rosencrans, FBI FD-302, July 1, 1995, file no. 6700; Michael Fortier testimony in McVeigh's trial, May 12, 1997; McCarty quoted in Serge F. Koveleski and Pierre Thomas "3rd Man's Fate Dangles in Okla. Bombing Case; Prosecutors Divided Over Strategy on Fortier," *Washington Post*, August 7, 1995; background on the Arizona Patriots, see Brent L. Smith, *Terrorism in America*, pp. 79–84, and Tony Perry, "Godfather of Arizona's Militiamen; Oklahoma City Bombing Puts Jack Oliphant, an Ex-Con and Survivalist, Back in Limelight," *Los Angeles Times*, May 21, 1995; on Oliphant and McVeigh, see Dyane Partridge's FBI FD-302 interviews, file no. 1215, dated May 10, 1995, and file no. 14486, dated March 28, 1996; also, interview (Gumbel) with the FBI agent who talked to her, Lee Fabrizio, December 11, 2009; McVeigh shooting near Oliphant's ranch, from a letter to Kingman radio journalist Dave Hawkins, postmarked April 13, 2001, provided to the authors by Hawkins; Tom Hoover

interview (Gumbel), February 23, 2010, and follow-up e-mail chat, February 25, 2010.

Colbern talks to the feds, the feds drop him as a suspect:

Meeting with prosecutors detailed in Colbern FBI FD-302, file no. 5344, May 20, 1995; Moore and Anderson discuss selling .50-caliber ammunition to Colbern in their interviews of May 19, 1995, the day before Colbern's big interview; Dennis Malzac, interviewed by the ATF, FBI FD-302, file no. 3791, May 13, 1995; Malzac's 2000 revelations taken from motion filed by Terry Nichols's lawyers in state court in Oklahoma, February 9, 2004, requesting more government documents on Colbern (obtained by authors); Colbern, prisoner no. 41130-008, was released on February 24, 1999, according to Bureau of Prisons records; Richard Hanawalt interview (Gumbel), March 18, 2011; Bob Sanders interview (Charles), March 18, 2011.

Carol Howe's Elohim City investigation falls apart:

ATF Report of Investigation on Carol Howe (informant no. 53270-183), May 31, 1995; ATF Report of Investigation, May 18, 1995 (reactivating Howe); ATF Request for Advance of Funds, May 18, 1995; \$250 received on May 22.

Michael Tigar goes to bat for Terry and Marife Nichols:

Tigar's filing and subsequent hearing reported in John Kifner, "Release Without Bail Is Sought for Bombing Suspect," *New York Times*, May 26, 1995, and Richard A. Serrano, "Nichols Bail Hearing Judge Faults Interrogators' Tactics," *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1995; Marife's visit to Nichols memorialized in FBI FD-302, file no. 5618, May 25, 1995; return of money, being told she has to pay her own way, see FBI FD-302, file nos. 3231-3, dated May 25, 26, 27, 1995 (one per day); voice mail memorialized in FBI FD-302, file no. 5748, May 31, 1995.

FBI finds a reason not to believe in John Doe Two:

Michael Hertig, FBI FD-302, file no. 5532, May 23, 1995; Todd Bunting, FBI FD-302, file nos. 5682 and 5690, May 28 and 29, 1995; Hertig acknowledged his mustache at the time of the Ryder rental in the McVeigh trial, May 23, 1997; Eldon Elliott talked about not being in the office on May 18 in the McVeigh trial, May 9, 1997; Vicki Beemer explaining how she knew Hertig, was sure two men came in on April 17, see her testimony in the McVeigh trial, May 22-23, 1997; Danny Coulson interview (Gumbel), May 19, 2010; I. C. Smith interview (Gumbel), October 4, 2010.

Fortier leads the FBI on a wild-goose chase in the desert:

Fortier FBI FD-302, file nos. 9161 and 9162, May 30, 1995; Weldon Kennedy interview (Gumbel), August 26, 2010.

FBI and prosecutors skirt holes in evidence at Eldon Elliott's body shop:

McDonald's video and timing of McVeigh's supposed walk to Eldon Elliott's body shop discussed, e.g., in Jon Hersley, Larry Tongate, and Bob Burke, *Simple Truths*, pp. 217–19. Agent Gary Witt retracing McVeigh's steps also recounted here; "light mist" line from Eldon Elliott's testimony in the McVeigh trial, May 9, 1997; Scott Mendeloff interviews (Gumbel), July 16, 2010, and October 4, 2010; McVeigh's version, Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Linda James interview (Gumbel), August 3, 2010, and e-mails, December 7, 2010. She saw only two indications that there might be a resemblance to McVeigh's handwriting—the "li" in "Kling" and the backward slant. But James said the slant could be misleading. Weldon L. Kennedy, *On-Scene Commander*, p. 219; Kennedy interview (Gumbel), August 26, 2010. In his FBI FD-302 interview of May 19, 1995, file no. 9256, Roger Moore described how, after spring 1994, his "only means of contact with McVeigh was when McVeigh would call, or by letter"; Karen Anderson mentioned the phone call in January or February 1994 in her testimony in the Nichols trial, November 17–18, 1997. Nichols described seeing McVeigh with a non-Bridges calling card on two occasions. He says in his handwritten document "Timeline: From April 1994 thru September 1994, Tracking McVeigh's Travels" (November 11, 2006), the card was a Fone America prepaid debit card similar to those reported to be used by the Aryan Republican Army. In answers to author questions, dated January 3, 2010, he said he didn't know what kind of card it was.

Chapter 7

Moore, McVeigh, and the Kinestik mystery:

Moore and Karen Anderson's initial stories are contained in their FBI FD-302s for April 28 and May 19, 1995. Moore did not mention meeting McVeigh at a gun show in Knob Creek, Kentucky, in 1993 in his first interview. Karen Anderson made no mention of meeting McVeigh in Kentucky, or at the Soldier of Fortune Convention in Las Vegas, in any of her FBI interviews or court appearances. Anderson said in her May 19 FBI interview that McVeigh's first visit to the Arkansas ranch, in April 1993, lasted two and a half days; Moore testified at McVeigh trial on November 18, 1997, that it lasted ten days. "Top sergeant" line from Moore's trial testimony; account of McVeigh's April 1994 visit from Moore and Anderson's FBI FD-302s of May 19, 1995, and their testimony in the Nichols trial (November 17–18, 1997).

The defense information on the Kinestik comes from a purported interview with McVeigh conducted by defense investigator Richard Reyna on December 12, 1995, write-up by Reyna obtained by authors. It was later alleged that no

such interview took place (Stephen Jones, e-mail to Gumbel, March 22, 2011, and Rob Nigh, interview with Gumbel, April 5, 2011). Still, the understanding among the defense team members was that the underlying facts were accurate (Stuart Wright, interview with Gumbel, April 28, 2011). McVeigh himself also confirmed that the material was genuine (Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., p. 301). See also chapter 9.

Nichols's allegations concerning the Kinestik he said McVeigh obtained from Roger Moore are in two of his prison writings, one titled "Timeline: From April 1994 thru September 1994 Tracking McVeigh's Travels" (November 11, 2006) and the other "OKC Bombing Materials and the Missing Explosives" (December 1, 2007); more details in his answers to author questions, one batch dated April 27, 2010, and the other February 21, 2011; McVeigh's allusions to Kinestik appear on pp. 163–64 of Michel and Herbeck; Roger Moore responds to allegations in Richard A. Serrano, "Man Says He Had No Role in Oklahoma Plot," *Los Angeles Times*, May 5, 2005.

No fingerprints on nitromethane tubes or box: in a preliminary finding on May 4, 2005 (included in summary report dated June 24, 2005), the FBI crime lab reported that 16 of the 68 nitromethane tubes bore fingerprints but could not yet say if they were recoverable; almost three years later (February 21, 2008), the lab concluded that they were not—a time delay that has raised suspicions in some quarters; documents obtained by authors. Attempts to contact Moore for this book were unsuccessful. On May 4, 2010, a woman—presumably his wife, Carol, or Karen Anderson—answered the phone at his Florida residence, acknowledged receipt of a letter outlining Nichols's allegations, and said curtly: "We're not interested."

Terry Nichols teeters on the brink:

Nichols input mostly from his "Timeline" document of November 11, 2006, and his answers to author questions, January 3, 2010, and March 20, 2010; McVeigh's version from Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., p. 158; Marion County Clerk Marquetta Eilerts, FBI FD-302, file no. 15830, August 6, 1996; Nichols's employer, Timothy Donahue, testified in the Nichols federal trial, November 5, 1997; Marife Nichols testified about her affair with McVeigh at the Nichols state trial, from Tim Talley, "Nichols's second wife says she had affair with McVeigh," Associated Press, April 8, 2004; McVeigh shooting at Nichols, told by Lana Padilla, interview (Gumbel), September 25, 2010.

Moore's quirky, murky past:

Moore biographical details from Carol Moore's FBI FD-302, file no. 12689, November 7, 1995, from Moore's interview with Roland Leeds, November 11, 1996, and from Moore's FBI FD-302 interview of May 19, 1995, file no. 9256;

he described building boats for the navy in Vietnam in his first big FBI interview, FD-302, file no. 810, April 28, 1995; Bill Stoneman interviewed by defense investigator John Hough, December 16, 1996, report obtained by authors; Rodney Bowers, interviews (Gumbel), March 10 and May 6, 2010; smoke bomb incident, from Lance Powell interview with defense investigator Roland Leeds, December 10, 1996; more details from Martin “Walt” Powell interview with Leeds, November 12, 1996 (reports obtained by authors). The housekeeper was Patricia Cicatello, and details of her cash robbery are from a Garland County sheriff’s report, August 11, 1986; she committed suicide in 1994 (documents obtained by authors); suicide of Moore’s friend Layton Noel detailed in Garland County sheriff’s report, October 20, 1986. Unverified stories about Moore: Camp Peary instructor lead from former intelligence operative, interview (Charles), April 9, 1997. Bowers had a source who suggested Moore had played a role in the U.S. government’s support of the Nicaraguan contras; see also, Al Martin, *The Conspirators*, pp. 56–58; Moore’s credit history investigated by Charles Sullivan for Nichols defense team, his report dated December 16, 1996, obtained by authors; Rodney Bowers and Michael Whiteley, “‘Cover’ Blown, Victim Details Royal Robbery,” *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, June 22, 1995.

Moore wriggles out of FBI, ATF investigations:

On Operation Punchout, see FBI FD-302, file no. 16800, March 13–14, 1996 (on the videotapes), and FD-302, file no. 13675, February 27, 1996, on Assistant U.S. Attorney Bruce Lubeck’s decision not to prosecute Moore; defense investigator Roland Leeds’s review of the surveillance tapes is dated December 31, 1996, obtained by authors; the ATF investigations of 1989 and 1993 are detailed in an FBI insert written by Special Agent Steven Crutchfield, file no. E-7052, January 11 and January 18, 1996; Birdsong interview with defense investigator John Hough, November 20, 1996; Bill Buford, interviews (Gumbel), May 11 and June 16, 2010.

McVeigh and Nichols buy ammonium nitrate, steal explosives:

Nichols narrative from the following handwritten documents: “Events Leading Up to the Oklahoma City Bombing: A Condensed Narrative,” November 9, 2006; written answers to questions from investigative reporter John Solomon, September 30, 2007; “OKC Bombing Materials and the Missing Explosives,” December 1, 2007; answers to authors’ questions, March 20, 2010. Rick Schlender did not testify at trial, but his observations—minus his memory of two men making the purchase—were reported by FBI agent Christopher Budke at the McVeigh trial, May 19, 1997; Schlender’s FBI FD-302 interviews of April 30, 1995 (file no. 7748), and May 2, 1995 (file no. 7772), refer to the second man as a “white male, approximately the same age [as Nichols], mid-30s or a

little older, with ‘clean-cut’ hair” and as having “dark-colored hair, which was slightly longer than the purchaser’s hair”; for McVeigh’s account of quarry robbery, see Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–64; inventory of stolen items and sheriff’s account of investigation from FBI FD-302 interview of Ed Davis, file no. 7936, April 25–26, 1995. Davis testified at a preliminary hearing in Nichols’ state trial, May 7, 2003, that he notified the ATF about the robbery, but the ATF did not investigate.

Moore arrested for road rage, drops strange hints to lawyer, bail bond agent:

Richard McLaughlin, FBI FD-302, file no. 12655, December 18, 1995; Dianna Sanders Burk, FBI FD-302, file no. 11941, December 8, 1995; story of the \$50,000 dug up from the ranch from Bill Stoneman interview with Nichols defense investigator John Hough, December 16, 1996; detail about McLaughlin pulling a gun to run Moore out of his office from interview (Gumbel) with his brother Marty McLaughlin, April 20, 2010; Richard McLaughlin died in 1996.

McVeigh and Nichols complete their shopping spree:

Nichols account from same documents as in last section, plus “Facts Regarding Roger Moore’s Home Robbery,” November 21, 2006, and his answers to author questions, January 22, 2010; McVeigh’s version of the jug bomb, Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 165; Wichita coin dealer Robert Dunlap testified in the Nichols trial, November 25, 1997; he confirmed Nichols came in on October 19, 1994, and exchanged gold coins for cash but could not recall how big the transaction was; VP Racing Fuels salesman Tim Chambers, McVeigh trial testimony, May 5, 1997; McVeigh’s *Star Wars* speech, as rendered by Fortier, much quoted, example during Fortier’s testimony in the Nichols federal trial, November 13, 1997.

The bizarre Roger Moore robbery from Moore’s and Nichols’s perspective:

Moore’s account is taken largely from his testimony in the Nichols trial, November 18, 1997. The detail about the serge on the ski mask is from Moore’s grand jury testimony of June 1, 1995, as reported in a defense investigator’s report by John Hough, February 7, 1997, obtained by authors; Terry Nichols documents on the robbery include “Facts Regarding Roger Moore’s Home Robbery,” November 21, 2006, and his answers to author questions, January 22, 2010, and March 20, 2010; insurance adjuster Rick Spivey interviewed by Hough, November 25, 1996; the flyer featuring the picture of the law enforcement agent in a black ski mask was entered into evidence at the Nichols trial as exhibit no. D1549; in her FBI FD-302 interview of May 19, 1995, Anderson said the only person who knew she was going to a gun show in Shreveport was the owner of a gun shop in Hot Springs; the defense team in

Nichols's state trial found evidence that Guthrie possessed the shotgun and garrote wire, plus Israeli combat boots, plastic ties, and a ski mask like the ones Moore described (see defense motion in the Nichols state trial, dated April 12, 2004, and titled "Terry Lynn Nichols' Motion to Dismiss Based on the State's Failure to Comply with *Brady v. Maryland*"); Robert Miller ID found among ARA's things, task force not told, see John Solomon, "FBI Suspected McVeigh Link to Robbers," *Associated Press*, February 25, 2004.

Moore seeks help, underwhelms neighbors, police, insurance agents:

Material on the Powells from testimony in the Nichols trial (Walt on December 3, Verta and Lance on December 4, 1997) and from interviews with defense investigator Roland Leeds (Walt on November 12, Verta—misspelled Verda—on November 13, and Lance on December 10, 1996); Moore's version from his testimony in the Nichols trial, November 18, 1997, and from his FBI FD-302, dated May 19, 1995; Hough interviewed Spivey on November 25, 1996, Dies on November 12, 1996, and Priddy on November 11, 1996.

Who told McVeigh about the robbery?

Nichols walks through this argument in his document "Facts Regarding Roger Moore's Home Robbery," November 21, 2006, and his facts check out; Michael Fortier, testimony in the Nichols federal trial, November 13, 1997; the Daryl Bridges records (trial exhibit no. 554) show that at 8:09 P.M. Eastern (7:09 P.M. in Kansas), a call was placed to the Fortiers' residence from a BP gas station pay phone in Kent, Ohio, and lasted 11 minutes and 12 seconds; Fortier testified at trial that the call came in mid-morning, but either he or the reconstructed phone records are wrong; Fortier also testified that McVeigh asked him to call back from a pay phone, but the length of the call as documented in the Bridges records casts doubt on his story.

Nichols flees the country:

Nichols's narrative from document "Facts Regarding Roger Moore's Home Robbery," November 21, 2006; explanation of reason to be afraid for his life in the Philippines, details on stun guns, from Nichols's answers to author questions, April 27, 2010; more on stun guns from FBI FD-302, file no. 4261, May 2, 1995, including the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department report on the incident; Lana Padilla narrative from December 8, 1995, interview with defense investigator H. C. Bodley, obtained by authors, and from *By Blood Betrayed*, op. cit., p. 162.

McVeigh tries to recruit Fortier, crashes his car:

Fortier acknowledged under cross-examination in the Nichols federal trial that Lori had never told him the soup-can story, testimony on November 13, 1997; McVeigh's account of accident from his January 10, 1995, letter to Roger

Moore, obtained by authors; Roger Moore interview with Nichols defense investigator Roland Leeds, November 11, 1996.

The FBI babysits Roger Moore:

Floyd Hays interview (Gumbel), July 13, 2010; Jon Hersley, Larry Tongate, and Bob Burke, *Simple Truths*, p. 173.

McVeigh and Nichols get indicted:

On Magaw, see Joyce Peterson and Nolan Clay, “ATF Chief Sees 3–4 Indictments in City Bombing; Director Says All Participants Known,” *Daily Oklahoman*, August 5, 1995; Magaw interview (Gumbel), January 18, 2010; Larry Mackey interview (Gumbel), October 11, 2010.

Chapter 8

Carol Howe goes undercover at Elohim City:

Howe’s assessment of Strassmeir, descriptions of Mahon and grenades, from her handwritten informant notes, dated October 9 and October 19, 1994, obtained by authors; these and subsequent findings are memorialized in Angela Finley’s Reports of Investigation for the ATF, dated October, November, and December 1994 and January 1995; Millar’s sermon recounted in an ATF Report of Investigation, dated January 11, 1995; Howe’s report on Mahon and the 500-pound bomb, from her handwritten notes, obtained by authors; Strassmeir interview (Gumbel), June 30, 2010; Kirk Lyons interview (Gumbel), March 23, 2010; Bob Sanders’s review and analysis of the Carol Howe file, performed for her criminal defense lawyer Clark Brewster, dated June 20, 1997, and obtained by authors; Dave Roberts, testimony before a county grand jury in Oklahoma City, March 23, 1998, transcript obtained by authors.

The FBI’s uncomfortable history with Elohim City and the radical right:

Jack Knox, interview (Gumbel), May 10, 2010; Sarah Wallington sleeping on banknotes, story from Dave Hollaway, interview (Gumbel), May 20, 2010; a useful account of the sedition trial is in Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics*, pp. 158–69; other details here taken from Bruce Campbell’s essay “Louis and Sheila” (available at Beam’s Web site www.louisbeam.com), from Howard Pankratz, “Blast Blamed on Revenge Attack Linked to Militant’s Execution,” *Denver Post*, May 12, 1996, and “A Defiant and Victorious Beam Meets a Throng of Reporters After He Is Found Innocent,” *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, April 8, 1988; Horace Mewborn, interviews (Gumbel), May 26 and July 29, 2010; for the history of various attorney general guidelines on intelligence-gathering versus investigation, including the CISPES issue, see DOJ inspector general’s report, “The Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Compliance with the

Attorney General's Investigative Guidelines (Redacted), Special Report," Washington, D.C., September 2005; Bob Ricks interview (Gumbel), August 9, 2010.

Strassmeir's Elohim City idyll:

Strassmeir interviews (Gumbel), June 30–July 3, 2010; the ATF issued its ban on steel-core ammunition on February 2, 1994, see, e.g., Carolyn Skorneck, "Government Bans Armor-Piercing Bullets," *Associated Press*, February 5, 1994; Kirk Lyons interviews (Gumbel), March 23, April 22, July 15, 2010, April 19, 2011; Dave Hollaway interviews (Gumbel), May 6, May 10, July 9, July 10, 2010; Bob Sisente's relationship with Louis Beam detailed in the final judgment handed down by the U.S. District Court in Houston in a suit brought by the Vietnamese Fishermen's Association against the Ku Klux Klan, June 9, 1982; Kenny Pence's account from an interview with McVeigh defense investigators Marty Reed and Wilma Sparks, September 7, 1996, report obtained by authors.

The feds' struggles to figure out Robert Millar:

Horace Mewborn, interview (Gumbel), May 26, 2010; Bill Buford, interview (Gumbel), September 8, 2010; Buck Revell's comments from his book *A G-Man's Journal*, p. 446; early history of Millar from Somer Shook, Wesley Delano, Robert W. Balch, "Elohim City: A Participant-Observer Study of a Christian Identity Community," *Nova Religio*, vol. 2, April 1999, and from Kerry Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate*, pp. 111–12; description of Millar at the CSA siege from Coulson's book *No Heroes*, p. 305; Millar business-card wording reported in his FBI FD-302 interview, file no. 6416, dated June 21, 1995; Bethel Christian School brochure with photo of Millar doing Hitler salute, obtained by authors; Millar's child out of wedlock and other details included in a ruling by Judge D. K. Kirkland of the Hastings County family court in Belleville, Ontario, in which he awards full custody to Dan Irwin; ruling dated August 31, 1983, obtained by authors; unsuccessful police raid to reclaim Irwin's children in "Millar Expresses City's Beliefs, Connection to CSA Community," *Sequoia County Times*, July 18, 1985; Elohim City neighbors Carl Wright and Paul Powers described their feelings of intimidation in court proceedings in Adair County, Oklahoma, in the Irwin custody case; Wright (testifying on December 13, 1985) said Powers was passing information to the FBI; Powers (testifying on February 21, 1985) refused to answer a question about passing information to law enforcement. Early law enforcement interest in Elohim City: Oklahoma Department of Public safety memo, dated April 21, 1985, and ATF Report of Investigation on Elohim City, July 9, 1985; Tim Arney, interview (Gumbel), August 26, 2010; Coulson on Ricks and Miller, from his book *No Heroes*, p. 539; Bob Ricks, interview (Gumbel), August 9, 2010.

Carol Howe operation starts unraveling:

Reasons why Mahon was not pursued, Tristan Moreland, interview (Gumbel), October 14 and 15, 2009. The FBI's opinion of Mahon in the early-to-mid-1990s is laid out in a series of teletypes from the Oklahoma City division office, dated February 14, 1992; February 18, 1992; January 24, 1994; and March 29, 1994. The first two were in response to inquiries from the U.S. legal attaché in Bonn in the wake of Mahon being banned from Germany. The second two were in response to a preliminary inquiry into Mahon, opened on January 14, 1994. The March 29 teletype, which formally closed that inquiry, echoes the findings of all the previous documents. "Local and federal law enforcement sources familiar with Mahon," it read, "are in general agreement that while MAHON's rhetoric continues to be the usual, and constitutionally permitted, inflammatory 'supremacist' speech directed against Jews and minorities, his actions, at this time, are considerably less and do not rise to a criminal threshold." Clearly, those law enforcement sources did not include the ATF. Tommy Wittman, interview (Gumbel), September 27, 2010; "crap" line from interview (Gumbel) with Neal Kirkpatrick, then an assistant U.S. attorney in Tulsa, who ended up prosecuting Carol Howe, May 24, 2010; Lester Martz quotes from his testimony before the Oklahoma County grand jury, April 23, 1998, transcript obtained by authors; "shit sandwich" line from Tim Arney, interview (Gumbel), August 26, 2010; Dave Roberts material from his testimony before the same grand jury, March 23, 1998; limited role/response from U.S. Attorney's Offices, taken from interviews (Gumbel) with Steve Lewis, then the U.S. attorney in Tulsa (May 18 and August 10, 2010) and Sheldon Sperling, then the U.S. attorney in Muskogee (August 10, 2010); Finley's correspondence with the INS, including the certificate on Strassmeir issued February 16, 1995, obtained by authors; Howe's trip to Oklahoma City, the fixed-wing aircraft flight and the two weeks of inactivity all recorded in the ATF's Report of Investigation on her for February 1995, dated February 28, 1995; Ken Stafford's "trooper safety" BOLO notice obtained by authors; Bob Ricks, interviews (Gumbel), August 9 and August 17, 2010; in his grand jury testimony, Lester Martz denied having met Ricks to discuss Elohim City, but this is contradicted both by Ricks and by the ATF's February 1995 Report of Investigation on Howe, which describes plans being made in the last week of February for Ricks and Martz to meet.

McVeigh recalibrates his plans:

Nichols's account of reconnecting with McVeigh on his return from the Philippines is from his handwritten document "McVeigh and Potts/Govt. Connection," November 23, 2007; the shadowy government operative Nichols refers to as Potts in this document appears to be similar or the same as a man he

described to the FBI in April 2005 as “Top Dog #2,” see FD-302 on Nichols, dated April 1, 2005, file no. 18253. Fortier’s interactions with McVeigh, see his FD-302 of June 21–22, 1995, file no. 9171, and his testimony in the Nichols trial, November 13, 1997. McVeigh reaches out to Coffman, Bangerter: Bangerter and Bangerter’s mother were interviewed by defense investigator Richard Reyna in February 1996 and they described meeting McVeigh at the St. George gun show a year earlier. Reyna’s research is contained in a memo dated September 2–4, 1996, and titled “Michael Joseph Fortier’s Involvement in the Bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.” If McVeigh made phone contact with either, it was not, at this stage, with the Daryl Bridges card. Coffman, interviewed on five separate occasions by the FBI, acknowledged receiving phone messages from a Tim Tuttle in April 1995—they were part of the Daryl Bridges phone record—but denied meeting him and denied talking about him with Bangerter. (See, e.g., his FBI FD-302, file no. 16229, of September 23–24, 1996.) However, Coffman was asked at least twice to take a polygraph test and refused (FD-302, file no. 6350, of June 12, 1995, and file no. 15876 of June 14, 1995). No FBI interview of Bangerter appears in the files handed over to the defense teams at trial. Rosencrans described McVeigh’s offer in his FD-302, file no. 6700, dated July 1, 1995; Patty Edwards corroborated the story in her own FD-302 interview of the same date, file no. 6696.

The ATF closes its Elohim City operation at the worst possible moment:

Finley gave her version of Howe’s association with the Tulsa skinheads in an April 24, 1997, preliminary hearing ahead of Howe’s trial. Her line about not documenting every meeting with Howe comes from the same day’s court proceedings. Transcript viewed by Gumbel at the National Archives repository in Fort Worth, April 4, 2011. Howe’s version taken from her testimony in the trial of James Viefhaus, July 24, 1997; the emergency confidential informant removal application made by Finley on March 20, 1995, was read into the record at Viefhaus’s trial during Finley’s testimony, July 25, 1997; the ATF’s official line on Howe—that her information was useless, and that the informant operation at Elohim City was shut down by Bob Ricks—was echoed in both particulars by the federal prosecutor, Neal Kirkpatrick, in his interview with Gumbel, see above; John Magaw, interviews (Gumbel), January 18, June 22, and October 12, 2010; among those making the case that Carol Howe warned feds in advance is William F. Jasper, “Undercover: The Howe Revelations,” *New American*, September 15, 1997; Finley talked about threats “in general” and the fact that such talk was commonplace in her April 24, 1997, preliminary hearing; anecdote about DOJ spokesperson Leesa Brown told by Don Thrasher in a

phone call with McVeigh's lawyer Stephen Jones, February 11, 1997; transcript of call obtained by authors. Danny Defenbaugh, interview (Gumbel), May 17, 2010; Danny Coulson, interview (Gumbel), September 27, 2010.

McVeigh's "penis party" with Richard Rogers:

Rogers was interviewed by the ATF on May 9, 1995 (later categorized as FBI FD-302, file no. 1251, dated May 10, 1995), and then by the FBI, most extensively on July 4, 1995 (FD-302, file no. 6721). The interviewing agent was Kenneth Williams, later the author of the "Phoenix Memo," which alerted the FBI two months before 9/11 to al-Qaida followers attending flight schools and planning attacks on civil aviation targets.

The ghost of McVeigh flits over Elohim City:

Joan Millar described the call from McVeigh to defense investigator Richard Reyna on October 28, 1995 (report, dated October 30, 1995, obtained by authors), and, six months later, to the FBI, FD-302, file no. 15826, May 2, 1996; the April 5 phone call is included in the Daryl Bridges records entered into evidence in the bombing trials; it was made from the Imperial Motel at 1:46 P.M. Arizona time, 3:46 in Oklahoma. The April 17 phone call to Elohim City is described in an FBI teletype from headquarters dated January 4, 1996; the same teletype also talks about April 5 as "a day that he [McVeigh] was believed to have been attempting to recruit a second conspirator to assist in the OKBOMB attack"; Richard Cohen, interview (Gumbel), June 3, 2010; Dees quoted saying McVeigh had been to Elohim City "several times" in Howard Pankratz, "Records Hint at Link with Elohim City, Blast Followed Commune Calls," *Denver Post*, May 12, 1996 (the event took place on May 3), and also in Hamm, *In Bad Company*, p. 191; Dees's appearance at Southeastern Oklahoma State College was recorded by J. D. Cash of the *McCurtain Daily Gazette*; Mark Potok, interview (Gumbel), June 1, 2010; Bill Buford, interview (Gumbel), June 16, 2010. One possible candidate for the document Buford saw, or saw referred to, was a teletype from the FBI's Mobile, Alabama, office dated December 21, 1995, reporting on Southern Poverty Law Center intelligence concerning McVeigh and Elohim City. This document, available to the authors only in heavily redacted form, is discussed further in chapter 9. Bob Ricks, interview (Gumbel), August 17, 2010; Danny Defenbaugh, interview (Gumbel), April 4, 2011; Scott Mendeloff, interview (Gumbel), September 29, 2010. FBI agent Jim Carlile, who conducted several interviews in and around Elohim City in 1996, came out with this intriguing line in an October 18, 2010, interview with Gumbel. "Other than the fact that McVeigh had been in there and had probably tried to recruit somebody," Carlile said, "it did not appear that any of the people who remained at Elohim City were people with a positive connection to the

bombing investigation. They had met McVeigh, he had been there, but of the people that remained, there was no-one with a connection.” McVeigh’s “pretty fucking hardcore” line reported by defense attorney Randy Coyne on December 14, 1995, and included in a defense memo obtained by authors; Tom Metzger, interview (Gumbel), December 24, 2009; McVeigh’s motel records from the Imperial Motel and the Dreamland, as well as a receipt from the Arkansas City Walmart, were entered into evidence at his trial; the owner of the Imperial, Helmut Hofer, talked about the undisturbed bed in an interview with the MGA documentary crew, April 21, 1999, transcript obtained by authors; Kirk Lyons, interview (Gumbel), November 30, 2010; Millar told Richard Reyna about McVeigh possibly having visited Elohim City on December 13, 1995, memo dated December 15 and December 23–26, 1995; Millar also quoted in Jonathan Franklin, “God City,” *Vibe*, November 1997; Kerry Noble quote from interview with MGA documentary team, March 22, 1999.

Chapter 9

The FBI’s Night of the Long Knives:

Danny Coulson, interview (Gumbel), May 19, 2010; Revell quotes from his book, *A G-Man’s Journal*, pp. 467, 469; Horace Mewborn, interview (Gumbel), May 26, 2010.

Lawyers for McVeigh and Nichols fall out:

“Sanctuary in the jungle” line from Tigar’s argument before Judge Matsch for a change of venue, February 3, 1996, and quoted in Tigar’s book, *Nine Principles of Litigation and Life*, pp. 73–77; Judge Alley gave an account of the damage to his offices, interview (Gumbel), August 18, 2010; Alley’s September 14, 1995, refusal to recuse himself reported in John Parker, “Judge Alley Taken Off Bomb Case, 10th Circuit Cites Doubts of Impartiality,” *Daily Oklahoman*, December 2, 1995; Jones’s reluctance to rock the boat with Judge Alley documented in Diana Baldwin and John Parker “Jones May Accept Lawton Venue; McVeigh’s Attorney Polling Area Residents,” *Daily Oklahoman*, September 27, 1995, and Lee Hancock and David Jackson, “Bomb-case Judge’s Recusal Sought,” *Dallas Morning News*, September 28, 1995; Michael Tigar, interviews (Gumbel), March 1 and May 7, 2011; Jones mentioned his decision to stay out of the appeal in the 1998 edition of his book *Others Unknown*, but not in the account he gave of the change of venue issue in the 2001 edition (pp. 138–39). He took issue with Tigar’s claim that they had fallen out at all. (“Mike’s memory fails him about Judge Alley,” he wrote in an e-mail to Gumbel, March 22, 2011.) Jones on the frustrations of his assignment, from his article “Representing Timothy

McVeigh,” *Litigation*, vol. 28, no. 3, Spring 2002; polygraph test described in Jones and Israel, *Others Unknown*, pp. 118–25; rebuke from Judge Matsch quoted in Arnold Hamilton and Lee Hancock, “McVeigh, Nichols Appear Before New Judge in Bomb Case,” *Dallas Morning News*, December 14, 1995; the hearing took place on December 12, 1995.

Strassmeir booted out of Elohim City:

Andreas Strassmeir, interviews (Gumbel), June 30 and July 1, 2010; Lyons, interview (Gumbel), July 15, 2010.

Strassmeir gets sucked into the case, prepares to flee the country:

The first news story to reference Elohim City was a *Newsweek* brief headlined “More Arrests to Come,” which appeared in the May 29, 1995, print edition of the magazine; Millar’s first recorded post-bombing conversation with the FBI was written up as FD-302, file no. 6146, dated June 21, 1995; Richard Reyna interviewed Grandpa Millar on October 16, October 28, and December 13, 1995. His alert about law enforcement being interested in Strassmeir was dated December 8, 1995 (all his reports obtained by authors); Kirk Lyons, interviews (Gumbel), March 23, April 22, and July 15, 2010. Evidence of media interest in Strassmeir: *New York Times* correspondent Jo Thomas filed a Freedom of Information Act request on Strassmeir with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, receipt stamp with the date December 13, 1995, obtained by authors; Dave Hollaway, interviews (Gumbel), May 24 and July 15, 2010; Andreas Strassmeir, interview (Gumbel), July 1, 2010; copies of Strassmeir’s old passport, which expired June 12, 1993, and his new one, valid from October 4, 1995, obtained by authors.

Defense teams push to squeeze discovery material out of government:

Early discovery disputes summarized in a ruling by Judge Matsch, dated January 28, 1997, in which he lays the burden for proper disclosure on the prosecution, not the court; Jones’s “check in the mail” remark quoted in Arnold Hamilton, “Bombing Prosecutors Criticized; McVeigh’s Attorney Says U.S. Dragging Feet on Evidence,” *Dallas Morning News*, November 5, 1995; details of deal on discovery described by Michael Tigar, interview (Gumbel), March 1, 2011, and confirmed, in parts, by Ron Woods, interview (Gumbel), June 1, 2011, Rob Nigh, interview (Gumbel), April 5, 2011, and Joe Hartzler, interview (Gumbel), June 2, 2011. It appears the reciprocal agreement was never enshrined in a written document. If it was, it was sealed by Judge Matsch, but Matsch said (in a letter to Gumbel, May 27, 2011) that he had “no independent recollection” of such an agreement, suggesting it never went through him. The lack of a written document almost certainly helped the prosecution pick and choose the disclosures it made beyond its legal obligations under *Brady v. Maryland*. Jones

describes government stonewalling on body shop witnesses, et al. in *Others Unknown*, pp. 191–93; Scott Mendeloff interview (Gumbel), July 16, 2010.

The FBI gets serious about Strassmeir, just too late:

Danny Defenbaugh, interview (Gumbel), June 13, 2010; teletype from the FBI's Mobile, Alabama, field office, dated December 21, 1995, obtained by authors. The most tantalizing line reads: "Sources have told [redacted] that [redacted redacted] Elohim City anywhere from two days before the Oklahoma City bombing to two weeks before the bombing." Since this is separate from a discussion of McVeigh's phone call to Elohim City (it comes in the next paragraph), the most plausible interpolation would be: "Sources have told [unknown] that *McVeigh visited* Elohim City..." Richard Cohen of the Southern Poverty Law Center, in an interview (Gumbel) on May 5, 2011, said he could not remember seeing the document before but guessed this paragraph referred not to McVeigh but Strassmeir. A senior FBI official with the investigation, however, said his best memory was that it did indeed refer to a visit by McVeigh between April 5 and April 17, although without seeing the unredacted document he could not be sure. Second teletype indicating Strassmeir was about to leave the country dated January 4, 1996, and obtained by authors; Agent John Hippard's January 11, 1996, alert to the INS obtained by authors.

Strassmeir's Great Escape:

Dave Hollaway, interviews (Gumbel), May 6, May 10, May 20, May 24, July 15, and July 18, 2010. Kirk Lyons, interview (Gumbel), May 27, 2010; Andreas Strassmeir, interviews (Gumbel), June 30 and July 2, 2010; the French resistance codes were also used in the 1984 Cold War warrior-fantasy movie *Red Dawn*, which is where Hollaway probably learned them.

The feds arrest Guthrie and Langan:

"Big *bolitas*" line from Guthrie's memoir, *The Taunting Bandits*, p. 48; collapse of ARA, *ibid.*, pp. 204–19, 239–50, 269–71; see also his FD-302 of March 4–15, 1996. Guthrie's arrest from pp. 274–75 and from Mark S. Hamm, *In Bad Company*, pp. 266–67; account of Langan's arrest from Hamm, pp. 4–20, and from Langan's interview with the MGA documentary crew, April 7, 2000, transcript obtained by authors; FBI explosives expert William Davitch and Danny Defenbaugh quoted in Leslie Blade and Gregory Flannery, "Queen City Terror," *Cincinnati CityBeat*, September 8, 2004. On the unexamined evidence, see also John Solomon, "FBI Suspected McVeigh Link to Robbers," *Associated Press*, February 25, 2004. Defenbaugh, interview (Gumbel), January 25, 2011. He said the Christmas wrappings were not the same, but saw plenty of other reasons to examine the caps for possible links to McVeigh.

The FBI chases, then loses interest in Strassmeir:

Defenbaugh's January 18 teletype to the legal attaché in Germany is memorialized in a later teletype from the Oklahoma City command post, dated January 29, 1996, obtained by authors; Defenbaugh, interview (Gumbel), June 13, 2010; Cash's January 1996 interview with Mahon written up in his article "Mahon: McVeigh Planned Bank Heists, Wanted to Be 'Patriot Hero,'" *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, April 1, 1997. He also described it in a sworn deposition given to the McVeigh defense team, March 26, 1996, obtained by authors, and in an FBI FD-302 interview conducted on April 14, 1997, but given a case and file number unrelated to the bombing (266A-OC-57917-82). Cash subsequently drew up a three-page letter, obtained by authors, pointing out mistakes in the FD-302. Jones passes on death threat to FBI, see FD-302, file no. 12701, dated January 27, 1996, written up by Defenbaugh; Dave Hollaway, interview (Gumbel), May 6, 2010. He was at the Bundeskriminalamt with Strassmeir. Kirk Lyons, interview (Gumbel), April 29, 2011; Strassmeir's statement dated February 1996 (exact date not specified), obtained by authors; Strassmeir's FBI FD-302, dated April 30–May 1, 1996, is file no. 14897. The prosecutors on the call were Beth Wilkinson and Aitan Goelman; the FBI agent was LouAnn Sandstrom, who had taken over the Strassmeir beat from John Hippard. Kirk Lyons was also on the call from Black Mountain; Strassmeir, interview (Gumbel), June 30, 2010; letter from Wilkinson quoted in Jones and Israel, *Others Unknown*, p. 179; the printout from the State Department was accompanied by an explanatory note from Paul Brown, the liaison to the task force from the department's diplomatic security section, dated March 18, 1996. A previous printout on December 13, 1994—generated, presumably, as a result of the ATF's investigation at Elohim City—included the "A O" status. In a pretrial hearing on March 10, 1997, prosecutor Beth Wilkinson said she had been told by the State Department that the A stood for "admitted" and the O for "overstay." There are grounds, however, to doubt this: the "A O" designation also applied to trips he took in 1988–90, when he was not an overstay. Wilkinson stated, at the same hearing, that Strassmeir came into the United States on separate single-entry visas—contradicted by the evidence of Strassmeir's own passport, obtained by the authors.

The extra leg:

Much of the previously known history of the extra leg is summarized in a prosecution court filing from February 1996, titled "Brief of the United States in Opposition to Defendant McVeigh's Motion to Allow Representatives to Attend Exhumation and Examination of Lakesha Levy"; Marshall quoted in Jones and Israel, *Others Unknown*, p. 206; Marshall gave very similar testimony at the McVeigh trial on May 22, 1997; Fred Jordan testified at the McVeigh trial, May

22, 1997; the unnamed sources cited here include one from the FBI and one forensics expert, both of whom were directly involved in the investigation; Clyde Snow, interview (Gumbel), September 15, 2011.

Carol Howe outed:

Finley informing Howe of the security breach, written up in an ATF Report of Investigation, April 1, 1996, obtained by authors; the March 20, 1995, emergency request to remove Howe as an informant was read into the record at James Viefhaus's trial in Tulsa, July 25, 1997; the May 18, 1995, request to reinstate her is in an ATF Report of Investigation of the same date, obtained by authors; further ROIs, for January 9 and January 31, 1996, first urge her removal and then accept her continuation on the ATF books; Finley's letter endorsing Howe and stating that her life was in danger, obtained by authors, is dated April 22, 1996; Howe's account is from her testimony in James Viefhaus trial, July 24, 1997.

The ARA's links to the bombing considered and then rejected:

List of items recovered from the ARA taken, in part, from Hamm, *In Bad Company*, pp. 12–13; arrest of McCarthy and Stedeford detailed *ibid.*, pp. 269–76; Langan's story about grabbing Agent Woods's attention, from a declaration he filed in federal court in Utah on April 9, 2007; Langan discussed the government's offer of a deal in exchange for information about the Oklahoma City bombing in his interview with the MGA documentary crew, April 7, 2000; the story was corroborated by his lawyer, Kevin Durkin, in an affidavit filed at the request of the Nichols state trial defense team on April 12, 2004; Matthew Moning material from his sworn affidavit signed in Cincinnati on June 13, 2004; Guthrie's July 1 plea agreement, suicide notes, and death certificate all obtained by authors; Kelly Johnson, interview (Gumbel), April 22, 2011.

Efforts to get former FBI agent Ed Woods to talk about Guthrie, Langan, and ways in which the Oklahoma City bombing came up in his dealings with them were unsuccessful. Woods responded positively at first to an interview request (Gumbel). But he backed off in a hurry as soon as the subject of the bombing came up. "It's been a long time (15 years) so I'm not going to speculate or guess what may have been asked or answered," he wrote on April 8, 2011. On April 10, he said he would not answer questions that betrayed the author's "bias and agenda"—questions that were mostly to do with how much contact, if any, the robbery investigators had with the Oklahoma bombing investigators. When asked to comment, finally, on Moning's affidavit, he claimed not to have received the e-mail, sending it back with the words "Auto Response...Returned Unopened..." in the subject line (April 11).

Ward brother weirdness in Oregon:

Details of the Wards' arrest and detention come from the Jackson County district attorney's files, obtained by the authors; Kerry Larsen, interview (Gumbel), September 3, 2010; Pete Ward's FBI interview was on September 23, 1996, on his fifth day in custody, see FBI FD-302, file no. 16069; Ward's grandfather Richard Kirby confirmed in an interview (Gumbel, August 20, 2010) he had never been an FBI agent, although there was once an agent of the same name.

Stephen Jones travels the world, annoys his client:

Jones addressed this issue at great length in an e-mail to Gumbel, March 14, 2011; Jones criticized for foreign travel, see David Jackson, "Oklahoma City Bombing Case Cost Justice Department \$82.5 Million," Knight Ridder, November 2, 1998; Jones's writ of mandamus filed March 25, 1997; Hartzler's "wacky theories" controversy, see Jo Thomas, "Starting Date Set for Trial on Oklahoma Bombing," *New York Times*, November 16, 1996.

Prosecution team fights over evidence, separation of trials:

Larry Mackey, interviews (Gumbel), October 11 and December 3, 2011; Judge Matsch's arguments summarized in his ruling in favor of severance, October 25, 1996. Beth Wilkinson, a former military lawyer, and Scott Mendeloff, a bulldog litigator from Chicago, were generally regarded as the hawks on the team. Joseph Hartzler, also from Chicago, was somewhere in the middle. Pat Ryan, Arlene Joplin, and Vicki Behenna, who were from Oklahoma, were anxious to meet the demands of the bombing victims and their families. Mackey was seen almost universally as a gentleman, regardless of people's opinions of his positions, while Aitan Goelman, a young Justice Department attorney, was seen as a high-flier in the making, with a temperament not too far from Mackey's. Other team members had less influence.

Carol Howe is indicted on the eve of the McVeigh trial:

Details from the case file on the federal prosecution of Viefhaus and Howe; Morlin listening to the message, alerting the FBI's Ken Pernick, from Neal Kirkpatrick's opening in the Viefhaus trial, July 22, 1997, and confirmed on the stand by FBI agent Peter Rickel the same day; Angie Finley described the physical evidence in a pretrial hearing on April 24, 1997; text of the hotline message entered into evidence.

Brescia and Thomas are arrested, the ARA connection is closed down for good:

Dave Hollaway, interview (Gumbel), May 24, 2010; "Unwanted by the FBI" posters, see Hamm, *In Bad Company*, p. 295. The campaign was orchestrated by an Alabama militia leader whose online publication, the *John Doe Times*, was obsessed with Brescia for a while. The *John Doe Times* archives could still be accessed, as of April 2011, at <http://www.constitution.org/okc/jdt.htm>; Thomas's

arrest, stories, from “Thomas Indicted in Bank Robberies,” *Allentown Morning Call*, January 31, 1997, and from an interview with *Washington Post* reporter Richard Leiby; details of search of bus from later *Allentown Morning Call* article, May 3, 1997, headline unavailable; Donna Marazoff, FBI FD-302, file no. 17777, April 2, 1997, and no. 17778, April 5, 1997; Michael A. Schwartz, interview (Gumbel), June 7, 2010; Justice Department unsealing Todd Bunting material, declaring that John Doe Two does not exist, see Jo Thomas, “Suspects Sketch in Oklahoma Case Called an Error,” *New York Times*, January 30, 1997.

The prosecution requests inconvenient witnesses:

Eric McGown was challenged on his changed testimony under cross-examination in the McVeigh trial, May 8, 1997; Jeff Davis spoke to the MGA documentary crew, March 11, 1999, transcript obtained by authors; ABC News interviewed him in April 1996. Jeanne Boylan, who worked up a sketch of the man Davis saw in room 25, described her encounter with him in *Portraits in Guilt*, p. 260. Boylan has Davis telling her that he saw a second man inside the room. But this appears to be contradicted by accounts Davis has given elsewhere. The dinner he was carrying, a serving of moo goo gai pan, was for one person only. Daina Bradley appeared at the McVeigh trial as a defense witness and was challenged on the backward-parked truck on cross-examination, May 23, 1997; Mendeloff, interviews (Gumbel), July 16 and October 4, 2010; Larry Mackey, interview (Gumbel), October 11, 2010. Interestingly, there is nothing illegal about grilling witnesses until they change their stories. Rob Nigh, the number two on the McVeigh defense team, said in an April 5, 2011, interview: “The law on eyewitness identification is bad.... Testimony is admissible even when the evidence suggests they are not making their identification based on actual memory but are making it based on the power of suggestion.... In other words, coaching of witnesses is permissible.” Mendeloff said he and Hersley had asked Kessinger only open questions, not leading ones, and took issue with the notion that they had applied any undue pressure; interview (Gumbel), June 2, 2011. “We didn’t have to press him on much of this, or any of this that I can remember,” he said. “I don’t remember pressing him.” Defenbaugh, interviews (Gumbel), May 19 and September 22, 2010; Hersley’s version of the Cassville evidence is in his book *Simple Truths*, pp. 249–50. One of the assertions Defenbaugh objected to was: “The FBI was able to substantiate that one day after the alleged sighting of McVeigh in Missouri, he was in Pendleton, New York, at his father’s home, a fact proven by McVeigh’s use of the Bridges calling card.” There are, in fact, *no* Bridges phone records for November 3, 1994. Hersley turned down multiple requests to be interviewed for this book, including a specific invitation to respond to Defenbaugh’s accusations.

Jones team undone by leaks, damaging revelations:

The first damaging piece was Pete Slover, “In Defense Documents, Timothy McVeigh Describes How He Bombed Oklahoma City Federal Building,” *Dallas Morning News*, February 28, 1997; Jones describes the episode at length in Jones and Israel, *Others Unknown*, pp. 286–311; the *Rocky Mountain News* editorial blast was titled “Stephen Jones’ Tangled Web,” March 5, 1997; Pete Slover’s December 1997 disciplinary hearing and its outcome from interview (Gumbel) with Slover, November 28, 2011, and from the docket of the Texas 68th District Court in Dallas County, obtained by Gumbel; Slover would not comment on the stories of how he obtained the material, citing his journalistic obligation not to discuss his sources. Jones reiterated in an e-mail to Gumbel, dated March 22, 2011, that the Reyna memos dated July and December 1995 were not legitimate defense memoranda; Rob Nigh said Reyna never spent time alone with McVeigh, interview (Gumbel), April 5, 2011; Wright quotes McVeigh on the “body count” in his book *Patriots, Politics and the Oklahoma City Bombing*, p. 6 (Wright interview with Gumbel, April 28, 2011); McVeigh standing by the contents of the Reyna memos, see Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., p. 301; Ben Fenwick’s reporting for *Playboy* culminated in a piece for the magazine, “The Road to Oklahoma City,” vol. 44, no. 6, June 1997; the lawyers’ dealings with Judge Matsch in this matter are summarized and, in places, cited verbatim, in Matsch’s ruling, dated October 12, 2000, denying McVeigh post-conviction relief under a habeas corpus petition; final Jones quote from Jones and Jennifer Gideon, “*United States v. McVeigh: Defending the ‘Most Hated Man in America,’*” *Oklahoma Law Review*, Winter 1998.

Chapter 10

Jury selection does not help McVeigh’s cause:

Ryan Ross, “McVeigh’s Trial Lean and Trim,” *ABA Journal*, July 1997, p. 24; defense team member who called voir dire “ineffective,” from an interview with Gumbel; McVeigh was described thinking of the jurors as “a staid, conservative group with whom he failed to identify in any way,” see Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., p. 313 (McVeigh blamed this on Jones’s jury consultants); the air force veteran who believed gun ownership should be mandatory was no. 106 and appeared on April 18 and 21, 1997; “Penalty phase fucked right here” line from Gumbel interview with Nichols defense attorney; Dick Burr, interview (Gumbel), June 13, 2011; some details of voir dire—the jury vetting process—from Jo Thomas, “McVeigh Jury Is Selected After 3 Weeks,” *New York Times*, April 23, 1997; jury candidate no. 947 appeared April 1, 1997.

Justice Department inspector general blows the government’s forensics out of the water:

The report by Department of Justice inspector general Michael R. Bromwich is “The FBI Laboratory: An Investigation into Laboratory Practices and Alleged Misconduct in Explosives-Related and Other Cases,” published April 15, 1997; Lloyd quoted in John F. Kelly and Philip K. Wearne, *Tainting Evidence*, p. 213.

Hartzler starts the way the prosecution means to go on:

Quotes from transcript of his opening statement, April 24, 1997.

Jones hits the wrong note right away:

Quotes from transcript of his opening statement, April 24, 1997; for evidence that some people in the courtroom found Jones’s opening either boring or offensive, see Paul Queary, “Families Weep as Bombing Victims Names Are Recited,” Associated Press, April 24, 1997; Bill Scanlon, “Reading of Names Brings Tears,” *Rocky Mountain News*, April 25, 1997; Sue Lindsay, Bill Scanlon, Karen Abbott, Lynn Bartels, “Memories Flood Courtroom,” *Rocky Mountain News*, April 25, 1997; the stepfather who thought Jones was a showboat was Tom Kight, quoted in Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 321; *ABA Journal* line from Ryan Ross’s July 1997 piece, see above.

Prosecution keeps it emotional, defense wrongfooted:

Rob Nigh, interview (Gumbel), April 5, 2011; Jones’s account of the trial is in *Others Unknown*, *op. cit.*, pp. 315–43.

The Roger Moore question divides the government side:

Larry Mackey, interview (Gumbel), October 11, 2010; Danny Defenbaugh, interviews (Gumbel), May 19 and September 22, 2010.

Defense blasts the forensic evidence:

Fred Whitehurst and Steven Burmeister testified on May 28, 1997; the “magic crystals” line is from Chris Tritico’s summation, May 29, 1997; see also Kelly and Wearne, *Tainting Evidence*, pp. 221–25.

Defense fails to get Carol Howe on the stand:

Jones’s version from Jones and Israel, *Others Unknown*, pp. 334–38; Burrage expressing concern about Carol Howe interfering with the McVeigh trial, from a pretrial hearing in his court on June 11, 1997, from the official transcript; Daniel Capra, a law professor at Fordham University, thought Howe’s testimony would have been “highly probative,” see “Questions of Fairness in ‘McVeigh’ Case,” *New York Law Journal*, January 8, 1999; see also Kevin Flynn, “Ruling Deals Blow to Plot Defense,” *Rocky Mountain News*, May 28, 1997.

McVeigh looks engaged and open, quietly seethes:

John Ross, *Unintended Consequences*; McVeigh’s account of reading *Unintended Consequences* and sitting through the trial is in Michel and Herbeck,

op. cit. pp. 304–38; John R. Smith material from his interview on NPR’s *All Things Considered*, “Looking into the Psyche of Timothy McVeigh,” June 8, 2001; Chambers testified on May 5, 1997.

McVeigh convicted and sentenced to death:

Larry Mackey’s closing statement was on May 29, 1997; Jones’s closing statement followed Mackey’s; the Michael Fortier line is from his testimony, under direct examination, on May 12. The verdict was delivered on June 2, Jones’s summation in the penalty phase was on June 12, and the death sentence was delivered on June 13; Dick Burr, interview (Gumbel), June 13, 2011; Rob Nigh, interview (Gumbel), April 5, 2011. Jones agreed with the premise that a death sentence would make it much harder to establish the truth behind the bombing. In his penalty phase summation, on June 12, he said: “Dead men do not tell tales. I say again the government may not be the only people that want my client executed.” Joe Hartzler interjected and said he found this assertion “objectionable.” Matsch overruled him.

Carol Howe is acquitted, her former handlers are left to swing:

Neal Kirkpatrick, interview (Gumbel), May 24, 2010; Finley testified to the Oklahoma County grand jury on February 17, 1998, Roberts on March 23; Martz said in his grand jury testimony, on April 23, 1998, that Roberts was removed because of problems revealed by an audit of his weapons vault in Tulsa; Wittman said Roberts addressed these problems and argued that the real reason for removing him was Elohim City. Martz could not be reached for comment; Tommy Wittman, interview (Gumbel), September 27, 2010.

McVeigh blasts Jones, gets him off his appeal team:

Lou Michel, “McVeigh Rips Lawyer; Convicted Bomber Wants Jones Dismissed from Case for Allegedly Lying,” *Buffalo News*, August 13, 1997. McVeigh communicated his willingness to proceed with the trial after the *Dallas Morning News* leak in a conversation with Rob Nigh, whom he trusted. See Judge Matsch’s October 12, 2000, ruling denying post-conviction habeas relief, cited in chapter 9. McVeigh statement comes from transcript of sentencing hearing, August 14, 1997; it is not clear if he realized—or cared—that Brandeis was the first Jew to be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Jones’s response reported in Nolan Clay, “Jones, McVeigh Not Meeting Face to Face; Judges Told Attorney Asks for Removal From Case,” *Daily Oklahoman*, August 21, 1997; see also Nolan Clay, “Jones Off Bombing Case; McVeigh Gets New Lawyer,” *Daily Oklahoman*, August 28, 1997.

Larry Mackey asked to replace Scott Mendeloff:

Mackey approached by Janet Reno, interview (Gumbel), December 3, 2010; details of how Mendeloff was removed, and the rest of the prosecution team’s

opinions of him, culled from numerous off-the-record accounts by prosecutors and investigators. Mendeloff (interview with Gumbel, June 2, 2011) would not comment on the account but also took no issue with the factual record—Litt’s visit, the way his appointment to head the Nichols team was thrown into doubt, and his decision to quit rather than fight for the job.

Michael Tigar charms his way into juror no. 215’s heart:

Account from voir dire transcript for September 29, 1997, and from interview (Gumbel) with Tigar, March 1, 2011.

The Nichols team triumphs in jury selection:

Matsch’s apology to the juror is in the trial transcript for September 30, 1997; Michael Tigar, interview (Gumbel), March 1, 2011; one prosecutor unconnected to the Nichols trial who accused Matsch of favoring Nichols was interviewed by Gumbel. Stephen Jones also thought the judge was deliberately tipping the field in the Nichols trial—not because he was against the death penalty but because he believed other coconspirators were still out there. In *Others Unknown*, op. cit., pp. 344–55, Jones concludes: “Could it be that Richard Matsch, persuaded by evidence he refused to let our jury hear, has himself become a conspiracy theorist?”

Government’s opening betrays doubts about extent of Nichols’s guilt:

The opening statements were heard on November 3, 1997; Larry Mackey, interview (Gumbel), December 3, 2010.

The Nichols team’s Perry Mason moments:

Louis Hupp testified on November 14, 1997; Tigar quote on Hupp testimony from the first part of his closing argument, December 15, 1997. On November 17, 1997, Tigar asked Karen Anderson: “Is it your testimony that you and Mr. Moore—or Mr. Moore—were the owners of a Ruger Mini-30 with the Serial No. 189-57425?” To which she responded: “To the best of my knowledge, yes.” On November 18, Tigar produced the ATF documentation proving that the gun, in fact, belonged to Nichols. Wilkinson quote from her closing argument, December 15, 1997; Tigar quote from the second part of his closing argument, December 16, 1997. Agent Smith was cross-examined on his notes on November 21, 1997; Tigar referred to it in his December 16 summation. Theodore Udell testified for the government on November 26, 1997, and again, for the defense, on December 8; Agent Jeff Hayes testified on December 8 and said: “I asked Mr. Mendeloff how he wanted me to report the information that I was gleaning from the conversations I had with these manufacturers. He told me to put it in a chart form, not to provide any FD-302s.” Asked for a response, Mendeloff dismissed Tigar’s charges that the government didn’t care as a “defense lawyer argument” to make something out of “not a very big deal”;

interview (Gumbel), June 2, 2011. Was it true, though, that Mendeloff had overreached and instructed an FBI agent to circumvent bureau protocols? “I can’t answer one way or another,” he said. “I can’t remember.” Judge Matsch told the jury to disregard a significant portion of the testimony on December 10; Tigar picked up the story again in his December 15 closing argument.

Budke testimony blows open the problem of the 40,000 missing lead sheets:

Tigar, interviews (Gumbel), March 1 and May 7, 2011; “time to throw up” line quoted in Michael E. Tigar, *Fighting Injustice*, p. 3; line about unprofessional conduct from Tigar, *Persuasion: The Litigator’s Art*, p. xiv; Christopher Budke testified on December 11; the discovery of the lead sheet in Mackey’s briefcase is not included in the trial transcript, but was confirmed by both Tigar and Mackey; Mackey, interview (Gumbel), April 28, 2011. The lead sheet issue is addressed at length in a filing in the Nichols state trial, “Defendant’s Supplemental Brief Regarding Lead Sheets,” dated March 26, 2001, and obtained by authors.

Nichols acquitted of first-degree murder, dodges death penalty:

Carol Howe testified on December 10, 1997; Marife Nichols testified on December 10–11. Mackey’s rebuttal was on December 16. The jury then withdrew, returning their verdict on December 23. The penalty phase began after Christmas, with closing arguments on January 5, 1998. The jury announced its deadlock on the death penalty on January 7. On jury voting, see James Brooke, “Nichols’s Life Was Saved by a Handful of Holdouts,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1998; transcript of Deutchman’s January 7 news conference viewed through Washington Transcript Service; Bob Macy quoted in James Brooke, “Nichols Could Face Death for Role in Blast,” *New York Times*, December 25, 1997.

Nichols offered a deal, then sentenced:

Mackey, interview (Gumbel), October 11, 2010; Matsch quote from post-conviction hearing on March 25, 1998; sentencing was on June 4. Nichols quote from handwritten prison document, “Why Am I Speaking Out Now,” November 24, 2006; Kathy Wilburn left the Hersley story in a voice-mail message (to Gumbel), October 30, 2009.

McVeigh’s colorful journey toward execution:

On McVeigh’s friendship with Kaczynski and his sudden transfer to Terre Haute, see Michel and Herbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 358–73; the fine slapped on Nigh and Burr, interview (Gumbel) with Jeralyn Merritt, another of McVeigh’s trial lawyers, April 15, 2011; details of Hammer’s relationship with McVeigh also in a prison memoir written by Hammer and Paul, *Secrets Worth Dying For: Timothy James McVeigh and the Oklahoma City Bombing*, first written in 2003 and obtained by the authors; the history of McVeigh’s decision to waive his appeals, including his

citation of the Hammer precedent, is detailed in the transcript of a December 28, 2000, hearing before Judge Matsch, in which he explained his position and successfully defended his competence to make the decision. On the late disclosure of discovery materials, see “An Investigation of the Belated Production of Documents in the Oklahoma City Bombing Case,” Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, March 19, 2002; also the defense team’s “Petition for Stay of Execution, Together with Memorandum in Support,” filed May 31, 2001. On Ashcroft and some of the other reaction, see Ron Fournier, “Ashcroft Postpones McVeigh Execution,” Associated Press, May 11, 2001. Ashcroft later blamed the late disclosure on the reciprocal discovery agreement and rapped prosecutors on the knuckles for ever agreeing to it. “What the law requires is plenty good in American justice,” he told the *Daily Oklahoman* in an interview on October 3, 2006, to promote his memoir *Never Again*. “When the Justice Department goes above and beyond what the law requires, we get ourselves in trouble.... We significantly elevated the risks of disruption, which I think were unnecessary.” Ashcroft is apparently alone in making this argument.

Details on the most pertinent late documents: three independent sources either directly or indirectly familiar with the contents of the sealed list compiled by McVeigh’s defense team offered pointers on the documents mentioned, and these were then cross-checked against the discovery material in the authors’ possession; the “smoke some Okies” line comes from an FBI FD-302 interview with John Albert Newland on January 30, 1996, file no. 15040; Dave Shafer was interviewed ten times between April 24, 1995, and April 11, 1996; the first and longest 302 on him is file no. 9848; the government’s lack of faith in his credibility is memorialized in FBI FD-302, file no. 14560, dated April 11, 1996; Terry Nichols told the authors (July 22, 2010) he considered Shafer a “bozo,” and the FBI concluded his account lacked credibility; Danny Defenbaugh, interview (Gumbel), May 17, 2010; Louis Freeh, *My Life*, p. 213.

McVeigh and Jones fight to the end:

McVeigh motivating Jones to update his book, see Michel and Herbeck, op. cit., p. xvii; Jones’s justification, see Jones and Israel, op. cit., pp. xiii, 365–70; Tigar, interview (Gumbel), March 1, 2011; another critic of Jones’s decision to break attorney-client privilege was Dick Burr, quoted in Joel Dyer, “Jonesin’ for Justice: Selling Out McVeigh,” *Boulder Weekly*, March 29, 2001; Jones, e-mail to Gumbel, March 22, 2011; Matsch’s final decision reported in David Johnston, “Judge Refuses McVeigh’s Bid for a Reprieve,” *New York Times*, June 7, 2001; Nigh interview (Gumbel), April 5, 2011.

McVeigh goes very publicly to the gallows:

For Hammer’s account of McVeigh’s execution, as seen from Dog Unit, see his

memoir *Secrets Worth Dying For*, op. cit. Also Andrew Gumbel, “McVeigh’s Friend Tells of ‘Bad Day’ on Death Row,” *The Independent* (UK), July 4, 2001; “Still breathin’” line recounted in interview (Gumbel) with Jeralyn Merritt, April 15, 2011; the execution was widely covered in the world’s media, e.g., Rick Bragg, “McVeigh Dies for Oklahoma City Blast,” *New York Times*, June 12, 2001; Rob Nigh’s statement on McVeigh’s execution, dated June 11, 2001, was carried by many news sources and is still available online, e.g., at ABCNews.com (retrieved May 12, 2011).

Afterword

The post-conviction travails of Terry Nichols:

Account of Gregory Scarpa Jr. extracting the story of the buried explosives boxes, taken from Sandra Harmon, *Mafia Son*, pp. 211–18; an affidavit by Nichols, dated November 8, 2006, obtained by authors; Nichols’s handwritten answers to authors’ questions, January 3, 2010, and February 21, 2011; and documents generated by the late Stephen Dresch and still, as of May 2011, posted at his Web site <http://forensic-intelligence.org>.

Scarpa’s prison writings presenting his version of issues relating to Nichols and the Oklahoma City bombing kindly provided to Gumbel by Sandra Harmon, June 24, 2010; Rohrabacher’s report, “The Oklahoma City Bombing: Was There a Foreign Connection?” was released by the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee of the House International Relations Committee on December 26, 2006; Nichols on Rohrabacher, from Nichols letter to the Salt Lake City lawyer Jesse Trentadue, November 8, 2006, obtained by authors; Rohrabacher’s interview of Nichols on June 27, 2005, is recounted in detail in a teletype from the FBI Denver office to headquarters dated June 28, 2005, and obtained by authors; details on the Nichols state trial from Jay Hughes, “Terry Nichols Faces State Charges,” Associated Press, March 30, 1999; Tim Talley, “OKC District Attorney Off Nichols Case,” Associated Press, October 16, 2000; “Nichols’ Defense Challenges State’s Key Witness; Judge Rejects Motion to Toss Murder Case,” CNN, April 21, 2004; and Tim Talley, “Prison Conversion May Have Saved Nichols,” Associated Press, June 13, 2004. Mark Earnest’s legwork on the ARA and many other subjects is in a defense brief titled “Terry Lynn Nichols’ Motion to Dismiss Based on the State’s Failure to Comply With *Brady v. Maryland*,” filed April 12, 2004; Nichols’s letter to John Ashcroft, dated September 3, 2004, obtained by authors; information on Josh Nichols from Lana Padilla interview (Gumbel), September 25, 2010.

De Niro–dead:

Jim Cavanaugh, interview (Gumbel), August 2, 2010; Danny Defenbaugh, interview (Gumbel), January 25, 2011. Defenbaugh said the only time he and his mentor Bear Bryant fought was over his decision to collect the motel records; statistics on extent of investigation supplied by Defenbaugh in an e-mail, May 21, 2010; McDonald's telephone story told by FBI agent Tim Arney, interview (Gumbel), August 26, 2011; Defenbaugh (interview with Gumbel, May 17, 2010) confirmed he pressed for an eleventh-hour opportunity to question McVeigh; Nichols wrote about the unaccounted-for bomb components in his document "OKC Bombing Materials and the Missing Explosives," December 1, 2007; Keating quote from the foreword to Hersley, Tongate, and Burke, *Simple Truths*, p. 10; Louis Freeh, *My Life*, p. 211; Weldon Kennedy, interview (Gumbel), August 26, 2010.

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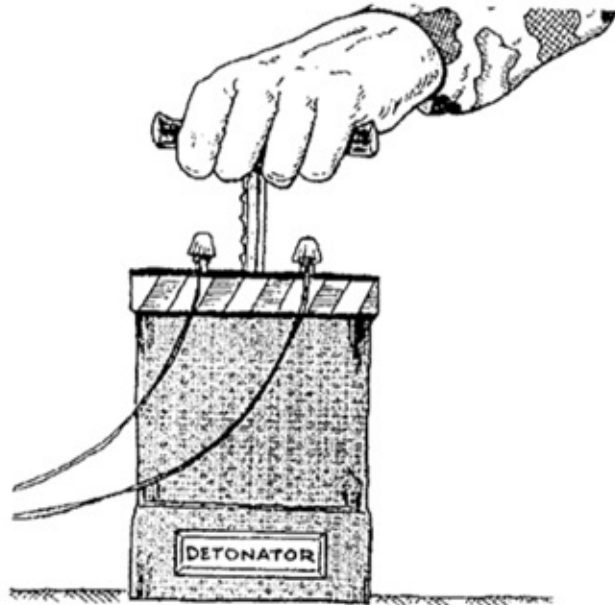
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Photographs



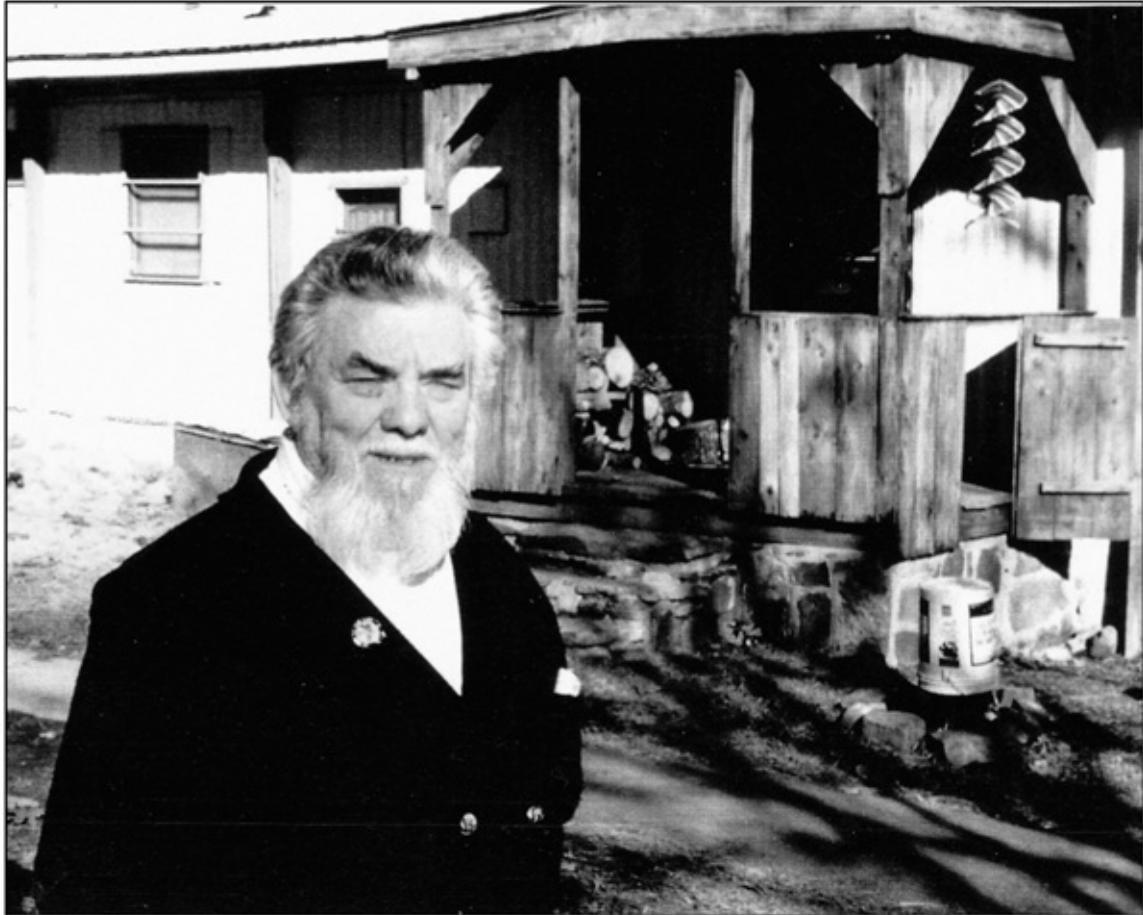
Louis Beam, the far right's devastatingly eloquent propagandist and advocate of "leaderless resistance" against the government, being apprehended at Waco in 1993 after asking the "forbidden question" at a news briefing about America turning into a police state. *AP Images*

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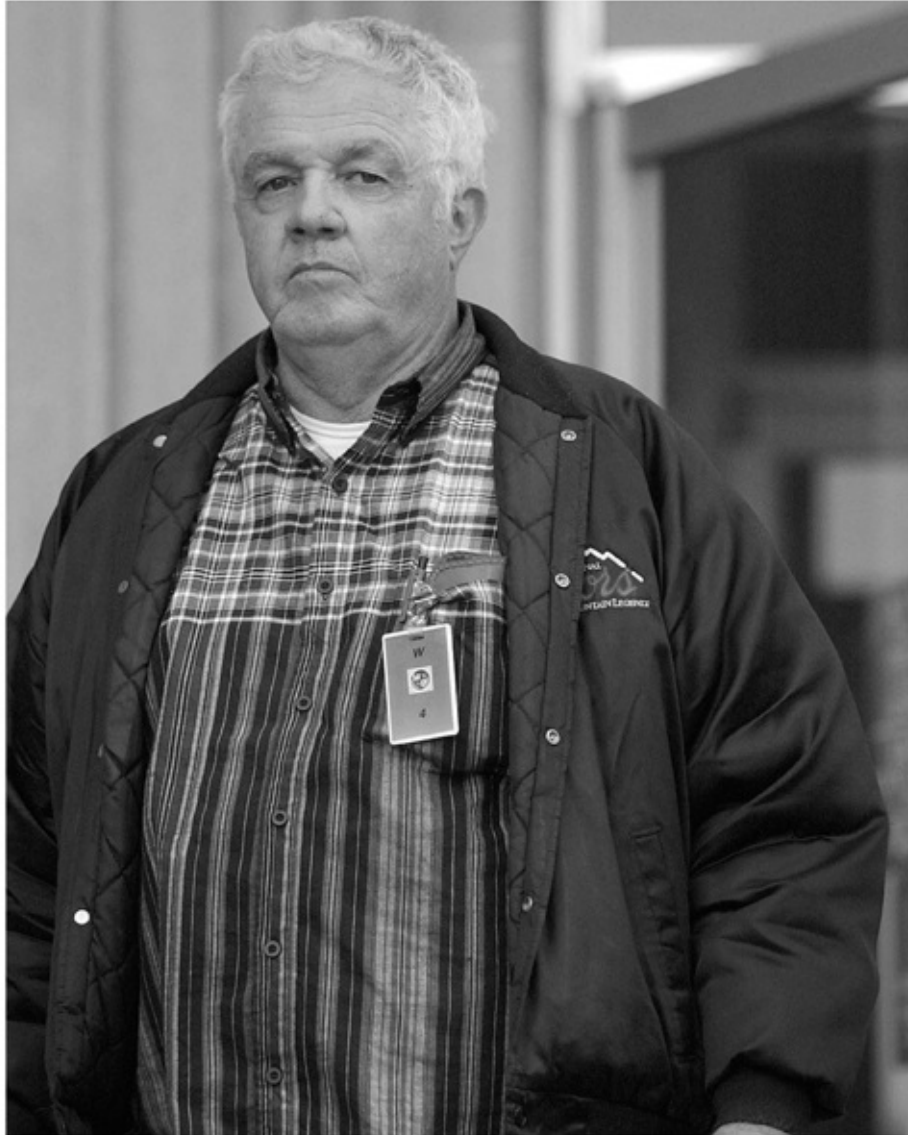
A typical early 1990s anti-government propaganda image, from Tom Metzger's group White Aryan Resistance.



Robert Millar, the patriarch of Elohim City, who excused the regular presence of fearsome violent criminals by saying they came from Jesus. *From the collection of J.D. Cash*



Carol Howe, the ATF's secret informant at Elohim City, sported a large inky swastika tattoo on her left shoulder (partially visible) and loved to take provocative pictures. Andreas Strassmeir dismissed her many years later as a "dress Nazi."



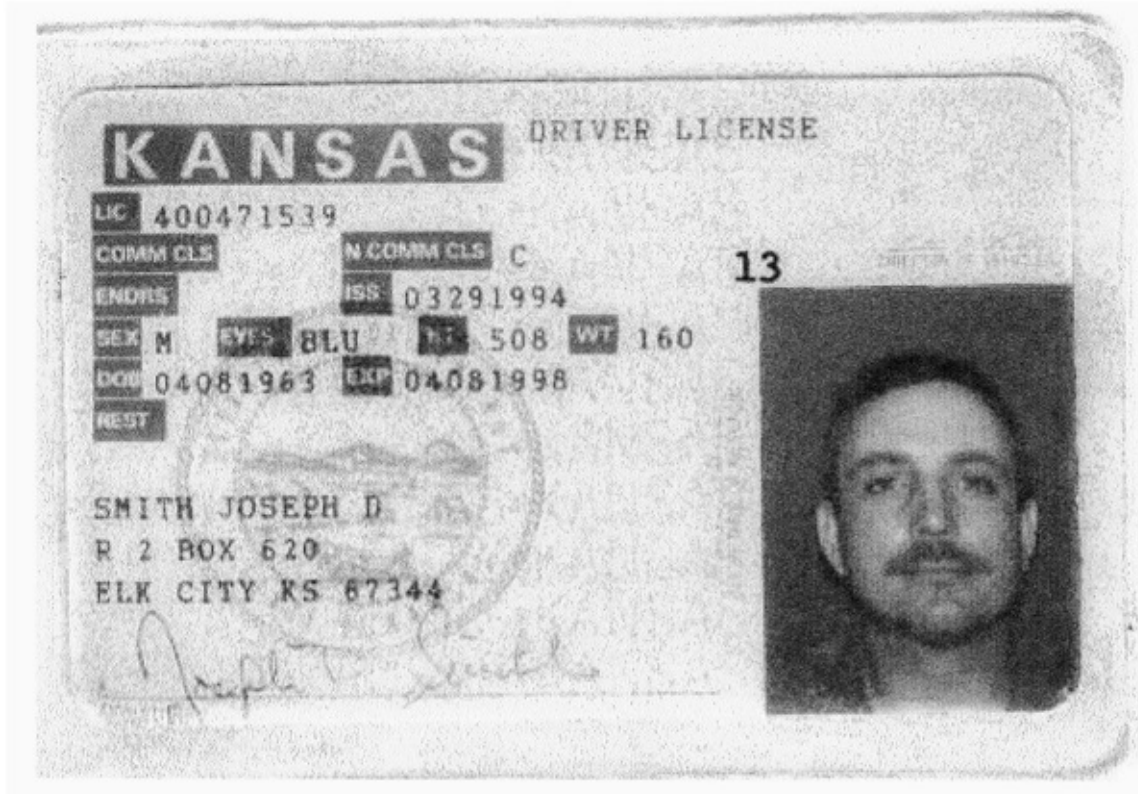
A rare photo of Roger Moore, an irascible ammunition dealer who knew Tim McVeigh from the gun-show circuit. Many senior law enforcement officials were disappointed Moore was not pursued more aggressively as a bombing suspect. (He's seen here outside the Oklahoma courthouse where Terry Nichols was tried on state murder charges.) *AP Images*



McVeigh in what he described as his biker disguise. *Courtesy of the Oklahoma National Memorial & Museum*



The white-supremacist bank robber Pete Langan had a secret life as a preoperative transsexual.



A fake driver's license made by Langan's volatile sidekick, Richard Guthrie, who thought the Oklahoma bombing would trigger a civil war. Evidence entered into trial



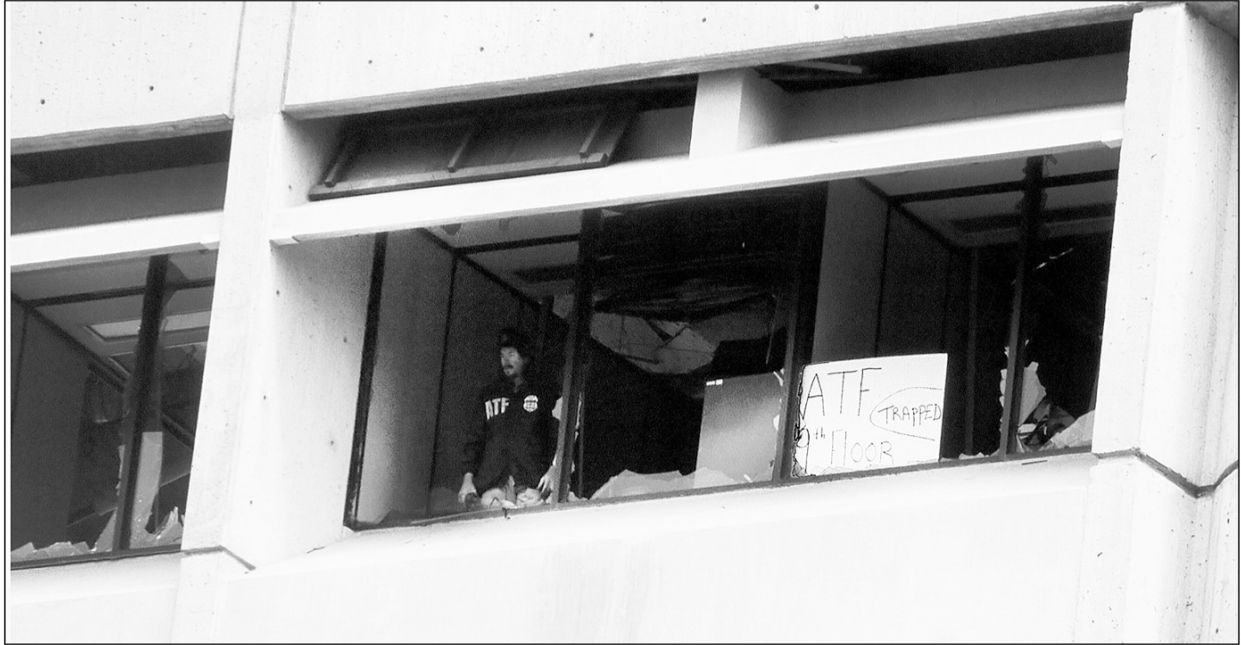
A bag of ammonium nitrate prills similar to those used to build the bomb. *Courtesy of the Oklahoma National Memorial & Museum*



A locker at the Marion Marietta quarry, which McVeigh and Nichols robbed in October 1994 to obtain blasting caps and Tovex detonators. *Courtesy of the Oklahoma National Memorial & Museum*



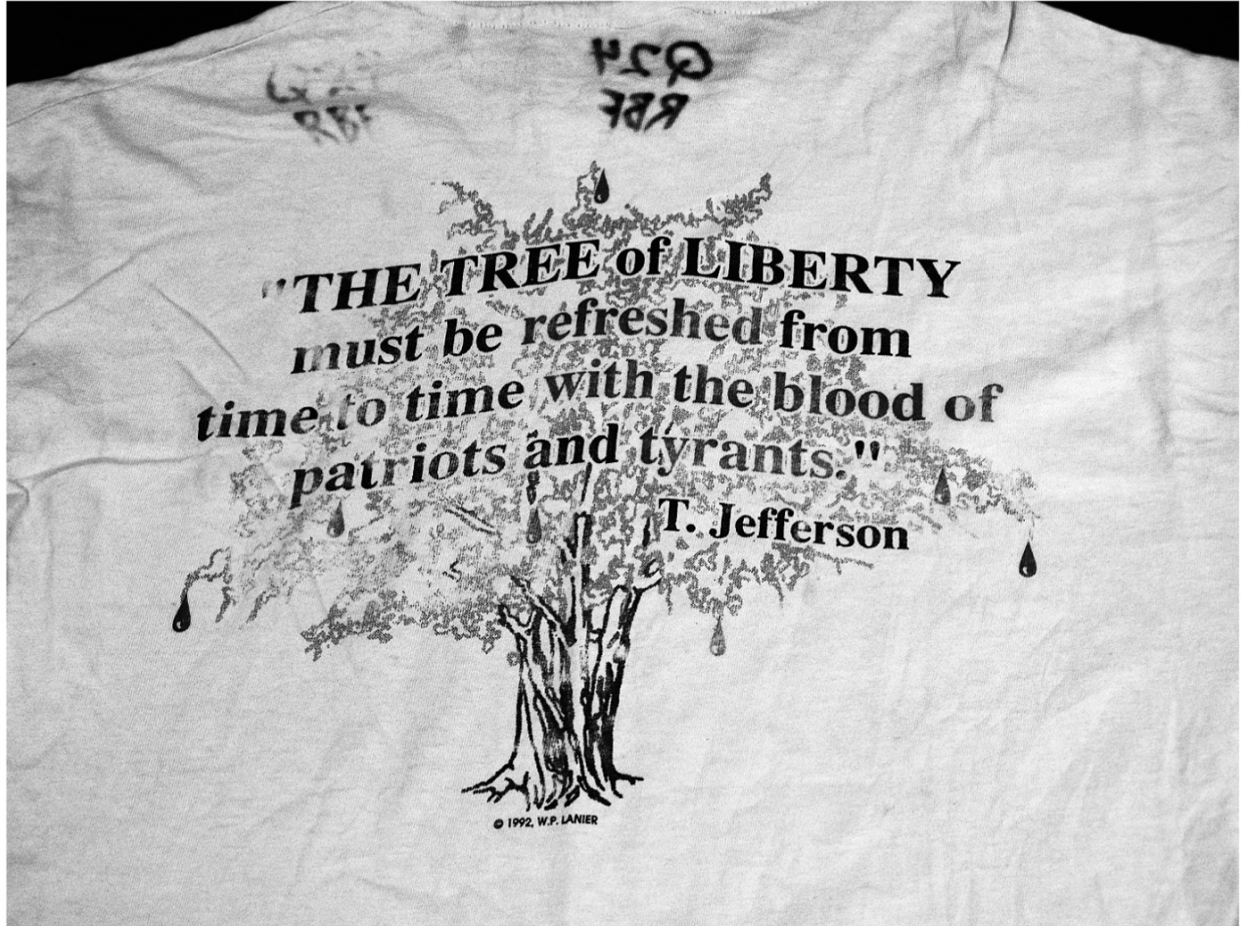
Hell on earth: the immediate aftermath of the bombing, when the streets of downtown Oklahoma City were choking in smoke and debris and the cars parked for blocks around were reduced to mangled wrecks. *Courtesy of the Oklahoma National Memorial & Museum*



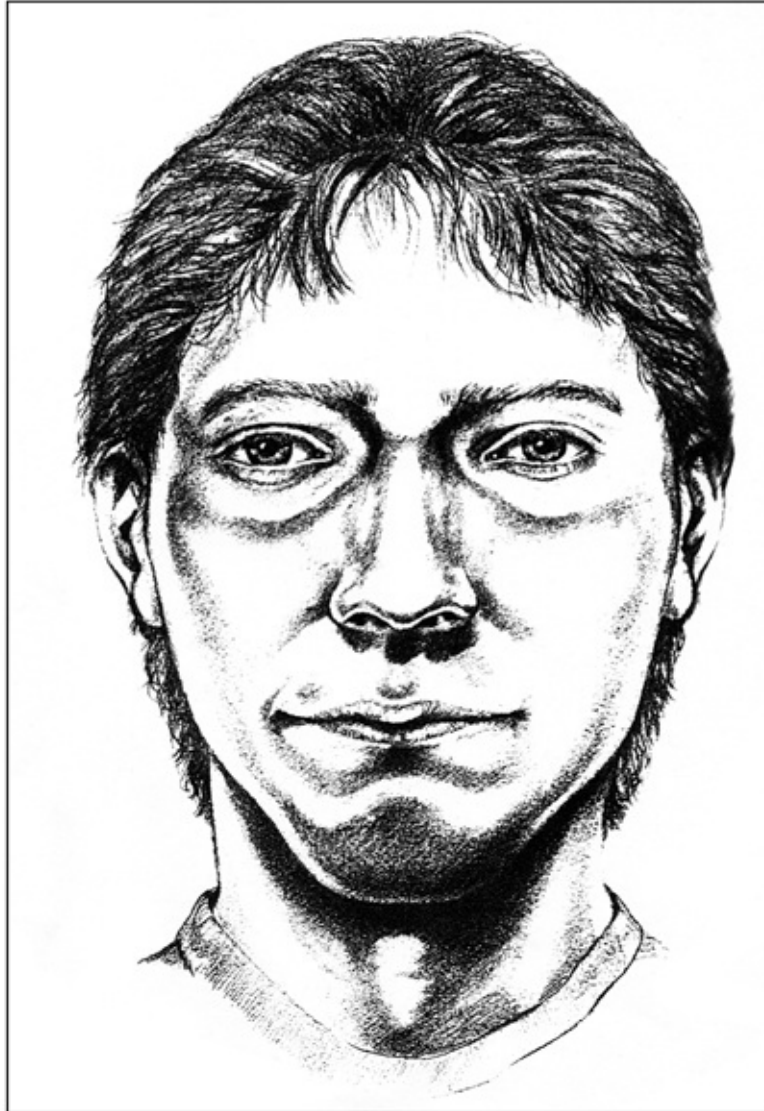
ATF Agent Luke Franey holds up a sign in the window of the ATF's top-floor offices; his account of that morning raises a lot of unanswered questions. *J. Pat Carter*



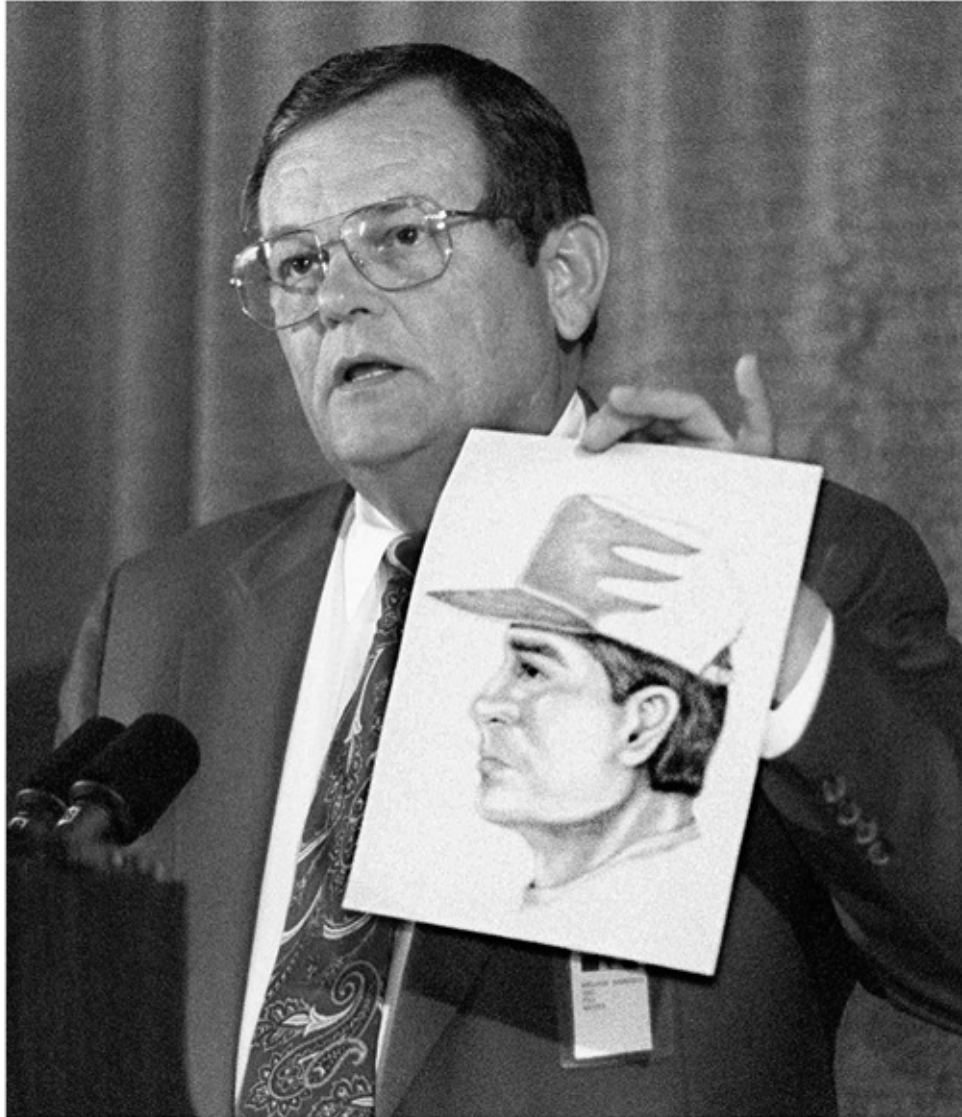
McVeigh's mug shot following his arrest on gun and traffic charges shortly after the bombing. *Courtesy of the Oklahoma National Memorial & Museum*



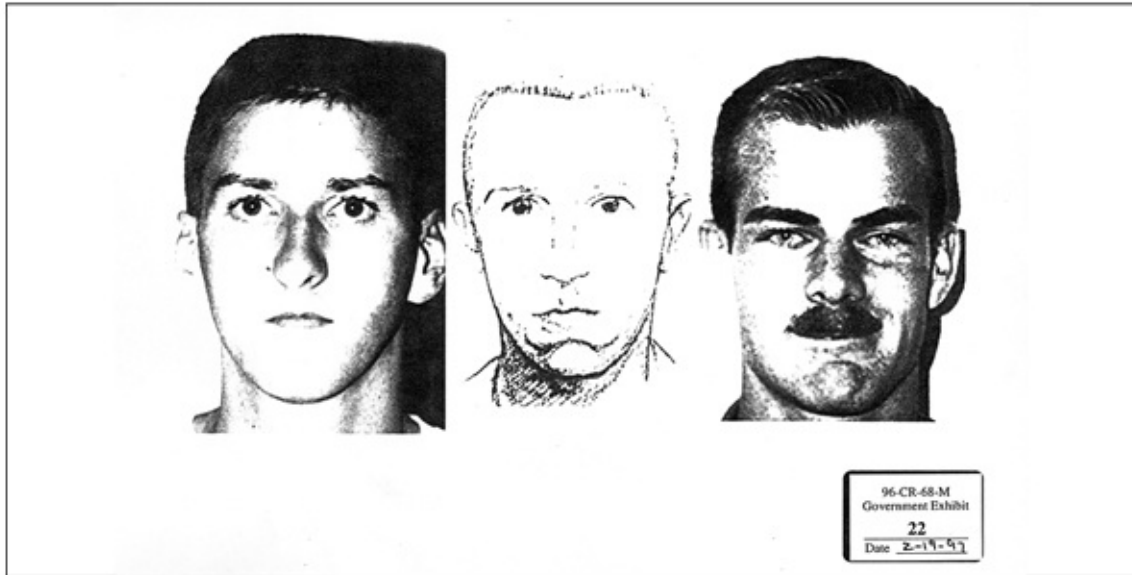
The T-shirt worn by McVeigh when he was arrested; the line about refreshing the tree of liberty with blood echoed a line in an incendiary speech of Louis Beam's two and a half years earlier. *Courtesy of the Oklahoma National Memorial & Museum*



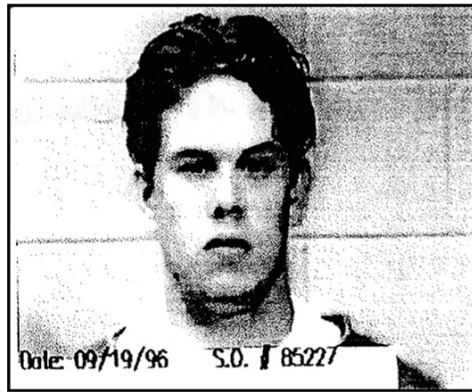
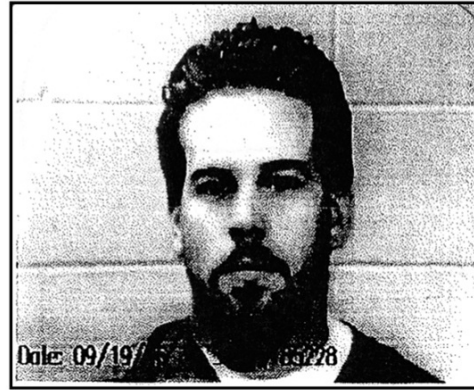
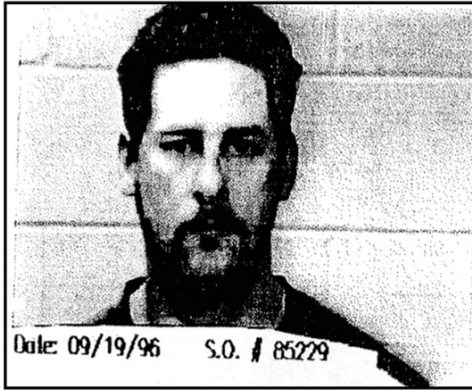
A sketch developed from the memory of Jeff Davis, a Chinese-food-delivery boy who insisted the man who opened the door of Room 25 at the Dreamland Motel was someone other than McVeigh. *Courtesy of the Oklahoma National Memorial & Museum*



Weldon Kennedy, the FBI's first on-scene commander, brandishes an amended sketch of the mysterious John Doe Two at a news conference. *AP Images*



A triptych of images presented in court of McVeigh, the John Doe One sketch and Sergeant Michael Hertig. The government argued that McVeigh was John Doe One, and that any inconsistency was due to witnesses at Eldon Elliott's body shop confusing him with Hertig, who rented a Ryder truck almost exactly twenty-four hours later. There are grounds to doubt both of these assertions. *Courtesy of the Oklahoma National Memorial & Museum*



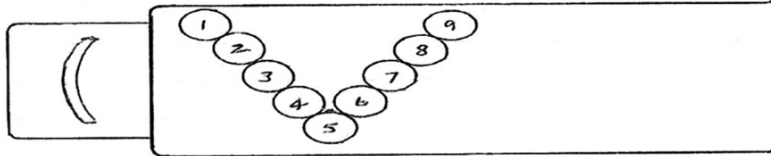
The Ward brothers, Pete (*top left*), Tony (*top right*), and Sonny (*bottom*), after their arrest in Oregon in 1996. Carol Howe told the FBI Pete and Tony were a match for John Does One and Two. The FBI spoke to Pete Ward, but none of the brothers was considered a suspect in the Oklahoma City bombing. *Oregon police files*



McVeigh, captured on video at the Junction City McDonald's on the day the Ryder truck was rented. He left McDonald's no sooner than 3:57 P.M. but managed, according to the government, to walk more than a mile uphill to Eldon Elliott's in time for the rental agreement to be printed at 4:19. It was raining at the time, but the man who rented the truck was dry. *Trial exhibit*

RYDER BOMB TRUCK DIAGRAM
(To Scale)

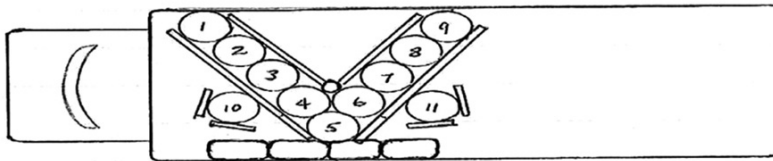
#1 - Lori Fortier's Version



9-55gal. barrels in a V shape-charge pattern

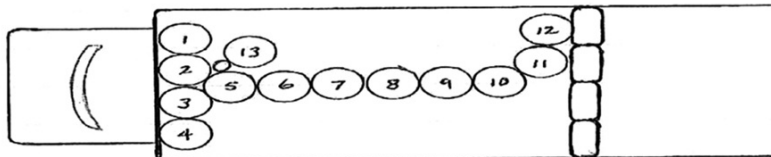
NOTE: Truck box width of 96" doesn't allow more than a 9 barrel V shape-charge

#2 - Actual Geary Lake Version



11-55gal. barrels in a modified V shape-charge pattern
with approx. 10-50 lb. ANFO bags behind V

#3 - McVeigh's Book Version



13-55gal. barrels in a backward J shape-charge pattern
with 17 ANFO bags at back of shape-charge

16-16

Diagrams drawn by Terry Nichols showing Lori Fortier's description of how the bomb was built (supposedly based on what McVeigh told her), his own memory of the construction of the bomb, and McVeigh's version as described in *American Terrorist*. Explosives experts put most credence in Nichols's version, raising questions of who was the true bombing mastermind. *From Nichols correspondence*



McVeigh with his lawyers Stephen Jones (right) and Rob Nigh (left). *AP Images*

① HEARD About
CAULBURN on the
NEWS. WANT to see
his picture. MAY be
I could be of help.

② TALKING to ATTORNEY
Today. ~~He~~ he may
WANT to see A copy of
the proffer. Is it possible
to get copy?

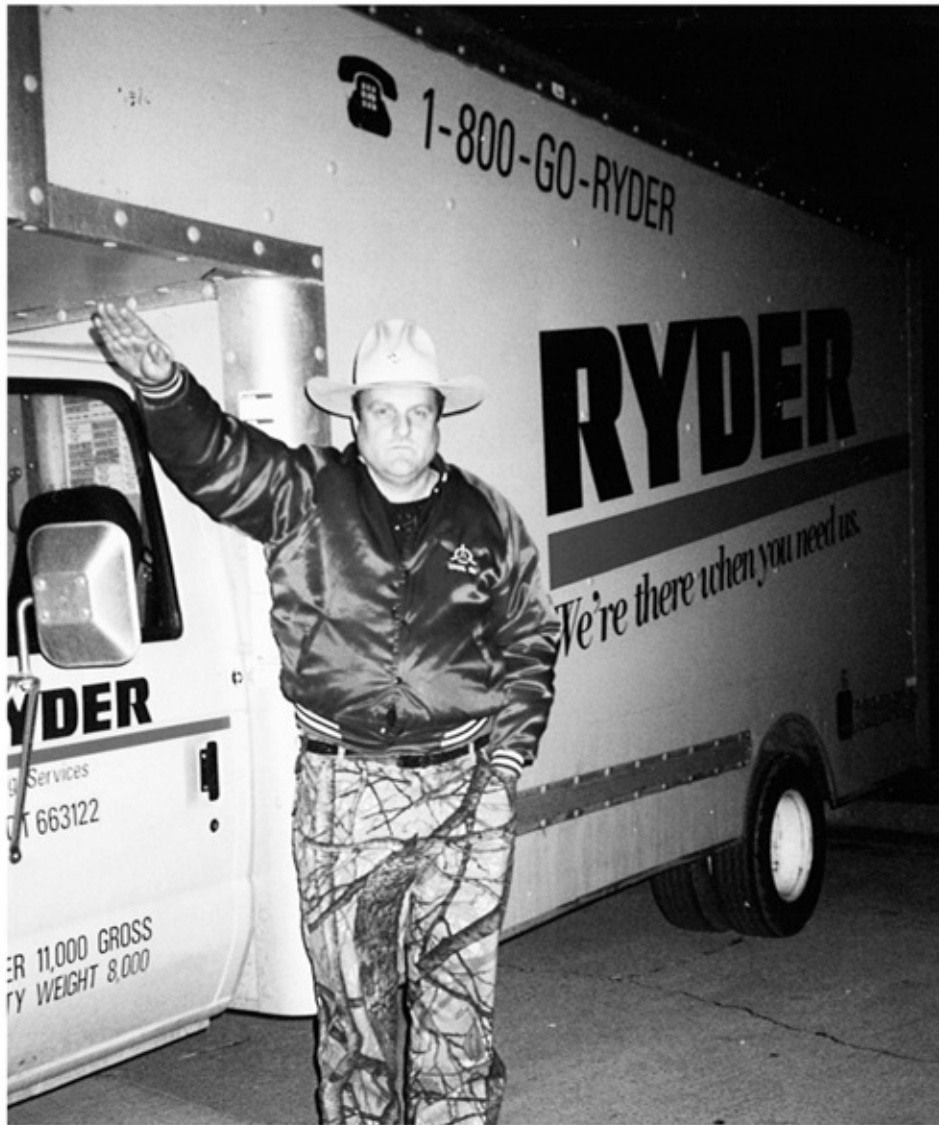
The message Michael Fortier scrawled on the back of a Kit Kat candy wrapper to tell the FBI he was now willing to cooperate. *Courtesy of the Oklahoma National Memorial & Museum*



Andreas Strassmeir in Civil War costume in 1994. *Courtesy of Kirk Lyons and Andreas Strassmeir*



Andreas Strassmeir, Berlin, 2010. *Photograph by Andrew Gumbel*



Oklahoma Ku Klux Klan leader Dennis Mahon doing a Nazi salute in front of a Ryder truck, some time after the bombing. Mahon's very public statements that associated him with McVey ended his career as an aircraft mechanic, but did not attract more than token investigative interest.

SHOT / BARREL FIREARMS	ILLEGAL EXPLOSIVE DEVICE	TITLE III	ALCOHOL / TOBACCO
OTHER (Explain)	OTHER (Explain)	OTHER (Explain)	OTHER (Explain)
EXPLAIN/JUSTIFICATION			
<p>This investigation involves the Bombing of the Murrah Bldg. in Oklahoma City, Ok. It is suspected that members of Elohim City are involved either directly or indirectly through conspiracy. It is suspected that suspect #2 may be at the location. Funds be used for CI-subscriptions, expansion travel. Re 53200-95-0005W</p>			
PART II - SUB CASHIER FUNDS REQUEST AND APPROVAL			
<p>In connection with the above investigation, I request that an advance of funds, in the sum of \$ <u>250.00</u> be issued to me by the sub cashier to be used for confidential expenditures, the purchase of information, and/or the purchase of evidence.</p>			
SPECIAL AGENT	DATE	TOTAL FUNDS EXPENDED IN THE CASE TO DATE	
<i>Carol Finley</i>	<i>05/18/95</i>	\$ <i>4,452.99</i>	
GROUP SUPERVISOR OR RESIDENT AGENT IN CHARGE	DATE	AMOUNT APPROVED (Write out)	\$
<i>David E. Roberts</i>	<i>05/18/95</i>	<i>Two Hundred Fifty</i>	<i>250.00</i>
PART III - DISBURSEMENT RECEIPT OF FUNDS			

The ATF authorized Carol Howe to return to Elohim City after the bombing to look for co-conspirators, hurriedly reversing their previous determination that she was mentally unstable. The text, in Angie Finley's handwriting, says: "It is suspected that members of Elohim City are involved either directly or indirectly through conspiracy. It is suspected that suspect #2 may be at the location."

29 Nov. 2007 MORNING OF APRIL 18, 1995

I woke up about 5:30 A.M. on Tuesday, April 18th, got dressed, and was ready to head out the door to meet Timothy McVeigh at the Herington Storage Units about a mile away just off of Highway 77 at 6 A.M., but I procrastinated. I sat down at the dining room table debating with myself whether to go or not. I was resisting to go but McVeigh's recent threats, beginning on Easter Sunday, of harming my family was still fresh on my mind as

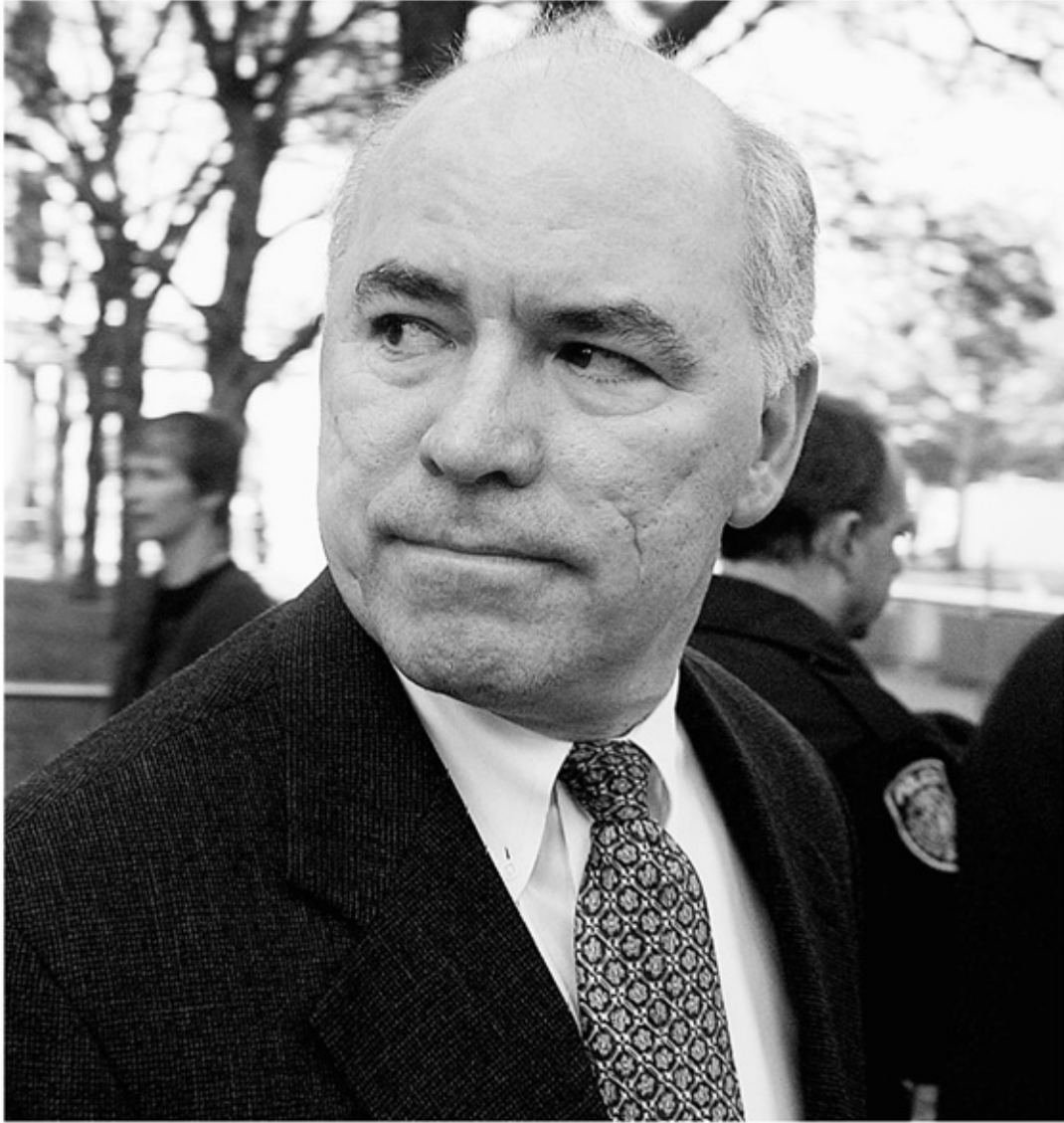
The beginning of Terry Nichols's detailed description of building the bomb, written in 2007; he had not previously confessed it.



Nichols's federal trial lawyers, Ron Woods (*left*) and Michael Tigar, on their way into court. Every day Woods would turn to Tigar and say: "Time to go throw up." *AP Images*



Joe Hartzler, the government's chief prosecutor in the McVeigh trial, in the wheelchair he utilized due to multiple sclerosis. *AP images*



Larry Mackey, Hartzler's number two who went on to run Terry Nichols's federal trial. *AP Images*



Niki Deutchman, the jury foreman in the Nichols federal trial, gives an impromptu news conference after finding Nichols not guilty of first-degree murder in January 1998. She formed a special courtroom bond with Nichols’s lawyer Michael Tigar and described him as “one heck of an attorney.” Soon after, she was receiving death threats. *AP Images*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many of those interviewed for this book challenged powerful people and institutions, including their own, to correct and enrich the historical record. Some did so knowing their own actions were far from perfect. Others were put on the spot but talked anyway. That takes guts, and our gratitude goes out accordingly. It would be impolitic to identify favorites among the 150-plus interview subjects who spoke on the record. But a handful—they know who they are—displayed a candor and intellectual honesty all too rare in a story in which many people have had an angle to push, or something to hide.

One person who needs special mention is Terry Nichols. He shares responsibility for the horrors of the bombing, but he has also been a unique resource: cooperative at every stage and often exhaustive in his attention to detail. He took a risk in consenting to release the full archive of privileged documents held by his defense lawyers, and he wrote tens of thousands of words in response to our questions, however pointed. He was obliged to do none of these things. While we have reserved the right to judge his words and actions against the broader factual record, we are grateful for his willingness to speak out, to confess his crimes and other personal failings, and to add texture and depth to our story.

For on-the-record interview contributions (some of whom are not in the text, often because they were able to knock down false leads and misconceptions), many thanks (in alphabetical order) to: Julia Allen, Wayne Alley, David Allred, Gregory Argyros, Karyn Armstrong, Tim Arney, Paul Baker, David Batsell, Garry Berges, Mark Bouton, Rodney Bowers, Jeanne Boylan, Joseph Bross, Stanley Brown, Bill Buford, Joe Van Bullard, Dick Burr, Bruce Campbell, Vincent Cannistraro, Jim Carlile, Jim Cavanaugh, Steve Chancellor, Richard Cohen, Jerry Cook, Danny Coulson, Jannie Coverdale, Bill and Sandy Crigler, Claude Criss, Danny Defenbaugh, Dick DeGuerin, Jim Denny, Dave Dilly, Dennis Dutsch, Harry Eberhardt, Lee Fabrizio, Ladell Farley, Luke Franey, Alexis Franklin, Mary Lou Fultz, Hank Gibbons, Mark Gibson, Aitan Goelman, Marie Louise Hagen, Judy Hamilton Morse, David Paul Hammer, Richard Hanawalt, Joe Hartzler, John Haynie, Floyd Hays, Greg Henry, John Hippard, Dave Hollaway, Tom Hoover, Ronald Howland, Greg Hug, Danielle Hunt, Tom Hunt, Linda James, Suzanne James, Adolph Januszkiewicz, Kelly Johnson, Mike Johnston, Dean Jones, Stephen Jones, John Kane, Weldon Kennedy, Kyle Kilgore, Richard Kirby, Neal Kirkpatrick, Gary Knight, Jack Knox, Frank Koch,

Eric Kruss, Corey Lamb, Kerry Larsen, Diane Leonard, Steve Lewis, Pat Livingston, Kirk Lyons, Larry Mackey, John Magaw, Bill Maloney, Chris Matlock, Linda Matlock, Michael McGovern, Marty McLaughlin, Scott Mendeloff, Jeralyn Merritt, Tom Metzger, Horace Mewborn, Lou Michel, Dick Miller, Carol Moore, Tristan Moreland, Reid Mullins, Terry Nichols, Rob Nigh, Melva Noakes, Kerry Noble, Gary Noesner, Richard O'Carroll, Jim Otte, Lana Padilla, Jim Pate, Joe Phillips, Mike Reynolds, Bob Ricks, James Rockwell, Don Rogers, Dana Rohrabacher, Tom Ross, Scott Rutter, Bob Sanders, Kathy Sanders, Greg Scarpa Jr., David Schickedanz, Michael Schwartz, Jack Schworm, Cheri Seymour, Rick Sherrow, Pete Slover, I. C. Smith, Clyde Snow, Gerry Spence, Sheldon Sperling, Karl Stankovic, Rick Stephens, Ken Stern, Andi Strassmeir, Bill Teater, Michael Tigar, James Tillison, Pharis Williams, Ritch Willis, Tommy Wittman, Ed Woods, Ron Woods, Carl Worden, Stuart Wright, Janice Yeary, and Randy Yount.

Thank you also to those who did not speak for attribution but provided invaluable firsthand information. Some needed to remain anonymous to protect themselves or others. Two outstanding individuals chose not to put their names forward because they didn't want to be accused of grandstanding. While we would have preferred to print their names, their lack of ego is admirable.

An enterprise of this nature rests on the shoulders of those who have mined and explored this material in the past. We want to acknowledge the sterling work done by many law enforcement agents, even in the context of a flawed investigation, and also by the defense, especially the Nichols team, whose research and analysis have gone largely unpublicized until now. Some people provided valuable unpublished documents: Tom Hunt and his archive of materials from the Federal Protective Service in Oklahoma City; Stanley Brown and his handwritten journal of the day of the bombing; Kirk Lyons and the copies he provided of Andreas Strassmeir's passports and U.S. visa. The late J. D. Cash, an investigator and journalist from rural Oklahoma, was himself an indefatigable collector of documents we are lucky to have inherited. Most useful were Mary Riley's field notes (see chapter 4), Richard Guthrie's irresistibly quotable handwritten prison memoir, and the transcripts of interviews conducted in 1999–2000 (many by Cash himself) for a never-released documentary on the bombing.

For the discovery materials, thank you not only to Nichols but to Brian Hermanson, his chief lawyer in the Oklahoma state trial; Richard Demarest, who volunteered to convert and send the files; and Jesse Trentadue, a lawyer from Salt Lake City, who first forged a relationship with Nichols and made access to him possible. Trentadue's persistent Freedom of Information Act requests and

lawsuits against the government—all filed in the name of justice for his brother who died in federal custody in Oklahoma in 1995—have provided a valuable public service.

Many journalists, academics, lawyers, and investigators have been generous in sharing materials and offering support. John Solomon, who has done his own groundbreaking reporting on this subject, was the project's unofficial godfather. Mark Hamm of Indiana State University has been a selfless contributor to our research for a decade. Don Devereux and Bob Arthur tracked down many hard-to-find interview subjects and acted as unofficial Arizona fixers. Jonathan Franklin opened doors and offered the raw notes of his face-to-face interview with McVeigh. Sandra Harmon put Andrew Gumbel in touch with Gregory Scarpa Jr. and shared Scarpa's correspondence on Terry Nichols. Mary Mapes, in Dallas, and Dave Hawkins, in Kingman, offered material and much-appreciated hospitality. Rich Leiby of the *Washington Post* shared his taped interview with Mark Thomas and wins the prize for most gloriously laugh-out-loud question put to a neo-Nazi. Mark Earnest, one of Nichols's state trial lawyers, provided court filings and much valuable analysis. Thanks also to David Shuster and his former colleagues at KATV, Randy Dixon and Rusty Mizell, to Jerry Bohnen of KTOK in Oklahoma City, to Jack Cashill and Mike Tharp.

A number of people provided direct research assistance: Eli Smukler (who outdid himself), Cody Reneau, Ginny Charles, and Beth Bartel. Thanks also to those who provided logistical help, or facilitated access, or talked through issues, or delivered pieces of information, or hardened up facts. In alphabetical order: Skip Baker, MaryAnne Beatty, Pam Bell, John Berger, Leslie Blade, Sherry Boyce, David Brog, Sheryll Brown, Rico Carisch, Glynda Chu, Steven Clay, Jimmy Coker, Don Cox, Beverly David, Veronica Decena, Margot Dunne, Mickey Edwards, Dan Froomkin, Miki Goral, Phil Hall, Dave Hart, Gregg Hastings, Walt Haussner, Josh Hunsucker, Manny Johnson, Chuck Karfonta, Dean Kuipers, Angie Lanier, Allan Lengel, Harry Lett, Claudine LoMonaco, Judge Richard P. Matsch, Robin Mayper, Kevin Moloney, Matt Moning, Jay Mumford, Wendy Painting, Suzie Paulson, Sheree Powell, Adam Rappaport, Ron Replogle, Joey Senat, Tara Setmayer, Kathleen Staunton, Helen Stiefmiller, David Sobonya, Dan Thomasson, Carole Turner, Luke Vislay, Anne Weismann, Jan White, Fred Whitehurst, Pamela Williams, Evan Wright, and Marge York. Our apologies to anyone we have forgotten.

ANDREW GUMBEL WOULD LIKE TO THANK HENRY FERRIS, AN ASSIDUOUS, exceptionally fine editor who understood just how to tell this huge and gripping story; Trina Hunn,

whose editorial eye was as keen as her legal prowess; the rest of the William Morrow team, whose excitement was infectious; the ever-gracious Gail Ross and the Ross Yoon agency; Dana Newman and Miles Feldman, who went above and beyond; Charles Noble and Edward Olson; Larry George, generous to a fault; Max and Raffaella, who followed the story, asked great questions, and put up with months of me staring into the middle distance; Sammy, who arrived just in time to put the rest in perspective; and, most of all, my wife, Naomi Seligman, the ideal partner in this and all things. Your love, intelligence, many contributions, and wicked humor held everything else together.

ROGER CHARLES WOULD LIKE TO THANK STEPHEN JONES, FOR UNSTINTING support and friendship; the late Glenn Wilburn; Kathy Wilburn Sanders; Ken Blood, Clark Brewster, Pat Briley, Bill Cowan, John Culbertson, David Fechheimer, Mark Hampton, Ambassador Robert Hennemeyer, Mike Hubbard, Charles Key, Kris Kolesnik, V. Z. Lawton, Gil Macklin, Rick Ojeda, Dale Phillips, Bill Rhegness, Bob Sheridan, Michael Turner, Fred Whitehurst, and Mike Vanderboegh. Tom McCally, Lawrence E. Carr Jr., and Michael Minnis gave indispensable legal counsel. Bruce Willingham of the *McCurtain Daily Gazette* deserves special mention. Also: Robert K. Brown, Rita Cosby, Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, Jeff Fager, James Giles, Karen Gullo, Patty Hassler, David Hoffman, John F. Kelly, Tom Jarriel, Bill Jasper, Scott Malone, Gary Matsumoto, Mike McCarville, Don McLean, Mike McNulty, Victor Newfeld, Ivan O'Mahoney, Dan Rather, Jim Ridgeway, Ryan Ross, Bob Ruth, Diane Sawyer, John Siceloff, Dwight Swift, Judy Thomas, Donald K. Thrasher, and Gordon Whitkin.

For my family, it's very simple. Without the unqualified love and support of my wife, Mary Lee, and of our daughters, Katie, Ginny, and Ellen, I would not have been able to sustain my work on this story. They tolerated many absences, phone calls, and dinner guests, and convinced me to go forward when the easier path would have been to back off. To the loved ones of those who are not alive to see the publication of this book: would that we could share the fruits of our labors with them.

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About the Authors

Andrew Gumbel has worked for more than twenty years as a foreign correspondent for British newspapers the *Guardian* and the *Independent*, including assignments in the Balkans, Italy, the Middle East, and, since 1998, the United States. He has won awards for investigative reporting and political commentary, and written widely for U.S. publications including the *Los Angeles Times* and *The Atlantic*.

His book *Steal This Vote: Dirty Elections and the Rotten History of Democracy in America* was published to great acclaim in 2005. He was born in England and educated at Oxford University.

Roger G. Charles is a retired lieutenant colonel of the U.S. Marine Corps and an award-winning investigative journalist who has worked with a wide variety of media outlets, including *Newsweek*, *Vanity Fair*, ABC (*Nightline*, *Primetime Live*), CBS's *60 Minutes II*, and the BBC. In 1996 and 1997 he was a consultant on the Oklahoma City bombing for ABC's *20/20*. He also worked as an investigator for Stephen Jones and the legal team defending Timothy McVeigh in his federal trial. Charles was born in Texas, raised in West Virginia, and graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1967.

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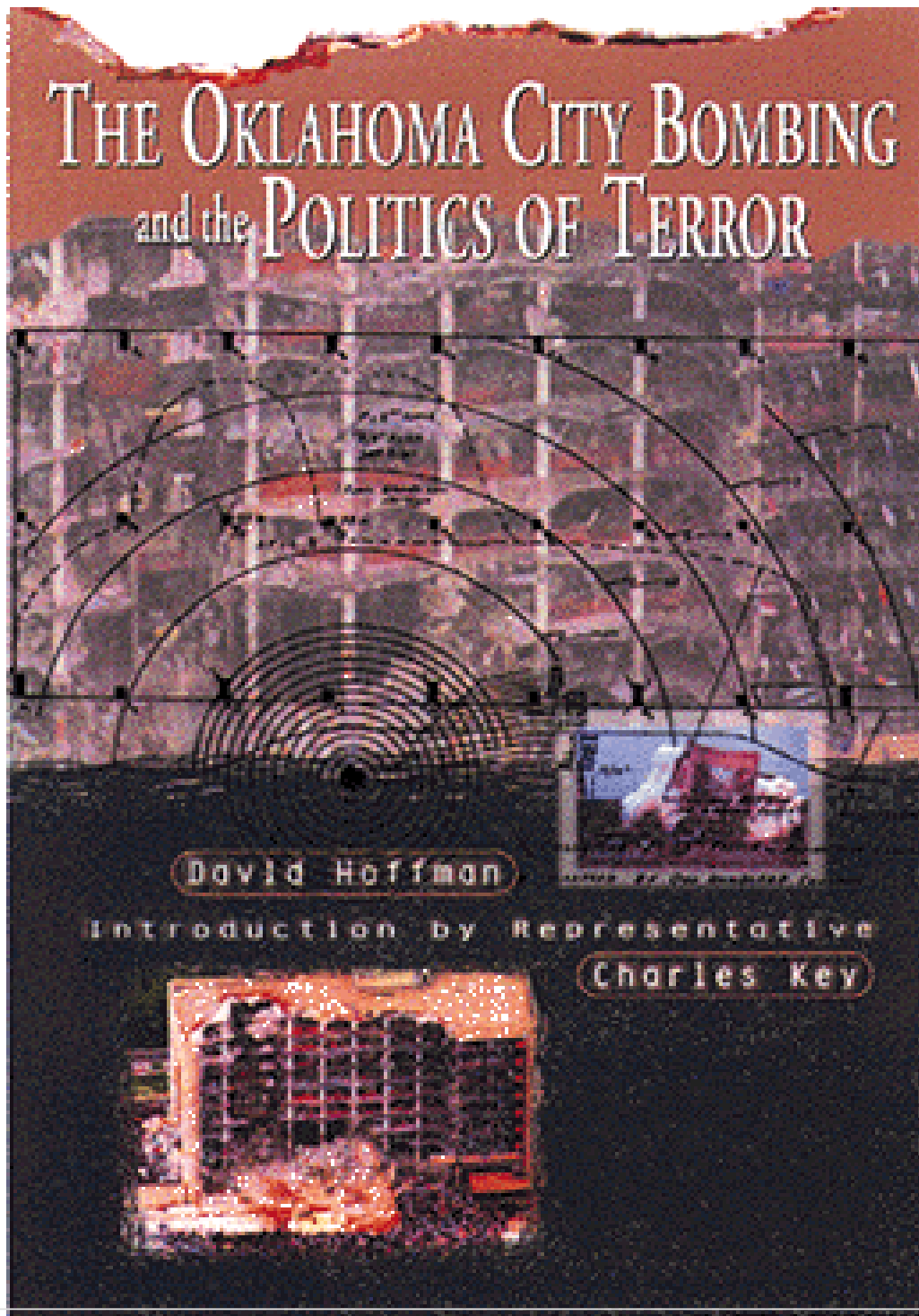
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This book is dedicated to Ace Hayes, my friend and primary mentor, who passed away as this book went to press. As a speaker, and through his small newspaper, the *Portland Free Press*, Ace hammered away at the establishment with a loquacious cynicism and wit. Ace fought the battle with both pen and sword, dodging the law on the front lines of the trenches. He was both inspirational and instrumental in bringing this book to light. His friendship and counsel will be sorely missed.

Note: The names of certain individuals have been changed and noted in the text. Libel law does not make generous allowances for the use of real names in the case of a person who has not been officially indicted, or who has not gone public (i.e., been previously interviewed in print or on TV), or who is not a public figure.



"You shall know the truth and the truth shall make you mad."
— Aldus Huxley

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State Representative Charles Key, who became a good friend. A man whose humor, faith, and courage to stand up and publicly question the governments' official line, putting his life and his career on the line, became an anchor for us all.

Jayna Davis of KFOR, the original lead investigator on the Middle Eastern angle, eventhough the New York Times Broadcasting Company shut down her investigation and took away her helicopter and cell phone.

David Hall of KPOC-TV, who gave me most of the leads I wouldn't have gotten anywhere else. Last I heard, the IRS was screwing with Hall because of his courageous work on the Waco case.

Craig Roberts, whose patience and generosity proved invaluable. Craig was a staunch ally whose tenacity and good humor proved an inspiration when I became frustrated (which was pretty often).

Craig's cop friend Randy, who sneaked into the NCIC now and then when we needed it.

Leslie Jorgensen, (*Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report*) a great gal with a marvelous sense of humor, who kept me up to date on the latest gossip and straightened me out about certain lawyers.

Gene Wheaton, who took me for a circuitous ride through the desert to talk to me in a scene reminiscent of Mr. "X" in the movie JFK, then regaled me mostly with personal stories about his interesting life.

Bill McCoy (may he rest in peace), who provided humorous translations for Wheaton's conspiracy theory theories, and was instrumental in keeping "scribblers" like me on the path.

Ace Hayes (may he rest in peace), publisher of the *Portland Free Press*, and my main mentor, who helped me to understand how the system really works, or at least the system according to Ace.

Sherman Skolnick, my other main mentor, who never let me forget how many years he's been in the business, and reminded me that I have a long way to go,

Will Northrop, "Matzo-Ball Charlie," who claimed to work for every Israeli intelligence agency *except* the Mossad, then took me for \$1600 to sip Margaritas in Florida.

Mike Johnston, who accused me of stealing his book, *Abu-Nidal: A Gun For Hire*, when he knows full well that it was stolen by Chinese cleaning ladies and used as Won Ton wrappers.

James "Jimmy" Rothstein, whose openness, patience, and selflessness proved to be a guiding light in the murky and confusing world of spooks and criminals.

Mien Furher, Al Martin, Iran-Contra "insider extraordinaire," whose still waiting for his \$100,000 retainer fee.

Bill Jasper of the John Birch Society, who is convinced it really is all a Communist plot.

George Wallace who introduced me to Jasper and kept the Commie hunters off my back.

Roger Cravens, Dave Rydel, Claire Wolfe, Jon Roland, and other Patriots who posted important and much-needed information on the state of our nation on the Patriots' Information Mailing List (PIML); and Ian Goddard, Bob Hall, and others who did the same on the OKBOMB mailing list.

Laurie Mylroie of the Foreign Policy Institute, for her in-depth analysis of the Iraqis and the World Trade Center bombing.

Terry Cook, for his videos and books, and his excellent and comprehensive research on the staggering new technology that is taking control over our lives.

Jim Levine, and Terry and Kelly, who handled our account and especially Jim's mother, who made me Chicken soup when I was sick.

And finally, Mr. "M," without who's generous financial support, none of this would have been possible.

And I can't leave out all those people who, although aware of the efforts of the authors and others in attempting to bring this information to the public, were either indifferent, or actually obstructed these efforts. The first of these honors goes to the so-called "Justice" Department and the FBI. And to the state Attorney General, Drew Edmondson, and the local District Attorney in Oklahoma City, Bob Macy, who has an annoying tendency to talk out of both sides of his mouth. Oh, Bob, what *is* that stench?!

And the supervisors of the business office of Southwestern Bell and specifically Mr. Edwards and Mr. Dave Lopez, President of SWB, whose cold, callous, indifference and lack of empathy when I became behind on my phone bill resulted in the termination of my phone service for three weeks, my poor old mother thinking I was dead, and the interruption of our investigation, which they were fully aware of.

And the kind and generous folks of M.C.I. Communications, who not only refused to sponsor our investigation, they never even sent a reply to my inquiry. May they and the principals of SWB get what they deserve.

And ultimately, all my friends who have kept me [partially] sane throughout the years, even though conspiracies have a way of making one come unglued: Ron Ulfohn, Joe Williams, John Flores, David Wills, Lorenzo, Jon and Lisa, and all those helpful souls I've undoubtedly missed, including my parents (although I'm not sure they've helped me keep sane).

Foreward

On April 19, 1995 when I heard the news (and literally heard the explosion) of the Murrah building, I was dumbfounded. As the realization sunk in that so many people and children were killed, I, along with millions of others watching the news coverage, felt that indescribable, overwhelming sensation in the pit of my stomach.

Yet as the "story" unfolded, my spirits were lifted as I saw example after example of sheer human compassion and an outpouring of unblemished, unconditional love flow forth in a far greater degree than I had ever seen in any venue of life, including and especially in political circles.

However, during the intense media coverage that followed, inconsistencies began emerging. Stories kept changing and although I couldn't see the emerging political angle, I could sense it. Those who dared oppose the revisionist news accounts were ostracized, mocked, discredited, dark-cornered, etc. I know, I was one who dared to be politically incorrect.

At some point it became painfully apparent that there was more wrong than right with the federal investigation. That is when I had a very tough decision to make. Should I sit and do nothing and remain in my comfort zone simply "playing the part" of the caring politician for the photo ops? Or should I really do the right thing even if it meant giving the phrase "politically incorrect" a whole new dimension?

It didn't take long after discussing it with my wife to determine that I had to do the right thing — no matter what the consequences were to be. Having come to that conclusion, I decided to go forward to search out the truth and tell it to a waiting world. Journalists such as David Hoffman, concerned citizens, and a few ex-law enforcement officers, have made many personal sacrifices to bring this truth to the American people.

In response, the major media launched unheard of attacks against our desire to conduct constitutionally sound and proper investigations. The *Daily Oklahoman* and the *Tulsa World* have published nine separate editorials viciously attacking me, Glenn Wilburn and all those who have stood up and demanded all of the truth about this terrible crime.

An editorial from the *Daily Oklahoman* entitled, "Drop It, Mr. Key" even had the audacity to say:

As we argued when Key first set out on this course, the Legislature and its staff had no business investigating the bombing. It was, and is, poorly equipped to do so. The same can be said of a panel of local citizens.

People in powerful positions have repeatedly attacked those of us who have scrutinized the federal investigation. Oklahoma Attorney General Drew Edmondson issued a personal attack saying that I was proposing a "wasteful witch hunt" and was pushing "the worst kind of paranoid conspiracy pandering."

Oklahoma Governor Frank Keating, a former FBI agent himself, went so far as to say that "raising questions would not bring one whit of intelligence to the process." He later escalated his attacks saying those of us who were raising serious questions were "howling at the moon" and "off the reservation."

All of these people are literally robbing the victims family members and survivors — and all of us — the opportunity and right to know the truth.

All of us have had to fight the formidable disinformation and smear campaign waged by "faceless forces" that appear to have pockets of unending depth and the mass media at their beck and call.

Glenn Wilburn, who lost two grandchildren in the tragedy, and I filed a petition in November, 1995, to have a local county grand jury impaneled to investigate the bombing. This independent grand jury would be fully autonomous of the federal investigation, and would double in the capacity of a watchdog of the federal investigation.

Here in Oklahoma, we are very fortunate to be one of only two states that have a constitutional guarantee that the people of a county can cause a grand jury to be impaneled whenever they feel there is a need simply by circulating a petition. It is and always has been a common occurrence in our state.

Nevertheless, the Presiding State District Judge, Dan Owens, tried to stop us from petitioning to impanel the grand jury, and we were forced to appeal his actions to a higher court. That is where the latest and some of the most intense criticism has come from recently. One year after our appeal, we finally got a written opinion from the Court of Appeals in the Tulsa district. On December 24, 1996 the court ruled not

only in our favor, but they did so unanimously.

Not only was it unanimous, but the court issued the decision "For Publication." That means that it was such a clear-cut case in regard to the state constitution, statutes, and previous case law, that it constituted a precedent-setting case to be used in lawbooks, most likely for many years to come.

Yet, why is there such extreme opposition to keep this independent grand jury from being allowed to assemble? As you will learn by reading this book, that is because some in our federal law enforcement agencies (i.e. ATF and FBI) had prior knowledge that certain individuals were planning to bomb the Murrah Federal Building!

Prior knowledge on the part of some individuals in the Federal Government may also be why the federal prosecutors barred every single witness to John Doe(s) from the Federal Grand Jury. Of the more than 20 witnesses to one or more John Doe(s), none — not even one — were allowed to tell the Grand Jury what they saw.

Additionally, when the prosecution's list of witnesses was unsealed, we found that the one witness who will be allowed to testify in the trial to McVeigh being in the company of a John Doe can't describe in any way who he saw. Indeed, the best witnesses who can positively place McVeigh in downtown Oklahoma City that morning saw him with one or more individuals and are able to describe to some degree what that person or persons looked like. Those witnesses were not even allowed to testify at McVeigh's trial.

As bizarre as that sounds, Federal Prosecutors were not allowing any of those witnesses to be seen or heard by the Federal Grand Jury. This gives "blind justice" a whole new meaning.

To make this even more clear, the Federal Grand Jury wanted to interview both the eyewitnesses and the sketch artist who drew the John Doe composites but they were flatly refused by the federal "authorities." Clearly they were blatantly deprived of their basic constitutional rights as grand jurors. Why?

Just what is it that they are trying to accomplish? Or, perhaps more pointedly, just who are they trying to protect? And what are they trying to hide?

Let's not forget, elected officials are supposed to be the servants of the people and not the other way around. Just what's going on? And how are they getting away with it?

Our efforts to reinvestigate the case before a county grand jury are important for numerous reasons. One of the reasons that concerns me most is that I fear that the record of McVeigh's trial will comprise the "official story" of what happened. If the evidence of prior knowledge and other perpetrators is not presented in this case, I fear that the government will be successful in shaping the official story to permanently exclude that evidence.

Another reason that I feel that the OKC bombing case is important and directly affects you is that the government has reached a new level of operating out of the bounds of the law and is becoming more and more arrogant. You will read about some of those cases in the second part of this book.

I don't know about you, but that kind of arrogance sickens me and leaves me with a eerie feeling. The government must not be allowed to get away with yet another botched job! The Government must be held accountable.

In spite of the seemingly impenetrable and insurmountable forces acting against us, on February 18, 1997 the Oklahoma State Supreme Court miraculously ruled in favor of allowing the independent county grand jury and against the Federal Government's attempt to quash the rights of the people. That grand jury is investigating the case as this book goes to press.

Based on two years of intense research and investigation, this book gives the public an insight into the evidence which the grand jury will confront. Hopefully now, the forgotten families, survivors, and victims who died from the blast will have their right to a full, open and truthful investigation of the events of April 19.

Sincerely,

Rep. Charles Key
State Capitol Bldg., Rm 508
Oklahoma City, OK 73105
(405) 521-2711

Publisher's note: The preceding Foreword was adapted for publication from an appeal letter sent by Representative Key to "concerned citizens" on 12 March 1997. Its publication in this book does not necessarily imply Rep. Key's endorsement of the author's conclusions. Both Rep. Key and David Hoffman spent long hours together investigating leads and sharing information regarding the Oklahoma City bombing.

Author's note: While Representative Key and the people of Oklahoma have succeeded in impaneling their grand jury, they are without the

necessary funds to proceed with the investigation. Any contributions towards this effort may be sent to:

Oklahoma County Grand Jury &
Bombing Investigation Fund
Post Office Box 75669
Oklahoma City, OK 73147

"All governments are run by liars and nothing they say should be believed."
— I.F. Stone

Introduction

The images are forever etched in our minds. Scorched, burning cars, pouring black smoke and charred, twisted metal. Piles of rubble, screaming sirens and battered, bloody bodies. And the babies. Frail, lifeless figures — tiny, silent witnesses of death and destruction.

In the early morning hours of April 19th, the Oklahoma City federal building had, in one long, horrible moment... exploded with the force of a volcano, spewing forth the contents of its human carnage onto the streets below. What had a few moments ago been the Alfred P. Murrah building was now a huge, gaping tomb. The entire façade of the nine-story superstructure had been ripped away, exposing its innards — dangling chunks of concrete, tangled strands of cables and bent pieces of rebar — into the choking, blackened sky. Now it stood smoking and eerily silent, except for the muffled cries of its few remaining inhabitants and the wailing of the sirens off in the distance.

One man, an ex-Marine, likened it to carnage he had witnessed in war-torn Lebanon. Another veteran, Thu Nguyen, who had his five-year-old son Christopher in the day care center, said, "I've seen war.... I've seen soldiers I fought with in Vietnam cut this way, cut in half, heads cut off. That was war. These are children. This is not a war. This is a crime."

The scene was surreal — almost too horrific to bear. There were bodies — and pieces of bodies — strewn about, along with childrens' toys and workers' personal effects — tragic reminders of what had moments before been the meaningful mementos of someone's life. One passerby had been wrapped around a telephone pole, her head blown off. Workers who had been sitting at their desks were still sitting there... lifeless, morbid, like eerie figures out of a wax museum of horrors.

Police detective Jay Einhorn remembers one scene: "There was a guy — a black guy — on the second floor, just sitting there. I knew he was dead. He's looking at me, and I'm looking at him... if you don't think that's fucking scary. We just said, man we gotta go up there and cover that guy up."^[1]

Daina Bradley, who was trapped under a slab of fallen concrete, was still conscious. With no way to remove her without upsetting the huge piece of concrete, doctors were forced to amputate her leg. As Bradley lay screaming in a pool of water, surgeons, using scalpels and saws, and without anesthesia, amputated her leg below the knee.

The federal office building, home to over 550 workers, had also housed a day care center. Nearby, a makeshift morgue had been set up in what had once been the childrens' playground. Refrigeration trucks lined up to haul away the dead bodies. "Sheriff Clint Boehler, from nearby Canadian County, recalls, "We went flying down there at about 110 miles an hour... you never saw so many services running over each other." As hundreds of volunteers poured in from all over the country, fireman, police and medical personnel began laying out the victims for identification. Shirley Moser, a nurse, began tagging dead children. "Their faces had been blown off," said Moser. "They found a child without a head."

Those who were lucky enough to escape the carnage were wandering about, dazed and confused. One man, his face bloodied, wandered down the street, saying he was headed home, except that he couldn't remember his name or where his home was. Another man who was entering the building had his arm blown off, but was in such a state of shock that he didn't notice it as he went about trying to help others.^[2]

People who lived or worked nearby had been blown out of their chairs. Trent Smith, 240 pounds, was tossed seven feet into the air and through the window of his hotel room. Several blocks away, a bus filled with people was nearly blown on its side. The force of the blast extended for nearly 30 blocks, blowing out windows and heavily damaging a dozen buildings, and causing damage to almost 400 more.^[3]

When it was all over, more than 169 people, including 19 children, lay dead, and more than 500 were injured. The damage was estimated in the hundreds of millions.

Federal authorities were calling the bombing the single largest terrorist attack in the history of the United States. Yet it was difficult to discern whether the bombing was some ominous precursor to some as yet undeclared war, or the result of some criminal plot gone horribly awry. Just who had caused it wasn't clear.

As rescue workers continued the difficult task of searching for bodies, and hospital workers began attending to victims, law enforcement agents began searching for clues. What was clear as law enforcement personnel descended upon the scene, was that the blast had left a 30 foot wide, 8 feet deep crater in front of the building. Fortunately, a ATF agent who had recently attended a course on the identification of car

and truck-bombs just happened to be in the federal courthouse. The agent was able to identify the cause of the blast immediately. He telephoned his superiors in Dallas and told them that an ammonium nitrate truck-bomb had just blown up the Murrah Building.

Sixty miles away, near Perry Oklahoma, Highway Patrolman Charles Hanger was making his usual rounds. Around 10:30 a.m. Officer Hanger noticed a battered 1977 yellow Mercury, without a license plate, speeding along at 81 miles an hour. Pulling the vehicle over, Hanger cited the driver, 26-year-old Timothy James McVeigh, for driving without a license plate. As he was about to let McVeigh go, Hanger noticed a distinct bulge under McVeigh's windbreaker. When he asked McVeigh what he had under his jacket, McVeigh casually informed the cop that he had a gun — a 9mm Glock semi-automatic pistol. Hanger subsequently arrested McVeigh for carrying a concealed weapon, driving without a tags, and driving without insurance.^[4]

Back in Oklahoma City, investigators were busily searching the wreckage for clues that could lead them to the perpetrators. It didn't take long for investigators to find what they were looking for — a piece of axle and a license plate — believed to have been part of the truck used in the bombing. After FBI agents ran the VIN (vehicle identification number) and the plate through their Rapid Start computer system, they discovered the vehicle belonged to a Ryder rental agency in Florida. A check with the agency revealed that the truck, a 1993 Ford, was rented out of Elliott's Body Shop in Junction City, Kansas. Elliott's said that they had rented the 20-foot truck to a Bob Kling on April 17th, and gave the FBI artist a description of two men who had rented the truck, known as Unsub #1 and Unsub #2.

Kling, Unsub #1, had listed his address as 3616 North Van Dyke Road in Decker, Michigan. The address was the home of James Douglas Nichols and Terry Lynn Nichols. A quick check of that address with the Michigan Department of Motor Vehicles revealed a license in the name of Timothy James McVeigh.

FBI agents interviewing James Nichols and relatives in Decker quickly learned that Timothy McVeigh was a friend of Nichols, who possessed large quantities of fuel oil and fertilizer. Armed with a search warrant, agents found 28 50-pound bags of fertilizer containing ammonium nitrate, a 55 gallon drum containing fuel oil, blasting caps, and safety fuse.

Interviews with neighbors[including Daniel Stomber, Paul Isydorak and others.] revealed that the Nichols brothers and McVeigh had experimented with explosives, using household items to produce small bombs using bottles and cardboard cartons, which they would detonate on their property for fun. Witnesses also claimed that in December of 1993, McVeigh and one of the Nichols brothers had visited Thumb Hobbies, Etc. to inquire about purchasing 100% liquid nitro model airplane fuel. One of these witnesses had reported that James Nichols had repeatedly blamed the U.S. government for all the problems in the world.

Federal agents then decided they had enough evidence to arrest James Nichols, and to put out a warrant on his brother Terry, who was living in Herrington, Kansas. On April 22, Terry Nichols, wondering why his name was being broadcast on television, walked into the local police station in Herrington.

In the meantime, witnesses at the scene of the bombing had given FBI agents a description of possible suspects. While interviewing people in Junction City, agents spoke to the manager of the Dreamland Motel who recognized the composite sketch of the suspect the FBI called Unsub #1. The man had registered at the Dreamland from April 14 to April 18 under the name of Tim McVeigh, had driven a yellow Mercury, and provided an address on North Van Dyke Road in Decker, Michigan.

On April 21, Carl E. Lebron, a former co-worker of McVeigh's, recognized the composite sketch of Unsub #1 on TV and called the FBI. He said that the man was named Timothy McVeigh, and that he was possessed of extreme right-wing views, was a military veteran, and was particularly agitated over the deaths of the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas in April, 1993. The man told the FBI that McVeigh expressed extreme anger towards the Federal Government. The man gave the FBI the last known address he had for McVeigh: 1711 Stockton Hill Road, #206, Kingman, Arizona.

Back in Perry, Oklahoma, McVeigh was still sitting in a cell at the Noble County Courthouse, waiting for his arraignment. After feeding McVeigh's name into the National Crime Information Center, the FBI discovered their suspect sitting quietly in the Noble County jail on a traffic and weapons charge. Just as McVeigh was about to be set free, District Attorney John Maddox received a call from the FBI telling him to hold on to the prisoner, that he was a prime suspect in the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City.

So, by good luck, diligent work, and an amazing series of coincidences, federal law enforcement authorities solved the most heinous crime in the history of the United States — all within 48 hours.

Or did they?

Endnotes

[E: In the original printed edition, there were both unnumbered footnotes and numbered endnotes. In this digital edition, all notes have been converted to endnotes and re-numbered. The numbers of the printed edition endnotes are shown in parentheses. Footnotes of the printed edition are also shown in parentheses, but with the format (<chapter number>:<page number>:<footnote symbol>). Thus, the footnote ** from Chapter 6, page 268, would be shown as (6:268:**). Some endnotes have been added or modified by the author or the digital editor, and these are surrounded in double square brackets [[]], with those of the editor prefixed with "E:".]

1. (1) Detective Jay Einhorn, interview with author.
2. (2) Nancy Gibbs, "The Blood of Innocents," *Time*, 5/1/95.
3. (3) *Ibid.*.
4. (4) According to "journalist" Larry Myers, McVeigh exited the vehicle and met Hanger between the two cars. Hanger asked McVeigh for his license. He then informed the cop that he was moving from Arkansas, at which point Hanger walked back to his vehicle and ran McVeigh's license. Hanger's video camera was on, as well as his microphone. As he walked back to McVeigh, he noticed a bulge under his jacket, and as he handed McVeigh his license, he quietly flipped the snap on his holster. He asked McVeigh if he was carrying a gun, and McVeigh informed him he was, at which point Hanger drew his weapon, shoved McVeigh against the car and spread his legs. McVeigh told Hanger that he had a concealed carry permit and showed him his old Burns Security badge. McVeigh sat in the passenger side of the patrol car and talked about the bombing as it flashed over the radio. When he arrived at the jailhouse, he asked, "when's chow?"
5. See Partin Report and diagrams in appendix.
6. (5) Sam Cohen's letter to Representative Key, 6/29/95, copy in author's possession.
7. (6) William Jasper, "Explosive Evidence of a Cover-Up," *The New American*, 8/7/95.
8. (7) *Ibid.*
9. The Atlas Powder Co. is in Dallas, Texas.
10. (8) Christine Gorman, "Bomb Lurking in the Garden Shed", *Time* magazine, 5/1/95.
11. (9) Rick Sherrow, interview with author.
12. (10) Linda Jones, trial transcript, *U.S. v. McVeigh*.
13. (11) *Sacramento Bee*, 4/30/95.
14. (12) Brian Ford, "McVeigh Placed at Kansas Store," *Tulsa World*, 9/12/97.
15. (1:5:*) They claimed they didn't know where it was built.
16. (13) *Military Explosives, TM 9-1910/TO 11A-1-34*, Dept. of the Army and the Air Force, 4/14/55, p. 121.
17. (14) Michele Marie Moore, *Oklahoma City: Day One* (Eagar, AZ: Harvest Trust, 1996), p. 122.
18. (15) KFOR-TV, 4/19/95.
19. (16) *USA Today*, 4/28/95.
20. (17) *New York Times*, 10/19/95.
21. (18) Memorandum to all US Attorneys from Acting Assistant Attorney General John C. Keeney, 1/4/96, and letter of Frederick

Whitehurst, 1/9/96 copy in author's possession.

22. (19) "Outside Experts to Review FBI Crime Lab," *Wall Street Journal*, 9/19/95; OIG report, copy in author's possession.

23. (1:7:*) "Williams' report also states that the initiator for the Primadet or the detonating cord was a non-electric detonator; non-electric, burning type fuse of either hobby fuse or a commercial safety fuse was used as a safe separation and time delay system; and the time delay for the burning fuse was approximately 2 minutes and 15 seconds.... No evidence of a non-electric detonator or the named fuses, however, were found at the crime scene.... Williams also stated in his report that [a] fertilizer base explosive, such as ANFO... among other commercial and improvised explosives, has an approximate VOD of 13,000 fps. The statement of the VOD of ANFO, however, is incomplete because ANFO has a broad VOD range. For example, the Dupont Blasters' Handbook (Dupont) shows commercial ANFO products with VODs in the 7,000-15,600 feet-per-second range. When Williams wrote his Oklahoma City report, he was aware of this range...."

24. (20) The Gundersen Report on the Bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building, Oklahoma City, April 19, 1995, 11/1/96, copy in author's possession.

25. (21) *Ibid*.

26. As the OIG report states: "Whitehurst questions Williams' conclusion that none of the structural damage evident within the Murrah building was caused by secondary explosive devices or explosions."

27. (1:8:*) Partin pointed out that while the truck bomb that damaged the World Trade Center was in an enclosed space, thereby creating a much higher destructive force than a bomb out in the open, it did not destroy the support column next to it.

28. (22) Richard Sherrow, "Bombast, Bomb Blasts & Baloney," *Soldier of Fortune*, 6/95.

29. (23) Rabauch's letter to Partin dated 7/18/95, copy in author's possession.

30. (24) CNN World News, 6/26/96.

31. (25) Jim Loftis, interview with author.

32. (1:10:*) The Israelis' host in the U.S. was Oklahoma City business leader Moshe Tal, an Israeli. According to William Northrop, another Israeli and Oklahoma City resident, Tal initially circulated the report, which was three pages and mentioned the Middle-Eastern bomb signature. After Tal was summoned to Israel, he returned denying those aspects of the report. It was suddenly, in keeping with the U.S. Government's position, no longer a Middle-Eastern bomb, and the report itself incredibly shrank from three pages to only one.

33. (26) Lou Kilzer and Kevin Flynn, "Were Feds Warned Before OKC Bomb Built?" *Rocky Mountain News*, 2/6/97. The fuel dealer reported the purchasing attempt to the ATF, but the agency did not follow up.

34. (27) Gronning's letter to Key, dated 6/27/95, copy in author's possession.

35. (28) James L. Pate, "Bloody April: Waco Anniversary Triggers Oklahoma City Atrocity," *Soldier of Fortune*, August, 1995.

36. (29) Larens Imanyuel, interview with author.

37. (30) *Engineering News*, May 1, 1995, page 10-11.

38. (31) The Gundersen Report on the Bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building, Oklahoma City, April 19, 1995, 11/1/96, copy in author's possession.

39. (32) Larens Imanyuel, "The Bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building: Was a Cruise Missile Warhead Design Used?" *Veritas*, 12/18/95.

40. (33) Timothy McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/97, p. 35.

41. (34) Ramona McDonald, interview with author.

42. (35) "The Worst Terrorist Attack on U.S. Soil: April 19, 1995," CNN, 12/20/95.

43. (1:13:*) Other people who were working in office buildings at the time reported that sparks flew out from their computers just before the blast. The manager of the *Journal Record* parking garage, two blocks from the Murrah Building, reported that the electronic computers in at least half a dozen cars had malfunctioned as a result of the blast.

44. (36) Sam Cohen, interview with author.

45. (37) Gene Wheaton, "The Covert Culture," *Portland Free Press*, May/June 1996.

46. (38) David Noble, "Professors of Terror," *Third World Resurgence* (Penang, Malaysia), February-March, 1992, p. 34, quoted in Ramsey Clark, *The Fire This Time*, (New York, NY: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1992), p. 44.

47. (39) Adel Darwick and Gregory Alexander, *Unholy Babylon*, (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1991), p. 104.

48. (40) Harry M., confidential letter to author.

49. (41) "Iraq Also Worked on Hydrogen Bomb," Associated Press, quoted in *The Nashville Tennessean*, 10/9/91, as quoted in Charles T. Harrison, "Hell in a Hand Basket: The Threat of Portable Nuclear Weapons," *Military Review*, May, 1993.

50. (42) E-Mail message to Tony Scarlatti; Interview with author.

51. (1:15:*) Within the last few years, articles have appeared in the U.S., European, and even Russian media dealing with an exotic new material known as 'Red Mercury' which had been developed by the Russians and allegedly held properties capable of producing far more efficient nuclear fission warheads than the conventional explosives developed thus far."

52. (43) Harrison, *Op Cit*.

53. *New Yorker* magazine, date unknown, quoted by nuclear physicist Galen Winsor on *Radio Free America*, 3/23/93.

54. (44) Edward Zehr, "Turning Point: Resolving The Enigma of Oklahoma City," *Washington Weekly*, 11/18/96.

55. Some rescue workers, it was also rumored, had become ill with mysterious illnesses. They suffered from physical exhaustion and could barely drag themselves to work, it was reported, although these reports have not been substantiated. Of the 43 FEMA dogs that took part in the rescue effort, four died and one became ill. Rumors quickly spread that the dogs had died of radiation poisoning. The body of one of the deceased dogs, it was claimed, had been exhumed, his lungs found to be radioactive. The culprit was supposedly a radioactive isotope called Tritium. A heavy form of hydrogen, Tritium is an essential ingredient in nuclear weapons. In microscopic quantities it is also used as a "tracer" in medical procedures — injected into the bloodstream as an aid in radiology scanning. According to Larry Jacobson, Executive Vice President of the National Association of Search & Rescue (NASR) in Fairfax, Virginia, "We don't know of any dog coming out of the Oklahoma thing that had any more then cut paws... it was a totally baseless rumor." Mike Nozer, head of the Tulsa, Oklahoma K-9 Search & Rescue team, was busy assembling his team for the Heroes of the Heart parade in Bethany on April 19, 1996. He explained that all eight of his dogs were still active, in fact were at the parade that day. "My dogs were the first ones in the building," said Nozer, whose team worked for six days to pull people out of the wreckage. "I didn't have any one of my dogs down due to radiation." Nozer also explained that the Fire Department had sprayed a chemical in the building on the evening of the fourth day to prevent contamination from decaying bodies still inside. However, according to Nozer, this would not have affected the dogs. Skip Hernandez of Miami's Metro Dade Fire Department, worked with his dogs in the "pit," an area likely to have been contaminated. "Before we allow the dogs to go in, we ask certain questions [of] the hazardous materials guys because the dogs work very low to the ground," explained Hernandez. "All the dogs went thorough a thorough physical. None of our dogs left there injured... We would have known if there was radiation in there." Hernandez also said that the dog that died was an older dog, who died of cancer. The dog that had died was supposedly from a team in Virginia or Maryland. Sgt. Lavelle of Maryland Task Force 1, told me one dog became sick from lyme disease, but he didn't think it was related to the bombing. As to the rumor of Tritium poisoning, he said, "That's the first we've ever heard of it." Jacobson, who works with the team in Virginia, said absolutely no dog died as a result of being in the Murrah Building. I asked Samuel Cohen about the possibility of Tritium poisoning. "Tritium could have been mixed up with ANFO," said Cohen. "But it seems far-fetched that they could have gotten that much into their systems to do any serious radiation damage. It's very unlikely to do damage unless it gets into the system in huge doses. The culprit would have to steal more Tritium than exists in any single lab on earth. He would need pounds. And Tritium is not cheap stuff. The last I checked, it was a few thousand dollars a gram." But whether search and rescue dogs actually died of radiation poisoning is another matter. A Rotweiler named Weinachten Gator Von Scott CD, who lived with his owner Jacob Scott in Broken Arrow, Oklahoma, died in June of 1996, of a broken neck after a fall. Gator had pulled the last survivor out of the Murrah Building. Another dog, a member of the Oklahoma County Sheriff's K-9 Unit named Chita, was hit by a car after escaping from her pen during a hail storm. While some have suggested that the dogs were killed to hide evidence of radiation poisoning, there is no evidence that either animal was suffering from such a malady. Yet considering the extent of the cover-up underway at the time, and the number of people who feared for their jobs, the autopsy reports on the dogs could have been faked. Certainly any revelation of a nuclear explosion would not only cause the government's already shaky premise to fall apart, but would cause widespread panic among the population.

56. Sam Cohen, interview with author.

57. (45) Sam Cohen, *Journal of Civil Defense*, Fall, 1995, quoted by F.R. Suplantier in *Behind the Headlines*.

58. According to demolition experts, simply wrapping Primacord around the column supports 27 times would be enough to destroy them.

59. (1:15:**) Authorities later backtracked on the leg, claiming that it belonged to Airforce recruit Lakesha Levy. They originally said the leg

belonged to a light-skinned male in his 30s. They then said it belonged to a black female, in order to match it with Levy.

60. (46) "A classified Pentagon study determines Oklahoma bombing was caused by more than one bomb," *Strategic Investment Newsletter*, 3/20/96.

61. (47) William Jasper, "Multiple Blasts: More Evidence," *The New American*, date unknown.

62. (48) "The Oklahoma City Bombing: Improved building performance through multi-hazard mitigation," FEMA, quoted in *Relevance* magazine, April, 1997.

63. (49) General Benton K. Partin, interview with author.

64. (50) *New American*, date unknown.

65. (1:18:*) David Hall, manager of KPOC-TV in Ponca City, who has done considerable investigation into the bombing, told me that two Southwestern Bell employees called him and claimed they had a surveillance tape that showed the Murrah Building shaking before the truck bomb detonated.

66. (51) Sam Cohen, interview with author.

67. (52) Jeff Bruccelari, Oklahoma Radio Network, interview with Dr. Ray Brown, 2/18/97.

68. (53) Jerry Longspaugh, *Cover-Up in Oklahoma City* video, 1996.

69. Emphasis mine.

70. (54) Ramona McDonald, interview with author.

71. Although the tape was confiscated by the FBI it was later returned, likely altered, just as the FBI likely altered the famous Zapruder film of the JFK assassination by reversing the frames that showed the president's head being blown back.

72. (55) William Jasper, "Seismic Support," *The New American*, 8/7/95, 1995.

73. (56) Nolan Clay, "Scientists Debate Meaning of Bombing Seismograms", *The Daily Oklahoman*, 11/21/95.

74. (57) Moore, *Op Cit.*, p. 223.

75. (58) William Jasper, "Seismic Support", *The New American*, 8/7/95, 1995. Brown later added that the one-fourth of the building collapsing on 4/19 could have created a larger pulse if it had help, say, from high-explosives, "so you wouldn't need quite as much building to be collapsing to cause the same sized pulse that we observed on the day of the explosion."

76. (59) William Jasper, "Were There Two Explosions?", *The New American*, 6/12/95.

77. (60) *Washington Post*, 4/23/95.

78. (61) Moore, *Op Cit.*, p. 223.

79. (62) Hassan Muhammad, interview with author.

80. (63) "William Jasper," OKC Investigator Under Attack," *The New American*, 6/23/97; video deposition of Jane C. Graham, 7/20/97, copy in author's possession.

81. (64) "Oklahoma City: What Really Happened?", video by Chuck Allen, 1995.

82. (65) *Media Bypass*, June, 1995.

83. (66) Jasper, *Op Cit.*, 6/12/95.

84. (1:23:*) Unfortunately, Partin shot himself in the foot in his first letter to Congress by insinuating that the bombing was the work of a Communist conspiracy (The Third Socialist International), thereby possibly portraying himself in the eyes of some as a Right-Wing "kook." But in spite of his politics, his technical credentials are beyond reproach.

85. (1:23:**) This is reminiscent of the cover-up of the JFK assassination, where Secret Service agents carefully washed down the president's limo immediately after the shooting with buckets of water to remove all traces of bullet fragments, and had Governor Connolly's clothes, bullet holes and all, cleaned and pressed.
86. (67) Guy Rubsamen, interview with author.
87. (1:24:*) Such a situation is reminiscent of JFK's visit to Dallas, where the plotters made sure the President's protective bubble was removed from his limousine, and made sure the Secret Service never bothered to check the many open windows around Dealy Plaza — a standard security procedure in such a situation.
88. (68) Dr. Paul Heath, interview with author.
89. (69) "Witness Accounts Vary in Oklahoma City Bombing," *Dallas Morning News*, 10/8/95; Associated Press, 8/27/95; Associated Press, 9/9/95.
90. (70) Statement of unidentified witness taking by Rep. Charles Key, copy in author's possession.
- [91]. After publication of this book, Jane Graham was shown a photograph of German national Andreas Strassmeir, discussed later, and identified him as one of the men she saw.
92. (71) Graham, *Op Cit*. One of the men was tall, late '30s, nice-looking, very dark hair, mustache, black cowboy hat, jeans. The others were slightly older; wearing khakis, short sleeves, all Caucasians. The FBI agent who interviewed Graham was Joe Schwecke .
93. (72) Interviews with Paul Renfro, OG&E; Thom Hunter, Southwestern Bell; Don Sherry, Oklahoma Natural Gas. Interviews with approximately 20 construction companies involved with a renovation bid by GSA. Contractor list supplied by GSA to author.
94. (73) David Hall, interview with author.
95. (74) J.D. Cash & Jeff Holladay, "Secondary Explosion Revealed in Murrah Blast," *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 5/4/95.
96. (75) Allen, *Op Cit*.
97. (76) Jon Rappaport, *Oklahoma City Bombing — The Suppressed Truth* (Los Angeles, CA: Blue Press, 1995).
98. (77) *Veritas*, 10/9/95.
99. (1:27:*) According to Army technical manual on military explosives, Mercury Fulminate is only safe to handle if it is "dead-pressed."
100. (78) Craig Roberts, "The Bombing of the Murrah Federal Building: An Investigative Report," (prepared for the Tulsa Office of the FBI), 6/4/95, copy in author's possession.
101. (1:27:**) It was the presence of military ordinance that brought the 61st EOD (Explosive Ordinance Demolition) team from Fort Sill in to examine and defuse the bombs.
102. (1:27:†) The Army had a recruiting office in the building, which would have made the presence of military personnel inconspicuous. The Department of Agriculture also had an office in the building. The Department of Agriculture has been used as a front for IRS intelligence, and also the 113th M.I.G. (Military Intelligence Group) in Chicago in 1970. Given the easy access to military personnel in the building, it would have been easy for military personnel to go through the building unnoticed.
103. (79) General Benton K. Partin, interview with author.
104. (80) KFOR-TV.
105. (1:29:*) According to the September, 1995 edition of *Firehouse* magazine, there were three bomb scares: one at 10:22, one at 10:45, and one at 1:51. (See Radio logs, Appendix)
106. Taped interview of Tiffany Smith by Rep. Charles Key.
107. (81) Jim Keith, *OKBOMB — Conspiracy and Cover-Up* (Lilburn, GA: Illuminit Press, 1996).
108. (82) Edward Comeau, "Fire Investigation Report: Oklahoma City Bombing and Rescue Operation," National Fire Protection Association, 11/12/95.

109. It was rumored that one of the devices was taken to Kirkland Air Force Base in Albuquerque, NM. Fred Shannon of the *Ellis County Press* in Albuquerque claimed his source is too frightened to come forward. If this account is true, it is curious to say the least, why a bomb would be taken to a remote military base, when Tinker Air Force base is less than 10 miles away. Interestingly, a branch of Sandia Labs is located at Kirkland Air Force Base. The Sandia Corporation, headquartered in Albuquerque, and the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, located in Alameda County, CA, have cooperated on the development of highly sophisticated explosives, including nuclear weapons. Sandia often conducts its tests at the White Sands Missile Test Range, just west of Alamogordo. White Sands was the home to the ATF's "Dipole Might" experiments (see below). Was the government taking one of its bombs back home to Momma?

110. (83) Allen, *Op Cit.*

111. (84) Moore, *Op Cit.*, p. 221. Ricks made this statement the day of the bombing.

112. (85) General Benton K. Partin, interview with author.

113. (86) Rick Sherrow, interview with author.

114. (1:30:*) The TOW missile, inspected by the 61st EOD team out of Ft. Sill was inert, as reported on the Oklahoma County Sheriff's Evidence/Ordinance Acceptance Form, dated 4/19/95, copy in author's possession.

115. (87) BATF RAC Dewy Webb, interview with author; OCPD Officer Don Browning, interview with author.

116. This author requested the Sheriff's video under the Oklahoma Open Records Act. I subsequently received the original version from a friend. It seems the Sheriff sent me an edited version, with the ordinance being removed edited out.

117. (88) J.D. Cash & Jeff Holladay, "Worker Helped Remove Munitions, Missile from Murrah Building," *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 7/7/95.

118. (89) *Ibid.*

119. The BATF lied about the presence of a methamphetamine lab on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas in order to circumvent the Posse Comitatus Act, which prevents the military from being used for domestic law enforcement. Consequently, tanks from the Army's Joint Task Force Six were used (driven the FBI) to demolish and gas the Branch Davidian compound. Eighty-six men, women and children were either crushed to death or burned alive. The FBI, ludicrously enough, claimed that the tanks were there to knock holes in the walls in order to allow people to escape — an absolutely ridiculous assertion — they could have simply used the windows and doors.

120. (90) *Relevance* magazine, 7/95.

121. (91) Moore, *Op Cit.*, p. 107.

122. (92) *Ibid.*

123. (1:33:*) This author interviewed a retired Army criminal investigator who complained about Lester Martz's stonewalling a similar investigation he was involved in.

124. (93) Allen, *Op Cit.*; Moore, *Op Cit.*

125. (94) *Ibid.*, p. 116.

126. (95) Richard L. Sherrow, "Aftershocks and Subterfuge: Cloud of Doubt Lingers Over Government Cover-up," *Soldier of Fortune*, April, 1996; Moore, p. 106.

127. This was reported briefly in the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*. The two articles were then quickly buried in scrap-heap of history.

128. (96) Lawrence W. Myers, "Bureau of ANFO Truck-Bomb Fabrication," *Media Bypass*, November, 1996.

129. (97) "Who Are They? The Oklahoma Blast Reveals The Paranoid Life and Times of Accused Bomber Timothy McVeigh and His Right-Wing Associates." *Time*, 5/1/95.

130. (98) Dale Russakock & Serge Kovalski, "An Ordinary Boy's Extraordinary Rage; After a Long Search For Order, Timothy McVeigh Finally Found a World He Could Fit Into," *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.

131. (99) John Kifner, "Oklahoma Bombing Suspect: Unraveling a Frayed Life," *New York Times*, 12/31/95.

132. (100) "An Ordinary Boy's Extraordinary Rage," *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
133. (101) Robert D. McFadden, "Terror in Oklahoma: The Suspect — One Man's Complex Path to Extremism," *New York Times*, 4/23/95.
134. (2:36:*) Lori Fortier originally told the press, "It truly sickens me when I see my friend's face, yes my friend's face, portrayed on the cover of *Time* magazine as the face of evil."
135. (102) Sheffield Anderson, interview with author.
136. (2:36:**) Noble County Assistant Attorney Mark Gibson, who has prosecuted many killers, said "You could just feel the evil in them." Yet he said of McVeigh, "I looked at him and realized I felt no repulsion or fear."
137. (103) Prime Time Live, 5/10/95.
138. (104) "Biography: McVeigh, Part II," *Media Bypass*, May, 1996. Myers would later rescind this statement to me, saying he thought McVeigh was the "most maniacal terrorist in U.S. history."
139. (105) "An Ordinary Boy's Extraordinary Rage," *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
140. (106) *Media Bypass*. May, 1996.
141. (2:40:*) Real estate agent Anne Marie Fitzpatrick said McVeigh was "very dynamic" and had "a twinkle in his eye and a smile." (*Washington Post* 7/2/95.)
142. (107) "An Ordinary Boy's Extraordinary Rage", *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
143. (108) *Media Bypass*. 5/96.
144. (109) *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
145. (110) *Media Bypass*. May, 1996.
146. (111) Robert D. McFadden, "Terror in Oklahoma: A Special Report — John Doe No. 1, A Life of Solitude and Obsessions," *New York Times*, 5/4/95.
147. (112) *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
148. (113) *Media Bypass*. May, 1996.
149. (114) Lana Padilla and Ron Delpit, *By Blood Betrayed*, (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 1995), p. 63.
150. (2:43:*) Padilla told me later that the information about McVeigh's so-called demolitions expertise was provided by co-writer Ron Delpit.
151. (115) David Hackworth & Peter Annin, "The Suspect Speaks Out," *Newsweek*, 7/3/95.
152. (116) *Newsweek*, 5/15/95.
153. (117) John Kifner, "The Gun Network: McVeigh's World — A Special Report; Bomb Suspect Felt at Home Riding the Gun-Show Circuit." *New York Times*, 7/5/95.
154. (118) FBI 302 Statement of Carl. E. Lebron, Jr., 4/22/95, copy in author's possession.
155. (119) *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
156. (120) *New York Times*, 5/4/95.
157. (121) *Media Bypass*, March, 1995.
158. (122) *New York Times* 5/4/95.
159. (123) *Media Bypass*, March, 1995.

160. (124) *New York Times*, 5/4/95.
161. (125) *Ibid*.
162. While other soldiers and airmen were quoted during the war making statements like "shooting fish in a barrel" ... "We hit the jackpot" ... "a turkey shoot," only McVeigh "killed Iraqis." For a detailed account of atrocities committed by U.S. forces, see: Ramsey Clark, *The Fire This Time: U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf*, (New York, NY: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1992).
163. (126) *Media Bypass*, March, 1995.
164. (127) "Oklahoma Bombing Suspect: Unraveling a Frayed Life," *New York Times*, 12/31/95.
165. (128) Padilla, Delpit, *Op Cit.*, p. 153.
166. (129) Keith, *Op Cit.*, p. 41.
167. (130) "McVeigh's Army Pals Join Bid to Save His Life," CNN, 6/9/97.
168. (131) Kenneth Stern, *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*, (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1996), p. 190; *New York Times*, 5/4/95.
169. Stern's book, written on behalf of the American Jewish Committee with the tacit approval of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the B'Nai B'rith, seeks to completely discredit all factions of the emerging Patriot and Militia movements. Stern begins with the premise that McVeigh is guilty, and then attempts to indict the militia movement by association. Most all of Stern's sources derive from mainstream press accounts and ADL and SPLC (Southern Poverty Law Center) reports. There is no indication from his source notes that the author ever interviewed any of McVeigh's friends or associates, or did any independent research on the bombing whatsoever.
170. (2:49:*) Rice is president of New England Investigations. He teaches the only accredited course in the subject of profiling, and has testified in state and federal court in regards to handwriting analysis, and Moore runs an executive assessment firm in Washington, D.C. that specializes in assessing personality traits of applicants based on their handwriting samples.
171. (132) "Inside the Mind of McVeigh." *Media Bypass*, April, 1996.
172. (133) "Biography: McVeigh, Part II," *Media Bypass*, May, 1996.
173. (134) *New York Times*, 12/31/95.
174. (135) *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
175. (136) *New York Times*, 12/31/95.
176. (137) *New York Times*, 5/4/95.
177. (138) *New York Times*, 7/5/95.
178. (139) *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
179. (140) "The Suspect Speaks Out," *Newsweek*. 7/3/95.
180. (141) Released by McVeigh's attorney Stephen Jones to the *Washington Post*.
181. (142) *Newsweek*, 7/3/95.
182. (143) *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
183. (144) *Media Bypass*, March, 1995.
184. (145) Report of Investigation, David B. Fechheimer, 12/13/96, addressed to Stephen Jones, copy in author's possession.
185. (146) Released by McVeigh's attorney Stephen Jones to the *Washington Post*.
186. (147) *New York Times*, 5/4/95.

187. (2:52:*) McVeigh himself admitted that it "was delayed in my case."
188. (148) *Washington Post*, 7/2/95, 4/23/95.
189. (2:52:**) This was confirmed to me by Terry Nichols' ex-wife, Lana Padilla: "Terry told me that. Terry just said that when he was in the Gulf War, they had implanted that to keep track of him."
190. (149) Glenn Krawczk, "Mind Control and the New World Order," *Nexus* magazine, Feb-March, 1993, quoted in Keith.
191. (150) *Ibid.*, p. 196.
192. (2:53:*) The firm does classified research for both NASA and the Air Force, and is a ranking subcontractor for Sentar, Inc., an advanced science and engineering firm capable, according to company literature, of creating artificial intelligence systems. Sentar's customers include the U.S. Army Space and Strategic Defense Command, the Advanced Research Projects Agency (see discussion of ARPA later in this chapter), Rockwell International, Teledyne, Nichols Research Corp. and TRW. Their sales literature boasts a large energy shock tunnel, radar facilities "a radio-frequency (RF) simulator facility for evaluating electronic warfare techniques." (Constantine)
193. (151) Constantine, *Op Cit.*
194. (152) *Nexus*, Feb-March, 1993, quoted in Keith.
195. (153) The U.S. General Accounting Office issued a report on September 28, 1994, which stated that between 1940 and 1974, DOD and other national security agencies studied hundreds of thousands of human subjects in tests and experiments involving hazardous substances. GAO stated that some tests and experiments were conducted in secret. Medical research involving the testing of nerve agents, nerve agent antidotes, psychochemicals, and irritants was often classified. Additionally, some work conducted for DOD by contractors still remains classified today. For example, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has not released the names of 15 of the approximately 80 organizations that conducted experiments under the MKULTRA program, which gave psychochemical drugs to an undetermined number of people without their knowledge or consent. According to the GAO report, the CIA has not released this information because the organizations do not want to be identified. ("Is Military Research Hazardous To Veterans' Health? Lessons Spanning Half A Century," The Rockefeller Report (Senator Jay Rockefeller), 12/8/94.)
196. (2:55:*) After his arrest, Bryant said that he had been "gotten to," and "had been programmed." "Sleepers" such as Bryant were most likely programmed to kill their victims in order to precipitate law and order crack-downs, such as occurred in the aftermath of the Australian melee, where the government recently outlawed almost all types of guns.
197. "A Caution From Down Under," *Portland Free Press*, July/October, 1997.
198. (154) "A By the Book Officer, 'Suspicious By Nature,' Spots Trouble and acts fast," *New York Times*, 4/23/95.
199. (155) Dick Russell, *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, (New York, NY: Carroll & Graf), 1992, p. 679.
200. (156) Project MKULTRA, The CIA's Program of Research in Behavioral Modification, Joint Hearing Before the Senate Committee on Intelligence, 8/3/77. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.
201. In fact, according to Ted Gundersen, West did indeed examine McVeigh. When pressed on the accuracy of his source, Gundersen insisted he was "100 percent reliable."
202. Russell, *Op Cit.*, p. 211-212.
203. Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain, *Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD, and the Sixties Rebellion* (New York, NY: Grove Press, 1985), pp. 22, 189-90; Gordon Thomas, *Journey Into Madness*, Bantam Books, 1989.
204. The 1957 American Psychiatric Association roster notes that 1,253 of its 7,104 members came from Germany and the Eastern European countries.
205. Tim Kelsey, "The Oklahoma Suspect Awaits Day of Reckoning," *London Sunday Times*, date unknown.
206. (157) Thomas, *Op Cit.*, p. 116.
207. (158) Russell, *Op Cit.*, p. 673.
208. (159) William M. Turner and John G. Christian, *The Assassination of Robert F. Kennedy: A Searching Look at the Conspiracy and*

Cover-Up 1968-1978, (New York, NY: Random House, p. 197), Quoted in Constantine, p. 12.

209. (160) Russell, *Op Cit.*, p. 681.

210. (161) *Ibid.*, p. 675.

211. (162) *Ibid.*, p. 673. (Warren Commission Report, Vol. 5, p. 105.)

212. Alex Constantine, *Psychic Dictatorship in the U.S.A.*, (Portland, OR: Feral House Press), 1995, p. 6.

213. Hugh MacDonald, *Appointment in Dallas*, Zebra, pp. 107-108, quoted in Constantine, p. 6.

214. On February 7, 1976, Ambassador Walter J. Stoessel, Jr. told some of the 125 members of his staff that the Russians were using microwaves beams to listen in on conversations inside the embassy, and that such radiation could be hazardous to their health. (Paul Broudeur, *The Zapping of America*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton) 1977, p. 95.

215. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

216. (163) *Ibid.*, p. 19.

217. (164) Art Ford & Lincoln Lawrence, *Were We Controlled*, (New York, NY: University Books), 1967, quoted in Russell.

218. (165) Robert O. Becker, M.D. and Gary Selden, *The Body Electric: Electromagnetism and the Foundation of Life*, (New York, NY: William Morrow & Co.), p. 1085, quoted in "Bioeffects of Microwave Radiation," *Unclassified*, Vol. IV, No. 3, June/July, 1992, National Association of Security Alumni.

219. (166) Turner and Christian, *Op. Cit.*, Anthony Sampson, *The Arms Bazaar: From Lebanon to Lockheed* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1977), p. 276, quoted in Constantine, p. 12.

220. (2:60:*) Apparently, McVeigh was not there the entire time. Phone records indicate he made steady calls until the 7th of April, when he was seen at a bar in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The phone calls resume on April 11.

221. *New York Times*, 5/4/95.

222. *Ibid.*

223. (169) Sherman Skolnick, *Conspiracy Nation*, June, 1996.

224. (170) Constantine, "The Good Soldier."

225. *Ibid.*

226. *Ibid.*

227. In 1987, police in Tallahassee, Florida discovered six small children living in a van driven by two men dressed in suits. The children were naked, bruised and dirty, and acting like animals. They were unaware of the function and purpose of telephones, televisions or toilets. They were not allowed to live indoors, and were only given food as a reward. The case was turned over to U.S. Customs agents, who were contacted by detectives from the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Dept., then investigating a cult known as the "Finders." When officers searched their premises, they discovered instructions for kidnapping and purchasing children, avoiding police detection, information on the use of explosives and terrorism, and the international transfer of currency. The officers also found a photo album showing pornographic photos of children, adults and children participating in blood rituals involving the disembowelment of goats, and an altar surrounded with jars of urine and feces. Formerly called the "Seekers," the "cult" was run by Marion David Pettie. An unconfirmed memo states that Pettie was trained in counterintelligence; his CIA handler was Colonel Leonard N. Weigner, a career Air Force and CIA operative. When Customs agents attempted to follow up on the MPD investigation, they were told that "the activity of the Finders had become a CIA internal matter. The MPD report has been classified secret and was not available for review." Martinez was subsequently "advised that the FBI had withdrawn from the investigation several weeks prior and that the FBI Foreign Counter Intelligence Division had directed MPD not to advise the FBI Washington Field Office of anything that had transpired." What police and Customs agents were describing was undoubtedly part of Operation "Monarch," a program of CIA mind control involving the use of small children raised in captivity to respond to various stimuli invoked by their CIA captors. One of the chief field operatives of Operation Monarch was none other than Michael Aquino. (U.S. Customs Report: Detective Jim Bradley of the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Dept. Daniel Brandt, *Name Base Newslines*, No. 5, April-June 1994: "Cults, Anti-Cultists, and the Cult of Intelligence." Department of the Treasury, United States Customs Service: Report of Investigation. Subject: "Finders." 2/12/87. Agent Raymond J. Martinez.)

Probably the best known case is Jonestown, a cult of over 900 followers in Guyana who committed "mass suicide" in 1978. led by the

Reverend Jim Jones. Jonestown was a veritable prison where all the classic mind control techniques were utilized. While little more than a swamp, it nevertheless contained a modern hospital, from which massive quantities of behavioral modification drugs were recovered. One of Jones' top aides, George Philip Blakely, who recruited mercenaries for the CIA in Angola, was the son-in-law of Dr. Lawrence Layton, a former Army biochemical warfare specialist. Researchers have speculated that Jonestown was part of the CIA's MKULTRA experiments. (Joe Holsinger, "Statement to the Forum Entitled 'Psycho-Social Implications of the Jonestown Phenomenon,'" 23 May 1980, Miyako Hotel, San Francisco, quoted in Brandt, *Name Base Newslines*, No. 5, April-June 1994: "Cults, Anti-Cultists, and the Cult of Intelligence.") "Guyanese troops discovered a large cache of drugs, enough to control the entire population of Georgetown, Guyana (pop. 200,000), for over a year. One footlocker contained 11,000 doses of Thorazine, a dangerous tranquilizer, and others such as sodium pentothal (truth serum), chloral hydrate (a hypnotic), demerol, Thallium (confuses thinking), haliopareael and Largatil (powerful tranquilizers) and many others. It was very evident that Jonestown was a tightly-run concentration camp, complete with medical and psychiatric experimentation." Bo Gritz, *Called to Serve*. The members of Jonestown were reported to have died from cyanide-laced punch, but many were found shot-to-death by the compound's guards. The military purposefully took over a week to remove the bodies, ensuring, as in the Waco case, that no autopsies could be performed. National Security Advisor Brzezinski's office ordered that "all politically sensitive papers and forms of identification" be removed from the bodies, and Jonestown's mysterious financial resources were found scattered in banks and investments, estimated to be from \$26 million to \$ 2 billion. (Kenneth Wooden, *The Children of Jonestown* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1981), p. 196, quoted in Brandt.)

Another well-known case is the Temple of Set, a satanic cult in San Francisco run by former Army psychological warfare specialist Lt. Colonel Michael Aquino, who has written about the control of mass populations. Aquino was accused by an Army Chaplain of molesting several young children at the Presidio. The case was investigated by the SFPD, then turned over to the Army's C.I.D. (Criminal Investigations Division), where it was subsequently dropped. Freedom of Information Act requests I made about Aquino's investigation while editor of the *Free Press* were stonewalled. Aquino himself picked up on my interest and began bombarding me with letters both dismissing these and all related allegations as "mass-hysteria," while backing up his claims with the threat of a libel suit. (Aquino once announced that he is the Devil incarnate. I still wonder to this day why the Devil needed to take me to Municipal Court to extract his vengeance.)

228. Deposition of anonymous Naval Intelligence officer, copy in author's possession.

229. (171) Brandon Stickney, *All American Monster: The Unauthorized Biography of Timothy McVeigh* (New York, NY: Prometheus Books, 1996), p. 226.

230. For an excellent account of the potential of hypnosis and its use in military applications, see *Science Digest*, April 1971, "Hypnosis Comes of Age," by G.H. Estabrooks.

231. Marchetti and Marks, *Op Cit.*, p. 279.

232. (172) Scott Anderson, "Globe publishers' Viet tour in mind warfare," *Now Magazine*, Toronto, Canada, 5/26/94, Quoted in Keith, p. 179.

233. (2:62:*) Former intelligence operative Gene "Chip" Tatum described a recent massive heroin and cocaine smuggling operation being run by rogue elements of the U.S. Government across the Canadian border into Montana with the complicity of local officials. "These officials were recruited to assist in the smuggling operations, thinking they were part of a government-sanctioned covert operation." (Excerpt of a letter from Tatum to the Montana Senate Judiciary Committee, 3/22/97).

234. (173) Gene Wheaton, memo, copy in author's possession; interview with author.

235. Pitzer was later found "suicided" like Admiral Boorda, shot in the chest with a .45. The left-handed Pitzer was found holding the gun in his right hand. As Craig Roberts writes in *JFK: The Dead Witnesses*, "Pitzer, a consummate note taker and maker, left no suicide note, and no autopsy report was ever released to either the public or the family.... all references to Pitzer being present at the autopsy of John F. Kennedy have been removed from government records." Neither does Pitzer's family believe he committed suicide.

236. (174) Jay Wrolstad, "Smoking Gun: Does Dan Marvin Have Evidence of a Kennedy Assassination Conspiracy?" *The Ithaca Times*, 8/22/96; Franklin Crawford, "Local Man Tells JFK Story," *The Ithaca Journal*, 11/16/95; Daniel Marvin, "Bits & Pieces: A Green Beret on the Periphery of the JFK Assassination," *The Fourth Decade*, May, 1995; Colonel Daniel Marvin, interview on Tex Marrs' World of Prophecy, WWCR shortwave, 4/20/96. Marvin's authenticity and credibility have been established by respected Kennedy researchers, as well as Professor L. Pearce Williams of Cornell University, and Jacqueline Powers, former managing editor of the *Ithaca Journal*, who said "[Col. Marvin] had evidence to back up what he was claiming. I believe him. Everything he has said to me has been true; he's willing to tell what he knows, which can't be easy for him."

237. Captain David V. Vanek, who took the assassination course with Marvin, was allegedly asked by the CIA to assassinate Pitzer after Marvin refused. Vanek denied the allegations in an affidavit.

238. (175) Jonathan Kwitny, *The Crimes of Patriots* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1987), p. 103; Affidavit of Colonel Edward P. Cutolo, commander of the 10th Special Forces Group (Airborne), 1st Special Forces, 3/11/80, copy in author's possession.

239. (176) Hoppy Heidelberg, interview with author.

240. (177) "The Gundersen Report on the Bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, April 19, 1995, copy in author's possession.
241. (178) Russell, *Op Cit*.
242. (179) "Something Big is Going to Happen," *Time Magazine*, 5/8/95.
243. (180) *Washington Post*, 5/4/95.
244. (2:66:*) The term "sheep-dipped" is best clarified by former CIA-Department of Defense liaison L. Fletcher Prouty, in his classic work on the CIA, *The Secret Team* (Prentice Hall). "It is an intricate Army-devised process by which a man who is in the service as a full career soldier or officer agrees to go through all the legal and official motions of resigning from the service. Then, rather than actually being released, his records are pulled from the Army personnel files and transferred to a special Army intelligence file. Substitute but nonetheless real-appearing records are then processed, and the man "leaves" the service."
245. (195) *New York Times*, 4/23/95.
246. (196) "Terror in Oklahoma: The Suspect; Arizona Neighbors Recall a Man's Love of Weaponry and 'Poor Attitude'", *New York Times*, 4/23/95.
247. (197) *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
248. (198) Marilyn Hart, Interview with author, 1/15/96 & 4/1/96.
249. (199) Rob Rangin, Interview with author, 4/1/96.
250. (200) John Kifner, "Arizona Trailer Park Owner Remembered the Wrong Man," *New York Times*, 4/25/95.
251. (201) Marilyn Hart, Interview with author, 1/15/96.
252. (202) *New York Times*, 4/23/95.
253. (203) Steve Wilmsen and Mark Eddy, "Who bombed the Murrah Building?" *Denver Post*, date unknown.
254. (204) FBI 302 of Lebron, *Op Cit*.
255. (205) Patrick E. Cole, "I'm Just Like Anyone Else," *Time*, 4/15/96.
256. (206) "An Ordinary Boy's Extraordinary Rage", *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
257. (207) *New York Times*, 4/24/95.
258. (208) Mark Schaffer, "Gun Class Sheds New Light On McVeigh," *The Arizona Republic*, 5/28/95, quoted in Keith.
259. (209) *New York Times*, 12/31/95.
260. (210) Kevin Flynn and Lou Kilzer, "John Doe 2 Remains a Mystery: OKC Bombing Case's Unknown Suspect Could be More Than One Man, Investigators Believe," *Rocky Mountain News*, 3/3/97.
261. (211) *New York Times*, 4/24/95.
262. (*) The child protective services went to the compound, knocked on the door, walked in, and interviewed the children. They found no evidence of abuse and left.
263. (*) This will be explored more fully in Volume Two.
264. (212) *Media Bypass*, March, 1995.
265. (213) *New York Times*, 7/5/95.
266. (214) Tim Kelsey, "The Oklahoma Suspect Awaits Day of Reckoning," *London Sunday Times*, 4/21/96.

267. (215) Robert Vito, "Three Soldiers," CNN News, 8/9/95.
268. (216) Trial of Timothy McVeigh.
269. (217) Opening statement of lead prosecutor Joseph Hartzler at Timothy McVeigh's trial.
270. (218) Howard Pankartz and George Lane, "Sister Testifies Against Brother," *Denver Post*, 5/6/97.
271. (219) George Lane, "Letters Provide Damaging Evidence," *Denver Post*, 5/6/97; "Sister's Role Seen as Pivotal," *Denver Post*, 5/6/97.
272. (220) *Time*, 5/1/95.
273. (221) *New York Times*, 5/4/95.
274. (222) "Oklahoma Bombing Plotted for Months, Officials Say, but Suspect Is Not Talking," *New York Times*, 4/25/95, quoted in Keith, p. 28.
275. (*) Nichols' discharge in the spring of 1989 for "hardship" reasons is also interesting. Another parallel is that of Thomas Martinez, the FBI infiltrator within the radical right Silent Brotherhood, who was given an honorable discharge during basic training. The Army choose not to explained why. (Keith, *Op Cit.*)
276. (223) Emma Gilbey, "Brothers in Arms with a Destructive Hobby," *London Sunday Telegraph*, 3/24/95.
277. (224) Affidavit of FBI Agent Patrick W. Wease.
278. (225) *Newsweek*, 5/15/95.
279. (226) Robert Jerlow, interview with author.
280. (*) The letter to the girlfriend apparently was indicative of plans to bomb other locations. Interesting that the suspect would leave such an curiously incriminating trail of evidence.
281. (227) *New York Times*, 7/5/95.
282. (228) Dateline, NBC, 2/13/96.
283. (229) *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
284. (230) *New York Times*, 7/5/95.
285. (231) *Ibid.*; *Washington Post*, 7/5/95.
286. (232) *The Spotlight*, 5/26/97.
287. (*) Catina told *London Sunday Telegraph* reporter Ambrose Evans-Pritchard that the man was "always" there. "He seemes out of place, but he was always around."
288. (233) Jim Garrison, *On the Trail of the Assassins*, (New York, NY: Warner Books, 1988), p. 157.
289. (*) In a rather prophetic statement, Michael Fortier's mother was heard to remark that McVeigh led "a double life."
290. (234) *Media Bypass*, 3/95; *New York Times*, 7/5/95.
291. (235) Beth Hawkins, "The Michigan Militia Greet the Media Circus," *Detroit Metro Times*, 3/26/95.
292. (236) David Van Biema, *Time*, 6/26/95.
293. (*) In what may appear to be an ominous coincidence, *America in Peril* made its debut just as the ATF and FBI were making their own apocalyptic plans for the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas.
294. (**) The Michigan Militia has officially disowned him.

295. (237) *Washington Post*, 7/2/95.
296. (238) Ken Armstrong, *No Amateur Did This* (Aptos, CA: Blackeye Press, 1996), p. 17.
297. (*) Interestingly, Jennifer was found burning papers on an outdoor grill when the FBI showed up on April 23.
298. (239) J.D. Cash, "McVeigh's Sister Laundered Bank Robbery Proceeds: ATF Surveillance Confirmed by Informant," *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 1/28/97.
299. (*) Interestingly, authorities wouldn't find any traces of ammonium nitrate in these lockers.
300. (*) As pointed out previously, FBI chief chemist Frederick Whitehurst, who tested McVeigh's clothes, said no explosive residue was found. Whitehurst has since gone on to publicly accuse the FBI of manufacturing and tainting evidence in dozens of cases.
301. (240) Arnold Hamilton, "Bombing Accounts are Varied," *Dallas Morning News*, 10/8/95.
302. (241) Connie Smith, interview with author. These accounts appeared in the *McCurtain Gazette*, *The New American*, and the *Denver Post*, among other places.
303. (242) Dr. Paul Heath, interview with author.
304. (243) Hoppy Heidelberg, interview with author.
305. (244) Trish Wood, The Fifth Estate, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; J.D. Cash, "Is a Videotape From a Tulsa Topless Bar the 'Smoking Gun' in Oklahoma City Bombing?" *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 9/25/96.
306. (245) Tony Boller, Assistant Project Manager, Goodwill Industries, interview with author.
307. (246) Jane Graham, interview with author. Graham is a friend and co-worker of Joan's.
308. (247) J.D. Cash, *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 7/14/96.
309. (248) Sherie, confidential interview with author.
310. (*) She saw the truck at 6:00 a.m. at the diner, then it left before 7:00 a.m. She then saw it at Geary Lake in the afternoon on her way to Junction City, then saw it there on return trip around 3:00-4:00 p.m. The mainstream-press originally said Whittenberg saw the truck on Tuesday, parroting the FBI's line that McVeigh had rented the truck on the 17th.
311. (249) Dan Parker, "McVeigh Defense Questions Co-Defendant's Claim," *Daily Oklahoman*, date unknown; Steve Wilmsen and Mark Eddy, "Who bombed the Murrah Building?" *Denver Post*, date unknown; Timothy McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/97, p. 36.
312. (250) Linda Kuhlman and Phyliss Kingsley, interviews with author.
313. (251) Mark Eddy, "Witnesses tell a different story," *Denver Post*, 6/16/96.
314. (*) What is interesting is that McVeigh's friend James Nichols said that McVeigh never wore a baseball cap, much less backwards. He said McVeigh only wore an Army-issue cap.
315. (252) Chuck Allen, interview with author.
316. (253) *Ibid.*
317. (254) Jane Graham, interview with author. Graham is a friend and co-worker of Johnston's.
318. (*) It is interesting that McVeigh would choose to hang around the scene of the crime, along with his easily identifiable yellow Mercury Marquis, minutes after it occurred. Johnston described the John Doe 2 as shorter and darker than McVeigh.
319. (255) "Feds Charge Terry Nichols in Bombing," *Los Angeles Times*, 5/10/95, quoted in Keith, p. 185.
320. (256) FBI FD-383 (FBI Facial Identification Fact Sheet) of Tom Kessinger, dated 4/20/95, copy in author's possession.
321. (257) *London Sunday Times*, 4/21/96.

322. (258) Affidavit of FBI Special Agent Henry C. Gibbons, 4/21/95, copy in author's possession.
323. (259) Garrison, *Op Cit.*, p.65, 77.
324. (260) *Bid*, p.66.
325. (261) *Ibid.*, p. 79.
326. (262) Julie DelCour, "Informant Says Tulsan Talked About Local, OC Bombings," *Tulsa World*, 2/9/97.
327. (263) "TNT, \$5 a stick. Need more. Call after 1 May, see if I can get some more."
328. (264) William Pepper, *Orders to Kill: The Truth Behind the Murder of Dr. Martin Luther King*, (New York, NY: Carol & Graf), 1995, p.156.
329. (265) *London Sunday Times*, 4/21/96.
330. (266) Kevin Johnson, "McVeigh Lawyer Says FBI Agents Using Trickery," *USA Today*, 8/14/95, quoted in Keith, *Op Cit*, p. 57.
331. (267) Lana Padilla, interview with author.
332. (268) Bob Papovich, interview with author.
333. (269) "A Look at Terry Nichols," Associated Press, 4/5/96.
334. (270) Lana Padilla, interview with author, Diane Sawyer, ABC News Prime Time Live, 5/10/95.
335. (271) Padilla and Delpit, *Op Cit.*, p. 36.
336. (272) Associated Press, 4/5/96.
337. (273) Steve Wilmsen and Mark Eddy, "Who bombed the Murrah Building?" *Denver Post*, date unknown.
338. (274) Serge F. Kovalski, "In a Mirror, Nichols Saw a Victim," *Washington Post*, 7/3/95.
339. (275) "A look at Terry Nichols," Associated Press, 4/5/96.
340. (276) *Media Bypass*, date unknown.
341. (277) *Ibid.*
342. (278) Kovalski, *Op Cit.*
343. (279) Padilla and Delpit, *Op Cit.*, p. 168.
344. (280) Keith, *Op Cit.*, p. 179.
345. (281) Kovalski, *Op Cit.*
346. (*) In October of 1959, Lee Harvey Oswald appeared suddenly at the American Embassy in Moscow, and dramatically handed over his U.S. Passport and a letter renouncing his American citizenship.
347. (282) Associated Press, 4/5/96.
348. (283) Kovalski, *Op Cit.*
349. (284) Lana Padilla, interview with author.
350. (285) Elizabeth Gleick, "Who Are They? The Oklahoma blast reveals the paranoid life and times of accused bomber Timothy McVeigh and his right-wing associates." *Time*, 5/1/95.

351. (286) *Ibid.*
352. (287) Barbara Whittenberg, interview with author.
353. (288) *Washington Post*, 7/3/95.
354. (289) *Denver Post*, date unknown.
355. (290) Kovaleski, *Op Cit.*.
356. (291) Padilla and Delpit, *Op Cit.*, p.3.
357. (*) When I questioned her about this apparent contradiction, she told me her later statement was correct, and the book's account was wrong.
358. (292) Lana Padilla, interview with author.
359. (**) Nichols became interested in selling military surplus in December of 93' to April of 94' according to Padilla.
360. (293) Padilla and Delpit, *Op Cit.*, p. 6; interview with author.
361. (294) KFOR interview with Lana Padilla. Interview with author.
362. (295) Padilla, *Op Cit.*, p.5, 9.
363. (296) Lana Padilla, interview with author.
364. (297) Padilla, *Op Cit.*, p. 12.
365. (298) Lana Padilla, interview with author.
366. (299) Lou Kilzer and Kevin Floyd, "McVeigh Team Tries Again for Delay," *Rocky Mountain News*, 3/26/97; Timothy McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/97.
367. (300) Telephone records of Terry Nichols, copy in author's possession.
368. (*) Earlier, McVeigh had told Padilla, "I'll write to him (Nichols), but I guess I'd better do it in code, because there are a lot of nosy people."
369. (301) David Jackson, Linnet Myers, Flynn McRoberts, *Chicago Tribune*, 5/11/95.
370. (302) Padilla and Delpit, *Op Cit.*, p. 201.
371. (*) Nichols' attorney Michael Tigar claimed his client's use of aliases while renting the storage lockers was to prevent the credit card companies from coming after him.
372. (*) McVeigh Defense attorney Christopher Tritico questioned the analysis, noting the FBI laboratory isn't accredited by any agency for such a test. Tritico also used photographs of a test hole drilled into lead by the bit to argue that grooves and scratches didn't resemble those in the hole closely enough to call them a match.
373. (303) J.D. Cash, *McCurtain Gazette*, date unknown.
374. (304) "McVeigh Appeals Conviction, Sentence," Reuters, 1/16/98.
375. (305) Barbara Whittenberg, interview with author.
376. (306) Nolan Clay, Robby Trammell, Diana Baldwin and Randy Ellis, "Nichols, Bomb Materials Linked," *Daily Oklahoman*, date unknown.
377. (307) Jerri-Lynn Backhaus, interview with author.
378. (308) Dorinda J. "Wendy" Hermes, interview with author.

379. (*) Butler and Snell also reportedly had connections to Jack Oliphant of Kingman, Arizona.
380. (309) *New York Times*, 5/20/95.
381. (310) Edward Zehr, "Oklahoma City Cover-up Exposed: But the Mainstream Media are Still in Denial," *Washington Weekly*, 2/17/97.
382. (311) "The Company They Keep," Transcript of the Canadian Broadcasting Company "Fifth Estate" piece on Oklahoma City, originally broadcast on 22 October 1996, Host, Bob Oxley, Voice-Over Announcer, Trish Wood, Francine Pelletier; Guest, Robert Millar, Leader, Elohim City; Kerry Noble, Formerly Of CSA; Steven Jones, Timothy McVeigh's Lawyer; Joe Adams, Bailiff; Ross McLeod, Security Agency Owner.
383. (312) Warren Gotcher, interview with author.
384. (313) Anthony Thornton, "Bomb Plans Found in Defendant's Home, FBI Agent Testifies," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 4/3/96. "Anthony Thornton, "Three Defendants Found Guilty in Bomb Plot," *The Daily Oklahoman*. date unknown.
385. (314) Judy Thomas, "We Are Not Dangerous, Leader of Separatists Says" *Kansas City Star*, 3/17/96.
386. (315) Mark Fazlollah, Michael Matza, Maureen Graham and Larry King, "FBI: Heist Trail Led to White Supremacists," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 6/30/96.
387. (*) Mathews himself was the Northwest representative of William Pierce's National Alliance.
388. (316) "Bank Bandits Tied to Rightists," Associated Press, 1/21/96; J.D. Cash with Jeff Holladay, "Rebels With a Cause, Part 3: The Aryan Republican Army," *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 12/29/96.
389. (317) Bill Morlin, "Devoted to Making Nation 'Ungovernable': Group Patterns its Organization After Irish Republican Army," *Spokesman-Review*, 12/29/96.
390. (318) J.D. Cash, "The Spy Who Came in From the Cold," *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 2/11/97.
391. (319) J.D. Cash with Jeff Holladay, "Rebels With a Cause, Part Four: An Ex-Wife's Suspicions In The OKBOMB Case," *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 12/31/96.
392. (320) Andreas Strassmeir, interview with author.
393. (321) Judy L. Thomas, "Man Target of Bank Robbery Inquiry," *Kansas City Star*, 1/29/97.
394. (322) Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, *The Secret Life of Bill Clinton: The Unreported Stories* (Washington, DC: Regnery), p. 80.
395. (*) It may be telling that part of Strassmeir's training involved feeding people disinformation.
396. (323) Pritchard, *Op Cit.*; William Jasper, "More Pieces to the OKC Puzzle," *The New American*, 6/24/96.
397. (324) February, 1996 press release from the Cause Foundation, quoted in *The New American*.
398. (*) Around the same time, the caller telephoned the National Alliance office in Arizona. The National Alliance is the organization formed by William Pierce, who wrote *The Turner Diaries*.
399. (325) Laura Frank, "Oklahoma City Probe May Touch Tennessee," *The Tennessean*, 6/30/96.
400. (326) J.D. Cash, "Is a Videotape From a Tulsa Topless Bar the 'Smoking Gun' in Oklahoma City Bombing?" *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 9/25/96.
401. (327) Judy Thomas, *Kansas City Star*, 3/17/96.
402. (328) Dennis Mahon, interview with William Jasper.
403. (329) Timothy McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/97, pp. 44-45.
404. (330) Jeff Steinberg, interview with author.

405. (331) The members, Gene Schroder, Alvin Jenkins, and Ed Petruski, met with Iraqi Ambassador Mohammed Mashat before the start of Desert Storm. The Iraqis took notice of the group's patriotic activities, and invited them to Washington. "They were hoping to open up negotiations with America," explained Schroder, a farmer and veterinarian from Campo, Colorado. "They knew that we'd meet with them and push the issue some with our Representatives and Congressmen." The entire affair was completely legitimate and well-publicized, having been reported in at least one local newspaper in Colorado. The Constitutionalists and anti-war activists also had the support of Senators Hank Brown and Bob Dole. "We called the State Department and everything was cleared," they explained. Yet it seemed Jones' was trying to portray the meeting as part of a broader conspiracy between Iraqis and American dissidents. The attorney referred to the three men as Posse Comitatus members — a tax-protest organization of the mid-'80s with anti-Semitic overtones and connections to white supremacist groups. All three denied belonging to the group. Jones then mentioned that Petruski lived an hour's drive from bombing defendant Terry Nichols' house. Petruski denied knowing Nichols. (Eugene Schroder, Alvin Jenkins, and Ed Petruskie, interviews with author; Timothy McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/97.)

406. (*) Although Jones only refers to "Suspect I," it is well-known that he is referring to Nichols, because he says he was "A subject of the FBI and Grand Jury investigation...." There were only two people investigated by the Federal Grand Jury: Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols.

407. (332) Pritchard, *Op Cit.*, 3/30/97.

408. (333) Ingo Hasselbach with Tom Reiss, *Fuhrer-Ex: Memoirs of a Former Neo-Nazi* (New York, NY: Random House, 1996), p. 215; John Michael Johnston, "Investigative Report Concerning Fact-Finding Trip to Germany," 5/15/96, copy in author's possession.

409. (*) The El Rukn case is documented in the Federal Reporter in *Unites States v. McAnderson*, 914 F. 2d 934 (7th Cir. 1990). "The El Rukns sought to impress the Libyans and to demonstrate the depth of their commitment by discussing specific terrorist acts, among them destroying a government building, planting a bomb, blowing up an airplane, and simply committing a wanton 'killing here and a killing there' to get the Libyans' attention. Eventually, the leader of the El Rukns decided that the Libyans would only be impressed by the use of powerful explosives." (Jones, Writ of Mandamus, p. 85)

410. (334) "Black History and the Class Struggle," *The Separatist League*, No. 11, August, 1994. In a letter to his followers concerning his strange alliance with the NOI, Rockwell wrote: "I was amazed to learn how much they and I agree on things: they think that blacks should get out of this country and go back to Africa or to some other place and so do we. They want to get black men to leave white women alone, and white men to leave black women alone, and so do we. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad and I have worked out an agreement of mutual assistance in which they will help us on some things and we will help them on others.("

411. (335) *Washington Times*, 9/30/85.

412. (336) Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, "IRA supplied detonator for Oklahoma terror bomb," *London Sunday Telegraph*, 3/30/97.

413. (*) British officials no doubt took the implications seriously. Jones had spent considerable time consulting with British explosives experts who planned to testify on behalf of the defense, as well as officials from MI5, Britain's domestic intelligence service and even an unnamed IRA member. (Associate Press, 3/30/97.)

414. (337) Tom Conlon and Helen Curtin, *Dublin Sunday Times*, 7/13/97, quoted in *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 7/15/97.

415. (338) Rita Cosby reporting, KOKH, FOX, 4/2/97; Andreas Strassmeir, interview with author.

416. (*) Information obtained from the Military Records Center by Ambrose Evans-Pritchard reveals that Petruski served in the Air Force Office of Special Investigations (OSI), retiring in 1975. His dalliance with the military included a stint as a Foreign Intelligence Officer in Vietnam, then Special Projects Officer, Special Activities Branch, Counterintelligence Division in Washington, D.C. He was reactivated with a "sensitive" assignment during the Gulf War.

417. (339) "Strassmeir, OKC, And The CIA," *The New American*, 7/22/96.

418. (340) Phil Bacharach, "Casting Doubts: Were Others Involved in the Federal Building Bombing?" *Oklahoma Gazette*, 2/13/97.

419. (*) Curiously, when the FBI queried various federal law-enforcement and intelligence agencies to determine if Strassmeir was a cooperating witness or a confidential informant, only the CIA reported that it held any records on him. These records were turned over to prosecutors, but not made available to McVeigh's defense team, despite a court order compelling their disclosure.

420. (341) J.D. Cash, with Jeff Holladay "Weeks Before OKC Bombing, ATF Had 'Wanted' Posters On Strassmeir," *McCurtain County Gazette*, 7/28/96.

421. (342) J.D. Cash, "Agents Probe OKC Bombing Links To Bank Robberies," *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 7/16/96.

422. (*) Interestingly, cases involving violence or planned violence by militias from around the U.S. show a recurring theme of government

penetration and infiltration of militia groups. For example, testimony in the Muskogee bombing case showed that the FBI was literally paying the operating expenses, including the phone bills for the Tri-State Militia.

423. (*) OHP pilot Ken Stafford, ATF technician Pat McKinley, and acting ATF SAC Tommy Wittman flew over Elohim City on February 7, 1995, and reported to Finley-Graham.

424. (*) BATF regional director Lester Martz denies that the BOLO was put out by the ATF.

425. (343) Tulsa Police Intelligence, confidential interview with author.

426. (344) An INS memo of January 10 stated: "Per your note, I talked to Angela Finely, ATF. It may be awhile before the subject is contacted or arrested, but we will probably be called to assist."

427. (*) It seems the ATF and FBI were also concerned about the possibility of an "intramural fire fight" between their respective agencies at Elohim City.

428. (345) Cash, *Op Cit.*

429. (*) Howe's allegations of federal malfeasance dovetailed with those of federal informant Cary Gagan, who was inside the Middle Eastern cell tied to the bombing.

430. (346) Pritchard, *Op Cit.*

431. (347) *Ibid.*; The OHP officer who made the arrest was Vernon Phillips.

432. (348) J.D. Cash, *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 7/14/96. Dennis Mahon also admitted that Strassmeir worked for the GSG-9.

433. (*) The FBI didn't go to any great lengths to question Strassmeir, nor his roommate Michael Brescia. Months after the bombing, the FBI places a leisurely call to Strassmeir's home in Berlin. They made no attempt to question or arrest Brescia.

434. (**) When Middle Eastern suspect Hussain al-Hussaini came under scrutiny by KFOR and other investigators for his role in the bombing, the FBI "debunked" the "rumors" about him, too. Was he also an agent? (See Chapter 6)

435. (349) J.D. Cash and Jeff Holliday, "Weeks Before Bombing, ATF Had Out "Wanted" Posters, *McCurtain Gazette*, 7/29/96, quoted in *American Freedom*, September, 1996.

436. (*) The ostensible purpose of the raid was to recover bomb-making materials — materials which had been obtained by Howe at the request of her ATF handler — Finley-Graham!

437. (350) J.D. Cash, "Controversy Over Howe's True Loyalties Become Focus of Her Trial," *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 7/30/97.

438. (351) J.D. Cash, *McCurtain Gazette*, 7/14/96. The source claimed that classified computer records of the ATF contained evidence that Strassmeir was indeed a key component in the agency's espionage operation at Elohim City, and numerous neo-Nazi groups throughout the country.

439. (352) *London Sunday Telegraph*. date unknown.

440. (353) "Hate and the Law: Kirk Lyons, Esq." Anti-Defamation League, *Special Edition*, June, 1991.

441. (354) Lyons had this to say about Mahon in an interview with *Volkstreue*, a German Neo-Nazi magazine: "I have great respect for the Klan historically but sadly, the Klan today is ineffective and sometimes even destructive. There are many spies in it and most of its best leaders have left the Klan to do more effective work within the movement. It would be good if the Klan followed the advice of former Klansman Robert Miles: 'Become invisible. Hang the robes and hoods in the cupboard and become an underground organization.' This would make the Klan stronger than ever before."

442. (355) Ambrose Evans-Pritchard & Andrew Gimson, "Did Agents Bungle US Terror Bomb?", date unknown. Some of the dialogue was added from Pritchard's 1997 release, *The Secret Life of Bill Clinton*(Washington, DC: Regnery), p. 90.

443. (*) "When *The New American* asked Evans-Pritchard if he believed Strassmeir was referring to himself when speaking in the third person of the 'informant,' he replied, 'Of course, there's no doubt that is exactly what he meant to convey. He was stating it as plainly as he could' without admitting criminal culpability on his own part." (William Jasper, "Elohim, Terror and Truth," *The New American*, 3/31/97.)

444. (356) Andreas Strassmeir, interview with author.

445. (357) Alex Constantine, "The Nazification of the Citizen's Militias and the Transformation of Timothy McVeigh from Hyper-Military 'Robot' to Mad Bomber," 12/9/95.
446. (358) Petition for Writ of Mandamus of Timothy McVeigh, 3/25/97, p. 44.
447. (359) Constantine, *Op Cit.*
448. (360) *Ibid.*
449. (361) William Jasper, "Elohim, Terror, and Truth," *New American*, 3/31/97.
450. (362) Charles, *Op Cit.* In her report of September 26, 1994, Finley-Graham indicates that Mahon "gave 183 approximately 2 feet of green safety fuse, a can of gun powder and a plastic funnel," and said he would "instruct 183 how to assemble hand grenades."
451. (363) James Ridgeway, "Lone Assassins?: A Series of Arrests May Link the Oklahoma City Bombing Suspects to a Larger Plot," *Village Voice*, 2/5/97; Mark Eddy, "Others Eyed in Bomb Probe?" *Denver Post*, 1/29/97.
452. (364) Cash, *Op Cit.*
453. (365) Zehr, *Op Cit.*
454. (*) According to reports, it was Cash who "persuaded" Mahon to make the recording.
455. (366) ATF ROI 53270-94-0124-B, 1/11/95.
456. (367) *Ibid.*
457. (368) Letter read into testimony at Howe's trial.
458. (369) ATF ROI, 9/26/94. "Andy also told 183 that there exists a black market dealer who can get grenades, C-4 and a range of explosives."
459. (*) Dawson was also a paid informant for the Greensboro Police Department.
460. (**) With a map of the parade route supplied by Greensboro Police Department Detective Jerry Cooper, Dawson, Butkovich, and their KKK and neo-Nazi comrades were able to select the most advantageous site for their ambush. Although Cooper and other officers surveilled the house where the killers had assembled and took down license numbers, they inexplicably decided to take a lunch break less than 45 minutes before the march. By the time the shooting started, the tactical squad assigned to monitor the demonstration was still out to lunch. Even more inexplicably, two officers responding to a domestic call at the Morningside projects, the site of the CWP march, noted the suspicious absence of patrol cars usually assigned to the area. One of the cops, Officer Wise, later reported receiving a bizarre call from police dispatch, advising him to "clear the area as soon as possible." The incident resulted in an ATF/FBI-led cover-up similar in most respects to the Oklahoma City whitewash, with most of the suspects being acquitted of first degree murder charges. Echoing the factitious rants of federal officials in Oklahoma, FBI Director William Webster called the charges of federal complicity "utterly absurd." Although the killers had been recruited, organized and led on their murderous rampage by ATF and FBI operatives, none ever served a day of jail-time. ((* Frank Donner, *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in America*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, University of California Press: 1990), p. 360; Michael Novick, "Blue by Day, White by Night: Organized White Supremacist Groups in Law Enforcement Agencies," *People Against Racist Terror*, 2/3/93, p. 3.)
461. (370) Ivo Dawnay, "Informant Accuses FBI Over Oklahoma Bomb," *Electronic Telegraph*, 7/20/97.
462. (*) Just as federal informant Cary Gagan provided the FBI and U.S. Marshals with warnings.
463. (371) Kay Clarke, interview with author. Snider's half-sister, Kay Clarke, testified that she drew the composite sketch of the man Snider saw.
464. (372) Diana Baldwin and Ed Godfrey, "Separatist Asks for Immunity — Witness Takes the Fifth Before Grand Jury," *Daily Oklahoman*, 7/17/97.
465. (373) Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, "'Master of Disguise' Ready to Run," *London Sunday Telegraph*, 3/30/97.
466. (374) Diana Baldwin, "Former Klansman Identifies Aryan Leader as John Doe 2," *Daily Oklahoman*, 10/8/97.

467. (375) Cash, *Op Cit.*

468. (*) When McVeigh's defense team asked federal prosecutors for Howe's reports in pre-trial discovery, they were informed the records didn't exist. When it was shown that the records did indeed exist, an angry Judge Matsch ordered the records delivered to the defense and threatened the prosecutors with removal from the case if they lied one more time.

469. (*) Finley-Graham admitted during Howe's subsequent trial that she was listed as an "active informant" through December 18, 1996, but offered an interesting explanation for that status. Both Finley-Graham and federal prosecutors claimed that removing her from the official listing might have led to the destruction of records regarding the bombing. "That was especially intriguing and troubling," writes *New American* editor Bill Jasper, "because it left unanswered who would have destroyed which records, and why any records concerning the deadliest terrorist attack on American soil would have been destroyed, especially while the investigation is ongoing and a trial is pending."

470. (376) William F. Jasper, "Undercover: The Howe Revelations," *The New American*, 9/15/97.

471. (*) Her live-in neo-Nazi boyfriend, James Viefhaus Jr., had been arrested earlier for allegedly promoting a call-in message advocating the bombing of federal buildings in 15 different cities. The message, reportedly connected to the National Socialist Alliance of Oklahoma, also endorsed the April 19th bombing. The FBI claimed to have discovered bomb-making materials in Viefhaus' home.

472. (377) "Ex-Informant Indicted on Charges," Associated Press, 3/13/97, Indictment No. 97-CR-05-C, Northern District of Oklahoma, 3/11/97.

473. (378) Richard Leiby, "How a Wheaton Kid Became a Neo-Nazi Bank Robber, and One Confused Human," *Washington Post*, 2/13/97.

474. (379) James Ridgeway, *Village Voice*, 7/23/96; Cash, *Op Cit.*

475. (380) Fazlollah, et al., *Op Cit.*

476. (381) *Ibid.*

477. (382) Leiby, *Op Cit.*

478. (383) Morlin, *Op Cit.*

479. (384) Leiby, *Op Cit.*

480. (*) Chevie and Cheyne Kehoe, two brothers who opened fire on police in Ohio in February of 1997 during a routine traffic stop, also lived at Elohim City. Were they some of the people trained in weaponry by Strassmeir?

481. (385) Paul Queary, "Bombing Informant Ruffles Case," Associate Press, 2/23/97.

482. (386) Robert Heibel, interview with author.

483. (387) Walter Goodman, "Terror in Oklahoma City: TV Critics' Notebook; Wary Network Anchors Battle Dubious Scoops," *New York Times*, 4/20/95.

484. (388) Craig Roberts, interview with author.

485. (*) Lipkin also told Roberts that Stinger missiles have been smuggled into the country. A Stinger is thought to have been responsible for the attack on TWA flight 800.

486. (389) Arnold Hamilton, "Oklahoma City Car bomb Kills at Least 31; Scores Missing in Rubble of Office Building," *Dallas Morning News*, 4/20/95.

487. (390) Hugh Davies, "Rental Car is Key Clue on Trail of Terrorists," *London Sunday Telegraph*, 4/21/95. Abdul Yasin, another Iraqi, was released and returned to Iraq. Abdul Basit is Yousef's real name.

488. (*) No evidence was produced for the so-called assassination attempt. The allegations were reminiscent of the tale of Iraqi soldiers pulling babies out of incubators, which turned out to be a lie.

489. (391) Patrick Cockburn, "Defector Exposes Saddam's Lies on Chemical Weapons," *The Independent*, 5/7/96. "General Sammara'i says that the committee in charge of sabotage on which he served, and which uses a special 600-strong military unit called 888 to carry out operations, still exists and he suspects it was involved in giving support to the bombers.

490. (392) Paul Anderson, Metro Correspondent Chicago, IL "Threat of Terrorism Further Increases," *Net News Service* , 07/07/93.
491. (393) *Ibid.*, Center for National Security Policy, No. 95-D23 11 April 1995 Decision Brief.
492. (394) William Carley, "A Trail of Terror," *Wall Street Journal*, 6/16/93, p. A1, quoted in James Phillips, "The Changing Face Of Middle Eastern Terrorism," Heritage Foundation Report, 10/6/94.
493. (395) Jack Anderson, Dale Van Atta, "Iraq Reported to Send Terrorists to U.S.," *Washington Post*, 1/28/91.
494. (*) A note on Steven Emerson: Although there is no evidence contradicting these claims, it should be noted that Emerson has, in the past, served as an official mouthpiece for the U.S. government, as a consultant to the Pentagon. He played a large role in covering up the truth of the Pan Am 103 bombing, by attacking and smearing Lester Coleman, Juval Aviv, and any others who tried to bring forth the truth. Emerson also went on the Heraldo Rivera show in June of 1997 and attempted to bash Kevin Flynn of the *Rocky Mountain News* who had uncovered connections between Terry Nichols and suspects in the Philippines. The author attempts in this instance merely to report a few basic facts as related by Emerson, who does have some experience in Middle East terrorism. The author, however, holds Emerson's dubious connections with elements of the government in question.
495. (396) The bombings included a Jewish community center in Buenos Aires and the Israeli embassy, the downing of a commuter plane in Panama, and a Jewish charity organization in London. It is assumed that the July, 1994 attacks by Hizbollah — which coincided with King Hussein's peace-making trip to Washington — were primarily to disrupt the Israeli/PLO peace talks.
496. (397) According to Phillips: "Islamic radicals also often have a different audience in mind than Palestinian nationalists. Instead of using terrorism to influence Western powers to change their policies, they often use terrorism to punish Western powers and inspire other Muslims to rise up against the West. This focus on the Muslim audience rather than an American audience helps explain how the bombers of the World Trade Center could rationalize their bloody actions. The bombing was meant to demonstrate the power of Islamic radicals and the vulnerability of the U.S., not to lead the U.S. to rethink its Middle East policy."
497. (398) Confidential report of William Northrop to KFOR, 5/10/96. Copy in author's possession.
498. (399) Phillips, *Op Cit.* "Between 1980 and 1989 over 400 terrorist actions spilled over from the Middle East to other regions, with 87 percent of these actions occurring in Western Europe." Paul Wilkinson, "Terrorism, Iran and the Gulf Region," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, May 1992, p. 222.
499. (400) "Jihad in America," PBS Documentary, 11/21/94.
500. (*) Shimon Havitz, an Israeli General attached to the Prime Minister's office, also told McVeigh Defense Attorney Stephen Jones that the Israelis had issued a warning to the Americans.
501. (401) Yehizkel Zadok, "The FBI is Conducting a Search for 'Three Middle Easterners,'" *Yediot Arhonot*, 4/20/95.
502. (402) Report of William Northrop, and interview with author.
503. (403) Timothy McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/97, p. 81. Jones points out, given the issue of the credibility of the information, that the head of Saudi Intelligence is the King's own son.
504. (*) Jones said that Lipkin met with his U.S. "counterpart," Phil Wilcox, the U.S. State Department's coordinator for terrorism, after the bombing to "compare notes." The reader will also recall that two Israeli bomb experts traveled to Oklahoma City after the bombing to analyze the bomb signature.
505. (*) Jones originally said that the meeting took place in Kingman, AZ. According to Gagan, that was incorrect, and was to protect Gagan's information.
506. (*) Gagan had intermittent contact with the Soviets throughout the mid-'80s. In 1982, Gagan met a Soviet spy named Edward Bodenzayer while in Puerto Vallarta. Bodenzayer had been exporting classified technology to Russia through his import/export business. He was eventually arrested as a result of a joint FBI/Customs counterintelligence sting operation known as Operation Aspen Leaf.
507. (404) Cary Gagan, interview with author.
508. (405) Deposition of Cary James Gagan, 7/14/95. Copy in author's possession.
509. (*) Gagan later seemed to waver on this point: "I don't care what they say — where he was supposedly — he was there." He later said: "I'm not sure, but it sure looked like him. He just didn't fit."
510. (**) Gagan recalls that Omar threw something in the trash. Gagan later fished it out. They were technical diagrams in Spanish that

appeared to be bomb plans.

511. (*) According to Gagan, his Arab friends were interested in buying the Postal Center, and asked Gagan to propose a cash deal to Colombo. They were apparently interested in its mail and truck rental facility.

512. (406) Mike Levine, interview with author.

513. (407) Report of Craig Roberts, 5/8/95, copy in author's possession. Roberts is the author's partner on the Oklahoma City bombing investigation.

514. (*) What is interesting, considering the FBI's lack of response, is that the Tulsa office of the FBI had commissioned Roberts to provide a report on the bombing.

515. (**) Gagan coyly admitted to knowing Iran-Contra drug runner and pilot Barry Seal.

516. (408) Gagan contacted Dave Floyd at the U.S. Marshals Office. He said 'We've got to get moving on this right away.' I said, 'Well, I've got to have immunity.'"

517. (*) Gagan was referring to a Middle Eastern man who flew in from Oklahoma City. Gagan had never seen him before.

518. (*) Gagan gave accurate and specific descriptions of street addresses he had been in Kingman, and provided receipts for his travels to the Arizona town. He also provided receipts for hotel rooms in which he claims bomb planning meetings were held. He said the original plot involved blowing up a Jewish convention center in Denver where President Clinton was speaking.

519. (409) FBI Agent Mark Holtslaw, interview with author.

520. (410) Hand-written letter from Gagan to Tina Rowe, copy in author's possession.

521. (*) Jayna Davis, KFOR-TV broadcast, June, 1995. U.S. Marshals Service head Tina Rowe said, regarding Cary Gagan's hand-delivered letter: "I work in a federal building and all my friends work in federal buildings, and it's not something that anyone working in that environment would ever overlook." KFOR then uncovered a copy of Gagan's envelope, on which the matching signature of a Marshals Service employee was found. The Marshals Service claimed it was suspicious, because it's office policy to sign both the first and last name, and to stamp all incoming mail.

522. (**) The Judge who sent Gagan to the mental hospital, John P. Gately, was later termed incompetent and disbarred due to brain cancer.

523. (411) Kevin Flynn, "Romer, Norton get Bomb Threats: CBI Informant's Reliability in Question; He Also Warned of Federal Building Blast," *Rocky Mountain News*, 8/12/95. Gagan was worried about what had happened in Mexico with the Soviets, and didn't want to accept a plea bargain.

524. (412) Federal Public Defender, confidential interview with author.

525. (*) A voice stress analysis the author ran on Gagan's interview tapes showed he was telling the truth.

526. (**) Reports indicating that Gagan had been of assistance to the DEA were illegally removed from his informant file in an attempt to discredit him.

527. (413) Letter of Immunity from U.S. Justice Dept. signed by Henry Solano, to Gary James Gagan, copy in author's possession.

528. (414) "FBI Furor," *Unclassified*, Summer, 1997.

529. (415) Gail Gibson, "The Strange Murder-For-Hire Trial of Chuck Hayes Got Even Stranger Yesterday," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 1/16/97. Myers claimed that Hayes, a former CIA operative, had tried to hire a hit-man with a mere \$5,000, using an open phone line.

530. (416) Former Army C.I.D. investigator, confidential interview with author.

531. (417) Dick Russell, "Spook Wars In Cyberspace: Is the FBI Railroaded Charles Hayes?" *High Times*, June, 1997.

532. (*) Gagan says the Letter of Immunity was not filed with the court, in violation of standard procedure. He also asserts that Allison's signature was signed by his secretary, and is no good.

533. (418) Florida police detective, confidential interview with author.

534. (*) Gagan claims that on January 15, 1997, as he was waiting for a bus at 1st and Lincoln in downtown Denver, a dark four-door Buick came careening around the corner, firing at him with a silenced automatic weapon. A check with Doug Packston at the Colorado Transit Authority revealed a bullet hole in the bus shelter and glass that had been replaced.

535. (*) It is unlikely that Gagan could have known about King's story, which was not widely reported.

536. (**) The Florida police detective I spoke with told me that the FBI and state authorities "didn't want to investigate this," referring to the connections he uncovered between Arab-Americans, the PLO, and the Cali Cartel, in the mid-80s. He believes the FBI's head of Counterintelligence came to Florida disguised as an agent, found out what they were working on, and took off. As he said, "Things weren't right.... It was as if someone were looking at this and saying 'stay away from it.'" His experience ties into that of an Army C.I.D. officer who investigated the brother of one of the Middle-Easterners allegedly involved in the bombing, who was involved in military espionage in Huntsville, Alabama in the mid-80s. He said the FBI "stonewalled" the case. (More on this later)

537. (419) OCPD Dispatch of 4/19/95.

538. (420) David Harper, "Just who is Carol Howe? Jurors Will Have To Decide Who the Real Woman Is," *Tulsa World*, 7/28/97. "Howe said she heard a 'powerful murmur' in the fall of 1995 that Tulsa could be the target of a major bombing in the spring of 1996. Howe said Thursday she left messages in 1995 but that her calls weren't returned."

539. (*) A specific warning regarding flight 103 was also passed on from a Mossad Agent working at the Frankfurt airport.

540. (**) What is interesting is that Oliver "Buck" Revell, former Counter-Terrorism chief of the FBI, pulled his son and daughter-in-law off Pan Am 103 minutes before the flight. Did Revell know something the rest of us did not? (Steven Emerson doesn't bother mentioning that little fact in his psyop piece entitled *The Fall of Pan Am 103*, which, incidentally, leaves out the entire CIA/drug connection that many feel was linked to the bombing.

541. (**) Was Solano pressured to ignore Gagan's warning? The Denver U.S. Attorney had earlier intended to proceed with an investigation into corruption by top U.S. officials connected with Boulder Partnerships, Ltd., Twin Cities Bank of Little Rock, and MDC Holdings of Denver, until he realized who was involved — friends of Bill Clinton and George Herbert Walker Bush.

542. (421) Robert Rudolph, "Lawmen Get Warning of Plot on U.S. Targets," *Newark Star Ledger*, 3/22/95.

543. (422) Wendy Holden and David Millward, "Oklahoma Bomb Suspect Seized at Heathrow," *London Sunday Telegraph*. date unknown.

544. (423) *Ibid.*

545. (424) *Ibid.*

546. (425) Steven Emerson and Brian Duffy, *The Fall of Pan Am 103*, (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's), 1990, p. 176; also see "The Maltese Double Cross," a British TV documentary on Pan Am 103.

547. (*) Ahmed's detention produced a flurry of responses from the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union), who were notified by Ahmed's friend Sam Khalid. The ACLU has long been funded (some say taken over) by the Roger Baldwin Foundation, a CIA front. Perhaps they wanted their man Ahmed released, just as the CIA wanted Jordanian Marwan Kreeshat released.

548. (**) Haider Al Saiidi, one of Khalid's workers, had a wife who miscarried after the bombing due to harassment. When Haider made that public, Khalid fired him. If Clear's theory is true, it is curious why Khalid fired him.

549. (426) Police Report of arrest of Hussain Al-Hussaini. Sharon Twilley also stated she believed she had seen McVeigh in a bar on NW 10th Street, and had seen Hussaini and other Khalid employees in the same bar at different times.

(* What must be pointed out again is that the FBI is claiming McVeigh rented the Ryder truck the following Monday, April 17, which he did. This account indicates that two Ryder trucks were involved in the operation, not one, as the FBI claims.

550. (*)

551. (*)

552. (427) Craig Freeman and Dennis Jackson, interviews with author.

553. (428) Sharon Cohen, Associated Press, 4/26/95.

554. (429) Ruby Foos, interview with author; Davies, *Op Cit.*, 4/21/95.
555. (430) Jim Polk, CNN, 4/20/95; Sharon Cohen, Associated Press, 4/21/95.
556. (431) William Jasper, "The Trial of John Doe No. 2," *The New American*, 5/13/96.
557. (432) J.D. Cash, "Lose Your Illusion," *Media Bypass*, February, 1996.
558. (433) Margaret Hohmann and Ann Domin, interviews with author.
559. (434) Debra Burdick, interview with author.
560. (435) Jayna Davis, KFOR, shadow interview with Kay H., 6/17/95.
561. (436) David Snider, interview with author.
562. (437) OKPD Dispatch of 4/19/95.
563. (438) David Hall, interview with author.
564. (*) A source in the Sheriff's Office interviewed by Jayna Davis said the FBI refused to explain why it had cancelled the APB. David Hall said the APB was canceled by an FBI agent named Webster. Yet according to OCPD officer Don Browning, the FBI later "admitted" to "fabricating" the APB.
565. (**) Both Ernie Cranfield and neighbors saw the brown pick-up at Sahara Properties.
566. (439) Ernie Cranfield, interview with author.
567. (*) Heather Khalid also told Cranfield in a secretly-taped interview that she had not been able to find any time record on Hussaini for April 19, so she made one up and gave it to Dave Balut, a reporter for KWTW. Khalid employee Terry Holliday, told a reporter at KOCO-TV that Hussaini had been painting the house at NW 31st Street on April 19, then later told Cranfield that Hussaini had not actually been there on the 19th. Heather claimed that she had taken some supplies to Hussaini that morning, but Holliday claimed she had never been there. Khalid worker Barnaby Machuca also repeatedly changed his story regarding Hussaini's whereabouts.
568. (*) Numerous FBI and law enforcement sources Davis contacted agreed that Hussaini resembled the sketch of John Doe 2, and believed there was a Middle Eastern connection to the bombing, possibly connected to the World Trade Center bombing. (KFOR's Response to Plaintiff's Interrogatories, Hussaini vs. KFOR).
569. (440) OCPD D.U.I. report, copy in author's possession.
570. (*) FBI spokesman Steve Mullins wouldn't confirm or deny whether Hussaini was a suspect; FBI agent James Strickland, who would later investigate Khalid's alleged shooting of his secretary, Sharon Twilley, also declined to comment on whether Hussaini was a suspect.
571. (441) George Lang, "Out on a Limb," date unknown.
572. (442) Dave Balut reporting, KWTW, 10:00 p.m. newscast, 6/16/95.
573. (443) Sam Khalid, interview with author.
574. (*) William Northrop is an ex-Israeli intelligence officer who was indicted by former U.S. Attorney Rudolph Gulianni, and testified against Israel's role in Iran-Contra. A friend of the late CIA Director William Casey, Northrop's name was reportedly found in Casey's diary upon his death.
575. *(Khalid, speaking on behalf of Hussaini, claimed his INS records were "stolen."
576. (*) Yousef arrived in New York on September 1, 1992. Many New York law enforcement officials reportedly believe that Iraq was involved [in the Trade Center bombing], although they can not prove it. (Laurie Mylroie, "World Trade Center Bombing — The Case of Secret Cyanide," *The Wall Street Journal*, July 26, 1994, p. A16.), quoted in James Phillips, *The Changing Face of Middle Eastern Terrorism*, *The Heritage Foundation, Background*, #1005, 10/6/94.
577. (444) Mylroie, *Op Cit.* Yousef, who grew up in Kuwait, was also identified by Kuwaiti Interior Minister Sheik Ali al Sabah al Salim as an Iraqi collaborator during Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait. (Charles Wallace, "Weaving a Wide Web of Terror," *Los Angeles Times*, 5/28/95.)

578. (*) Hussain al-Hussaini moved to Houston after going public and suing KFOR.

579. (445) Louis Champon, interview with author. According to Champon, who is suing the federal government, Peter Kawaja, who was head of security for Champon's plant, hired Wackenhut. Kawaja was later given immunity to act as an informant. Said Robert Bickel, a Customs informant and investigator familiar with the case: "Hell, Barbouti was treated more like a damn state bird than a terrorist."

580. (*) Louis Champon said he saw Barbouti meet with Secord at the Fountain Blue Hotel in Miami in 1988.

581. (446) Mike Johnston, interview with author. John Conally, "Inside the Shadow CIA," *Spy* magazine, September, 1992; Said Louis Champon, "They are so well-protected by an entity in our own government, that they have put up a wall...."

582. (*) Yet according to Champon's former head of security Peter Kawaja, and Iraqgate investigator Robert Bickel, Champon himself isn't so innocent. "Champon had to know about the cyanide leaving the plant," said Bickel. "He was there every day, while the plant was being built and operated." Nevertheless, Champon went public, and was threatened and shut down by U.S. Customs and the I.R.S.

583. (447) TK-7 is a chemical company in Oklahoma City owned by Moshe Tal, an Israeli. Barbouti had attempted to purchase a formula from them that could extend the range of rocket fuel for the Iraqi SCUD missiles.

584. (*) While Ishan Barbouti allegedly "died" of heart failure in London in July of 1990, he was reportedly seen afterwards alive and well flying between Aman, Jordan and Tripoli, Libya. Other accounts indicate that he is living safe and well in Florida.

585. (448) Clark, *Op Cit*,

586. (449) *Ibid.*, pp. 70-72, Quoted in William Blum, *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II* (Common Courage Press, 1996), p. 335; "The Gulf War and its Aftermath," *The 1992 Information Please Almanac* (Boston, 1992), p. 974, Quoted in Blum, p. 335.

587. (450) Laurie Garrett (medical writer for *Newsday*), "The Dead," *Columbia Journalism Review*, May/June, 1991, p. 32, quoted in Blum, p. 335.

588. (451) *Needless Deaths Op. Cit.*, p. 135, quoted in Blum, p.335.

589. (452) *Ibid.*, pp. 201-24; Clark, pp. 72-4; *Los Angeles Times*, 1/31/91; 2/3/91, quoted in Blum, p. 336.

590. (453) Bill Moyers, *PBS Special Report: After the War*, Spring, 1991, quoted in Clark, p. 53.

591. (454) "Biography: McVeigh, Part Two, *Media Bypass*, March, 1995.

592. (*) World Trade Center bomber Mahmud Abouhalima told Egyptian intelligence that the World Trade Center bombing had been approved by Iranian intelligence.

593. (455) Yossef Bodansky, *Terror: The Inside Story of the Terrorist Conspiracy in America* (New York, NY: SPI Books, 1994), quoted in Keith, *Op Cit.*, p. 154.

594. (456) *Ibid.*, p. 153.

595. (457) Indeed, a major terrorism summit sponsored by Tehran in June of 1996 saw delegates from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and other Mid-East and African states, as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Germany, France, Britain, Canada, and the U.S. come together to form a joint working committee under the command of the new HizbAllah International — transforming that group into "the vanguard of the revolution" of the Muslim world.

596. (458) *Defense & Foreign Affairs, Op Cit.*

597. (459) *Ibid.*

598. (460) Ronald W. Lewis, "Uncivil Air War" (The Shootdown of TWA Flight 800)," *Air Forces Monthly*, No. 104, November 1996, posted by S.A.F.A.N. *Internet Newsletter*, No. 213, December 21, 1996.

599. (461) Dr. Laurie Mylroie, Ph.D., "Terrorism in Our Face," *American Spectator*, April, 1997.

600. (*) This will be explored more fully in Volume Two.

601. (462) Phillips, *Op Cit*. It is reported that hundreds of them are also being trained by Iranian Revolutionary Guards in Sudanese training

camps.

602. (463) See Edward Gargan, "Where Arab Militants Train and Wait," *New York Times*, 8/ 11/93; Tim Weiner, "Blowback From the Afghan Battlefield," *New York Times Magazine*, 3/13/94; Daniel Klaidman and Gregory L. Vistica, "In Search of a Killer," *Newsweek*, 8/11/97.

603. (464) "The New Era of Global Terrorism," *MSA News*, date unknown, posted on Internet. The leaders of Abu Sayyaf are: Abdurajak Abubakr Janjalani, Amilhussin Jumaani, Edwin Angeles, Asmad Abdul.

604. (465) "U.S. Forces in Gulf on High Security Alert," *Reuter*, 4/7/97.

605. (466) Patrick Cockburn, "Defector exposes Saddam's Lies on Chemical Weapons," *The Independent*, 5/7/96. "General Sammara'i says that the committee in charge of sabotage on which he served, and which uses a special 600-strong military unit called 888 to carry out operations, still exists and he suspects it was involved in giving support to the bombers.

606. (*) Abdul Rahman Yassin, an Iraqi indicted for his part in the World Trade Center bombing fled to Baghdad. His brother, Musab Yasin, provided a safehouse for the later plots. While the New York office of the FBI wanted to arrest him, curiously, the Washington office objected. Another Iraqi with a Ph.D. in microbiology, currently living in New Jersey, is Walled Samarrai.

607. (467) Charles Wallace, "Weaving a Wide Web of Terror," *Los Angeles Times*, 5/28/95; Robert D. McFadden, "Nine Suspected of Terrorism are Arrested in Manila," *New York Times*, 12/30/96.

608. (*) The nine suspects are: Yousef's brother, Adel Anonn (alias Adel Bani); Abdul Kareem Jassim Bidawi; Haleem Jassim Bidawi; Jamaal Jaloud; Ibrahim Abid; and Najim Nasser (Iraqis); Emad Almubarak (Sudanese); Saleh Al Quuwaye, and Zaid Al Amer (Saudis).

609. (**) Angeles told Jones that there are links to Philippine mail-order-bride businesses and criminal/terrorist activity. It was not clear from Jones' brief exactly what this entailed.

610. (468) *Ibid.*, p.3.

611. (469) Lana Padilla, interview with author.

612. (**) Referring to the place in Davao, Angeles said, "It was also the place where Muslims were taught in bomb making."

613. (470) Lou Kilzer and Kevin Floyd, "McVeigh Team Tries Again for Delay," *Rocky Mountain News*, 3/26/97; Timothy McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/97.

614. (471) Lana Padilla, interview with author.

615. (472) "Petition For Writ of Mandamus of Petitioner-Defendant, Timothy James McVeigh and Brief in Support", Case No. 96-CR-68-M, 3/25/97.

616. (*) A source close to Jones said that attorney Jim Hankins actually prepared the Writ.

617. (*) Northrop claims that when he tried to run the information down in Kingman he came up empty. His source in the U.S. Marshals Service, who was looking into the matter, received a call from the Justice Department, and was promptly stonewalled, he said.

618. (*) Casinos have been used to launder money. A drug dealer or other criminal enters the casino with dirty money, buys large quantities of chips, gambles a bit, then cashes in the chips for clean money. Russbacher told Stich that the process also works in reverse. He explained in one case how the CIA, through Shamrock Overseas Disbursement Corporation, gave money to the casino, who in turn would give gambling chips to the recipients when they arrived, then the chips were cashed in. Russbacher named three Las Vegas casinos allegedly involved in the operation, including the Frontier, Stardust, and Binyon's Horseshoe.

619. († Considering the reports from dancers at two stripper bars — one in Tulsa and one in Junction City — McVeigh and Nichols had a penchant for these types of places.

620. (473) As interrogatory answers filed by KFOR in its defense against al-Hussaini state: [Lana] Padilla said that her son, Josh, went to Las Vegas about once a month, where he was with Tim McVeigh, Terry Nichols, and Middle-Eastern men. Padilla expressed the opinion that there was a Middle-Eastern connection to the Oklahoma City bombing.

621. (474) "Omar Khalif was one of the aliases listed on Khalid's 1990 federal indictment.

622. (475) Melissa Klinzing, former KFOR news director, interview with author.

623. (**) After Davis questioned several employees at the MGM, two were fired.
624. (476) Louis Crousette and Jayna Davis, transcript in author's possession.
625. (477) Gordon Novel, interview with author.
626. (*) Gagan recognized Abraham Ahmed being with Khalid. Gagan said he saw Ahmed (by another name) in Las Vegas with Omar-Khalid in the Summer or Fall of 1994. He said he also saw Hussain al-Hussaini in Oklahoma City when he was here in April.
627. (**) Al Saiidi, incidentally, was the man who's wife who had a miscarriage after stones were thrown through his window. When Al Saiidi went before news cameras to complain about the incident, Khalid fired him.
628. (478) Ernie Cranfield, interview with author.
629. (*) The State Tax Commission also wanted Cranfield to testify against Khalid. Instead, Khalid paid a fine. "That covered up for his ex-wife getting killed," said Cranfield.
630. († At the same time, interestingly, two Middle Eastern residents of the Woodscape apartments skipped out without paying their rent. It should also be noted that two heavy-set Arabs work for Sam Khalid.
631. (479) Keith, *Op Cit*, p. 148.
632. (480) Joe Royer, interview with author. The FBI agent who interviewed the couple told them that one VIN number was left intact, and fingerprints were found.
633. (481) Rex Carmichael, interview with author.
634. (*) Was the brown pick-up painted at Route 66, or elsewhere? According to information obtained by Will Northrop, Haider al-Saiidi was hired by Ali Khoddami at International Auto works, a body shop located at 16th and Blackwielder, after he was fired by Khalid. An Iranian, Khoddami is reportedly a friend of Khalid's. Sharbat Khan, a Pakistani and Rizwan A. Shaikh were reportedly going to buy International Auto Works from Khoddami.
635. (482) Tom's is run by Tom Breske, who Carmichael described as "bad news."
636. (483) Confidential interview with author.
637. (484) Michael Reed, interview with author.
638. (**) Don Browning, interview with author. Kamal had been working with the FBI to track Khalid and others who were involved in insurance fraud scams. Although he definitely knew Khalid, he disputed that he said "This is the Mossad" to Browning. Browning swears he did. Yet Jayna Davis said Browning told her that Kamal said that Khalid was a member of "Hamas," a far cry from the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency. Another possible explanation is that there were Mossad agents posing as members of Hamas, but it seems unlikely that Kamal would know that.
639. (485) Bob Jerlow, interview with author.
640. (486) OCPD detective, confidential interview with author.
641. (*) When Jerlow asked an FBI source if KFOR was on the right track, he was told "Keep doing what you're doing." Curiously, an OCPD contact of Davis' was told by his FBI source, "stay away."
642. (*) Macy and State Attorney General Drew Edmondson had also pushed certain aspects of the Anti-Terrorism Bill, using the bombing as a platform.
643. (**) This is doubly interesting, since Richardson was the U.S. Attorney who prosecuted Khalid for insurance fraud in 1990. Richardson "committed suicide" in July of 1997 over "work-related" matters.
644. (*) While Khalid's attorney claimed that only \$15,000 dollars or so was involved in the scams, the U.S. Attorney's report is more incriminating. Khalid was also accused during his arson case of employing false Social Security numbers. One of them is registered to a woman in Oklahoma City; the other to a woman in Miami.
645. (**) One of the agents, James Strickland, would later be assigned to the Twilley assault case.

646. († He later told investigative journalist William Jasper he emigrated from Libya.

647. (487) U.S. vs. Sam Khalid, Response to Presentence Report; Sam Khalid, interview with author.

648. (*) According to a local HUD representative I checked with, Khalid paid cash for most of his properties, avoiding the scrupulous background checks and the typical paper trail which accompanies them. Additionally, none of Khalid's three companies, which employ numerous employees, are registered with the State or have Federal Tax I.D. numbers.

649. (*) Emphasis in original.

650. (488) FBI spokesman Charles Steinmetz said the information he gave Burnes came from former FBI Deputy Assistant Director Bob Ricks.

651. (489) Karen Burnes, "Palestinians: Dirty Business," CBS West 57 Street News magazine, 5/2/89, Cited in Howard Rosenberg, "Palestinian Network: A Full Report?", *Los Angeles Times*, 6/1/89.

652. (*) "Before the bombing, we couldn't get the U.S. Attorney's office interested," said private investigator Ben Jacobson. "After the bombing, they just wanted us to keep our mouths shut."

653. (490) Northrop, *Op Cit*.

654. (491) In federal court filings, WISE was described as "a front used to bring international terrorists to the United States."

655. (*) It seems the reference to "Iranians" as used by this CID officer is a generic term meant to refer to Middle-Easterners in general, although some Iranians were definitely involved.

656. (**) According to Mike Johnston, the head of security for 777 Post Oak Corporation (a high-rise office complex in Houston affiliated with IBI, Ishan Barbouti's company) had a son in the U.S. military intelligence. The father, who was later wanted for impersonating a CIA agent, would call his son at the Major Command Assignments Center at Bolling Air Force in Washington, D.C. around August 1990, just prior to the Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Some of the calls apparently involved the use of a modem to tap into the command center's computers.

657. (492) Retired U.S. Army CID investigator, Interview with author.

658. (493) General Robert L. Moore (Ret.), interview with author.

659. (*) Tom Weisman was the FBI SAC of the Huntsville office.

660. (**) This detective also said that the chief of the FBI's counterintelligence division masqueraded as a police officer and traveled to Florida to collect data on the their investigation.

661. († Brazelton didn't return calls.

662. (*) Had it actually come from Mexican drug king-pin Juan Garcia Abrego, who is linked to the Cali Cartel, and had reportedly sent two bag-men up to Oklahoma City to finance the bombing?

663. (**) Kingman has also been called the "Golden Triangle" of Speed (Methamphetamine), and McVeigh had known Clark Vollmer, a paraplegic drug dealer and loan shark in town. On October 19, six months to the day of the bombing, Gagan was directed by a man he describes as "Hizbollah" to take a bus from Las Vegas to Kingman, to deliver a large bag of money — estimated to be between \$200,000 and \$300,000 to an individual who was "militia looking in appearance."

664. († McPeak hired McVeigh in 1993 to do security work at a local shelter. When his girlfriend was arrested in Las Vegas on a bad credit charge, Clark Vollmer, a paraplegic drug dealer in Kingman, helped bail her out. In February of '95, McPeak claims, Vollmer asked him to ferry some drugs. He refused. Shortly thereafter, an ANFO bomb exploded under a chair outside McPeak's home. When he went to Vollmer's house to confront him, he found Timothy McVeigh, along with another man he didn't recognize.

665. (494) "FBI Finds Possible Evidence in OKC Bombing, CNN, 7/20/95.

666. (495) Hugh Dellios, "Federal Marshals Arrest Chemist," *Chicago Tribune*, 5/13/95; Mark Schaffer, "Probe Nets 2nd Man in Oatman," *Arizona Republic*, 5/14/95, quoted in Keith, p. 52; Katherine Mauro, Oatman Mining Co., interview with author; Records of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

667. (496) Diane Sawyer, "Prime Time Live," 4/25/95.

668. (497) Mike Johnston, "Investigative Fact Finding Trip to Germany," 1995, copy in author's possession; Jonathan Vankin, *Conspiracies, Cover-Ups & Crimes: From Dallas to Waco*, (Lilburn, GA: Illuminit Press, 1996), p. 211.
669. (*) Skorzeny was at the nexus of the surviving elements of the Nazi movement, and helped organize its tentacles after WWII.
670. (498) Johnston, *Op. Cit.*; Vankin, *Op Cit.*, p. 226; Martin A. Lee and Kevin Coogan, "Killers on the Right: Inside Europe's Fascist Underground," *Mother Jones*, May, 1987.
671. (499) *Der Spiegel* writer Martin Killian, interview with author. Libya also reportedly funded the Irish Republican Army.
672. (500) Johnston, *Op. Cit.*
673. (501) Mike Levine, interview with author.
674. (502) Tom Jarriel, ABC 20/20, January 19, 1996.
675. (503) Jeffrey A. Buita, "Extremist Groups," Office of International Criminal Justice, Chicago, date unknown. The connection is reportedly through Pakistani Brigadier General Imtiaz.
676. (504) Terrorist Group Profiles, Dudley Knox Library, Naval Postgraduate School, date unknown.
677. (505) Buita, *Op Cit.*
678. (*) The Bureau of Prisons had "no record" of Edward Flinton, eventhough he served time in federal prison. Usually this means the individual is under the "witness protection program."
679. (506) Kevin Flynn, "Romer, Norton Get Bomb Threats: CBI Informant's Reliability in Question; He Also Warned of Federal Building Blast," *Rocky Mountain News*, 08/12/95. Gagan said he met with Al Fuqra members on different occasions between October, 1995 and February 1996.
680. (507) Judge Lewis Babcock and John Strader, interview with author. Gagan said he met with U.S. Marshal Jake Warner at Brooklyns restaurant on October 27, 1995. "In all the years that I've known [Gagan], he's never met with a pair of people in suits," said the manager in an interview with the author.
681. (*) Gagan said he saw Daniel with Omar and Ahmed in Mexico. On November 27, Gagan says he was instructed by his "Hizbollah" contact to rent a room at the La Vista Motel in Denver in preparation for another meeting. Gagan said his attempts to have the FBI stake out the room were ignored. The informant claims he learned of plans to bomb simultaneous targets in Phoenix and Denver on or about February 8, 1996 — the specific targets being the ATF office in the Mile High Center at 1700 Broadway in Denver, and the DEA/Customs office at 115 Inverness Drive in Englewood, Colorado.
682. (508) Hampton's alias was Abd al-Rashid Abdallah, and Gant's was Abd Rashid.
683. (*) A voice stress analysis run on the caller indicated he was telling the truth.
684. (*) This claim was allegedly based on DNA tests and footprint matches.
685. (509) Jim Killackey, "Leg Confirmed as 169th Victim's," *Daily Oklahoman*, date unknown; "Leg Lost in Blast Still a Mystery," *Dallas Morning News*, 10/19/95; "Oklahoma Bomb Victim Exhumed," 3/15/96, Associated Press; Gary Tuchman, "Does severed leg prove McVeigh's innocence?," CNN, 8/7/95.
686. (510) William Jasper, interview with author. Mahon stated this to Jasper on October 1, 1996,
687. (511) "Rise of HizbAllah International," *Defense & Foreign Affairs*, 8/31/96.
688. (512) FBI 302 statement of Mohammad Abdul Haggag, quoted in Mylroie, *Op Cit.*
689. (513) Timothy McVeigh's Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/96, copy in author's possession, also quoted in William Jasper, " Defense Cits Mideast Connection," *The New American*, 5/12/97.
690. (514) Phillips, *Op Cite.*
691. (515) She said that her father had also met Yasser Afafat, and had his photograph on his wall.

692. (*) Michele also said she overheard her father talk about approaching neo-Nazis through the National Socialist Party. Did Hiram Torres try to contact National Socialist leader Gary Lauck? Apparently, Strassmeir was on to Lauck, as he was arrested on his way to Denmark. Strassmeir had learned about Lauck's travel plans from WAR leader Dennis Mahon, a friend of Brescia and Strassmeir, who, as mentioned previously, was being paid by the Iraqis.
693. (516) Keith, *Op Cit.*, p. 151.
694. (**) We ran Torres' tapes through a voice stress analyzer. They indicated she was being truthful.
695. (517) There were no purges in the Communist intelligence services in the former Soviet Union [FSU]. Documents and records, as General Sejna points out, were transferred from Eastern Europe to Moscow. Those who ran the KGB still run the SVR, and a dozen other services in Russia and the FSU.
696. (518) Michael Hedges, "Senate Resolution Asks Clinton to Block Resettlement of Iraqis," *Washington Times*, 9/14/93; "Iraq: Admission of Refugees into the United States," Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, Library of Congress, 10/28/93; Letter from Senator David Boren to Craig Roberts, 3/14/94, copy in author's possession; Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the U.K., Australia, Pakistan, and Syria absorbed the remaining refugees.
697. (*) The Federal Government allocated \$6,000 per refugee for resettlement purposes, at the same time that veterans who suffered from Gulf War illness were being ignored by the Veterans Administration.
698. (519) *Ibid.*
699. (*) On December 4, 1981, President Reagan issued an Executive Order permitting the CIA to conduct covert operations inside this country. Not that they didn't already.
700. (*) Like Andreas Strassmeir, Hussaini was unable to come up with his INS records. Khalid claimed they were stolen by KFOR, a claim that Jayna Davis just laughed at.
701. (*) The government's refusal to admit the terrorist missile shoot-down of TWA flight 800 may very well have as its basis the need to maintain the ability of the crucial airline industry to continue functioning.
702. (*) As Washington insider journalist Sara McClendon told me, "Bush has a hold on the Clinton administration, and I don't know what it is.... George Bush starts these things... he's pushing Mena, Arkansas off on Clinton.... Most of the people don't know that Bush is manipulating the administration."
703. (520) McVeigh was indicted on 11 counts: conspiracy to use a bomb to destroy the Federal Building, detonating the bomb, destroying a federal building, and murdering eight federal law enforcement agents.
704. (521) Brandon M. Stickney, *All American Monster: The Unauthorized Biography of Timothy McVeigh* (New York, NY: Prometheus Books, 1996), p. 177; "Richard Serrano, "Clues Sought in Details from McVeigh's Arrest," *Los Angeles Times*, 9/10/95, quoted in Armstrong, *Op Cit.* p. 118.
705. (*) McVeigh was taken over to Hanger's patrol car, where he heard radio broadcasts about the bombing, and casually chit-chated with Officer Hanger. (When he arrived at the jailhouse, he simply asked, "when's chow"?)
706. (522) Col. David Hackworth and Peter Anninn, j"And We're Going to Go to Trial," *Newsweek*, 7/3/95.
707. (523) Richard A. Serrano, "Clues Sought in Details from McVeigh's Arrest," 9/10/95, quoted in *Ibid.*
708. (524) Application and Affidavit FBI Special Agent Henry C. Gibbons.
709. (525) Elizabeth Gleick, "Who Are They?" *Time*, 5/1/95.
710. (526) *New York Times*, 4/22/95.
711. (*) For that matter, why would he rent an easily traceable truck, apply for jobs at the Federal Building using his real name, allow himself to be filmed by numerous security cameras, stop to ask directions minutes before the bombing, hang around two blocks from the crime scene minutes after the blast, speed away without a license plate, and fail to shoot the cop who stopped him?
712. (527) United States v. Timothy James McVeigh, direct testimony of FBI Agent James Elliott, 4/28/97. The complete confidential vehicle identification number was 1FDNF72J4PVA26077.

713. (*) The author saw a close-up videotape of the axle taken by Deputy Sheriff Melvin Sumter, which clearly shows the serial number on the differential housing, which is part of the rear axle assembly. It was not, as some amateur researchers claimed, on the axle itself.
714. (528) FBI FD-383 (FBI Facial Identification Fact Sheet) of Tom Kessinger, dated 4/20/95, copy in author's possession. Tim Kelsey, "The Oklahoma Suspect Awaits Day of Reckoning," *London Sunday Times*, 4/21/96.
715. (529) Cash, *Op Cit*.
716. (530) Edward Zehr, "The McVeigh Trial Gets Underway: Mainstream Media Miss The Real Story," *Washington Weekly*, 5/5/97.
717. (*) Elliott stated in his FBI 302 that a second man accompanied "Kling" on April 17, and thought he saw "fair size" light blue sedan.
718. (*) In fact, Elliott testified that he met with the prosecution for two hours, several days prior to the his appearance at trial.
719. (531) Affidavit of Richard Renya, July 5, 1995
720. (532) *Newsweek* reporter, confidential interview with author.
721. (*) An anonymous informant who contacted State Representative Charles Key several times stated, "...the ATF regularly uses leased Ryder trucks to move ordinance. And you know it's against ICC regulation and everything but he said they secretly do it." Investigator Craig Roberts said the Army also has "open contracts" with Ryder.
722. (533) "Phone Records Link Suspects Before Blast," *Daily Oklahoman*, 5/3/96.
723. (534) Testimony of OPUS Telecom expert John Kane, U.S. v. McVeigh.
724. (535) Kevin Flynn, "Computer Records Show Calls Made But Aren't Clear Who Made Them," *Rocky Mountain News*, date unknown. "Prosecutors have pressured OPUS representatives not to discuss this issue with the News, even asking them not to verify how their computer systems work, the employees said."
725. (536) Steve Wilmsen, "Records Point to John Doe 2," *Denver Post*, date unknown; Steven K. Paulson, Associated Press, 2/15/97. In a later ruling, Judge Matsch stated that Manning denied prosecutors did anything wrong to elicit his testimony.
726. (537) J.D. Cash, interview with James Sargeant, *Media Bypass*, July, 1996.
727. (538) Barbara Whittenberg, interview with author.
728. (*) Interestingly, McGown did not state on his FBI 302 who was driving the truck on April 16, when his mother had asked him to request that the driver move it.
729. (539) Investigation on 5/7/95 at Junction City, Kansas File # 174A-OC-56120-D-815 by SA Mark M. Bouton -WSA, date dictated 5/8/95.
730. (540) Robert Vito, "Oklahoma Bombing Investigators Hit Troublesome Snags," CNN, 11/24/95.
731. (541) *Newsweek* reporter, confidential interview with author.
732. (542) Hoppy Heidelberg, Interview with author.
733. (543) Joseph Vinduska and Dennis Euwer are two witnesses who saw the truck at the lake on the 18th.
734. (544) Steve Wilmsen and Mark Eddy, "Who bombed the Murrah Building?" *Denver Post*, date unknown.
735. (545) Jack Douglas Jr. "Bomb link to lake reportedly scrapped," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 3/25/97.
736. (546) Evan Thomas, "This Doesn't Happen Here," *Newsweek*, 5/1/95; U.S. v. McVeigh.
737. (547) U.S. v. James Douglas Nichols and Terry Nichols, Criminal Complaint, statements of FBI Special Agent Patrick Wease.
738. (548) "Some Witnesses Leery Of Bombing Grand Jury," *Daily Oklahoman*, 8/10/97; Gary Antene, interview with author.
739. (549) U.S. v. McVeigh, testimony of Richard Chambers.

740. (550) "FBI Investigates Possible McVeigh Link to Fuel Buy," *Rocky Mountain News*, 4/11/97.
741. (*) However, the indictment named Libyan Abdel Basset Ali al-Megrahi as the customer. Authorities' second witness, Abdu Maged Jiacha, a Libyan intelligence officer who defected to the U.S., was put into the Federal Witness Protection Program and given a \$4 million dollar reward for his testimony against Megrahi.
742. (551) Ed Hueske, interview with author.
743. (552) Frank Shiller and Max Courtney, interviews with author.
744. (553) Lou Kilzer and Kevin Flynn, "Were Feds Warned Before OKC Bomb Built?" *Rocky Mountain News*, 2/6/97.
745. (554) Testimony of Kevin Nicholas, U.S. v. McVeigh.
746. (555) Padilla and Delpit, *Op Cit.*, p. 209; David Johnson, "Agents in Kansas Hunt for Bomb Factory as Sense of Frustration Begins to Build," *New York Times*, 4/30/95, quoted in Keith, p. 37.
747. (556) James. D. Nichols, *Freedom's End: Conspiracy in Oklahoma*, self published, 1997, p. 164.
748. (557) "McVeigh's Fingerprints Not on Key Items," CNN, 5/15/97.
749. (*) As the Associated Press recently reported, police in upstate New York had been falsifying evidence, including fingerprints, for years.
750. (558) Jim Garrison, *On The Trial of the Assassins* (New York, NY: Warner Books, 1988), p. 113.
751. (559) Whitehurst contended the problems in the FBI's lab had been occurring since at least 1989.
752. (560) David Johnston and Andrew C. Revkin, "Report Finds FBI Lab Slipping From Pinnacle of Crime Fighting," *New York Times*, 1/29/97.
753. (561) "Report: FBI Lab Botched Oklahoma Bombing Evidence," CNN, 3/22/97.
754. (*) As Whitehurst stated: "...Mr. Thurman, in my estimation does intentionally misrepresent evidence and is, absolutely, without a doubt, beyond any possible other explanation's grasp, result oriented. He wants the answer that will prove guilt...."
755. (**) Whitehurst testified that he was told not to provide any information or evidence, such as alternate theories to the urea-nitrate theory, that could be used by the defense to challenge the prosecutors' hypothesis of guilt in the World Trade Center case. (Ryan Ross, "Blasting the FBI," *Digital City Denver*, 1997)
756. (562) John Kelly, "FBI: McVeigh Contradictions," *Unclassified*, date unknown; Memorandum to All U.S. Attorneys from John Keeney, Acting Assistant Attorney General, 1/4/96, copy in author's possession; "Outside Experts to Review FBI Crime Lab," *Wall Street Journal*, 9/19/95; "Team to Investigate FBI Chemist's Bias Claims," Associated Press, date unknown; Pierre Thomas, "FBI Lab Audit Finds Some Discrepancies," *Washington Post*, 9/15/95.
757. (**) "Mr. Williams... rewrote my reports in an unauthorized rewriting, issued these reports, unauthorized, changes being in them, and changed the meaning of the reports I think, without realizing it," Whitehurst later testified.
758. (563) Memorandum to Scientific Analysis Chief James Kearny, copy in author's possession, date unknown.
759. (564) Garrison, *Op Cit.*, P. 116.
760. (565) "FBI Furor," *Unclassified*, Summer, 1997.
761. (566) Ryan Ross, "Blasting the FBI," *Digital City Denver*, 1997.
762. (567) Nolan Clay, "McVeigh Items Seized From Home, Brief Says," *Daily Oklahoman*, 6/11/96; U.S. v. McVeigh, testimony of Special Agent Steven Burmeister.
763. (568) Karen Abbott, "Defense Says FBI Tainted Residue: Evidence Questioned; British Expert Testifies; The Tables Turn Today," *Rocky Mountain News*, 5/21/97. Burmeister said he photographed the crystals before they disappeared.
764. (569) Deputy Sheriff Clint Boehler, interview with author.

765. (570) Ryan Ross, *Digital City Denver*, 1997. Reno would later comment, "It is unfair, it is unreasonable, it is a lie to spread the poison that the government was responsible at Waco for the murder of innocents. That kind of language is unacceptable in a society that values truth."
766. (571) U.S. v. McVeigh.
767. (*) McVeigh selected Oklahoma City for the fact that the agents and the orders that came out of that building were responsible for the tragedy at Waco, Fortier alleged at trial.
768. (572) The gun — a Ruger Mini-30 rifle, Serial No. 18957425 — was actually purchased by Terry Nichols on November 10, 1993, from Randy's Hunting and Sport in Bad Axe, Michigan.
769. (573) Hoppy Heidelberg, interview with author.
770. (574) Copy of letter in author's possession.
771. (575) David Maranise, Pierre Thomas, "Officials See Conspiracy of at Least Four in Blast; Probe Focuses on Suspect's Right-Wing Ties, *Washington Post*, 4/23/95.
772. (576) *Ibid.*
773. (577) *Dallas Morning News*, 6/15/95.
774. (578) Peter Carlson, *Washington Post*, 3/23/97.
775. (*) Hartzler's letter, Jones said in his brief, "indicates that the Justice Department is still searching for John Doe No. 2 and may be releasing disinformation to lessen public pressure to find [him]."
776. (579) Nolan Clay and John Parker, "John Doe 2 Still Sought, Letter: Says Prosecutors Doubt Witnesses Mistaken," *The Daily Oklahoman*, date unknown.
777. (580) William Jasper, *New American*, date unknown.
778. (581) Nolan Clay and Penny Owen, "'Wacky Theories' Unfair, McVeigh Attorney Says," *Daily Oklahoman*, 10/29/96. "We have an obligation to investigate everything," Hartzler told a group of bombing victims. "And if we find some rumor or whatever it is, it makes it into an FBI report."
779. (582) John Gibson, interview with Charles Key and V.Z. Lawton, MSNBC, 4/25/97; V.Z. Lawton, interviews with author.
780. (583) *New York Times*, 12/3/95.
781. (*) The federal prosecutors' lame excuse for confining the evidence to McVeigh and Nichols was to maintain a "deadline" set by federal guidelines on providing speedy trials.
782. (584) Harry Wallace, CBS This Morning, 10/16/95.
783. (585) Jon Rappaport is the author of *The Oklahoma Bombing: The Suppressed Truth* (Santa Monica: Blue Press, 1995).
784. (586) Hoppy Heidelberg, interview with author.
785. (587) J.D. Cash, "New Investigation Into Oklahoma City Bombing Demanded," *Jubilee*, Nov/Dec, 1995. In the Whitewater affair, a special federal judge panel, by statute, appointed an Independent Counsel, Kenneth Starr, supposed to be separate and apart from the Justice Department. Under the law, this was supposed to assure the public that there would be an "independent" investigation of possible high-level criminality, not a white-wash. Miguel Rodriguez was reportedly blocked by Starr and others from probing and calling independent witnesses, not necessarily FBI nor forensic experts beholden to a political agenda. All this, in respect to suspicions that White House deputy counsel Vincent Foster, jr. was not really a suicide but murdered. "Whitewater And The 'Runaway' Federal Grand Jury", Sherman H. Skolnick. *Conspiracy Nation*, Vol. 5, No. 30.
786. (*) It seemed that the John Doe 2 lead was officially dropped in early May. An FBI memo regarding a John Doe 2 lead instructs all FBI offices: "In view of the fact that the Oklahoma Command Post has directed all offices to hold unsub #2 leads in abeyance, San Francisco will conduct no further investigation regarding this lead." (174A-OC-56120 TPR:tp, investigation was conducted by Special Agent (SA) Thomas P. Ravenelle regarding Richard Dehart, DOB 6/21/65, as a Phoenix resident and a possible look- alike for unsub #2, dated 5/3/95.)

787. (588) Reddy and Wilmsen, *Op Cit.*
788. (589) Dr. Paul Heath, interview with author.
789. (590) Sharon Cohen, Associated Press, 4/27/95, quoted in Armstrong, *Op Cit.*, p. 27.
790. (*) It should be noted that McVeigh was supposedly on the road on April 12, traveling from Kingman to Junction City.
791. (591) Barbara Whittenberg, interview with author.
792. (592) Jayna Davis, interview with author.
793. (593) Linda Kuhlman and Phyliss Kingsley, interviews with author.
794. (594) Connie Hood, interview by Glenn Wilburn and J.D. Cash; Keith, *Op Cit.*, p. 147.
795. (595) *Ibid.*
796. (596) Tony Boller, Assistant Project Manager, Goodwill Industries, interview with author.
797. (597) Jerri-Lynn Backhaus and Dorinda Hermes , interviews with author.
798. (598) Kevin Flynn, "Guard saw 2nd truck at building: Story Mirrors Bombing Trial Witness' Account of Blast Day," *Rocky Mountain News*, 5/24/97.
799. (599) Arnold Hamilton, *Dallas Morning News*, 11/27/95.
800. (600) Brian Ford, "McVeigh Placed at Kansas Store," *Tulsa World*, 9/12/97.
801. (601) Hamilton, *Op Cit.*
802. (*) This is the same thing that Brian Marshall, the Johnny's Tire Store employee, said.
803. (*) David Snider, interview with author. Snider appeared to be a credible witness.
804. (602) Mark Eddy, "Witnesses Tell a Different Story," *Denver Post*, 6/16/96.
805. (603) Rodney Johnson, interview with author.
806. (604) "Some Witnesses Leery Of Bombing Grand Jury," *Daily Oklahoman*, 8/10/97.
807. (605) *Monterey County Herald*, 4/29/95, quoted in Armstrong, *Op Cit.*, p. 8.
808. (606) Judy Kuhlman and Diana Baldwin, "Witnesses Say McVeigh Not Alone — Testimony Places John Doe 2, Another Man With Bomber," *Daily Oklahoman*, 9/11/97.
809. (607) "FBI Searching for Third Man in Oklahoma City Bombing," CNN, 3/10/97.
810. (*) "Reference lead #10,220: Referenced lead #10,220, San Francisco was directed to locate and interview LESTER SCANLON concerning his knowledge of STEVEN COLBERN. In view of the fact that COLBERN has been eliminated as a suspect in this matter, San Francisco will conduct no further investigation concerning lead #10,220." (FBI memo dated 5/3/95.)
811. (608) Cash, *Media Bypass*, February, 1996, *Op Cit.*
812. (*) As the *Legal Times* noted: "Within hours of landing, [Deputy A. G. Merrick] Garland was hit by a barrage of legal concerns.... In subsequent days, Garland met with Oklahoma County District Attorney Robert Macy, gently notifying him of the Justice Department's desire not to have a local investigation going on simultaneously."
813. (609) Foreign Policy Institute expert, confidential interview with author.
814. (*) The Brady Rule and Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 16(a)(1)(C) provides: "Upon request of the defendant the government shall permit the defendant to inspect and copy and photograph, books, papers, documents, photographs... which are within the possession,

custody or control of the government, and which are material to the preparation of the defendant's defense...."

815. (610) U.S. v. McVeigh, Timothy McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/97.

816. (611) Ambrose Evans Pritchard, "Victims Sue in Oklahoma: Fight for Truth," *London Sunday Telegraph*, 3/23/97.

817. (612) J.D. Cash and Jeff Holladay, "Day of Blast 'an Amazing Coincidence,'" *McCurtain Gazette*, 12/1/95.

818. (613) Pat Briley, interview with author.

819. (*) Judge Matsch was not impressed with this evidence. He commented during trial that there must be half a million blue GMC pick-ups with camper tops.

820. (614) Ken Armstrong, interview with Oklahoma Highway Patrol, August 30, 1995.

821. (615) Amber McGlaughlin, interview with author.

822. (616) Ken Armstrong, *No Amateur Did This* (Aptos, CA: Blackeye Press, 1997).

823. (*) The assertion was that McVeigh was demonstrating how to make a "shaped charge," which would have been impossible to make using 55-gallon barrels of ANFO.

824. (617) Testimony of Deborah Brown, U.S. v. McVeigh. The author has had personal experience with methamphetamine users, and can vouch for the drug's ability to induce psychotic states.

825. (*) In fact, Fortier was very intent during testimony on impressing upon the jury that the guns from the Moore "robbery" were stolen, saying in response to Jones' cross-examination: "No, no! I'm convinced those guns were stolen!" As J.D. Cash observed, Fortier's successful plea-bargain was partly dependent on carrying that fact forward.

826. (618) Hoppy Heidelberg, interview with Jon Rappaport.

827. (*) Even Judge Matsch was forced to tell the jury: "You should bear in mind that a witness who has entered into such an agreement has an interest in this case different from any ordinary witness. A witness who realizes that he may be able to obtain his own freedom or receive a lighter sentence by giving testimony favorable to the prosecution has a motive to testify falsely. Therefore, you must examine his testimony with caution and weigh it with great care."

828. (619) *The Fifth Estate*, Fall, 1996, Vol. 31, #2.

829. (620) *Denver Post*, 5/6/97.

830. (621) "Juror's Emotions With Crying Witnesses," *The Spotlight*, 5/26/97.

831. (622) "Nichols' Wife Says She Didn't Understand FBI Consent Form," CNN, 6/28/96

832. (623) Keith, *Op Cit.*, p. 35.

833. (624) Chris Hansen, "His Brother's Keeper," *Dateline*, 1995, quoted in Keith, p. 36; Bob Popavitch, interview with author.

834. (*) Most noticeably the *Tulsa World*, which earned the knick-name, *The Tulsa Pravda*." The *Daily Oklahoman* has been called the "*Daily Joke-la-homan*" by locals.

835. (**) Levine also graciously represented Representative Key and several investigators, including the author, who had set up a charitable trust to investigate the bombing, for free, and brought Chicken soup to the author when he was sick.

836. († Keating told Gary Harper during one of his weekly citizen chat sessions that Key was sleeping with a judge's wife. Keating also unsuccessfully tried to find a political candidate to run against the popular 5-term Representative. As *Portland Free Press* publisher Ace Hayes writes, "[Keating] is a pure devotee of Imperial State power and his approach is, 'to hell with free speech, free thought or free association.' He will protect the rich by attacking people no matter what fine words he swears an oath to...."

837. (625) Robby Trammel and Randy Ellis, "Call For Bomb Investigation Debated," *Daily Oklahoman*, 6/29/95.

838. (626) As we argued when Key first set out on this course, the Legislature and its staff had no business investigating the bombing. It was, and is, poorly equipped to do so. The same can be said of a panel of local citizens who would be asked to investigate one of the most

complicated cases ever to come before the courts. Yet as *The New American* pointed out, state legislatures are regularly tasked on important and sensitive investigations. And the County Grand jury? Is that not "a panel of local citizens," the same as the Federal Grand jury that originally "investigated" the bombing?

839. (**) It is interesting to examine the attitudes of the *Tulsa World and Daily Oklahoman* in light of their sister papers in Nebraska and Arkansas, two other corruption-ridden states. Former Nebraska State Senator John DeCamp investigated a shocking pattern of financial improprieties, child abuse, and murder in his home state. In his book, *The Franklin Cover-Up*, DeCamp exhorts the media to honestly report the facts. But, as DeCamp notes, "...the *World-Herald's* long-standing pattern of behavior is just the opposite. If it has an editorial attitude on a story, its news coverage and every other aspect of the newspaper are mustered to accentuate the preferred side of the issue and suppress opposing views.... "Why all this effort? Because, tragically, the people who control the *World-Herald* appear to have a strong vested interest in suppressing the truth...." As *The Clinton Chronicles* notes with regard to Arkansas: "First, the Clintons have very cleverly manipulated and compromised the press in Arkansas, a small state with only one major newspaper, the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette.... Despite revelations of scandal after scandal regarding the Clintons, the Arkansas press has been in a state of denial, portraying most of the revelations as attacks on the people of Arkansas themselves." [John W. DeCamp, *The Franklin Cover-up: Child Abuse, Satanism, and Murder in Nebraska* (Lincoln, NE: AWT, Inc., 1996), p.95; Patrick Matrisciana, *The Clinton Chronicles*, (Hemet, CA: Jeremiah Books, 1994), p. 21.]

840. (627) Nolan Clay and Penny Owen, "'Wacky Theories' Unfair, McVeigh Attorney Says," *Daily Oklahoman*, 10/29/96.

841. (*) Shortly after Key and Wilburn drew up their petition to impanel the grand jury, a bill was introduced in the State Legislature to change the grand jury petitioning process.

842. (628) Mark Sanford, interview with author.

843. (629) Even Palmer admitted that the statutes were limited as to what Judge Owens could do or how he could interpret the law.

844. (*) The County didn't possess the resources and funds, Palmer replied, to pursue such a big case. Besides, she pleaded, the "investigation" was already "complete," being a "thorough investigation" from "several different federal agencies." (Palmer claimed a County Grand Jury would "jeopardize the Federal case." The federal gag order prevents interviewing prospective witnesses, she claimed. Sanford countered that there would be no interference with the federal case as long as they were interviewing witnesses and suspects that federal prosecutors ignored, which seem to be in abundance.

845. (630) Moore, *Op Cit.*, p. 140.

846. (631) District Attorney Bob Macy, interview with author.

847. (632) Rep. Charles Key, interviews with author.

848. (633) Diana Baldwin and Judy Kuhlman, "Court Filings Stop Bombing Testimony of Postal Worker," *Daily Oklahoman*, 9/9/97.

849. (634) Rita Cosby, FOX News, 4/4/97.

850. (635) Interview with Jayna Davis. Macy's Assistant DAs who handled that case were John Farely and Jane Brown.

851. (636) *Daily Oklahoman*, 8/14/97.

852. (**) "They're coming up with a substitute for proof," said Denver defense attorney Larry Pozner. "They're softening the jury up with emotional testimony about the bombing and McVeigh's politics. They're saying, 'We'll give you every reason in the world to hate Tim McVeigh.'" (Kevin Flynn, "Softening the Jury," *Rocky Mountain News*, 5/8/97.)

853. (637) "The CIA & The Media," *Rolling Stone*, 10/20/77, cited in Mark Zepezauer, *The CIA's Greatest Hits*, 1994.

854. (638) Mark Sanford, interview with author; William Jasper, "OKC Investigator Under Attack," *New American*, 6/23/97.

855. (639) Brian Ford, "Fund-Raising Probed: Jury Looks into Efforts of Rep. Charles Key," *Tulsa World*, 5/6/97.

856. (640) Jasper, *Op Cit.*

857. (*) Just as the letter is a sham masquerading as an honest response from bombing survivors, Drew Edmondson [and Frank Keating] are sub-human pieces of effluvia masquerading as human beings.

858. (*) Nor the rewards of political office and bribes.

859. (641) *Ibid.*

860. (642) Brian Ford, "McVeigh Placed at Kansas Store," *Tulsa World*, 9/12/97.

861. (*) Fortunately, the smear tacticians weren't successful at disuading everyone from the truth. In a CNN/USA TODAY/GALLUP poll conducted in April of 1996, 68 percent of those surveyed said they didn't agree that all of the suspects have been captured.

862. (*) The building was demolished because officials claimed it was an eyesore, an eerie reminder of that tragic day. Yet authorities made no effort to remove the charred, twisted, gutted remains of the Athenian Restaurant directly across the street, which to this day still stands as a shocking monument to the brutality of the bombing.

863. (*) According to a 1988 GAO (General Accounting Office) report, the Federal Building was not a "safe" place to install a day care center. Allegedly based on the 1983 plot by white supremacist Richard Wayne Snell (CSA member and friend of Robert Millar) to bomb the facility, the report concluded that a day care center should not be placed inside the Murrah Building. "No federal law enforcement agents who worked in the building, including the BATF, Secret Service, and the DEA, ever had any of their children in the Murrah's day care center... ever," said Smith.

864. (*) Smith complained that when she appears on local radio shows, it seems to her that "more people around here now hate me than like me... People that don't want to think that the government would do such a thing."

865. (643) Glenn Wilburn, interview with author.

866. (644) Kathy Wilburn and Edye Smith, interview with author.

867. (645) "Tested by Fire," *People* magazine, date unknown, quoted in, Gene Wheaton, "Another Bush Boy," *Portland Free Press*, July 1995. Keating stated, "The leftists I dealt with would never consider themselves patriots, and they had contempt for the government. The right-wing crowd has contempt for the government, and yet see themselves as patriots. It's a curious anomaly, but both of them are very similar."

868. (*) "Because of my youthful appearance, I did undercover work on the Berkeley campus," Keating said. The assignment dissolved shortly after Keating attended a Black Panther rally. A federal informant who later identified people at the protest took one look at a photo of Keating and muttered, "That's a pig." (*Oklahoma Gazette*, 9/26/97)

869. (*) Keating also presided over the federal prison system. His wife, Cathy, is a consultant to *U.S. News & World Report*, a magazine that often serves as an organ of black propaganda.

870. (646) Gene Wheaton, "Another Bush Boy," *Portland Free Press*, July 1995.

871. (647) Ace Hayes, letter to author.

872. (648) Deposition of William C. Duncan, copy in author's possession.

873. (*) Interestingly, Mena/Iran-Contra player Raymond "Buddy" Young, the former Arkansas State Police Captain who told ADFA director Larry Nichols he was a "dead man" if he did not drop his suit against Clinton, was appointed director of FEMA's (Federal Emergency Management Agency) Region IV post by Clinton. FEMA played a significant coordination role in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing. Was Young given the \$90,000-a-year job to keep his mouth shut?

874. (**) In fact, Wheaton suggested that Keating is being groomed for the 2000 presidential [or vice-presidential] candidacy.

875. († The same reason for demolishing the Federal Building was given for demolishing the buildings at Waco: "Safety concerns." Yet the Waco buildings were miles from anywhere. Furthermore, an architect who inspected the Federal Building soon after the bombing said there was no immediate danger. But, according to David Hall, owner of KPOC-TV in Ponca City, Oklahoma, this architect was later "persuaded" to change his opinion.

876. (649) William Jasper, *New American*, date unknown.

877. (650) Affidavit of Neil Hartley.

878. (651) Melissa Klinzing, interview with author.

879. (652) Ann Domin, interview with author.

880. (653) Rappaport, *Op Cit*.

881. (654) Hoppy Heidelberg, interview with Jon Rappaport.

882. (*) In fact, many times that I have spoken to Heidelberg, I could hear the distinctive clicks of a tapped phone.
883. (**) "They sent another team out on October 20," added Heidelberg. "Agents Marry Judd and Dave Swanson. "They said 'do you know how much trouble you're in?', and I said 'well, apparently not,' and I just laughed at them like I'm laughing now (bursts out laughing). And they don't know what the hell to do with that. What do you do with a guy that just laughs at you?"
884. (655) Hoppy Heidelberg, interview with author.
885. (656) Timothy McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/97, pp. 71-72.
886. (*) Jim Garrison, *On the Trail of the Assassins* (Warner Books, 1988), p.252. In 1993, shortly before Vince Foster's body was found at Fort Marcy Park, Patrick Knowlton saw a car with a suspicious looking character. He informed the FBI, but later complained that the their rendering of his testimony was inaccurate. After he was subpoenaed by Kenneth Starr's Whitewater committee, he was stalked and intimidated by cars with license plates registered to the U.S. government.
887. (657) *Newsweek* reporter, confidential interview with author.
888. (658) Debra Burdick, interview with author.
889. (659) Deposition of Jane C. Graham, 7/20/97; Statement of Jane Graham, 11/15/96.
890. (660) Sharon Cohen, Associated Press, 4/26/95; Brian Duffy, "The Manhunt: Twisting Trail," *U.S. News & World Report*, 5/8/95.
891. (661) Bill Jasper, interview with author.
892. (*) Mackey also accused Davis of telling a bartender in Denver that McVeigh was in the room. Davis denied it.
893. (662) Testimony of John Jeffrey Davis, U.S. v. McVeigh.
894. (663) Timothy McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/96, p. 36.
895. (*) During the Pan Am 103 investigation, authorities attempted to coerce a civilian searcher into signing a statement that he had discovered a piece of microchip on which the government's theory hinged. In fact, the searcher was brought a bag of various unidentified components and asked to sign the statement, eventhough he wasn't sure he had found the items.
896. (664) J.D. Cash, *McCurtain Gazette*, quoted in B.C. Specht, "Ministry of 'Slick Justice' Scores Big Coup," posted on Internet, 5/26/97.
897. (665) Ryan Ross, "Final Witness Before Explosion — Two Men in Truck, Neither was McVeigh?" *Digital City Denver News*, 5/23/97; Adrian Croft, "Oklahoma City Bombing Trial Takes Dramatic Twist," *Reuter*, 5/23/97.
898. (666) Diana Baldwin and Ed Godfrey, "Sighting Accounts Differ — Grand Jury Witnesses Put Bomber in 2 Places," *Daily Oklahoman*, 7/15/97.
899. (667) Rep. Charles Key, interview with author, account of interview with Gary Lewis.
900. (*) Heath called the agent's supervisor and complained, then, when he asked how he could fill out a Freedom of Information Act request to see what the FBI had said about him, was told they didn't know where he could get one. When he went to the FBI office, he was rebuffed once again. After he finally got the FOIA filled out, he received word 60 days later that his request was denied.
901. (668) Dr. Paul Heath, interview with author.
902. (669) David Keen and Connie Hood, interview by J.D. Cash, tape transcribed by author.
903. (*) This was originally reported on the major networks, then retracted as a "radar anomaly."
904. (670) Roberts, *Op Cit.*, p. 311. Part of Roberts' current assignment as a liaison officer to an Air Force Reserve fighter squadron entails analyzing surface-to-air threats.
905. (671) ABC World News Sunday, 07/21/96.
906. (672) *New York Daily News*, 11/09/96, quoted in *Ibid*.

907. (673) *Elftherotypia*, Athens, 08/23/96. Ian Williams Goddard, "The Veracity of the Russell Report," 11/20/96, posted on Internet. Goddard is the author of the book, *The Downing of TWA Flight 800*.
908. (674) *Ibid*.
909. (675) David Fulghum, "ANG Pilot: Jet by Object," *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 3/10/96, quoted in Goddard, "TWA 800 Missile Theory: Stronger Than Ever," © 1997.
910. (676) "Report: Pilot Saw Projectile Near Jet," Associated Press, 7/29/97.
911. (677) E. Phillips, P. Mann, "Terrorist Fears Deepen with 747's Destruction," *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 7/22/96, quoted in Goddard, *Op Cit*.
912. (678) Associated Press, 7/20/97, quoted in William F. Jasper, "What Happened to TWA 800?" *The New American*, 10/8/96.
913. (679) David Fulghum, "ANG Eyewitnesses Reject Missile Theory," *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 7/29/96, quoted in Goddard, *Op Cit*.
914. (680) Joe Sexton, "Behind a Calm Facade Investigation Embodied Chaos, Distrust, Stress," *New York Times*, 8/23/96, quoted in Goddard, *Ibid*.
915. (*) Lt. Comdr. Rob Newell, a Navy spokesman at the Pentagon, said the Navy's only aircraft in the area was a P-3 Orion anti-submarine plane, which does not carry missiles.
916. (681) Letter to David Hendrix, Riverside, CA, *Press Enterprise* from CINCLANTFLT (Commander in Chief Atlantic Fleet), Public Affairs office, 8/30/96, quoted in Roberts, *Op Cit.*, p. 324-25.
917. (682) Pat Milton, "Salinger Sticks By Missile Theory While Feds Shoot It Down," Associated Press, 11/9/96.
918. (683) Minton, *Op Cit*.
919. (684) Bo Gritz, *Center For Action Monthly Newsletter*, Vol. 6 No 11, June, 1997.
920. (685) "Sonar Finds Underwater Wreckage," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 7/21/96, quoted in Ian Williams Goddard, "TWA 800 Investigation Cover-Up: The Proof," 7/26/97, posted on Internet.
921. (686) Ronald W. Lewis, "Uncivil Air War" (The Shootdown of TWA Flight 800)," *Air Forces Monthly*, No. 104, November 1996, quoted in *S.A.F.A.N. Internet Newsletter*, No. 213, 12/21/96.
922. (*) Another story that circulated among the press for a time reported that the DEA, along with Customs, the National Guard, and the Coast Guard, were practicing how to shoot down drug-smuggling planes with SAMs (surface-to-air missiles). The P-3's job was to drop white phosphorous flares, called Willie Peters, to use as targets. According to some reports, the C-130 was seen dropping white phosphorous parachute flares before TWA 800 went down. If this is true, were the flares being dropped as part of a target exercise for heat-seeking missiles? Or had C-130 been alerted to a possible missile threat and dropped flares to divert missiles from targeting it and other aircraft in the area?
923. (687) Jasper, *Op Cit*.
924. (688) W. Michael Pitcher, "Fax Gives Glimpse of Crash Investigation," *The Southampton Press*, 7/24/97, quoted in Ian Williams Goddard, "Navy Missile Drone Debris Found at TWA Crash Site?" 07/28/97, posted on Internet.
925. (689) Indeed, a major terrorism summit sponsored by Tehran in June of 1996 saw delegates from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and other Mid-East and African states, as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Germany, France, Britain, Canada, and the U.S. come together to form a joint working committee under the command of the new HizbAllah International — transforming that group into "the vanguard of the revolution" of the Muslim world.
926. (690) Murray Weiss, "TWA Probers: Missile Witnesses 'Credible,'" *New York Post*, 9/22/96.
927. (691) Michael D. Towle, "Missile Unlikely, but not Ruled Out in Crash," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 7/20/96.
928. (692) "U.S. Worries Over Missiles it Gave Afghan Rebels: U.S. Concerned that Stinger Anti-aircraft Missiles Could Get into the Wrong Hands," *New York Times*, 4/27/92; "As Afghan War Funding Dries Up, Weapons Flood Pakistani Market," *Christian Science Monitor*, 1/8/92; "Afghan Rebel Bars Return of U.S. Stingers" (Islamic Party of Yunis Khalis), *New York Times*, 3/14/89; numerous other articles reported this.

929. (693) Letter from Rodney Stich to Senator Arlen Specter, 10/20/95, posted on Internet.

930. (694) In the late 1970s, two Rhodesian airliners were reportedly shot down by Russian SA-7s. In 1986, a Sudan Airways jet was shot down by a SAM. And in September of 1993, Abkhazian separatists of the ex-Soviet republic of Georgia shot down three Tu-134 and Tu-154 airliners using shoulder-fired SAMs from boats out on the Black Sea. The FBI was advised that small missiles such as the Russian SA-14 Gremlin, SA-16 Gimlet and SA-18 Grouse, are equipped with "proportional convergence logic" systems sensitive enough to home in on airframe radiation once it nears its target.

931. (695) Towle, *Op Cit.*

932. (696) Jasper, *Op Cit.*

933. (697) Weiss, *Op Cit.*

934. (698) *Washington Times*, 12/17/96.

935. (699) Allen, *Op Cit.*

936. (700) William Jasper, *New American*, date unknown.

937. (701) *Ibid.*

938. (*) He said they made up a bogus complaint about him threatening a reporter. I spoke to that reporter and discovered the complaint was false.

939. (702) Paul Queary "Oklahoma Hero Commits Suicide," Associated Press, 5/13/96.

940. (*) According to Rivera, the recalcitrant police officer was forced into making a public service announcement with Governor Keating. "He was told he'd make that or he was fired," said Rivera. The officer they sent to Washington to accept an award on behalf of the OCPD, he told Rivera, wasn't even at the site!

941. (*) Yeakey was also angry because he couldn't get access to his own report about the bombing (which numbered between 9-10 pages). "He was in a full-fledged rampage over the report," said Rivera, whom he wouldn't even show it to.

942. (703) Cpt. Ted Carlton, interview with author.

943. (*) Interestingly, Yeakey's superiors, Major Upchurch and Lt. Randall, according to Rivera, were claiming Yeakey was "delusional" from the back injury he sustained during his fall in the Murrah Building on April 19.

944. (704) Oklahoma City Medical Examiner's Report, copy in author's possession; Dr. Larry Balding and Dr. Fred Jordan, interview with author. They said the drug test costs between \$400 and \$500 dollars.

945. (705) Report of ME investigator Jeffrey A. Legg, CME-1 Report, copy in author's possession.

946. (*) Several Medical Examiners explained that it is not uncommon for an individual to attempt suicide by one method, then continue to take additional measures until they are dead. San Francisco's ME told me about a man who, upon discovering he had AIDS, tried to hang himself, then threw himself off the balcony. Perhaps Terrance Yeakey was not satisfied with his alleged attempts to slash himself. As Dr. Fred Jordan, Oklahoma's Chief Medical Examiner explained, "It hurts, and nothing much is happening."

947. (706) This was verified by school officials.

948. (707) The harassment and surveillance on Rivera and the rest of the family was confirmed by Vicki Jones, and her husband, Reverend Glenn Jones. Reverend Jones told me that Rivera had come to them several times "frantic" that she was being tailed and harassed. Vicki saw evidence of the break-ins at Rivera's apartment.

949. (708) Taylor recalled the incident for this author. "There's only a few times in my life that I remember that somebody had done something weird like that, and that's why I wrote it down."

950. (709) Tonia-Rivera Yeakey, interview with author. They had at one time been friends, she explained, but had a falling-out in 1992, and had remained apart ever since. Rivera attempted to hire an attorney to bring a Slander suit against Jim Ramsey, based on the false allegations of his death. No local attorney would accept it.

951. (710) OCPD Detective Mullinex, interview with author.
952. (711) Regarding Rivera's source, she claimed he knew things about her that no one could possibly have known. "He sat there and told me about stuff I hadn't told anybody," which included break-ins at her apartment.
953. (712) Officer Mike Ramsey, interview with author.
954. (713) This finding is based on the testimony of a former police officer and Marine sniper.
955. (*) This funeral home, curiously enough, has been mixed up in some rather strange incidents.
956. (714) Karen Von T., letter to author.
957. (715) The author knows the name of this individual, but cannot release it at this time.
958. (716) Shaun Jones, interview with author.
959. (717) FAA report, copy in author's possession. Investigators and pilots I've talked to indicated various ways a plane can be rigged to crash, including tampering with the fuel gauge so it reads full when empty, and putting a corrosive acid on the control cables.
960. (718) Mike Evett, interview with author.
961. (719) Clint Boehler, interview with author. Interestingly, Boehler would later discount the murder scenario of police officer Terrance Yeakey, despite overwhelming evidence that Yeakey was murdered.
962. (720) Christopher C. Lyons, "The Whitewater FAQ: Deaths & Injuries," 1996, posted on Internet.
963. (721) John De Camp, *The Franklin Cover-Up*; FAA report, copy in author's possession.
964. (722) Medical Examiner's report, 8/5/97, by Dr. Fred Jordan, copy in author's possession.
965. (*) He was wearing a t-shirt inscribed: "Nameless Saints We Give Our Thanks — The hundreds of people that give it their all without personal individual acknowledgment, April 19, 1995, Oklahoma City, OK"
966. (723) Dan Richardson, interview with author.
967. (**) His partner was ATF agent Harry Eberhardt.
968. (724) John Michael Johnston, interview with author.
969. (725) Al Martin on the Tom Valentine show, date unknown. The author has interviewed Martin extensively.
970. (726) Craig Roberts and John Armstrong, *JFK: The Dead Witnesses* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Consolidated Press Int'l, 1995), pp. iii-vii, 173-76.
971. (727) D'Ferdinand Carone, interview with author. Carone was subsequently threatened by anonymous telegram after I interviewed her on my radio show, KHNC, Denver, American Freedom Network.
972. (*) The only mainstream media who have made some effort to report the truth have been CNN, the *Dallas Morning News*, the *Denver Post*, FOX News, and ABC 20/20. Unfortunately, the information 20/20 presented only covered limited aspects of prior knowledge by the government. KFOR, the only station that has covered the Middle Eastern connection, ceased their reporting when they were bought out by the New York Times Broadcasting Company.
973. (*) Potts was later taken off the case due to the heat from the Ruby Ridge incident.
974. (*) As a sideline, the FBI and DOJ occasionally arrest and prosecute real criminals.
975. (728) Rael Jean Isaac, "Abusive Justice: Janet Reno's Dirty Secret," *National Review*, 6/30/97.
976. (*) In 1984, Reno prosecuted Grant Snowden, Miami's 1983 Police Officer of the Year, whose wife ran a day-care center. Snowden had threatened to report a father whose son showed up with bruises. The man retaliated by accusing Snowden of the abuse. The case was finally dropped when the psychiatrist examining the boy revealed that the father had coerced the child into perjury. Reno perverted,

however, bringing in two self-styled child-abuse experts — Joseph and Laurie Braga — to elicit the required testimony from the latest victim that Reno's office had turned up. Snowden was acquitted. Making good on her promise to try Snowden one child at a time until there was a conviction, Reno pushed ahead. While the latest child was not even able to identify Snowden in court, the judge allowed the testimony from the previous two children (eventhough Snowden was found to be innocent), excluded testimony of Snowden's flawless record, and sentenced him to secure five consecutive life sentences. (These cases, although highly manipulated by government prosecutors, should not be taken as an inference that child-abuse, including ritual child abuse, does not occur, as some media pundits have tried to suggest.

977. (**) Reno had previously displayed her concern for children when several days earlier, two men who had driven all day and all night from Indiana to bring baby food to the children at Waco were arrested.

978. (729) Thompson, *Op Cit.*

979. (**) Letter from Rep. James Traficant to members of Congress, 4/15/97, copy in author's possession. Traficant introduced a bill (H.R. 692) that seeks the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate cases of DOJ misconduct. The bill is pending as of this writing.

980. (*) As the Congressional committee probing the Inslaw affair later wrote: "The enhanced PROMIS software was stolen by high level Justice officials and distributed internationally in order to provide financial gain to Dr. Brian and to further intelligence and foreign policy objectives of the United States."

981. (730) Ratiner was then paid \$120,000 over the next five years on the condition that he not practice law during that time. Former Mossad agent Ari Ben-Menashe claimed he personally saw a cable from Israel's Joint Committee to the U.S., requesting that \$600,000 be transferred from the CIA-Israeli slush fund to Hadron to pay Rariner. Former National Security Advisor Robert "Bud" McFarlane had sold PROMIS to the Israelis.

982. (731) Rodney Stich, *Defrauding America* (Alamo, CA: Diablo Western Press, 1994), pp. 371-97.

983. (732) *Barron's*, 3/21/88. As Judge Bason wrote, "I have come to believe that my non-reappointment as bankruptcy judge was the result of improper influence from within the Justice Department which the current appointment process failed to prevent."

984. (733) Stich, *Op Cit.*, pp. 377-78.

985. (*) *Ibid.*, pp. 394-95. Sherman Skolnick and Mark Sato of Chicago's Citizens Committee to Clean Up the Courts filed a lawsuit against Bua and Knight, charging them with obstruction of Justice. They informed Bua that they were going to circumvent the special prosecutor and present evidence to the grand jury themselves. Bua replied that he would hold them in contempt. "I do not intend to prosecute anyone," he told them.

986. (*) Those within the DOJ who had an interest in covering up Casolaro's death were quick to point out that the investigative reporter suffered from Multiple Sclerosis, and was therefore despondent. Interestingly, Hartzler also suffers from Multiple Sclerosis. In his letter to Dwire, he adds: "The more the implicit connection between Mr. Casolaro's Multiple Sclerosis and his suicide may create too dire a picture of Multiple Sclerosis.... I trust that if Ms. Reno, Ms. Gorlick and Mr. Smith are not already familiar with MS, you will offer them this note of balance and assure them that Multiple Sclerosis flourishes even in the Justice Department and expects no pity."

987. (734) Robert Schmidt, "Low Key, High Pressure," *Legal Times*, 9/2/96.

988. (*) Leighton was the secret attorney for Lee Harvey Oswald.

989. (735) "An Irrestibale Case," *Newsweek*, 8/14/95.

990. (736) Schmidt, *Op Cit.* Justice Department officials say Hartzler's disability played no role in his selection.

991. (737) *Ibid.*

992. (738) Sherman Skolnick, *Conspiracy Nation*, date unknown.

993. (*) It has also been speculated that Richardson was the Assistant U.S. Attorney who was providing information to Tonia Rivera-Yeakey about the murder of her ex-husband, through an intermediary. According to Richardson's brother Dan, Ted had a stable, loving relationship with his wife, Julie, and adored his children. Dan told me his brother had no reason to commit suicide. He was allegedly suffering from "work pressure."

994. (739) The committee noted: "Riconosciuto stated that a tape recording of the telephone threat was confiscated by DEA agents at the time of Riconosciuto's arrest.... the timing of the arrest, coupled with Mr. Riconosciuto's allegations that tapes of a telephone conversation he had with Mr. Videnieks were confiscated by DEA agents, raises serious questions concerning whether the Department's prosecution of Mr. Riconosciuto was related to his cooperation with the committee.

995. (740) The government also attempted to destroy William Chasey, author of *The Lockerbie Cover-Up*.
996. (741) *Ibid.*
997. (742) John Ashton, "US Government Still on Ropes Over Lockerbie," *The Mail on Sunday*, 6/9/96.
998. (743) Kevin Flynn, "Testimony Blocked at Trial of McVeigh," *Rocky Mountain News*, 7/14/97.
999. (*) "My thought was that it was our government," said Carone. "I honestly believe that." According to one account of the conversation, Shackley was elated.
1000. (744) D'Ferdinand Carone, interview with author.
1001. (745) Paul Hudson, head of U.S. Pan Am survivors group, interview with author.
1002. (*) North contacted Meese through Admiral Poindexter. Meese informed Revell, who called Deputy Assistant Attorney General for the Criminal Division Mark Richard, and told him: "[p]lease get on top of this; Jensen is giving a heads up to the NSC. Deposition of Mark M. Richard before the Joint Congressional Committees, 8/19/87, quoted in Christic, *Op Cit.*; Jensen is Deputy Attorney General Lowell Jensen; Kellner is Attorney General Leon Kellner. The rest of the conversation went as follows: "Call Kellner, find out what is up, and advise him that decision should be run by you"; Cockburn, *Op Cit.*, p. 136.
1003. (*) As investigative journalist Joel Bainerman writes: Officials said that Al-Kassar maintained offices in Warsaw and was a major broker of the Polish-owned weapons company, Cenzin. The first arms purchase by North from al-Kassar totaling \$1 million was sent by boat to an unidentified Caribbean port in the Fall of 1985 and was later distributed to the Contra fighters. In April of that year, a second shipment of Polish arms was sold to the CIA as part of this transaction. (*Los Angeles Times*, 7/17/87, quoted in Joel Bainerman, "Bush Administration's Involvement in Bombing Pan Am 103," *Portland Free Press*, May/June, 1997. See Bainerman's book, *The Crimes of a President*, SPI Books, 1992, regarding the illegal deals of George Bush). In another part of the deal, more than \$42 million was laundered through BCCI accounts in the Cayman Islands. Al-Kassar earned more than \$1 million. *Private Eye*, 10/25/91, quoted in *Ibid.*)
1004. (746) Administration officials who discussed these deals said Al-Kassar had clear business links with Abu Nidal's organization, *Los Angeles Times*, 7/17/87.
1005. (**) These were the same hostages that sparked the Iran-Contra arms-for-drugs scandal.
1006. (747) Jim Berwick, a Pan Am security consultant in London, told Francovich, "An HM Customs officer involved in the investigation of narcotics, left a message for me. I subsequently contacted him and met with him and he advised me that he had been in Frankfurt and had been at a meeting of drug enforcement agents in Germany, America and Britain, and that it was well known and discussed at that meeting that Pan Am was the airline that was being used as a drug conduit."
1007. († As former Iranian president Abulhassan Bani Sadr observed, "The people of Iran saw this as a crime... shooting down an airplane, killing almost 300 people is a crime.... Had it involved another country, there would have been legal proceedings. A lot of fuss would have been made all around the world. But here they destroyed the aircraft, and then congratulated themselves." (Allan Francovich, *The Maltese Double-Cross*, 1992)
1008. (*) U.S. investigators traced a wire transfer of several million dollars from Teheran to a bank account in Vienna controlled by the PFLP-GC. (*U.S. News & World Report*, 11/25/91).
1009. (748) One interesting piece of evidence was a call to Damascus, Syria, intercepted by authorities, in which Khreesat stated: "I have made some changes to the medicine. It is better and stronger."
1010. (749) Pritchard, *Op Cit.*
1011. (*) This also raises the issue of whether Abraham Ahmed, who was released from custody after his mysteriously-timed departure from the U.S. after the Oklahoma City bombing, was an operative of the U.S. Government.
1012. (750) According to a special report in *Time* (April 27, 1992), COREA used the following front companies for its overseas operations: Sevens Mantra Corp., AMA Industries, Wilderwood Video and Condor Television Ltd. The report revealed that Condor did its banking through the First American Bank, a subsidiary of BCCI. (Bainerman, *Op Cit.*)
1013. (751) Donald Goddard and Lester Coleman, *On the Trail of the Octopus* (London, Bloomsbury Publishing, LTD., 1993), pp. 143, 201.
1014. (*) PBS Frontline investigators believe that the intelligence officers were "a strong secondary target."

1015. (**) Aviv believes the original target of the attack was American Airlines. When a Mossad agent tipped off the airline, the target was switched to Pan Am.

1016. (*) Also aboard flight 103 was Bernt Carlsson, the Swedish UN diplomat who had just completed negotiating the Namibian independence agreement with South Africa. He was due in New York the next day to sign the agreement.

1017. (752) Two separate eyewitnesses remember General Crosby ordering the "immediate bulldozing of the crash site."

1018. (*) The passengers were members of the 101st Airborne Division, part of a UN peacekeeping force (MFO) in the Egyptian Sinai. While officials sought to bamboozle the public with claims of "wing icing," four members of the Canadian Aviation Safety Board disagreed. The flight engineer and ground refueller saw no signs of ice on the wings moments before the plane took off and crashed. With the help of Oliver North, Vince Cannistraro, and CIA Deputy Director [for European Operations] Duane "Dewy" Clarridge (along with Bud McFarlane and Richard Secord) North had been negotiating with Iran for the release of the hostages. In exchange, North was selling the Iranians TOW anti-tank missiles and other equipment for use in its war with Iraq. Upon delivery and testing of one of the HAWKs, the Iranians realized they had received an older version, and felt double-crossed. North was told by one of his advisors that there was a "good chance of condemning some or all of the hostages to death in a renewed wave of Islamic Jihad." North's insouciant response: the deaths of the hostages would be our "minimum losses." Given what happened next, his words may have proved prophetic. While the plane was being loaded, the captain noticed that the Egyptian guard stationed on the ground outside the aircraft would "disappear from his post several times, sometimes for as long as an hour." The baggage handlers also got into a fist fight, which struck him as odd since Arabs rarely touch one another due to religious beliefs. Finally, someone pulled a power cord on the tarmac, cutting all light around the plane. Had someone used these diversions to plant a bomb? Given the suspicious train of events, it seems highly likely. Yet if the downing of the plane was a simple act of terrorism, why the elaborate cover-up? Another question that has never been satisfactorily answered is why there were approximately 20 members of an elite Special Forces unit known as Task Force 160 on the plane. This is significant, considering that the role of the MFO is peacekeeping. In contrast, Task Force 160's main objectives are covert missions and rescues. Had North, realizing his position after double-crossing the Iranians, planned a covert rescue? North reportedly knew the exact position of the hostages, down to the very room they were being held. If the rescue attempt failed, did the 20 mysterious coffin-sized boxes on the plane contain dead servicemen? Or did they contain the 18 rejected HAWKs? Despite attempts to identify the cargo through Army files, no records of the boxes has ever been found. Either way, the Iranians were sure to be angered. A bomb on board a military transport would send a message to the Americans that the arm of Islamic Jihad had a long reach.

1019. (*) This assertion was backed up by NBC News when it reported, on October 30, 1990, that the DEA was investigating a Middle East based heroin operation to determine whether it was used by the terrorists to place a bomb on the flight 103. Naturally, the DEA denied any connection to the sting operation (*Barron's*, 12/17/90). Original quote, Francovich, *Op Cit*.

1020. (**) Polygraphs conducted on baggage handler Tiling Kuzcu by James Keefe, a polygraph examiner with 30 years experience with the Army's C.I.D., revealed that Kuzcu was not telling the truth when he stated that he did not know who switched the suitcase, and further when he stated that he did not switch the suitcases himself. He also lied when he said that Roland O'Neill, the loadmaster, had not told him to switch the bags. O'Neill also failed his polygraph. A second polygraph examiner brought in to review the results agreed with the findings concerning Kuzcu, but thought the results on O'Neill were inconclusive.

1021. (753) Interfor report, copy in author's possession; PBS Frontline believes the suitcase belonging to Gannon was switched in London. According to their investigators, Gannon's was the only piece of luggage not accounted for from the flight.

1022. († The fact that the team was onboard made it, in the words of PBS Frontline, "a strong secondary target." The fact that the team was onboard made it, in the words of PBS Frontline, "a strong secondary target."

1023. (*) As British journalist David Ben-Aryeah reported: "Very strange people were at work very early on. Within a matter of three hours there were American accents heard in the town. Over that night there were large numbers, by which I mean twenty, twenty-five, thirty people arrived...." (Francovich, *Op Cit*.)

1024. (**) As investigator and former law-enforcement officer Craig Roberts points out in *The Medusa File*: "The unusual activity of this alleged "FBI" agent is striking, but not quite as odd as the fact that Lockerbie is over 350 miles from London, which is the nearest point an American FBI agent might be. To reach Lockerbie that night from London, even if traveling by air, would have taken far more than one hour considering the sequence of events that would have had to occur. Assuming a timely notification, an American agent in London would have had to have been tracked down considering the late hour, notified to pack up for an investigation, rush to Heathrow, board a waiting airplane, fly immediately to the nearest airport that could land a jet transport, obtain ground transportation from there to Lockerbie, then locate the command center. An effort that would require four to six hours at the minimum."

1025. (754) Debra Burdick, interview with author.

1026. (755) J.D. Reed, "Wednesday, April 19, 1995: A Black Day for All of Us," *Workin' Interest*, Vol. 96, Issue No. 3.

1027. (756) *Ibid*.

1028. (757) *Ibid*.

1029. (758) *Ibid.*

1030. (759) Allen, *Op Cit.*

1031. (760) The Jaffar clan had been at the center of the opium production in the Bekka Valley for years.

1032. (761) "Files Before Victims," *New York Daily News*, 5/1/95.

1033. (762) Tulsa Fire Captain, confidential interview with Craig Roberts.

1034. (*) While Sheriff Deputy Melvin Sumtner told me he had found the axle, an Oklahoma City Policeman, Mike McPherson, claimed that he had in fact discovered it, as did an FBI agent. These three accounts were contradicted by Governor Frank Keating, who claimed that he had actually found the axle.

1035. (*) Although Thatcher acknowledged the conversation took place, she denied that she and Bush sought to interfere with the investigation.

1036. (*) Interestingly, some of these same players worked with CIA Director Bill Casey and Vice President George Bush to build Iraq (whose president, Saddam Hussein, Bush called "worse than Hitler") into a major military power. This policy perfectly illustrated the Reagan/Bush administration's propensity to cuddle up to whatever dictator or terrorist was in favor at the time.

1037. (*) Yet they were still left with the problem of proving how the microchip had been traced to Al-Megrahi and Fhima. The FBI claimed it had traced the chip to Mebo, a Swiss manufacturing firm in Zurich run by Edwin Bollier. Agents showed Bollier a photograph of the chip, and asked if it was from their MST-13 O-series. "I immediately recognized from the photo that the fragment found in Lockerbie was without a doubt from a timer that we ourselves had made," stated Bollier. Yet they still hadn't proven is how the timer had come to be in the possession of Fhima and al-Megrahi. Stasi (East German secret police) files showed that Bollier had not only sold timers to the Libyans, but to the Palestinians, the Red Army Faction, and Arabs in both Germanies. The Stasi concluded that Bollier was a triple agent, probably working for the CIA as well, since he seemed to easily be able to get very special American equipment for them. Yet when Bollier asked the FBI to see the actual fragment, they said they didn't have it; the Scottish police had it. When Bollier approached the Scottish police, they refused to show it to him. Nor was he was given a satisfactory explanation of how either the FBI or the Scotts managed to trace it to the Libyans.

1038. (*) Ollie North served on the planning committee that selected the targets for the Libyan raid.

1039. (*) When the new allegations were first made public, Libya formally offered to submit the matter to the International Court of Justice, or to an international arbitration tribunal. Their plea falling on deaf ears, Libya finally invoked Article 14 of the Montreal Sabotage Convention, which states that in the event of a dispute over the interpretation or application of the convention that cannot be resolved by means of negotiation, any party has the right to submit the matter to an international arbitration tribunal. All of the offers were just rejected unilaterally and summarily by the U.S. and the U.K., which subsequently rammed a UN Security Council resolution through that was highly critical of Libya.

1040. (*) U.S. officials also tried to blame the murder of three IBEX executives in August of 1976 on "Libyan-trained Islamic Marxist guerrillas."

1041. (763) Jeffrey Steinberg, "CIA Man: Iran, Syria Bombed Pan Am 103," *The New Federalist*, 7/2/93.

1042. (*) U.S. Attorney General Robert Mueller told the public, "We have no evidence to implicate another country (other than Libya) in this disaster." Gene Wheaton described it as "OPSEC" (operation security), providing layers of deniability and disinformation, false leads and stories.

1043. (764) In August 1991, Larry Cohler, a writer for the *Washington Jewish Week*, reported on a set of secret negotiations which took place between Syria and the U.S. over the release of the hostages and which led to a number of covert trips by Bush to Damascus; Regarding the announcement of the Libyan theory, see: *New York Times*, 11/15/91; *Time*, 4/27/92.

1044. (765) Coleman/Goddard, *Op Cit.*, pp. 201, 256, 275; James Shaughnessy said that he "had also been advised separately by four investigative journalists" that they had "evidence" of these intercepts, one having claimed to have actually heard the tapes. "Finally, I was told that Mr. Lovejoy used a number of aliases, including Michael Franks."

1045. (766) This wasn't difficult, as the McKee team (via Gannon) had made its travel arrangements through the DEA's travel agent in Nicosia.

1046. (767) A May 1989 report in the Arabic newspaper *Al-Dustur* reported on the situation involving Lovejoy/Franks/Schafer. Lester Coleman, a trained DIA agent, claims he warned Hurley repeatedly about the compromised situation. Hurley would later seek to dismiss Coleman's claims as unsubstantiated, and seek to discredit Coleman.

1047. (*) One person familiar with the case believes it was Shackley himself.
1048. (*) In 1984, Cannistraro, newly transferred to the NSC, oversaw covert assistance to the Mujahadeen.
1049. (768) Dave Emory, Pacifica Radio Network, WBAI-FM, date unknown.
1050. (769) Mike Levine, interview with author.
1051. (*) "NBC News on February 7 carried a somewhat different version of the revelations that later appeared in the *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, ambiguously suggesting that although Howe gave the government information regarding 'alleged threats' prior to the bombing, there is 'no evidence' that she reported 'specific threats' against the Murrah Building until two days after the bombing." (Edward Zehr, "Oklahoma City Cover-up Exposed: But the Mainstream Media are Still in Denial," *Washington Weekly*, 2/17/97.)
1052. (*) I managed to partially confirm this by speaking to Judge Babcock, and his neighbor, both of whom said that extra security was provided the judge at that time.
1053. (770) Dave Hogan, "If He'd Been at Work... Former Portlander Says," *Portland Oregonian*, 4/20/95.
1054. (771) Glenn Wilburn, interview with author.
1055. (772) Press conference, 1/14/98.
1056. (773) J.D. Cash and Jeff Holladay, "Day of Blast 'an Amazing Coincidence,'" *McCurtain Gazette*, 12/1/95.
1057. (774) Tom Jarriel, ABC 20/20, 1/17/97.
1058. (775) Ian Williams Goddard, "Federal Government Prior Knowledge of the Oklahoma City Bombing," 5/26/97, posted on Internet.
1059. (776) Sherry Koonce, *Panola Watchman*, 4/23/97.
1060. (777) Allen, *Op Cit*.
1061. (778) KFOR, Jayna Davis reporting, 11/21/96; WNBC Extra, Brad Goode reporting, 3/19/97.
1062. (779) J.D. Reed, "Wednesday, April 19, 1995: A Black Day for All of Us," *Workin' Interest*, Vol. 96, Issue No. 3.
1063. (780) *Ibid*.
1064. (781) ABC EXTRA: Prior Knowledge, 11/20/96.
1065. (782) "Indictment: Inside the Oklahoma City Grand Jury, The Hoppy Heidelberg Story," Equilibrium Entertainment, 1996.
1066. (*) As previously mentioned, Guy Rubsamen, the Federal Protective Services guard on duty that night, said that nobody had entered the building. Yet Rubsamen took off at 2:00 a.m., and claimed that nobody was guarding the building from 2:00 a.m. to 6:00 a.m.
1067. (783) V.Z. Lawton, interview with author; "Diana Baldwin and Judy Kuhlman, "Elevator Accounts Questioned — Inspector Talks of Bomb's Effect," *Daily Oklahoman*, 7/16/97.
1068. (784) William Jasper, "Prior Knowledge: Powerful Evidence Exists that Federal Agents were not Surprised by OKC Blast," *New American*, 12/11/95.
1069. (785) "Since his story was made public, Shaw said he and his wife have taken a lot of flak over it, and it has created a hardship for them. 'There's us that knows the truth and those who hate us. The ones that hate us are the ones trying to cover it up,' Shaw said." ("Some Witnesses Leery Of Bombing Grand Jury," *Daily Oklahoman*, 8/10/97.)
1070. (786) William Jasper, *New American*, date unknown.
1071. (787) J.D. Cash, "ATF's Explanation Disputed," *McCurtain Sunday Gazette and Broken Bow News*, 7/30/95. Schickedanz won the National Policeman of the Year Award for his "heroic" role.
1072. (*) The author confirmed the story with Oscar Johnson, owner of the elevator company. According to Johnson, the freight elevator's doors were blown *outward*. If the sole blast had come from *outside* the building, how could this be?

1073. (788) Ed Godfrey and Diana Baldwin, "Bombing Grand Jury Calling 6 Witnesses This Week, " *Daily Oklahoman*, 7/13/97.
1074. (789) "Diana Baldwin and Judy Kuhlman, "Elevator Accounts Questioned — Inspector Talks of Bomb's Effect," *Daily Oklahoman*, 7/16/97.
1075. (790) Rick Sherrow, interview with author.
1076. (791) David Hall, interview with author.
1077. (792) Gordon would not return the author's calls. The interview conducted by the other reporter was early on, before the cover-up got into high gear.
1078. (793) Ames Yates, interview with author.
1079. (794) Rick Sherrow, interview with author; Don Webb, interview with author.
1080. (795) Letter of Terrance Yeakey to Ramona McDonald, copy in author's possession.
1081. (796) Federal agent, confidential interview with author.
1082. (797) List of attendees of Sheriff's golf tournament, copy in author's possession.
1083. (*) In kind of a bizarre twist to the story, they said that at one point one of the men rolled a hoop across the road to the team on the other side. A witness who saw the black-garbed team operating hoops by the Murrah building called the FBI's special 800 number to report what he saw. Afterwards he began noticing that his phone clicked constantly, and a mysterious black car began appearing outside his house. By the time State Representative Key and I drove to Dallas to interview him, he was too afraid to talk, and we had to get the information through a friend.
1084. (798) Pritchard, *Op Cit.*, p. 90.
1085. (*) Strassmeir told the author in an interview from his home in Berlin that Pritchard misquoted him — that Strassmeir relayed the preceding statement from another BATF agent. Pritchard disagrees, and stands by his story.
1086. (799) Edward Zehr, "Turning Point: Resolving The Enigma of Oklahoma City," *Washington Weekly*, 11/18/96.
1087. (800) J.D. Cash, "Agents Probe OKC Bombing Links To Bank Robberies," *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 7/16/96.
1088. (801) Pritchard, *Op Cit.*, p. 90.
1089. (802) Harry Eberhart interviewed by Tom Jarriel, ABC 20/20, 1/18/97.
1090. (803) Dewy Webb, interview with author.
1091. (*) As for Eberhardt, his name showed up on an ATF report concerning Carol Howe's activities at Elohim City. The report indicated that an "irate" Eberhardt expressed his concern that Howe's cover had been "severely compromised" due to the release of a report by FBI agent James R. Blanchard II. Although the report was prepared almost a year after the bombing, the fact that Eberhardt's name appeared prominently on the report suggests that his office was involved, along with the Tulsa office, on the Elohim City investigation.
1092. (804) Richard Sherrow, interview with author.
1093. (805) Charles, *Op Cit.*; William F. Jasper, "Undercover: The Howe Revelations," *The New American*, 9/15/97.
1094. (806) David Hall, interview with author; Rick Sherrow, interview with author.
1095. (*) Luke Franey claimed at McVeigh's trial that the only sting they were working on involved a narcotics case with the Norman Police Department. Yet Norman Police Chief Phil Cotten could give me no details of that operation, nor could anyone there remember any specifics as to which ATF agents were working on that case. Cotten said most of the officers had retired.
1096. (807) David Hall, interview with Tom Valentine.
1097. (*) Franey claims that agent Darrell Edwards was at home, talking on the phone to Franey. Bruce Anderson was on his way to a compliance inspection, and agent Mark Michalic, who had worked late with Franey the night before, was on his way to the office.

1098. (808) David Hall, interview with author.
1099. (809) David Hall, interview with author.
1100. (810) Jon Rappoport, *Oklahoma City Bombing: The Suppressed Truth* (Santa Monica, CA: Blue Press, 1995), pp. 75-76.
1101. (811) Conversation between informant and Rep. Charles Key, copy in author's possession. A voice stress analysis we ran on this individual's interview tape indicated he was being truthful.
1102. (812) David Hall, interview with author.
1103. (813) Pritchard, *Op Cit*, p.90.
1104. (*) Notice how the caller depicts McVeigh as the sole target of the sting, and attempts to distance himself from the operation by talking of it in the third tense.
1105. (814) Statement of Jane Graham, 11/15/96.
1106. (*) Recall that Sheriff's Deputies Don Hammons and David Kachendofer signed sworn affidavits that Rep. Istook told them of the government's prior knowledge of the attack. Istook told bombing investigator Pat Briley that he was very close to the FBI's investigation of the bombing, and made it his business to know the details. "There is nothing you can tell me and the FBI about the bombing that we don't already know," Istook said.
1107. (815) Bill Jasper, *The New American*; The author also heard one of the Cancemi tapes, but with a slightly different account.
1108. (816) Lana Padilla, interview with author.
1109. (*) According to former C.I.D. investigator Gene Wheaton, Salem worked for the TRD — Egypt's version of the CIA, controlled by the CIA. Salem admitted to being a double-agent for the U.S. and Egypt.
1110. (817) Ralph Blumenthal, "Tapes Depict Proposal to Thrawr Bomb Used in Trade Center Blast," *New York Times*, 10/28/93. The transcripts, which are stamped "draft" and compiled from 70 tapes recorded secretly during the last two years by Salem, were turned over to defense lawyers, in the second bombing case, by the government under a judge's order barring lawyers from disseminating them. A large portion of the material was made available to the *New York Times*.
1111. (818) Waldman and McMorris, *Op Cit*.
1112. (819) Jim Dwyer, David Kocieniewshi, Deidre Murphy, and Peg Tyre, *Two Seconds Under the World*, 1994, quoted in William Jasper, "Evidence of Prior Knowledge," *New American*, 5/13/96.
1113. (820) J.D. Cash, "The Rev. Robert Millar Identified As FBI Informant," *McCurtain Daily Gazette*, 7/1/97.
1114. (*) Craig Roberts, a 20-year Tulsa police officer, concurs: "[The Tulsa ATF office] did surveillance, took photos, used informants (Howe) and yet no matter what they did, they couldn't get any cooperation out of D.C. They knew something was wrong, but couldn't get a handle on it. I think it's because Strassmeir was working as an infiltrator at the D.C. level, and they were protecting him without tipping off the local office — which they obviously didn't trust to keep a secret from the local police. This in not unusual. In fact, the field agents with the ATF and FBI often do not get along well with the D.C. officials — and vice/versa."
1115. (821) Citizens Research and Investigations Committee and Louis Tackwood, *The Glass House Tapes* (New York, NY: Avon Press, 1973), p. 5, quoted in Alex Constantine, *Blood, Carnage, and the Agent Provacateur*, 1993, p. 13; "King Aftermath Rekindles Police Spying Controversy," *Los Angeles Times*, 6/18/91, quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.
1116. (822) *Ibid*.
1117. (823) In fact, the Pepsi bottling plant in Marseilles was used as a cover for heroin production.
1118. (*) General John Singlaub, a former OSS agent, has the distinction of being the first U.S. officer to pay his indigenous personnel at Kinming, China with five pound bags of opium. Ray Cline (Iran-Contra) was a member of Singlaub's team at the time. (*Wall Street Journal*, 4/18/80)
1119. (*) After the Contra torture manual scandal, McFarlane was fired, then kicked upstairs to the NSC to become Armitage's Deputy. Among those who participated in the original to plan "privatize" the Contra operation were: Gen. John Singlaub (Ret.), Andrew Messing, then

of the Conservative Caucus, Ted Shackley, Harry (Heinie) Aderholt, Edward Luttwak, Gen. Edward Lansdale (Ret.), Seal Doss, and Col. John Waghelstein, former head of the U.S. military groups in El Salvador.

1120. (824) Andrew Eiva, former Green Beret, part of lobby effort for Mujahadeen, interview with author; Christic, *Op Cit.* Reagan's March, 1981 decision was formalized in November as National Security Decision Directive 17, and hidden from Congress.

1121. (825) Levine, *Op Cit.*

1122. (826) Roberts, *Op Cit.*

1123. (827) Bo Gritz, *Called to Serve*, 1991.

1124. (*) The real reason that Britain went to war against the Chinese (The Boxer Rebellion) was to prevent the emperor of China — concerned about the spread of drug use among his people — from destroying China's opium crop. The British, who were making huge profits from the opium trade, had Parliament declare war against the Chinese for interfering with their profitable "commerce." One of the spoils of that war was that Hong Kong became British territory, resulting in a port controlled by England for the transshipment of drugs.

1125. (828) Speech given to the Arizona Breakfast Club in Phoenix in 1989, quoted in Craig Roberts, *The Medusa File: Crimes and Cover-Ups of the U.S. Government* (Tulsa, OK: Consolidated Press, 1996), p. 200.

1126. (829) Jack Colhoun, "The Family That Preys Together," *Covert Action Quarterly*, date unknown. President Bush later appointed former Florida Governor Bob Martinez as head of the U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy. Martinez had accepted campaign donations from drug trafficker Leonel Martinez (no relation). Bush's son Jeb also had links with the Contra drug supply line through Leonel Martinez; In November 1984, two years after Reagan announced his "bold, confident plan" promising to "be on the tail" of drug traffickers, cocaine imports had jumped 50 percent and heroin was more plentiful than at any other time since the late 1970s. An estimated 63 tons of cocaine glutted the U.S. market in 1984. (James Mills, *The Underground Empire*, p.1125.)

1127. (830) Dennis Bernstein and Robert Knight, "DEA Agent's Decade Long Battle To Expose CIA-Contra-Crack Story," Pacific News Service, 10/96; "Will Whitewash Of CIA-Cocaine Connection Continue? Revelations Of CIA's Connection To Crack Shouldn't Come As A Surprise," *The Birmingham News*, 9/29/96. "Richard Gregorie, one of the country's top narcotics prosecutors in Miami... had aggressively pursued big-time cocaine bosses and drug-corrupted officials in and out of the United States. But as he began going up the drug-business chain of command, he targeted foreign officials friendly with the U.S. government, and the State Department started interfering with his investigations, telling him to stay away from certain sensitive areas. Gregorie's operations were subsequently stopped at the request of the State Department and he quit in protest." -Project Censored, 1989. NSC memos discovered during the Iran-Contra investigation revealed that Bush's NSC advisor Donald Gregg was aware early on of Contra involvement in the drug trade. Could ex-CIA chief George Bush, at that point Vice President and Drug Czar, be unaware of such goings-on when his reporting subordinate was quite aware of Contra involvement in the drug trade?

1128. (831) Celerino Castillo III and Dave Harmon, *Powderburns: Cocaine, Contras and the Drug War* (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press), 1988. As ex-CIA field officer John Stockwell noted: "We cannot forget the Senate Kerry Committee findings of cocaine smuggling on CIA/ Contra aircraft, the DEA reports on the number of prosecutions in which the CIA has intervened to block prosecution of drug smugglers, the note that escaped Lt. Col. Oliver North's shredder that \$14 million of drug money had gone to the Contras, or the CIA's 20-odd year relationship with Manuel Noriega." (*Austin American-Statesman*, op-ed editorial)

1129. (832) Mike Levine, interview with author.

1130. (*) Shackley's main contact was Richard Armitage.

1131. (*) Edward G. Lansdale, working with Shackley, headed a subset of JM/WAVE called "Operation Moongoose." The assassination team was called "Operation 40." Shackley's later partners in the "Enterprise," Tom Clines and Edwin P. Wilson, also worked on JM/WAVE and Operation 40. Roselli and Giancana were murdered only days before they were to testify before Congress regarding their alleged roles in the Kennedy assassination.

1132. (*) Shackley and Clines also directed an assassination program to eliminate Vang Pao's heroin competition. A CIA officer addressing a group of Green Berets in Vietnam claimed that Shackley had been responsible for 250 political murders in Laos. Shackley would later become CIA Station Chief of Saigon.

1133. (833) *Wall Street Journal*, March, 1983; quoted in Cockburn, p. 103. Michael Jon Hand was a U.S. Green Beret who served under Shackley in Laos.

1134. (**) In fact, Nugan Hand rented adjoining offices with the DEA in its Chiang Mai, Thailand branch, even sharing the same secretary! The overall operation resulted in the huge heroin epidemic that swept the country in the late 1960s and '70s, not to mention the U.S. troops in Vietnam who became addicts.

1135. (834) Although Congress declared Phoenix unlawful in 1971, and ordered the military to prosecute the guilty parties, the

assassinations continued until 1975. One operative — a Mr. Reaux — was ultimately arrested and hung out to dry.

1136. (*) As Marchetti stated regarding William Colby, "Colby is a very dangerous man. I think he's got the mentality of a Heinrich Himmler. He would have made — and might still from the way he's going — a very good Communist. I mean that he's the kind of guy who is best qualified to run a concentration camp, not an agency like the CIA."

1137. (835) Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1986), p. 178. Also responsible for the squelching of trade unions in Chile was the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a CIA front, supported by corporations like W.R. Grace and ITT.

1138. (*) Col. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, Sr., the father of 'Stormin' Norman Schwarzkopf, was an intelligence operative in Iran in the 1940s and 50s, and helped set up the dreaded Savak.

1139. (*) It is rumored that he was looking forward to inheriting the Italian Fascist P2 account.

1140. (**) It is interesting to note that Bush had been implicated in "October Surprise," the backdoor deal with Iranian terrorists to hold the 66 American hostages seized by pro-Khomeini forces until after Carter's defeat. It is therefore not surprising that Shackley and Bush — both groomed for CIA directorships, but forced to resign — would work together on covert and illegal deals such as October Surprise and Iran-Contra.

1141. (836) Weiner, *Op Cit.*

1142. (837) Gene Wheaton, interview with author.

1143. (*) Victor Marchetti aptly summed up this philosophy by examining former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger: "He's power-mad, a manipulator of events. I don't think he does it for any ideological reason, just out of instinct. I don't think he understands what this country is all about. To him, everything is a deal..."

1144. (*) As Al Martin, an Iran-Contra player, said, "Oklahoma City begins with Iran-Contra. If you want to understand Oklahoma, start with Iran-Contra."

1145. (838) Affidavit of Colonel Edward P. Cutolo, commander of the 10th Special Forces Group (Airborne), 1st Special Forces, 3/11/80, copy in author's possession.

1146. (839) Maas, p. 286. The C-4 came from J.S. Brower & Associates.

1147. (**) On July 3, 1976, Israeli commandos raided the Ugandan airport at Entebbe after one of their airliners had been hijacked by the PLO. McKenzie was instrumental in helping the Israelis, who had used Kenya as a staging area. In his book, *Manhunt*, Peter Maas describes what McKenzie got for his efforts: "Although he had been counseled not to, McKenzie went to Uganda as part of a Kenya trade mission to patch up relations with Idi Amin. The warnings seemed unnecessary. Amin himself was on hand to bid McKenzie good-bye, presenting him with the traditional Ugandan friendship gift, an African Antelope's head. Soon after McKenzie's plane took off, it blew up. Inside the Antelope head was a bomb, placed there by Frank Terpil."

1148. († Gene Wheaton, IBEX; s subsequent director of security who investigated the murders, claims Shackley, Clines, Hakim, Rafael "Chi Chi" Quintero, and Secord are all linked to the murders. John Harper would later show up in Honduras training the Contras in the use of explosives.

1149. (840) Kwitny, *Op Cit.*, p. 103.

1150. (841) Hoppy Heidelberg and Ted Gundersen, interviews with author. Recall that Heidelberg heard McVeigh's sister Jennifer read the letter into testimony.

1151. (*) Dewy Clarridge and Oliver North were in charge of the harbor mining operation. Moore's friend Don Aranow, owner of Magnum Marina, which had the original contract to build the boats, gave the contract to Moore. Aranow was killed one day before he was to testify at the Iran-Contra hearings.

1152. (**) My source told me that Moore's FBI contact was Tom Ross out of Hot Springs, Arkansas, one of Ollie North's "damage control" men. "

1153. (842) Nolan Clay, "Robbery Victim's Alliances Promise Drama in Nichols' Trial," *Daily Oklahoman*, 11/9/97.

1154. (843) AEI articles of incorporation. The president of AEI, Harry Huger, was a partner in the law firm of Rogovin, Huger, and Schiller.

1155. (844) Cliff Lewis, interview with author. Mujeeb Cheema, interview with author.

1156. (*) Interestingly, some of Khalid's workers were spotted in a Tulsa nightclub, The Ocean Club, which is curious, since Tulsa is 100 miles from Oklahoma City. McFarlane would not return repeated calls.
1157. (845) Indeed, a major terrorism summit sponsored by Tehran in June of 1996 saw delegates from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and other Mid-East and African states, as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Germany, France, Britain, Canada, and the U.S. come together to form a joint working committee under the command of the new HizbAllah International — transforming that group into "the vanguard of the revolution" of the Muslim world.
1158. (846) Timothy McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, 3/25/97, p. 81. Jones points out, given the issue of the credibility of the information, that the head of Saudi Intelligence is the King's own son.
1159. (*) As former high-ranking CIA official Victor Marchetti explained, "They're smart enough always to work through other parties. Generally, the dirtier the work is, the more likely it is to be farmed out."
1160. (**) Some of the members of ZR/RIFLE, such as Felix Rodriguez (AKA: Max Gomez), and the leader of CORU, Frank Castro, would go on to form the nucleus of the Contra drugs-for-guns operation.
1161. (847) Scott and Marshall, *Op Cit.*, p. 16.
1162. (848) Deirdre Griswold "Cuba Defended Itself, Washington Is The Terrorist," *Workers World*, 3/7/96; Jack Calhoun, "The Family that Prays Together," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Summer, 1992; also see Thomas & Keith.
1163. (*) This is not surprising, as it has been alleged by former CIA agents that Bush allowed the Agency to use his off-shore oil drilling company, Zapata Oil, as a front for numerous CIA operations, including the Bay of Pigs invasion.
1164. (849) Friedman, *Op Cit.*
1165. (850) *Ibid.*
1166. (851) Mary Ann Weaver, "Blowback," *The Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1996.
1167. (*) Recall that another one of the CIA's "valuable assets," Mir Aimal Kansi, opened fire with an AK-47 outside of CIA headquarters in January, 1993, killing two Agency employees. Like World Trade Center bomber Ramzi Yousef, he fled to Pakistan.
1168. (852) Friedman, *Op Cit.*
1169. (*) Egyptian President Hosani Mubarak claimed that Sheik Rahman was connected to the CIA. (*Las Vegas Sun*, 8/1/93)
1170. (853) Peter Waldman and Frances A. McMorris, "The Other Trial: As Sheik Omar Case Nears End, Neither Side Looks Like a Winner," *Wall Street Journal*, 9/22/95.
1171. (**) As William Norman Grigg, writing in the *New American* points out, "The FBI engaged in a curiously timed fit of incompetence when the opportunity arose for a preemptive strike against Sheik Omar's network. Following the shooting of Rabbi Meir Kahane in November 1990, the FBI seized and impounded 49 boxes of documents from Nosair's New Jersey apartment; the cache included bomb-making instructions, a hit list of public figures (including Kahane), paramilitary training materials, detailed pictures of famous buildings (including the World Trade Center), and sermons by Sheik Omar urging his followers to 'destroy the edifices of capitalism.'"
1172. (854) *National Review*, 7/10/95, quoted in *Ibid.*; Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1991), p. 484.
1173. (*) Not only was Rowe never prosecuted, the FBI paid his medical bills and gave him a \$125 bonus for "services rendered."
1174. (855) Donner, *Op Cit.*, p. 365
1175. (856) Frank Donner, *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in America*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, University of California Press: 1990), p. 360
1176. (857) Ward and Churchill, *Op Cit.*, p. 181; *Washington Post*, 7/15/80; *New York Times*' 5/15/80, quoted in *Ibid.*
1177. (858) Gene Wheaton, interview with author.
1178. (*) Using such individuals would also prove far easier than attempting to recruit American operatives, even hardened killers. The

potential recruits willing to kill American men, women and children would be far more numerous among foreigners with a vendetta against the U.S.

1179. (859) *Intelligence Newsletter* (France), April 1993; *Unclassified*, National Association of Security Alumni, date unknown.

1180. (*) Kansi's original target was believed to have been CIA Director Robert Gates.

1181. (860) Ben MacIntyre, *London Times*, 4/21/95, quoted in Keith, *Op Cit.*, p. 154.

1182. (**) Curiously, Robert Jerlow, KFOR's private investigator, spotted the FBI watching al-Hussaini at the same time he was. Would this subsume that Hussaini was not part of an FBI-sanctioned operation?

1183. (**) It is also curious why one prominent alternative investigator ignored the Middle Eastern lead altogether, focusing solely on Elohim City. What this alleged reporter consistently missed is the dismembered military leg found in the rubble, the numerous witnesses who saw Middle Eastern suspects, and the APB on the brown pick-up driven by al-Hussaini. This reporter even went so far as to suggest that the men in the pick-up were Dennis Mahon and his comrades dressed up as Arabs! Given the scenario of a "second-level damage-control" operation steering critics of the government's case solely onto Elohim City, it can be surmised that at least some of the real bombers were part of the Middle Eastern contingent, and were CIA/FBI controlled, supplied and activated. This would explain why Gagan's involvement in the Middle Eastern cell was apparently ignored by the FBI. It would explain why Gagan was asked by a covert operative to deliver a Lely mixer to Junction City. And it would explain why the FBI cleared Hussain al-Hussaini, and why Sam Khalid acted so non-chalant when confronted with evidence of his involvement.

1184. (861) Statement of Jane Graham, 11/15/96.

1185. (862) Jane Graham, video deposition of 8/20/97 and interview with author.

1186. (*) As previously mentioned, representatives of the electric, telephone and gas companies, as well as local contractors bidding on a GSA renovation project, all denied having workmen who fit the mens' description at that location.

1187. (**) Also recall that on the same day or the following Monday, VA employees Dennis Jackson and Craig Freeman saw a suspicious group of Arabs inside the building after hours. One of them closely matched the description of the suspect seen with "McVeigh" by Phylliss Kingsley at the Hi-Way Grill that Sunday. They exited, said Freeman, towards the underground parking garage.

1188. (†) Moreover, why would he do it so conspicuously, running a red light, attracting the attention of the police? This makes about as much sense as flying down the highway at 80 mph without a license plate.

1189. (863) Jane Graham, interview with author. Graham is a friend and co-worker of Johnston's.

1190. (*) How interesting that McVeigh and his co-conspirator would be loitering around the scene of such a heinous crime, right next to his readily identifiable yellow Mercury.

1191. (864) Statement of Jane Graham, 11/15/96.

1192. (**) When Francis Gary Powers' U-2 spy plane was discovered and shot down over Soviet air space, he failed to pull the destruct ring. Powers suspected that the CIA had it hooked to a zero-delay fuse — so he bailed out without activating the self-destruct. Unfortunately, he had a fatal helicopter crash the week before he was supposed to testify before the House Select Assassination Committee.

1193. (*) It has been well-documented that the FBI and ATF illegally leveled the crime scene at Waco, which was supposed to be under the jurisdiction of Texas Rangers; destroying evidence that ATF helicopters had indiscriminately fired into the roofs of the building at the beginning of the raid killing several people; had fired at the front door well before any shots had been fired in return, and had set explosive charges on top of a concrete vault in which women and children were hiding to escape the fire set. The front door (a metal door) which would have proved the second allegation was later found to be mysteriously "missing."

1194. (865) Tim Weiner, "Aging Shop of Horrors: The C.I.A. Limp to 50," *New York Times*, 7/20/97. As Milt Bearden, the Agency's last chief of Soviet operations, said, "The collapse of our enemy ensured our own demise." "We're a confused group, dying for stability," the Agency's Inspector General, Fred Hitz, said in a May speech.

1195. (*) It is interesting to examine this from the perspective of the German BND, the intelligence organization founded by Reinhard Gehlen at the behest of the CIA after WWII. Gehlen had been Hitler's senior intelligence officer on the Eastern Front, commanding the *Fremde Heere Ost* or "Foreign Armies East." The U.S. Government absorbed the *Gehlen Org* into its emerging intelligence apparatus (the CIA) in its entirety, in the belief that Gehlen's still largely intact network of spies would prove invaluable in America's fight against the Soviets. Walter Schellenberg, ex-head of Nazi foreign intelligence, claimed to author William Stevenson that Gehlen's organization was primarily a front for escaping Nazi war criminals. It was ultimately proved that approximately 90 percent of the "intelligence" coming out of the *Gehlen Org* regarding the Soviet threat, which led to the rise of the Cold War, was false, but was used by Gehlen and his Nazi comrades to perpetuate

his organization.

1196. (*) Iron Mountain is supposedly a nuclear corporate hideout in Hudson, NY, similar to Mt. Weather in Virginia. It is also a reference to the town of Hudson, N.Y. where, at the Hudson Institute, war games and studies on future life were developed under the direction of Herman Kahn for governmental and private agencies. Kahn did not claim authorship however. As for Leonard Lewin, who finally claimed authorship of the report in 1972, "as a hoax," said that his intent was "to caricature the bankruptcy of the think-tank mentality by pursuing its style of scientific thinking to its logical ends." Interestingly, the *New York Times* wrote "Many analysts believe that the report reflects a grasp of the Washington scene as well as an understanding of social psychology, ecology, economics and sociology that is beyond the ability of most satirists." Arthur I. Waskow of the Institute for Policy Studies told the *Times* he was surprised to see one of his privately circulated reports mentioned in the book. Waskow added that only about 60 people in Washington saw the report, "[so] if it's a hoax, it must involve somebody high up," he said. (*New York Times*, 11/1/67)

1197. (866) Leonard C. Lewin, *Report from Iron Mountain on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster/Free Press, 1996); Victor Navasky, "Anatomy of a Hoax," *The Nation*, 6/12/95; Robert Tomsho, "A Cause for Fear; Though Called a Hoax, 'Iron Mountain' Report Guides Some Militias," *Wall Street Journal*, 5/9/95, quoted in "Report from Iron Mountain: A Fraud?" *Conspiracy Nation*, Vol. 5 No. 8.

1198. (**) In much the same way as George Orwell's 1984 seems to be coming to pass today.

1199. (*) Emphasis mine.

1200. (867) Lewin, *Op Cit.*, pp.94-96.

1201. (*) Emphasis mine.

1202. (868) *Foreign Affairs*, June/July, 1995.

1203. (869) Rappaport, *Op Cit.*

1204. (870) DeCamp, *Op Cit.*, p. 380.

1205. (*) As *Report from Iron Mountain* states: "War supplies the basis for the general acceptance of political authority" which "has enabled societies to maintain necessary class distinctions," and "ensured the subordination of the citizen to the state...."

1206. (871) Noam Chomsky, *Alternative Press Review*, Fall, 1993.

1207. (872) David P. Hamilton and Bill Spindle, "Tokyo's Threat Was Just in Jest, But Some Call It a U.S. Backlash," *The Wall Street Journal*, 6/25/97. As the *Journal* noted: "offering to sell even a portion of that amount would likely send the Treasury market into a free fall...."

1208. (873) The majority of militia members are nonviolent and some have assisted the bureau in its investigations, he said.

1209. (874) William Jasper, "Enemies of World Order," *The New American*, 6/23/97.

1210. (875) DeCamp, *Op Cit.*, p. 382.

1211. (*) As another famous politician once declared: "The streets of our country are in turmoil. The universities are filled with students rebelling and rioting. Communists are seeking to destroy our country. Russia is threatening us with her might. And the Republic is in danger. Yes, danger from within and without. We need law and order. Without law and order our nation cannot survive." The politician who made that famous statement was Adolph Hitler.

1212. (**) George Mintzer, the director of criminal investigations of the U.S. Southern District Attorney's Office from 1926 to 1931, maintained files on over 32,000 "subversive" Americans at the behest of his boss, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, a man who had close links with the ADL. Mintzer's files were made available to the Office of Naval Intelligence, the State Department, and to the FBI. In the mid-1950s, New York publisher Lyle Stuart exposed how the ADL was actually financing a rag-tag "neo-Nazi" group, which would engage in loud demonstrations outside synagogues at precisely the same time that the ADL was engaging in anti-Nazi fund-raising efforts. What is also interesting is that the ADL played a large role in protecting Mob figures such as Meyer Lansky, smearing potential law enforcement opponents as "Anti-Semetic." (*Dope, Inc.: The Book That Drove Kissinger Crazy*, (Washington DC: Executive Intelligence Review, 1992). p. 582; *The Spotlight*, 5/26/97)

1213. (876) "The Truth Steps Out: End of Blind Trust in the Media," *Relevance*, April, 1997.

1214. (877) Daniel Brandt, "The 1960s and COINTELPRO: In Defense of Paranoia," *NameBase NewsLine*, No. 10, July-September 1995.

1215. (*) A recent Scripps Howard News Service and Scripps School of Journalism poll of "conspiracy fears" revealed that 40% of Americans think it is very likely or somewhat likely that the FBI deliberately set the fires at Waco; 51% believe federal officials were responsible for the Kennedy assassination; 52% believe that it is very or somewhat likely that the CIA pushes drugs in the inner-cities; 39% believe it is very likely the U.S. Navy accidentally or purposefully shot down TWA Flight 800. 80% believe that the military is withholding evidence of Iraqi use of nerve gas or germ warfare during the Gulf War. Yet in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing, 58 percent of Americans surveyed by the *Los Angeles Times* indicated they would trade some civil liberties if it would help thwart terrorism. Another poll, taken after the bombing by the Associated Press, revealed that 54 percent of Americans were willing to trade off some of their rights to prevent more Oklahoma City-style attacks. A poll taken during the Bush administration revealed that 60 percent of the population said that they would give up their rights to win the drug war

1216. (878) Rep. Steve Stockman, letter to Attorney General Janet Reno, 3/22/95, copy in author's possession.

1217. (879) *Ibid.*

1218. (*) Foster had allegedly used Pollard, a low-level naval intelligence analyst, on behalf of Reagan, Bush, and Casper Weinberger, to convey data to the Israelis. The favor was in return for Israel's help in trans-shipping U.S. weapons to Iran, as a pay-off for delaying the release of the American hostages, thereby defeating Jimmy Carter's bid for re-election. That scandal was known as "October Surprise." A federal judge, a Clinton crony, has kept the indictment sealed to this day.

1219. (*) The C-21 Lear Jet is a highly reliable aircraft. This particular plane was part of the presidential fleet based at Andrews Air Force base. According to military sources, the pilots who fly them are the best of the best. Clark Fiester, an assistant Air Force secretary for acquisitions, served on the NSA advisory board. Other ranking personnel were Maj. Gen. Glenn Profitt II, and Col. Jack Clark II. ("Rescuers Find Recorders in Military Crash," *Washington Post* (Reuters), 4/18/95; "The Eight Who died in Ala. Crash," *Air Forces Monthly*, date unknown; *Alexander City Outlook*, 4/18/95; Joe L. Jordan, National Vietnam P.O.W. Strike force; other information from confidential sources.)

1220. (**) The downing was suspiciously similar to the U.S. Air Force plane carrying Commerce Secretary Ron Brown that crashed in Bosnia on April 3, 1996, killing all 35 people. While the major news media attributed the crash to foul weather, the Air Force investigation report concluded that "the weather was not a substantially contributing factor to this mishap." The pilot had nearly 3,000 flight hours, and the co-pilot had even more. Five other planes had landed at the airport without difficulty in the minutes before the crash, and none experienced problems with the navigation beacons. The Air Force also skipped the first step of its investigative process, known as a safety board, in which all crashes are treated as suspicious, and went immediately to the second phase, an accident investigation. Two military pathologists at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology (AFIP) — Air Force Lt. Col. Steve Cogswell and Army Lt. Col. David Hause — were quoted in the [Pittsburg] *Tribune-Review* as saying Brown suffered a head wound that could have been caused by a gunshot. "Essentially... Brown had a .45-inch inwardly beveling circular hole in the top of his head, which is essentially the description of a .45-caliber gunshot wound," said Cogswell. Cogswell said that the original X-ray of Brown's head showed metal fragments in Brown's brain consistent with a disintegrating bullet. Forensic pathologist Dr. Cyril Wecht concluded there was "more than enough" evidence that Brown was assassinated. No autopsy was conducted, and all of the original head X-rays of Brown are now "missing" from Brown's case file. The sole survivor, stewardess Shelly Kelly, who had only minor cuts and bruises, mysteriously bled to death from a neat 3" incision above her femoral artery upon arrival at the hospital (the official story was that she died of a broken neck). Brown's law partner at Patton, Boggs and Blow died in a mysterious car wreck within one hour of the crash. Three days later, Niko Jerkuic, the maintenance chief at the Tulsa airport, who had guided the plane to its fatal rendezvous, "committed suicide." Brown, who was under investigation for bribery at the time [linked to the DNC and the Lippo Group, in turn linked to President Clinton], reportedly possessed sensitive information that could have implicated Clinton in a long list of criminal acts, and had threatened to blow the whistle. Congresswoman Maxine Waters and Kweisi Mfume, head of the NAACP, have called for an investigation into the matter. (Christopher Ruddy and Hugh Sprunt, "Questions linger about Ron Brown plane crash," 11/24/97; Christopher Ruddy, "Experts differ on Ron Brown's head wound," *Tribune-Review*, 12/3/97; "Ron Brown conspiracy protest today," UPI, 12/24/97.)

1221. (*) A conversation with former IRS investigator Bill Duncan (who, along with Arkansas Highway Patrol investigator Russell Welch, first uncovered the activities at Mena) shed little light on the matter. Duncan said he was unaware of any files removed from Arkansas to Oklahoma, although Duncan and Welch were under intense scrutiny for their courageous efforts. (An attempt on Russell's life was later made by poisoning him.) Curiously, long-time Washington correspondent Sara McClendon reported that the CIA was also seen removing large quantities of files from their offices on April 19.

1222. (880) Carol Moore, "Report on 1995 House Waco Hearings," revised, May, 1996.

1223. (**) Although FBI supervisor Larry Potts claimed there was one.

1224. (881) Peter Kawaja, interview with author.

1225. († Secretary of State Warren Christopher had unveiled a similar plan four months earlier. "International terrorists, criminals and drug traffickers pose direct threats to our people and to our nation's interests," Christopher stated, as though he was referring to elements within our own government.

1226. (882) Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, "IRA 'supplied detonator for Oklahoma terror bomb,'" *London Sunday Telegraph*, 3/30/97.

1227. (883) Theodore Shackley, *The Third Option: An Expert's Provocative Report on an American View of Counterinsurgency Operations*, (New York, NY: Dell Publishing, 1981), p.17.

1228. (884) Gene Wheaton, "CIA: The Companies They Keep," *Portland Free Press*, July-October, 1996.
1229. (*) As Laventi Beria, Stalin's chief of security, stated in a speech at V. I. Lenin University regarding what he called "Psychopolitics," "Our fruits are grown in chaos, distrust, economic depression, and scientific turmoil. At last a weary populace can seek peace only in our offered Communist State; at last only Communism can resolve the problem of the masses."
1230. (885) *Portland Free Press*, June/July, 1997.
1231. (886) William Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*,
1232. (887) Suzanne Harris, J.D., "From Terrorism to Tyranny: How Governments Use Domestic Terrorism to Promote Totalitarian Change," The Law Loft, Los Angeles, CA, 1995.
1233. (888) Shirer, *Op Cit*.
1234. (889) Orville R. Weyrich, Jr., "Reichstag Fire," Weyrich Computer Consulting, 1995; William Jasper, "A Post-Oklahoma Kristallnacht," *The New American*, 5/12/95.
1235. (890) Jonas Bernstein, "U.S., Russia Sign Anti-Gangster Pact," *Washington Times*, 7/6/94; quoted in *Namebase Newsline*, "Organized Crime Threatens the New World Order," Jan-March, 1995; "FBI Chief: U.S. 'Under Attack' by Terrorists," *U.S. News & World Report*, 8/1/96.
1236. (891) *USA TODAY*, 3/11/93.
1237. (892) MTV, 3/22/94.
1238. (893) The Bill appropriates \$114 million dollars for the FBI for fiscal year 1997 and \$166 million for 1998. The White House, Press Briefing By Under Secretary of the Treasury For Enforcement Ron Noble, Deputy Attorney General Jamie Gorelick, and Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy Bruce Reed, 4/26/95.
1239. (894) Ace R. Hayes, "G-Men Cop Plea on Ruby Ridge," *Portland Free Press*, September/October, 1995. "The third sub-unit of this division is the "Special Detail Unit" which is designated to keep Gen. Reno from harm."
1240. (895) HR 97's sponsor is Rep. Barbara Kennelly (D-CT). The Senate's version is S. 1581, introduced in 1993 by Senator Joseph Lieberman (D-MA). Page 5 of the bill states: Members of the Rapid Deployment Force who are deployed to a jurisdiction shall be deputized in accordance with State law so as to empower such officers to make arrests and participate in the prosecution of criminal offenses under State law. "On The Fast-track To Fascism," *Relevance* magazine, February, 1995.
1241. (896) Joe Hendricks, Chief of Police, Windsor, Missouri, "Police Chief Rejects Trend Toward National Police," *The Idaho Observer*, June, 1997.
1242. (*) Recent rules in certain counties in Wyoming have changed this policy, and legislation is pending as of this writing in Montana to require federal agents to seek authorization of the local sheriff before conducting a raid.
1243. (897) In a nationwide survey of 690 police departments in cities with populations of 50,000 or more, researchers found that 90 percent now have active SWAT teams, compared to 60 percent in the early 1980s.
1244. (898) *Soldier of Fortune*, August, 1995.
1245. (899) William Booth, *Washington Post*, 6/17/97.
1246. (900) To obtain a copy of these hearings call (202) 224-3121 and ask for the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice, or call your Congressman.
1247. (901) Associated Press, 12/24/94.
1248. (902) "Hard Landing by Army Helicopter Hurts Two," *Houston Chronicle*, 10/29/96.
1249. (903) Mike Blair, *The Spotlight*, 11/14/94; Miller, *Op Cit*.
1250. (904) Lori-Anne Miller, "Bombing Sounds Rattle Neighborhood," *The Detroit News*, 10/2/94; Mark Spencer, posted on AEN Newsgroup, 10/02/94.

1251. (*) It seems that President Clinton suspended the law restricting the use of military force within U.S. borders in a little-known codicil of PDD-25, a Presidential Decision Directive that is an "open secret" in the military and Congress, but is largely unknown to the American citizens.
1252. (905) "The Pentagon Brings its Wars Home," Sources Ejournal, Volume 2, Issue 1, January, 1997. Army Lt. Gen. J.H. Binford Peay points out in an Army publication titled, *Tomorrow's Missions*, that "military forces [today] are required to provide domestic national assistance, such as internal peace-keeping and anti-drug operations and support of civil authorities to maintain stability in a rapidly changing America."
1253. (906) Jonathan Volzke, "Urban Combat Training: Marines Hit the Rooftops," *Orange County Register*, 3/19/93, quoted in Terry Cook, *The Mark of the New World Order* (Springdale, PA, Whitacker House, 1996), p. 81.
1254. (907) Major General Max Baratz, "New shape of Army Reserve Supports New Missions," *Army Reserve*, Summer, 1994.
1255. (908) William F. Jasper, "Fact and Fiction: Sifting Reality from Alarmist Rumors," *New American*, 10/31/94.
1256. (*) Now, with the Crime Bill, the FBI can be "deputized" in local areas to enforce local laws upon demand by the FBI. In other words, if the FBI wants to work locally and use state and local laws, they can demand the local sheriff deputize them — then they are not constrained by federal limitations.
1257. (*) In February, 1982 President Ray-Gun signed a series of National Security Decision Directives (NSDDs), which provided for increased domestic counterintelligence efforts and the maintenance of law and order in a variety of emergencies, including terrorist incidents, civil disturbances, and nuclear emergencies.
1258. (909) "Could It Happen Here?" *Mother Jones*, April, 1988. "Packard's directive says turning over law enforcement to the army will 'normally' require a Presidential Executive Order, but that this requirement can be waived in 'cases of sudden and unexpected emergencies... which require that immediate military action be taken.'"
1259. (910) Keenen Peck, "The Take-Charge Gang," *The Progressive*, May, 1985; Reynolds, *Op Cit.*
1260. (*) Former Attorney William French Smith blocked the expansion of FEMA's jurisdiction in 1984, but after Smith left office, North and his FEMA cronies came up with the Defense Resource Act, designed to suspended the First Amendment by imposing censorship and banning strikes.
1261. (911) Michael Levine with Laura Kavanau, *Triangle of Death*, (New York: Delacorte Press, 1996), p. 353.
1262. (912) Mike Levine, interview with author.
1263. (*) The Los Angeles riots resulted in 11,113 fires, 2,383 injuries, and 54 deaths. There were 13,212 arrests. The damage was estimated at \$717 million.
1264. (913) "Police May Have Ignored Basic Riot Plan," *New York Times*, 5/7/92, quoted in *Ibid.*
1265. (914) "Riot Found Police in Disarray — Officers Kept from Flash Point Despite Pleas," *Los Angeles Times*, 5/6/92, quoted in Constantine, p. 33.
1266. (*) In 1979, five Communist Workers Party members were murdered by neo-Nazis and Klansmen in Greensboro, NC during a protest march. The KKK and Nazi groups were infiltrated and led by FBI provocateur Edward Dawson and ATF informant Bernard Butkovich. Interestingly, two police other officers responding to a domestic call in the area just prior to the shootings noted a suspicious lack of patrol cars in the area. Officer Wise subsequently reported being asked by police dispatch how long they anticipated being at their call, and were then advised to "clear the area as soon as possible." (See Chapter 15)
1267. (**) Alex Constantine (*Blood, Carnage, and the Agent Provocateur*), who interviewed local residents, discovered that some of the arsonists were clearly not locals.
1268. (915) Parker and Bradley Clash at Riot Inquiry, *Los Angeles Times*, 9/15/65, quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66; *Ibid.*, p. 53.
1269. (916) *Ibid.*, p. 69. McCone testified before the Warren Commission that Lee Harvey Oswald's connections to the Agency were "minor."
1270. (917) "The Kent State Shootings," KPFK-FM, Los Angeles, 5/3/89, quoted in Constantine, p. 25.
1271. (918) Tackwood, *Op Cit.*, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 61.

1272. (919) William Mendel, Colonel, USA, (retired), "Combat in Cities: The LA Riots and Operation Rio," Foreign Military Studies Office, Fort Leavenworth, KS, July 1996.
1273. (920) Ace R. Hayes, "G-Men Cop Plea on Ruby Ridge," *Portland Free Press*, September/October, 1995.
1274. (921) Mark Riebling, *Wedge: The Secret War Between the FBI and CIA*, p.429.
1275. (*) During the 1994 elections, House Judiciary Committee chair Jack Brooks was overheard joking about the massacre: "Horrible people. Despicable people. Burning to death was too good for them. They'd like a slower method."
1276. (*) PBS Frontline did a piece in 1995 showing victims of torture which occurred in one Chicago police district. It was claimed that torture was often used on suspects in that district so as to obtain confessions.
1277. (922) Shackley, *Op Cit.*, p. 13.
1278. (**) U.S. Army psychological warfare expert Lt. Col. Michael Acquino, who wrote a manual on mind control for mass populations, was fascinated by the Nazis and their relationship to the occult. Acquino traveled to Weiselsburg Castle in Germany where Hitler and Himmler performed their occult rituals in order to control their SS puppets to slay the population.
1279. (*) Acquino is the leader of the Temple of Set. He was accused by a Presidio Army Chaplain of molesting the Chaplain's 3-year-old daughter, and was investigated by San Francisco police. The Army buried the case, and my Freedom of Information Act requests went unheeded. Acquino, his satanic powers apparently on the wane, threatened to sue the author.
1280. (923) Ivan Sharp, "Presidio Satanist a Scarey Enigma," *San Francisco Examiner*, 11/2/98.
1281. (924) *The New American*, 3/18/96, Vol. 12, No. 6. Apparently, Schumer felt that Militia hearings were more important than an investigation of the murder of 82 innocent people by the Federal Government at Waco. Fortunately, most of his fellow Congressmen did not agree.
1282. (*) Emphasis in original.
1283. (925) Marchetti, *O p Cit.*
1284. (926) Frank Donner, *The Age of Surveillance: The Aims and Methods of America's Political Intelligence System*, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1981), quoted in Connolly, *Op Cit.*
1285. (*) Nichols had arranged a joint venture between Wackenhut and the Cabazon reservation in Indio, California to manufacture machineguns, night-vision goggles, fuel-air explosives, poison gas, and biological weapons, some of which were illegally shipped to the Contras. Wackenhut used the tribe's status as a sovereign nation to evade the Boland Amendment prohibiting aid to Somoza's so-called "freedom fighters." Jimmy Hughes, Nichols' former Wackenhut bodyguard, claims to be in possession of documentation linking Cabazon operatives to a hit list of political targets, including Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, murdered in 1986, reportedly for interfering in a similar covert arms operation in his country, involving Israeli intelligence agent Amiram Nir, and Cyrus Hashemi, both high-level operatives in the Reagan/Bush arms-for-hostages-for-drugs network. (Thomas and Keith, *Op Cit.*, pp. 28-34.)
1286. (927) Daniel Brandt, "Organized Crime Threatens the New World Order," *NameBase NewsLine*, No. 8, January-March 1995.
1287. (*) Interestingly, William Northrop is a good friend of George Petrie's, and acted as a middle-man between the CIA, the Israelis, and the Contras in illegal arms deals. He was prosecuted by former U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York (now Mayor) Rudolph Gulliani, who described him as one of the "Merchants of Death."
1288. (928) Frank Greve, Matthew Purdy, and Mark Fazlollah, "Firm Says U.S. Urged Covert Plots," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4/26/87, quoted in Christic, *Op Cit.*, and Rodney Stich, *Defrauding America* (Alamo, CA: Diablo Western Press, 1994), p. 604. "Richard Meadows served for a time as Peregrine's president. Charles Odorizzo and William Patton, worked for the group. Peregrine's key contacts were retired Army Lt. Gen. Samuel Wilson (former Director of the DIA) and Lt. Col. Wayne E. Long, who as of April 1987 worked as a senior officer in the Foreign Operations Group, which is a part of the Army's intelligence support activity office."
1289. (929) Stich, *Op Cit.*, p. 604; ANV had a contract with U.S. Military Central Command, the influential connection coming through USMC Major General Wesley Rice of the Pentagon Joint Special Operations Agency. Rice was a close friend of Bush, Helms, and Shackley, Wheaton, *Op Cit.*; Deposition of Sam Hall, 9/9/87, quoted in Christic, *Op Cit.*
1290. (*) Emphasis in original.
1291. (930) Gene Wheaton, "Secret Island Spy Base," *Portland Free Press*, July-October, 1996. Wheaton and Hunt both claims that an ABC

news helicopter was shot down over the island in 1985, killing a female reporter. The incident was covered up for reasons of "national security."

1292. (931) Declaration of Plaintiff's Counsel, U.S. District Court, Southern District of Florida, Tony Avirgan and Martha Honey v. John Hull, et al., Civil Case No. 86-1146-CIV-KING, filed 3/31/88 by the Christic Institute; It seems Whitlam was about to announce the truth of Pine Gap at a press conference. By November 7, 1975, the covers of three more CIA agents had been blown in the press.

1293. (*) This will be explored more fully in Volume Two.

1294. (932) Luigi DiFonzo, *St. Peter's Banker*, (New York, NY: Franklin Watts, 1983); *NameBase NewsLine*, No. 5, April-June 1994. According to *Conspiracy Nation* publisher Brian Redman, Gelli attended Ronald Reagan's inauguration and the accompanying ball in 1981; Mark Aarons and John Loftons, *Ratlines* (London, Heinemann, 1991), p. 89, quoted in *Nexus*, February/March, 1996.

1295. (933) *Ibid.*

1296. (934) "Staying Behind: NATO's Terror Network," *Arm The Spirit*, October, 1995, (Source: *Fighting Talk* - Issue 11 - May 1995; Thomas & Keith, *Op Cit.*, p.77. According to Jonathan Vankin, Italian Journalist Mino Percorelli claimed the CIA pulled P2's strings. He was killed after publishing the article.

1297. (*) One early result of this fear on the Right was a failed coup attempt in 1970 by Navy Commander Prince Valerio Borghese, a supporter of the main Italian Fascist party MSI.

1298. (935) Stuart Christie, *Stefano Delle Chiaie: Portrait of a Black Terrorist* (London: Dark horse Press, 1984), p. 32.

1299. (936) *Ibid.*

1300. (937) Christie, *Op Cit.*

1301. (938) Stuart Christie, "Stefano Delle Chiaie: Portrait of a Black Terrorist," (London: *Anarchy Magazine*, Refract Publications, 1984), p. 52.

1302. (939) *Ibid.*

1303. (*) This is similar to the release of Cuban terrorist Orlando Bosch by George Bush.

1304. (940) David Yallop, *In God's Name* (London: Corgi Books, 1985), p. 172; "Il Gladio," BBC exposé, June, 1995, quoted in *Ibid.*

1305. (941) Steve Mizrach, "Murder in the Vatican? The attempt on the life of John Paul II," posted on Internet.

1306. (942) Christie, *Op Cit.*

1307. (943) Edward S. Herman, *The Terrorism Industry* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1989), p. 226.

1308. (*) It was also discovered by the Belgian press that Wackenhut guards had been luring immigrant children into basements and beating them.

1309. (944) Reuter, 7/14/96.

1310. (945) *New American*, *Op Cit.*

1311. (946) Ari Ben-Menashe, *Profits of War: Inside the Secret U.S.-Israeli Arms Network*, (New York: Sheridan Square Press, 1992), p. 122. Eitan was responsible for collecting scientific and intelligence information from other countries through espionage. (Art Kunkin: "The Octopus Conspiracy").

1312. (947) Patrick Seale, *Abu Nidal: A Gun for Hire*, (New York, NY: Random House, 1992), p. 158.

1313. (948) *Ibid.*, p. 153, 214.

1314. (949) *Ibid.*, pp. 265-66.

1315. (*) Abu Nidal did business at the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), a CIA proprietary which laundered drug proceeds for the North/Secord "Enterprise," the Mujahadeen, and catered to the likes of Manuel Noriega, Saddam Hussein, and Ferdinand Marcos.

1316. (950) Mike Levine, interview with author.
1317. (951) William Jasper, "The Price of Peace," *The New American*, 2/5/96.
1318. (952) Uri Dan and Dennis Eisenberg, *A State Crime: The Assassination of Rabin*, (Paris: Belfond, 1996), quoted in *Conspiracy Nation*, Vol. 8 Num. 02.
1319. (953) *New American*, 12/25/95.
1320. (954) Roberts, *Op Cit.*, p. 395.
1321. (955) *Ibid.*, p. 369.
1322. (956) *Ibid.*, p. 402.
1323. (*) In fact, Singlaub is known to control at least one airfield in Arizona.
1324. (957) "FBI accidentally faxes memo on Amtrak suspect," Associated Press, 9/4/97.
1325. (*) Chief Superintendent Job Mayo, head of the National Capital Region Command of the police claimed a group called the Paracale Gang apparently did the bombings after failing to rob the Citibank on Paseo de Roxas in Salcedo Village, Makati.
1326. (958) "Grenade blast Rocks Makati — 4 wounded: Rep Arroyo Accuses Military of Bombing to Justify Anti-Terrorist Bill," source: Manila dailies.
1327. (959) Husayn Al-Kurdi, "Libya: The Perpetual Target," *News International Press Service*, date unknown. Regarding America's reaction to Libyan independence, Kurdi notes: "The idea that emancipation from want, ignorance and injustice was to be actually implemented somewhere is unacceptable to an entity that foments poverty and dependence everywhere."
1328. (960) Under the authority of the 1977 International Emergency Economic Powers Act
1329. (961) John Goetz, "Ten Years Later: La Belle Disco Bombing," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Spring, 1996. (author's note: The Los Angeles Times reported that "Israeli intelligence, not the Reagan administration, was a major source of some of the most dramatic published reports about a Libyan assassination team allegedly sent to kill President Reagan and other top U.S. officials... Israel, which informed sources said has wanted an excuse to go in and bash Libya for a long time,' may be trying to build American public support for a strike against Qaddafi.")
1330. (962) Seymour Hersh, "Target Qaddafi," *New York Times Magazine*, 2/22/87, quoted in *Covert Action Quarterly*, date unknown.
1331. (963) *Ibid.*
1332. (964) Goetz, *Op Cit.* Faysal testified, saying: "I am not of the opinion that the attack against La Belle was done by those Libyans whom I know [the Nuri group], but rather by a different group Many of the Libyans behaved suspiciously. That was to hide the group that in reality did the attack."
1333. (965) Rick Atkinson, "US Delays Underlined As Disco Bombing Suspect Freed in Lebanon," *Washington Post*, 8/3/94; quoted in *Ibid.*
1334. (966) Goetz, *Op Cit.* "A week after the bombing, Manfred Ganschow, chief of the anti terrorist police in Berlin, "rejected the assumption that suspicion is concentrated on Libyan culprits."
1335. (*) Posey denied the allegations in an interview with the author. In an interview with the author, Federal Public Defender John Mattes felt the plot wasn't being seriously considered.
1336. (967) Christic, *Op Cit.*; Jack Terrell, interview with author. (Also: See the *Village Voice*, 9/29/87, and 13/30/86.)
1337. (*) Statements of Jesus Garcia to Federal Public Defender John Mattes; The plot is briefly mentioned in Jack Terrell's book, *Disposable Patriot* (Bethesda, MD, National Press Books, 1992), p. 321; Terrell also confirmed the plot in an interview on NBC nightly news; Peter Glibbery, a mercenary operating in Contra camps near Hull's ranch, recalled attempting to transport explosives from the ranch to Jones' ranch, and being told it was needed "for the embassy job."
1338. (968) Jack Terrell, NBC transcript, quoted in Christic, *Op Cit.* The Octopus would attempt to silence Terrell by informing the FBI that he had threatened the life of the President.

1339. (*) According to Jack Terrell, Contra leader Adolfo Calero complained that Pastora had described the FDN (Contras) as "homicidal, Somicista sons of bitches."
1340. (969) Cockburn, *Op Cit.*
1341. (970) Deposition of Gene Wheaton; Deposition of Eden Pastora; testimony of Jack Terrell, quoted in Christic, *Op Cit.*
1342. (*) On June 22, 1984, Pastora met with Dewy Clarridge and Vince Cannistraro, who offered to help Pastora find the killers. (Sure.) Harper's explosives training was allegedly courtesy of John Singlaub and Robert K. Brown (publisher of *Soldier of Fortune*).
1343. (971) Cockburn, *Op Cit.*, pp. 56-57; Christic, *Op Cit.*
1344. (*) GArcia and his family were later threatened with a live 105mm mortar round placed on their front lawn.
1345. (972) *Ibid.*, John Mattes, interview with author.
1346. (973) Jack Terrell, *Disposable Patriot* (Washington, D.C: National Press Book, 1992).
1347. (974) As Col. Dan Marvin notes, that statement, written by White in a letter to a friend, was broadcast on ABC TV in 1979 in a documentary produced by John Marks.
1348. (975) Sara McClendon, interview with author; Debra Von Trapp, interview with author.
1349. (976) V.Z. Lawton, interview with author.
1350. (*) Maroney's wife also told me Mickey was seconded to the DEA and FBI in Cyprus, who were investigating a counterfeiting ring (probably Iranian). As discussed previously, Cyprus is where DIA agent Lester Coleman worked with the DEA, and where he learned about Khalid Jaffer, the courier who allegedly carried the bomb onboard Pan Am flight 103. Maroney worked in Cyprus in 1993.
1351. (977) *Daily Oklahoman*, 8/14/97.
1352. (978) Mike Levine, interview with author.
1353. (979) Ace R. Hayes, "Sacrificial Goat," *Portland Free Press*, July/October, 1997.
1354. (*) "The prosecutors must pare down their case so that it does not bore the jury," legal analyst Kenneth Stern recommended in the American Jewish Committee's recent white paper on the trial. "In cases such as these, prosecutors too often present a 'Cadillac' when a 'Chevrolet' would do much better." (Associated Press, 04/18/97)
1355. (980) Steven K. Paulson, "Media Object to Sealed Documents in Oklahoma City Bombing Case," Associated Press, 12/13/96.
1356. (*) Also recall that former CIA operative Gunther Russbacher claimed that several Las Vegas casinos, including Binyon's Horseshoe, are slush-fund pay-off points through Shamrock Development Corp. The recipients collect their money in the form of gambling chips, which they then cash in. It is worth noting that the CEO of Shamrock, Donald Lutz, was on the management staff of Silverado Savings & Loan. "E. Trine Starnes, Jr., the third largest Silverado borrower, was a major donor to the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty (NEPL), directed by Carl "Spitz" Channell, which was a part of Oliver North's Contra funding and arms support network. Wayne Reeder, another Beebe associate, a big borrower from Silverado, defaulted on a \$14 million loan. Reeder was involved in an unsuccessful arms deal with the Contras. (Jack Colhoun, "The Family That Preys Together," *Covert Action Quarterly*, date unknown.)
1357. (*) As Jones explained in the Writ: "This issue arrives before the Court at this late date simply because the defense has repeatedly gone to the government with information and requests, had to then seek intervention from the district court, and the last district court order has been issued within the last two weeks...."
1358. (981) Jones' defense team member, confidential interview with author.
1359. (*) As McVeigh later explained to his hometown newspaper: "In the instant context, you could take [the statement] to reflect on the death penalty and the charges leveled against me. I was accused and convicted of killing — they say that's wrong, and now they're going to kill me."
1360. (982) Associated Press & The Hays Daily News, 8/14/97.
1361. (983) Bill Hewitt and Nickie Bane, "Humble? Forget It," *People*, 3/31/97.

1362. (*) Senior partner Brendon Sullivan represented Oliver North during the Iran-Contra hearings.
1363. (984) Janet Elliott, Mark Ballard, Robert Elder Jr., Gordon Hunter, "Nichols' Lawyers: The Odd Couple," *Texas Lawyer*, 3/22/96; Robert Schmidt, "Representing the Accused Bomber," *Legal Times*, 5/22/95; Constantine, "The Good Soldier," *Op Cit*.
1364. (985) Jim Bellingham, interview with author.
1365. (986) John DeCamp, *The Franklin Cover-Up* (Lincoln, NE: AWT, Inc., 1996), pp. 345-46.
1366. (987) Letter from Stephen Jones to author, 4/21/97.
1367. (*) As McVeigh's appeal brief stated: "Because the government's counsel attributed Mr. McVeigh's conduct to his anger at the Federal Government over Waco, Mr. McVeigh should have been entitled to show that the government had some culpability in provoking that anger," his attorneys said. "This evidence and argument would have provided a mitigating explanation for the otherwise inexplicable transformation of Mr. McVeigh from the thoughtful, responsible and playful person described by Mr. McVeigh's childhood friends, teachers and families... to someone who appeared bent on destruction." (AP, 1/16/98)
1368. (988) General Benton K. Partin, interview with author.
1369. (989) Stephen Jones, letter to author, 9/9/97.
1370. (990) *Ibid*.
1371. (*) "[Howe] said she saw McVeigh walking with Elohim City security chief Andreas Strassmeir, who had advocated violence against the government. One juror didn't at first even recall Howe's testimony. Another, [juror Chris] Seib, said, "I don't know. We felt there was something there. You know, we kind of skimmed through that pretty quick."
1372. (991) Nolan Clay, "Some Jurors Convinced Others Involved — Nichols Trial Renews Speculation Concerning John Doe 2," *Daily Oklahoman*, 1/11/98.
1373. (992) Steven K. Paulson, "Jurors leave bombing sentence to judge, criticize prosecution's case," *Associated Press*, 1/8/98.
1374. (993) *Ibid*.
1375. (994) *Ibid*.
1376. (995) Nolan Clay, "Some Jurors Convinced Others Involved — Nichols Trial Renews Speculation Concerning John Doe 2," *Daily Oklahoman*, 1/11/98.
1377. (*) The first man LBJ met with on Nov 29th, after he had cleared the foreign dignitaries out of Washington was Waggoner Carr, Texas Attorney General, to tell him. "No trial in Texas... ever." (Prouty)
1378. (996) John Greiner, "Court Asked to Ensure Macy Explores All Bombing Angles," *Daily Oklahoman*, 6/28/97.
1379. (*) Key's attorney Mark Sanford said the Supreme Court was willing to back Key up, by forcing Macy to do his job properly.
1380. (997) District Attorney Bob Macy, interview with author.
1381. (998) George Hansen, interview with author.
1382. (*) According to Oklahoma Statutes, Title 22, Section 331 (General powers and duties of grand jury), Notes of Decisions: "Grand jury functions as an inquisitorial body; once it is convoked by the court, its duty is to investigate law violations [Tweedy v. Oklahoma Bar Ass'n, Okl. 624 P.2d 1049 (1981)]... Investigation by grand jury or a preliminary examination by magistrate is not a trial, and the rules of evidence are not to be applied as rigidly as in trial of case before court. [Magill v. Miller, Okl. Cr., 455 P.2d 715 (1969)]...."
1383. (*) In a letter hand-delivered to the Grand Jury, Representative Key asked to testify a second time to present evidence that the DA's office refused to allow a video of "contemporaneous news accounts" because it was considered to be hearsay. As Mike Johnston, Key's attorney, stated in the letter, "The objection or contention that a grand jury cannot use hearsay evidence is not well founded." Morgan responded by thereafter refusing to communicate with Key except through his attorney. So much for cooperation.
1384. (999) "Grand Jury Told Seismic Readings Unclear in Bombing," *Daily Oklahoman*, 9/19/97.
1385. (1000) *Ibid*.

1386. (1001) KWTV Channel 9 broadcast, 06/16/97.

1387. (1002) Lynn Wallace, posted on OKBOMB mailing list.

1388. (1003) Michael Rivero, posted on OKBOMB mailing list.

1389. (1004) Edey Ann Smith, Individually and on Behalf of Her Minor Children, Chase Smith, Deceased, and Colton Smith, Deceased, Plaintiffs, vs. Timothy James McVeigh, Michael Brescia, Michael Fortier and Andreas Carl Strassmeir and Other Unknown Individuals, Defendants, Case No. CJ-96-18.

1390. (1005) KFOR's information is currently in possession of the Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare. As of this writing, Rep. James Traficant (D-OH) displayed an interest in holding OKBOMB hearings.

1391. This statement by Ben Menache about Mohammed Radi Abdullah was proven to be libelous. See the [documents](#) to that effect.

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The Mannlicher-Carcano Bomb

"It had to have been mined," said the gruff, gnarly voice on the other end of the line. "It's real simple. You cannot bring down a building like that without cutting charges set on the support pillars."

Bud, an ex-Green Beret who saw heavy combat in Vietnam, should know what he's talking about. Bud had military demolitions training — the kind taught to men who need to know how to blow up hardened targets.

"It couldn't have been done externally like that," added Bud. "Without cutting charges, there's just no way to do it."

Bud didn't want me to use his full name. He was worried about his VA benefits.

One man who wasn't worried about government reprisals was General Benton K. Partin. A retired U.S. Air Force Brigadier General, Partin had responsibility for the design and testing of almost every non-nuclear weapon device used in the Air Force, including precision-guided weapons designed to destroy hardened targets like the Alfred P. Murrah Building. Partin has exhaustively researched the bombing and the resulting pattern of damage.

In a letter dated May 17, 1995, hand-delivered to each member of the Congress and Senate, Partin stated:

When I first saw the pictures of the truck-bomb's asymmetrical damage to the Federal Building, my immediate reaction was that the pattern of damage would have been technically impossible without supplementing demolition charges at some of the reinforcing concrete column bases.... For a simplistic blast truck-bomb, of the size and composition reported, to be able to reach out on the order of 60 feet and collapse a reinforced column base the size of column A-7 is beyond credulity.

The full text of Partin's report, reproduced in the appendix, is too complex to elaborate on here, says a truck filled with ammonium nitrate could not have caused the degree of damage done to the Alfred P. Murrah building. Not when it was parked at least 20 feet away from that building. Without direct contact, the fall-off from the blast would be too great to do any serious structural damage.^[5]

Another man who knows a thing or two about bombs is Samuel Cohen, inventor of the Neutron Bomb. Cohen began his career on the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos, where he was charged with studying the effects of the atomic bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. During his 40 year career, Cohen worked with every application of nuclear weapons design and testing.

Cohen stated his position in a letter to Oklahoma State Representative Charles Key:

It would have been absolutely impossible and against the laws of nature for a truck full of fertilizer and fuel oil... no matter how much was used... to bring the building down.^[6]

Interestingly, the Ryder truck-bomb has earned the nickname the "Mannlicher-Carcano Bomb" after the cheap Italian-made rifle with a defective scope that was allegedly used to kill President Kennedy. District Attorney Jim Garrison joked during the Shaw conspiracy trial that the government's nuclear physics lab could explain how a single bullet could travel through President Kennedy and Governor Connally five times while making several u-turns, then land in pristine condition on the President's gurney.

In the Oklahoma bombing case, it appears the government is attempting to perform a similar feat of light and magic. The fact that a non-directional, low-velocity fertilizer bomb parked 20 to 30 feet from a modern, steel-reinforced super-structure could not have caused the pattern and degree of damage it did is not being widely touted by the government or the mainstream press. The government expects the public to believe that two disgruntled amateurs blew up the Oklahoma City Federal Building with a homemade fertilizer bomb.

Dr. Roger Raubach doesn't believe the government. Raubach, who did his Ph.D. in physical chemistry and served on the research faculty at Stanford University, says, "General Partin's assessment is absolutely correct. I don't care if they pulled up a semi-trailer truck with 20 tons of ammonium nitrate; it wouldn't do the damage we saw there."

Raubach, who is the technical director of a chemical company, explained in an interview with *The New American* magazine:

"The detonation velocity of the shock wave from an ANFO (ammonium nitrate/fuel-oil) explosion is on the order of 3,500

meters per second. In comparison, military explosives generally have detonation velocities that hit 7,000 to 8,000-plus meters per second. The most energetic single-component explosive of this type, C-4 — which is also known as Cyclonite or RDX — is about 8,000 meters per second and above. You don't start doing big-time damage to heavy structures until you get into those ranges, which is why the military uses those explosives."^[7]

The government is not happy about people like Dr. Roger Raubach. They don't want you to know what Dr. Raubach knows. Sam Gronning, a licensed, professional blaster in Casper, Wyoming with 30 years experience in explosives, told *The New American*:

"The Partin letter states in very precise technical terms what everyone in this business knows: No truck-bomb of ANFO out in the open is going to cause the kind of damage we had there in Oklahoma City. In 30 years of blasting, using everything from 100 percent nitrogel to ANFO, I've not seen anything to support that story."^[8]

In an interview with the author, Gronning said, "I set off a 5,000 lb ANFO charge. I was standing 1,000 feet from it, and all it did was muss my hair, take out the mud in the creek that we were trying to get rid of, and it shattered a few leaves off the trees around it. It didn't cause any collateral damage to any of the deeply set trees that were within 20 feet of it."

The FBI has a different story to tell.

The FBI claims that Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols bought several thousand pounds of ammonium nitrate at a farm supply store in Manhattan, Kansas, then drove to Geary State Park where they mixed a bomb. The FBI claims that the suspects then hauled their magic bomb a distance of over 500 miles, where, nearly 24 hours later, they blew up the Federal Building in Oklahoma City.

Yet what the FBI — those bastions of truth and justice — don't want you to know, is that fertilizer-grade ammonium nitrate isn't a very good blasting agent. As a publication from the Atlas Powder company states:

...agricultural fertilizer prills when made into ANFO had very poor explosive characteristics. They would not detonate efficiently because of their high density, lack of porosity and heavy inert coatings of anti-setting agents.... The ability of an oiled prill to be detonated depends greatly upon the density of the prill. Dense prills, such as agricultural grade, often are not detonable at all; or if initiated, perform at a very low rate of detonation and may die out in the bore hole performing no useful work.^[9]

U.S. Army Technical Manual TM 9-1910 states it thusly:

The grade of ammonium nitrate used in the manufacture of binary explosives is required to be at least 99 percent pure, contain not more than 1.15 percent of moisture, and have maximum ether-soluble, water-insoluble acidity, sulfate, and chloride contents of 0.10, 0.18, 0.02, 0.05, and 0.50 percent, respectively.

Moreover, a bomb like that is not easy to mix. According to Gronning, "You'd have to stir and stir and stir to get just the right mixture for proper combustibility. And then, if it isn't used immediately, the oil settles to the bottom and the bomb doesn't go off."

"ANFO is easy to make if you know how to do it," adds Jeffrey Dean, Executive Director of the International Society of Explosives Engineers, "but it takes years of experience to work with safely." According to Dean, "It is almost impossible for amateurs to properly mix the ammonium nitrate with the fuel oil. Clumps of ANFO would inevitably fail to detonate."^[10]

The scenario of two men mixing huge barrels of fertilizer and fuel-oil in a public park also stretches the limits of credulity. Such a spectacle would surely have been seen by anyone passing by: hikers, picnickers, fishermen.

"That would have drawn so much attention," said Rick Sherrow, a former ATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) agent with 25 years experience in explosives. "It would have required an area twice the size of a truck just to walk around... that would have not have gone okay."^[11]

Naturally, the expert who testified for the government disagrees. Linda Jones, an explosives specialist who has studied IRA bombings in Great Britain, "concluded that there was one device... in the rear cargo compartment of a Ryder truck...." Jones added that it wouldn't be difficult to build such a large bomb "provided they had a basic knowledge of explosives and access to the materials — it would be fairly simple. One person could do it on their own, but more people could do it quicker."^[12]

While the government built its case on witness accounts of the single Ryder truck, numerous witnesses, uncalled to testify by the prosecution for the McVeigh trial, recall seeing *two* trucks. Could two trucks — one rented by McVeigh, and one rented by the suspect known as John Doe 2 — have been used to transport the huge quantities of material necessary to build such a bomb?

"I would buy two trucks simply for logistics," said Sherrow. "One truck full of barrels of ammonium nitrate, and you still got to put the fuel into it. Because you don't want to put the fuel in and let it settle for days at a time. They would have to have something to bring everything together and mix it, and that's going to take more then one truck."

Two days prior to the Murrah Building bombing — on April 17th — David King, staying at the Dreamland Motel in Junction City, Kansas, where McVeigh and John Doe 2 spent time, remembered seeing the Ryder truck with a trailer attached to it. Inside the trailer was a large object wrapped in white canvas. "It was a squarish shape, and it came to a point on top," said King. "It was about three or four feet high." King said that later in the day, the trailer was gone, but the truck was still in the lot.^[13]

Was this witness describing some sophisticated explosive device? Or was he describing a Lely farm mixer? A Lely farm mixer is about four feet high with a pointed top. What happened to this trailer? Why did we never hear anymore about it?

Then around 2:00 a.m. on April 19, a Ryder truck pulled into the Save-A-Trip convenience store in Kingman, Kansas, followed by a light colored car and a brown pick-up. Assistant manager Richard Sinnett clearly recalls three men, including McVeigh and a man resembling John Doe 2 enter the store. Yet Sinnett was particularly struck by the odd contraption they were towing — a large plastic, semi-transparent tank full of clear liquid.^[14] Was this diesel fuel that the bombers intended to add to their ammonium nitrate mixture at the last minute?

Despite a mountain of evidence against the [government's] ANFO theory, the government has gone to great lengths to convince the jury and the public that the Murrah Building was destroyed by a single ANFO bomb delivered by a pair of disgruntled Right-wing extremists. In fact, the ATF televised a demonstration of an ANFO truck-bomb detonating in an effort to prove their contention. "They fired the thing off," said Gronning. "We saw it — it was on CNN — so what? All it did was set off an explosion and wiggle the trees behind it. It didn't even knock them over.

"My knowledge comes from practical handling of explosives," added Gronning. "And my belief is that 4800 lbs of ANFO wouldn't have scuffed the paint on the building!"

The FBI also changed the size of the bomb numerous times. They originally claimed that it weighed 1,200 pounds, upgraded that figure to 2,000 pounds, then to 4,000 pounds, and finally, they issued a press release stating that the bomb weighed 4800 pounds.

"It appears the government keeps up-grading the size of the vehicle and the 'fertilizer' bomb to coincide with the damage," said retired FBI SAC (Senior Agent-in-Charge) Ted Gunderson.

The government also originally claimed the bomb cost less than \$1,000 to build. Then just before the start of McVeigh's trial, that figure was upgraded to \$5,000. Their rationale was based on the "discovery," almost two years after the fact, that the suspects had constructed their magic bomb with racing fuel, not diesel fuel, which is far less expensive.

To maintain some semblance of credibility in light of increasingly publicized reports of General Partin and others, the government also conceded — right before the start of McVeigh's trial — that the suspects probably hadn't built their bomb at Geary State Park after all.^[15]

If Timothy McVeigh or anyone else with military training wanted to destroy the Alfred P. Murrah Building, it is highly unlikely they would use ANFO. As Army demolition manuals clearly state, ANFO is not good for destroying concrete or steel. McVeigh, the consummate soldier who studied every conceivable Army manual in his spare time — including Army Manual TM 31-210: Improvised Munitions Handbook — certainly would have known this.^[16]

Yet the FBI insists that amateur bomb-makers Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols built this amazing ANFO bomb that killed 169 people and destroyed a modern nine-story steel-reinforced concrete building. Of course, that was before the government's damage-control apparatus went into effect. Before it did, even the usual government talking-heads were insisting that no amateurs could have done this.

Vince Cannistraro, ABC News correspondent and former CIA intelligence advisor to the National Security Council stated, "This is something professional and it really implies that the person who constructed the explosive device has experience, was trained in the use of explosives, and knew what they were doing."^[17]

Before he began attacking critics of the government's case, Oklahoma Governor and former FBI agent Frank Keating stated, "...obviously whatever did the damage to the Murrah Building was a tremendous, very sophisticated explosive device."^[18]

The very next day, the government was insisting that a homemade ANFO bomb, made with agricultural grade ammonium nitrate, did the job. FBI Special Agent John Hersley contends that traces of a military-type detonation cord known as PDTN (pentadirythri-tetranitrate), commonly known as Primadet, were found on McVeigh's clothing at the time of his arrest (In another report it was PETN, or pentaerythritol-tetranitrate). PDTN was allegedly used to wire the barrels of ANFO.^[19]

Senior FBI chemist Frederick Whitehurst conducted a test on McVeigh's clothing but found no residue there, or in McVeigh's car either.^[20]

Whitehurst came forward with allegations that the FBI has been slanting results of its forensic tests for years. Collected in a 30-page memorandum, Whitehurst criticized FBI laboratory personnel for incompetence. As a Justice Department memorandum states: "Dr. Whitehurst contends that the Explosives Unit and the Chemistry and Toxicology Unit inappropriately structure their conclusions to favor the

prosecution."^[21]

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "[Whitehurst's] accusations of bias and even manufacturing evidence have called into question several high-profile government cases, including the Oklahoma City and World Trade Center bombings."^[22]

Whitehurst's allegations were further elaborated on in a highly revealing report issued by the DoJ Inspector General's Office, which concluded that "[SSA David] Williams repeatedly reached conclusions that incriminated the defendants without a scientific basis and that were not explained in the body of the report."

Indeed. It appears Williams reached his conclusions based, not on empirical evidence, but on the fact that Terry Nichols allegedly purchased large quantities of ANFO. As the OIG (Office of Inspector General) report states:

Without the evidence of these purchases, Williams admitted he would have been unable to conclude that ANFO was used. Indeed, Williams stated that based on the post-blast scene alone it could have been dynamite....

Williams claimed "that the initiator for the booster(s) was either a detonator from a Primadet Delay system or sensitized detonating cord." Yet as the OIG report states, "No evidence of a Primadet system or sensitized detonating cord was found at the crime scene."^[23]

Controversial scientist and bomb expert Michael Riconosciuto told former FBI agent Ted Gundersen that the theory of drums of ANFO being detonated by PDTN-soaked loops of rope or "det" cord is highly improbable, if not impossible. "The only way to obtain blast control is with volumetric initiation," explained Riconosciuto. "This takes electronic circuits of similar sophistication as would be required in nuclear weapons. This sophistication is not available to the average person," he added, stating that the resultant blast would have been "confused and uncontrolled," and the energy would have ultimately "canceled itself out."^[24]

Finally, the OIG report states: "Whitehurst questions Williams' conclusion that none of the structural damage evident within the Murrah building was caused by secondary explosive devices or explosions."^[25]

So why is the government going to such great lengths, in spite of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, to make us believe that the Alfred P. Murrah Building was destroyed by an ANFO bomb? Because the government's case is built upon the premise that Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols built their alleged bomb with ammonium nitrate. The calls allegedly made by McVeigh were to stores that sell racing fuel and ammonium nitrate. McVeigh's fingerprint is allegedly on a receipt for ammonium nitrate. And a small trace of ammonium nitrate was allegedly found at the scene. The government's case *must* proceed along those lines. Any evidence that proves the bomb was made of anything *other* than ANFO would not only destroy the government's case, it would open up inquiries about who *really* bombed the Murrah Building... and why.^[26]

The government [also had to stick] with the ANFO theory is because Michael and Lori Fortier agreed to testify in a plea-bargain that their friend McVeigh arranged soup cans in their kitchen to demonstrate how to make a "shaped charge." Yet as bomb experts explained, there is no way to make a shaped charge out of a collection of ANFO barrels.

But the [government doesn't want any serious inquiries as to who really blew up the Murrah Building. The] government expects us to believe that two lone amateurs with a crude fertilizer bomb, out in the open, twenty to thirty feet away from a hardened target, destroyed eight reinforced columns and killed 169 people. As General Partin said, such a scenario is "beyond credulity."^[27]

Former ATF [agent] Rick Sherrow, who wrote an article for *Soldier of Fortune* magazine entitled "Bombast, Bomb Blasts & Baloney," contends that General Partin's assessment of the bombing is somehow inaccurate. Sherrow claims that the pressure wave that would have struck the building from the [rapidly deteriorating] blast of the ANFO bomb (375 p.s.i. according to Partin's figures) would be more than enough to destroy reinforced concrete columns, which Sherrow claimed in his article disintegrate at 30 p.s.i. (pounds per square inch).^[28]

To Sam Gronning, such a statement is preposterous: "That's bullshit!" exclaimed Gronning. "Thirty p.s.i. wouldn't take out a rubber tire!" Both Partin and Rabauch contend that at least 3,500 p.s.i. is required to destroy reinforced concrete. In a letter to Partin, Rabauch states:

I took the liberty of checking with the leading concrete supplier in my area in order to confirm the compressive yield figure that you used, that being 3,500 p.s.i. What I was told about concrete was very interesting. A 3,500 p.s.i. figure is extremely low for structural concrete. A properly mixed and cured structure of the type dealt with in your report would probably have a yield strength of 5,600 p.s.i.^[29]

Those who rush to refute the evidence presented by Partin, Raubach and others, cite as evidence the 1982 destruction of the Marine bunker in Beirut by a truck-bomb driven by an Islamic terrorist. In that instance, however, the truck was driven directly *into* the building — a structure much smaller and lighter than the Alfred P. Murrah Building.

In August of 1970, 1,700 pounds of ANFO parked in a van exploded outside the Army Math Research Lab at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. Although parked closer than the Ryder truck was to the Murrah Building, the bomb merely blew a hole in the outer wall and took

out the windows. One person was killed. (See photo)

In 1989, Colombian narco-terrorists detonated a truck-bomb outside the National Security Department in Bogota, Columbia. The vehicle was parked approximately ten feet from the modern high-rise building. The bomb decimated the face of the building, but left the support columns intact. Fifteen people were killed.

In the summer of 1996, an IRA truck-bomb detonated in the heart of Manchester's financial district. The device, constructed of ANFO and 3,500 pounds of Semtex, a high-velocity, military-grade plastic explosive, caused considerable damage to the surrounding buildings, but left them relatively intact. Although the device managed to break a lot of windows and injure 206 people, no one was killed.

On June 25, 1996, a tanker-trailer packed with RDX plastic explosives blew up outside the Khobar Towers apartment complex at King Abdul Aziz Air Base in Saudi Arabia, killing 19 American servicemen and injuring hundreds more. While the blast produced a crater 35 feet deep and 85 feet across (the crater in Oklahoma was approximately 6 feet deep and 16 feet across, although the government claimed it was 30 feet), it didn't do the same amount of damage done to the Murrah Building — a building constructed to much more rigorous codes and specifications. Yet authorities claim that the bomb was at least the size as that which blew up the Federal Building.^[30] [See photo]

In an analogy offered by Partin, "It would be as irrational or as impossible as a situation in which a 150 pound man sits in a flimsy chair causing the chair to collapse, while a man weighing 1,500 pounds sits in an identical flimsy chair and it does not collapse — impossible."

"But," contends Sherrow in *Soldier of Fortune*, "the [Murrah] Building was not designed to withstand explosions or earthquakes, and it's basically a weak building."

Jim Loftis, one of the building's architects, told me they were asked to make the building bomb-resistant, due to left-wing radicals who were blowing up federal facilities in the early 1970s. Loftis also said the building was designed to meet earthquake standards. "We designed it to meet the building codes and earthquakes are part of that code," said Loftis.

Loftis also said that the north side of the lower level (the area impacted by the truck-bomb) was steel-rebar reinforced concrete without windows. He also concurred with Raubach and Partin that the pressure necessary to destroy reinforced concrete is in the 2,500 to 4,000 p.s.i. range — a far cry from the 30 p.s.i. cited by Sherrow.^[31]

Yet Sherrow concludes that since there was so much collateral damage (damage to the surrounding buildings) the truck-bomb must have been responsible. "The collateral damage just discounts [Partin's] material," says Sherrow.

Two experts who seem to agree with Sherrow are Dorom Bergerbest-Eilom and Yakov Yerushalmi. The Israeli bomb experts were brought to Oklahoma at the request of ATF agent Guy Hamal. According to their report, the bomb was an ANFO bomb boosted with something more powerful... and it had a Middle Eastern signature.^[32]

The Athenian restaurant, which sits approximately 150 feet northwest of the Murrah Building, was almost completely destroyed. Pieces of the Murrah Building were actually blown *into* the Athenian. As video producer Jerry Longspaugh points out, only a bomb *inside* the Federal Building would be capable of projecting parts of the building into another building 150 feet away.

As Gronning notes in a letter to Representative Key: "Not in your wildest dreams would that much ANFO affect peripheral damage at that distance. Which leads me to suspect that another more powerful explosive was used."

According to a source quoted in the *Rocky Mountain News*, an ammonium nitrate bomb made with a racing fuel component known as hydrazine "would create one of the largest non-nuclear blasts possible." McVeigh had allegedly attempted to procure the substance from a dealer in Topeka, Kansas, who refused. In fact, hydrazine is extremely hazardous and difficult to obtain.^[33]

While not knowledgeable about hydrazine, Gronning noted that "C-4, for example, would be capable of creating those kinds of pressure waves and destroying the local foundation of the Federal Building.

"If you had 4,000 lbs of C-4 in there," Gronning said, "now you're talking a real high-order explosive at some serious speed. And when that goes off, you're liable to take out the thing. But I still have a problem believing even at that distance away from the building, it would create that kind of damage. All you have to do to see what I'm talking about is to see what kind of bomb damage you get from a bomb in the [WWII] attacks on London."^[34]

It is precisely this analogy that Sherrow attempts to use in *Soldier of Fortune*. "For perspective, notes *SOF* 'demo' expert Donovan, "consider that the German V-1 and V-2 missiles that devastated London carried only 1,650 pounds of an explosive not dissimilar in brisance and yield. In other words, would three V-2s simultaneously striking the first floor of the Murrah Building do such damage? Of course they would."

Yet the Ryder truck did not impact the Murrah Building at the speed of a rocket, nor did it impact it at all. Even to the layperson, one can see that such an analogy is ridiculous. In his article, Sherrow never speculates that C-4 or any other high-velocity military type explosive might have been used.

Still, the former ATF man contends that an ANFO bomb parked out in the open could have caused the pattern and degree of damage done to the Murrah Building. "Absolutely and without a shadow of a doubt, and I base that on 30 years in the business, and shooting ANFO — from a couple pounds to 630 tons in one shot." Sherrow goes on to state that Partin's conclusions were based upon mere "theoretical analysis," not hands-on experience.

Yet Partin spent 25 years in the defense research establishment, including *hands-on* work at the Ballistic Research Laboratories; Commander of the Air Force Armament Technology Laboratory; Air Force System Command, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) management. Such credentials speak of a man who knows his explosives.

It is unclear why the former ATF man was trying to discredit Partin, and by association, others who disagreed with the government's theory. What is clear however is that *Soldier of Fortune*, the magazine in which Sherrow's article appeared, is owned by Paladin Press, regarded a CIA proprietary. Robert K. Brown, the magazine's publisher, is an associate of General John Singlaub, a key Iran-Contra player who ran the genocidal Phoenix Program in Vietnam, and helped train death squads in Central America. Both men reportedly played an ancillary role in the 1984 La Penca bombing, which resulted in the deaths of eight journalists. [See Chapter 14] Sherrow admitted to working for the CIA in Africa. What he did there wasn't exactly clear.^[35]

If the CIA (or one of its tentacles) were involved, as they invariably tend to be in such cases, they would have a strong motive to cover up their involvement and re-direct the investigation. The most common way of doing this is through the use of propaganda and disinformation. While Sherrow himself has criticized the ATF, and wrote several articles debunking the government's theory regarding militia groups, this particular article appeared to be a "hit-piece" designed to discredit any legitimate analysis of the bombing.

Yet some critics of the government's story have gone beyond the relatively ordinary explanations of Partin, Gronning and others to suggest that the Federal Building was destroyed by a device called an "A-Neutronic Bomb." These advocates cite as evidence the nature of the spalling (the disintegration of the concrete into tiny pieces) on the top of the building, and the extent of the damage to surrounding buildings that even men like General Partin claim would be impossible for an ANFO bomb.

Larens Manyuel, a Berkeley assistant physics professor who has studied the bombing, is one such advocate. Manyuel's analysis, which appeared in *Veritas* newsletter, indicates that the wide extent of the collateral damage was not consistent with a conventional explosion. As Manyuel writes:

There was some very sophisticated bomb that was capable of causing a tremendous blast atmospheric pressure wave that blew out windows in so many of the surrounding buildings. This had to be some sort of very high-tech dust explosive-like bomb — one that creates a widely dispersed explosive mixture in the very air and then detonates it with a secondary charge. This last spectacular high-tech bomb served the purpose of convincing the general public that the alleged solitary truck-bomb was powerful and "devastating" enough that it could wipe out and collapse a nearby building.^[36]

Consider the comments of a local structural engineer, Bob Cornforth, "The range of this blast has really impressed me — the extent of the damage and the distance out." A mile away, window frames had been pushed back two feet. On the other hand, he inspected two buildings just a little over 200 ft. from the so-called crater, the YMCA center and the Journal Record building, which lost part of its pitched concrete roof. To his surprise, "The structural frames performed extremely well. We design for 80-mph winds," which he says seems adequate. The lack of damage to the frames, despite the massive light-structural damage showed that the shock waves were of short duration. This was consistent with a many-point explosion, but not with a single-point explosion large enough to knock out the four heavy columns that had collapsed in the Murrah Building.^[37]

The A-Neutronic bomb, or "Electro-Hydrodynamic Gaseous Fuel Device," was reportedly developed by the young scientist-prodigy in the early 1980s while he was working for Hercules Manufacturing in Silicon Valley, CA. The first bomb test at the Pentagon's super-secret Area 51 in Nevada apparently resulted in the death of a technician and injured several others due to their underestimation of its power. The project was reportedly compartmentalized and classified under a "Nuclear Weapons" category by President Reagan. [For a description of the device, see Appendix]

[What does Samuel Cohen have to say about the A-Neutronic bomb? "Well, I'm not expert enough to really vouch for his statements, but I've got a hunch that it's technically well-based. I've spoken to Michael Riconosciuto (the inventor of the A-Neutronic Bomb) and he's an extraordinarily bright guy. I also have a hunch, which I can't prove, that they both (Riconosciuto and Lavos, his partner) indirectly work for the CIA."]

According to Manyuel, a member of a public watch-dog group that monitors military and nuclear procurement activities, "The design would be particularly suitable for use as a cruise missile warhead, where a non-nuclear charge is required that can reliably destroy a hardened target despite a several-meters targeting error. Such weapons are designed as part of the Advanced Technology Warhead Program of Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories."

Ted Gundersen, who has independently investigated the bombing, included numerous letters and memos in his report which pointed to the existence of such a device. He reported that the government contract number for the bomb was DAAA-21-90-C-0045, and was manufactured by Dyno-Nobel, Inc., in Salt Lake City. Dyno-Nobel was previously connected with Hercules Manufacturing, where Riconosciuto worked. The Department of the Army denies that contract DAAA-21-90-C-0045 exists. Dyno-Nobel refused to respond to

inquiries from Gundersen or the author.^[38]

Curiously, the bomb specialist the government called as its expert witness during the Federal Grand Jury testimony was Robert Hopler. Hopler recently retired from Dyno-Nobel.

Sherrow raised the issue of the Electro-Hydrodynamic Gaseous Fuel Device in his *Soldier of Fortune* article. According to Imanyuel, "Gundersen's bomb model was clearly unworkable as presented in *Soldier of Fortune*, but contained the essential information that the bomb generated an electrostatically charged cloud."^[39]

One victim in the HUD office in the Murrah Building described in a National Public Radio interview on May 23, 1995 how she felt a heat wave and a static electricity charge immediately before the windows blew in.

Daina Bradley, who lost her mother and two children in the bombing, said she felt electricity running through her body right before the bomb went off.^[40]

Another victim, Ramona McDonald, who was driving about block away, remembers seeing a brilliant flash and described the feeling of static electricity. "It made a real loud static electricity sound. It sounded like big swarm of bees — you could actually hear it. The next thing was a real sharp clap, like thunder...." McDonald also described both gold and blue flashes of light. Interestingly, Riconosciuto has called his device "Blue Death."^[41]

Another survivor of the blast was quoted on CNN as saying, "It was just like an atomic bomb went off. "The ceiling went in and all the windows came in and there was a deafening roar..."^[42]

Proponents of the A-Neutronic Bomb conclude that these are all signatures of such a device.^[43]

While both Gundersen and Riconosciuto have received ridicule for suggesting that a super-secret pineapple-sized device may have destroyed the Murrah Building, Cohen cautions: "Look, when I first came up with that concept (the Neutron Bomb, developed in the 1970s), the ridicule I took from the scientific community was something awful. And this included scientists at the Nobel Prize level." "Regarding Riconosciuto," adds Cohen, "the guy's a madman... but technically, there's no doubt in my mind that he's brilliant."^[44]

Gene Wheaton, a former Pentagon CID investigator, claims that the fuel-air bomb was deployed in the Gulf War, along with other experimental weapons responsible for much of the massive devastation inflicted on Iraq.^[45] The fuel-air explosive, or FAE, can cover an area 1,000 feet wide with blast pressures of 200 p.s.i. According to a CIA report on FAEs:

[T]he pressure effects of FAEs approach those produced by low-yield nuclear weapons at short ranges. The effect of an FAE explosion within confined spaces is immense. Those near the ignition point are obliterated. Those at the fringes are likely to suffer many internal... injuries, including burst eardrums and crushed inner-ear organs, severe concussions, ruptured lungs and internal organs, and possible blindness.^[46]

Moreover, it seems that Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm supplied Iraq with plans for a fuel-air explosive. The blueprints were allegedly passed on to the Iraqis by the Egyptians, and Iraq commenced commercial production of the weapon — the force of which is the equivalent of a small atomic explosion.^[47]

A few minutes before 9:00 a.m. on April 19, a young Arabic man carrying a backpack was seen in the Murrah Building hurriedly pushing the elevator button as if trying to get off. A few minutes after he exited the building, the bomb(s) went off. The elevator doors, which were on the opposite side of the building from the truck-bomb, had their doors blown *outward*.

Another former military source agreed that a device similar to the fuel-air explosive exists. "It's called a Special Atomic Demolition Munitions or SADM," said Craig Roberts, a Lt. Colonel in Army Reserve [Intelligence]. According to Roberts and Charles T. Harrison, a researcher for the Department of Energy and the Pentagon, this munition has been deployed with artillery units in Europe. The SADM can also be carried in a backpack.

Another source who has monitored top-secret weapons projects confirmed this information:

I do not know a lot about SADM's, but I have friends — ex British SAS and RAF — who were trained in their use a few years ago for behind-the-lines sabotage in the event of a Russian breakthrough in Europe. They believe from their still-serving military contacts that the earlier football sized back pack weapons that they were trained on have been significantly microed such that a device would now easily fit in a grapefruit and deliver five to ten tons TNT equivalent — or less [i.e: down to one ton TNT]. These things easily fit into a 105mm howitzer shell or a briefcase. ...

Exactly what components are utilized in these weapons is difficult to get as the still serving British officers are reluctant to talk about them in detail. One can assume that a mixture of Plutonium 239 (highly refined hence relatively low radioactivity

emission on detonation), Lithium 6 Deuteride Tritide, Tritium, and possibly Beryllium and Uranium 238 (NOT 235) would be involved as a series of lenses in a Bi-Conical shape. I am endeavoring to get more data but this a very touchy area...^[48]

An article in the *The Nashville Tennessean* insists Iraq's Saddam Hussein has been developing 220 pounds of lithium 6 per year. Lithium 6 can be converted to tritium, an essential ingredient in thermonuclear reactions.^[49]

Other sources say that 6,000 to 7,000 SADM's were produced, some of which made their way to Israel and other countries.^[50] Sam Cohen confirms this information in the Fall issue of *Journal of Civil Defense*. Cohen, echoing Harrison, charges that the U.S. has purposefully underestimated the number of nuclear warheads that Iran, Iraq and North Korea could produce, and deliberately discounted their capacity to produce substantially smaller warheads.

"A couple of years ago," states Cohen, "disturbing statements on advanced small, very low-yield nuclear warheads, began emanating from Russia."^[51] Cohen adds that these articles "revealed a massive smuggling ring had emerged where the material was being sold around the world to a number of countries, some of which were terrorist nations."^[52]

[Writing in *Nexus Magazine*, Australian journalist and military authority Joe Vials points out that the bombing which destroyed a financial center in London in July of 1993, and which almost destroyed the World Trade Center in New York four months later, could not have been caused by conventional explosives. In a bizarre coincidence predating Cohen's analysis, theoretical physicist and former Pentagon nuclear expert Theodore B. Taylor stated in his book, *The Curve of Binding Energy*, that someday someone was going to blow up the World Trade Center with a nuclear device the size of a stick of gum. Taylor's prediction first appeared in the *New Yorker* magazine in 1973.^[53]

Vials adds that the British government was quick to blame the London attack on an IRA (Irish Republican Army) truck-bomb, in the same manner that U.S. authorities were quick to blame the Oklahoma bombing on a truck-bomb constructed by a pair of so-called disgruntled anti-government loners. Yet at the same time the British government was issuing these statements, their bomb technicians were exploring the bomb site in full nuclear protective suits.]

Had the Murrah Building been destroyed by a SADM or a backpack nuke, using the truck-bomb as a cover? British bomb experts, with extensive experience dealing with terrorist truck-bombs, told McVeigh's attorney, Stephen Jones, that the ANFO bomb could not have done all of the damage to the Murrah Building.^[54]

British bomb expert Linda Jones, testifying for the prosecution in McVeigh's trial, came to the opposite conclusion however. Nevertheless, the site was quickly demolished and covered over with concrete; the remains taken to a secure dump and buried. What was the government trying to hide? Nuclear Physicist Galen Winsor, General Ben Partin, and KPOC manager David Hall went to the building and disposal sites with radiation measuring equipment, but were kept away. They managed to gather some fragments anyway, and when they measured them with Winsor's NaI Scintillator detector, they registered radiation levels 50 percent higher than normal.^[55]

[The specter of radioactive terrorism is not exactly brand new. In Paris, the French secret police foiled terrorists planning to set off a conventional bomb designed to spread particles of deadly radioactive plutonium in the air.

Cohen suggests that if it had been a radioactive attack, and it were made public, it would have panicked a public already frightened about terrorist attacks: "If the perpetrators had been able to get their hands on just a traceable amount of radioactivity, and mixed it up with the explosive, so that it would virtually assure that it would be picked up by some detecting meter, and this had gotten out, that there was a fairly copious amount of radioactivity in the explosive, all hell would have broken loose.... It would scare the pants off a very large fraction of the U. S. citizenry, by saying this was used by terrorists, and contaminated an area..."^[56]

Given the government's long history of covering up radiation tests on U.S. citizens, from radiating entire towns downwind of nuclear test sites, to slipping radioactive isotopes to crippled children in their oatmeal, it goes without saying that they would also cover this up.]

"A new class of nuclear weapons could exist which could have an extremely disturbing terrorist potential," said Cohen. "And to admit to the possibility that the warheads might be sufficiently compact to pose a real terrorist threat was equally unacceptable [to the government]."^[57]

So was the Federal Building blown up by demolition charges, a truck filled with C-4, a fuel-air explosive, a miniature nuke, or some combination of the above?

"It really doesn't make any difference," says Cohen. "From the standpoint of practicality... I would lean towards Ben Partin. Because all the stuff Partin's put out, it just holds up — it makes eminent sense — he doesn't have to get into this exotica. Partin says using ordinary Primacord wrapped around these pillars could have done the job."^[58]

In fact, it does make quite a bit of difference from an investigative point of view, since the more sophisticated the bomb, the more sophisticated the bombers. And Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols weren't that sophisticated.]

KFOR-Channel 4 reported that the mysterious severed leg clothed in military garb found in the rubble allegedly had PVC embedded [in] it.

PVC pipe is sometimes used to pack plastic explosives. It increases the shear power. Had this leg, unmatched to any of the known victims, belonged to the real bomber?^[59]

[In fact, it does make quite a bit of difference from an investigative point of view, since the more sophisticated the bomb, the more sophisticated the bombers. And Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols weren't that sophisticated.]

Then on March 20, 1996, *Strategic Investment Newsletter* reported that a Pentagon study had been leaked which backed up General Partin's analysis:

A classified report prepared by two independent Pentagon experts has concluded that the destruction of the federal building in Oklahoma City last April was caused by five separate bombs. The two experts reached the same conclusion for the same technical reasons. Sources close to the Pentagon study say Timothy McVeigh did play a role in the bombing but peripherally, as a "useful idiot." The multiple bombings have a Middle Eastern "signature," pointing to either Iraqi or Syrian involvement.^[60]

Finally, in the Spring of 1997, explosives experts at Eglin Air Force Base's Wright Laboratory Armament Directorate released a study on the effects of explosives against a reinforced concrete building similar to the Federal Building. The Air Force's test closely matched the conditions under which the government contends the Murrah Building was destroyed.

The Eglin Blast Effects Study, or EBES, involved a three-story reinforced concrete structure 80 long, 40 feet wide, and 30 feet high. The building constructed for the test, the Eglin Test Structure (ETS), while smaller than the Murrah Building, was similar in design, with three rows of columns, and six-inch-thick concrete panels similar to those in the Murrah Building. Overall, the ETS was considerably weaker than the Murrah, which had five times the amount of steel reinforcing than the ETS, and 10 times the amount of steel in its columns and beams. As *New American* editor William Jasper noted in regards to the EBES:

If air blast could not effect catastrophic failure to the decidedly inferior Eglin structure, it becomes all the more difficult to believe that it was responsible for the destruction of the much stronger Murrah Building.

The experts at Eglin conducted three tests. They first detonated 704 pounds of Tritonal (equivalent to 830 pounds of TNT or approximately 2,200 pounds of ANFO), at a distance of 40 feet from the structure, equivalent to the distance the Ryder truck was parked from the Murrah Building. The second test utilized an Mk-82 warhead (equivalent to 180 pounds of TNT) placed within the first floor corner room approximately four feet from the exterior wall. The third test involved a 250-pound penetrating warhead (equivalent to 35 pounds TNT), placed in the corner of a second floor room approximately two and a half feet from the adjoining walls.

The first detonation demolished the six-inch-thick concrete wall panels on the first floor, but left the reinforcing steel bars intact. The 14-inch columns were unaffected by the blast — a far cry from what occurred at the Murrah Building. The damages to the second and third floors fell off proportionally, unlike that in Oklahoma City. The 56-page report concluded:

Due to these conditions, it is impossible to ascribe the damage that occurred on April 19, 1995 to a single truck-bomb containing 4,800 lbs. of ANFO. In fact, the maximum predicted damage to the floor panels of the Murrah Federal Building is equal to approximately 1% of the total floor area of the building. Furthermore, due to the lack of symmetrical damage pattern at the Murrah Building, it would be inconsistent with the results of the ETS test [number] one to state that all of the damage to the Murrah Building is the result of the truck-bomb. The damage to the Murrah Federal Building is consistent with damage resulting from mechanically coupled devices placed locally within the structure

It must be concluded that the damage at the Murrah Federal Building is not the result of the truck-bomb itself, but rather due to other factors such as locally placed charges within the building itself The procedures used to cause the damage to the Murrah Building are therefore more involved and complex than simply parking a truck and leaving^[61]

Even the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) was forced to conclude that 4,800 pounds of ANFO could have not caused the so-called crater in Oklahoma City. FEMA's report, published on August 30, 1996, inadvertently concluded that the bombers would have had to use approximately three times the amount reportedly used in Oklahoma City.^[62]

Another interesting confirmation came from FBI agent Danny Defenbaugh, who, along with U.S. Attorney Beth Wilkerson, visited General Partin in June of 1995. Part of the team that prosecuted McVeigh and Nichols, Wilkerson interviewed Partin on the presumption that he would be called as a witness. "...and [Agent Defenbaugh] was going through the report that I did," said Partin, "and he put his finger on that picture I had in the report... the designated crater, and he said, 'Suppose I told you that is not the crater?'"

Partin believes Wilkerson and Defenbaugh (who Partin described as belligerent) interviewed him as part of a ruse to find out what he knew about the blast(s), so the government could carefully avoid those issues at trial. While they pretended to be interested in Partin's analysis, they never kept their word to follow up the interview.

"I think what they did," said Partin, "was they looked at my credentials and technical justification of all this stuff, and they felt found that what I had was based on some pretty sound footing.... I think that's why they framed the case the way they did."^[63]

Whatever blew up the Alfred P. Murrah Building, one thing's for sure, there was enough ANFO present at the site to leave visible traces. Randy Ledger, a maintenance man who was in the building at the time of the blast, claims fellow workers who rushed into the building immediately after the explosion "complained of burning eyes, heavy dust and choking lungs. That is right out of the textbook of a diesel-fertilizer bomb, because it creates nitric acid," said Ledger. "The guys I work with, they're not going to make it up that their eyes are burning."^[64]

Dr. Paul Heath, a VA psychologist who was on the fifth floor of the building at the time of the blast, said, "I picked fertilizer out of my skin... I could see the fertilizer actually exploding in the air; you could see it popping all around you."

Ramona McDonald, who also survived the blast, concurs with Heath. "There was a bright flash, and then boom! And you could see the fertilizer popping in the air."

Given this scenario, it's reasonable to conclude that the Ryder truck was filled with something more powerful, with just enough ANFO to leave a visible trace.

Cohen agrees. "The damage that resulted could not have occurred from a van parked outside... I don't care how fancy an explosive was used. What did in that building... was an inside job."

It would appear that experts' analysis' are not the only evidence of an inside job. In an interview with a local TV station, a man who escaped the building said, "I was sitting at my desk, and I felt a rumbling, a shaking in the building... so I decided to get under my desk.... the glass windows blew in and knocked down the ceiling and some of the stuff above the ceiling and it all landed on top of my desk."

Another man said, "I thought it was an earthquake because I resided in California for many years, and it was almost like it was in slow motion. I felt a shake, and then it began shaking more, and I dove under my desk, and then the glass all came flying in."

A friend of Dr. Ray Brown's, who's secretary was in the building said, "She was standing by a window. The window cracked, then she got away from it and then she was blown across the room and landed in another woman's lap. Another woman I know, Judy Morse, got under her desk after feeling the building shake, and before the glass flew."

"Dr. Brian Espe, who was the sole survivor in the Department of Agriculture's fifth floor office, told the author he first "heard a rumbling noise."

According to these individuals' accounts, if the truck-bomb — the alleged sole bomb — had detonated first, how would they have felt a rumbling, had time to think about the situation, then dive under their desks? The resulting blast wave from the truck-bomb would have been immediate and total. Such an account could only be indicative of demolition charges placed inside the building.^[65]

"The inside charges — demolition charges," said Cohen, "may have gone off first, and so the columns now started to collapse. Boy, that would produce one hell of a rumble, to put it mildly...."^[66]

A caller to the Oklahoma Radio Network related the experiences of his friend, a Federal Government worker, who had witnessed the blast first-hand. "He was approximately five blocks from the building whenever the building went up. He claims that the top of the building went up like a missile going through it. The debris was coming back down when the side of the building blew out. He said third and last, the truck blew up on the street."^[67]

Notice this witness said the building "blew out." This is contrary to the effect of an explosive blast from the street blowing the building *in* from the street. Candy Avey, who was on her way to the Social Security office when the explosions occurred, was blown *away* from the building, struck a parking meter, and then hit her car.^[68] Said Suzanne Steely, reporting live for KFOR, "We could see all the way through the building. That was just the force of the explosion — it just blew *out* all the walls and everything inside."^[69] Ramona McDonald saw a flash and smoke rising up from *inside* the building, "like a rocket had shot out the top of the building."^[70]

It should be obvious to the reader that it's implausible an ANFO bomb parked out in the street would have the force to blow all the way through a huge superstructure like the Alfred P. Murrah Building.

No matter how hard the government tried to lie, obfuscate, and distort the truth, the evidence would come back to haunt them.

On April 19, a tape recording made during a conference at the Water Resources Board directly across from the Murrah Building appears to indicate a succession of blast events, spaced very close together.^[71]

The tape recorder at the Water Resources Board was not the only instrument recording explosions that morning. The seismograph at the Oklahoma Geological Survey at the University of Oklahoma at Norman, 16 miles from the Murrah Building, recorded two waves, or "two events," on the morning of April 19th. Another seismograph at the Omniplex Museum, four miles away from the Federal Building, also recorded two events. These seismic waves, or "spikes," spaced approximately ten seconds apart, seem to indicate two blasts. [See Appendix]

Professor Raymond Brown, senior geophysicist at the University of Oklahoma who studied the seismograms, knew and talked to people inside the building at the time of the blast. "My first impression was, this was a demolition job," said Brown. "Somebody who went in there with equipment tried to take that building down."

Not so, according to the U.S. Geological Survey's analysis. The USGS put out a press release on June 1st, entitled "Seismic Records Support One-Blast Theory in Oklahoma City Bombing."

The bomb that destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Building in Oklahoma City produced a train of conventional seismic waves, according to interpretations by scientists with the U.S. Geological Survey and the Oklahoma Geological Survey (OGS).

Scientists from those agencies said the seismic recordings of the May 23 demolition of the building reproduced the character of the original, April 19th seismic recording by producing two trains of seismic waves that were recorded on seismometers near Norman, Okla.

"Seismic recordings from the building's implosion indicate that there was only one bomb explosion on April 19," said Dr. Thomas Holzer, a USGS geologist in Menlo Park, Calif. Holzer is one of several USGS and OGS scientists who analyzed the shock waves created by the April 19 explosion and the May 23 implosion.^[72]

Holzer added that the two distinct waves from the April 19 explosion(s) were the result of the same wave traveling at two different speeds through two separate layers of the earth's crust. The "illusion" of a double explosion was simply the result of the building's collapse, he claimed. "So the bottom line then," said Holzer, "is I think these observations are totally consistent with a single explosion. It doesn't require multiple explosions to do it."^[73]

Dr. Brown has an honest difference of opinion with folks at the U.S. Geological Survey. "I will candidly say that we are having trouble finding that velocity difference," said Brown. "We have not identified a pair of layers that could account for the ten-second difference."

"Whatever the USGS saw in that data convinced them that the original blast was one bomb," he added. "I find that hard to believe.... What was uncomfortable and might be construed as pressure is that they were going to come out with a press release that says we have concluded that data indicates one bomb. It puts us in the uncomfortable stance of saying that we, too, have concluded that, and we haven't."

Yet the USGS press release said that Dr. Charles Mankin of the OGS, Brown's boss, was "pleased with the work performed by Dr. Holzer and his USGS colleagues in the analysis of the seismic records." Yet Mankin had actually urged Holzer to delay the press release. "Everybody that has looked at the signal has said a refraction (an echo) would really be strange because there's absolutely no loss of energy in the recorded seismic signal. The second event has the same amplitude as the first... The arrival time is wrong for a refracted wave... We've ruled out reflections, refractions, and the air blast... We determined that these two records of these two events corroborate our interpretation that there were two explosions."^[74]

The mainstream media, of course, jumped on the USGS's findings, with headlines like "Single Bomb Destroyed Building" and "Seismic Records Shake Murrah Multiple Bomb Theory." "The news media even reported two bomb blasts initially," said Mankin, "but later changed their story."

"The USGS's conclusions are not supported by either data or analysis," added Brown, who asked that his name be taken off the report. Although Brown cautions that his own conclusions are far from conclusive and require "more thorough investigation," the most logical explanation for the second event says Brown, is "a bomb on the inside of the building."

"Even the smallest of those detonations (from the May 23rd demolition) had a larger effect on the recording than the collapse of the building," he added, "which demonstrates that the explosives are much more efficient at exciting the ground motion than is the collapse of three-fourths of the building. So it is very unlikely that one-fourth of the building falling on April 19th could have created an energy wave similar to that caused by the large [truck-bomb] explosion."^[75]

One of the problems with the two event theory is that the spikes on the seismic readings were ten seconds apart. With that much difference, most everybody in the vicinity should have heard two separate blasts. But given the traumatic nature of being in the immediate vicinity of a bombing, would witnesses necessarily have heard two explosions? Although the sound of a truck-bomb would certainly have made a loud, roaring noise, complete with lots of smoke and flying debris, experts say that the "crack" of a C-4 cutting charge is "downright disappointing" to hear.

One man who works as a parking garage attendant one block north of the Murrah Building told *The New American* that he was test driving a new pickup truck near the building when the bomb went off. "It seemed like one, big, long explosion," he said, "but I can't say for sure. My ears were ringing and glass and rocks and concrete were falling all over and around me."^[76]

Dr. Paul Heath, who was on the fifth floor, says he heard only one blast. But fellow VA worker Jim Guthrie stated in an interview with the *Washington Post*:

"I felt a boom and was picked up off my feet and thrown under a water fountain." He heard a second explosion and covered his ears. Diane Dooley, who was at a third floor stairwell, also believes she heard a second explosion.^[77]

P. G. Wilson, who worked in the Murrah Building, told researcher Michele Moore, "A second explosion came after the first one and shards of glass began flying in the office."^[78]

Hassan Muhammad, who was driving for a delivery service that day, had his ears ruptured by the explosions. Muhammad told the author he clearly recalled hearing two distinct blasts. "...when I was crossing the street [at 10th and Robinson]... the first explosion went off, and it was a loud explosion. And my friend who was coming out of the warehouse asked me what was it, because we thought it was a drive-by shooting... and we got on the ground, and by the time we got on the ground, another one went off, and that's when all the windows came out." Muhammad recalls that it was about three to four seconds between blasts.^[79]

Jane C. Graham, a HUD worker injured in the bombing, also clearly felt two distinct blasts. As Graham stated in a videotaped deposition: "I want to specify that the first bomb — the first impact — the first effect, was a waving effect, that you got when the building was moving, you might have maybe felt a little waving, perhaps an earthquake movement, and that lasted for several seconds.

"About 6 or 7 seconds later, a bomb exploded. It was an entirely different sound and thrust. It was like it came up right from the center up. You could feel the building move a little.... But there were two distinct events that occurred. The second blast not only was very, very loud, it was also very powerful. And as I said, I just felt like it was coming straight on up from the center of the building — straight up."^[80]

Michael Hinton, who was on a bus near NW 5th and Robinson — one block away — also heard two explosions. "I had just sat down when I heard this violent type rumble under the bus," said Hinton. "It was a pushing type motion — it actually raised that bus up on its side. About six or seven seconds later another one which was more violent than the first picked the bus up again, and I thought that second time the bus was going to turn over."^[81]

What Hinton is describing is consistent with a two-bomb scenario. The first, smaller explosion being the more subdued blast of the demolition charges. The second, larger explosion being the blast of the truck-bomb — the blast pressure wave of which almost tipped the bus over.

In an interview with *Media Bypass* magazine, attorney Charles Watts, who was in the Federal Courthouse across the street, described hearing, and feeling, two separate blasts:

Watts: I was up on the ninth floor, the top floor of the Bankruptcy Court, with nothing in between the two buildings. We were on the south side, out in the foyer, outside the courtroom. It was nine o'clock, or just very, very shortly thereafter. Several lawyers were standing there talking and there was a large explosion. It threw several of the people close to me to the floor. I don't think it threw me to the floor, but it did move me significantly, and I threw myself to the floor, and got down, and about that time, a huge blast, unlike anything I've ever experienced, hit.

Media Bypass: The blast wave hit?

Watts: A second blast. There were two explosions. The second blast made me think that the whole building was coming in.

Watts, a Vietnam veteran, has experienced the effects of bombings, including being within 100 feet of B-52 air strikes. Watts told *Media Bypass* he never experienced anything like this before.^[82]

Another veteran who heard the blast is George Wallace, a retired Air Force fighter pilot with 26 years in the service. Wallace, who lives nine miles northwest of the Federal Building described the blast as a "sustained, loud, long rumble, like several explosions." Wallace likened the noise to that of a succession of bombs being dropped by B-52s.^[83]

Taken together, the evidence and witness accounts appears to indicate that there were at least two blasts on the morning of April 19.

General Partin, along with Senator Inhofe, Representative Key and others, asked Congress that the building not be demolished until an independent forensic team could be brought in to investigate the damage.

"It is easy to determine whether a column was failed by contact demolition charges or by blast loading (such as a truck-bomb)," Partin wrote in his letter to Congress. "It is also easy to cover up crucial evidence as was apparently done in Waco. I understand that the building is to be demolished by May 23rd or 24th. Why the rush to destroy the evidence?"^[84]

Cohen echoed Partin's sentiments: "I believe that demolition charges in the building placed at certain key concrete columns did the primary damage to the Murrah Federal Building. I concur with the opinion that an investigation by the Oklahoma State Legislature is absolutely necessary to get at the truth of what actually caused the tragedy in Oklahoma City."

Yet the feds in fact did demolish the Murrah Building on May 23, destroying the evidence while citing the same reason as they did for quickly demolishing the Waco compound: "health hazards." In the Waco case, what was destroyed was evidence that the feds had fired from helicopters into the roof of the building during the early part of the raid, killing several people, including a nursing mother. In the Oklahoma case, what was destroyed was evidence that the columns had been destroyed by demolition charges.^[85]

The rubble from the Murrah Building was hauled by Midwest Wrecking to a landfill surrounded by a guarded, barbed-wire fence, sifted for evidence with the help of the National Guard, then subsequently hauled off BFI Waste Management and buried. Along with it was buried the evidence of what really happened on the morning of April 19.

"It's a classic cover-up," said General Partin, "a classic cover-up."

"Everything Short of a T-72 Tank"

If the bombing of the Murrah Building was the result of an inside job, who is responsible? Was it wired for demolition, and if so, who could have wired it?

Dr. Heath, who has worked in the Murrah Building for 22 years, was present on the day of the bombing. Although Heath personally discounts the second bomb theory, he explained that poor security in the building would have permitted access to almost anyone, anytime.

"The security was so lax in this building, that one individual or group of individuals could have had access to any of those columns," said Heath, "almost in every part of the building, before or after hours, or even during the hours of the workday, and could have planted bombs."

Guy Rubsamen, the Federal Protective Services guard on duty the night of the 18th, said that nobody had entered the building. Yet Rubsamen took off at 2:00 a.m., and said that nobody was guarding the building from 2:00 a.m. to 6:00 a.m.^[86]

"It was a building you could have planted a bomb in anytime you wanted to," said Heath. "It was a building that was not secure at all. I've gone in and out of this building with a pen knife, just by slipping a knife in the south doors, slide the bolt back, and go in without a key. I've done that ever since the building was new. If you wanted into it, you could have gotten into it any time you wanted to."^[87]

Heath also explained that visitors could drive right into the garage, anytime. "There was no guard. You could drive inside the garage — four stories — anytime you wanted to, and carry anything you wanted to inside the car."^[88]

It appears that alleged bomber Timothy McVeigh (or someone driving his car) did just that. On the morning of April 19, attorney James Linehan was stopped for a light at the corner of NW 4th and Robinson at approximately 8:38 a.m. when he observed a battered yellow Mercury run the light and drive directly into the underground parking garage. Linehan said the driver had sharp facial features similar to McVeigh's, although he thought the driver may have been a woman.

Referring to the well-publicized scene of McVeigh being led out of the Noble County Courthouse, Linehan said, "...that's it! That's the same profile." Curiously, one month later Linehan said, "My gut feeling is that it was a female driving."^[89]

Why did "McVeigh" drive into the garage? Could he have done so to plant additional bombs? Or perhaps someone in McVeigh's car made it *appear* that he was doing so? A fall-guy for the real bombers?

"If McVeigh was totally outside the law, he certainly wouldn't have snuggled up against them like driving into that basement that morning," said David Hall, general manager of KPOC-TV in Ponca City, Oklahoma, who has investigated the ATF's role in the bombing.

Yet Hall doesn't believe "the ATF or the FBI or anybody went around and wired columns or anything like that. What he (Partin) said was that there may have been some explosives stored by some columns that went off. I don't feel that those people set out to kill 168 people in Oklahoma City intentionally. But I think that because of incompetence on their part that very well may have happened in two or three different ways..."

Shortly after the bombing, an unidentified witness called Representative Key and told him that she saw two men in the garage who appeared to be "sawing" on the pillars. The men were working in almost total darkness. When she asked them what they were doing, they said, "We're just putting things right again."

Were they "putting things right," or were they weakening the support columns just enough to make sure that they'd fail at the appropriate moment?^[90]

Then, on the Friday before the bombing, HUD worker Jane Graham noticed three men in the garage whom she thought were telephone repairmen. As Graham stated in her deposition, the men were holding what appeared to be C-4 plastic explosives:

"It was a block, probably 2 by 3 inches of 3 by 4, in that area, but it was a putty color — solid piece of block — I don't know

what it was. But they had that and they had this wiring. When they saw me watching them, they were down there and they had plans of the building. They were discussing — they were arguing in fact — apparently there was a disagreement, because one of the men was pointing to various areas of the garage. They were talking about, I assume, plans of the building. I thought maybe they were telephone men at first.

"When they saw me watching them, they took the wiring — it looked like cord, telephone cord — it was putty colored — they took whatever else was in their hand, they put all of that back into a paper sack, they put it in the driver's side, behind the passenger seat [of a] pale green, slightly faded station wagon."

Graham later told me that one of the men was holding a one by two by three inch device that looked like "some sort of clicker, like a small TV remote-control," she said.

The men stopped working abruptly when they saw Graham. "They looked uncomfortable," she said. "They were as intent looking at me as I was at them."

She also stated that the men were not wearing uniforms and were not driving a telephone or electric company truck. They were, however, very well built. They "obviously lifted weights" said Graham.

(Graham's account is backed up by IRS worker Kathy Wilburn, who also saw the trio of men in the garage, as did a HUD employee named Joan.)^[91]

Although the FBI interviewed Graham, they never showed her any pictures or brought her before a sketch artist. "They only wanted to know if I could identify McVeigh or Nichols," she said. "I said it was neither of these two gentlemen."^[92]

A call to the local electric, telephone, and natural gas companies revealed that the men were not authorized repairmen. Nor were they construction workers inspecting the premises for a proposed renovation project by the General Services Administration (GSA). The 20 or so contractors involved in that bid stated emphatically that the men were not their employees.^[93]

David Hall (who stopped working on the case in late 1995 due to an IRS audit) wasn't aware of the Graham deposition, he did drop a bombshell.

"We do know that explosives were delivered there without a doubt. We know there were six boxes of 25 to 35 pounds marked 'high explosives' delivered to the building two weeks prior to the explosion. We had contact with the truck driver who was involved in that delivery. The name of the trucking company is Tri-State, located in Joplin, Missouri."

Tri-state... is an explosives carrier.

"We've talked to the driver," said Hall. "We've talked to two drivers. Nobody knows what was in them because they were boxed and marked 'high explosive.'"

Then Hall dropped another bombshell.

"We also know that the ATF had a magazine inside the building, which was illegal. But the floor was blown out of that magazine. And there's some question about what was in there too that created that damage, because that was a foot of concrete that was blown out of that magazine."^[94]

While several other unexploded bombs were pulled out of the wreckage, none were widely mentioned.

One such bomb was a 2 X 2 foot box marked "High Explosives" *which had a timer on it*. This was confirmed by Oklahoma City Fire Marshal Dick Miller. The timing mechanism apparently had been set to detonate at ten minutes after nine. Apparently it had malfunctioned due to the initial blast.^[95]

According to Toni Garrett, a nurse who was on the scene tagging dead bodies. "Four people — rescue workers — told us there was a bomb in the building with a timing mechanism set to go off ten minutes after nine." According to Garrett, witnesses told her it was an active bomb. "We saw the bomb squad take it away."^[96]

This fact was confirmed by an Oklahoma City Police officer who inadvertently began to walk into the building when a fireman yelled, "Hey idiot, that's a bomb!" The stunned officer looked over and saw the 2 X 2 box surrounded by police crime tape. He then heard the fireman yell, "There's one over there and another over there! We're waiting for the bomb squads to come back from hauling off the others."

Investigator Phil O'Halloran has Bill Martin of the Oklahoma City Police Department on tape stating that one of the bombs found in the building was two to three five-gallon containers of Mercury Fulminate — a powerful explosive — one not easily obtainable except to military

sources.^[97]

Citizens monitoring police radios heard the following conversation on the morning of the 19th:

First voice: "Boy, you're not gonna' believe this!"

Second voice: "Believe what?"

First voice: "I can't believe it... this is a military bomb!"^[98]

Apparently, the containers, with "Milspec" (military specification) markings clearly visible, were found in the basement. Could this explain what McVeigh's car was doing in the underground parking garage? Mercury Fulminate is a highly volatile booster material. Volatile enough to create a very powerful explosion.^[99]

Shortly thereafter, a fireman up on the third floor of the building noticed two military ambulances pull up to the building, and saw several men in dark fatigues carrying stretchers from the building to the waiting ambulances. What were on the stretchers were not bodies, but boxes, which appeared to contain documents. One of the stretchers had on it what appeared to be a missile launch tube. The missile, apparently part of the Army recruiting office's display, was confirmed the 61st EOD to be inert.^{[100][101]}

What is also interesting is that General Partin stated the building's support structures failed primarily at the third floor level. In speculating who would have access at that juncture, it may be relevant to note that the Department of Defense (DoD) was on the third floor, adjoining column B-3, which Partin believes contained the main detonation charge.^[102]

Partin was also informed by an acquaintance in the CIA that several of their personnel who examined the site discovered Mercury Fulminate residue on several rooftops near the building.^[103]

Around the same time as the Eglin Air Force Base report was being made public, William Northrop, a former Israeli intelligence agent, told me that a friend in the CIA's Directorate of Operations informed him that there was plastic explosive residue on the building's columns.

Adding more fuel to the theory of an inside job was the dismembered military leg found in the wreckage — a leg not belonging to any of the known victims. (Although authorities would later attempt to attribute the leg to Airman Lakesha Levy.)

Nor was the local media attributing the bombing to the work of amateurs. "Right now, they are saying that this is the work of a sophisticated group," stated a KFOR-TV newscaster. "This is the work of a sophisticated device, and it had to have been done by an explosives expert, obviously, with this type of explosion."^[104]

Even Governor Frank Keating told local news stations: "The reports I have is that one device was deactivated, and there's another device, and obviously whatever did the damage to the Murrah Building was a tremendous, very sophisticated explosive device."

Newscasters live on the scene could be heard throughout the day announcing, "We have reports of two other bombs pulled out of the building," and "The second two devices were larger than the first," and so on:

KFOR Channel 4: The FBI has confirmed there is another bomb in the Federal Building. It's in the East side of the building. They've moved everybody back several blocks, obviously to, uh, unplug it so it won't go off. They're moving everybody back. It's a... it's a weird scene because at first everybody was running when they gave the word to get everybody away from the scene, but now people are just standing around kind of staring. It's a very surreal, very strange scene.

Now, we want to get some information out to people, to people who are in the downtown area. You don't want to stand on the sidewalk, and the reason for that is there are gas mains underneath and if there's a second explosion, that those gas mains could blow. But, again, we do have confirmation. There is a second bomb in the Federal Building. We know it's on the east side. We're not sure what floor, what level, but there is definitely danger of a major second explosion. They're warning everybody to get as far back as they can. They're trying to get the bomb defused right now. They are in the process of doing it, but this could take some time. They're telling people that this is something to take very seriously, and not to slip forward to get a look at this, because this thing could definitely go off.

KWTV Channel 9: All right, we just saw, if you were watching, there, there was a white pickup truck backing a trailer into the scene here. They are trying to get people out of the way so that they can get it in. Appears to be the Oklahoma Bomb Squad. It's their Bomb Disposal Unit, is what it is, and it is what they would use if, if, the report that we gave you just a few minutes ago is correct, that a second explosive device of some kind is inside the building. They'll back that trailer in there, and the Bomb Squad folks will go in and they'll use that trailer. You see the bucket on the back? This is how they would transport the Explosive Device away from this populated area. They would try to do something.

Finally, KFOR announced:

The second explosive was found and defused. The third explosive was found — and they are working on it right now as we speak. *I understand that both the second and the third explosives were larger than the first.*^[105]

[Paramedic Tiffany Smith, who was working with other rescue personnel in the Murrah Building that morning, claims she was told by a black-suited ATF agent that another bomb had been found attached to a gas line.^[106]]

When Channel 4 interviewed terrorism expert Dr. Randall Heather at approximately 1:00 P.M. he stated: "We should find out an awful lot, when these bombs are taken apart.... We got lucky today, if you can consider anything about this tragedy lucky. It's actually a great stroke of luck, that we've got defused bombs. It's through the bomb material that we'll be able to track down who committed this atrocity."^[107]

In fact, it is uncertain if the bombs *were* taken apart and examined. As stated in a report prepared by the National Fire Protection Association: "The device was removed in the sheriff's bomb trailer and exploded in a remote location."^{[108][109]}

Incredibly, all these reports were quickly hushed up and denied later on. Suddenly, the additional bombs inside the building became a car-bomb *outside* the building, then a van containing 2,000 pounds of ANFO, then a truck containing 4,800 pounds.

Governor Keating, who himself had reported a second device, would later reverse his position, leading a statewide cover-up proclaiming that Representative Key and others investigating additional bombs and suspects were "howling at the moon," and "off the reservation."

When J.D. Cash, a journalist writing for the *McCurtain County Gazette*, tried to interview members of the Bomb Squad, Fire Department and Police, he was generally told by potential interviewees, "I saw a lot that day, I wish I hadn't. I have a wife, a job, a family... I've been threatened, we've been told not to talk about the devices."^[110]

When I attempted to interview two members of the Sheriff's Bomb Squad who were first on the scene, they told me there *were* no additional bombs taken away or detonated. When questioned further they became visibly uptight and referred me to their superior.

One law-enforcement official who had a little more practice at lying was Oklahoma City FBI SAC Bob Ricks, the master propagandist of Waco fame, who coolly stated to the press, "We never did find another device.... we confirmed that no other device existed."^[111]

The ATF, who initially denied even having any explosives in the building, eventually recanted their statements and told reporters that the 2 X 2 foot box was a "training bomb." I asked General Partin if there could be such a thing as an ATF "training bomb."

"I would certainly not think so," said Partin. "Look, when you have an EOD team — EOD teams are very well trained people. And any training device would have to be so labeled — so labeled. And the EOD people who were there were claiming it was explosives."^[112]

Former ATF man Rick Sherrow had his own thoughts on the issue of training bombs. "All the field offices have that material (training bombs). It's 100 percent on the outside — weighs the same, looks the same, but it has no fill — no inert markings or anything else. I can't say absolutely that's what was found in the building, but it's more than likely. They had stun grenades too, which are live. They can't contribute or anything [to the damage], but they lied about it, and that jams up their credibility."^[113]

Cash interviewed GSA workers who helped the ATF unload their arsenal room two weeks after the blast. Cash described in a series of *Gazette* articles beginning on May 4, 1995, how the ATF had stored weapons, explosives and ammunition in the Murrah Building in contravention of the very laws they were supposed to enforce:

Both the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau (ATF) and the Drug Enforcement Bureau (DEA) had explosives and weapons — including an anti-tank missile — illegally stored in the building when it blew up April 19, the *McCurtain Gazette* has learned. An eyewitness observer told the *Gazette* recently of assisting federal agents to remove weapons and explosive devices from a partially-damaged arsenal inside the Federal Building after the explosion.^[114]

Lester Martz, ATF Special Agent in Charge for the region, denied this. "That locker was intact," said Martz in an interview with the *Dallas Morning News*, and with the author. Martz went on to say that the blasted out area between columns B-2 and B-4 was the result of DEA ordinance. Yet the DEA offices were on the *west side* of the building on the seventh floor, nowhere near that area. The ATF offices, however, were in close proximity to it, being located in the top rear corner of the building, on the east side.

ATF officials were adamant in denying that no explosives were stored in the building. But it seems they did have C-4. OCPD Officer Don Browning, who viewed video footage taken by Sheriff Melvin Sumter, says C-4 was "definitely" carried out of the building. Browning, a Vietnam veteran, described the explosives he saw: "It was in wide blocks, about 3/4" thick, around 10" long, and about 2" wide, wrapped in cellophane."^{[115][116]}

Cash interviewed at least one unnamed witness who described helping ATF agents remove ordinance from their storage locker:

"One night, up on the ninth floor, where the ATF offices [were], I helped some of their agents load onto an elevator small arms, machine guns, several cases of ammunition and even some boxes marked 'Explosives'" he said.^[117]

The *Gazette* interviewed two more witnesses who assisted in the post bombing clean-up. One, a civilian contractor hired by the GSA, told the *Gazette* July 30th:

"They had everything! ...home-made zip guns, AK-47s, sawed-off shotguns, AR-15s, M-16s — literally hundreds of guns. You name it, they had it all... any kind of weapon you could ever want." He also said he recalls seeing an ATF agent with a five-gallon bucket of hand-grenades.

"They carried out every conceivable type of firearm known to man," Cash told video producer Chuck Allen, "including hundreds of thousands of rounds of ammunition, boxes marked explosives, hand grenades, everything short of a Russian T-72 tank." Finally, a witness told the *Gazette*:

"What was left of that [ATF magazine] room is in the far south-east end of the ninth floor, but much of it was blown away and [apparently] disappeared into the rubble right on top of the America's Kids Day Care Center."

The area just below the ATF's arsenal room — the coned-in area on the far left (south-east) side of the building seen in aerial photographs — is where most of the casualties occurred. This area extends one to two stories below the street level. (See Appendix)

Apparently, this is not the first time such a "mishap" has occurred. Approximately 10 years ago, some captured Soviet ordinance, including rockets with high-explosive warheads, wound up stored at FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C. There was a subsequent fire, and the exploding ordinance caused more than a little consternation among firefighters, especially when one rocket took off and blasted a two-foot diameter hole in a cinder block wall. When the story leaked out, the ATF reacted by removing more than 30 pounds of explosives from their offices down the street.^[118]

In Allen's video, Cash makes the assertion that the massive internal damage to the building was the result of secondary explosions caused by these illegally stored explosives. The ordinance, which included percussion caps for C-4 (and C-4 itself), had fallen from their ninth floor storage area after the initial truck blast, Cash suggests, to one of the lower floors, where it detonated, causing massive internal damage. According to Cash's experts, although C-4 is relatively safe to handle, it can be set off with 3500 p.s.i. of pressure.

General Partin disagrees with Cash's analysis, explaining: "For anything to have tumbled down from up there and done the increased damage is technically impossible... If something had fallen after that section had collapsed and caused an explosion that brought down [column] B-3, the thing would not have cropped the way it did. If you look up there at the top left hand side, you don't see anything up there that would indicate that you had a big blow-out at the top. If it had, it wouldn't of had anything to do with the column collapsing down below — they're too far away."

I asked Partin if C-4 could explode due to the increased air pressure resulting from the truck blast, from the weight of falling debris, or simply by falling eight or nine stories.

"Look," said Partin, "C-4 is kinda' tough to get to go; ammonium nitrate is even tougher. It takes a real intense shock wave to get that kind of explosive to go." Partin then added, "I thought I explained it to Cash, but I guess he's persisting with his story."

Why Cash would persist with his story while largely side-stepping Partin's analysis is curious. Yet if the ATF were responsible for the secondary explosion, it would seem they would have reason to lie.^[119] [Not only were they storing explosives illegally in a public building containing a day-care center, but almost the entire contingent of approximately 13 agents was absent on the day of the bombing (more on this later).]

Was the ATF in fact responsible, knowingly or unknowingly, for the explosion that destroyed the Murrah building? Consider the following article which appeared in the June 5, 1995 issue of *Newsweek*:

For the past year, the ATF and the Army Corps of Engineers have been blowing up car bombs at the White Sands Proving Ground in New Mexico. The project, code-named Dipole Might, is designed to create a computer model to unravel terrorist car- and truck-bomb attacks. By coincidence, a ATF agent assigned to Dipole Might, happened to be in Oklahoma City on April 19th, working at the Federal Courthouse, which stands across the street from the Murrah Building. He saw the devastation and called the ATF office in Dallas. The Murrah Building had just been hit by 'ANFO' (ammonium material) bomb of at least several thousand pounds, he reported. Within minutes, explosives agents trained under Dipole Might were dispatched to the scene. They identified the type and size of the bomb almost immediately.

Just how this agent (Harry Eberhardt) was able to immediately ascertain the building had been blown up by an ANFO bomb, when no forensic analysis had yet been conducted, is unclear. When Phil O'Halloran, a freelance journalist, attempted to ask the ATF Public Relations Bureau why a Dipole Might expert just happened to be in the courthouse at that moment, and how he could immediately have

known the exact nature of the bomb, O'Halloran, rather than given a rational explanation, was accused of attacking the agency and was promised a fax of agency views on Right-wing conspiracists (which never arrived).^[120]

It is also unclear why the Sheriff's Bomb Squad was in the parking lot between the Murrah Building and the Federal Courthouse at 7:45 that morning. The Bomb Squad denies being there. But Norma Smith and other Federal Courthouse employees recall seeing the Bomb Squad's distinctive white truck. "We did wonder what it was doing in our parking lot," recalled Smith. "Jokingly, I said, 'Well, I guess we'll find out soon enough.'"^[121]

Oklahoma City attorney Daniel J. Adomitis told the *Forth Worth Star-Telegram* he also saw the Bomb Squad there that morning. "As I was passing the back side of the County Courthouse, I noticed a truck with a trailer and the truck said 'Bomb Disposal.' I remember thinking as I passed that, 'Gee, I wonder if they had a bomb threat at the county courthouse?'"^[122]

Was the bomb squad alerted that something was in the works? Not according to the ever-controvertful Lester Martz. "I have not come across any information that any kind of bomb unit was at the building prior to the bombing," announced Martz with a straight face at the same time he lauded the heroism of Luke Franey, the ATF agent who supposedly "karate-kicked" his way through three walls.^[123]

What is certain is that the Murrah Building had a bomb threat one week prior to the 19th. Michael Hinton remembers looking out the window of his YMCA room a week before and seeing about 200-300 people gathered outside. The incident didn't jog his memory until the local TV networks announced on the morning of the blast that the Federal Building had received a threat just a week before.^[124]

Nurse Toni Garret recalled talking to several people who said there had been bomb threats two weeks prior to the bombing. "The FBI and the ATF knew that these bomb threats were real, and they did nothing about it."

Terrorism expert Dr. Randall Heather confirmed these reports, adding, "I know that there had been a threat phoned in to the FBI last week, but I don't know what the nature of that was."^[125]

According to the Oklahoma City Fire Department, the FBI phoned in a warning on April 14, almost a week before the bombing. Assistant Fire Chief Charles Gaines told Glenn Wilburn, who lost two grandsons in the blast, that there was never any warning. The grieving grandfather then walked down the hall to Assistant Chief Dispatcher Harvey Weathers office. Weathers told Wilburn in no uncertain terms that the Fire Department had indeed received a warning on April 14. Relating Gaines' apparent loss of memory to Weathers, he replied, "Well, you asked me and I told you. I'm not going to lie for anybody...."^[126]

[Of course, one person perfectly willing to lie for *everybody* was FBI SAC Bob Ricks.] When asked during a press conference if the FBI had received a warning, Ricks said, "The FBI in Oklahoma City has not received any threats to indicate that a bombing was about to take place."

Interesting play on words. Was Ricks surreptitiously suggesting that one of the *other* FBI offices had received a warning? Or was there simply no reason for the FBI to receive a warning because they were in charge of the bombing from the beginning?

The transparent stories of the ATF and FBI are strikingly familiar to those propounded in the wake of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. In that case, the FBI had one of its own informants — former Egyptian Army Colonel Emad Eli Salem — inside the group responsible for the bombing. According to Salem, who made secret tapes of his conversations with his FBI handler, Nancy Floyd, her supervisor refused to let Salem substitute a harmless powder for the real explosive. The agent then pulled Salem off the case. Soon afterwards, the bomb blew up, killing six people and injuring almost a 1,000 more.^[127]

It also seems that the "coincidence" of the ATF's Dipole Might tests were uncannily similar to the May 24, 1990 bombing of Earth First! activist Judi Bari. The FBI claimed that Bari and her companion Daryl Cherney, who were on their way to a peaceful protest rally, had inadvertently blown themselves up with their own pipe-bomb. After Bari sued the FBI for false arrest and civil rights violations, she found out through discovery that the FBI ran a "bomb school" at Eureka College of the Redwoods in April of 1990 for both FBI and local police. The classes included blowing up cars with pipe bombs, ostensibly to demonstrate the tactics used by terrorists (the same reason cited in the ATF's case). The instructor for this "school of terrorism" was none other than Frank Doyle Jr., the FBI bomb squad expert who showed up at the scene of Bari's car bombing one month later.

According to Freedom of Information Act records, Project Dipole Might was initiated under the authorization of Clinton's National Security Council. One of the stated purposes of the project was to produce computer models of bombings to "be displayed in a courtroom to aid in the prosecution of defendants." The Justice Department used the video tapes shot at White Sands during McVeigh's trial to "prove" that an ANFO bomb blew up the building. As Lawrence Myers, writing in *Media Bypass* magazine, asked:

Why the National Security Council would fund such an ATF project, despite the absolute rarity of the crime, has not been explained.... Nor has it been explained as to what specific threat assessment information the government had when it decided to engage in such a project, just a few months before a Ryder Truck laden with ammonium nitrate fertilizer exploded in front of the Murrah Building.^[128]

As Myers points out, the last-known case of a truck-bomb exploding in the U.S. was in 1970, when an ANFO bomb exploded in front of the

Army Math lab at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. Why then, would the National Security Council suddenly feel the need for detailed information regarding ANFO truck-bomb attacks?

Was the ATF expecting such a bombing? Were they in fact responsible for blast or the secondary damage to the building? Or was the building wired for demolition as part of a larger plot?

["I'm firmly convinced that the ATF is guilty of an awful lot of things," said Bud, our ex-Green Beret. "I mean, if you look at what the ATF and the FBI did to Randy Weaver (and at Waco), it's just awful. They've gone hog wild and have [become] a power unto themselves."

Asked if he thought a rogue group or special unit within the military/intelligence community could or would commit such an act, Bud replied "It wouldn't really stun me."]

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"The Face of Terror"

"Before the Government tries to convict someone, they try first to demonize him."
— Trial lawyer Gerry Spence

On May 1st, a stunned America was introduced to "The Face of Terror." The steely-eyed mug of Timothy James McVeigh, superimposed over the limp, bloody body of a tiny dead child, stared coldly out at us from the cover of *Time* magazine.

Suddenly, there was no longer any doubt who had bombed the Murrah Building. As John Doe No. 1 was led from the Noble County Courthouse in handcuffs and leg irons, the scene was something akin to a medieval script. "Baby Killer!" the crowd screamed. "Burn him! Burn him!"

In the pages that followed, *Time* and others would set out to "reveal the paranoid life and times of accused bomber Timothy McVeigh and his Right-wing associates."^[129] With the ink barely dry on the indictments, the national news media quickly began pumping out story after story focusing on the trivial banalities of McVeigh's life, attempting to reinforce the official allegations of his guilt. While the *New York Times* set the overall tone based on "leaks" from federal law enforcement sources, self-styled experts came crawling out of the woodwork.

"In deeply disturbing ways, his is a portrait of his generation," quipped Dale Russak and Serge Kovalski, two sociologists moonlighting for the *Washington Post*.^[130]

"...his tortured path — is a psychological portrait of his deterioration...." John Kifner of the *New York Times* announced with the authority of a Freudian analyst. "First there was McVeigh's own stunted personality and immediate frustrations. He was never able to overcome a sense of abandonment by his mother...."^[131]

"Not making the Special Forces was something that was very hard for him to deal with," said an FBI agent training for his Ph.D. in psychology. "In his mind, much of his life has been one of thinking that he is a kind of Special Forces of his own."^[132]

Finally: "He was the quiet one," said McVeigh's former 10th grade English teacher Coleen Conner, throwing a bit of adolescent psychology on the situation. "A lot of the quiet ones are the ones who have ended up doing scary things...."^[133]

There it was — trial by media. Timothy McVeigh *must* be guilty, after all, they put his face on the cover of *Time* magazine.^[134]

[*Time*. As journalist Jon Rappaport put it, "the home of faintly patronizing stories that go nowhere." Like the carefully manufactured image of Lee Harvey Oswald, the media would construct a menagerie reality of Timothy James McVeigh, suitable for public consumption.]

Fortunately, in the avalanche of articles that would follow, small hints of reality would occasionally seep through the mire.

"That just doesn't ring true to me, as to the person I knew," said Sheffield Anderson, a correctional officer who had gone through basic training with McVeigh and served with him in the Gulf. "In that picture of him coming out of the courthouse, he looks like a real mean guy. But I didn't sense anything out of the ordinary. McVeigh was a rational type guy, a thinking type person. The bombing thing is totally contrary to the person I knew."^[135]

"The Timothy McVeigh I talked with didn't *seem* like a baby killer," said former Army Colonel David Hackworth about his *Newsweek* interview with McVeigh.^[136]

During an interview on Prime Time Live, Lana Padilla, Terry Nichols ex-wife, told Diane Sawyer, "It's not the same person. I mean, you know..."

Sawyer: "The stony face."

Padilla: "No."^[137]

"It became obvious during the hour-long discussion that Timothy McVeigh is neither a monster nor a madman," wrote Lawrence Myers, who interviewed McVeigh for *Media Bypass* magazine. "He left the impression that he is a man with strong convictions and a sense of honor."^[138]

So just who is Timothy James McVeigh? Is he a hardened killer as the press and federal authorities have made him out to be? Or is he an ordinary man who became caught up in a complicated web of intrigue and deception?

"Timmy"

Timothy James McVeigh was born in Pendelton, New York on April 23, 1968, a small working class town of 5,000 people just outside of Buffalo. Tim was the second child of Bill McVeigh, an auto worker, and Mildred, a travel agent. The elder McVeigh, 55, coached Little League and ran bingo night at the local catholic church, spending his free time golfing, or putzing in his garden. A heavily wooded rural area, young Tim spent his time hiking or playing sports with the neighborhood boys.

"He lived a few houses down from me, said boyhood friend Keith Maurer. "We played hockey, baseball and just about every other sport in the neighborhood. He wasn't the best athlete in the bunch, but he showed up to play every day and he always played hard."

The bright and inventive youngster also spent his time engaging in novel activities such as setting up a haunted house in his basement, where he charged admission, or holding weekend casino fairs, where he acted as the dealer.

"He was very advanced for our age, "Maurer said. "I remember saying to myself: I wouldn't have thought of that."

Pat Waugh, a neighbor, said "I used to think to myself, that kid is going to go somewhere just because he's such a mover and shaker. I pictured him growing up to be a salesman, sort of a shyster."

When Tim's mom moved out in June of 1984, the outgoing young McVeigh became more reserved, as he and his sisters, Patty and Jennifer, attempted to deal with the trauma of the breakup. Reverend Paul Belzer of the Good shepherd Roman Catholic Church in Pendelton knew the family for 20 years. "People asked me, wasn't Tim crushed? But he didn't seem to be. He lived in the same house, had the same friends. Yeah, he'd have to miss his mother, but so many of the anchors were there."

Yanya Panepento, a classmate of Tim's recalled, He was a quiet boy. He kept to himself. He didn't seem like he was a trouble maker or anything like that."

Yet, nine months after the bombing, the *Times* John Kifner would write, "As commonplace as this seems, criminologists say, these traits are often the stuff of serial killers, terrorists and other solitary murderers."

To the armchair psychoanalysts of the mainstream/tabloid media, the breakup would be the first of two major events — the second being his initial failure to make the Special Forces — that would profoundly and adversely affect the young McVeigh's personality. The first indications of this came when reporters discovered in his high school yearbook that Tim had been voted "most talkative" by his senior class.

"The only thing I can remember is that he was very quite and polite," recalled Cecelia Matyjas, who taught 10th grade geometry. "He didn't cause any problems in class. He seemed to be cooperative and attentive. He was on the track team and the cross-country team, so he was able to get along with others."

Brandon Stickney, a journalist contracted to produce an unauthorized biography of McVeigh for Prometheus Books, said "Tim was not the most talkative out of his class of 194 students, but he was by no means introverted. He was certainly an outgoing young man who had many friends and acquaintances."

Yet none of these easy to check facts were ever mentioned in the volumous articles which appeared in the *Times*. Kifner, the *Times* "resident analyst," proclaimed with surety, "He was never able to overcome a sense of abandonment by his mother, who left the family when he was a boy; nor could he find a home outside the Army."

Backing up Kifner was John Douglas of the FBI's Psychological Profile Unit, who claimed McVeigh was "asocial, asexual, a loner, withdrawn, from a family with problems, strong feelings of inadequacy from early in life, an underachiever."

"I think it's a bunch of psychobabble if you ask me, if you want to know the truth," said Jennifer, Tim's younger sister. "We were free to live with who we wanted. We could visit the other parent whenever we wanted. There was no bitterness between my parents."

"There's nothing there, added McVeigh himself, responding to the media's analysis of him in a July 3rd interview with *Newsweek*.

Apparently, Douglas and the so-called journalists from the *New York Times* never bothered to check on the fact that Tim had many friends, including several girlfriends later in life, was close to his Father and his sister Jennifer, and was a Regents Scholar.

Not to be hamstrung by such minor details [as checking on facts], the *Times* and the *Post* quickly jumped on the idea that Tim was interested

in firearms. "In a region of hunting enthusiasts, it caused little stir when Tim, at 10, became interested in guns. But a close relative said that the family saw this as a bid for attention by a boy who didn't know how else to ask for it."

"He had a semiautomatic BB gun that could fire 15 rounds with the pull of a trigger," added the *Post*. "Other boys had only single-shot varieties. Tim used to show them at school how he held it, posing police-style with hands clasped together. During boring classes, when other students doodled, he drew guns."

In fact, Tim's father did buy him a .22-caliber rifle, which the young McVeigh would use for target practice in the woods behind his home. Yet apparently Tim was not the young blood-thirsty adventurer the media made him out to be. "I remember starting to hunt at age 11," said his friend Keith Maurer, "and Tim never had any interest in this."

McVeigh was later able to indulge in his interests in firearms as a security guard for Burke Armored, where he worked for a year or so in 1987. Jeff Camp, McVeigh's co-worker, noted that he had a keen interest in guns, although he didn't find it unusual since most full-time security guards and law enforcement personnel owned an assortment of firearms, he said.

One story eagerly circulated amongst the press is that McVeigh showed up at Burke one day with a huge Desert Eagle pistol and bandoleers slung in an "X" across his chest. "He came to work looking like Rambo," recalled Camp. "It looked like World War III."

Yet McVeigh laughs off the tale, stating that he and some other employees were simply playing a joke on their supervisor, who was sending them on a high profile assignment for the day. Apparently, their supervisor was not amused.

According to the *Post*, McVeigh also worked as a gun salesman at a sporting goods store in Lockport.

"Guns were the entire focal point of the 27-year-old Mr. McVeigh's life," wrote the *Times'* Kifner.

"This obsession with weapons — a form of power — is an overcompensation for deep-rooted feelings of inadequacy," added the FBI's Douglas, attempting to drive another nail into McVeigh's coffin.

One must wonder if an interest in stamp collecting or bird watching — other legitimate hobbies — could be construed as a "bid for attention." The author — much more of a "trouble maker" in his formative years than Timothy McVeigh — personally remembers his own interest in guns, and even military armor. Like motorcycles, fast cars or other macho symbols, such interests pass as one matures. Yet federal authorities, with the backing of the corporate-owned media, attempted to make this a cornerstone of their pseudo-psychological case against McVeigh. He was "obsessed with guns," ergo, he is a mad bomber. I doubt if all the gun enthusiasts in the country would be pleased to know they are, by association, being implicated as mad bombers.

Not to be deterred, *Post* reporters discovered that young Tim had stockpiled food, camping equipment and weapons in case of a disaster "...in case of a nuclear attack or the Communists took over the country," said an anonymous neighbor in the *Post*. "Perhaps it made sense that a young boy often forced to fend for himself would fantasize about fighting the world all alone," mused the *Post*. Fighting the world? Or developing common sense at a young age? In his *Media Bypass* interview, McVeigh recalled that one of his most vivid memories was the winter blizzard of 1977, which dumped 15 feet of snow on Pendelton, stranding his mother miles away, and knocking out power and phone lines for days. The young, inventive McVeigh responded by helping his father store necessities, even recommending that the older McVeigh purchase a generator.

Apparently the armchair psychoanalysts of the mainstream press felt this indicative of early creeping paranoia, rather than the natural combination of the active imagination and common sense inherent in a remarkable nine-year old boy. If the youngster was concerned about Communists, one only need ask where such fears were incubated.

The *Post*, keeping with the propaganda of Timothy McVeigh as underachiever, was quoted as saying "Tim's high-school yearbook entry in 1986 listed no organized activities (he omitted the track team), rather: 'staying away from school, losing sleep, finding it in school.'"

Yet even the *Post* admitted that Tim's guidance counselor, Harold Smith, said that he had not missed a day of classes from seventh through twelfth grade. Far from being an underachiever, his record indicates a young man with remarkable discipline.

Justin Gertner, who knew McVeigh since second grade recalls, "he hung around with the intelligently elite at Starpoint. Tim was in the Regent's program in our school for advanced placement students who planned on attending college. He also created and ran our computer bulletin board system."

In fact, McVeigh excelled in computers, taking every available computer class in high school. He even designed his own computer program. "That was the age when there was no software to speak of, and it wasn't user friendly," said a teacher who asked to remain anonymous, "But Tim and some other kids went out and did this.... In a way, that was fairly advanced. This demonstrates his bright mind and his ability."

This bright mind and ability led McVeigh to Bryant & Stratton Business College in Williamsville, N.Y. to study advanced COBOL and FORTRAN programming languages. In spite of his abilities, opportunities for decent employment were uncertain in Buffalo in the mid-1980s. Buffalo, like the rest of the Rust Belt, was experiencing the worst of economic trends. Several steel and auto plants had shut down, and two major banks failed, throwing thousands of white-collar workers out of jobs and causing downturns in real-estate, advertising, law and other

fields.^[139]

"There are no jobs around here unless you want to work for \$6 an hour or less at a McDonald's or Wendy's," said Bill McVeigh. "It's rough for anybody looking for work."

McVeigh apparently did not feel comfortable that his auto-worker father was paying for most of his college tuition. So in December 1987, he took a job with Burke Armored Truck (now known as Armored Services of America) in Cheektowaga, near Buffalo.

"He was a very alert guard," said Jeff Camp, McVeigh's co-worker. "He worked a lot of overtime and was polite with our customers." McVeigh was also moody, ranging from intense to quiet. "If someone was driving badly, cutting us off or interfering with our schedule, he could get pretty mad," added Camp. "His face would turn red and he would yell and scream inside the truck, although he calmed down pretty fast." (Similar to the way the author drives.) Camp also described an incident where a woman had hit their truck. Although the woman was upset, McVeigh calmed her down and told her not to worry, that there was no damage to the truck, and that he would even report it as their fault, which it wasn't.^[140]

McVeigh worked at Burke from April of 1987 till May of 1988. By the time he was 19, McVeigh had built up a substantial savings account and he and a friend, David Darlak, acquired 10 acres of land for \$7,000 at a hunting and camping retreat north of Olean, N.Y. The two young men bought the land as an investment, and to use for camping and for target practice.^[141] Reported the *Post*:

"Robert Morgan, who lives nearby, said his father Charlie once called the state police to complain about all the gunfire. 'My dad turned him in,' he said. 'One day it sounded like a war out there. Sometimes he'd come down during the week, sometimes the weekend. He had on hunting clothes. Camouflage.'"^[142]

While the press made much out of the fact that McVeigh and his friends used the land for target practice, it should be noted that McVeigh was law-abiding and did not have a criminal record.

By the Spring of 1988, the young security guard felt he was going nowhere. He was working in a relatively low-wage job while listening to the fate of those who had been laid-off while working other jobs. Tim's father listened with concern as Tim vented his frustration, complaining that he was unemployable except at jobs that paid "no money." One night Bill McVeigh and a friend from the auto plant suggested that the younger McVeigh enter the service.

"Bill and I had both been in the service," the friend said, "and one night we said to Tim, 'That's what you ought to do: go in the service.' A week later, he had joined."

"It happened in a split second," said Tim's co-worker Jeff Camp. "He didn't tell anyone he was joining. He just came to work one day and said he was going in the Army."^[143] I never saw a guy who wanted to go in the Army that bad. I asked him why the Army, and he said 'You get to shoot.' He always wanted to carry an M-16."^[144]

Keith Maurer said, "I couldn't see him joining the military. He had a lot of options. He was very smart. I didn't see the military as the one he needed to take."

[But to McVeigh, who saw his career options in economically depressed Upstate New York as bleak, the Army made perfect sense.] The Army held the possibility of travel and adventure for a boy from a small town. In the Army, he could choose his specialty, indulging his interest in firearms or computers.

On May 24, McVeigh drove the 25 miles to the Army recruiting office in Buffalo, and signed up for a three-year hitch. "In a couple of days he was gone," said Camp.

Sergeant Mac

McVeigh arrived at Fort Benning, Georgia on May 30, and was assigned to Echo Company, 4th Battalion, 36th Infantry Regiment, 2nd Training Brigade. The unit was a COHORT unit, an acronym for "Cohesion Operational Readiness and Training." In a COHORT unit, soldiers were supposed to stay together for their entire three-year enlistment period. The COHORT concept originated in 1980, in an attempt to correct the problem of sending in raw green recruits for those who had been killed in battle. The Army discovered that many new replacements had difficulty adjusting to a new unit in the heat of battle, resulting in a higher number of casualties. Moreover, Pentagon studies from the Vietnam War era suggested that soldiers who had developed bonds of friendship were more likely to perform courageously. Unfortunately, the Army soon developed a new problem: many of the soldiers became sick of each other after three years, resulting in soldiers committing suicide or going AWOL.

Although McVeigh originally wanted to try out for Army Ranger School, he didn't want to wait for an available opening, and decided to join the infantry immediately. As he found out, he had been misled by the Army recruiter. Once in the COHORT unit, it was not possible for him to enter Army Ranger School. Yet the disappointed young recruit quickly made the best of the situation, scoring a high 126 points on his General Technical test score, putting him in the top 10 percentile among new recruits.

"McVeigh was really motivated to be a good soldier and performed well at everything expected of him," said assistant platoon leader Glen "Tex" Edwards. "You could load that boy up with 140 pounds of gear and he would carry it all day on the march without complaining. He was thin as a rail but he never fell out of formation," said Edwards, recalling the hot Georgia summer of 1988. "It was the worst time of the year to go through the course, but it did not seem to bother McVeigh one bit."

Although McVeigh didn't have many close friends during basic training, one person he would develop a close friendship with was Terry Nichols. Nichols, 13 years McVeigh's senior, was promoted to platoon leader due to his age and maturity. Despite their age difference however, the two men bonded, sharing similar interests. "Terry and Tim in boot camp went together like magnets," said Robin Littleton.

By the end of basic training, McVeigh was promoted to private E-2, having managed to score higher than anyone in his battalion on his mid-cycle and end-of-cycle testing. "Any test, he'd ace it," said David Dilly. "He knew exactly what the Army wanted. It was going to be an easy life for him."

On August 25, 1988, McVeigh was awarded a certificate by his commanding officer, then in September the unit was shipped out to Fort Riley, Kansas, where McVeigh was assigned to the 2nd Battalion, First Infantry Division, part of the "Dagger Brigade" of the famous "Big Red One" that made the assault on Normandy during WWII. While McVeigh was assigned to Charlie Company, Nichols went to Bravo Company.

A mechanized infantry unit, 2nd Battalion was equipped with M-2 Bradley Armored vehicles, a more sophisticated version of the famous M-113 Armored Personnel Carrier used during the Vietnam War. In addition to ferrying troops, the aluminum Bradley has a turret-mounted 25mm cannon, a 7.62mm machine gun and anti-tank missiles. McVeigh was the gunner on one of four Bradleys attached to Charlie Company's First Platoon. Naturally, he scored higher than anyone else in the battalion. In 1989, his commander selected him as gunner on the "Division Display Vehicle," used to demonstrate the M-2 system for Pentagon officials and visiting dignitaries.

"He was without a doubt the best soldier I have ever trained with," said Staff Sergeant Albert Warnement, McVeigh's supervisor at Fort Riley. He was motivated and very interested in learning everything he could about being a professional soldier."^[145]

"As far as soldiering, he never did anything wrong," said Todd Reiger, assigned to McVeigh's Bradley. "He was always on time. He never got into trouble. He was perfect. I thought he would stay in the Army all his life. He was always volunteering for stuff that the rest of us wouldn't want to do, guard duties, classes on the weekend."^[146]

McVeigh studied every conceivable Army manual, including the Ranger Handbook, the Special Forces Handbook, and the Improvised Munitions Handbook. But press reports [portrayed] McVeigh as a mad bomber:

McVeigh's love of guns and explosives stood out even in the Army, where gun lovers abound. In the first weeks of basic training, when soldiers learn to make explosives, recalled platoon mate Fritz Curnutte, McVeigh boasted to fellow soldiers that he already knew how to make a powerful bomb using a bottle, then told them how to make a Molotov cocktail.^[147]

According to Warnement, such knowledge is not unusual for the more serious soldiers, who routinely studied manuals on survival, evasion, resistance and escape, and improvised munitions. "You have to remember," said Warnement, "at that time, we were training to fight the Russians in Western Europe and it was expected the Red Army would probably break through our lines almost immediately. We were encouraged to learn how to improvise. Our survivability on the battlefield would likely depend on our skills in unconventional warfare."^[148]

Although McVeigh's military record makes no mention of formal demolitions training, in her book, *By Blood Betrayed*, Lana Padilla calls McVeigh a "former Army demolitions expert."^[149] But Sheffield Anderson, who served with McVeigh since basic training said "He had the same training that the rest of the outfit had."^[150]

The only thing that differentiated McVeigh from the rest of the outfit was his dedication and commitment to the military. "He played the military 24 hours a day, seven days a week," said Curnutte. "All of us thought it was silly. When they'd call for down time, we'd rest, and he'd throw on a rucksack and walk around the post with it."

This "silliness" led to McVeigh making sergeant ahead of the rest of his unit. "It was unusual to have sergeant stripes so soon," said Reiger. "The rest of us in the Cohort [unit] were specialists," a non-supervisory rank similar to corporal.

In fact, after the bombing, when McVeigh's records and test scores were shown to a master sergeant without revealing his identity, he stated that the subject "would make a great infantry officer, tanker, artillery officer or combat engineer." His electronic aptitude, said another official, qualified him for "repairing satellite communications."^[151] "He has a very high IQ," said a federal source familiar with the suspect's military record.^[152] In fact, McVeigh was rated among the top 5 percent in combat arms.

McVeigh rented a three-bedroom house in the spring of 1991 in Herrington with Corporal John Kelso and Sergeant Rick Cerney. But the arrangement was not a comfortable one for McVeigh, and he soon moved into another house which he shared with Sgt. Royal Wilcher, who served with McVeigh in the Bradley.

The *Times* quoted members of the McVeigh's unit claiming that he had no close friends. "He kept to himself," said Robert Handa. "He was a dedicated soldier. He loved being a soldier. I didn't. So after duty hours he'd stay in the barracks while everybody else took off, go out to town. I never saw him go anywhere. He always had a highly pressed uniform." Reiger recalls that McVeigh had a TV and a VCR and stayed in and watched movies, or occasionally went bowling.

"The whole thing is," said John Kelso, who shared a house off-base with McVeigh and fellow soldier Richard Cerney, "he couldn't have a good time."

"He was very shy of women — almost embarrassed," said Anderson. "It didn't seem he was gay. He was just awkward." McVeigh disputed this analysis in his April 15th *Time* interview, stating:

"I don't think there is any way to narrow my personality down and label it as one thing or another. I'm just like anyone else. Movies I enjoy, comedies, sci fi. The big misconception is that I'm a loner. Well, I believe in having my own space. But that in no way means I'm a loner. I like women, social life...."

McVeigh became friends with bombing suspect Michael Fortier while stationed at Fort Riley. He and Fortier would occasionally go shooting together at a friend's farm near Tuttle Creek Lake, and stop by and visit Terry Nichols at his house near the base.

The press was quick to pick up on McVeigh owning lots of guns he kept hidden around his house. According to Wilcher, "He had a couple in the kitchen, a couple in the living room under the couch. I think there was one in the bathroom, behind the towels. As you go up the steps there was a little ledge and he kept one in there too, a .38 revolver." "I don't know if he was paranoid or what," added Wilcher. "Or maybe he had some friends that were after him. I don't know."^[153]

According to an account in *USA Today* and the *Times*, McVeigh and Nichols, who by now were pretty far along in their "anti-government" beliefs, attempted to recruit other military personnel for a militia that Nichols was purportedly starting. Nichols reportedly told at least one fellow soldier that he'd be back to Fort Riley after his discharge to recruit new men, and McVeigh's co-worker at Burns Security, Carl Lebron, would later tell the FBI that McVeigh was always trying to "recruit him into an undescribed group...."^[154]

According to Dave Dilly, one of McVeigh's roommates, McVeigh rented a storage locker in Junction City, stocked with weapons, military meals (MREs), and a 100-gallon jug of water — in case of disaster or a Communist attack.^[155]

"He was halfway there when I knew him," said Dilly, referring to McVeigh's Patriot beliefs. During McVeigh's tenure at Burns Security, McVeigh would inundate his co-workers with Patriot literature, such as the *Spotlight*, articles and videos on Ruby Ridge and Waco, and books such as *Detaxing America*.

For his part, McVeigh says, "If you had to label what I think, then I would say I am closest to the views of the Patriot movement," McVeigh told the *London Sunday Times*. "For a long time, I thought it was best not to talk about my political views, he added, "but millions share them, and I believe it is gravely wrong that I should allow the government to try and crucify me just for believing what I do."

Interestingly, McVeigh would tell his friend Carl Lebron, who shared some of McVeigh's beliefs, "All the reading you do is just a hobby. You stamp your feet, but you're not doing anything."

Another issue the media focused on were race problems in Charlie Company, and with McVeigh in particular. Regier told the *Post* that McVeigh was criticized for assigning undesirable work to black soldiers, making black specialists sweep out the motor pool, work that would have ordinarily gone to privates. Other soldiers said he made derogatory remarks about blacks. "It was pretty well known, pretty much throughout the platoon, that he was making the black specialists do that work," said Regier. "He was a racist. When he talked he'd mention those words, like nigger. You pretty much knew he was a racist." The black soldiers complained to a company commander and McVeigh was reprimanded, the only time he ever got into trouble according to Regier.^[156]

Dilly said that "Race was an issue, like everywhere in America, but not one that affected anyone's promotion. McVeigh picked the best man for the job."

Yet the *McCurtain Gazette* discovered that McVeigh held membership in the Ku Klux Klan. Apparently, he boasted that it was personally approved by Thom Robb, the KKK's national chaplain. "He was a very racist person," said Wilcher.

"Charlie Company as a whole had a problem with race," said Captain Terry Guild, who served briefly as McVeigh's platoon commander after the Gulf War. "There was graffiti on the walls of the barracks' bathroom: 'Nigger' or 'Honky, Get Out.' They were mild incidents. If a problem was identified, a leader in Charlie Company wouldn't let it happen again if he saw it. But it was definitely a problem in the company. And his platoon had some of the most serious race problems. It was pretty bad."

In spite of such interpersonal or racial difficulties, most of the platoon held McVeigh in high esteem for his soldiering abilities. "He could command soldiers of his own rank and they respected him," said Barner. "When it came to soldiering, McVeigh knew what he was doing."

"If we ever went to war," said Edwards, "every one of us wanted to go to war with McVeigh." [\[157\]](#)

During the summer of 1989, after returning from a week-long orientation session in Heidelberg with the West German Army, or Bundeswehr, McVeigh decided to try out for the Army Special Forces. To the young sergeant who had long desired to be a member of the Army's elite, the Special Forces provided the chance. It also provided McVeigh an opportunity to graduate from the COHORT unit. Yet the physical requirements to even qualify for the Special Forces are among the toughest in the military. Requirements include swimming 50 meters with full gear; 42 push-ups in two minutes; 52 sit-ups in two minutes; and running two miles in less than 15 minutes 54 seconds. To pass the grueling tests, McVeigh began training vigorously in the summer of 1989, working out constantly, and forcing himself to march 10 miles with 100 pound packs. By the summer of 1990, he had passed the Special Forces physical fitness test, and was ordered to report to Fort Bragg, NC on November 17 to begin the Special Forces Assessment and Selection Course (SFAS). Towards the end of 1990, McVeigh reinlisted for another four years. [\[158\]](#)

Yet McVeigh's dream of becoming a Green Beret would have to wait. On November 8th, with the conflict in the Persian Gulf coming to a head, the Pentagon canceled all leaves and training assignments. McVeigh's unit was activated for deployment. Although he was the consummate military man, the gung-ho soldier, McVeigh was against the decision to go to war. "McVeigh did not think the United States had any business or interest in Kuwait," said Warnement, "but he was a good soldier. He knew it was his duty to go where he was told, and he went." He was promoted to sergeant on February 1, 1991. [\[159\]](#)

Unlike the steely-eyed killer the press have painted him to be, McVeigh was as scared as the rest of the platoon. "The night before the ground war kicked off, he was saying he was scared because we were going to be part of the first wave," Anderson recalled. "He was scared we weren't going to come out of it. Maybe we would get shot, blown up. It wasn't cowardly. He was just concerned. I was feeling the same way, but most people didn't express it." [\[160\]](#)

On February 24, 1990, the 2nd Battalion was ordered across the southern Iraqi desert to punch a hole in Iraqi defenses — a line of dug-in infantry supported by tanks and artillery. McVeigh's platoon was attached to the "Ironhorse" tank company, and McVeigh's Bradley was the lead track in the platoon. McVeigh, the "top gun," took out an enemy tank on the first day with a TOW missile.

The "Ironhorse" protected units clearing the trenches. Using tanks and trucks equipped with plows, the U.S. forces would follow behind the Bradleys, burying the Iraqis dead or alive, to create a smooth crossing point for the infantry and avoid having to engage the enemy in hand-to-hand combat.

McVeigh's moment of glory came when his platoon encountered a dug-in enemy machine-gun emplacement and came under fire. McVeigh brought his 25mm cannon to bear on the chest of an enemy soldier 1,000 yards away, and took his head off with one shot. He followed up with a similar shot, which was followed by the raising of a white flag and the raising of more than 60 hands into the air.

For his role in the battle, McVeigh was awarded an Army Commendation Medal which read in part: "He inspired other members of his squad and platoon by destroying an enemy machine-gun emplacement, killing two Iraqi soldiers and forcing the surrender of 30 others from dug-in positions." McVeigh also earned a Commendation medal with an upgrade for valor, two Army Achievement medals, and the Bronze Star "for flawless devotion to duty."

This "flawless devotion to duty" resulted in McVeigh's unit being invited to provide personal security for General "Stormin' Norman" Schwarzkopf.

A much-hackneyed phrase attributed to Sergeant James Ives, which the media like to play over and over again was, "If he was given a mission and a target, it's gone." Yet Roger Barnett, who served in McVeigh's Bradley, told the *Times* that McVeigh never expressed any desire to kill troops who were surrendering and never seemed bloodthirsty in any way. [\[161\]](#)

[Yet the *Times'* preordained slant on McVeigh was clearly evident. While others in his outfit "served" during the Gulf War, McVeigh "killed Iraqis." [\[162\]](#)]

One story which appeared in *Media Bypass* [but predictably never made it into the mainstream press,] recounts how McVeigh saved an accident victim's life on a lonely stretch of highway. The man had been ejected from his overturned car and lay semi-conscious and bleeding. A passing semi had stopped but was unable to find him as he lay in the darkness 50 yards away. McVeigh, who was on his way to his home town of Pendelton, had recently finished a 46-hour medical aid course at Fort Riley. Against regulations, he had taken his Combat Lifesaver Pack with him on the 1200-mile drive. As he came upon the scene, McVeigh saw that an EMS (Emergency Medical Service) crew had not yet arrived. Trained in night vision techniques, McVeigh the soldier quickly spotted the injured motorist in the grass along the median strip. Following is an excerpt from the *Media Bypass* article:

The victim recalls that the soldier was confident, quiet and efficient. To centralize his circulation, he elevated the man's undamaged limbs and warned him to be calm to avoid going into shock. He checked his pulse and flashed a small penlight across his pupils. The man, who only moments earlier was convinced he was going to die, shivered in the dark and started laughing. He told the tall young stranger he was never going to buy another Chevy Blazer again.

The soldier smiled as he rolled up the victim's right sleeve and inserted the needle to start a saline IV into his veins. "You've

lost a lot of blood and you risk going into shock. This is an IV to help stabilize you and keep your fluids going. Relax. You'll be fine," he told him. He placed the clear plastic IV bag under the man's hip and checked his pulse again.

In the distance, an ambulance siren screamed over the sound of the truck engines as Timothy James McVeigh quickly packed up his Army issue trauma kit and disappeared into the night. The responding EMS crew told the state police officer who arrived at the accident minutes later that they had never come upon such a potentially deadly crash to find a severely injured man relaxed and laughing, neatly bandaged with an IV dangling from his arm.^[163]

In a flurry of articles, mainstream media painted McVeigh as a psychotic, attention-seeking loner with a grudge against the government and a hatred of humanity. A man with "a stunted personality," who led a "tortured path," "obsessed with weapons" and with "deep-rooted feelings of inadequacy." When the press couldn't find evidence of overt violence or hostility, his noted politeness and manners suddenly became evidence of his psychosis. "It is a personality that a Seattle forensic psychiatrist, Kenneth Muscatel, has described as the "Smerdyakov Syndrome," announced the *Times*, "after the scorned half-brother in Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov* who listens to the other brothers inveigh against their father until, finally, he commits patricide."^[164]

McVeigh was painted as a sociopath when Lana Padilla, in her book, *By Blood Betrayed*, hinting that McVeigh may have been responsible for the death of 26-month-old Jason Torres Nichols — Terry and Marife's son — who accidentally suffocated to death in a plastic bag in November of 1993.^[165] Yet Padilla included a photo in her book of McVeigh laughing and playing with the little boy. And according to Terry Nichols, McVeigh had tried to revive the infant for nearly half an hour, and had called the paramedics — a response apparently out-of-character with the actions of a deranged sociopathic killer.^[166]

Captain Jesus Rodriguez, who commanded McVeigh during Desert Storm, described him as a friend who was "really compassionate" and "really cared" when Rodriguez's brother-in-law died in an accident.^[167]

Further evidence of McVeigh's humanity can be found in a letter he wrote to the *Lockport Union-Sun & Journal* on March 10, 1992: (See appendix for full text)

To buy your meat in a store seems so innocent, but have you ever seen or thought how it comes to be wrapped up so neatly in cellophane?

First, cattle live their entire lives penned up in cramped quarters, never allowed to roam freely, bred for one purpose when their time has come.

The technique that I have personally seen is to take cattle, line them up side by side with their heads and necks protruding over a low fence, and walk from one end to the other, slitting their throats with either machete or power saw. Unable to run or move, they are left there until they bleed to death, standing up.

Would you rather die while living happily or die while leading a miserable life? You tell me which is more "humane."

Does a "growing percentage of the public" have any pity or respect for any of the animals which are butchered and then sold in the store? Or is it just so conveniently "clean" that a double standard is allowed?

The mainstream press twisted the context of McVeigh's letter. In his [book], *A Force Upon the Plain*, author Kenneth Stern writes: "McVeigh said he thought a human being was, by nature, 'a hunter, a predator.' He also asked: 'Is civil war imminent? Do we have to shed blood to reform the current system?'"^[168] Stern takes two unrelated letters written by McVeigh, then craftily combines them to suggest that the humane killing of animals is actually part and parcel of McVeigh's bloodthirsty desire to kill human beings.^[169]

Reality paints a much different picture of Timothy James McVeigh however. In February of 1996, Ron Rice and Carol Moore of the American Board of Forensic Examiners were asked to produce a profile of McVeigh's personality based on a handwriting analysis.^[170] Both Rice and Moore characterized McVeigh as an introverted person — what they term an "Apollonian" personality — "a steady, unemotional, organized individual who [is] not devoid of emotion/passion, but more apt to value reason over passion." Like Sheffield Anderson, who described McVeigh as a "thinking type person," the examiners stated that McVeigh was "head-oriented." "They tend to be distrustful of feeling in the belief that following one's feelings can lead to trouble," the report stated. "Rarely, will he allow his emotional expressions to be directed at another person out of fear of hurting them...."

The report concluded with the observation that Timothy McVeigh "is a military man... his heart and soul belongs to the military of the U.S. Government. In a non-military environment, McVeigh will not undertake any form of overt hostility that will be harmful to others or dangerous to himself.... It is not logical that he would undertake any action against our government in which others would be hurt or killed. To do so would violate everything he stands for."^[171]

In April of 1991, McVeigh put his heart and soul into his long-awaited dream of becoming a Green Beret. On March 28 he reported to Camp McCall, the Special Forces Assessment and Selection (SFAS) training facility west of Fort Bragg, for the grueling 21-day assessment course. But McVeigh, who had kept himself in top shape by doing 400 push-ups a day and marching around the post with a 100 pound pack

was now out of shape and he knew it. The Bradley gunner who had served in the Persian Gulf for four months was also drained from the stress of combat.

As the recruits stood at attention, the instructor asked several of the recently returned war veterans if they wanted to return to their unit to get back in shape. One of the soldiers yelled that they were ready, so out of a sense of gung-ho pride, nobody backed out.

The first day of testing was devoted to psychological screening. McVeigh claims he had no problem with the psychological tests, which included the Adult Personality Inventory, the Minnesota Multiple Phase Personality Test, and a sentence completion exam designed by Army psychologists.

The second day of tests began with an obstacle course which McVeigh passed with ease. After lunch, the recruits were led on a high-speed march with 50 pound rucksacks. Yet new boots tore into McVeigh's feet during the five mile march, and with the worst yet to come, he and another recruit, David Whitmyer, decided to drop out. McVeigh signed a Voluntary/Involuntary Withdrawal from the SFAS school. His single sentence explanation read: "I am not physically ready, and the rucksack march hurt more than it should."^[172]

The mainstream press jumped on his initial failure to make the Special Forces. He was "unable to face the failure" stated the *New York Times*. "He washed out on the second day."^[173]

"There were no second chances," claimed the *Washington Post*. "His spirit was broken."^[174]

These reports suggested that McVeigh had failed the psychological screening tests. "Military officials said that preliminary psychological screening had shown him to be unfit," lauded the ever-wise voice of the *New York Times*. "[He] saw his cherished hope of becoming a Green Beret shattered by psychological tests."^[175] "It was apparently a blow so crushing that he quit the Army and went into a psychic tailspin."^[176]

Media pundits quickly backed up their armchair analyses' with statements from several of McVeigh's former buddies.

"Anyone who puts all that effort into something and doesn't get it would be mentally crushed," said Roger Barnett, the driver of McVeigh's Bradley. "He wasn't the same McVeigh. He didn't go at things the way he normally did.... He didn't have the same drive. He didn't have his heart in the military anymore."^[177]

"He always wanted to do better than everyone," said Captain Terry Guild, "and that (Green Berets) was his way of trying to do it. He took a lot of flak. He was really down on himself."^[178]

McVeigh claimed "That's a bunch of bunk," in response to the allegations. "Any realist knows that if you develop blisters on the second day... you're not going to make it."^[179] [Still, the self-styled psychoanalysts of the mainstream press made much of his disappointment, asserting knowingly that it was the crux of McVeigh's "burgeoning torment."]

[Apparently, the "psychojournalists" at the *Times* had never bothered to check with officials at the SFAS school. "McVeigh dropped out of the course on the second day," said Colonel Ken McGraw, Information Officer at the Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg. "His psychological test work would not have even been graded yet."]

According to McVeigh's attorney Stephen Jones, his Army records indicate that his SFAS psychological tests weren't graded until April of 1995. The "military official" who leaked the story about McVeigh's "psychological test failure" turned out to be none other than FBI Agent John R. Hersley, who testified to this repeatedly during the Federal Grand Jury hearings. Apparently, Hersley never told the grand jurors that he was moonlighting as an Army psychologist.

Although McVeigh may have been genuinely disappointed by his initial failure, he added that the school's commander had invited the decorated war veteran to try out again whenever he felt he was ready. It seems McVeigh was not too disappointed to score a perfect 1,000 points during a Bradley gunner competition six months later at Fort Riley, earning him another Army commendation and the honor of the division's "Top Gun," a rare achievement. An Army evaluation also rated him "among the best" in leadership potential and an "inspiration to young soldiers."^[180]

Yet in spite of McVeigh's achievements, "a bit of doubt started to surface" in his mind about a potential for a career in the military.^[181] Although a friend said "I swear to God he could have been Sergeant Major of the Army — he was that good of a soldier," McVeigh apparently was having second thoughts. Most of these, his Army buddies said, stemmed from the military's downsizing then in progress. He also confided to his friend Dave Dilly that without being a Green Beret, the Army wouldn't be worth the effort. "I think he felt he got a raw deal, and wanted out," said Littleton.

Given McVeigh's achievements — his quick rise to sergeant, his medals of commendation, the distinction of being "Top Gun," and the extremely high praise of his superiors, one has to wonder what his real motives were. It seems highly unlikely that given the massive effort he put into his military career, he would take an early out on such presumptive pretenses. McVeigh was a spit and polish soldier with a top

notch record. He was totally devoted to the military. He had served in combat, earning several medals. If anything he was due for his next promotion. The commander of the Special Forces school had even invited him to try out again in a few months. As Sheffield Anderson said, "He seemed destined for a brilliant career in the military."

These observations were backed up by McVeigh's sister Jennifer. "I thought it was going to be his career. He was definitely a career military type. That was his life, you know. His life revolved around that."

It hardly seems likely that the ambitious soldier who had recently signed on for another four year hitch would opt out so easily. Yet, on December 31, 1991, Sergeant McVeigh took an early discharge from the Army, and went back to his home town of Pendleton, NY.

The Manchurian Candidate

To fulfill his military obligation, McVeigh signed on with the Army National Guard in Buffalo, where he landed a job as a security guard with Burns International Security. McVeigh was assigned to the night shift, guarding the grounds of Calspan Research, a defense contractor that conducts classified research in advanced aerospace rocketry and electronic warfare.

In a manner mirroring his conduct in the service, McVeigh became the consummate security guard. Calspan spokesman Al Salandra told reporters that McVeigh was "a model employee." Yet according to media accounts, McVeigh had lost his confidence... and his cool.

"Timmy was a good guard," said former Burns supervisor Linda Haner-Mele. "He was "always there prompt, clean and neat. His only quirk," according to Mele, "was that he couldn't deal with people. If someone didn't cooperate with him, he would start yelling at them, become verbally aggressive. He could be set off easily."

According to an article in the *Post*, co-workers at a Niagara Falls convention center where he was assigned described him as "emotionally spent, veering from passivity to volcanic anger." An old friend said he looked "like things were really weighing on him."^[182]

"Timmy just wasn't the type of person who could initiate action," said Mele. "He was very good if you said, 'Tim watch this door — don't let anyone through.' The Tim I knew couldn't have masterminded something like this and carried it out himself. It would have had to have been someone who said: 'Tim, this is what you do. You drive the truck....'"

Mele's account directly contradicts the testimony of Sergeant Chris Barner and former Private Ray Jimboy, both of whom served with McVeigh at Fort Riley, and claimed that he was a natural leader.^[183] Backing up Jimboy was McVeigh's friend and Calspan co-worker, Carl Lebron, who described McVeigh as "intelligent and engaging — the sort of person who could be a leader."^[184]

Mele's testimony also contradicts McVeigh's service record, which rated him "among the best" in leadership potential and an "inspiration to young soldiers."^[185] "He had a lot of leadership ability inside himself," said Barner.... He had a lot of self confidence."

Apparently, "Something happened to Tim McVeigh between the time he left the Army and now," said Captain Terry Guild.

"He didn't really carry himself like he came out of the military," said Mele. "He didn't stand tall with his shoulders back. He kind of slumped over." She recalled him as silent, expressionless, with lightness eyes, but subject to explosive fits of temper. "That guy didn't have an expression 99 percent of the time," she added. "He was cold."^[186]

Colonel David Hackworth, an Army veteran who interviewed McVeigh for *Newsweek*, concluded that McVeigh was suffering from a "postwar hangover." "I've seen countless veterans, including myself, stumble home after the high-noon excitement of the killing fields, missing their battle buddies and the unique dangers and sense of purpose," wrote Hackworth. "Many lose themselves forever."^[187]

Although such symptoms may be seen as a delayed reaction syndrome resulting from the stress of battle, they are also common symptoms of mind-control. The subject of mind-control or hypnosis often seems emotionally spent, as though he had been through a harrowing ordeal.

While visiting friends in Decker, Michigan, McVeigh complained that the Army had implanted him with a miniature subcutaneous transmitter, so that they could keep track of him.^[188] He complained that it left an unexplained scar on his buttocks and was painful to sit on.^[189]

To the public, unfamiliar with the bewildering lexicon of government mind-control research, such a claim may appear as the obvious rantings of a paranoiac. But is it?

Miniaturized telemetrics have been part of an ongoing project by the military and various intelligence agencies to test the effectiveness of tracking soldiers on the battlefield. The miniature implantable telemetric device was declassified long ago. As far back as 1968, Dr. Stuart Mackay, in his textbook entitled *Bio-Medical Telemetry*, reported, "Among the many telemetry instruments being used today, are miniature radio transmitters that can be swallowed, carried externally, or surgically implanted in man or animal. They permit the simultaneous study of behavior and physiological functioning...."^[190]

Dr. Carl Sanders, one of the developers of the Intelligence Manned Interface (IMI) biochip, maintains, "We used this with military personnel in the Iraq War where they were actually tracked using this particular type of device."^[191]

It is also interesting to note that the Calspan Advanced Technology Center in Buffalo (Calspan ATC), where McVeigh worked, is engaged in microscopic electronic engineering of the kind applicable to telemetrics.^[192] Calspan was founded in 1946 as Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory, which included the "Fund for the Study of Human Ecology," a CIA conduit for mind-control experiments by émigré Nazi scientists [and others under the direction of CIA Doctors Sidney Gottlieb, Ewen Cameron, and Louis Jolyn West].

According to mind-control researcher Alex Constantine, "Calspan places much research emphasis on bioengineering and artificial intelligence (Calspan pioneered in the field in the 1950s)." In his article, "The Good Soldier," Constantine states:

Human tracking and monitoring technology are well within Calspan's sphere of pursuits. The company is instrumental in REDCAP, an Air Force electronic warfare system that winds through every Department of Defense facility in the country. A Pentagon release explains that REDCAP "is used to evaluate the effectiveness of electronic-combat hardware, techniques, tactics and concepts." The system "includes closed-loop radar and data links at RF manned data fusion and weapons control posts." One Patriot computer news board reported that a disembodied, rumbling, low-frequency hum had been heard across the country the week of the bombing. Past hums in Taos, NM, Eugene and Medford, OR, Timmons, Ontario and Bristol, UK were most definitely (despite specious official denials) attuned to the brain's auditory pathways....

The Air Force is among Calspan's leading clients, and Eglin AFB has farmed key personnel to the company. The grating irony — recalling McVeigh's contention he'd been implanted with a telemetry chip — is that the Instrumentation Technology Branch of Eglin Air Force Base is currently engaged in the tracking of mammals with subminiature telemetry devices. According to an Air Force press release, the biotelemetry chip transmits on the upper S-band (2318 to 2398 MHz), with up to 120 digital channels.

There is nothing secret about the biotelemetry chip. Ads for commercial [albeit somewhat simpler] versions of the device have appeared in national publications. *Time* magazine ran an ad for an implantable pet transceiver in its June 26, 1995 issue — ironically enough — opposite an article about a militia leader who was warning about the coming New World Order. While monitoring animals has been an unclassified scientific pursuit for decades, the monitoring of humans has been a highly classified project which is but a subset of the Pentagon's "nonlethal" arsenal. As Constantine notes, "the dystopian implications were explored by *Defense News* for March 20, 1995:

Naval Research Lab Attempts To Meld Neurons And Chips: Studies May Produce Army of "Zombies."

Future battles could be waged with genetically engineered organisms, such as rodents, whose minds are controlled by computer chips engineered with living brain cells.... The research, called Hippocampal Neuron Patterning, grows live neurons on computer chips. "This technology that alters neurons could potentially be used on people to create zombie armies," Lawrence Korb, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, said.

It's conceivable, given the current state of the electronic mind-control art, a biocybernetic Oz over the black budget rainbow, that McVeigh had been drawn into an experimental project, that the device was the real McCoy....^[193]

The Defense Department newsletter may have been discussing is the successor to the "Stimoceiver," developed in the late 1950s by Dr. Joseph Delgado and funded by the CIA and the Office of Naval Research. The Stimoceiver is a tiny transceiver implanted in the head of a control subject, which can then be used to modify emotions and control behavior.

According to Delgado, "Radio Stimulation of different points in the amygdala and hippocampus [areas of the brain] in the four patients produced a variety of effects, including pleasant sensations, elation, deep, thoughtful concentration, odd feelings, super relaxation, colored visions, and other responses.... One of the possibilities with brain transmitters is to influence people so that they conform with the political system. Autonomic and somatic functions, individual and social behavior, emotional and mental reactions may be invoked, maintained, modified, or inhibited, both in animals and in man, by stimulation of specific cerebral structures. Physical control of many brain functions is a demonstrated fact. It is even possible to follow intentions, the development of thought and visual experiences."^[194]

As Constantine points out, the military has a long and sordid history of using enlisted men and unwitting civilians for its nefarious experiments, ranging from radiation, poison gas, drugs and mind-control, to spraying entire U.S. cities with bacteriological viruses to test their effectiveness. The most recent example involves the use of experimental vaccines tested on Gulf War veterans who are currently experiencing bizarre symptoms, not the least of which is death. When attorneys representing the former soldiers requested their military medical files, they discovered there was no record of the vaccines ever being administered.^[195]

Timothy McVeigh may have unknowingly been an Army/CIA guinea pig involved in a classified telemetric/mind-control project — a "Manchurian Candidate."

Recent history is replete with cases of individuals who calmly walk into a restaurant, schoolyard, or post office and inexplicably begin shooting large numbers of people, as though they were in a trance. What appear like gruesome but happenstance events to the casual observer raises red flags to those familiar with CIA "sleeper" mind-control experiments. Such cases may be indicative of mind-control

experiments gone horribly wrong.

A recent case occurred in Tasmania, where Martin Bryant calmly walked around a tourist site in May of 1996 methodically shooting and killing over 35 people. Interestingly, Bryant was in possession of an assault rifle that had been handed in to police in Victoria as part of a gun amnesty program, but mysteriously wound up in Bryant's hands before the massacre. [\[196\]](#)

[An anti-social loner, Bryant had also recently returned from a solitary two-week trip to the U.S., ostensibly to visit "Disneyland." Australian Customs agents noticed he carried no luggage, and was acting strangely. They took him to the hospital to be examined as a possible drug courier, but found nothing. Had Bryant actually visited Disneyland, or had he visited a different type of playground — one inhabited by the mind-control masters of the CIA?

In the wake of the massacre, Australia underwent wholesale gun confiscation of its citizenry. Not surprisingly, Australia and New Zealand have long served as a playground for the CIA, who reportedly played a major role in the overthrow of Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, directed from the CIA's super-secret Pine Gap facility. It has also been reported that the CIA has been testing subliminal TV transmissions to influence the outcome of elections. [\[197\]](#)

As in Bryant's case, many of these bizarre killers meekly surrender to authorities after their sprees. When he was stopped by State Trooper Charles Hanger for a missing license plate, McVeigh was carrying a loaded Glock 9mm pistol. Although he could have easily shot and killed the officer, McVeigh informed him that he was carrying a concealed weapon, then meekly handed himself over for arrest. Why does a man who has just allegedly killed 169 innocent people, balk at killing a cop on a lonely stretch of highway? [This suggests that either McVeigh was innocent, was acting under orders by some branch of the government, or was under some form of mind-control.]

After McVeigh's arrest in Noble County, Assistant Attorney General Mark Gibson stated, "There stood a polite young man who gave polite, cooperative answers to every question. It was like the dutiful soldier," Gibson said. "Emotions don't come into play, right and wrong don't come into play. What happens next doesn't come into play... his mood was so level, it was unnatural. I looked at him and realized I felt no repulsion or fear. It was like there was an absence of feeling. He exuded nothing."

Charles Hanger, the officer who arrested McVeigh, related his account to Gibson, who told the *Times*, "And when he grabbed his gun and there was no reaction, no shock, that didn't seem right, either." [\[198\]](#)

This "absence of feeling" among a man who had just allegedly committed a heinous crime may well have been indicative of a psychologically controlled agent — or "sleeper" agent — a person trained to carry out a preconceived order upon command. Such an individual could conceivably carry out a horrendous crime, then have no recollection of the event. Far from the stuff of spy novels or conspiracy theories, sleeper agents have been developed and used by intelligence agencies for decades.

[The CIA's interest in mind control originally dates back to WWII when the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), under Stanley Lovell, developed the idea of hypnotizing German prisoners to re-infiltrate the Third Reich and assassinate Adolph Hitler. After the war, the OSS, re-formed as the CIA, brought Nazi doctors and scientists to work for them under the cover of Operation PAPERCLIP. Some of these included war criminals spirited away through Nazi-Vatican "Ratlines" under the aegis of Operation OMEGA, conveniently missing their day in court at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal. Their colleagues wound up in Central and South America, drained from the best of Nazi blood under Operation VAMPIRE.]

The CIA's plunge into the netherworld of mind-control began in 1950 with Project BLUEBIRD, authorized by Allen Dulles after it was discovered that recently released Korean War prisoners had been subjected to hypnosis. In 1952, BLUEBIRD was re-named Operation ARTICHOKE, under the authority of Deputy CIA Director Richard Helms, and coordinated by CIA Security Officer Sheffield Edwards.

[By the late 1950s, the military was well on its way to investigating the potential for "brainwashing," a term coined by the CIA's Edward Hunter to explain the experience of American POWs in Korea. In 1958 the Rand Corporation produced a report for the Air Force entitled "The Use of Hypnosis in Intelligence and Related Military Situations," stating that "In defense applications, subjects can be specifically selected by a criterion of hypnotizability, and subsequently trained in accordance with their anticipated military function..." [\[199\]](#)

Taking the Hippocratic Oath on behalf of the CIA for ARTICHOKE was Dr. Sidney Gottlieb, mind-control emeritus of the CIA's Technical Services Division (TSS), the real-life counterpart to the mythical "Q-Branch" of Ian Fleming fame. TSS was engaged developing the usual James Bond spy toys — miniature cameras, shooting fountain pens, and, under the tutelage of Dr. Gottlieb, poisons that could kill in seconds, leaving no trace. With Operation ARTICHOKE however, the CIA broadened its horizons into the realm of psychological warfare. ARTICHOKE was one of the CIA's later-day attempts to create an electronically-controlled Manchurian Candidate.

In the 1950s, under the code name MKULTRA, the CIA set up safe houses in San Francisco and other cities where they performed experiments on unwitting subjects using LSD and other drugs. In 1960, Edwards recruited ex-FBI agent Robert Maheu, who approached Mob bosses Sam Giancana and John Rosselli to form CIA hit-teams to assassinate foreign leaders using the techniques acquired by Gottlieb's TSS. [The first on their list was Cuban leader Fidel Castro, who they planned to assassinate by poisoning his food and even his cigars. The work of Gottlieb and his CIA associates can be traced directly back to Nazi war criminals such as Dr. Joseph Mengele of Auschwitz.]

By 1963, reported the Senate Intelligence Committee, the number of operations and subjects had increased substantially. But as far back as 1960, TSS officials, working along with the Counterintelligence staff, had expanded their hypnosis programs to coincide with their MKULTRA experiments. According to John Marks in his book *The Search for the Manchurian Candidate*, "the Counterintelligence program had three goals: (1) to induce hypnosis very rapidly in unwitting subjects; (2) to create durable amnesia; and (3) to implant durable and operationally useful posthypnotic suggestion."

By 1966, MKULTRA had spawned Operation MKSEARCH, the use of biological, chemical, and radiological substances to induce psychological and physiological changes in the CIA's victims. MKSEARCH spawned Operations OFTEN and CHICKWIT, using biological, chemical, and radiological substances to induce psychological and physiological changes. Operations THIRD CHANCE and DERBY HAT involved the Army's Military Intelligence Group's (M.I.G.) surreptitious dosing of victims in Europe and the Far East. MKDELTA, an offshoot of MKULTRA, involved spraying massive doses of LSD and other drugs by the Army over areas inhabited by Viet Cong. ^[200]

[The preeminent don of the CIA's psychological warfare program was Dr. Louis Jolyn West. As part of his MKULTRA experiments, West decided to send an elephant at the Oklahoma City Zoo on an LSD trip. Apparently, the poor creature did not appreciate the effects of Dr. West's Magical Mystery Tour. It died several hours later.

A close associate of Drs. Cameron and Gottlieb, West studied the use of drugs as "adjuncts to interpersonal manipulation or assault," and was among one of the pioneers of remote electronic brain experimentation, including telemetric brain implants on unwitting subjects.

West's good friend, Aldous Huxley, suggested that he hypnotize his subjects before administering LSD, in order to give them post-hypnotic suggestions which would orient the drug-induced experience in a "desired direction."

Interestingly, West was the psychiatrist who examined Jack Ruby, the assassin of Lee Harvey Oswald. Ruby's assertion that an ultra-Right-wing cabal was responsible for JFK's murder, and his refusal to admit insanity, led West to conclude that he was paranoid and mentally ill. West placed Ruby on anti-depressants, which did little to modify his claims of conspiracy. He died of cancer two years later, claiming to the end that he had been injected with cancerous biological material.

West also examined Sirhan Sirhan, a controlled hypo-patsy who allegedly killed Robert F. Kennedy. Currently chairman of UCLA's Neuropsychiatric Institute, West headed the American Psychological Association (APA) trauma response team that rushed to Oklahoma City in the wake of the disaster.

I interviewed Dr. West by phone. While confirming that he had indeed traveled to Oklahoma City with his team, the eminent psychiatrist made a curious "Freudian Slip." When asked if he had examined McVeigh, he said, "No, I haven't been asked to do that. I think his lawyer wouldn't want someone he didn't trust... pick." ^[201]

West nevertheless told me that someone from the FBI's Behavioral Sciences unit would have interviewed McVeigh. In fact the FBI's Behavioral Sciences unit did interview the prisoner. John Douglas of the FBI's Psychological Profile Unit was later quoted in the *Times* as saying, "This is an easily controlled and manipulated personality." What Douglas is unwittingly confirming is that McVeigh was perfect material for the CIA's psychological mind-control program.

By the late 1950s, many German or Eastern European émigrés brought to work in the U.S. had been farmed out to universities such as Cornell, UCLA, and Stanford... and to people like Dr. Ewen Cameron and Dr. Jolyn West. ^[202]

In the wake of the 1965 Watts riot, West proposed to then California Governor Ronald Reagan a "Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence," which was to have included a psychosurgery unit for performing lobotomies, and a seven-day-a-week, around-the-clock electroshock room. Associates of Dr. Cameron's, employed at the time in Nazi-run detention centers in South America, would be called on to perform lobotomies on unsuspecting patients, with the full approval of Governor Reagan. ^[203]

One of the more brazen of the emerging coterie of brainwashing enthusiasts, Cameron received his funding through the Rockefeller and Gerschickter Foundations, which was channeled into the innocuous sounding Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology at Cornell. Cameron performed hundreds of lobotomies and electroshock treatments at the behest of the CIA on unwitting patients in prisons and mental hospitals, and at his beloved Allen Memorial Institute in Montreal. ^[204]

It is interesting to note that McVeigh claimed he was subjected to psychological torture while in prison. ^[205] He was placed in a cell with a guard watching him around the clock, who wasn't allowed to speak to him. The lights in his cell were kept on 24-hours-a-day, depriving him of sleep — a standard technique designed to break down a subject's psychological barriers. Eventually, McVeigh called in a psychiatrist to help treat his anxiety — a psychiatrist, perhaps, trained by Dr. Cameron.]

CIA psychiatrist Dr. Ewen Cameron was also the progenitor of "psychic driving," a technique whereby the psychiatrist or controller repeatedly plays back selected words or phrases to break down a person's psychological barriers and open up his unconscious. ^[206] Such techniques would be eagerly incorporated into the CIA's program for creating Manchurian Candidates — programmed hypno-killers who could be unleashed at the behest of the Agency to kill upon command. An account of the discussion surrounding the creation of a Manchurian Candidate is revealed by JFK researcher Dick Russell in his book, *The Man Who Knew Too Much*:

In 1968, Dr. Joseph L. Bern of Virginia Polytechnic Institute questioned authorities on hypnosis about whether the creation of a "Manchurian Candidate" was really feasible. As Author Bowart recounted one expert's response to Dr. Bernd: "I would say that a highly skilled hypnotist, working with a highly susceptible subject, could possibly persuade the subject to kill another human..." Another believed it was even possible, through posthypnotic suggestion, to make a subject unable to recall such an act: "There could be a conspiracy, but a conspiracy of which the principal was unaware."^[207]

This "psychic driving" appears to have impacted Sirhan Sirhan. Charles McQuiston, a former Army intelligence officer who did a Psychological Stress Evaluation of voice recordings of Sirhan, said, "I believe Sirhan was brainwashed under hypnosis by the constant repetition of words like, 'You are nobody, you're nothing, the American dream is gone'.... Somebody implanted an idea, kill RFK, and under hypnosis the brainwashed Sirhan accepted it."^[208] The accused assassin insisted that he couldn't recall even the murder.

CIA contract agent Colonel William Bishop explained to Russell some of the rudiments of the CIA's mind-control operations:

"There were any number of psychological or emotional factors involved in peoples' selection. Antisocial behavior patterns, paranoia or the rudiments of paranoia, and so on. But when they are successful with this programming — or, for lack of a better term, indoctrination — they could take John Doe and get this man to kill George and Jane Smith. He will be given all the pertinent information as to their location, daily habits, etc. Then there is a mental block put on this mission in his mind. He remembers nothing about it."^[209]

On March 3, 1964, CIA Director John McCone sent a memo to Secret Service chief James Rowley stating that after his surgery at the hospital in Minsk, [Russia], Oswald might have been "chemically or electronically 'controlled'... a sleeper agent. Subject spent 11 days hospitalized for a minor ailment which should have required no more than three days hospitalization at best."^[210]

Even J. Edgar Hoover told the Warren Commission, "Information came to me indicating that there is an espionage training school outside of Minsk — I don't know whether it is true — that he [Oswald] was trained at that school to come back to this country to become what they call a 'sleeper,' that is, a man who will remain dormant for three or four years and in case of international hostilities rise up and be used."^[211]

[According to JFK researchers Art Ford and Lincoln Lawrence in their book, *Were We Controlled?*, Lee Harvey Oswald was a programmed assassin with a malfunctioning electrical implant in his brain.^[212] Herman Kimsey, A veteran Army counterintelligence operative and former CIA official, told JFK researcher Hugh MacDonald, "Oswald was programmed to kill.... Then the mechanism went on the blink and Oswald became a dangerous toy without direction."^[213]]

The CIA's interest in producing the perfect programmed assassin took a new bent, when in 1965, the Agency, in cooperation with the DoD, set up a secret program for studying the effects of electromagnetic radiation, or microwave (EM) weapons at the Army's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) at the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research. The project was inspired by the Soviets, who had been dousing the American Embassy in Moscow with a lethal dose of microwaves, causing many of its personnel to die from cancer.^[214]

Yet causing degenerative diseases was not the main goal of the DoD/CIA EM weapons research, code named PANDORA. The spooks were interested in the effects of microwaves on controlling a person's behavior. By 1973, both the Americans and the Soviets were far along in their mind-control applications, using technology such as pulsed microwave audiograms and acoustical telemetry to create voices in a subject's mind, or erase his mind completely.^[215]

Causing degenerative diseases was not the main goal of the DoD/CIA EM weapons research, code named PANDORA. The spooks were interested in the effects of microwaves on controlling a person's behavior. By 1973, both the Americans and the Soviets were far along in their mind-control applications, using technology such as pulsed microwave audiograms and acoustical telemetry to create voices in a subject's mind, or erase his mind completely.^[216] With the advent of EM technology, scientists could bypass the need for electrodes implanted in the brain, and control their subjects directly. Lawrence described a technology called RHIC-EDOM, or "Radio Hypnotic Intracerebral Control and Electronic Dissolution of Memory." According to Lawrence:

It is the ultra-sophisticated application of post-hypnotic suggestion triggered at will by radio transmission. It is a recurring state, re-induced automatically at intervals by the same radio control. An individual is brought under hypnosis. This can be done either with his knowledge — or without it — by use of narco-hypnosis, which can be brought into play under many guises. He is then programmed to perform certain actions and maintain certain attitudes upon radio signal.

Lawrence went on to state that "through the use of radio-waves and ultra-sonic signal tones... It in effect blocks memory of the moment."^[217] "Such a device has obvious applications in covert operations designed to drive a target crazy with 'voices' or deliver undetected instructions to a programmed assassin," states Dr. Robert Becker.^[218]

Thane Eugene Cesar, a reported accomplice in the murder of Robert Kennedy, held a vaguely-defined job at Lockheed, a CIA/PANDORA contractor. Retired Lockheed engineer Jim Yoder told former FBI agent William Turner that Cesar worked floating assignments in an "off-limits" area operated by the CIA.^[219] The parallel is strikingly similar to that of Timothy McVeigh, who worked at Calspan, another high-tech

military contractor engaged in top-secret telemetric work.

The preeminent don of CIA's psychological warfare program (MKULTRA), Dr. Louis Jolyon "Jolly" West, sent an Oklahoma City Zoo elephant careening on a massive LSD trip, triggering its death hours later. Studying the use of drugs as "adjuncts to interpersonal manipulation or assault," Jolly West was among the pioneers of remote electronic brain experimentation on unwitting subjects. Aldous Huxley passed on the idea to West that he hypnotize subjects before administering LSD, orienting drug-induced experience toward a "desired direction."

West was given the job of examining Jack Ruby, Lee Harvey Oswald's killer. Ruby's refusal to admit insanity, and his belief that a right-wing cabal was responsible for JFK's murder, led West to conclude Ruby was mentally ill, the proper candidate for anti-depressants. Ruby died of cancer two years after the exam, claiming to have been injected with malignant biological material. West also examined Sirhan Sirhan, [who may have been] a hypno-patsy jailed for murdering Robert Kennedy.

On March 31, less than three weeks before the bombing, McVeigh appeared at the Imperial Motel in Kingman. For the next 12 days, according to owner Helmut Hofer, he just sat there, emerging only for meals or to pay his bill. He had no visitors, made few phone calls, and barely disturbed the furnishings. No one ever heard his television, and his car never moved from its spot outside. [\[220\]](#)

"That's the funny thing," said Hofer. "He didn't go out. He didn't make phone calls. He didn't do anything. He just sat up there and brooded."

["He always had been a brooder..." added the *Times*, throwing a bit of instant psychoanalysis on the situation. [\[221\]](#)]

To Earline Roberts, the housekeeper at the Oak Cliff rooming house where Oswald stayed just prior to the assassination, "Mr. Lee" probably seemed like a brooder too, staying in his room, having no visitors and never socializing. [\[222\]](#)

Yet it is unlikely that McVeigh simply rented a room at the Imperial for 12 days to brood. Like Oswald, McVeigh was probably told to wait somewhere until he was contacted. Perhaps it was a pre-arranged date; perhaps he was waiting for a phone call; or perhaps McVeigh was simply put on ice, waiting to be activated by some sort of signal. It is possible McVeigh's anger at the Federal Government was stoked by a more mysterious enemy, one that he couldn't see or feel... but hear.

One of the most famous documented cases of "hearing voices" was that of Dennis Sweeny, the student activist who shot and killed his mentor Allard Lowenstein. Lowenstein, who marched in the 1964 Freedom Summer in Mississippi, had campaigned for Robert Kennedy and Adlai Stevenson, and ran the National Student Association before the CIA took over. Lowenstein, who was also friends with CIA propagandist William F. Buckley, had attempted to prove that a great conspiracy was responsible for the deaths of Martin Luther King and the Kennedys. (At the time he was assassinated, he was helping Ted Kennedy win the 1980 presidential election.) [\[223\]](#)

One fine day, Sweeny calmly walked into the middle of Rockefeller Center and pumped seven bullets into his mentor. He then sat down, lit a cigarette, and waited for the police to arrive. "Sweeny claimed that the CIA, with Lowenstein's help, had implanted a telemetric chip in his head 15 years earlier, and had made his life an unbearable torment. Voices were transmitted through his dental work, he said, and he attempted to silence them by filing down his false teeth. Sweeny blamed CIA "controllers" for his uncle's heart attack and the assassination of San Francisco mayor George Moscone." [\[224\]](#)

Moscone and City Supervisor Harvey Milk met their deaths at the hands the infamous "Twinkie" assassin — former City Supervisor Dan White. White earned the curious title due his attorney's novel defense — that his client was under the influence of a heavy dose of sugar at the time of the murders. More likely, White was under the influence of a heavy dose of hypnosis.

Like McVeigh, White had been in the military, serving a tour of duty in Vietnam. After leaving the police department in 1972, White took an extended vacation since known as White's "missing year."

"He broke all contact with friends and family. He kept no records of the trip, purchased no travel tickets, did not use a credit card. He later accounted for his mystery year by explaining that he'd worked a stint as a security guard in Alaska."

White subsequently moved back to San Francisco, where joined the Fire Department. Like McVeigh, White's work record was untarnished, though like the enigmatic soldier, he was known to erupt in embarrassing temper tantrums. As Constantine writes in *The Good Soldier*:

While campaigning for the Board of Supervisors, he spoke as if he was "programmed," according to local labor leader Stan Smith. During Board sessions, he was known to slip into spells of silence punctuated by goose-stepping walks around the Supervisors' chambers. [\[225\]](#)

One of the more recent cases of murder by suggestion was the assassination of Naval Commander Edward J. Higgins. Higgins was shot five times in the Pentagon parking lot by Carl Campbell, who claimed that the CIA had implanted a microchip in him that controlled his mind. [\[226\]](#)

To those who believe that such electronically-manipulated scenarios are the stuff of fantasy, they should take note that no less than three support groups currently exist in the U.S. to deal with the trauma of military and intelligence agency brainwashing.

Yet the hypnosis and drugging of adults is not by far the worst example of the CIA's nefarious efforts at developing programmed assassins. Other efforts involve the use of children, programmed while they are still young (See the "Finders" case), and the use of cults, often run by former military and intelligence officers. The use of cults provides a convenient cover for experiments that could not otherwise be conducted out in the open. Any resultant behavioral anomalies can then simply be attributed to the peculiarities of the "cult."^[227]

One program for the recruitment of programmed operatives is called Operation OPEN EYES. According to a former Navy Intelligence officer and SEAL team leader attached to the CIA, "Clear Eyes" are the programmed victims of OPEN EYES. The operation involves canvassing the country for individuals who have few close friends or relatives. They are then put under a progressive series of gradually intensified hypnosis, where the subject's personality is "overwritten."

At level four, diverse programs can be written or overwritten into the brain. Any command is accepted at this level. At that level you can give the test subject a complete personality, history and make him/her believe anything the program requires for the accomplishment of any desired project. He is then given a new life in a new state and town. Driver's license, car, bank account, passport, credit cards, B.C., and all the small things, such as photos of his family (that don't really exist). Subject and patient (one and the same) has now an agenda (that he believes is his own) and is prepared for level five hypnosis. At this stage, very carefully a code work or sequence of numbers or a voice imprint is etched into his brain. That is commonly known and referred to as the trigger that will activate subject to action.

He then lives a very normal and sometimes useful life, until subject is required to perform the program implanted/written into level four hypnosis at the point of activating the trigger, subject is beyond recall. That's why a level five person can only be approached after his/her operation. There is no actual recall in the subconscious program of any of the hypnosis. If an act of violence had been perpetrated, subject will not be able to associate with the deed. Only shrinks trained in this particular form of sub mental behavior will find any tracks leading to post level one or two mind-control.

I have personally witnessed level one to five programming, and was myself subject of level three programming.

Due to the fact that subject has such high IQ (preferably around 130-140 subject is very quick to learn anything fed to him/her. All major patriot groups, and normal workers and workers in big [government contract] corporations have at least one or more "sleepers" attached to them.

Now it must be clear to you the various levels used by the intel community to get their job done. Remember Jonestown? It was one of ours that went sour because a Clear Eyes was in the group. When he began firing on the runway, it all self destructed. The man (Congressman Leo Ryan) who was killed, knew it was a government operation. Clear Eyes was accidentally — through a lone sequence — activated! There was no way to stop the killings. They were all programmed to at least level three, the culties themselves. There were only three deaths attributable to cyanide, the rest died of gunfire. Now you know a little more about our line of work. I am glad I am out of it.^[228]

An ex-CIA agent interviewed by researcher Jim Keith claims to have knowledge of biological warfare testing and "special medical and Psy-ops (psychological operations) facilities at Fort Riley," where Timothy McVeigh was stationed. (Recall that McVeigh took a Psy-ops course at Ft. Riley) This agent stated that experimentation is conducted "in collaboration with the whole range of intelligence agencies, FBI, CIA, NSA, the works." The agent also told Keith that he had witnessed special psychological operations performed on the crew of the Pueblo naval vessel at Fort Riley, and at Fort Benning, Georgia (where did his basic training), prior to the ship's capture under mysterious circumstances by the North Koreans. Fort Benning is also home to the notorious School of the Americas, where the CIA and the Special Forces have trained Latin American death squad leaders for over three decades. Fort Riley was also home to a mysterious plague of murders and shootings right around the time of the Oklahoma City bombing. On March 2, 1995, PFC Maurice Wilford shot three officers with a 12-gauge shotgun before turning the gun on himself. On April 6, Brian Soutenburg was found dead in his quarters after an apparent suicide.^[229]

Is it possible these incidents were the result of some psychological testing or experiment gone awry? Given the Army's opprobrious history of psychological research and covert experiments on its own personnel, it is not inconceivable. The incidents seem indicative of the shooting death of Commander Edward J. Higgins by Carl Campbell, who claimed he was implanted with a microchip.

[It is interesting to note that] after his arrest, McVeigh was taken to Tinker Air Force Base. Why he would be taken to a military installation is unclear. Perhaps Dr. West was on hand, waiting to see whether McVeigh's microchip was still snug. Was Timothy McVeigh in fact manipulated through the use of a subcutaneous transceiver, implanted in him without his knowledge? Was he a "sleeping agent," programmed to do a dirty deed and have no memory of it afterwards? Interestingly, Richard Condon's classic play, *The Manchurian Candidate* made its debut in Oklahoma City exactly one year after the bombing. It is possible the *real* Manchurian candidate made his debut on April 19, 1995. Given the long and sordid history of Pentagon/CIA mind-control operations, such a scenario is certainly possible.^[230]

What's also possible is that McVeigh was simply lied to. Someone — whom McVeigh thought was working for the government, gave him a cover story — convinced him that he was on an important, top secret mission. McVeigh's seeming indifference upon his arrest may simply have been indicative of his understanding that he was working for this agency, had simply delivered a truck as he was told, and had not, in fact, killed anyone.

[It is possible that] McVeigh was concerned about military cut-backs when he quit the Army in December of 1991. It is possible that his increased job duties were the reason he quit the National Guard in June of 1992. It is also possible, highly probable in fact, that he was secretly offered a more lucrative career — one that promised more excitement, adventure, and money... in the intelligence services.

To the intelligence community, Timothy McVeigh would have been exactly what they were looking for — a top-notch but impressionable young soldier who is patriotic and gung-ho to a fault. A taciturn individual who follows orders without hesitation, and who knows when to keep his mouth shut, a prerequisite of any good intelligence operative.

According to former CIA agent Victor Marchetti, the CIA currently does its most "fruitful" recruiting in the armed forces.^[231] Intelligence agencies regularly recruit from the military, and military files are routinely reviewed for potential candidates — those who have proven their willingness and ability to kill on command and without hesitation — those whose combat training and proficiency with weapons make them excellent candidates for field operations. McVeigh had already taken the Psychological Operations (PSYOPS) Course while he was at Fort Riley. Whether he knew it or not, McVeigh was well on his way to a career in covert intelligence. An intelligence agency wouldn't have to search hard for a man like McVeigh. His above-average military record, and the fact that he was a candidate for the Special Forces, would have made him a natural choice. *Especially* his try-out for Special Forces. The Special Forces were created as the *covert military arm of the Central Intelligence Agency*. According to Lt. Colonel Daniel Marvin (Ret.), "almost all of the independent operations within the Green Berets were run by the CIA"^[232]

Moreover, McVeigh was just beginning to espouse militia-type views. This observation, and the fact that he was racist, would have made him a perfect operative to infiltrate any far right-wing or white supremacist group. Likewise it would have made him the perfect patsy to implicate in *connection with* any right-wing group.

[As Dave Dilly told the *Post*, "The militias really recruit, and he's exactly what they're looking for.... They could catch him easy. He had all the same interests as them; they're just a little more fanatical."

What Dilly is describing to the letter, although he is unaware of it, is the modus operandi of the intelligence community. If McVeigh was recruited by one of the intelligence branches, it is possible that he was recruited by someone posing as a militia member. As far as fanatics go, there is no one group of people more fanatical than the "lunatic fringe" of the intelligence community. In short, McVeigh] possessed all the qualities that would have made him an excellent undercover operative... and a perfect fall-guy.

In May of 1992, McVeigh was promoted to lieutenant at Burns Security, and wrote his National Guard commander that his civilian job required his presence. "But the letter was real vague," said his commander. "It didn't say just what this new job was." Approximately nine months later, when McVeigh was going to be promoted to supervisor, he suddenly quit, saying that he had "more pressing matters to attend to."

Just what these "pressing matters" were is not exactly clear. According to co-worker Carl Lebron, McVeigh told him he was leaving to take a civilian position with the Army in Kentucky painting trucks. He later told Lebron that he became privy to a top-secret project at Calspan called "Project Norstar," which, according to McVeigh, involved bringing drugs into the country via miniature submarine. He told his friend that he was afraid that those responsible for Project Norstar were "coming after him," and he had to leave.

While this explanation may strike one as bizarre, McVeigh wrote his sister Jennifer while he was still in the Army telling her that he had been picked for a highly specialized Special Forces Covert Tactical Unit (CTU) that was involved in illegal activities. The letter was introduced to the Federal Grand Jury. According to former grand juror Hoppy Heidelberg, these illegal activities included "protecting drug shipments, eliminating the competition, and population control." While all the details of the letter aren't clear, Heidelberg said that there were five to six duties in all, and that the group was comprised of ten men.

Such units are nothing new. During the Vietnam War, CIA Director William Colby and Saigon Station Chief Ted Shackley (who also ran a massive heroin smuggling operation) created what they called Provincial Reconnaissance Units (PRUs), which would capture, torture, and kill suspected Viet Cong leaders.^[233]

Former Army CID investigator Gene Wheaton also described a covert unit created by the highly secretive NRO (National Reconnaissance Office), which used assassination and torture to eliminate so-called enemies of the state. In 1985, Wheaton was approached by "security consultants" to Vice President Bush's "Task Force on Combating Terrorism" who were working for USMC Lt. Colonel Oliver North (who served under Shackley in Vietnam) and Associate Deputy FBI Director Oliver "Buck" Revell. "They wanted me to help create a 'death squad' that would have White House deniability to assassinate people they would identify as 'terrorists,'" said Wheaton.

Code-named "Zeta Diogenes" in the USAF subset, this secret project, according to Wheaton, "was created in a rage by the covert intelligence leadership after the failed Bay-of-Pigs operation against Cuba in 1961." Wheaton claims the program continues to the present day.^[234]

Anyone who prefers to think that agencies of the U.S. government are above assassinating U.S. citizens, not to mention senior U.S. officials where expedient, may wish to bear in mind the following testimony given by Colonel Daniel Marvin, a highly decorated Special Forces Vietnam veteran. While going through Special Forces training at Fort Bragg in 1964, Marvin's group was asked if any members would like to volunteer to take special assassination training on behalf of the CIA, eliminating Americans overseas who posed "national security risks." About six people, himself included, volunteered.

"The CIA had agents there all the time at Fort Bragg, in the Special Warfare Center Headquarters," said Marvin. "My commanding officer,

Colonel C.W. Patton, called me up to his office one day in the first week... and he said, "Dan, go out and meet the 'Company' man standing there underneath the pine trees, waiting to talk to you."

Ironically, Marvin had been motivated to join the Special Forces by the death of President Kennedy, who had conferred upon the unit their distinctive and coveted green berets. Marvin began his assassination training in the Spring of 1964. "...during one of the coffee breaks, I overheard one of the [CIA] instructors say to the other one, 'Well, it went pretty well in Dallas. Didn't it?'"

Marvin said his group was shown "16 millimeter moving pictures that we assumed were taken by the CIA of the assassination, on the ground there at Dallas.... We were told that there were actually four shooters. There was one on the roof of the lower part of the Book Depository, and there was one shooter who was in front of and to the right of the vehicle. And I'm not sure whether it was on the Grassy Knoll area that they were speaking of, or, as some people have reported, [a shooter firing] out of a manhole to the right-front of the vehicle."

He also added that there were two additional snipers with spotters stationed on the routes that the motorcade would have used to travel to the hospital. If the spotter determined that Kennedy had survived, he was to finish him off.

["They used the assassination of President Kennedy as a prime example of how to develop the strategy for the assassination of a world leader as a conspiracy, while making it look like some 'lone nut' did it....

"The stronger a patriot you are, the more important it is to you that you do whatever is necessary for your flag, for your country," he adds. "It makes you the most susceptible type of person for this kind of training. You are the ultimate warrior. You're out there to do for your country what nobody else is willing to do. I had no qualms about it at all.]"

Marvin claimed his "assassination" training was reserved solely for citizens outside the United States, not on U.S. soil. "The Mafia lists were the ones being used [to kill Americans] in the continental United States," said Marvin. "We were being used overseas." That was, until he was asked to kill an American Naval officer — Lt. Commander William Bruce Pitzer, the X-ray technician who filmed the Kennedy autopsy, "as he was, supposedly, a traitor, about to give secrets to the enemy. It turned out that these 'secrets' were the photos of the *real* autopsy of President John F. Kennedy. And the 'enemy' was us!"^[235]

When he found out that his assignment was to be conducted in the U.S., he refused. "...that wasn't my mission," said Marvin. "When I took my training, I volunteered to do this kind of thing overseas where it could be covered, as far as the family goes. I had a wife and three children. If I were to accept that mission to kill Commander Pitzer right here in the United States, I would have been dropped from the rolls immediately as a deserter so that it would cover me for taking off and taking care of that mission...."^{[236][237]}

Such a "cover" tactic appears to closely parallel that of Timothy McVeigh, who "dropped out" of Special Forces training before embarking on his bewildering and mysterious journey (ala: Dan White) prior to the bombing.

Still another, more well-documented reference to such illegal operations is made by *Wall Street Journal* reporter Jonathan Kwitny in his best-selling book, *The Crimes of Patriots*. Kwitny describes how rogue CIA agents Edwin Wilson (who reported to Shackley) and Frank Terpil were not only illegally selling huge quantities of C-4 plastic explosives and sophisticated assassination gear to the Libyans, but were actually hiring anti-Castro Cubans from Shackley's old JM/WAVE program, and U.S. Green Berets to assassinate Qaddafi's political opponents abroad. (See Chapter 14)

Some U.S. Army men were literally lured away from the doorway of Fort Bragg, their North Carolina training post. The GIs were given every reason to believe that the operation summoning them was being carried out with the full backing of the CIA....^[238]

Could this be the same group McVeigh claims he was recruited for? Considering the allegations of the Federal Government against McVeigh, the fact that he was chosen for such a clandestine and blatantly illegal government-sponsored operation is highly revealing.

According to Heidelberg's account of the letter, McVeigh turned them down. "They picked him because he was gung-ho," said Heidelberg. "But they misjudged him. He was gung-ho, but in a sincere way. He really loved his country."^[239]

In another version of the story reported by Ted Gunderson, an intelligence informant indicated that McVeigh was "trained to work for the CIA in their illegal drug operations," then "became disenchanted with the government, and voiced his displeasure." At that point he was sent to Fort Riley for discharge, at which point John Doe 2 "was planted on him" and "orchestrated the bombing." According to Gunderson's informant, McVeigh was a victim of the CIA's mind-control project, Project MONARCH.^[240]

Whether McVeigh turned down this illegal covert operations group, or worked for them for a short time, it is highly likely that he was working in some fashion for the government. There is simply no logical explanation for his giving up a hard-earned and brilliant military career, then subsequently quitting his security guard job on the eve of his promotion to take a job painting old army trucks, or go tooling around the country in a beat-up car hawking used firearms and militia paraphernalia.

If McVeigh was recruited, his "opting out" of the military was most likely a cover story for that recruitment. Former Pentagon counter-intelligence officer Robert Gambert told Kennedy assassination researcher Dick Russell of the mysterious activities of his cousin Richard

Case Nagell, "Dick played the role of a disgruntled ex-Army officer.... he was really still operational, in an undercover capacity, for the Army Intelligence.... They're not gonna' trust anybody who's active military or a friendly retiree. They're gonna trust somebody who's going around griping against the military, against the intelligence operations, against the government...."^[241]

After McVeigh's mysterious departure from the Army, his friend Robin Littleton received a strange letter from him. On it was illustrated a cartoon depicting a skull and crossbones with the caption "so many victims, so little time."^[242] Whether he meant it as a joke, or whether it contained a hidden message, is unclear. But considering the letter he wrote to Jennifer regarding the CTU, its implications are unsettling.

A patriotic soldier like Timothy McVeigh didn't have a lot of reasons to gripe against the government. But, said the *Post*: "McVeigh was by now railing at virtually every aspect of American government, and at least beginning to consider a violent solution, as reflected in letters he wrote to the *Lockport Union-Sun & Journal* in February and March 1992, (entitled 'America Faces Problems.')"^[243]

Crime is out of control. Criminals have no fear of punishment. Prisons are overcrowded so they know they will not be imprisoned long. This breeds more crime, in an escalating cyclic pattern.

Taxes are a joke. Regardless of what a political candidate "promises," they will increase. More taxes are always the answer to government mismanagement. They mess up, we suffer. Taxes are reaching cataclysmic levels, with no slowdown in sight.

The "American Dream" of the middle class has all but disappeared, substituted with people struggling just to buy next week's groceries. Heaven forbid the car breaks down!

Politicians are further eroding the "American Dream" by passing laws which are supposed to be a "quick fix," when all they are really designed for is to get the official re-elected. These laws tend to "dilute" a problem for a while, until the problem comes roaring back in a worsened form (much like a strain of bacteria will alter itself to defeat a known medication).

Politicians are out of control. Their yearly salaries are more than an average person will see in a lifetime. They have been entrusted with the power to regulate their own salaries and have grossly violated that trust to live in their own luxury.

Racism on the rise? You had better believe it! Is this America's frustrations venting themselves? Is it a valid frustration? Who is to blame for the mess? At a point when the world has seen Communism falter as an imperfect system to manage people; democracy seems to be headed down the same road. No one is seeing the "big" picture.

Maybe we have to combine ideologies to achieve the perfect utopian government. Remember, government-sponsored health care was a Communist idea. Should only the rich be allowed to live long? Does that say that because a person is poor, he is a lesser human being; and doesn't deserve to live as long, because he doesn't wear a tie to work?

What is it going to take to open up the eyes of our elected officials? America is in serious decline!

We have no proverbial tea to dump; should we instead sink a ship full of Japanese imports? Is a Civil War imminent? Do we have to shed blood to reform the current system? I hope it doesn't come to that! But it might.

Naturally, an ordinary gripe letter written by a person with above-average intelligence and political awareness was turned into a manifestation of suppressed frustrations with attendant violent overtones by the psychojournalists of the mainstream press. Yet, if McVeigh was under the influence of some form of mind-control, it is possible the letter, and the one to Littleton, might have been the beginnings of a plan to "sheep-dip" McVeigh as a disgruntled ex-military man.^[244]

It is also possible that McVeigh, tasked with the responsibility of infiltrating the Militia Movement, became genuinely enamored with its ideals and precepts. Whether or not this is true, McVeigh's letter to the *Lockport Union-Sun & Journal* and to Robin Littleton were two more nails the government and the press would use to drive into McVeigh's coffin.

But the major nails in McVeigh's coffin were yet to come.

The Man Who Didn't Exist

In September of 1992 McVeigh sold his property in Olean, NY, and in early 1993 traveled to Kingman, Arizona to visit his old Army friend Michael Fortier. Apparently McVeigh's father didn't approve of Tim's letters in the local paper. A friend of McVeigh's father told the *Post* that one of the reasons McVeigh left was because "he wanted to be somewhere he could talk about what he really believed."

In Kingman, a rugged high-desert town where anti-government sentiments run strong, McVeigh would find like-minded souls. "Arizona is still gun-on-the-hip territory, rugged individuals who don't like the government in their business," said Marilyn Hart, manager of the Canyon West Mobile Park.

After spending a brief time living with Fortier at his trailer home on East McVicar Road, McVeigh rented a trailer at Canyon West where he

lived from June to September of 1993, for \$250-a-month.

The *Times*, the *Post*, *Time* and *Newsweek* all reported that McVeigh was a belligerent beer-drinking, loud music-playing slob who stayed at the Canyon West Mobile Park and was subsequently evicted. According to the *Times*:

Residents of the Canyon West Mobile Park drew a picture of an arrogant loner who worked as a security guard for a now-defunct trucking company, lived with his pregnant girlfriend, expressed deep anger against the Federal Government and often caused trouble for his neighbors. "He drank a lot of beer and threw out the cans, and I always had to pick them up," Bob Rangin, owner of the park, was quoted as saying. He said he had frequent fights with Mr. McVeigh, who often wore Army fatigues, over such things as loud rock music coming from his trailer and a dog he kept in violation of his lease.^[245]

"Just about any free time, he'd be walking down there, or across the railroad tracks and firing his guns," said Marilyn Hart, nodding at the landscape of canyons and mesas around the Canyon West trailer park here that is one of the last known addresses of the man arrested for bombing the Oklahoma City Federal Building. "He just plain didn't care. Didn't matter the time of day or night, he'd be out there shooting."

"Basically he just had a poor attitude, a chip on the shoulder kind of thing," said Rob Rangin, the owner of the trailer park. "He was very cocky. He looked like he was ready to get in a fight pretty easy. I'll tell you, I was a little afraid of him and I'm not afraid of too many people."

Mr. McVeigh brought in a big brown dog in defiance of the camp regulations and left a wrecked car parked by his trailer, Mr. Rangin said, and even a nearly totally deaf neighbor, Clyde Smith, complained about the music. Finally, said Mr. Rangin, "he piled up so many violations, I asked him to leave."

"When he did, the trailer was a disaster," he said. "It was trashed."^[246]

Yet these accounts of McVeigh in the *Times*' on April 23 and 24 are totally contrary to their accounts on May 4 and December 31, which describe him as a compulsive neat-freak, highly disciplined, respectful of his elders, and courteous to a fault. Friends and acquaintances interviewed also claimed that McVeigh was extremely quiet, never drank, and never had a date, much less a pregnant girlfriend.

Yet on April 23, the *Post* described how McVeigh played loud music, terrorized his neighbors, and was evicted from the park. Then on July 2, the *Post* wrote:

When he moved into the Canyon West trailer park outside Kingman in 1993, his first act was to wash the dirty curtains and dust, vacuum and scrub the entire trailer spotless, said owner Bob Rangin, who so liked McVeigh that he offered to lower the rent to keep the ex-soldier from moving.

The *Post* also ran an interview with neighbor Jack Gohn, who said McVeigh was so "quiet, polite and neat and clean" that "if I had a daughter in that age bracket, I would have introduced them."^[247]

Said Marilyn Hart of Timothy McVeigh: "He was very quiet, very polite, very courteous, very neat, very clean, quiet, obeyed all the park rules. He worked on the trailer, did some painting, he did some cleaning on it, he bought new furniture, things like that."^[248]

In fact, what the *Times* was reporting on was not Timothy McVeigh at all, but a completely different man! According to Hart, the mix-up came when reporters from the *Times* were given information about Dave Heiden, who also was just out of the service, and had lived in trailer #19 (McVeigh lived in trailer #11). "They thought it was the man who lived down below," said Hart. "He was a slob. But he was not Tim McVeigh. The other guy took his guns out across the way and fired them all the time, he got drunk and got up on top of the trailer and did all kinds of noisy things...."

According to Hart, after the man's girlfriend gave birth he sobered up. "Now they're married, the baby was born, he's straightened up his life," said Hart. "He straightened up his act, and he doesn't act that way any more at all."

Rangin called authors Kifner and McFadden of the *Times* to correct them. "I tried to tell them that wasn't McVeigh," said Rangin. "I called that fellow at the *Times* who came down here, and told him they got the wrong guy..."^[249]

According to the *Times*, it was a "clearly embarrassed" Mr. Rangin who had made the mistake, wrote the *Times* on April 25: He added that the man he incorrectly recalled as Tim McVeigh "was like you would think" a suspect in a mass killing might be.^[250]

This is clearly interesting considering that for days the *Times* had been painting McVeigh as a pathological, asexual neat freak who was extremely polite. These traits, the *Times*' psychobabblists claimed, were indicators of a mass killer.

The *Times* then claimed on the very next day that McVeigh was a belligerent slob with a pregnant girlfriend, and all of a sudden, *these* were the characteristics of a mass killer. Obviously, to a propaganda screed like the *New York Times*, it didn't matter *what* McVeigh's actual personality really was.

While in Kingman, McVeigh worked at different jobs through an agency called Allied Forces. "He did a number of jobs that way," said Hart. "He was a security guard, he did a number of different jobs. But he always went to his job, did them well... any of the people who worked with him said he didn't act odd, you know, it was totally out of character."^[251]

McVeigh worked for a time at True Value Hardware, on Stockton Hill Road, a job that Fortier helped him get. Paul Shuffler, the store owner, said McVeigh "was a young and clean looking person so I gave him a job." According to Shuffler, "If he was a radical around here, I would have noticed it pretty quick and I would have fired him. Radicals don't last long around here because they just make a mess of things."^[252]

McVeigh also worked for a spell at State Security. The *Times* interview with co-worker Fred Burkett took a slightly different slant, painting his co-worker McVeigh as an arrogant, gun-toting loner. "He had a very dry personality," Burkett told the *Times*. "He was not very outgoing, not talkative and not really that friendly. He wasn't a person that mingled. He was a kind of by yourself kind of person, a loner."

Once, Burkett went with McVeigh on a target-shooting course in the desert, where McVeigh "pretty much went crazy," Burkett said. After running through the course, picking off targets with a Glock .45, McVeigh began "emptying clips on pretty much anything — trees, rocks, whatever happened to be there."^[253]

"Other than that, Mr. Burkett said, "he seemed pretty much normal." "The only thing he ever indicated was that he didn't care much for the United States Government and how they ran things," Mr. Burkett said. "He didn't care much for authority and especially when it concerned the government."

Yet authorities have speculated that McVeigh's interests went beyond mere dissatisfaction with the Federal Government. According to Carl Lebron, McVeigh once brought him a newsletter from the Ku Klux Klan.^[254] McVeigh was also fond of a book called the *Turner Diaries*. Written by former physics professor and neo-Nazi William Pierce, the *Turner Diaries* was a fictionalized account of a white supremacist uprising against the ZOG (Zionist Occupational Government). The book, exceedingly violent and racist in tone, is a fictionalized account of the overthrow of the Federal Government — which by that time had become the "Jewish-liberal-democratic-equalitarian plague" — by a Right-wing paramilitary group called the "Organization," which then goes on to murder and segregate Jews and other "non-whites." The protagonists also blow up FBI headquarters with a truck-bomb. The *Turner Diaries* was found on Timothy McVeigh upon his arrest.

The book became the blueprint for a neo-Nazi group called The Order, which terrorized the Midwest in the early to mid '80s with a string of murders and bank robberies. Authorities have speculated that McVeigh, who carried the book with him constantly and sold it at gun shows, was inspired by its screed to commit his terrible act of violence. Yet McVeigh dismisses such suggestions as gibberish. "I bought the book out of the publication that advertised the book as a gun-rights book. That's why I bought it; that's why I read it."^[255]

In Kingman, McVeigh made friends with an ex-marine named Walter "Mac" McCarty. McVeigh apparently sought out the 72-year-old McCarty for discussions in which he tried to make sense of the actions of the Federal Government at Ruby Ridge and Waco, and such issues as the United Nations, the Second Amendment, and the "New World Order."

"I gathered that he was following the Right-wing, survivalist, paramilitary-type philosophy," McCarty said. "I also got the sense that he was searching for meaning and acceptance."^[256]

McVeigh and Fortier also took handgun classes from McCarty during the summer of 1994, which is odd considering that the two men, McVeigh especially, were extremely proficient in the use of firearms. "Believe me, the one thing he did not need was firearms training," said Fred Burkett, McVeigh's co-worker at State Security. "He was very good and we were impressed with his actions."^[257]

McCarty himself was apparently suspicious of McVeigh's motives. "They wanted to hear certain things from me to see if they could get me involved," said McCarty. "They definitely liked what they heard. We were on the same page about the problems of America."

Why would McVeigh, the consummate firearms expert, bother taking a course in handguns? Perhaps to be around like-minded individuals or as a harmless diversion. It is also possible, like the Lee Harvey Oswald impostor seen at the Texas rifle range, McVeigh was being sheep-dipped. "I know brainwashing when I see it, McCarty said. "Those two boys had really gotten a good case of it." Perhaps McCarty was being more literal than he realized.^[258]

After the August 1994 passage of the Omnibus Crime Bill outlawing certain types of semi-automatic weapons, "McVeigh's demons finally became unbearable," claimed the *Times*. "What will it take?" wrote McVeigh to Fortier, expressing his exasperation.^[259]

It is possible that McVeigh had some contact with a local militia while in Kingman. According to reporter Mark Schafer of the *Arizona Republic*, Fortier, who worked at True Value, knew Jack Oliphant, the elderly patron of the Arizona Patriots, an extreme Right-wing paramilitary group. Oliphant had been caught in 1986 planning to blow up the Hoover Dam, the IRS and a local Synagogue. After the FBI raid, Oliphant was sentenced to four years in jail, and the Arizona Patriots went underground. It is reported that Fortier, who sported a "Don't Tread on Me" flag outside his trailer-home, was friendly with some of the Arizona Patriots, including Oliphant.

According to federal authorities, McVeigh also left a note addressed to "S.C." on a utility pole near Kingman seeking "fighters not talkers." It

has been speculated that "S.C." is actually Steven Colbern, who lived in the nearby town of Oatman, and was friends with McVeigh. (See Chapter 5)

But federal authorities became very interested when they learned that a small explosion, related to a home-made bomb, had slightly damaged a house down the road from the trailer park. That house was owned by Frosty McPeak, a friend of McVeigh's who had hired him in 1993 to do security work at a local shelter. When McPeak's girlfriend was arrested in Las Vegas on a bad credit charge, Clark Vollmer, a paraplegic drug dealer in Kingman, helped bail her out. In February of '95, Vollmer had asked McPeak to ferry some drugs. He refused. On February 21, a bomb exploded outside McPeak's home. When he went to Vollmer's house to confront him, he found Timothy McVeigh, along with another man he didn't recognize.^[260]

According to Mohave County Sheriff Joe Cook, the explosion "wasn't really a big deal" and probably wasn't related to the explosion in Oklahoma City.^[261]

What does Marilyn Hart think about McVeigh's connection to the local militias? "I probably do know several people who are militia," said Hart. "But they don't advertise it, and they're not kooks. To me, McVeigh didn't have the money. The two other guys, Rosencrans and Fortier, went to school with our children, and neither of them have money either. And it took a good amount of money to pull this off. "

"Obsessed With Waco"

Whether or not McVeigh's "demons" became "unbearable" after the passage of the Omnibus Crime Bill, his anger, along with that of millions of others, would be justified by the governments' massacre of 86 innocent men, women and children at the Branch Davidian Seventh Day Adventist Church near Waco the following April. The ostensible purpose of the ATF's raid was to inspect the premises for illegal weapons. Although the Davidians, who were licensed gun dealers, had invited the ATF to inspect their weapons, the agency declined; they were more interested in staging a show raid to impress the public and increase their budgetary allowance. In fact, the raid was code-named "Show Time."

On February 28, 1993, without a proper warrant and without identifying themselves, over 100 agents stormed the Church compound. Residents who answered the door were immediately fired upon. At least one ATF helicopter began strafing the building, firing into the roof. For the next hour, ATF agents fired thousands of rounds into the compound. Many church members, including women, children and the elderly, were killed by gunfire as they lay huddled in fear, the women attempting to cover the children with their bodies. Church members repeatedly begged the 911 operator to stop the raid. In the ensuing battle, four ATF agents were killed, although there is evidence that indicates they were killed by "friendly fire."

Several days later, the FBI took over. Almost immediately, they began psychologically harassing the Church members with loud noises. For over a month and a half, the Davidians were tormented by the sounds of dying animals, religious chants, loud music, and their own voices. Their electricity was cut off, and milk and other supplies necessary for young children was not allowed into the compound. Bright lights were shined on residents 24 hours-a-day, and armored vehicles began circling the compound, while flash-bang grenades were thrown into the courtyard.

The media was kept at bay, fed propagandizing stories by FBI spokesmen that painted the Davidians as crazed cultists with desires for apocalyptic self-destruction — dangerous wackos who stockpiled machine-guns and who abused their children. The mass media happily obliged, feeding these images to a gullible public.^[262]

After a 51-day standoff, the newly appointed Attorney General, Janet Reno, approved an FBI plan to assault the compound with a highly volatile form of tear-gas, proven deadly to children, who she was ostensibly trying to protect from "abuse." On April 19, tanks from the Texas National Guard and the Army's Joint Task Force Six, in violation of the Posse Comitatus Act forbidding the use of military force against private citizens, stormed the compound, firing hundreds of CS gas ferret rounds into the buildings. The tanks also rammed the buildings repeatedly, knocking holes in them, the official explanation being so that the residents could more easily escape. Instead, what it did was cause the buildings to collapse, killing dozens as they lay crouched in fear. Kerosene lanterns knocked over by the tank ramming ignited the highly flammable CS gas, and the holes created a flue effect through the buildings, caused by 30 mile and hour winds. Immediately the compound became a fiery inferno.

While some residents managed to escape, most were trapped inside, exphyxiated by the gas, crushed by falling debris, or burned alive. Some who tried to escape were shot by FBI snipers. One unarmed man who tried to enter the compound to be with his family was shot six times, then left lying in a field while prairie dogs picked at his bones. During the final siege, which lasted for six hours, firetrucks were purposefully kept away. Bradley M-2 armored vehicles fitted with plows pushed in the still standing walls, burying those still trapped inside. A concrete vault where approximately 30 people had sought refuge was blasted open with demolition charges, killing most of the people inside.

When it was all over, the fire department was allowed inside the compound to pump water on the smoldering debris. Out of approximately 100 Church members, 86 perished, including 27 children. No FBI agent was injured. The remaining 11 Church members were put on trial for attempted murder of federal agents. During the trial, government prosecutors repeatedly withheld, altered, and destroyed evidence. The government even cut off electricity to the morgue, preventing autopsies on the bodies.

The judge, recently under scrutiny by the "Justice" Department, also refused to allow the testimony of critical witnesses. Although the jury found all 11 innocent, the judge reversed the verdict. Nine Davidians were imprisoned for attempting to defend their families. Some received

sentences up to 40 years.

While "General" Reno, in a symbolic gesture of public reconciliation, took "full responsibility" for the actions of the FBI, she never resigned or served time. In fact, Larry Potts, who led the raid on behalf of the FBI, was promoted.

The assault would be compared to the massacre of the Jews in Warsaw by the Nazis during WWII. A bunch of religious fanatics. Who'd complain? Who'd care? Yet the government didn't count on the fact that a lot of people *would* care. Millions in fact. The murder of the Branch Davidians would indeed become a wake-up call for a citizenry concerned about an increasingly tyrannical, lawless government. A government that would murder its own citizens with impunity, in fact with zeal. A government that would lie to its citizens, and be accountable to no one. ^[263]

In March of 1993, Timothy McVeigh traveled from Kingman to Waco to observe the 51-day standoff. He was photographed by the FBI along with others protesting the siege on the road outside the compound, selling bumper stickers out of his car. Like Lee Harvey Oswald, who was photographed at the Cuban embassy in Mexico (a claim made by the government, but never substantiated), the photo of McVeigh would be added proof of his far-Right-wing associations.

A day and a half later, McVeigh drove to Decker, Michigan to be with his old Army buddy, Terry Nichols. The Nichols family sat with McVeigh in their living room as they watched M-2 Bradley assault vehicles storm the compound. On April 19, they watched as the Branch Davidian Church burnt to the ground. "Tim did not say a word," said James Nichols, who watched the compound burn to the ground along with Tim and his brother. "We stood there and watched the live television footage as the church burned and crumbled... we couldn't believe it." ^[264]

McVeigh, who the Justice Department claimed was "particularly agitated about the conduct of the Federal Government in Waco," had a right to be. McVeigh had offered his life to serve in the military, and now had seen that very same military massacring its own citizens. He could see the Green Berets from the Army's Joint Task Force Six advising the FBI, and had watched while Bradley armored vehicles — the same vehicles he had served in — gassed and bulldozed the citizens of a country he had sworn to defend.

The Federal Building was blown up on April 19, the two year anniversary of the Waco conflagration. Like millions of other citizens, McVeigh was angry about the deadly raid. He was particularly incensed about the participation of the Army's Joint Task Force Six, and about the deployment of the Seventh Light Infantry during the Los Angeles riots in 1992, and the United Nations command over American soldiers in Somalia, his former Army friend Staff Sergeant Albert Warnement told the *Times*. "He thought the Federal Government was getting too much power. He thought the ATF was out of control." ^[265]

"I saw a localized police state," McVeigh told the *London Sunday Times*, "[and] was angry at how this had come about." ^[266]

"Their (the FBI's) actions in Waco, Texas were wrong. And I'm not fixated on it..." he told *Newsweek*.

"It disturbed him," said Burkett. "It was wrong, and he was mad about it. He was flat out mad. He said the government wasn't worth the powder to blow it to hell." ^[267]

Perhaps rather coincidentally, McVeigh's sister Jennifer said that during her brother's November '94 visit to the McVeigh family home in Lockport, he confided that he had been driving around with 1,000 pounds of explosives. During his trial Prosecutor Beth Wilkinson asked Jennifer if she had questioned her brother about why he was carrying so much. "I don't think I wanted to know," she said. ^[268]

Just what was McVeigh doing driving around with explosives, and where did he acquire them? Were these explosives part of the batch of ammonium nitrate Terry Nichols had allegedly purchased from the Mid-Kansas Co-op on October 20, or perhaps the Dynamite and Tovex the government alleged Nichols stole from the Martin Marietta rock quarry in September?

Obviously this, and McVeigh's expression of anger at the Federal Government, would become the foundation of their case against him. In a letter Tim wrote to Jennifer, he is highly critical of the ATF. The anonymous letter, which was sent to the federal agency, was accompanied by a note that read: "All you tyrannical motherfuckers will swing in the wind one day for your treasonous actions against the Constitution and the United States." It concluded with the words, "Die, you spineless cowardice bastards." ^[269]

"He was very angry," recalled Jennifer McVeigh during her brother's trial. "He thought the government gassed and murdered the people there."

Jennifer also claimed her brother also wrote a letter to the American Legion saying that ATF agents "are a bunch of fascist tyrants." He identified himself in the letter as a member of the "citizens' militia." He also sent his sister literature on the standoff at Ruby Ridge, the Constitution, and even a copy of the *Turner Diaries*. ^[270]

By the Spring of 1995, he told Jennifer not to send any more letters to him after May 1 because "G-men might get them." Then he sent her a letter saying, "Something big is going to happen in the month of the Bull." He did not explain what that meant, but Jennifer looked in her astrology book and saw that the "month of the Bull" was April. McVeigh also advised her to extend her Spring break — which began on April

8 — a bit longer than the planned two weeks, and instructed her to burn the letter.^[271]

For McVeigh's part, he wrote that this "expression of rage" the government claimed was so key, was nothing more than "...part of my contribution to defense of freedom, this call to arms.... I intend to become more active in the future. I would rather fight with pencil lead than bullet lead. We can win this war in voting booth. If we have to fight in the streets, I would not be so sure.... All too often in the past, we gutsy gun owners have lost the battle because we have failed to fight. The Brady Bill could have been defeated in Congress if gun owners had become more involved in electing officials and communicating to those officials what was expected to them.... Start your defense today. Stamps are cheaper than bullets and can be more effective."

This letter, found by authorities in McVeigh's car, speaks of a man committed to fighting for freedom as many Americans have, in the "voting booth," and with pen and paper. Yet lead prosecutor Joseph Hartzler would read this letter, along with quotes such as this one: "My whole mindset has shifted... from the intellectual to the animal," into evidence at McVeigh's trial, in an attempt to prove that Timothy McVeigh was committed to violence.

Like Lee Harvey Oswald, who was upset about the Cuban Bay of Pigs invasion and American foreign policy in general, a view he expressed to his friends in Dallas, McVeigh was upset about the government's foreign policy, a view he expressed to his friends here. "He wasn't happy about Somalia," that if we could put the United States under basically UN command and send them to Somalia to disarm their citizens, then why couldn't they come do the same thing in the United States?" Sergeant Warnement said.

McVeigh was also reportedly angry over the killings of Sammy and Vicki Weaver, who were killed by federal agents at their cabin in Ruby Ridge, Idaho in August of 1992. Randy Weaver had become a fugitive wanted on a minor weapons violation. During the stand-off, U.S. Marshals had shot 14-year-old Sammy Weaver in the back, and had shot Vicki Weaver, Randy's wife, in the face as she stood at the cabin door holding her infant daughter. McVeigh had traveled to Ruby Ridge and came back convinced that federal agents intentionally killed the Weavers.

Although his anger over Waco and Ruby Ridge hardly implicates McVeigh in the destruction of the Federal Building, the government would make this one of the cornerstones of its case. The press naturally jumped on the bandwagon. When Jane Pauley of NBC's *Dateline* interviewed Jennifer McVeigh about her thoughts on Waco, she said, "The way I saw it, the Davidians were just a group of people who had their own way of living, perhaps different from the mainstream. But they were never really harming anybody. And to bring in all those tanks and things like that to people who are just minding their own business, not harming anybody, I just — I don't think that's right."

But the dead, burned children at Waco were not what the producers at *Dateline* wanted the public to see. Immediately after Jennifer's statement, they cut to an image of the bombed-out day care center inside the Murrah Building. "We... We've been hoping this wouldn't be the case," said the live voice of an unidentified rescue worker, "but it is the case, there was a day-care inside the building."

Time ran a page dedicated to the Waco theory, stating, "The date of last week's bombing and the anniversary of the apocalyptic fire (notice they don't say government massacre) at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco — has only gained in infamy, intricately bound as it is to the mythologies of homegrown zealots like McVeigh."^[272]

Sheep-Dipped

It would appear that the seed that gave root to McVeigh's "homegrown zeal" was incubated in a U.S. government hothouse and fertilized by a heaping dose of intelligence agency fanaticism.

After Waco, with the emergence of the Militia Movement, the stage would be set, the die would be cast — for Timothy McVeigh to be poured into like a miniature lead soldier. While the FBI and the press admitted that McVeigh didn't actually belong to any organized militia organization, "there was considerable evidence that he sympathized with and espoused their beliefs," wrote the *Times*.

He voiced their ideas in conversations, he wrote letters expressing them, he read their literature and attended their meetings. And he lived, worked and traded weapons in areas where the paramilitary groups enjoy considerable support...^[273]

Like Lee Harvey Oswald, who appeared to be an avid Communist, distributing leaflets on behalf of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, McVeigh would play the part of an avowed Right-winger, distributing literature about taxes, the Second Amendment, Waco and Ruby Ridge. Like Oswald, who left behind a diary widely believed to be a CIA forgery, McVeigh was purported to have similarly documented his own extremist position. According to the *Times*:

Law enforcement officials say McVeigh left behind a large body of writings about his ideological leanings, including extensive tracts in letters to friends and relatives, that describe his belief in the constitutional principles that he adamantly maintained allowed him to carry firearms and live without any restraints from the government. Prosecutors are likely to use such documents to establish his motive at a trial.^[274]

Like Oswald, McVeigh's departure from the military was under somewhat mysterious circumstances. And like Oswald, an ex-Marine with a top-secret security clearance who appeared to "defect" to the Soviet Union, McVeigh would appear to be a "disgruntled" ex-Army sergeant who happened to "drift" into the fringes of the far-Right.^[275]

Yet, like Oswald, who lived and worked amongst the bastions of the far-Right in Dallas while purporting to be a Marxist, McVeigh would not seem to be the extreme Right-wing fanatic he's been made out to be. In a letter to his hometown newspaper in February, 1992, he wrote:

At a point when the world has seen Communism falter as an imperfect system to manage people; democracy seems to be headed down the same road.... Maybe we have to combine ideologies to achieve the perfect utopian government. Remember, government-sponsored health care was a Communist idea....

Obviously, such views are anathema to the far-Right, who see any attempt to socialize society as a major step towards the great one-world Communist conspiracy. It is possible that McVeigh was more progressive than his Right-wing associates. It is also possible that McVeigh was being sheep-dipped as a militant Right-winger.

After Waco, McVeigh traveled to Michigan, staying for a time with Terry Nichols. He worked on Nichols' farm, and went hunting and target practicing. Neighbors recall how McVeigh and Nichols made and detonated small homemade bombs. Paul Izydorek, a neighbor, recalls "When they were around, they'd get different guns and play and shoot and stuff." On at least one occasion, Izydorek heard blasts at the farm and noticed Terry Nichols and a man he thought was McVeigh. "I'd seen them playing around with different household items that you can make blow up. Just small stuff. Just outside in the yard, blowing away."^[276]

Nichols' brother James also admitted to the FBI that McVeigh and Terry made and exploded "bottle bombs" at his farm, using brake fluid, gasoline, and diesel fuel, and that he sometimes participated.^[277]

In his interview with *Newsweek*, McVeigh dispelled the myth that his bomb making was a precursor to more deadly acts. "It would amount to firecrackers. It was like popping a paper bag," said McVeigh, who had also experimented with small explosives on his land in Olean, NY prior to entering the Army.

Yet a relative also told the FBI that James Nichols kept a large supply of ammonium nitrate fertilizer on the farm — the very substance federal authorities accused the suspects of using to manufacture their alleged truck-bomb, a fact that would become yet another linchpin in the government's case against the two men.

While in Michigan, McVeigh also started working the gun shows. From April of 1993 to March of 1995, McVeigh would travel from Kingman, Arizona to Decker, Michigan, and across the U.S., attending militia meetings and working the gun show circuit. A gun collector interviewed by the *Times* said that he had encountered McVeigh in gun shows ranging from Florida to Oklahoma to Nevada. "At the S.O.F. (Soldier of Fortune) convention he was kind of wandering around," said the gun collector, who requested anonymity, "like he was trying to meet people, maybe make converts. He could make ten friends at a show, just by his manner and demeanor. He's polite, he doesn't interrupt."

"McVeigh traveled around the country in a rattletrap car," wrote the *Times*' Kifner, "his camouflage fatigues clean and pressed, his only companion a well-thumbed copy of the venomous apocalyptic novel, *The Turner Diaries*."

Yet it would seem McVeigh is not the asexual, sociopathic loner that the press — the *New York Times* in particular — has made him out to be.

Had Kifner read the May 5th edition of *Newsweek*, he would have discovered that McVeigh had more than an old book for a companion. *Newsweek* reported that a Kansas private investigator had tracked down an old [platonic] girlfriend of McVeigh's — most likely Catina Lawson of Herrington, Kansas — attempting to convince her to sell her story to a news agency.^[278]

Robert Jerlow, an Oklahoma City private investigator, was also tracking down a girlfriend of McVeigh's in Las Vegas.^[279] And CNN indicated that authorities had discovered a letter in the glove compartment to an old girlfriend.^[280]

Yet McVeigh's gypsy-like travels across the country in an old beat-up car were slightly more than unusual. He traveled widely with no visible means of support, other than trading and selling guns and military paraphernalia. Yet acquaintances and other witnesses recall he always had wads of cash on him. Upon his arrest, McVeigh had \$2,000 on him. He reportedly had thousands more stashed away. He also traveled without luggage, making his car and occasional cheap motels his only home.

"He lived in his car," said the gun dealer quoted in the *Times*. "Whatever he owned it was in that car."^[281]

According to his sister Jennifer, his closest confidant, "...half the time we didn't know where he was. Half the time he wouldn't even tell us where he was living."^[282]

Again, one has to ask why McVeigh would voluntarily give up a promising military career to go careening around the country hawking used military surplus in an old car.

McVeigh used the name "Tim Tuttle" while working the gun shows, claiming that the alias was necessary to protect him from people who didn't share his political views.^[283] There is another possible reason McVeigh may have used an alias however.

At one gun show in Phoenix, an undercover detective reported that McVeigh had been attempting to sell a flare gun which he claimed could be converted into a rocket launcher. According to Bill Fitzgerald of the Maricopa County Attorney's office in Phoenix, McVeigh "took a shell apart and showed that the interior could be removed and another package put in that could shoot down an ATF helicopter." He also was reportedly handing out copies of the name and address of Lon Horiuchi, the FBI sniper who shot and killed Vicki Weaver, and selling caps with the letters 'ATF' surrounded by bullet holes. [\[284\]](#)

"He had come to see himself as a soldier in his own strange war against the United States," wrote the *Times*. McVeigh's mother told an acquaintance after visiting with him in her home state of Florida that he was "totally changed," and observed, "it was like he traded one Army for another one." [\[285\]](#)

While it is highly possible that McVeigh, like many people, genuinely disliked the ATF and FBI, it is also possible he used such high-profile anti-government tactics as a ruse while working undercover. While such behavior might appear extreme, it is a classic agent provocateur technique. The ATF routinely works undercover at gun shows, searching for people selling illegal firearms. Who better to lure and entrap unwary victims than a gun dealer claiming to be virulently anti-ATF. It is also possible that McVeigh was working undercover for another agency.

In an illuminating series of phone calls to Representative Charles Key, an anonymous source stated that McVeigh was present at several meetings with ATF and DEA agents in the days immediately preceding the bombing. The meetings took place in Oklahoma City at different locations. The ostensible purpose of the meetings were to provide McVeigh with further instructions, and to facilitate a payoff.

David Hall of KPOC-TV uncovered information that McVeigh had met with local ATF agent Alex McCauley in a McDonalds the night before the bombing. The ATF agent was seen handing McVeigh an envelope. (See Chapter 9)

CNN would cast a pale over this [largely unknown] information by reporting in June of 1995 that McVeigh had been under surveillance by an undercover operative at an Arizona gun show two years prior to the bombing.

This fact was reinforced when the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith (ADL) reported that McVeigh ran an ad for a "rocket launcher" (actually a flare gun) in the far-Right *Spotlight* newspaper on August 9, 1993. In fact, the ad didn't appear until the *next* week, August 16. McVeigh had originally paid to have the advertisement run on the 9th. Not being aware of the *Spotlight's* impending scheduling conflict, however, the ADL reported that the ad had run one week before it actually did. This subsumes that the ADL, long known for its spying and intelligence-gathering activities, had McVeigh under surveillance as well. [\[286\]](#)

Interestingly, McVeigh's young friend, Catina Lawson, recalled a strange man who often showed up at summer parties the high-schoolers threw. The soldiers from nearby Ft. Riley would attend the gatherings looking to meet girls, and McVeigh and his friends Michael Brescia and Andy Strassmeir (who lived at the white separatist compound in Southeast Oklahoma known as Elohim City), would often attend. [\[287\]](#)

Yet the man Catina described was neither a high-schooler nor a soldier. This mysterious character in his late 30s to mid-40s, who often wore a suit and a tie and drove a red sports car, was apparently not there to pick up girls. As Connie Smith, Catina's mother told me, "The man did not interact with anyone else... he stayed off... he never interacted with anybody else," only McVeigh.

Barbara Whittenberg, who owned the Sante Fe Trail Diner in Herrington, Kansas, also remembered the man. The restaurant owner recalled that he would come in with McVeigh and Terry Nichols, who lived nearby. She didn't know where he was from, and had never seen him before.

Was McVeigh an informant? Was he working for two different agencies? Numerous Kennedy researchers have uncovered evidence that Oswald was an FBI informant at the same time he was being sheep-dipped by the CIA for his role in the JFK assassination. According to former District Attorney (later federal judge) Jim Garrison:

Oswald appears to have been extensively manipulated by the CIA for a long time prior to the assassination and may well have believed he was working for the government. Oswald was also a confidential informant, a job that provided additional control over him and may have given him a reason to believe he was actually penetrating a plot to assassinate the president. [\[288\]](#)

Situations where a person is working for two law-enforcement or intelligence agencies at the same time are not uncommon.

What *is* uncommon is for a man like McVeigh to give up a promising military career to hawk used duffel bags from an old car. But then again, in the twilight netherworld of intelligence operations, things aren't always what they appear. [\[289\]](#)

While in Michigan, McVeigh also began tuning in to the Voice of America and Radio Free America on his shortwave. He was drawn to personalities like Chuck Harder, Jack McLamb, and Mark Koernke, all conveying an anti-federalist, anti-New World Order message. "He sent me a lot of newsletters and stuff from those groups he was involved in," said Warnement, then stationed in Germany. "There were newsletters from Bo Gritz's group, some other odd newsletters, some from the Patriots; then he sent that videotape 'The Big Lie' about Waco." [\[290\]](#)

McVeigh also began attending militia meetings. According to Michigan Militia member Eric Maloney, McVeigh was present at a truck-stop near Detroit for a January 25, 1995 meeting of approximately 70 members of the Oakland County Six Brigade. Members had obtained photographs of T-72 tanks and other Russian vehicles en route via railway flatcars to Camp Grayling, an Air National Guard base in northern Michigan. Although the captured Iraqi tanks were for target practice, the militiamen interpreted the equipment as proof positive of a UN plan to disarm American citizens and declare martial law.

According to Maloney and militia member Joseph Ditzhazy, a plot was hatched to attack the base by Mark Koernke, a high-profile militia spokesman known to his radio listeners as "Mark from Michigan." According to Maloney, Koernke said, "We can either take them out now while we're still able to, or wait until the sons of bitches are rolling down the street..." Three days later, about 20 members met at a farm near Leonard to discuss plans for the attack. According to Maloney, McVeigh was one of 13 who volunteered for the assault. "McVeigh was there," recalled Maloney on ABC's Prime Time Live. "My wife sat next to him. He was very attentive, very interested in being involved in that operation, volunteered his services."

The plan never came off. Ditzhazy and Maloney alerted State Police, who then contacted federal authorities. When the plot was made public, the Michigan Militia issued a press release stating that the plan was the brainchild of Koernke, working alongside a group of renegade members. Others who attended the meetings said that it was actually Maloney who pushed the plan, and had to be dissuaded from going through with it. Interestingly, Maloney was to provide weapons training for several of the attackers, and Ditzhazy, who made audio-tapes of the meetings, is a former military intelligence officer. When the FBI was contacted about Ditzhazy's claim that the plot was hatched by McVeigh and others, the FBI refused comment. [\[291\]](#)

What is also interesting is that Koernke himself is a former Army intelligence officer. Koernke, a veteran of the 70th Army Reserve Division in Livonia, Michigan, refers to himself as an "intelligence analyst" and "counterintelligence coordinator" with a "top-secret clearance." He also purports to have trained two "special-warfare" brigades that trained Army personnel in "foreign warfare and tactics." While his claims may be exaggerated, Koernke did attend the Army's intelligence school at Fort Huachuca, Arizona. He returned to Michigan an E-5 specialist with a G-2 (security) section of a peacetime Reserve unit. [\[292\]](#)

Koernke quickly rose to become one of the most sought after speakers on the Patriot circuit, leading off seminars in over 40 states. His video, *America in Peril*, sounds apocalyptic warnings of the coming New World Order, including plans by the Council of Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, and the Bilderbergers to dominate and enslave America — with of course, a little help from Russian troops, Nepalese Gurkhas, and L.A. street gangs. [\[293\]](#) It would seem that Koernke is employing a time-tested technique of intelligence PSYOP disinformation. While purporting to rail against what may be genuine plans of a New World Order cabal, Koernke slips in just enough ridiculous disinformation to discredit his thesis, and by association, anyone who supports it.

After the bombing, the media put Koernke in its spotlight. Koernke has boasted freely to friends that he was once employed as a "provocateur." He didn't say exactly for whom. In his tape, Koernke is shown holding an AK-47 and a cord of rope, stating: "Now, I did some basic math the other day, not New World Order math, and I found that using the old-style math you can get about four politicians for about 120 foot of rope. And, by the way, DuPont made this. It is very fitting that one of the New World Order crowd should provide us with the resources to liberate our nation...."

While the author personally has no qualms about stringing up the DuPonts, the Rockefellers and many other icons of the military-industrial-establishment, Koernke's rant smacks of the classic art of propaganda — that of the agent provocateur. Many in the Militia movement have accused him of just that. [\[294\]](#)

On September 8, 1994, Fowerville, Michigan police stopped a car that contained three men in camouflage and black face paint, armed with three 9mm semiautomatics, a .357 Magnum, an assortment of assault rifles, and 7,000 rounds of ammunition. The men claimed to be Koernke's bodyguards.

Ken Kirkland, an official of the St. Lucia County, Florida Militia said that McVeigh was acting as Koernke's bodyguard at a March 1994 meeting. Kirkland recalled a bodyguard in Army camouflage clothes resembling McVeigh who introduced himself as "Tim" and was "really upset about Waco." [\[295\]](#)

Koernke and McVeigh both deny this. As McVeigh told *Newsweek* "...I was never to one of their meetings, either." [\[296\]](#)

Was Koernke's "bodyguard" actually Tim McVeigh? In the September, 1995 issue of *Soldier of Fortune*, an ATF agent — the spitting image of Tim McVeigh — is seen accompanying ATF Agent Robert Rodriguez to the trial of the Branch Davidians. Was this in fact the "McVeigh" who accompanied Koernke?

Given both mens' mysterious backgrounds, their curious intersections in Florida and Michigan, and the Camp Grayling and Fowerville incidents, it is highly likely that we are looking at two agent provocateurs.

Other evidence of McVeigh's apparent employment as an agent provocateur would surface later. In a statement he made to *Newsweek* in response to a question about Reno and Clinton asking for the death penalty, McVeigh said: "I thought it was awfully hypocritical, especially because in some ways the government was responsible for doing it. I thought she was playing both sides of the fence." One must wonder

just how McVeigh knows that "in some ways" the government was "responsible for doing it."

McVeigh's own insurrectionist tendencies began coming to fruition towards the end of 1993, according to authorities, when McVeigh informed his sister that he was part of an anti-government group that was robbing banks. This startling revelation came in the form of three \$100 bills he sent to Jennifer in a letter dated December 24, 1993. The money was part of the proceeds from a bank heist. As Jennifer told the FBI on May 2, 1995:

"He had been involved in a bank robbery but did not provide any further details concerning the robbery. He advised me that he had not actually participated in the robbery itself, but was somehow involved in the planning or setting up of this robbery. Although he did not identify the participants by name, he stated that 'they' had committed the robbery. His purpose for relating this information to me was to request that I exchange some of my own money for what I recall to be approximately three (3) \$100.00 bills.

"He explained that this money was from the bank robbery and he wished to circulate this money through me. To the best of my recollection, I then gave my brother what I recall to be approximately \$300.00 of my personal cash, in exchange for 3 \$100.00 bills, which I deposited within the next several days in an account at the Unit No. 1 Federal credit Union, Lockport, New York."

Jennifer also recalled Tim stating, "Persons who rob banks may not be criminals at all. He implied Jews are running the country and a large degree of control is exercised by the Free Masons. Banks are the real thieves and the income tax is illegal."^[297]

Was Timothy McVeigh in fact a bank robber? If so, it is possible he was inspired by the *Turner Diaries*. The protagonists in that novel finance their overthrow of the "Zionist Occupational Government" by robbing banks and armored cars. As previously discussed, the book became a real life inspiration for Robert Matthew's Order, also known as "The Silent Brotherhood," which was engaged in heists of banks and armored cars throughout the Midwest during the 1980s. The Order was part of the white Aryan supremacist community that sought to establish an all-white homeland in the Northwest.

In December of 1984, Mathews was killed in a shoot-out with the FBI and police, and the Order disintegrated. Yet the white supremacist movement lived on, in such guises as the Aryan Nations, White Aryan Resistance (WAR), and a new, as yet unheard of group — the Aryan Republican Army, whose members are believed to be direct descendants of the Order.

It was to this last group that Timothy McVeigh would be drawn, at a rural white separatist religious community in southeast Oklahoma called Elohim City. It was there that McVeigh would meet such self-styled revolutionaries as Peter "Commander Pedro" Langan, who, along with Scott Stedeford, Kevin McCarthy, and the late Richard Guthrie, would go on to rob over 22 banks across the Midwest, collecting a total of \$250,000.

In a recruitment video obtained by the *McCurtain Gazette*, Langan appears in a disguise, explaining the goals of the ARA — the overthrow of the Federal Government, and the subsequent execution of all Jews and the deportation of all non-whites from the U.S.

In the tape, made only a few months before the Oklahoma City bombing, Langan says, "Federal buildings may have to be bombed and civilian loss of life is regrettable but expected."^[298]

According to ATF informant Carol Howe, interviewed by *Gazette* reporter J.D. Cash, both McVeigh and Fortier had visited Elohim City, as had Langan, Guthrie, Stedeford and McCarthy. A secret recording made by the informant apparently reveals discussions between Andreas Strassmeir, Elohim City's chief of security (also suspected of being an informant), and various ARA members, discussing plans to blow up federal buildings. While it is not known if McVeigh was intimately involved with the ARA bank robbers, he was seen with Strassmeir and ARA associate Michael Brescia at parties in Kansas, and at a bar in Tulsa shortly before the bombing. McVeigh had also called Elohim City looking for Strassmeir the day after he reserved the Ryder truck allegedly used in the bombing.

In the Fall on 1994, McVeigh and Terry Nichols allegedly began hoarding ammonium nitrate and diesel fuel. By mid-October, the pair had, according to official accounts, managed to stockpile approximately 4,000 pounds of fertilizer, which they stashed in storage lockers from Kansas to Arizona.^[299]

Like Mohammed Salemeah, a World Trade Center bombing suspect arrested when he attempted to retrieve his truck rental deposit, McVeigh would be linked to the bombing by the first in a chain of damning evidence — his thumbprint on a fertilizer receipt found in Terry Nichols' home; inquires about bomb-making materials made on his calling-card; and the paperwork used to rent the Ryder truck itself.

Like Salemeah's rental receipt which had traces of ANFO on it, McVeigh's clothes would allegedly contain traces of a detonator cord known as PDTN.^[300] Like the World Trade Center bombers who stockpiled bomb-making equipment in rented storage lockers in New Jersey, McVeigh and Nichols would store their ammonium nitrate in rented lockers in Kansas and Arizona. And like the World Trade Center bombers who called commercial chemical companies requesting bomb-making materials, McVeigh would implicate himself by using a traceable phone card to make his purchases.

The most damning evidence linking McVeigh to the crime would be the witness sightings placing him at the Murrah Building just before the bombing, following the Ryder truck, then speeding away in his yellow Mercury several minutes before the blast.

Yet the most curious evidence implicating McVeigh in the bombing came from witnesses who say he cased the building on December 16, when he and Michael Fortier drove through Oklahoma City en route to Kansas, then again approximately one and a half weeks before the bombing.

Danielle Wise Hunt, who operated the Stars and Stripes Child Development Center in the Murrah Building, told the FBI that on December 16, a clean-cut man wearing camouflage fatigues approached her, seeking to place his two children in the day care center. Hunt told agents that the man didn't ask typical parent-type questions, but instead wanted to know about the day-care center's security. Hunt thought he might be a potential kidnapper. Later, after seeing his face on TV, she recognized the man as Timothy McVeigh. [\[301\]](#)

If the man was indeed Timothy McVeigh, it is curious why he would later claim he was unaware of the day-care center in the building. If McVeigh was so upset about the deaths of innocent children at Waco, why would he knowingly bomb a building containing innocent children as an act of revenge?

Yet this "act of revenge" is precisely what the government claims motivated him. Such an act could only be the result of a deranged man. Yet McVeigh is anything but deranged. In his July 3rd *Newsweek* interview, he said, "For two days, in the cell, we could hear news reports; and of course everyone, including myself, was horrified at the deaths of the children. And you know, that was the No. 1 focal point of the media at the time, too, obviously — the deaths of the children. It's a very tragic thing."

Perhaps "deranged" isn't the proper word; perhaps "controlled" would be more appropriate. After his arrest, McVeigh was shown photographs of the dead children. He claimed to have no emotional reaction. Again, this could very well be indicative of a psychologically-controlled individual.

There is another strong possibility. The man whom witnesses say is Timothy McVeigh may not have been Timothy McVeigh at all.

"Lee Harvey" McVeigh

As previously discussed, McVeigh, along with his friends Andreas Strassmeir, Mike Fortier, and Michael Brescia attended parties in Herrington, Kansas in the Summer of '92. Catina Lawson was actually good friends with McVeigh, and her roommate, Lindsey Johnson, dated Michael Brescia. Lawson's accounts are well documented. [\[302\]](#)

Yet calling card records obtained by the *Rocky Mountain News* indicate that each call charged to the card during 1992 originated within western New York, where McVeigh was working as a security guard for Burns International Security. There appears to be little time he could have gone to Kansas to party with teen-agers.

Dr. Paul Heath, the VA psychologist who worked in the Murrah Building and survived the blast, spoke to an individual named "McVeigh" late one Friday afternoon, a week and a half before the bombing. In an interview with the author, he described in vivid detail his encounter with "McVeigh" and two other men, one of whom appears to be one of the elusive John Doe 2s.

"I've narrowed this to probably a Friday [April 7], at around three o'clock," recalls Heath. "A bell rang in the outer office of room 522. No one answered, so I went out to the waiting room.... A man came in with two others to apply for a job. One other was American-Indian looking, the other was Caucasian. A male individual was standing there, and I introduced myself as Dr. Heath, 'how can I help you?' and this individual said 'my name is *something*' and I don't remember what his first name was, but he told me his last name was McVeigh."

"So I said 'can I help you?' and he said 'well, we're here looking for work.' and I said 'what kind of work are we looking for?' He said 'we are looking for construction work.' And I said, 'well Mr. Birnbaum, the gentleman who is the job counselor for the state jobs office, is not here.' And this individual — I asked him if I could go back and get the job openings from the job counselor's desk — and he said 'no, that won't be necessary.' So I said, 'well, I'm very familiar with the area, and I could give you some job leads,' and I began to tell him about job leads, and began to give him some names and some different projects, and I said 'would you like me to get you the phone book; I could get you the state jobs offices.' He said, 'no, that won't be necessary.'

"And about somewhere along in this conversation, the man who was sitting on the east wall, directly behind the man who named himself as McVeigh, came up behind the man, and said 'can I use your phone?' I would describe him as vanilla, 5'7" or 5'9", mid-30's. [Then] the third party who was in the office, looked directly at me, made eye contact with me, and... I got the impression that this individual's nationality was Native American, or half-Native American or half-Mexican American or a foreign national. He was handsome — at one time my mind said maybe he was from South America."

"I... continued to talk to Mr. McVeigh and I said, 'Mr. McVeigh, did you take anything in high school that would be beneficial for me to know about so I could refer you to a different type of job?' And he said, 'well, probably not.' And I said, 'well, where did you go to high school?' And he either said up north or New York. And then I said, 'Where are you living?' And he said, 'Well, I've been living in Kansas.' So then I said, 'Do you happen to be a member of the McVay family from Cussing, Oklahoma?' ...he said, 'Well Dr. Heath, how do they spell their name?' 'Well I assume, M-c-V-a-y.' And he took his finger, and he kind of put it in my face and said, 'Well Dr. Heath,' in kind of a boisterous way, 'Dr. Heath, you remember this. My name is McVeigh, but you don't spell it M-c-V-a-y....'" [\[303\]](#)

What Dr. Heath was describing appears to have been Timothy McVeigh and his co-conspirators casing the Murrah Building. As the press

reported, the men went floor-to-floor, asking job-related questions and picking up applications. Yet if McVeigh had already cased the building on December 16, as reported by Danielle Hunt, why would he need to case it again?

Moreover, if McVeigh wanted to case the building, why would he do it in such a conspicuous manner? Why would he go from floor-to-floor asking about job openings, then pretend not to be interested in following them up? And... if McVeigh was planning on committing such a horrific crime, why would he make it a point to tell people his name, saying to Dr. Heath, "You remember this... *My name is McVeigh.*"

Former Federal Grand Juror Hoppy Heidelberg concurs. "Why would McVeigh walk around the building before the blast telling people his name?"^[304]

If McVeigh was keen on informing people of his identity before committing the crime, he apparently was on a roll. On Saturday, April 8, McVeigh and friends Andreas Strassmeir and Michael Brescia — both living at Elohim City at the time — were seen at Lady Godiva's topless bar in Tulsa, Oklahoma. According to a security camera videotape obtained by J.D. Cash of the *McCurtain Gazette*, and Trish Wood of CBC, McVeigh's boasts were the topic of discussion among the dancers that night. In the tape, one of the girls named Tara is overheard relating the conversation to another girl in the dressing room:

"...he goes, 'I'm a very smart man.' I said, you are? And he goes, 'Yes, you're going to find an (inaudible) and they're going to hurt you real bad.' I was, like, 'Oh really?' And he goes, 'Yes, and you're going to remember me on April 19, 1995. You're going to remember me for the rest of your life.'

Laughing, she replies, "Oh, really?"

"Yes you will," McVeigh says.^[305]

The sighting of McVeigh in Tulsa on April 8, along with an older, pale yellow Ryder truck that appeared to be privately-owned, directly contradicts the testimony of the maid at the Imperial Motel who says McVeigh was there each day.

However, phone records indicate that McVeigh made a steady series of calls up until April 7, which suddenly resumed again on the 11th. Could McVeigh have flown to Oklahoma to pick up the old Ryder truck, then have flown back to Kingman several days later? As J.D. Cash notes in the September 25, 1996 *McCurtain Gazette*:

It is not merely idle speculation that McVeigh flew to eastern Oklahoma or western Arkansas to pick up the second truck. Records subpoenaed by the government indicate McVeigh may have made such a trip to Fort Smith, Ark., between March 31 and April 14, 1995. Curiously, an employee of the airport taxi service in Fort Smith could not elaborate on why the taxi firm's records for that period were seized by federal agents working on what the government calls the "OKBOMB" case.

If McVeigh actually did fly from Arizona to Arkansas, then drive the truck to Kansas, then fly back to Arizona again, he apparently was a very busy man. Witness accounts and phone records put him in Oklahoma City on the 7th, in Tulsa on the 8th, in Kansas from the 10th to the 14th (although he's supposed to be in Kingman on the 11th and 12th), then back in Oklahoma City on the 14th, 15th and 16th (when he's supposedly in Kansas) then in Kansas on the 17th and 18th (when he's also seen in Oklahoma City), and finally in Oklahoma City on the 19th, the day of the bombing.

While McVeigh was supposedly seen at Terry Nichols' house in Herrington, Kansas on the 13th, witness David Snider saw his car in Oklahoma City. A Bricktown warehouse worker, Snider remembers seeing McVeigh's distinctive yellow Mercury whiz past around 2:30 p.m., not far from downtown. Snider is certain it was the same battered yellow Mercury driven by McVeigh. "I was standing there with my friend, who does auto bodywork," said Snider, "when the car went past. I turned to him and said, 'My Mom used to have a car just like that... It looks like homeboy needs a primer job.'" Snider said the car had an Oklahoma tag, as witness Gary Lewis later reported, not an Arizona tag as the FBI claims.

On Thursday, April 13, a federal employee in the Murrah Building saw two men, one of whom she later identified as McVeigh. She was riding the elevator when it stopped at the second floor. When the doors opened, there were two men in janitorial smocks waiting to get on. She didn't recognize the men as any of the regular janitors, and thought it odd that they turned away when she looked in their direction.

On Monday, April 17, janitors Katherine Woodly and Martin Johnson, who were working the 5-9 p.m. shift, saw McVeigh and his companion again. Martin said McVeigh spoke to him about a job, and the man who resembled John Doe 2 nodded to Woodly.^[306]

That same day, or possibly the following day, Debbie Nakanashi, an employee at the Post Office across from the Murrah Building, saw the pair when they stopped by and asked where they might find federal job applications. It was Nakanashi who provided the description for the well-known profile sketch of John Doe 2 in the baseball cap.

Craig Freeman, a retired Air Force master sergeant who works in the same office as Dr. Heath, was one of the people who saw McVeigh in Oklahoma when he was supposedly in Kansas. Freeman recalls sharing the elevator with a man who resembled McVeigh on Friday, April 14. "The guy was tall... What struck me is his hair was cut real low. I thought he was a skinhead." Freeman, who is black, said 'Hey man, how's it going?' "And he looked at me like he was just disgusted with me being there. Most people in the building speak to each other, you

know, so I spoke to this guy, and he looked at me like... pure hate."

About a week and a half before the bombing, a HUD employee named Joan was riding the elevator with a man she described as Timothy McVeigh. What struck her was the man's strict military demeanor. He stared straight ahead making no eye-contact or conversation. "He won't last long in this building," Joan thought to herself.^[307]

The Friday before the bombing, when Craig Freeman walked out of the building to mail his taxes, he saw an individual he believes to have been Terry Nichols, "because he looked just like the picture of him," said Freeman. "He was standing there, he had a blue plaid shirt on. He was standing in the front of the building — he was just standing there, looking kind of confused. You know, how somebody looks when they're nervous."

Was the man in the elevator Freeman was describing actually Timothy McVeigh? According to phone records obtained from the Dreamland Motel, McVeigh made several phone calls from his room on the morning of Friday, April 14. Is it still possible that McVeigh drove down to Oklahoma City in the afternoon?

If he did, he would had to have been back in Kansas by early next morning. Barbara Whittenberg, owner of the Santa Fe Trail Diner in Herrington, remembers serving breakfast to Nichols, McVeigh, and John Doe 2 around 6:00 a.m. on Saturday.

"I asked them why they had a Ryder truck outside," said Whittenberg. "I wasn't being nosy, I just wondered if Terry Nichols was moving. My sister was moving here, and she needed to find a place. Well, the guy who they haven't arrested yet — John Doe #2 — he blurted out that they were going to Oklahoma. When that happened, it was like someone threw ice water on the conversation... McVeigh and Nichols just stared at the guy"^[308]

A dancer in Junction City, Kansas had the same experience as Whittenberg, when four of the suspects stopped by the Hollywood Supper Club around 10:30 that evening. The dancer, who we'll call Sherrie, definitely recognized two of the men as McVeigh and Nichols.

"The only reason I really remember it," said Sherrie, "is just because I had a conversation with one of them about Oklahoma, and my husband's family is from Oklahoma. He said they were planing a trip down there, and he said — I think it was for hunting or something... then one of them kind of gave him a look, and they changed the subject..."

Sherrie also said one of the men, who was quiet and sat in the corner, appeared to be Middle-Eastern. The other was Hispanic or part Hispanic, and was friendly. When he mentioned Oklahoma, Nichols shot him a hard look.^[309]

Additionally, while the records at Elliott's Body Shop indicate that "Bob Kling" rented his truck on April 17, Barbara Whittenberg saw the truck outside her restaurant on the 15th. Later that day she saw it at Geary State Fishing Lake, along with three people and a light-colored car, possibly a Thunderbird, with Arizona tags.^[310]

Backing up Whittenberg is Lee McGowan, owner of the Dreamland Motel in Junction City, where McVeigh stayed from April 14 to April 17. McGowan told the FBI that McVeigh was in possession of his truck the day *before* "Kling" allegedly rented his. She remembered the day clearly because it was Easter Sunday.

McGowan's son, Eric, as well as motel resident David King and his mother, also stated that they saw McVeigh driving an older faded yellow Ryder truck at the motel around 4 p.m. on April 16.^[311]

Yet McGowan's testimony contradicts that of Phyliss Kingsley and Linda Kuhlman, who worked at the Hi-Way Grill in Newcastle, just south of Oklahoma City. The two women saw McVeigh and three companions around 6:00 p.m. on April 16, when they stopped in the restaurant and ordered hamburgers and fries to go. The two women distinctly recall the Ryder truck pulling into the restaurant at SW 104th and Portland, accompanied by a white Chevy long-bed pick-up, and an older, darker, possibly blue pick-up, which may have belonged to Terry Nichols. Accompanying McVeigh was a short, stocky, handsome man, of either Mexican or American Indian descent. The man closely resembled the FBI sketch of John Doe 2, they said.^[312]

According to the FBI, this was the same day that McVeigh called Nichols from a pay phone at Tim's Amoco in Herrington, Kansas at 3:08 p.m., and asked him to drive him to Oklahoma City. It would have been impossible for McVeigh and Nichols to drive from Junction City to Oklahoma City in less than four hours.

Reports soon surfaced that "McVeigh" had stayed at a motel south of downtown Oklahoma City on the night of the 18th. Witnesses recall seeing a yellow Ryder truck, and two companions. They recall that "McVeigh" gave them a "go to hell look" as he pulled away.

Later that morning, at 8:35 a.m., Tulsa banker Kyle Hunt was driving to an appointment when he came upon the Ryder truck at Main and Broadway, trailed by a yellow Mercury. "...for some reason I thought they were out of state, moving and lost in downtown Oklahoma City," said Hunt. "I felt sorry for them and then when I pulled up beside them, I got that cold icy stare from a guy that had a real short GI haircut..."^[313]

Hunt described the driver of the Mercury as Timothy McVeigh. "He gave me that icy, go-to-hell look," said Hunt. "It kind of unnerved me." While Hunt didn't see the occupants of the truck, he did recall two passengers in the Mercury. The rear occupant, said Hunt, had long hair, similar to the suspect Phyllis Kingsley and Linda Kuhlman saw on Sunday at the Hi-Way Grill south of the city.

Around the same time as Hunt saw this convoy, David Snider, a warehouse worker in Bricktown, a few blocks southeast of downtown, saw a heavily loaded Ryder truck with two men inside, slowly making its way towards him. Snider had been expecting a delivery that morning, and explained that people sometimes get lost because the loading dock is on a different street than the warehouse. The time was 8:35 a.m. Thinking the truck was his delivery, Snider waved them down. Snider, who by now was gesticulating wildly, became frustrated as the two men, staring at him, continued on their way.

While he never received his delivery, Snider did get a good look at the truck, and the two men. The truck appeared to be an older model with a cab overhang, not the newer version the FBI claimed was destroyed in the bombing.

Snider described the driver as a barrel-chested, dark-skinned male with long, straight black hair, parted in the middle, wearing a thin small mustache. The man, who was also wearing tear-drop style sunglasses and a dark shirt, was of American Indian or Hispanic decent. (See sketch) "I lived in New Mexico for years," said Snider; "I know the look." The passenger, wearing a white T-shirt, Snider said, was Timothy McVeigh.

"He looked at me like 'who the hell are you?' — real attitude," recalls Snider, and began yelling profanities at the loading-dock worker. Snider, who was not in a great mood that morning to begin with, yelled back, "Fuck you, you skin-head motherfucker!"

Snider and Hunt weren't the only individuals who saw McVeigh and the Ryder truck that morning. At 8:40 a.m., Mike Moroz and Brian Marshall were busy at work at Johnny's Tire Store on 10th and Hudson, when a yellow Ryder truck pulled in looking for directions to the Murrah Building. The driver, who Moroz later identified as Timothy McVeigh, was wearing a white T-shirt and a black ball cap on backwards. Moroz caught a glimpse of the passenger — a stocky man with dark curly hair, a tattoo on his upper left arm, and a ball cap worn similar to McVeigh's. The passenger, said Moroz, stared straight ahead, never turning to look in his direction. [\[314\]](#)

Moroz then proceeded to give directions to McVeigh, whom he described as polite, friendly, and relaxed — quite interesting considering that McVeigh is supposedly minutes away from murdering 169 people. After thanking Moroz, McVeigh got back in the truck, sat there for a few minutes, then took off in the direction of the Federal Building.

At approximately the same time as McVeigh was seen driving the Mercury by Kyle Hunt, and seen as a passenger in the Ryder truck by David Snider, and seen driving the Ryder truck by Mike Moroz, he was then seen driving the Mercury by attorney James Linehan.

As previously discussed, Linehan, a Midwest City attorney, was stopped at a red light at the northwest corner of 4th and Robinson, one block from the Murrah Building. Late for an appointment, Linehan looked at his watch. It read 8:38 a.m. When he looked back up, he noticed a pale yellow Mercury stopped beside him. While he could not positively I.D. the driver, he described him as having sharp, pointed features, and smooth pale skin.

A second later, the Mercury driver gunned his engine, ran the red light, and disappeared into the underground parking garage of the Murrah Building.

Is it possible these witnesses are describing are two different people? In Snider's account, the driver is an American Indian or Hispanic man with long, straight black hair, wearing sunglasses. The passenger is McVeigh. Neither one is wearing a ball cap. The time is 8:35 a.m. In Moroz's account, the driver is McVeigh, while the passenger is a stocky man with short curly hair. Both men are wearing ball caps on backwards. The time is 8:40 a.m.

Snider and Moroz both saw a Ryder truck containing Timothy McVeigh, yet with completely different companions. While Snider was yelling at McVeigh in the Ryder truck in Bricktown, Hunt was watching the truck being trailed by McVeigh in the Mercury several blocks away. A few minutes later, Linehan watched as the Mercury drove into the Murrah Building garage.

Moreover, each witness saw these convoys at approximately the same time. It is possible that the heavily loaded truck seen by Snider could have made it from 25 East California in Bricktown to 10th and Hudson in five minutes. But in order to do so, they would have had to drop off one man, pick up another, exchange places in the truck, and put on ball caps. Then they would have to drive a distance of approximately 25 blocks — during morning rush hour traffic. Possible, but not too likely.

Is it possible one of these witnesses has his story wrong? Well, if he does, he has it *really* wrong. How could an apparently credible witnesses mistake a short-curly-haired man with a black ball cap for a long-straight-haired man with tear-drop sunglasses? One who is clearly the passenger, the other who is clearly the driver? In numerous interviews with the author and other journalists, Snider went into great detail about his encounter, and never wavered.

In a taped interview with Mike Moroz, he struck me as a sincere, sober, young man. Both Linehan and Hunt are solid, professional people. It is not likely that these witnesses are relaying inaccurate information.

"Their stories really seem to check out," said video producer Chuck Allen, who interviewed many witnesses. "They go into great depth and

detail about all this. If you ever meet these guys, you'll know their stories are very strong — very believable."^[315]

Researchers have also questioned why McVeigh, who had supposedly been to the Murrah Building at least three times — once on December 16, again a week and a half before the bombing, then again on April 14 — would need to ask directions to it when he was only six blocks away. But according to Moroz, who has helped more than a few lost travelers, the number of one-way streets in the downtown area often confuses people. "A lot of people get lost down here, even people who live here, he said"^[316]

Finally, HUD employee Germaine Johnston was walking through an alley approximately two blocks from the Murrah Building about 15 minutes after the blast, when she ran into McVeigh and another man. "They were just standing there watching," said Johnston.

McVeigh then asked the dazed passerby "Was anyone killed?" When Johnston answered that numerous people had been killed, including many children, McVeigh's expression suddenly turned sad. He and his companion then got up and left.^{[317][318]}

Mike Moroz was eventually called in to identify McVeigh in a photo line-up. Yet he was never called to testify before the Federal Grand Jury. Snider was initially interviewed by two FBI agents, including Weldon Kennedy and Rob Ricks [of Waco fame], but was never brought in to a line-up or called to testify before the Federal Grand Jury.

Considering he had close and sustained contact with "McVeigh" and several of his associates, Dr. Heath should have been a key prosecution witness. Yet the FBI never called Dr. Heath in to identify McVeigh in a line-up. Nor was Dr. Heath ever called before the Federal Grand Jury. Nor was Freeman ever called in to see a line-up, or before the grand jury. Linehan, Hunt, Johnston, and numerous other witnesses were likewise never called.

On May 10, the *Los Angeles Times* reported, "Investigators said authorities theorize that John Doe 2 could be two people, and that McVeigh and his alleged conspirators could have used different men to accompany him in order to serve as 'decoys' and confuse investigators trying to trace his movements."^[319]

The *Los Angeles Times* report, which would tend to account for the two different trucks, only gives half the story. What they aren't saying is that not only were there at least two John Doe 2s — there apparently were two "Timothy McVeighs." One was probably a double.

The use of doubles in espionage work is not new. In fact, the use of impostors, look-alikes and doubles was well-documented in the JFK and Martin Luther King assassinations.

Like the "Lee Harvey Oswald" who was seen filing out numerous job applications in New Orleans, "McVeigh" was seen going floor-to-floor in the Federal Building in Oklahoma. Except that the "Oswald" who filled out job applications listed his height as 5' 9", while the real Oswald's height was 5' 11."

According to employees at Elliott's Body Shop in Junction City, the "McVeigh" (alias "Kling") who rented the truck on April 17 was of medium build, 5' 10" to 5' 11" and weighed 180-185 pounds. Elliott's employee Tom Kessinger stated on his FBI FD-383 report that the man had a "rough" complexion with "acne."^[320] (See Appendix)

The only problem is, Timothy McVeigh is 6' 2," weighs 160 pounds, and has a totally clear complexion. Another shop employee, Vicki Beemer, said the man had a deformed chin, unlike the real McVeigh.^[321]

Nevertheless, federal prosecutors would claim that a "little curlicue" on the "K" in "Kling's" signature was indicative of McVeigh's handwriting. Yet if McVeigh was the same person who rented the truck at Elliott's on the 17th, why didn't he also use an alias while signing the motel register? While the "McVeigh" who rented the truck listed his name as "Bob Kling," 428 Malt Drive, Redfield, SD, the "McVeigh" who checked into the Dreamland, right down the street, signed his name as "Tim McVeigh," and listed his address as 3616 North Van Dyke Road, Decker, Michigan, the home of James Nichols.^[322]

If McVeigh was planning on committing such a heinous crime, certainly he would not leave such a blatantly incriminating trail of evidence. This makes about as much sense as McVeigh going from floor-to-floor in the Murrah Building filling out job applications and announcing his name. Or telling a dancer in Tulsa, "You're going to remember me on April 19th."

These preposterous scenes were practically identical to those of all-time patsy Lee Harvey Oswald. In early November of 1963, a "Lee Harvey Oswald" applied for a job as a parking lot attendant at the Southland Hotel. During his interview with the manager, he asked if there was a good view of downtown Dallas from the hotel.^[323]

On January 20, 1961, two men, one representing himself as "Lee Harvey Oswald," walked into the Bolton Ford dealership in New Orleans and requested a bid for 10 pick-up trucks, ostensibly for the Friends of Democratic Cuba Committee. The only problem was, Lee Harvey Oswald was in Russia at the time.^[324]

Then in September of 1963, a man purporting to be "Lee Harvey Oswald" showed up at the Mexican Consulate in New Orleans. According

to Mrs. Fenella Farrington, "Oswald" said, "What do you have to do to take firearms or a gun into Mexico?"

A "Lee Harvey Oswald" subsequently phoned, then showed up at the Soviet embassy in Mexico City, speaking with a trade consultant who was allegedly a member of the KGB's "liquid affairs" bureau (hit squad). The CIA later turned over to the Warren Commission a surveillance snapshot of a man they claimed was Oswald at the Soviet embassy. The man looked nothing like Oswald.

On April 17, 1995, a "Bob Kling" showed up at Elliott's Body Shop in Junction City, Kansas and rented a Ryder truck. Yet according to surveillance footage taken from a nearby McDonalds, McVeigh was sitting in the restaurant eating a hamburger at the time. He was wearing completely different clothes than those ascribed to "Kling."

Yet the FBI contends that McVeigh left the restaurant 20 minutes before the truck was rented, walked the 1.3 miles to Elliott's — a fifteen-minute walk — in a light rain, then showed up at Elliott's nice and dry, wearing completely different clothes.

In November of 1963, a "Lee Oswald" walked into the downtown Lincoln Mercury dealership in Dallas announcing his intention to buy a Mercury Comet. According to the salesman, Albert Bogard, "Mr. Oswald" took him on a wild test drive, speeding along at 60 to 70 miles an hour. After he was told the amount of the down payment, another salesman, Eugene Wilson, heard "Oswald" say, "Maybe I'm going to have to go back to Russia to buy a car."

During the Warren Commission hearings, salesman Frank Pizzo described the customer as 5' 8" tall. When the Warren Commission showed Pizzo a photo of Oswald taken after his arrest, he said, "I have to say that he is not the one..."^[325]

After the bombing in Oklahoma City, ATF informant Carol Howe told the FBI that she recognized the two men on the FBI's original wanted posters as Peter Ward and Michael Brescia — two Elohim City residents. She said that neither man was Tim McVeigh.^[326]

In early November of 1963, Mrs. Lovell Penn of Dallas found three men firing a rifle on her property. After they left, she found a spent cartridge bearing the name "Mannlicher-Carcano," the rifle that the Warren Commission claimed Oswald used to perform his historic feat of marksmanship in Dealy Plaza.

As District Attorney Jim Garrison later noted, "These scenes were about as subtle as roaches trying to sneak across a white rug."

No less subtle were the scenes and events leading up to the Oklahoma City bombing. It is highly possible that the man Dr. Heath saw in the Murrah Building a week and-a-half before the bombing was not Timothy McVeigh at all, but a double. The scenario of Timothy McVeigh — the alleged "lone nut" bomber — going from floor-to-floor in the target building announcing his name while leaving a paper trail is beyond credulity.

Like Oswald, who repeatedly telephoned, then appeared at the Soviet embassy in Mexico, McVeigh would telephone Elohim City — a white separatist compound — just before the bombing, asking to speak to Andy Strassmeir.

Like Oswald, who left behind a diary of his "Left-leaning" writings, McVeigh purportedly left intentions of his plans to bomb other targets in the glove compartment of his car — a car which could be easily recognized and traced to him.

Like Oswald who, after purportedly killing the president of the United States, walked into a movie house without paying, purposely attracting the attention of the police, McVeigh would speed down the highway at 80 miles an hour without a license plate, purposefully attracting the attention of the Highway Patrol. He would then meekly hand himself over for arrest, not even attempting to draw his Glock 9mm pistol on the approaching cop, whom he could have easily shot and killed.

Like the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle which Oswald purportedly bought from a mail-order supply house, and the Mannlicher-Carcano cartridge found by Mrs. Penn, McVeigh would leave a business card from Paulsen's Military Surplus with a notation to pick up more TNT in the police cruiser after his arrest.^[327]

As Jim Garrison noted, "Some of these scenes were so preposterous only the most gullible could swallow them."

Like Oswald, who was led out of the Dallas Police Department and immediately shot by Jack Ruby, McVeigh would be led out of the Noble County Courthouse in a bright orange jumpsuit, without a bullet-proof vest, paraded before an angry crowd on the verge of violence.

Finally, like James Earl Ray, who was accused of killing Martin Luther King, Jr., we are left pondering the significance of two similar vehicles, both apparently tied to the crime. Ray had owned a white Ford Mustang, which was seen speeding away after the assassination. Yet another white Mustang was seen parked in front of Jim's Grill in Memphis, near where Ray had his car parked. The two cars were almost identical, except for two things: While Ray was wearing a suit on April 4, 1968, the driver of the other Mustang was wearing a dark blue windbreaker; while Ray's car had Alabama plates, the other car had Arkansas plates.^[328]

One is reminded of the contradictory testimony of David Snider and Mike Moroz, who saw two Ryder trucks on the morning of April 19, but with different occupants. Another interesting parallel is that while McVeigh's Mercury reportedly had Arizona tags, a white Oklahoma tag was

seen by Gary Lewis dangling from one bolt as the car sped away from the scene.

In spite of the numerous discrepancies, it seemed that by a convenient string of associations, a carefully placed trail of evidence, and a carefully planned and executed operation, Timothy McVeigh was implicated as prime suspect number one in the plot to blow up the Alfred P. Murrah Building.

Like Lee Harvey Oswald, who was declared the "lone assassin" within weeks, Timothy McVeigh would be declared — along with Terry Nichols — the "lone bomber" within days. On the indictments, the Justice Department would gratuitously add, "with others unknown." Yet these "others unknown" would fade from official memory as the so-called "Justice" Department withdrew the John Doe 2 sketch and the subsequent reward offer.

After his arrest, Lee Harvey Oswald announced to the television cameras, "I'm a patsy!"

After *his* arrest, Timothy McVeigh told the *London Sunday Times* he was "set up" for the bombing by the FBI because of his extreme political views.^[329]

Never since the frame-up of Lee Harvey Oswald has the media gone out of its way to portray a suspect as dangerous and malignant. While the mainstream press took their cues from the FBI, they contradicted their own journalistic common sense. The government and their mainstream media lap dogs have based their theories of Timothy McVeigh upon the flimsiest of pretenses, while ignoring the more obvious facts. The mainstream press, willing to take the Federal Government's word as gospel, has succumbed, and perpetrated, the most obvious propaganda. In so doing, they have violated every principal of thorough and honest journalism, and have become nothing but a willing tool of the corporate/intelligence establishment.

As Stephen Jones said, "Before this investigation is all over with, the government will have Tim McVeigh standing next to Lee Harvey Oswald."^[330]

Yet unlike Oswald, who was summarily executed by mob-connected police officer Jack Ruby, McVeigh has quietly and safely settled into his newfound circumstances. As the drama of his trial(s) unfold in a daily display of evidence and witnesses, Timothy McVeigh may truly believe that justice will prevail.

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Terry Nichols: "Non-Resident Alien"

The image of Timothy McVeigh — the stone-faced killer — would fade in the wake of court appearances and media interviews, as Stephen Jones sought to portray his smiling and chiding client as the simple boy next door.

The enigmatic figure of Terry Nichols, however, would haunt public perception, as his attorney jealously guarded the mysterious, brooding figure from prying eyes.

It was the older, quiet, bespectacled Nichols, some theorized, who was the "brains" behind the bombing, guiding his young friend in the sinister and deadly plot.

Nichols' ex-wife, Lana Padilla, doesn't agree. "I believe that Terry bought his home, brought his family there... truly, truly... wanted to have a family and just get on with his life. I just don't think this man could have done this... I just don't think with any knowledge he could have done this."^[331]

Neighbors Bob and Sandy Papovich, long-time friends, wrote the press that Terry Nichols is a "kind, gentle, generous man absolutely incapable of violence." As Papovich told the author, "I've known Terry for over 15 years, and I've never heard this man utter the word "hell" or "damn"... Terry doesn't want to hurt anybody.... And all these people want me to believe that this man is capable of murdering hundreds of innocent people. It ain't possible."^[332]

Terry Nichols told Federal Public Defender Steve Gradert, "Heck, I've got kids, too," in response to the bombing.^[333] A peaceful person, Nichols reportedly loved children, including his son Josh, whom he maintained a close relationship with. One day, the astute thirteen-year-old told his mother he had to call the FBI. He was frantic. "I've got to tell them!"

"What do you got to tell them, Padilla asked?"

"I've got to tell them that my dad wouldn't do that. He loves children. He wouldn't do that to those children."^[334]

Yet the press would paint Terry Nichols with the same broad brush that they had used to paint Timothy McVeigh — focusing on the fact that Nichols came from a broken home, had dropped out of college, worked a series of odd jobs, and was anti-government. Like McVeigh, the media, anti-militia activists, and scores of pseudo-experts would do their best to cast Nichols in the same extremist mold — a man, authorities claimed — capable of killing 169 innocent people

The third of four children, Terry Nichols grew up on a farm near Lapeer, Michigan. His father, Robert — quiet and soft-spoken — labored hard on the family's 160-acre farm. Like his son, he also worked a series of odd jobs, doing construction, selling encyclopedias, and putting in shifts at the Pontiac and Buick plants, in an effort to keep the family afloat in a county where farming had become less and less prosperous.

His mother Joyce was a sharp contrast. Hard-drinking, often violent with explosive fits of temper, she had once rammed Robert's tractor with her car, and had threatened the local sheriff with a chain-saw. After 24 years of difficult marriage, the couple finally divorced. Padilla said Terry took it hard.^[335]

Nichols dreamed of going to medical school but his grades weren't good enough for most pre-med programs. He enrolled at Central Michigan University, but after his parents' divorce in 1974, he dropped out at the request of his mother, who needed help on the family farm in Decker. However, Nichols told friends he would never be a farmer.^[336]

Yet, like McVeigh, Nichols was an intelligent man. He passed a difficult test for a securities license with a minimum of study and preparation, but told friends he was bored with college, which he found no more challenging than high-school.

While in Decker, Nichols met his first wife, Lana Padilla, and they married in 1981. Two years later, they had a baby boy, Joshua. Shortly thereafter, Padilla's sister Kelli married Terry's brother James, and the four lived together at James's Decker, Michigan farmhouse.

Not satisfied with farm life, Nichols tried a number of different occupations. He delved into penny stocks, went on to sell insurance and real estate, managed a grain elevator, and worked occasionally as a carpenter. Nothing held his interest.

"No matter what he tried to do, every time he tried to break away, he ended up back on the farm trying to help his mother and James," said Padilla.^[337]

While Padilla devoted time to building her real estate career, Nichols cooked, cleaned house, and cared for the kids. Yet he grew increasingly restless and depressed.

"Terry got real down on life," said his father. "He didn't care what he had done.... He lost his vitality."^[338]

One afternoon Padilla brought home pamphlets from the local Army recruiting office, and laid them out on the table. When she came back, the pamphlets were gone. Like many men uncertain about their future, Nichols decided to try a career in the military.

"He was just searching for a career, something he enjoyed," Nichols' friend Sandy Papovich told the *Dallas Morning News*. "He thought he would like it."^[339]

It was an unusual career move for a 32-year-old man with children. Yet Nichols hoped he would be able to rise quickly through the ranks, and Padilla thought the experience would strengthen Terry and save their marriage.

On May 24, 1988, Nichols was assigned to Fort Benning, Georgia for basic training. "He said the government had made it impossible for him to make a living as a farmer," recalled assistant platoon leader Glen "Tex" Edwards. He hated the United States government. I thought it strange that a 32-year-old man would be complaining about the government, yet was now employed by the government. Nichols told me he signed up to pull his 20 years and get a retirement pension."^[340]

Because of his age and maturity, Nichols was quickly made platoon leader. The obvious discrepancy in years earned him the nickname "Old Man."

"The drill sergeant said that because Nichols was older than the rest of us, he would hopefully be more mature and able to lead the younger guys in the unit. He also had some college background and came into the Army as a PFC," said Edwards.^[341]

It was at Fort Benning that Nichols would meet Timothy McVeigh. The two men had enlisted on the same day. According to an account in the *Post*:

William "Dave" Dilly, who was McVeigh's roommate for about a year in the service, said McVeigh and Nichols "hit it off from the start, like Terry was his big brother. Tim was real frail and unsure of himself. Terry was the oldest guy and real sure of himself."

But the two men found they had a lot in common. McVeigh too came from a broken, blue-collar home and had an abiding interest in firearms and far-right politics. Both men fancied themselves as survivalists, and both loved to spend time on the rifle range. Both were looking for lifetime careers in the service. They quickly became friends.^[342]

Another one of their friends was Michael Fortier, who joined Nichols and McVeigh at Fort Riley. The three would spend free time together, going fishing, shooting, and sharing their political beliefs.

Yet while McVeigh would rise quickly through the ranks, Nichols' Army career stalled. It seemed his platoon leadership status had been rescinded due to a prank he and McVeigh had pulled.

Around the same time, Padilla filed for divorce, and made plans to move her real estate business to Las Vegas. On May 15, 1989, after 11 months in the service, Nichols put in for a hardship discharge due to a "family emergency" that was never publicly explained. Yet it apparently had nothing to do with his divorce. He told Padilla it was to take care of his son Josh. As Padilla later wrote, Nichols already had Josh with him at Fort Riley, where the pair lived in a house off-base. As Padilla wrote in her book, *By Blood Betrayed*:

I've always wondered just why he was released, less than a year after enlisting, and have always been told it was because he had to take care of Josh. But this theory never washed with me because he'd had Josh with him all along. I really believe that Josh was just a convenient excuse and that Terry had become disillusioned with the Army because he believed he would never rise through the ranks.^[343]

Perhaps Nichols' "hardship discharge" was similar to Lee Harvey Oswald's "hardship discharge" from the Marines that never was explained. And that of Thomas Martinez, the FBI infiltrator into the Silent Brotherhood (The Order), who was given an honorable discharge during basic training, which was never explained.^[344]

Even more interesting is the parallel to McVeigh's discharge after "failing" his Special Forces try-out in April of 1991. McVeigh's sudden and

mysterious departure from the Army, like Nichols', was never fully explained. As suggested previously, McVeigh's sudden decision leave a brilliant military career behind may have resulted from his being "sheep-dipped" as an intelligence operative.

Yet mainstream media psychojournalists insisted that Nichols' departure from the Army was nothing more than the inevitable result of a consistent string of life-long failures.

Glen "Tex" Edwards put a slightly different spin on the matter. Edwards said that shortly before he left the Army, Nichols invited him to be part of a "private army" he said he was creating. "He told me he would be coming back to Fort Riley to start his own military organization," recalled Edwards. "He said he could get any kind of weapon and any equipment he wanted."

Nichols also said he intended to recruit McVeigh, Fortier, and others. "I can't remember the name of his organization, but he seemed pretty serious about it," Edwards said, adding that he reported Nichols' offer to the FBI shortly after the bombing.

In spite of the flamboyant tales about recruiting a private army, Nichols returned to his old life in Michigan, working for a time as a carpenter, then moving back to the farmhouse in Decker. In spite of his short career in the Army, or perhaps because of it, Nichols developed a deep distrust of the Federal Government.

It was a feeling that was shared by his brother James, who, as a farmer, had suffered through the worst of the floods of the late '70s and early '80s, and blamed the Federal Government for failing to provide adequate disaster relief. Nichols, along with his Sanilac country neighbors, witnessed dozens of farm foreclosures as a result. It was the Federal Government's policies that led to the rise of such far-Right groups as the American Agricultural Movement and the anti-tax Posse Comitatus. As the *Post* writes:

Many residents around Decker said they share Terry and James's angry politics, but are less vocal because they fear government retribution. "Much of what the Nichols brothers believe is not that different or radical from what lots of people around here think," said local truck driver Jack Bean. "We feel our liberties and freedoms are being chipped away at and we want all this authority off our backs. The difference between the Nichols and others in this community is that they are just not afraid to say what they think, to challenge what is wrong."^[345]

In spite of their differences, Terry and James had a lot in common. Both were fathers, had married sisters, and had suffered through difficult divorces. Both shared an ideological distrust of the Federal Government.

James studied the Constitution, Black's Law Dictionary and the Uniform Commercial Codes. He read the works of Jefferson and Paine and was particularly inspired by Jefferson's maxim, "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants." Perhaps not coincidentally, this passage was discovered in McVeigh's car upon his arrest. It would later be read into evidence at his trial.

Both Terry and James also held a view shared by many beleaguered farmers: that the Federal Reserve was not empowered to coin money, and that U.S. currency printed after 1930, when the nation went into debt, was valueless. Following the advice of financial books that warned of an imminent crash, the brothers put their money into precious metals such as silver and gold.

Yet their activities took still more dramatic turns. In 1990 James tried to renounce his citizenship, and plastered his car with anti-government and Second Amendment bumper stickers.

Terry purchased a pick-up truck and decided not to register it, instead, making his own tag and placing it on front. Both men renounced their driver's licenses.

In March of 1994, Terry sent a dramatic affidavit to the Evergreen Township claiming himself to be a "Non-Resident Alien" private citizen not bound by the laws of the U.S. government. (See Appendix) He also renounced his voting rights due to "...total corruption in the entire political system from the local government on up through and including the president of the United States of America, George Bush."^[346]

While he may have been right in principle, his activity was not condoned by the local authorities. In 1992, Chase Manhattan Bank went after Nichols for racking up \$17,860 in unpaid credit card debts. The largely out-of-work farmer had spent over \$35,000, using Chase and First Deposit National Bank cards, on farm equipment, personal effects, and airline tickets.

He attempted to pay off the debts with his own "Certified Fractional Reserve Check," a bogus check distributed widely among farmers by a group called Family Farm Preservation. He signed the check, "Explicitly reserving all my rights, Terry L. Nichols." He then sent the bank a letter retroactively revoking his signature from the credit card contract.

"There are two sides to that man, maybe many more," said Dennis Reid, a Sandusky, Mich., lawyer who has observed Nichols and his brother, James, during court proceedings in Michigan. "Jim to me I really expect is kind of a sissy. He was always shaking when he'd go into the courtroom and spout off," attorney Dennis Reid said. "Terry seemed to be more level-headed. He was still saying things that were strange, but he was certainly more cold and more calculating."^[347]

Terry definitely didn't seem "level-headed" when he went to court to answer the lawsuit by Chase. He refused to come before the bench, shouting to Judge Donald Teeple from the back of the room that the court had no jurisdiction over him. During the hearing, the bitter and

sarcastic defendant accused the bank of fraud. "They knowingly and willingly know how to make credit out of nothing and make interest on it and actually steal people's hard earned money," he told the Judge. "They gave me valueless nothing for something they want to take from me that has value. That's not right, is it?"

He claimed to have determined that the bank's business was based upon "fraud and misrepresentation, collusion, color of law, conspiracy, enticement, inducement, seduction, duress, coercion, mistake [and] bankruptcy," and he filed a counterclaim against First Deposit and its attorneys for \$50,000 or 14,200 ounces of silver. Nichols charged the bank with "mental and emotional damage, loss of happiness and the unjust destroying of credit history... by wanton acts when no probable cause existed."^[348]

The judge was not impressed. He accused Nichols of playing with words and ordered him to pay the debt. Nichols didn't pay.

When FBI agents questioned Lana Padilla after Nichols' arrest, they asked her a curious question: Did Nichols ever dye his hair? The Bureau had been investigating a string of bank robberies throughout the Midwest. One of the robbers had dyed his hair, and was Nichols height and weight.

The group, known as the Midwest Bank Bandits, had robbed over a quarter-of-a-million dollars from more than 22 banks between January, 1994 and December, 1995 in a spree that took them across six states, including Kansas. The bandits were tied to a group of men who made their temporary home at Elohim City, a far-Right religious compound in Southeastern Oklahoma. McVeigh and his friend Michael Fortier were known to have visited the compound. Some of the men were also seen in Kansas with the bombing defendants. (See Chapter 4)

If the FBI's question came as a shock to Padilla, she would turn pale when she opened her ex-husband's storage locker on December 15, 1994, and discovered wigs, masks, and pantyhose. The Mid-West Bank Bandits had worn masks.

Could Nichols have been robbing banks? "Not the Terry I knew," said Padilla. "I was just speculating, but everything that has come out about that side of Terry was a total... maybe I just turned my face and never noticed it, never wanted to notice it, but... I never thought of him... of course I never would have thought of him sleeping with a gun under him either."^[349]

Yet considering Nichols' hatred of banks and his rallying cry against the monetary system, it would not be too far-fetched a scenario. Such speculation is bolstered by the fact that McVeigh sent his sister a letter in December of '93 informing her that he was part of a group that had been robbing banks. Although he himself didn't admit to taking part in any of the robberies, he asked her to "launder" three \$100 bills that "they" had stolen.

McVeigh returned to Decker, Michigan in the Spring of 1993 to see his old Army friend Nichols. Just back from Waco, where he had witnessed the carnage inflicted upon the Branch Davidians, McVeigh was instilled with a new sense of urgency and rage. At the Nichols farm, he would find like-minded souls who shared his frustration.

By the Fall of '93, McVeigh was living at the farmhouse, helping with the chores, and reportedly urging the Nichols brothers onto more militant activities. The men practiced target shooting and setting off small bombs on the property.

"You know how little boys like to play with things that blow up?" recalled [neighbor Phil] Morawski. "That was what they were like. And everything they mixed out there in the cornfields seemed to work."

The government would focus heavily on this activity later on.

According to Michigan Militia members, the Nichols brothers also began attending meetings, but the militia found their rhetoric too strong. Michigan Militia member John Simpson recalled: "Terry came to one of our meetings and wanted to talk about a tax revolt, having to have a drivers license and eliminating the government. We did not believe in his tactics — particularly the stuff about a revolt."^[350] James reportedly talked about the "necessity" of taking on police officers, judges and lawyers. Apparently, McVeigh accompanied Nichols to some of the meetings.

According to *Time* magazine, McVeigh and the Nichols brothers went on to organize their own militia:

...the three men formed their own cell of the "Patriots," a self-styled paramilitary group that James Nichols had been affiliated with since 1992 when he began attending meetings in a nearby town. The trio decided to recruit members and establish other cells around the area, but determined that for security reasons no unit should grow larger than eight members.^[351]

If this account is accurate, it would tend to jive with what Nichols told Army buddy Glen "Tex" Edwards about "recruiting" his own private army. Perhaps one of Nichols' recruits was Craig O'Shea, who lived just off Highway 77 in Herrington. A friend of Nichols who was kicked out of the service, O'Shea used to work for Barbara Whittenberg, who owns the Sante Fe Trail Diner in Herrington. Whittenberg described O'Shea as a "demolitions expert," and said she saw him occasionally with Nichols. "He's a very violent man," said Whittenberg, who said O'Shea had once threatened to kill her and her husband.^[352]

In March of '94, Nichols took a job at the Donahue ranch in Marion, Kansas.

Co-worker Tim Donahue recalled that Nichols worked long hours, sometimes six days a week, without complaint and appeared to enjoy his job, which he did well. Nichols would grouse about taxes and the government conspiring to seize people's firearms. One day when Nichols and Donahue were talking about the use of fertilizer in farming, Nichols mentioned that he knew how to make a bomb.^[353]

Four months later, in August of '94, Nichols gave Donahue 30 days notice. His dream of setting up a private army metamorphosed into simply supplying that army. He told Donahue he was going into the army surplus business with a friend. On September 30, that friend — Timothy McVeigh — showed up to help him pack.

It was during this period that his ex-wife began picking up strange signals from her former husband.

Earlier in the month, he had called her from Kansas. "He was very upset," she said. "He was very emphatic. He talked about Waco and that shooting at the White House (where a Colorado Springs man fired a gun toward the White House). He said, 'You know, that guy wasn't all wrong. There's going to be some civil unrest in this country.'"^[354]

During one of his frequent visits to Padilla's house in Las Vegas, Nichols displayed his Glock .45. "I never knew him to carry a gun," Padilla told the *Denver Post*. "He liked guns and collected them, but this was new. He acted like he was afraid for his life. He slept with it on."^[355]

Traveling the gun show circuit with McVeigh, Nichols was now a virtual nomad, living out of his pick-up. His few remaining possessions were stored in a locker in Las Vegas. He also told Padilla that he was switching the beneficiary of his life insurance policy from her to his new wife, Marife.

A 17-year-old Filipino mail-order bride, Marife Torres met Nichols through Paradise Shelton Tours, of Scottsdale, Arizona. The young woman looked forward to leaving her life of poverty in Cebu City, Philippines, where the unemployment rate often topped 40 percent. After a year of exchanging heartfelt letters, they married on November 20, 1990 in a small restaurant in Cebu City. Yet it took over four months of bureaucratic hassles and red tape to arrange Marife's entry into the U.S.

"That one episode soured Terry on government," his father recalled. "He originally told me it would take six weeks for her to come here... but it was red tape, red tape, red tape."

At first the newlyweds tried life on the Decker farm, where Jason, Marife's son by a former boyfriend, was born on September 21, 1991. Yet Marife found herself "working like a maid," cooking and cleaning for "three husbands," Terry, James, and Tim, who often stayed at the house. She wrote her friend Vilma Eulenberg that she thought the place was haunted, and resented McVeigh, who she thought was a bad influence on her husband.

The couple eventually moved to warm, sunny Las Vegas, but Marife missed her Philippine home. To accommodate his new wife, Nichols moved to Cebu City. But the noise, heat and smog was too much for him, and in mid-1993, after barely a month in the Philippines, they moved back to the States, shuttling back and forth between Michigan and Nevada.

Nicole, their first common child, was born on August 1, 1993.

Two months later, on November 22, tragedy struck, when 26-month-old Jason accidentally suffocated to death in a plastic bag. While Marife wondered if Terry was capable of killing a child, Padilla assured her he was not, then hinted darkly in her book that McVeigh may have been responsible for the death. She neglected to mention the fact that McVeigh and James had tried to revive the youngster for nearly half-an-hour, then called the paramedics.

A month later, the couple moved to Las Vegas, where they rented a condominium for \$550 a month. It was during this period that Marife began traveling to the Philippines to finish her physical therapy degree. According to Padilla, Terry also traveled to the Philippines about four times a year over a four year period. She wrote that he sometimes traveled to Cebu City without taking Marife, whom he occasionally left behind.

"Sometimes he went when Marife was in Kansas. It didn't make sense, but I never asked why."^[356]

Padilla subsequently told me in July of 1996, "I have not known him to leave her here and just go to the Philippines. If he made a trip by himself, it was because she was already there."^[357]

Whichever account is true, Nichols did travel to Cebu City in late November to meet with "potential business partners." According to Padilla, Nichols was making arrangements to bring back "butterflies."

"One time he brought back butterflies — little butterflies that they make over there — he brought them back here to sell."^[358]

Butterflies. Curious merchandise for a man trying to set himself up in the military surplus business.^[359]

Then on November 22, 1994 Nichols made a final visit to the Philippines to visit Marife. His parting words to Josh left the 12-year old convinced he was never going to see his dad again. As he got into the car with Padilla after dropping his father off at the airport, he started crying.

"What's the matter?" Padilla asked.

"I'm never going to see my dad again. I'm never going to see my dad again."

"Of course you will," Padilla said reassuringly. "He's gone to the Philippines a lot of times. You know he always comes back."

"This time is different," he blurted through big tears.^[360]

Nichols called his ex-wife from Los Angeles several hours later. "Had a little excitement at the airport after you left," he said, laughing. He told Padilla that airport security had stopped him for trying to sneak a pair of stun guns through the metal detector. They called the cop on duty who ran Nichols' name through the computer. Although he had several outstanding traffic warrants, the police let him continue on his way.

Just why was Nichols attempting to carry stun guns on an international flight? According to Bob Papovich, Terry was afraid of the high crime rate in poverty-stricken Cebu City. He also said that Nichols was afraid of Marife's ex-boyfriend. Jason, her son by this man, had died while in Nichols' custody. The ex-boyfriend had allegedly threatened to kill him should he return.

Yet Padilla doesn't think the story is credible. "I think it's something they dreamed up," she said. Yet upon his return he told Padilla that he could get "killed down there" and he was never going back.^[361]

Obviously, somebody was out to hurt Terry Nichols, possibly kill him. When he departed for Cebu City, he left a mysterious package for his ex-wife, saying, "If I'm not back in 60 days, open it and follow the instructions." At first, Padilla did as she was told. But her instincts eventually took over.

"I was uneasy about his warning, and Josh's, 'I'll never see my dad again' kept echoing in my brain."^[362]

Padilla had secured the package in her office safe. Now she slipped quietly into the conference room, opened the lock, and laid the mysterious brown paper bag on the table. It stared ominously back at her. As she ripped it open, nearly a dozen keys slid out onto the table. She didn't recognize any of them.

There was Terry's life insurance policy with a note saying he had changed the beneficiary from her to Marife, and two handwritten lists saying "Read and Do Immediately." One of the lists directed her to a storage locker in Las Vegas:

All items in storage are for Joshua. The round items are his when he turns 21, all else now....

The note also instructed her to remove a small plastic bag taped behind a utensil drawer in Nichols' kitchen:

All items in plastic bag are to be sent to Marife, for Nicole, if for any reason my life insurance doesn't pay her. Otherwise, half goes to Josh and half to Marife.

She removed a letter to McVeigh's sister, Jennifer. Inside the letter to Jennifer was another one stamped and addressed to McVeigh:

Tim:

If you should receive this letter, then clear everything out of CG 37 by 01 Feb 95 or pay to keep it longer, under Ted Parker of Decker. This letter has been written & sealed before I left (21 Nov 94) and being mailed by Lana as per my instructions to her in writing. This is all she knows. It would be a good idea to write or call her to verify things. [address redacted] Just ask for Lana (card enclosed). Your on your own. Go for it!!

Terry

Also Liquidate 40

At the bottom it read, "As far as I know, this letter would be for the purpose of my death."

"Why would he write that letter?" asked Padilla. "He has been there so many times. Never — ever, has he written a letter like that. Never — ever."^[363]

Two weeks later, on December 15, Padilla and her oldest son, Barry, drove to Nichols' apartment. Following Nichols' instructions, Barry reached behind the kitchen drawer and pulled out a plastic bag. It was crammed full of twenties and hundreds — a total of \$20,000 cash.

Already in a state of shock, the pair drove to the AAAABCO storage facility and nervously fumbled with the lock. They were stunned when they opened the door.

...there were wigs, masks, panty hose, freeze-dried food, and various gold coins (obviously the "round" objects for Josh), along with gold bars and silver bullion stacked neatly in boxes. There were also some small green stones that appeared to be jade. I estimated at least \$60,000 street value in precious metals!^[364]

There was also a large ring with what appeared to be safe deposit box keys.

Two months later, on January 16, Nichols returned from the Philippines, alive and well. "Where's the package?" he asked Padilla.

"I opened it," she stated boldly.

"Why?!" he exclaimed. "You betrayed my trust. I told you not to open it for sixty days."

"Because I was frightened. I thought something terrible had happened to you. I thought you were dead. And where did you get all that money?"

The couple then argued over finances, but Nichols wouldn't explain the mysterious letters, or where he had gotten the cash, the gold, and the safe deposit box keys. She didn't ask about the wigs, the masks, and the pantyhose, and he didn't tell her. But she was worried nonetheless.

"I think those letters were written because there is somebody bigger than any of us will ever know involved in this," said Padilla. "Why did he change his beneficiary on his life insurance? It wasn't because her boyfriend might take a pot-shot at him... and then he said in that letter not to say a word to Josh until it's all taken care of... what the hell is he talking about? It isn't the boyfriend."^[365]

If the boyfriend story is untrue, perhaps Nichols' "butterfly" partners were out to get him.

Or perhaps it was someone else, someone bigger and more dangerous. Such players aren't hard to come by in Cebu City, home to a number of terrorists groups such as the Liberation Army of the Philippines, the Communist Huk, and the Abu Sayyaf, an organization with close ties to the Mujahadeen and World Trade Center bomber Ramzi Yousef.

Was Nichols meeting with terrorists in the Philippines? Incredibly, FBI 302 reports and investigations conducted by McVeigh's defense team indicate that Yousef, Abdul Hakim Murad, Wali Khan Amin Shah, and several other terrorists met in Davao, on the Island of Mindanao, in late 1992 or early 1993, to discuss the Oklahoma City bombing plot.

One of the men at the meeting, recalled an Abu Sayyaf leader, introduced himself as "a farmer."^[366]

When the "farmer" returned from his November, 1994 trip, and discovered that Padilla had opened the package and read the letter, he turned "white as a ghost," then immediately began making a series of desperate calls to a boarding house in Cebu City.

Curiously, Nichols would call his party, have a brief 34-second conversation, then hang up and immediately redial the number 14 consecutive times, letting it ring each time. This he repeated on January 31, with nine calls and one 14-minute conversation; then on February 14 he placed 22 calls within a 40-minute time-period, with one 23-minute conversation; then on the 28th he made 31 calls within three hours, with no conversations; then finally on March 7 and 14 he made two calls, speaking 24 minutes each.^[367]

Since Nichols didn't time-out these consecutive calls (as one would tend to do if there was no answer or the line were busy), but made one call right after the other, is it possible he was sending some sort of signal or code?^[368]

Helen Malaluan, who runs the boarding house, told me Nichols was probably trying to reach Marife, who she said was staying there at the time. Her brother Ernesto also said that boarders from the island of Mindanao often stayed at the house. The Abu Sayyaf, coincidentally, is headquartered in Mindanao. Was Nichols using Marife to send a message to someone else?

In February of '95, Terry and Marife moved to Herrington, Kansas, where Nichols purchased a modest home for \$25,000.

"We all thought he was just a little bit different," Herrington real estate agent Georgia Rucker said. "We had to pry any information out of him."^[369]

In Herrington, Nichols appeared to settle down. He attended army surplus auctions at nearby Fort Riley and tried to make a living selling

army surplus gear.

"He spent the morning of April 19, around Herrington, picking up business cards, registering his truck with the state, and calling on a couple of local shops, asking about their interest in buying government surplus," said Padilla. "Those are not the actions of a guilty man."^[370]

But are they?

On September 30, the same day that Nichols quit the Donahue ranch, someone using the name "Mike Havens" purchased 40 50-pound bags of ammonium nitrate from the Mid-Kansas Co-op in McPhearson. Although employees never positively identified Nichols as the customer, a receipt with McVeigh's fingerprint was found in Nichols' home. The FBI asserts that the fertilizer was kept in a storage shed in nearby Herrington, rented by Nichols under the alias "Shawn Rivers."^[371]

Then, that same weekend, 299 dynamite sticks, 544 blasting caps, detonator cord, and a quantity of an explosive called Tovex were stolen from the Martin Marietta Aggregates rock quarry just north of Marion. Marion County Sheriff Ed Davies testified at McVeigh's trial that he found metal shavings and tumblers on the ground in front of the magazines. FBI Agent James Cadigal, an FBI firearms and tool marks identification specialist, said that a drill bit in Nichols' home matched the signature of the hole drilled into the lock.

Finally, Lori Fortier, Michael Fortier's wife, testified that McVeigh told them that he and Nichols had broken into the quarry.^[372]

On October 18, 1994, 40 additional 50-pound bags of ammonium nitrate were purchased from the Mid-Kansas Co-op by "Havens." Havens was reportedly driving a dark-colored pickup with a light-colored camper top — the kind owned by Terry Nichols. (Another version of the story has a red trailer attached to the truck, which didn't appear to be Nichols') The FBI believed the fertilizer was stored in a locker in Council Grove — number 40 — rented the previous day by "Joe Kyle." This apparently was the "liquidate 40" that Nichols referred to in his mysterious note to McVeigh.

Jennifer McVeigh later testified that when her brother visited Lockport in November of '94, he confided to her that he had been driving around with 1,000 pounds of explosives. Could these "explosives" have been the ammonium nitrate purchased at the Mid-Kansas Co-op?

Then on November 5, 1994, several masked men robbed gun dealer Roger Moore. The 60-year-old Moore was surprised by two men carrying shotguns, wearing camouflage fatigues and black ski masks, who bound him with duct tape. They proceeded to ransack his house, making off with a large collection of weapons, plus a number of gold and silver bars, and a safe deposit box key.

Interestingly, Moore (AKA: Bob Anderson) knew McVeigh, who once stayed at his house. Moore had met McVeigh at a gun show in Florida in 1995.

For his part, McVeigh had a solid alibi. He was in Kent, Ohio on November 5, at a gun show. Yet after the bombing, Fortier reportedly told the FBI that McVeigh called him after the robbery and said, "Nichols got Bob!" Some of the guns were later pawned by Fortier at the behest of McVeigh, according to the FBI, which contends that the proceeds were used to finance the bombing.

Interestingly, Nichols was seen in Sedalia, Missouri on February 10 and 11, the same weekend that gun dealer William Mueller was robbed. Mueller's Tilly, Arkansas home, 150 miles south of Sedalia, was burglarized of \$40,000 worth of silver coins, gun parts, survival gear, and 30 cases of ammunition.

What makes this even more interesting is that Nichols had checked into the Motel Memory the evening of February 10, after a long drive from Kansas, telling owner Phillip Shaw he was there for the gun show. Yet Nichols had missed the first day of the two-day show.

The next morning, while Nichols was apparently at the show, Shaw's wife Betty opened his room and saw dozens of boxes of ammunition scattered across the floor. The presence of such a large quantity of ammunition puzzled local investigators, who knew there was too small a profit margin in legally-purchased ammo for gun show dealers to bother messing with it. Moreover, if Nichols *had* planned on selling the ammunition, why had he left so much of it in his room?

Tragically, Mueller, his wife, and their 8-year-old daughter, Sarah, were found murdered on June 28, 1996. Their bodies were by pulled from the Illinois Bayou after a fisherman discovered a portion of a leg. The family had been handcuffed, their heads covered with plastic bags wrapped with duct tape. They were found in 20 feet of water, tied to a heavy rock.

Unaccounted for was some \$50,000 the *Arkansas Gazette* reported the Muellers were believed to have received only days before they disappeared.

While Timothy McVeigh had known Roger Moore, his friend Michael Brescia, and *his* friend and roommate Andy Strassmeir had met Bill Mueller at a Fort Smith, Arkansas gun show earlier that year. As reported in the *McCurtain Gazette*:

...Mueller then told [Gene] Wergis that he remembered the two because he believed they might be connected with his home's burglary — or even the ATF. Wergis also reported that Mueller showed him a spiral notebook where the exhibitor had gone so far — so great was his

concern — as to write down the two men's names.^[373]

Both Brescia and Strassmeir, who also knew McVeigh, lived at Elohim City, the white separatist compound near Muldrow, Oklahoma. Two other part-time residents of Elohim City, 24 year-old Chevie Kehoe and his brother Cheyne, opened fired on police during a traffic stop in February of '97. The pair was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in Little Rock on murder, racketeering and conspiracy charges, stemming from the Mueller murder.

Guns stolen from the Muellers wound up at a Spokane, Washington motel. The manager told the FBI that he is 75 percent certain that McVeigh visited his motel in late '94 or early '95 when Chevie Kehoe was living there. He said that Kehoe showed up 45 minutes before the April 19 bombing with a request to watch CNN, and seemed elated when he learned of the tragedy.^[374]

Michael Brescia was later arrested for his alleged role in the robbery of a Madison, Wisconsin bank — part of the string of robberies committed by the Mid-West Bank Bandits. As previously mentioned, some of the robbers made their temporary homes at Elohim City.

After the bombing, the FBI questioned Padilla about the items found in Nichols' home and storage lockers. Among those items were large quantities of ammunition and a safe deposit box key belonging to Roger Moore. As of this writing it is not known whether the FBI traced the ammo to Mueller.

Also found in Nichols' home, according to ATF Agent Larry Tongate, were 33 firearms, five roles of 60-foot Primadet detonator cord, non-electric blasting caps, containers of ammonium nitrate, a fuel-meter, and four 55-gallon blue and white plastic drums.

Not exactly the everyday stuff of an ordinary guy from a small town in Kansas.

Similar items were found in James Nichols' farm, including blasting caps, safety fuses, ammonium nitrate, and diesel fuel. Nichols, who was taken into custody the same day as his brother, denied any wrongdoing, and authorities dropped all charges. As for his brother, he commented, "My gut feeling. I didn't do anything. He didn't do anything." When asked by a reporter, "How about Timothy McVeigh? he replied, "I want to see some facts."

Yet the facts against Terry seemed to be piling up.

On April 15, 1995, Barbara Whittenberg served breakfast to three men at the Sante Fe Trail Diner: Terry Nichols, Tim McVeigh, and a third man with dark features. She also recalled seeing a Ryder truck outside, and asked the men where they were headed. Suddenly, she said, it was "as if ice water was thrown on the conversation."^[375]

The men left before 7:00 a.m. Later that afternoon, as Whittenberg and her son were driving to nearby Junction City, they saw the truck parked at Geary State Fishing Lake — where authorities originally claimed the bomb was mixed. The truck was still there when they drove past around 3:00 or 4:00 p.m. Whittenberg's son recalled seeing three men along with what he described as a Thunderbird with Arizona tags.

Later that day Nichols visited a Conoco station in Manhattan, Kansas, and a Coastal Mart in Junction City, and bought over 30 gallons of diesel fuel. Nichols' pick-up has a diesel motor, according to his brother, and Nichols' had been a regular diesel customer for over two months prior to the bombing, according to Shan Woods of Klepper Oil Co., purchasing between \$20 to \$30 worth of diesel fuel "two or three times a week." Receipts were again found in his home.^[376]

The next day, Nichols purchased an additional 21 gallons from the Junction City Conoco station.

Then, on the evening of April 17, 1995, a Ryder truck was seen parked behind Nichols Herrington home. A Ryder truck was seen that same week backed up to a storage shed that Nichols rented.

On the morning of the 18th, several witnesses again saw the Ryder truck parked at Geary Lake. Parked next to appeared to be Nichols' pick-up. When the FBI subsequently inspected the area, they allegedly recovered bits of ammonium nitrate and strands of detonator cord, and saw signs of diesel fuel.

That same day, or possibly the day before, a convoy pulled in for gas at the Easy Mart in Newkirk, 100 miles north of Oklahoma City. It was a Ryder truck accompanied by a blue pick-up with a camper top. Manager Jerri-Lynn Backhous recalled seeing three men. The passenger in the pick-up was dark skinned with black hair, average height, and had a "real muscular build," she said. He was wearing a t-shirt and sunglasses, and "looked just like the John Doe 2 sketch."^[377]

Backhous also saw a reflection of the person in the Ryder truck. He was a short man with close cropped, dark hair and glasses, she said. Employee Dorinda J. "Wendy" Hermes waited on the third man — Terry Lynn Nichols — who came into the store and bought food for the others. Hermes particularly recalled Nichols' pick-up. "It caught me funny because it had street tires on it, but it was all muddy," she said.^[378]

But perhaps most interesting was the recollection of Nichols' son Josh, who accompanied McVeigh and his father on the ride back to Kansas that Sunday. McVeigh asserts that he called Nichols from Oklahoma City because his car had broken down, and asked Nichols to pick him

up. On the way back, according to Josh, McVeigh made his infamously cryptic remark: "Something big is going to happen."

Nichols reportedly asked him, "What, are you going to rob a bank?"

"Something big is going to happen," McVeigh stoically replied.

A curious statement. If McVeigh and Nichols had conspired to bomb the Murrah Building, wouldn't Nichols *already know* that "something big" was going to happen?

Or was the statement invented by Nichols to exculpate himself from the plot in the eyes of investigators? Given the fact that the statement was relayed to the FBI by Nichols' 12-year-old son, this seems unlikely.

And if Nichols *was* involved in the plot, there is evidence that in November of '94 he wanted out. Among the documents prosecutors handed over to the defense is testimony from Lori Fortier that McVeigh began to solicit help from her husband because Nichols was "expressing reluctance."

It should be noted however that the FBI and the "Justice" Department is infamous for framing people, and they brought enormous pressure on the Fortiers, threatening them with knowledge of a terrorist plot, weapons violations and other charges if they did not testify against Nichols and McVeigh. Federal prosecutors subsequently coached Lori Fortier heavily before McVeigh's trial, having her practice her testimony in two mock trials.

Yet if Nichols had no involvement in the plot, what was he doing with large quantities of ammonium nitrate, blasting caps, detonator cord, and a collection of 55-gallon drums? Why the purchases of diesel fuel? Were these items planted by the FBI?

If Nichols was involved in the bombing, why didn't he make any attempt to hide or dispose of these incriminating items before April 19, or even by the 22nd? Why would a man, who had allegedly just blown up a building, killing 169 people, plainly leave a receipt for the so-called bomb ingredient in his kitchen drawer?

In fact, Nichols didn't attempt to hide any of these items, before he casually walked into the local police station on April 22, after hearing his name on TV. Such do not seem like the actions of an intelligent, calculating, cold-blooded killer.

But, then there were the mysterious trips to the Philippines. Those trips, and Nichols' clandestine meetings with some mysterious players in Las Vegas, would begin to intrigue a handful of journalists and investigators, as the Oklahoma City bombing plot took them down an even darker and more insidious road.

Millar's Rent-A-Nazi

Authorities have postulated that McVeigh's "obsession with Waco," and Nichols' hatred of the Federal Government were the driving forces that led them to bomb the Federal Building. Their alleged association with militias and other paramilitary groups, authorities claimed, was the key influence that guided them along their sinister path to their final, vicious act of revenge.

These numerous pseudo-experts also theorized that McVeigh himself was inspired by the *Turner Diaries*, written by former physics professor William Pierce. In this fictionalized account of white race-warriors' overthrow of the Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG), the "heroes" demolish the FBI building in Washington, D.C. with a fertilizer bomb at precisely 9:00 a.m.

The idea for bombing a federal facility is hardly new. In the mid-1970s Oklahoma resident Harawese Moore was convicted of planting an incendiary device outside both the Federal Courthouse and the Alfred P. Murrah Building — a case, coincidentally, defended by Stephen Jones.

In 1983, members of the Covenant, Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), a white supremacist group based in northern Arkansas, planned to truck-bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Building. In 1988, former CSA leader James Ellison turned states' evidence and testified that CSA member Richard Wayne Snell and others had participated in the plot. Snell was bitter toward the government, Ellison claimed, because the IRS and FBI had seized his property.

Other defendants included Richard Girnt Butler, chief of the Aryan Nations; Robert E. Miles, a former Ku Klux Klansman; and Louis Beam, Jr., former Grand Dragon of the Texas Ku Klux Klan, and Aryan Nations "Ambassador at Large" — who led a campaign of terror against Vietnamese-American fisherman.^[379]

Ellison, who fancied himself "King James," was surrounded at his CSA compound near the Missouri-Arkansas border on the prophetic date of April 19 (ten years to the day of the Oklahoma City bombing), leading to a four-day standoff against 200 heavily-armed agents. Ellison later testified at his sedition trial that at Snell's request, he had cased several buildings, including the Alfred P. Murrah Building.

"He took me to some of the buildings and asked me to go in the building and check the building out," Ellison said. According to his testimony, rocket launchers were to be "placed in a trailer or a van so that it could be driven up to a given spot, parked there, and a timed detonation device could be triggered so that the driver could walk away and leave the vehicle set in position and he would have time to clear the area before any of the rockets launched."^[380]

Ellison would later deny this. Yet on October 22, 1996, the Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) played a clip of Ellison, where the former CSA leader admitted his involvement in the plot:

Ellison: ...Wayne Snell had been... had made a trip to Oklahoma City, and Wayne came back and told me about different buildings that he had seen, wanted to know if I would look at them with him sometime. And Steve talked to me and gave me a description of these buildings and asked me to design a rocket launcher that could be used to destroy these buildings from a distance... heavy, large buildings.

In the CBC piece, former CSA member Kerry Noble states: "I still look at things like this and realize how close we were, and, you know, that this could have been me having done this." The reformed Noble, now a critic of the militant extreme-Right, spoke openly about the plot with CBC's Trish Wood:

Noble: It was one of the targets that we had talked about at [the] CSA in '83. The day it happened, as soon as I heard it on the news, I said, the Right-wing's done it — they finally took that step.

Noble explained that the Murrah Building was a target because it was a low security complex that housed many different federal agencies. He said the plotters thought it would have more effect on the country "than if you did a building, say, in New York City or something."^[381]

Wood: Do you think — and I know this is a guess — that Snell or Ellison told [Reverend Robert] Millar about the early plans to blow up the Murrah Building in Oklahoma City?

Noble: ...I think that probably Millar knew that something major was going to happen. Now, whether he knew the exact details, chances are he probably did not, because he would not want to know specific details at first. But I think he knew something major was going to happen.

Ellison later settled at Elohim City at the behest of Millar, who claims to disavow the bombing. "If I knew something like that was taking place then or today," said the Christian Identity minister, "I'd do everything I could do to prevent it and, if necessary, call in government agents to help stop it."

While all 14 defendants in the original 1983 bombing plot were acquitted, Snell was executed on the ever-prophetic date of April 19, 1995, the very day that the Murrah Building was bombed. Snell was convicted of killing a black state trooper in 1984, and a pawn shop owner he thought was Jewish. While under arrest, Snell called himself a "prisoner of war," precisely what authorities claimed McVeigh said.

Before his death, Snell had time to watch scenes from the bombing on his jail-room TV. Millar, who was with the 64-year-old Snell during his final hours, said he was appalled at the destruction. Yet according to Arkansas prison official Alan Ables, "Snell chuckled and laughed as he watched television coverage of the Oklahoma City disaster."

Both Millar and Snell's wife contend that the convicted murderer was saddened by the bombing. Yet Noble thinks McVeigh was in some way inspired by Snell.

Wood: Did you ever think that it was a coincidence that Tim McVeigh — if, in fact, he did it — chose that building?

Noble: No, I don't think it's any coincidence. When you bring that into account with the declaration of war that we made, the pressure that the older leaders of the groups are putting on the younger followers to do something in a major way before they die — no, it's no coincidence.

Wood: How would McVeigh have known about the earlier plans for the Murrah Building?

Noble: It's very feasible and likely that he would have kept in communication with certain people and said... you know, then if somebody said, well, what would you recommend as a starting place — it's very likely he could have said, well, this is what we had picked out.

Interestingly, Ables told the *Denver Post*, "Snell repeatedly predicted that there would be a bombing or an explosion the day of his death."

Ables: A few days before the execution I began to hear things from the director, the wardens, just talk in the office, that strange things were going on, Snell was talking strangely, he was, you know, making statements that were a little scary... catastrophic events, things were going to happen. This date, April 19th, was going to be something that the governor would regret perhaps.

Snell's parting words before leaving this Earth were, "Look over your shoulder, Governor, justice is coming. I wouldn't trade places with you or any of your cronies. Hell has victory. I am at peace."

Wood: Are those the ravings of a man about to be executed or are they the comments of a man with a plan?

Noble: I think a man with a plan, I think a man who is taking the satisfaction that his death may mean something after all and that it may be the catalyst that puts somebody over the line to do what he himself didn't get the chance to do.^[382]

A similar bomb plot surfaced a year after the Oklahoma City bombing, when Richard Ray Lampley, 65, his wife Cecilia, and friend John Baird were convicted of a plot to bomb the ADL office in Houston, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) in Montgomery, and various gay bars and abortion clinics. Lampley made his intentions known at one of Dennis Mahon's WAR meetings. A former Grand Imperial Dragon of the KKK, and number three man in WAR, the Tulsan was a frequent visitor to Lampley's place, and to Elohim City.

A self-proclaimed "Prophet of God," Lampley claims he was entrapped by Richard Schrum, an FBI informant. Schrum was sent by the Bureau to infiltrate the Oklahoma white separatist compound, but when he found nothing illegal there, he infiltrated Lampley's group instead.

According to defense attorneys, it was Schrum who ran the militia cell to which Lampley belonged, and threatened to leave when it appeared Lampley was wavering. "If anyone formed any kind of conspiracy, it was Richard Schrum," defense lawyer Mark Green said. Defense attorney Warren Gotcher backed up Green, stating "This conspiracy to build a bomb is totally on the orders of Richard Schrum." Schrum told Lampley that he had a brother in the Special Forces at Fort Bragg, NC, who would provide logistic support when the "New World Order" invasion came.^[383]

The bomb, a mixture of homemade C-4, was supposed to be tested at Elohim City.^[384]

Whatever the reality of that case, it provides a unique insight into the characters and players of the white supremacist community of Southeastern Oklahoma — a community that drew to it like a magnet some of the key players of the Oklahoma City bombing conspiracy.

Led by the 71-year-old Millar, Elohim City (Hebrew for "City of God") is a 1,100-acre Christian Identity compound near Muldrow, Oklahoma. Founded in 1973 by the Canadian-born Mennonite, the community is home to approximately 90 residents, about half of whom are direct

descendants of Millar.

Christian Identity adherents believe that white Anglo-Saxons, not Jews, are God's chosen people, being descendants of the 12 lost tribes of Israel, and that America, not Israel, is the Promised Land. This sanctified doctrine also holds that Jews are the spawn of Satan, and non-whites are a "pre-Adamic," sub-species.

Only whites are the "true sovereign citizens" of the Republic, and all others are "Fourteenth Amendment citizens" — the creation of an illegitimate "ZOG." Believers of this odd mix of theology not only believe that the end times are near, but that a great messiah will arise to lead these "holy warriors" in a terrible final battle against the evil ZOG.

Those who monitor Right-wing extremist groups say Millar is probably the most influential Christian Identity leader in the Great Plains.^[385] As Millar explained it:

"We are opposed to governmental misuse of tax money.... We are opposed to some of the actions of government. We're not anti-government... Our people are all self-employed, and we all pay taxes.... "We *are* racist," Millar said, "but we aren't anti-Semitic. I think it's better for races and cultures... to have relationships within their own ethnic group. That doesn't mean isolationism, but it means separatism."^[386]

Yet the group does maintain connections to white supremacist and neo-Nazi organizations, including WAR, the somewhat defunct CSA, and the violent but largely disbanded Order. The Christian Identity adherents also formed alliances with Richard Butler, Christian Identity "minister," and head of the Aryan Nations in Hayden Lake, Idaho. The Hayden Lake compound served as a nexus for white supremacist groups from all over the country, including the KKK, Posse Comitatus, William Pierce's National Alliance, and Robert Mathews' Order. It was Mathews' group, inspired by Pierce's *Turner Diaries*, that went on to commit a string of bank robberies, counterfeiting, bombings, and murder throughout the Mid- and Northwest in the 1980s.^[387]

Amassing between \$2 and \$4 million from robberies and heists of armored cars, the group distributed the proceeds amongst the white supremacist movement. They also purchased land in northern Idaho for paramilitary training, but moved to northern Arkansas, linking up with the CSA when they found the harsh climate unsuitable for their purposes.

The Order's exploits came to an end in November of '84, when Mathews died in a shoot-out with police and federal agents on Whidby Island off the coast of Washington. It's members who managed to escape fled across the country, integrating themselves into different white supremacist groups, or went underground altogether.

Richard Lee Guthrie, Jr., the son of a CIA employee, who was discharged from the Navy for painting a swastika on the side of a ship and threatening superiors, his childhood friend Peter K. Langan, and Shawn Kenny, went on to form the nucleus of a group known as the Midwest Bank Bandits. The group stole more than \$250,000 from 22 banks between January of '94 and December of '95 in a spree that led them across Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri. The four-member group would often wear FBI jackets agents to taunt the Bureau, and create diversions to foil police, including leaving behind inert pipe-bombs to slow pursuit. The bandits even had a macabre sense of humor, wearing a Santa Claus suit during a hold-up around Christmas, and an Easter basket with a gold painted pipe-bomb left inside a bank in Des Moines.

"Wild Bill" Guthrie also admitted to a West Virginia sheriff that he had helped Butler's Aryan Nations raise another quarter million dollars through fraud. Both Guthrie and Langan were regular visitors to the Hayden Lake compound.

The seeds for the mens' dalliance with the paramilitary extreme-Right was sown in 1991, when Shawn Kenny, a friend of Langan and Guthrie, began discussing their plans to further the "cause."

Interestingly, the Secret Service recruited Langan as an informant in August of 1993 to keep an eye on his friend Guthrie, who had made threats against the lives of Presidents Clinton and Bush. Langan was released from his Georgia jail cell (where he was serving time for robbing a Pizza Hut with Guthrie) and set up in a house in Ohio, where he was to assist the Secret Service in locating his old friend. The deal soon went sour.

Secret Service Agent Dick Rathnell summed up the fiasco this way: "Our main interest was to find if there was an interest to harm the President or overthrow the government.... We didn't know they were these bank robbers."^[388]

Langan went south on the Secret Service six weeks later, and soon located his old friend Guthrie. The two set themselves up in a safehouse in Pittsburg, Kansas, from which they were alleged to have launched their notorious crime spree.

In November of '94, Mark Thomas, the local Aryan Nations representative, united the two with others of their kind. Thomas' farm, located rather appropriately next to a toxic waste dump, has been the site of skin-head and neo-Nazi rallies such as White Pride Day and the annual Hitler Youth Festival, where participants enjoyed such wholesome activities as pagan rituals and cross burnings.

Thomas introduced the pair to Pennsylvania native Scott Stedford, a rock musician and artist, and Kevin McCarthy, a bassist in a white-power band named "Day of the Sword." Thomas was instrumental in helping the men form an alliance which they would call the Aryan

Republican Army (ARA).

Taking the moniker of "Commander Pedro," Langan became the group's leader. According to testimony provided by Kenny at Stedeford's trial, Langan boasted that the gang was modeled after The Order.

"Learn from Bob [Mathews]," Langan is heard saying on a home-made recruitment video. "Learn from his mistakes. Study your enemy. Study his methods."^[389]

The Pennsylvania Posse Comitatus leader would also introduce Stedeford and McCarthy to Michael Brescia, a Philadelphia native and rock musician who would go on to form a speed metal band with McCarthy and Stedeford, called "Cyanide." The rock 'n roll bank robbers decided to recruit the 24-year-old La Salle University student after planning the heist of a large bank in Madison, Wisconsin, which the trio robbed on August 30, 1995.

The three men came to know "Grandpa Millar" at Elohim City courtesy of Thomas, and Brescia was soon engaged to Millar's granddaughter, Ester. Brescia wound up living at the reclusive compound for two years. It was there that he would meet his new roommate, Andreas Karl Strassmeir, the mysterious German who settled there in 1991. It was also at Elohim City that Brescia would meet Timothy McVeigh. As ATF informant Carol Elizabeth Howe recalled:

"Sometime before Christmas [of 1994] a lot of guys showed up at EC (Elohim City). One that I recall was Tim [McVeigh], who I only knew as Tim Tuttle. He was there with a guy who used the name Fontaine, a person I now recognize as Mike Fortier."

Referring to McVeigh, she said, "I never even spoke to him. He was considered a 'good soldier' by the members of the ARA, but not a leader; he was just someone you sent out on jobs, because he was reliable."^[390]

Were McVeigh and Nichols involved in bank robberies? Had the robberies financed the bombing? It was a question that has disturbed Nichols' ex-wife Lana Padilla, who discovered masks, nylon stockings, and wigs in her former spouse's storage locker. Nichols was known as a vehement critic of the banking system, had been on the losing end of a large credit card lawsuit, and had declared the Federal Reserve corrupt.

McVeigh himself sent his sister Jennifer three \$100 bills, telling her they were the proceeds from a bank robbery. While there was no proof that the pair had actually participated, authorities would ponder the significance of the associations. As the *Gazette* writes:

A reliable source familiar with the investigation confirmed that admitted co-conspirator Michael Fortier told the FBI that ex-army buddy Tim McVeigh said in February 1995 that he (McVeigh) was going to Colorado to join "The Order."^[391]

Interestingly, what is not known is just where McVeigh was on the days immediately before and immediately after 11 of the robberies.

What is known is that Brescia, Strassmeir, and McVeigh became friends, attending gun shows, traveling the white supremacist circuit, and crashing high-school parties in Kansas, not far from Terry Nichols' house. Neighbors recalled seeing men who fit the general description of McVeigh and John Doe 2 at Nichols' Herrington home.

For his part, Strassmeir claims he'd "never been in Kansas," then admitted, "...well, once, driving through."^[392]

Catina Lawson's roommate, Lindsay Johnson, dated Brescia, and Lawson was close friends with McVeigh. Both she and Lawson recalled seeing Strassmeir, Brescia, McVeigh and Fortier at the Kansas parties around the Summer of '92. The young women allegedly referred to the handsome young Brescia as "Mike Breezy."

It is Brescia, some investigators claim, who is the mysterious John Doe 2 originally sought by the FBI. Bombing victim Glenn Wilburn, along with investigator J.D. Cash, learned of Brescia's relationship to Strassmeir and McVeigh after talking to people at Elohim City and others in the white supremacist underground. The family filed a \$30 million lawsuit against McVeigh, which includes Strassmeir, and named Brescia as John Doe 2.

Robert Millar insists that Brescia, who is engaged to Millar's granddaughter, is not John Doe 2, but simply a "cleancut, college type boy."^[393]

Yet several witnesses in Kansas claimed that Brescia closely matches the FBI's wanted sketch. Like John Doe 2, Brescia has a tattoo on his left arm. Curiously though, Brescia's tattoo is circular — a cross inside a wheel — the emblem of the Aryan Nations. The tattoo seen by Mike Moroz and other witnesses on John Doe 2 more closely resembled a dragon, an anchor, or a snake. But then again, according to numerous witnesses, there is more than one John Doe 2.

While Brescia's connection to Elohim City centered around his relationship with Ester, it was Strassmeir who was his roommate. A German national, the 38-year-old Strassmeir is the son of Günter Strassmeir, former Parliamentary Secretary of State to German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Strassmeir's uncle is in the German parliament, and his brother Alexander sits on the Berlin City Council. Like Langan, Strassmeir's father also reportedly has connections to the CIA.

Andreas served as a lieutenant in the German Panzer Grenadiers (the equivalent of our Special Forces), had formal military intelligence training, and did a stint as a liaison officer with the Welsh Guards. He told the *London Sunday Telegraph* that part of his work was to detect infiltration by Warsaw Pact agents, and then feed them disinformation. "If we caught a guy, we'd offer him amnesty. We'd turn him and use him to feed false information back to the Warsaw Pact."^[394] While Strassmeir would not admit it, it is reported that he is an agent for the German national anti-terrorist police, the GSG-9.^[395]

"Andy the German," as he became known, arrived in the U.S. in May of 1991, without being documented by the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service), and lived on a credit card provided by sources unknown. He soon became Elohim City's Director of Security.^[396]

According to Strassmeir, his path crossed McVeigh's at a Tulsa gun show in April of '93. Strassmeir stopped by McVeigh's table and bought a few military souvenirs and discussed events at Waco. He then gave McVeigh his card bearing the inscription "Elohim City." In an interview in *Soldier of Fortune*, Strassmeir professed never to have heard of McVeigh, though he later recanted his story for the *Telegraph*. "I met the guy once at a gun show," he said. "We spoke for five minutes, that's all."^[397]

It would seem the relationship goes deeper than that however. Strassmeir reportedly met McVeigh again at the first anniversary of the Waco massacre in April of '94. And according to journalist William Jasper, sources close to the investigation revealed that McVeigh visited Elohim City on at least 20 occasions. Traffic records show McVeigh was stopped for speeding on October 12, 1993, two miles north of Cederville, Arkansas, less than 10 miles from Elohim City, on a remote road leading to the compound. ATF informant Carol Howe also recalled seeing McVeigh and Fortier at Elohim City during the winter of '94.

Yet possibly the most revealing connection surfaced in the form of two phone calls, one placed by McVeigh from the Imperial Motel in Kingman, Arizona to Strassmeir on April 5, just two weeks before the bombing. It was just minutes after McVeigh had allegedly called Junction City to reserve the Ryder truck. According to Millar's daughter-in-law Joan, who answered the phone, the caller asked to speak to "Andy." Andy wasn't in. McVeigh left a message saying, "Tell Andy I'll be coming through."

Robert Millar, Elohim City's "spiritual leader," claimed ignorance of McVeigh or the phone call.^[398] He later recanted his story.

Then one day before the bombing, McVeigh called Strassmeir's U.S. attorney, Kirk Lyons, looking for Andy. Not finding him there, he engaged Lyon's assistant, Dave Holloway, in a 15-minute conversation about Waco, Lyons claims, and the need to "send a message to the government." It seemed McVeigh also needed to send a message to Strassmeir.

For his part Strassmeir claims McVeigh never visited Elohim City. "I don't know why McVeigh was trying to contact me," he said.

Catina Lawson, who was close friends with McVeigh for two years, remembers seeing Strassmeir at the Junction City parties. "He was just someone you'd see every once in a while," said Lawson, who, along with friends, would meet and party with the soldiers from nearby Fort Riley. "He was tall, skinny and pale, with crooked teeth and sunken eyes surrounded by dark circles. And he had this accent...."^[399]

Larry Wild and his wife Kathy also recall seeing Strassmeir on one of their fishing trips to Cameron Springs Lake, near Fort Riley. The Wilds remember seeing Strassmeir with two other men with an old Ryder truck one week before the bombing. Just who those two other men were they couldn't say. Wild did recall speaking with Strassmeir though. "I said, 'Your dialect is really different. Are you a soldier?' He said, 'No.' I said, 'Do you work for the government?' He just kind of laughed."

Yet still more witnesses recall seeing the two men together. At least five dancers recall seeing McVeigh, Nichols, Brescia, and Strassmeir at Lady Godiva's, a strip joint in Tulsa, which the men visited on April 8, 1995. In an interview with CBC's Trish Wood, the dancers, who wish to remain anonymous, were "positive" of Strassmeir and McVeigh's presence just eleven days before the bombing:

Wood: You saw this man in here?

Unidentified: Yes.

Wood: And how do you remember? What makes you remember seeing him in here that night?

Unidentified: From one of the girls. I just heard her say something about a couple of guys, there were a couple of weird guys, she wanted somebody to go sit with them.

As discussed earlier, McVeigh bragged to one of the girls that "something big" was going to happen. "On April 19, 1995, you'll remember me for the rest of your life," McVeigh said.^[400]

Also present that night was an old, faded Ryder truck, seen by the bouncer. The truck appeared to be privately-owned, adding further proof that at least two trucks were used in the bombing. It was this truck which was seen by witnesses at Geary State Park, several days before authorities allege that McVeigh rented his. J.D. Cash speculates that McVeigh flew to Fort Smith from his motel room in Kingman on April 7 to pick up the truck and meet his comrades, then the men stopped by Tulsa on their way back to Kansas.

If they stopped by Tulsa, maybe it was to check out the Indian Territory Gun Show. It also might have been to meet Dennis Mahon. The WAR official, National Socialist Alliance (NSA) leader, and former KKK Imperial Grand Dragon traveled frequently to the reclusive compound where he kept a trailer, "to visit and fellowship and do some target shooting and military maneuvers," he said. Mahon was close friends with Brescia and Strassmeir, both of whom he "loved like brothers."^[401]

In what may seem like an even more bizarre twist, Mahon claims he was funded by the Iraqis during the Gulf War. Like Order leader Robert Mathews, who was reportedly offered funding by the Syrians, Mahon received \$100 a month, for a total of \$4,800, from the Iraqis to stir up opposition to the Bush/UN-imposed sanctions. Mahon, operator of the Dial-a-Racist hot line, also produced several videotapes which he distributed to public access stations, expressing his dissenting view on the U.S. policy.^[402]

Mahon started receiving Iraqi funds shortly after he began holding anti-war rallies, he said. "...it's coming from the same zip code where the Iraqi Embassy is, but they don't say it's from the Iraqi Embassy."^[403]

Jeff Steinberg, an investigator for the LaRouche Foundation, says such a scenario is not at all unusual. "This kind of stuff happened all the time," says Steinberg. "In the '70s, they had people who's job it was to show up at every sort of Left-wing rally."

Yet why would the Iraqis give money to an avowed white supremacist like Mahon? "Hatred of the Jews," says Stienberg. "Some low-level person at the embassy gives it out to these guys, and you'd be surprised at who they give it to — they're not that bright."^[404]

In McVeigh's Petition for Writ of Mandamus, filed one week before McVeigh's trial, Stephen Jones made note of the fact that three members of the American Agricultural Movement also met with Iraqi officials. Their purpose was to work with the Iraqis to negotiate a peaceful withdraw from Kuwait. "We wanted to get a dialogue going and stop a shooting war," said one member. "As Americans, that's what we tried to do."^[405]

Yet it seemed the meeting between the farmers and the Iraqi ambassador wasn't the only meeting that took place. Jones stated that Terry Nichols, who he refers to only as "Suspect I," made calls to two Kansas-based Posse Comitatus members — David Oliphant and Buddy Snead. Like Nichols, Snead is married to a Filipino woman. It is not known whether he met her through the same mail-order bride service as Nichols.^[406]

A CIA source contacted by Jones indicated that two members of the Posse Comitatus (it is not known who) visited with an Iraqi diplomat in New York City around the same general time. While the author was unable to locate these two individuals to confirm the story, it is possible they met with the diplomat to express their horror over Bush's "Desert Massacre."

It is also possible that the Iraqis viewed the meeting as an opportunity to strengthen their ties to the white supremacist movement. As will be seen, collaboration between Arab states, Mid-East terrorists, and neo-Nazis is a long and well-documented one.

Unfortunately for Dennis Mahon, the Iraqis severed their ties with him after the bombing. "...they cut me off, a month after the bombing — bastards!"^[407]

It is also likely that Mahon, who traveled to Germany to recruit young skinheads for the KKK, may have met up with Michael Kühnen. A prominent neo-Nazi, Kühnen formed the Anti-Zionist League, which preached hatred of Jews, and sought to form a common bond between Nazis and their Arab brethren. Kühnen also negotiated with the Iraqis, providing them with 200 German, American and British skinheads to fight alongside Iraqi troops. There is reportedly a videotape of these storm troopers in S.S. uniforms being greeted by Iraqi Information Minister Abdel Lateef Jassem.^[408]

Kühnen's successor, a name named Hubner, has connections to Kirk Lyons, Andreas Strassmeir's North Carolina-based attorney. Lyons also spoke with Hubner at meetings of the group "Deutsche Alternative." Like Mahon, Lyons traveled the German white supremacist circuit. Strassmeir and Mahon were close friends, until Mahon and his brother Dennis reportedly called Germany with orders to kill Strassmeir.

Another friend of Mahon's is Gary Lauck of Lincoln, Nebraska. The leader of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Worker's Party, Lauck wrote a 20-page manifesto entitled, "Strategy, Propaganda and Organization," about integrating worldwide extremist groups into a tight network, and "military education with terrorist aims." Lauck has reportedly had frequent contact with Arab terrorist groups according to McVeigh's defense counsel.

Finally, there is the Libyan government, widely reported to have funded both the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and U.S. citizens, including a Chicago street gang called the El Rukns — convicted of conspiracy to commit terrorist acts throughout the U.S.

"Upon hearing that Louis Farrakhan had received \$5 million from the Libyan government, the leader of the El Rukns actively sought sponsorship from Libya in exchange to an in-kind amount of money. Members of the El Rukns actually traveled to Libya to meet with military official of the Libyan government."^[409]

Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI, or "Black Muslims"), carries forth a unique historical precedent. His predecessor, Elijah Muhammad, invited American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell to address an NOI rally on June 25, 1961 in Washington, D.C. There is a photo of Rockwell's Nazis in full regalia (including Swastika arm bands) seated in the front row, with the Black Muslims seated directly behind them.^[410]

Rockwell appeared at an NOI rally in Chicago one year later, where he announced, "Elijah Muhammad is to the so-called Negro what Adolph Hitler was to the German people...."

In September of 1985, the NOI invited Tom Metzger, former Grand Dragon of the KKK and current leader of WAR to its forum in Ingelwood, California, and accepted a small financial contribution from the notorious white supremacist. Metzger declared that his alliance with the NOI was a "logical one: They want their territory and that's exactly what we want for them and for ourselves. They speak against the Jews and the oppressors in Washington."^[411]

It therefore comes as no surprise that Libya funded the NOI to the tune of \$5 million dollars. The motive behind Arab funding of Western racist and dissident groups was — and is — to foment revolution and destabilize the "Great Satan." Just as Libyan President Muammar al-Qaddafi serves as the inspiration behind many militant Black Muslims, so the IRA served as the spiritual inspiration behind the Aryan Republican Army, the group founded by Richard Guthrie and Peter Langan, which included Michael Brescia.

As Stephen Jones eloquently states, "These people are targeted because their ideological compass is preset against the Federal Government.... Although the white supremacist community are diametrically opposed to that of Black Muslims, it is a well known fact that both share a common hatred for the Federal Government."

When the ARA was eventually disbanded, the FBI discovered an IRA terrorist manual called the "Green Book," literature on Ireland, Gaelic language tapes, Semtex explosives, a shoulder-fired rocket launcher, and 11 pipe bombs.^[412] Semtex is normally used by Mid-East terrorists, usually being supplied by Russia, China and North Korea.

It seems the connection goes deeper. Dennis Mahon claims he actually provided advice to the IRA, encouraging them to murder "top British officers and police officials" but avoid killing civilians. That statement ties-in to others Mahon has made, including the idea of blowing up the Oklahoma Federal Building at night, when no one was around, and other methods which "are legitimate to save your nation."

It seems the IRA may have returned the favor. According to Carol Howe, the outlawed Irish resistance group supplied the detonator used in the Oklahoma City bombing. The author is not quite sure why the bombers would need to go to the IRA for a detonator, or exactly how such a connection would be arranged, but it seems rather dubious. Sinn Fein (the political arm of the IRA) President Gerry Adams called the claim "preposterous rubbish."^[413]

It may seem even more preposterous in light of the fact that Adams had won the political favoritism of President Clinton, having been the guest of honor at a recent White House reception.

Yet Howe alleged that Andreas Strassmeir was the key link between the ARA and the IRA. Interestingly, the *Dublin Sunday Times* reported on July 13, 1997 that Strassmeir has indeed associated with Sinn Fein:

Strassmeir moved to Dublin last February and is living in an apartment in the city owned by George Maybury, general secretary of the association of Garda Sergeants and Inspectors. He has been working on construction sites and has attended Sinn Fein meetings and social events.^[414]

Furthermore, federal informant Cary Gagan, who met with Jones after the bombing, told the author he met with an IRA bomb expert while in Mexico City, who instructed him on the use of timers. Gagan claims to have been deeply immersed in the Middle Eastern cell involved in the bombing. (See Chapter 5)

When FOX News reporter Rita Cosby asked Robert Millar if there was any Middle Eastern connection to Elohim City, he answered, "No, not that I can even dream of." Strassmeir likewise denied any Middle Eastern connection to the bombing in an interview with the author.^[415] As of this writing, former ABC 20/20 investigator Roger Charles was checking a lead that Middle Eastern individuals were indeed trained at Elohim City. It has not yet been confirmed.

Just what Andreas Strassmeir was doing in the U.S. is not altogether clear. In a five-part interview in the *Telegraph*, Strassmeir said that he came to the U.S. in 1989 to work on a "special assignment" for the Justice Department. "I discussed the job when I was in Washington. I was hoping to work for the operations section of the DEA," he explained. "It never worked out."

The former German intelligence officer was recommended for these positions by Vincent Petruskie, a retired U.S. Air Force colonel. Strassmeir told attorney Mike Johnston, who flew to Berlin to interview him, that Petruskie is "a former CIA guy who my father had known since he (Petruskie) was stationed in Berlin during the Cold War."

In an interview with *New American* editor William Jasper, Petruski denied any CIA connections:

As for the CIA connection, "That's totally wrong," insisted Petruskie. "I'm a retired Air Force officer, that's all." According to Petruskie, he was a special agent for the Air Force Office of Special Investigation (OSI), and retired as a colonel after serving from 1954 to 1975. Was he a friend of Andreas' father? "I've never met his father; we've only spoken over the phone."^[416]

How had Petruskie come to know the younger Strassmeir? Andreas arrived in the late 1980s with some other German lads for the reenactment of the Battle of Gettysburg. The German visitors had authentic period uniforms, rifles, bayonets, etc. and an amazingly detailed knowledge of the battle. But they apparently had not done their homework concerning economic realities of contemporary America and so were short of cash for living accommodations and had no credit cards with which to rent a vehicle. That is when a mutual friend put them in touch with Petruskie, who put them up for a while at his home.

Strassmeir was "a mixed-up kid, a very immature 34-year-old when he came over here," recalled Petruskie. "Andy wanted to work for the U. S. government — DEA, Justice — undercover. [He] thought his background with military and German government would help. I explained he'd need a green card, education, and set him down with some people in Washington who explained that it wasn't that simple. I think he went down to South Carolina and then to Texas to go to school."^[417]

In an interview with the *Oklahoma Gazette*, Petruski once again attempted to distance himself from Strassmeir. "This kid is what we would call a putz," he said.

An interesting description for a former intelligence officer and lieutenant in the elite Panzer Grenadiers.^[418]

Petruski also claims that Strassmeir's job with the DEA "fell through." Is one seriously supposed to accept the premise that a man with Strassmeir's background, influence, and connections came to the U.S. on the off-chance of finding a job with the DEA? That he traveled all this way to run around playing toy soldier for a couple days? And that Petruski just "happened" to meet him at a battle reenactment at Gettysburg?

More likely, Gettysburg was a necessary cover-story to infiltrate Strassmeir into the country. Appearing to be a military enthusiast makes it easier to infiltrate the extreme-Right. And Petruski's tale about his DEA job falling through is a "limited hang-out," just enough information revealed to satisfy nosy journalists, with enough disinformation mixed in to steer them away from "unapproved" areas. And while Petruski said that Strassmeir never got a job with the DEA, he never said he *didn't* get a job with the ATF, FBI, or CIA.^[419]

With his cover-story firmly in place, Strassmeir then "drifted" into the far-Right circles of the lunatic fringe, stopping long enough to pick an ordinary job as a computer salesman to further enhance his image as an innocent drifter.

"Andy the German" was now ready to infiltrate the neo-Nazi cliques of the far-Right. With his German background and accent, it was easy to convince white supremacists of his legitimacy. In 1991 he settled in Elohim City, where he established himself as Chief of Security and weapons training.

According to a report from the Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation (OSBI), Strassmeir trained platoon-sized groups consisting of 30 to 40 individuals from throughout the U.S. every three months at the reclusive compound. According to a law enforcement source interviewed by the *McCurtain Gazette*, they consisted primarily of members from the Aryan Nations, and included Timothy McVeigh.^[420] As the *Gazette* reported:

"Strassmeir went out and replaced all our deer rifles with assault weapons," said [resident Zara] Patterson. "Next, he wanted us to start doing illegal stuff... a lot of illegal stuff. I kept telling Andy that we were defensive here, and we didn't want any problems from the law. During the mid-'80s, we had a standoff with the feds. I told him to keep us out of trouble."^[421]

Was Strassmeir attempting to infiltrate Elohim City? "If the agent penetrates the group," Strassmeir said in an interview with the author, "the first thing they do is try to sell them weapons." When asked if that wasn't exactly what he did, he replied, "I just advised them about weapons, as an experienced soldier. That's what I did for years and years. I was an infantry man — I just gave advice. But, I always obeyed the law." He then admitted that he "didn't know the law. I'd have to consult my lawyer."

According to information obtained by the *Telegraph*, Strassmeir infiltrated the Texas Light Infantry militia between 1988 and 1989, and set up some illegal gun purchases. They soon suspected that Strassmeir was a ATF informant. When some members followed him to a federal building one night, they observed him entering it using the building's combination key-pad.^[422]

ATF agent Angela Finley-Graham, the agent who supervised ATF informant Carol Howe, had aerial surveillance photos of Strassmeir with an assault weapon, and photos of concrete bunkers at Elohim City. In fact, in 1992, some 960 yards of concrete were transported to the compound, presumably for bunkers and weapons storage facilities.^[423]

Law enforcement officials also received reports that the compound was believed to be generating income through the sale of illegal drugs. A source familiar with the community told me that Bruce Millar, Robert Millar's son, was supposedly "strung out" on Methamphetamines. Speed is a highly popular drug among the neo-Nazi crowd, and was in fact invented by the Nazis during WWII to bolster the fighting ability of their

front-line troops.

Several weeks before the bombing, in mid-February, the Tulsa office of the ATF passed on information to the Oklahoma Highway Patrolman Ken Stafford, who put out a BOLO (Be On The Lookout For) on Strassmeir:

ANDREAS STRASSMEIR, W/M, 5/17/59, heavy German accent. Black Hair/ Blue Eyes. 1" scar on chin, wears cammo fatigues. Possible Tennessee driver's license. Came to USA in 5/91, passport was good until 8/91. He never left the country. INS says he does not have an extension of his VISA. Possibly in blue Chevy, late model, tag BXH 346 (not on file), usually has someone driving him. Carries a .45 auto pistol at all times. He is an illegal alien, ATF wants to be notified if he is stopped and has the gun on him. They will file the charges. Contact: Agent Angela Finley, ATF. Office: 918-581-7731 (or) Pager: 918-672-2755.

What's odd is that the BOLO was for an INS violation, not exactly the jurisdiction of the ATF. Moreover, according to a Tulsa police intelligence source, the INS was told not to make any effort to focus on visa violations due to manpower shortages.

The *McCurtain Gazette*, which uncovered the BOLO, thinks it was put out by the ATF to provide cover for Strassmeir — an aid for his extraction from Elohim City. The OHP subsequently typed up the BOLO, which was eventually "leaked" to various sources, including the residents of the rural community. According to Glenn Wilburn, the BOLO was circulated with the stipulation that Strassmeir not be arrested. [\[424\]](#)

Curiously, when Finley-Graham attempted to get a warrant for Strassmeir's arrest, she was stonewalled by the INS. A Tulsa police intelligence source told me that Finley "was out to get the whole place." This fact was confirmed by information obtained by McVeigh's defense counsel during discovery. [\[425\]](#)

This is also interesting in light of the fact that the INS and ATF had originally planned a joint raid on the compound — a plan which suddenly came to a halt in late February of '95. As one INS memo stated:

Investigation pending — no arrest or warrant as of yet — Northeastern Oklahoma — request participation. Raid — next month. [\[426\]](#)

It seems the ATF and INS weren't the only ones interested in Elohim City. As a report of Finley-Graham's dated February 28 states:

On 22 February 1995, this agent met with OHP Trooper Ken Stafford to exchange certain information regarding this investigation. Trooper Stafford indicated that the FBI also had an ongoing investigation regarding Elohim City. On this same date, RAC David Roberts met with the United States Attorney for the Northern Judicial District of Oklahoma, Steve Lewis, to discuss this investigation.

On February 23, 1995 RAC David Roberts was contacted by FBI supervisor, Marty Webber, who stated that FBI Special Agent in Charge, Bob Ricks, would be available during the week of February 27 through March 03, 1995 to meet with ATF Special Agent in Charge, Lester Martz. RAC Roberts then contacted Dallas Division to request SAC Martz meet with SAC Ricks to discuss the investigation of Elohim City. [\[427\]](#)

As an interesting historical precedent, [former] FBI agent James Rodgers had developed a massive FBI raid on Elohim City in 1988, but it was called off for reasons that have never been made clear.

One month before the bombing Howe got "fed up" with Elohim City and the ATF's attitude towards the investigation. "Angie hadn't made any arrests either," Howe told the *Gazette*, "and that was frustrating, so I quit going out there... until after the building got blown up!" [\[428\]](#)[\[429\]](#)

Three days after the bombing, the ATF's Washington headquarters pulled the Tulsa office off the case, and the FBI requested them to turn over all their files on Elohim City.

The question is, just who was Strassmeir reporting to? The CIA? The Tulsa ATF office, which has jurisdiction over Elohim City, may not have been informed if Strassmeir were reporting to a higher authority, a different agency, or was a confidential informant (CI) on a national level.

Strassmeir's cover-story that his Justice Department job "never worked out" also smacks of McVeigh's story that his try-out for the Special Forces didn't work out due to a "blister." Perhaps Strassmeir — a seven-year German Army veteran — failed his indoctrination due to a "nose-bleed."

In spite of his vehement denials, Strassmeir practically admitted to the *Telegraph* that he was an undercover agent. "The Right-wing in the U. S. is incredibly easy to penetrate if you know how to talk to them," he told the *Telegraph*. "Of course it's easier for a foreigner with an accent; nobody would ever suspect a German of working for the Federal Government."

This certainly appears to be no ordinary slip of the tongue. How would Strassmeir know the extreme-Right is "incredibly easy to penetrate" unless he had penetrated them? His statement that 'nobody would ever suspect a German' is practically an admission that he was doing so.

On February 28, 1992 Strassmeir was arrested and his car impounded by the OHP for driving without a license. When the police opened his

briefcase, they found a number of documents, including some in German. There were statements from foreign bank accounts, false identity papers, and a copy of *The Terrorist Handbook*.

According to the tow-truck driver, Kenny Pence, Strassmeir soon brought heavy pressure to bear. "Boy, we caught hell over that one," he said. "The phone calls came in from the State Department, the Governor's office, and someone called and said he had diplomatic immunity...."^[430]

According to Strassmeir, the entirety of the story amounts to a pair of cops who were out to harass him and his friend Peter Ward (recall that Howe identified Ward as John Doe #1). Interestingly, federal prosecutors filed a motion requesting that Judge Matsch block efforts by McVeigh's defense team who was seeking government files on Strassmeir's activities. It was eventually revealed to Jones through discovery that Strassmeir held a tourist Visa with the designation "A O". Neither Jones nor Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, who reported extensively on Strassmeir, could learn what the designation meant. The INS denied any knowledge of its meaning. Curiously, the entries, which appeared on all of Strassmeir's INS files, suddenly vanished in March of 1996. Somebody had erased them.^[431]

All told, these are strange circumstances for a former German intelligence officer — the politically well-connected son to a top aide in Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government. It seems unlikely that this ordinary "computer salesman" and "neo-Nazi" with diplomatic immunity, backed up by the State Department and the Justice Department, brought federal pressure to bear in order to have a minor traffic violation cleared.

More likely, Strassmeir was in danger of having his cover blown by unsuspecting law enforcement agents. The situation had to be corrected, and quickly.

After the bombing, with the increasing attention of investigators, and his cover almost blown, Strassmeir fled to Germany, taking a circuitous route through Mexico and Paris — a route commonly used by spies. Strassmeir's attorney, Kirk Lyons, detailed his client's escape, stating that it was aided by Germany's vaunted counter-terrorism unit, GSG-9, the equivalent of our Delta Force. Curious that GSG-9 would assist in Strassmeir's retreat. Were they helping one of their own?^[432]

To help maintain his cover, the Justice Department questioned Strassmeir in North Carolina at his attorneys office, then called him in Berlin to ask about his alleged ties to McVeigh. "The FBI asked where I was on the day of the bombing," he told the *Telegraph*. "They wanted to help debunk the rumors spread about me."^[433]

Why the FBI would be in the business of debunking rumors, unless it is about them, is unclear. In this case, since any ties between Strassmeir and the Justice Department would lead directly back to the them, it seems that is exactly what they are trying to do.^[434]*

If Strassmeir had any ties to McVeigh, or to McVeigh's companions, or to those who had planned the 1983 bombing of the Murrah Building, the Justice Department should have served him with a grand jury subpoena or a warrant. Yet all the FBI did was call Strassmeir on the phone to "debunk the rumors" spread about him.

As one law enforcement officer told the *McCurtain Gazette*, "We found the axle from the truck that led to Junction City and McVeigh. Our Highway Patrolman arrested McVeigh. And that arrest led to Terry Nichols and Mike Fortier... Since then, nothing in this investigation has accomplished anything. But we're told by the Bureau that Strassmeir and his buddies are not important. Bull-shit!"^[435]

The *Gazette* also uncovered an intelligence bulletin issued by the Diplomatic Security Division, Counter Terrorism Unit, of the Department of State on March 18, 1996 concerning Strassmeir's alleged criminal activities in the U.S.

The cable states that Strassmeir overstayed his visa in 1991 and was known to have been the militia training officer for a white separatist group called WAR.

Quoting the cable, "He (Strassmeir) has been the subject of several investigations for purchasing weapons, and making the weapons fire on full automatic. Strassmeir should not be allowed to return to the U.S."

Yet this cable makes it appear as though the FBI didn't know anything about Strassmeir — who was apparently under the protection of the State Department. Was this another cover ploy to protect their informant, or was Strassmeir working for the CIA, who wasn't communicating with the FBI and ATF?

Interestingly, the FBI would claim they weren't aware of Carol Howe's status as an informant either. During her July, 1997 trial (the result of trumped up charges by so-called the Justice Department), FBI agent Pete Rickel told the jury that he spoke to Howe in the Spring of 1996, when she requested protection, complaining that her cover had been blown. "We were interested to see if there might be any further information we could gather about activities involving people at Elohim City who may have been connected with the bombing," said Rickel. Yet the agent insisted he had no idea of who Howe really was when the FBI raided her home in December of '96.^[436]

ATF Agent Angela Finley-Graham likewise claimed she was unaware that an FBI raid was planned on Howe's home. Yet as the *McCurtain Gazette* reported, this premise was destroyed when FBI Special Agent Chris Peters took the stand:

After explaining his role in the raid on the Howe residence, Peters was asked by defense attorney Clark Brewster during cross-examination who he was married to.

"Angela [Finley] Graham," Peters replied.^[437]

Strassmeir's own cover would finally be blown when the *Gazette* reported on July 14, 1996, that "a highly-placed source at the FBI has confirmed that Andreas Carl Strassmeir was a paid government informant sent by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to infiltrate Elohim City...."^[438]

For his part, Strassmeir claims he was at work repairing a fence near Elohim City on April 19. Yet Strassmeir hasn't exactly held tight to his story. According to Glenn Wilburn, who has intensively investigated the connection, Strassmeir claimed he stopped working when it started to rain, then went home and watched the bombing on TV. When Wilburn checked the weather reports for the area that day, he found that it hadn't begun to rain until much later. Strassmeir then claimed the farmer he was working for was George Eaton, a friend of the murdered Mueller family. Later, according to Wilburn, Strassmeir stated that he couldn't recall exactly what he was doing until he talked to his attorney, Kirk Lyons.

"Andy has been damaged," exclaimed Lyons, angrily refuting the allegations against his client. "Anybody who puts out the lie that he was linked to the Oklahoma bombing in any way is going to pay for it."^[439]

Lyons claims his client had been dragged into the conspiracy by McVeigh's defense team — a ploy, he said, to muddy the waters by painting a vast conspiracy involving neo-Nazis in Europe and terrorists in the Mideast. "I call it the Space Alien Elvis Presley theory, and it's been fueled by nut cases and conspiracy theorists."

Obviously, Lyons himself is no nut case, merely a hardcore racist and neo-Nazi. The simple "country lawyer" married the sister of a prominent member of The Order. The ceremony was performed by Aryan Nations "pastor" Richard Butler at the group's compound in Hayden Lake.

At the 1988 Aryan Nations World Congress, Lyons suggested forming an ACLU of sorts for the extreme-Right, and attended the annual event in Hayden Lake as Louis Beam's representative. Not that Lyons was desperate for clients. He happily defended the Confederate Hammer Skinheads of Dallas, the National Socialist Skinheads of Houston, the White Vikings of Chicago, and WAR leader Tom Metzger, who was accused of inciting the murder of a black student from Ethiopia. Lyons also defended Holocaust revisionist Ernst Zündel, who claimed that the Nazi genocide was a Jewish invention, and other so-called "prisoners of conscience."^[440]

Lyons was also the guest of honor at the British Nationalist Party in London, where he applauded the Party's stance on white power, and like William Pierce, predicted a future race war. The erudite, ever-socially conscious attorney was also quick to defend Louis Beam, the Texas Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. Beam fled to Mexico after being indicted for conspiracy to overthrow the government. As discussed, Beam was charged with harassing Vietnamese fishermen along the coast of Texas.^[441]

Interestingly, when Terry Reed was in Guadalajara on behalf of the CIA, working with Oliver North's "Enterprise," Beam mysteriously showed up as his neighbor. With the help of Lyons, Beam was acquitted after his wife shot and killed a Mexican Federalé.

Lyons has likewise vehemently defended Strassmeir's role in the bombing, and claims he is not a government agent. Interestingly, Lyons arranged Strassmeir's stays in Knoxville, Houston, Elohim City, and even Lyons's own home in North Carolina.

One thing that can be deduced from all this is that Strassmeir and Lyons aren't very good liars.

According to Stephen Jones, Dennis Mahon made statements to the effect of, "If a person wanted to know about the bombing, then they should talk with Andy Strassmeir because he knows everything."

For his part, Strassmeir claims he's not a government agent. In his *Telegraph* interview, he states, "I've never worked for any U.S. government agency, and I've not been involved in any intelligence operation since my discharge from the German army in 1988. This family (the Wilburns) is on a fishing expedition."

Yet in the very same article, Strassmeir admits that the bombing was the result of a government sting gone bad — a sting involving agents of the ATF. Considering the revealing nature of Strassmeir's information, the article, entitled "Did Agents Bungle U.S. Terror Bomb?" might just as well have been called "Thank You Andy." As Strassmeir states:

"The ATF had an informant inside this operation. They had advance warning and they bungled it," he said. "What they should have done is make an arrest while the bomb was still being made instead of waiting till the last moment for a publicity stunt."

Asked if he thought the alleged informant would ever speak out, he replied with passion: "How can he? What happens if it was a sting operation from the very beginning? What happens if it comes out that the plant was a provocateur? What if he talked and manipulated the

others into it? What then? The country couldn't handle it. The relatives of the victims are going to go crazy, and he's going to be held responsible for the murder of 168 people. Of course the informant can't come forward. He's scared shitless right now." Before and after this outburst he kept repeating that he was not making veiled references to himself.^[442]

When I interviewed Strassmeir, he insisted that he had been quoted out of context. That statement, he claimed, was made to him by a former ATF agent. "He made some hints that the ATF probably knew that this was coming down," said Strassmeir. The source, he said, was "pretty reliable," although he was quick to qualify it by stating that he wasn't certain of the information.^[443]

Referring to the sting, he said, "What kind of gives me a bad taste, is that all the ATF agents were apparently not in the office during the blast, all of them." As to just what the sting involved, Strassmeir claimed he didn't know. But regarding John Doe 2, he said, "For some reason they don't look for this guy anymore. That, for some reason, I think is very strange."^[444]

If Strassmeir was involved in a sting operation, it may have been to stop the flow of Nazi propaganda emanating from the U.S. Such influences have made their presence felt in an unsettling way in Germany in recent years. It is likely that the FBI requested the assistance of the Bundeskriminalamt (BKA), the German FBI, and the Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND), the German CIA, to help gather intelligence on such groups as Michael Kühnen's Anti-Zionist League, and their connections to both Arabs and American neo-Nazis.

FBI Director Louis Freeh had announced a joint U.S.-German intelligence gathering operation on neo-Nazi groups as far back as 1993. Freeh pledged to work alongside German law-enforcement to stem the spread of Nazism emanating from the United States.

On April 20, 1995, the American National Socialist Worker's Party announced that the Secret Service and ATF had been investigating Gary Lauck, leader of the domestic NSDAP/AO. Lauck, who publishes the neo-Nazi newsletter *N.S. Kampfruf*, had been a major influence in Germany and was an object of concern among German authorities (German sedition laws forbid the publication of Nazi literature).^[445]

It seems that certain information provided by Strassmeir resulted in Lauck's arrest. With Strassmeir's help, the "Farm Belt Fuhrer" was arrested in Copenhagen and extradited to Hamburg. The arrest coincided with major raids by German police of NSDAP/AO cells all over Germany.

Lauck wasn't the only one beckoning young Germans to join the white supremacist movement. Research conducted by McVeigh's defense team indicates that Dennis Mahon traveled to Germany to recruit individuals into the Ku Klux Klan. A video reportedly shows Mahon in Germany in full KKK regalia, lighting a cross. Mahon himself joked that if he was fined the usual 1,000 Deutsche Marks for every time he gave the Nazi salute, he would owe 10,000,000 Marks.^[446]

Only a few weeks before the Oklahoma City bombing, Mahon received a phone call from Lauck. "Yeah, I got a call from Lauck sometime before the bombing... He told me that he was making another trip to Europe. I told him he was too hot, and he shouldn't go." Shaking his head, Mahon says now, "He should have listened."

Did the authorities know Lauck was coming? "Well, I did tell Strassmeir about the trip," said Mahon. (Or did Mahon tell the government himself?)

With Lauck's European arrest, the NSDAP noted, "U.S. officials have been doing extensive surveillance of Lauck's contemporaries in Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska and north Texas. These surveillance activities were being coordinated out of the OKC offices, according to our sources."

Interestingly, the newsletter added that "the OKC office of the ATF had plans to serve search warrants 'by the beginning of Summer' on several well-known white supremacists."

It seems the warrants were never issued.^[447]

Interestingly, Lyons told the German magazine *Volkstreue*: "There are many spies within [the Klan] and most of its best leaders have left the Klan to do more effective work within the movement.... The man who is mainly responsible for the success of the Klan in Germany — Dennis Mahon — has left the Klan."

Apparently, Mahon is still concerned enough about his responsibility to the white supremacist movement to have telephoned Germany with orders to kill Strassmeir. According to a conversation overheard by Cash, "[Mahon] wanted Andreas shot in both kneecaps and a confession elicited from him, then hold a 30-minute trial and then execute him."^[448]

Investigator Jeff Steinberg takes this one step further, believing that Mahon himself may be an ATF operative. He says the ATF had him on a charge then dropped it. "He may have been turned," said Stienberg.

Obviously, Strassmeir wasn't the only informant at Elohim City. Mahon, who knew Guthrie, McCarthy, Stedeford, and Langan, had introduced his new-found friend Carol Howe to the white separatist community. It was there that the attractive 24-year-old daughter of a prominent Tulsa businessman would meet Strassmeir. As Howe told the *Gazette*:

"I kinda had a relationship with him for a while. We talked about relationships once, and he said he wasn't interested in settling down with a woman. All he wanted to do was blow up federal buildings. It was also at that same meeting that he shoved his hand down my dress and I thought, well, he was doing something else, but now that I think about it, I think he was feeling for a wire."

Howe also said she overheard Mahon and Strassmeir discuss plans to bomb the Oklahoma City Federal Building. As Howe related it:

"I started going to as many of their meetings as I could and met a lot of people who were very secretive. But sometime in November there was a meeting and Strassmeir and Mahon said it was time to quit talking and go to war, and time to start bombing federal buildings."

"I reported all this to Angie."^[449]

According to her attorney, Howe provided telephone numbers, license tags, names, family trees, (including the location and design of tattoos) drawings of buildings, pictures, and descriptions and lists of individuals who were involved in criminal activity.

In fact, Confidential Informant 53270-183, or CI-183 (whose neo-Nazi handle was "Freya" and "Lady MacBeth") made over 70 reports to Finley-Graham during 1994-95 time frame. Finley paid Howe \$120-a-week to provide the ATF regular updates on the activities at Elohim City, and those of Strassmeir and Mahon in particular. Finley-Graham filed her preliminary ROI (Report of Investigation) on Carol Howe on August 30, 1994. Entitled "White Aryan Resistance, W.A.R." It states, in part:

On August 24, 1994 this agent met with CI-183 in the Tulsa ATF Field Office and discussed in great detail the federal firearms and conspiracy violations of the White Aryan Resistance, "W.A.R."...

W.A.R. is described briefly as being radical, paramilitary, Neo-Nazi, anti-government, and violent. W.A.R. has national and international affiliates to include the KKK and a racist following in Germany....

W.A.R. has several training sites in Oklahoma. The primary training location is called Elohim City which is in a rural area near the border of Oklahoma and Arkansas in Adair County, Oklahoma. The members of the religious organization, The Covenant, Sword and Arm of the Lord live at Elohim City. The The Covenant, Sword and Arm of the Lord is a separatist organization that conjointly trains with and exchanges weapons with W.A.R....

Regarding statements by Mahon that were secretly videotaped by Howe, Finley-Graham writes:

Mahon has made numerous statements regarding the conversion of firearms into fully automatic weapons, the manufacture and use of silencers and the manufacture and use of explosive devices. Mahon has stated both the knowledge and ability to manufacture a range of explosive devices. Mahon intends to manufacture and use any or all of the above when he deems necessary. Mahon and his organization are preparing for a race war and war with the government in the near future and it is believed that they are rapidly stockpiling weapons.^[450]

Mahon responded to Howe's allegations in the *Village Voice*: "This woman has got some shit on me. They're lies. But it's my word against hers...."

Some shit indeed.

It was after Mahon and Howe had a romantic falling-out that the 24-year-old Howe switched from being an avowed white supremacist to a ATF informant. A temporary protective order was issued against Mahon by a Tulsa court in August of '94 after Howe alleged that Mahon threatened to "take steps to neutralize me," by breaking her knees if she tried to leave the white supremacist movement.^[451]

"I was contacted by Dennis Mahon after I ordered some literature from this group called White Aryan Resistance," Howe told the *McCurtain Gazette*. "He wanted to have a closer relationship than I did, and later he threatened me when I tried to get away from his group."^[452]

It was after Howe sought the restraining order that Finley-Graham recruited her into the ATF. Mahon claims it was Howe-the-informant who advocated most of the violence. Depicting himself as the fall-guy in the affair, he told the press, "They want to drag me into this thing and I barely remember even meeting Tim McVeigh. It was Strassmeir who was meeting with McVeigh, not me."^[453]

Curiously, Mahon later sent a videotape to McVeigh's prison cell expressing his views on the "movement." McVeigh's defense team was concerned about the video, not knowing whether the intended message "was to encourage the Defendant to 'sacrifice' himself for the eventual 'justice' of the cause or was a subtle threat intended to remind the Defendant that members of his family were vulnerable."^[454]

While Mahon vehemently denied Howe's allegations, the ATF's ROI of January 11, 1995 (three months before the bombing) states, in part:

During the Sabbath meeting, Millar gave a sermon soliciting violence against the US government. He brought forth his soldiers and instructed them to take whatever action necessary against the US Government. It is understood that ATF is the main enemy of the people at

EC.... He explicitly told 183 that they were preparing to fight a war against the government....^[455]

Howe reported to Finley-Graham that James Ellison also planned to reconstruct the CSA. Her report also stated that Millar planned to consolidate his compound with groups in Texas, Missouri, Arkansas and Oklahoma to prepare to fight a war with the government. Posse Comitatus members from Pennsylvania allegedly lent a hand by helping Elohim City residents convert their weapons to full automatic.^[456]

"These people have the means and the desire to start a terrible war in America," wrote Howe in a letter to her father in August of 1994. "They must be stopped, one group at a time."^[457]

To precipitate that war, Strassmire was apparently willing to procure grenades, C-4 and other explosives.^[458]

This is hardly surprising. In 1979, ATF informant Bernard Butkovich and FBI operative Edward Dawson led a group of KKK and Nazi Party members on a shooting spree during a parade in Greensboro, North Carolina, which led to the deaths of five members of the Communist Workers Party.^[459]

Interestingly, the *Washington Post* reported how Butkovich "urged members to buy equipment to convert semi-automatic guns to fully automatic weapons, and offered to procure explosives (including hand grenades)."

According to the *New York Times*, witnesses reported that Butkovich, a veteran demolitions expert, also offered "to train them in activities such as making pipe bombs and fire bombs," and that "the Nazis take weapons to the [Communist] rally in the trunks of their cars."^[460]

With a map of the parade route supplied by Greensboro Police Department Detective Jerry Cooper, Dawson, Butkovich, and their KKK and neo-Nazi comrades were able to select the most advantageous site for their ambush.

According to Stephen Jones's appeal brief, Finley-Graham's handwritten notes confirmed a report from Howe that Dennis Mahon had bomb-making expertise, including allegedly exploding a 500lb ammonium nitrate bomb in Michigan five years earlier.^[461]

Howe also told the agents that Strassmire and Mahon cased the Tulsa IRS building and the Oklahoma City Federal Building in November and December of 1994, and once during February of '95. Interestingly, Mahon told reporters that as a "revolutionary," he would indeed blow up the Federal Building, but do it at night, when no one was around.

Shockingly, most of this information was provided to the ATF *before* the bombing.^[462]

J.D. Cash, reporting for the *McCurtain Gazette*, claimed to have received information from an intermediary that a source at the headquarters of the Aryan Nations in Hayden Lake, Idaho, said that Mahon was "one of the ring leaders in the group that bombed the Federal Building." Cash, who interviewed Mahon on numerous occasions by posing as a white supremacist, wrote the following in the *Gazette*:

And he (Mahon) indicated that the results of the bombing were not as he anticipated. He felt like this would cause a coming together of radicals around the country who would begin a campaign of terrorism. In retrospect, he feels like the IRS building should have been bombed instead of the Murrah Building and probably should have been bombed at night. The day care center and the killing of the children was having a negative effect.

For his part, Mahon claims he has an alibi for the morning of April 19. Yet Bricktown witness David Snider is sure the driver of the Ryder truck which slowly made its way past his warehouse that morning was Dennis Mahon. Although the driver had long hair and was wearing sunglasses, Snider is adamant. He showed the Oklahoma County Grand Jury a video showing Mahon wearing the same sunglasses he was wearing on the morning of the blast.^[463] (See drawing)

Mahon, who said he believes there *were* others involved with McVeigh, told the *Daily Oklahoman*, "I have never been in downtown [Oklahoma City]. I am squeaky clean."^[464]

Interestingly, Mahon also claimed himself to be a make-up artist, and described himself as "the master of all disguises." In a somewhat startling statement, Mahon told Ambrose Evans-Pritchard of the *London Sunday Telegraph*:

"I always deliver my bombs in person, in disguise," he said mischievously. "I can look like a Hispanic or even a Negro. I'm the master of disguise."^[465]

Reverend Johnny Lee Clary, a reformed Ku Klux Klansman who also testified before the County Grand Jury, told the *Daily Oklahoman*: "There is no mistake that the lips and chin and facial features [of the man Snider saw] is Dennis Mahon in one of those disguises."

"He always bragged he is the master of disguise," said Clary, who claims to be an ordained minister in Tulsa. Mahon "used to dress up like Mexicans and Orientals or like blacks."^[466]

Howe, who was debriefed by the ATF and FBI after the bombing, told agents Blanchard and Finley-Graham that the sketches of the suspects who rented the Ryder truck appeared to be Elohim City residents [and Mahon and Strassmeir associates] Peter or Sonny Ward. She also reportedly told the agents, "...no one in the world looks more like the sketch of John Doe 2 than Michael Brescia." Howe's report to Finley-Graham stated, in part:

SA BLANCHARD and SA ANGIE FINDLEY, ATF, talked with SA FINDLEY's confidential source "CAROL." CAROL stated she believes in 1994, she saw an individual resembling the composite of UNSUB # 1 in a white separatist paramilitary camp called "Elohm City" (phonetic) (EC). This camp is located around Stillwell, Oklahoma. CAROL knows this person as "PETE." CAROL has seen an individual named "TONY" resembling the composite of UNSUB # 2. TONY is PETE's brother, and is not well liked at EC. TONY would do as his brother directed however.

When CAROL saw the television pictures of TIMOTHY JAMES MCVEIGH, she said MCVEIGH doesn't look like "PETE." CAROL recalled that she did see a person who looked like MCVEIGH in a photograph in a photo album she saw at a 1994 Klan Rally.

NBC, putting the official Justice Department spin on the story, claimed Howe's reports contained no specific information regarding the plot. Yet according to the *Gazette*, "Howe was routinely polygraphed by the government during the time she was making her monthly reports. The government's own documents indicate she passed, 'showing no deception on her part in any polygraph examination.'" ^[467] As Finley-Graham testified during Howe's pre-trial hearing:

Brewster: "Now, you were interested in knowing as much as you could about Mr. Strassmeir, weren't you?"

Graham: "Yes."

Brewster: "What kind of guns he had?"

Graham: "Yes."

Brewster: "And the kind of threats he made about wanting to blow up federal buildings? You were interested in that, weren't you?"

Graham: "I was interested in anything I could find out about any violation."

Brewster: "And Ms. Howe told you about Mr. Strassmeir's threats to blow up federal buildings, didn't she?"

Graham: "In general, yes."

Brewster: "And that was before the Oklahoma City bombing?"

Graham: "Yes."

At the time of this writing, federal authorities were still insisting that Howe's reports contained no specific warnings of any plot to bomb any federal building. They also claimed that they were only alerted two days *after* the bombing, when they debriefed their informant. ^[468]

Yet seems Howe's reports were specific enough to warn the ATF not to be in the office the day of the bombing. No ATF employees were among the 169 killed.

Nevertheless, federal prosecutors still insisted, after Howe went public, that the informant couldn't have had any specific information about the bombing, because she was "terminated" on March 27, three weeks before the attack.

Also "terminated" it seems, was the ATF's December, 1994 report regarding Howe's activities at Elohim City. That report, sources told *The New American*, contained specific warnings about the pending attack on the Alfred P. Murrah Building. Had this report, like so much of the ATF's evidence concerning their and the FBI's atrocities at Waco, conveniently "disappeared?"

Unfortunately for the ATF, the records which show that Howe remained an active informant until January 9, 1996, hadn't disappeared. As Finley-Graham's ROI of January 31, 1996 states:

It is requested that CI 53270-183 be retained as an active informant. It was requested by the Dallas Division office that this informant be retained as an active informant for the duration of the Oklahoma City bombing investigation.

On April 22, Finley-Graham sent the following memo to Lester Martz, SAC of the Dallas Field office:

This informant is involved with the OKC bomb case which is pending prosecution in Denver and was the key in identifying individuals at

Elohim City, which is tied to the OKC bomb case.^[469]

In addition to denying her employment with the ATF, the bureau attempted to claim that Howe was "unstable," her emotional state and her "loyalty" to the ATF being in question. Yet once again, the official records, which describe Howe as "stable and capable," contradict these claims. As the ATF's ROI of April 22, 1996 notes:

[This agent has] known CI 53270-183 for approximately two years and can assert that this informant has not been overly paranoid or fearful during undercover operations.

As 24-year ATF veteran Robert Sanders told *The New American*, "Howe was 'a very good informant. She is obviously intelligent, resourceful, cool and convincing under pressure,' and has a good sense for 'the kind of detailed information that is most helpful' to law enforcement and prosecutors."^[470]

Yet the feds would make every attempt to distance themselves from their own informant in the aftermath of the bombing. Not surprisingly, this was the same ruse the FBI used in the aftermath of the World Trade Center bombing — pulling undercover operative Emad Salem off the case two weeks before the tragic attack (which he had also warned them about) then claiming that he was "unreliable."

Yet the FBI reactivated Salem after the bombing, just as they did with Howe, sending her back to Elohim City to gather additional information on Mahon, Strassmeir, and the others. Her new contract raised her pay from \$25.00 per day to \$400.00.

Curiously, neither the ATF nor the FBI offered Howe any protection. FBI agent Pete Rickel admitted during subsequent court testimony that Howe had come to him in May of '96 seeking protection, but he had offered none. In fact, Rickel said he didn't even make a note of their conversation.

Not only did the FBI fail to protect what the ATF called their "key" witness linking Elohim City to the bombing, but the FBI went one step further, leaking a confidential report to the press. As Finley-Graham wrote in her April 1, 1996 report:

On March 29, 1996 this agent received a telephone call from S/A Harry Eberhardt. S/A Eberhardt stated that the identity of CI 53270-183 had been severely compromised. S/A Eberhardt stated that a report by FBI agent James R. Blanchard II contained the formal name of CI 53270-183 and enough information to reveal the identity of CI 53270-183 without his/her name being used. S/A Eberhardt stated that he had attempted to relay this matter to FBI ASAC Jack McCoy, however ASAC McCoy showed little concern and denied that S/A Blanchard was at fault. S/A Eberhardt stated that he became irate because it was apparent that nothing was going to be done in an effort to rectify the problem or at least provide help for the safety of CI 53270-183.

Finley-Graham "immediately telephoned CI 53270-183 and informed him/her that their name had been disclosed and that he/she should take every precaution for their safety.... This agent told the CI that anything and everything will be done to insure his/her safety." It seems the government was fully aware of the danger posed to their informant, as Finley-Graham's report of April 22, 1996 notes:

Individuals who pose immediate danger to CI 53270-183 are: (1) Dennis Mahon, (2) members of Elohim City, and (3) any sympathizer to McVeigh.... This agent believes that s/he could be in serious danger when associates discover his/her identity.

In fact, one of Finley-Graham's initial reports indicates that Dennis Mahon "stated that he would kill any informant." Mahon subsequently sent Howe on a "night reconnaissance mission" to a secluded area — straight into the arms of a black gang, whose members pistol-whipped her and cut her with a knife. In what looked like a deliberate attempt to rid itself of an embarrassing informant, Howe was provided with no protection by the government which she had so loyally and courageously served.

When public criticism and liaze a' faire attempts to make Howe "disappear" failed, the government resorted to silencing her on phony, trumped up charges.

The "Justice" Department found it expeditious to indict Howe just in time for McVeigh's trial, putting her safely behind bars. The charge? Compiling a list of bomb ingredients, acquiring photographs of federal offices in Tulsa, and using her home telephone to distribute racist information — all undercover activities committed on behalf of her employer — the ATF. Howe was unanimously acquitted.^[471]

Attorney Stephen Jones believes that Howe was indicted "for the purposes of 'leverage' against her in order to keep her mouth shut about what she knows about the activities of Mahon and Strassmeir," and her employer, the ATF.^[472] As the reader will soon discover, this is not be the time the Federal Government would seek to silence and discredit one of its own informants.

Perhaps most surprisingly, during a July, 1997 pre-trial hearing for Howe, FBI agent Pete Rickel revealed that "Grandpa" Millar was a confidential FBI informant! When asked if Millar had been a source of government information or an informant, Rickel replied, "generally, yes."

It now appeared that there were at least *three* government informants inside Elohim City — Howe, Strassmeir, and Millar, the later two who were inciting a war with the Federal Government. Add to that the probability of Brescia, Mahon, and McVeigh being informants, and Elohim City begins to look like one great big government-run neo-Nazi training camp.

According to a former government informant interviewed by the *Gazette*, "It is typical for agencies such as the CIA, FBI and ATF to place multiple 'moles' inside a place like Elohim City and play one resource off the other, without either one knowing the identity of the other." Federal law enforcement, even different offices of the same agency, often do not share informants' names unless the mission calls for it.

"The reasons are obvious. First, there is no way a law enforcement agency is going to risk exposing the life of one of their assets should the other 'resource' succumb to torture or decide to double-cross the agency. And, of course, the monitoring of information can best be verified if neither resource knows who the other is. That's the only way this game works, and it's the only way it succeeds."

And what of Michael Brescia? Was he also an informant? Given the close, often revealing nature of a roommate relationship, it is likely that an undercover agent would room with another agent, even if nothing more than one might overhear the other talking in his sleep.

Strassmeir himself admitted the difficulty of going "deep cover," and having to keep your guard up 24 hours-a-day. "If you were an undercover agent," said Strassmeir, "you have to keep your guard up, you can't get close."

Is that why he roomed with Brescia, so he wouldn't have to maintain his guard? Not according to Strassmeir: "I would be very surprised if he (Brescia) was an undercover agent. He's a very honest, straightforward guy."

Strassmeir, along with friends Peter and Sonny Ward, fled Elohim City in August of '95, after McVeigh defense team investigators began looking into activities at the secretive compound.

Brescia left Elohim City around the same time as Strassmeir, with his fiancé Ester, traveling to Canada, and remaining mostly underground. He subsequently returned to his parents' house in Philadelphia, where he was actively sought by the media.

Curiously, like his friend Strassmeir, Brescia was completely ignored by federal authorities for his possible role in the bombing. He was finally arrested for the Wisconsin bank heist in February of 1997. Was it a legitimate bust, or did the arrest serve to silence him for his role in the bombing as the government tried to do with Carol Howe?

Shawn Kenny gave the FBI the tip that led to the arrest of Guthrie, who was apprehended after a high-speed chase outside of Cincinnati in January of 1997. He was found dead in his cell in Covington, Kentucky six months later, on July 12, hanged with a bed sheet. Authorities quickly ruled his death a suicide. According to a note found at the scene, Guthrie was apparently feeling guilty over his turncoat attitude, and didn't want to endanger his family.

"Sometimes it takes something like a suicide to settle a problem," he'd written to his attorney. "Especially one that's like... mine."^[473]

Yet Dennis Mahon told *Village Voice* reporter James Ridgeway he believes Guthrie was murdered because he had threatened to reveal information about the proceeds of the loot, which was believed to have gone to the Aryan Nations and other neo-Nazi groups. Guthrie was found dead only a few hours after telling a reporter from the *Los Angeles Times* that he intended to write a tell-all book that "would go a lot further into what we were really doing."^[474] He was also just days away from appearing before a grand jury.

With Guthrie's help, Stedeford was arrested on May 24 at the Upper Darby recording studio where he worked as a guitarist, and McCarthy was captured in the Bustleton section of Philadelphia. Thomas was eventually arrested in conjunction with several robberies as well.^[475]

Langan was arrested at his rented house in Columbus, Ohio several days after Guthrie, in a fusillade of bullets fired by over-eager FBI agents. The wanted fugitive, who had fired no shots, likened the arrest to an assassination attempt. Another silencing attempt perhaps? (The FBI claimed they were warned that Langan wouldn't be taken alive.)

Ironically, during his trial, the self-styled revolutionary shouted hackneyed phrases such as "Power to the People!" and told the judge that the ARA's mission was to overthrow the government and "set free the oppressed people of North America." Except, apparently, for Blacks, Jews, and homosexuals.^[476]

Yet eyebrows everywhere raised when Langan showed up in jail with pink-painted toenails and long manicured fingernails. Langan's lover, a transsexual named Cherie Roberts, appeared at the trial and exclaimed during a scene with U.S. Marshals, "I can't even talk to my wife!"

Roberts, who met Langan at a Kansas City group called "Crossdressers and Friends," called the neo-macho revolutionary bank robber by his charmed pet moniker, "Donna."^[477]

In a "recruitment" video confiscated during a search of Langan's house, "Donna" appears in a black ski-mask, exhorting potential revolutionaries to eradicate all non-whites and non-Christians from the country, and eliminate federal "whores."

"In solidarity with our Serbian brothers we understand the meaning of ethnic cleansing. To us, it's not a dirty word." Apparently, preoperative transsexuals were not included in Langan's targeted population group.

The 107-minute propaganda film, entitled "The Aryan Republican Army Presents: The Armed Struggle Underground," plays out like a bad Monty Python skit. Langan shouts orders in Spanish from behind a desk festooned with hand grenades and bank booty, while his "troops" goose-step in the background. "Our basic goal is to set up an Aryan Republic on the North American continent," states "Commander Pedro."^[478]

The neo-revolutionaries also expound their philosophy and tactics, which include, not surprisingly... blowing up federal buildings. "We have endeavored to keep collateral damage and civilian casualties to a minimum," announces their leader, "but as in all wars, some innocents shall suffer. So be it."

The video was completed in January, 1995, four months before the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building. Langan, for his part, says he had nothing to do with the bombing. "Most of my family, my siblings work in federal buildings," he told the *Washington Post*.^[479]

Yet given Langan's connections to Brescia, Strassmeir and Mahon, and their connections to Nichols and McVeigh, and the group's ties to the violent neo-Nazi underground, it is singularly curious why the FBI hasn't seriously pursued these leads.^[480]

Then there is the CSA's 1983 plot to blow up the Oklahoma City Federal Building, and Snell's strangely fortuitous statements about April 19, 1995.

What is even more shocking is why the ATF apparently ignored warnings from it's own informant, Carol Howe. Had they figured they could ensnare the bombers in a highly publicized bust?

"Elohim City is not a current subject of interest," a law enforcement official in Washington told the Associated Press, almost two years after the blast.^[481]

Was Elohim City of so little interest to authorities because it was a government-infiltrated spook center, kept on hand for contingencies, much as elements of the KKK were by the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover?

And what of Iraq's connections to Dennis Mahon? Is this a subject of interest? Was it just an innocent business relationship, or, like the Syrian's offer of funding to Robert Mathews, was it something more?

Teflon Terrorists

In the wake of the bombing, the media was abuzz with reports of a Middle-Eastern connection. Reporters were reporting claims of Muslim extremists, and talking heads were talking about a familiar modus operandi. Then on April 21, less than 48 hours after the bombing, the FBI announced that they had snared their elusive quarry, an angry white guy named Timothy James McVeigh. The following day, the Bureau announced that they had captured angry white guy number two: Terry Lynn Nichols.

The mainstream media, having their information spoon-fed to them by the FBI, quickly launched into in-depth analysis of the two "prime suspects." All other information quickly became buried in the great collective memory sink hole. It was as if, with the "capture" of McVeigh and Nichols, all other information became suddenly irrelevant and obsolete. The Justice Department waved their magic wand, President Clinton winked at the Middle-Eastern community, and all the world was set right again.

What remained hidden behind the official curtain of deceit however, were scores of witness accounts, official statements, and expert opinions regarding a Middle-Eastern connection. For 48 hours after the bombing, FBI officials and terrorism experts poured forth their opinions and analyses:

Robert Heibel, a former FBI counter-terrorism expert, said the bombing looked like the work of Middle East terrorists, possibly those connected with the World Trade Center bombing.^[482]

Speaking on CNN, ATF director John Magaw said: "I think any time you have this kind of damage, this kind of explosion, you have to look there (Middle East terrorists) first."

"This was done with the attempt to inflict as many casualties as possible," said terrorism expert Steven Emerson on CBS Evening News. "That is a Middle Eastern trait and something that has been, generally, not carried out on this soil until we were rudely awakened to it in 1993."

Former United States Representative Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma (former Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee) told CBS News that there was "very clear evidence of the involvement of fundamentalist Islamic terrorist groups."^[483]

Former FBI counter-terrorism chief Oliver "Buck" Revell told CBS Evening News, "I think it's most likely a Middle East terrorist. I think the modus operandi is similar. They have used this approach."

Ex-CIA counter-terrorism director Vince Cannistraro told the *Washington Times*, "Right now, it looks professional, and it's got the marks of a Middle Eastern group."

Avi Lipkin, a former Israeli Defense Intelligence specialist on the Prime Minister's staff, in Oklahoma City at the time of the bombing, told investigator Craig Roberts, "this is a typical Arab Terrorist type attack."^[484]

It was also reported the Israelis gave the Americans a "general warning" concerning the bombing.^[485]

CBS News stated that the FBI had received claims of responsibility from at least eight different organizations. Seven of the claimants were thought to have Middle Eastern connections:

An FBI communiqué that was circulated Wednesday suggested that the attack was carried out by the Islamic Jihad, an Iranian-backed Islamic militant group, said a security professional in California who declined to be named... the communiqué suggested the attack was made in retaliation for the prosecution of Muslim fundamentalists in the bombing of the World Trade Center in February, 1993, said the source, a non-government security professional.... "We are currently inclined to suspect the Islamic Jihad as the likely group..."^[486]

James Fox, former head of the New York FBI office, told CBS News, "We thought that we would hear from the religious zealots in the future, that they would be a thorn in our side for years to come."

On July 2nd, shortly after Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman's surrender to U.S. Immigration authorities, the Egyptian Jama a' Islamiya (the group implicated in the World Trade Center bombing) issued a statement saying that if the Sheik was prosecuted or extradited to Egypt, they would begin a world-wide terror campaign against the United States.

On April 21, 1995, the *London Telegraph* reported: "Israeli anti-terror experts believe the Oklahoma bombing and the 1993 World Trade Center explosion are linked and that American investigators should focus on Islamic extremists."

The same day, the *London Sunday Times* carried a report that suggested President Saddam Hussein of Iraq may have been involved in both the World Trade Center and the Oklahoma City bombings:

Iraq was furious with America last week at its United Nations move to foil efforts to overturn Gulf war economic sanctions... Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, the recently-captured alleged mastermind of the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center in New York, was directly funded by Baghdad, according to CIA and FBI documents — and evidence so far developed about the latest bomb indicates some similarities in the planning.^[487]

If those in Baghdad were angry over the brutal and relentless attack on their country by U.S. forces during the Gulf War, they had additional reason for anger when President Clinton launched a retaliatory raid against Iraqi intelligence headquarters in Baghdad. The June 26 Cruise Missile strike was directed against the complex after an alleged plot was uncovered to assassinate former president, crook, and mass murderer George Bush during his recent visit to Kuwait.^[488] The raid merely destroyed some of the complex, and leveled about a dozen surrounding homes, killing approximately six civilians. Syndicated columnist Charlie Reese called it "high-tech terrorism."

The *Net News Service* reported the next day that the government-backed *Al-Thawra* newspaper charged that Clinton had carried out the attack only to bolster his "eroded popularity and credibility... domestically." Both *Al-Thawra* and General Saber Abdul-Aziz Douri, head of the Iraqi intelligence service, indicated that the Iraqi government had vowed vengeance against the United States.

Backing up Douri's claims was former head of Iraqi military intelligence, General Wafiq al-Sammara'i, who told the *London Independent* that the June, 1996 bombing of the U.S. military housing complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, which killed 19 servicemen, "strongly resembled plans drawn up by a secret Iraqi committee on which he served after the invasion of Kuwait. He says operations considered by Iraq, but not carried out at that time due to shortage of reliable agents, included exploding large bombs near buildings where American soldiers were living."^[489]

One month later, the *Washington Post* reported:

Early on July 6, Col. Mohammar Qaddafi of Libya issued a warning that President Clinton and the United States had 'blundered' in the recent missile attack on Baghdad, and that the United States should expect 'a lot more terrorism' in the near future. Qaddafi spoke of increasingly violent and spectacular acts to be perpetrated expressly for broadcast on the national and international television.^[490]

Shortly after the bombing, KFOR, Channel 4 in Oklahoma City received a call from the Nation of Islam, taking credit for the bombing. Interestingly, the NOI has been directly funded by Libya.

The *Post's* Jack Anderson added that a direct attack against the U.S. would be unlikely, and that counter-terrorist analysts feared that the only viable avenue for Hussein's revenge would be through the use of terrorism. "A preferable revenge for Iraq would involve having a 'surrogate terrorist' carry out a domestic attack that Hussein could privately take credit for..."

According to Dr. Laurie Mylroie, Ph.D., a Middle East expert at the Center for Security Policy, and an authority on the World Trade Center bombing, Iraqi agents such as Ramzi Yousef had infiltrated the original World Trade Center cell, resulting in the construction of a more powerful, sophisticated bomb.

Dr. Mylroie noted that on September 27, 1994, as Iraqi troops tested American resolve by preparing a new assault against Kuwait, Saddam Hussein declared: "We will open the storehouses of the universe" against the United States. Two days later, *Babil* — a newspaper in Iraq owned by Saddam's son, Uday — amplified, saying: "Does the United States realize the meaning of opening the stores of the world with the will of Iraqi people?...Does it realize the meaning of every Iraqi becoming a missile that can cross to countries and cities?"^[491]

Mylroie notes that there may be other Iraqi intelligence agents at large in this country, known as "sleepers," waiting to carry out far more deadly acts of revenge against the U.S. One such cell, planted by the Abu Nidal organization, was discovered in 1986. Four of their Palestinian members were arrested eight years later after one of them murdered the daughter of an FBI agent.^[492]

On January 28, 1991, the *Washington Post* reported:

If Saddam is serious about terrorizing Americans at home, there are several allies he could call on for help. The most dangerous terrorist Organization in the world, the Abu Nidal organization, now based in Baghdad, has a rudimentary infrastructure of about 50 people in the United States. All of them, according to FBI sources, are under surveillance....

"Among the terrorists who are taking or would take orders from Saddam," added the *Post*, "are Abu Ibrahim, a pioneer bomb maker who designed the barometric pressure bomb that blew up Pan Am Flight 103, and Ahmed Jibril, who masterminded the Pan Am bombing on a contract from Iran."^[493]

Ironically, U.S. interventions abroad have permitted the entry into America of extremist and even terrorist organizations that have subsequently gained footholds in ethnic communities across the country. Texas and Oklahoma, in fact, are major centers of Islamic activities in the U.S.

Steven Emerson was quoted on CBS Evening News as saying, "Oklahoma City, I can tell you, is probably considered one of the largest centers of Islamic radical activity outside the Middle East."^[494]

Emerson chronicled the rise of radical Islam in America in a 1994 PBS documentary which showed how fundamentalists had launched a recruiting campaign across the mid- and southwest. An Oklahoma City meeting in 1988 was attended by members of Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement), Islamic Jihad (Holy War) and the Muslim Brotherhood, each notorious for their sponsorship of terrorism. The meeting was held only blocks from the Federal Building.

As Stephen Jones stated in his March 25th Writ of Mandamus:

The Murrah Building was chosen either because of lack of security (i.e. it was a "soft target"), or because of available resources such as Iraqi POWs who had been admitted into the United States were located in Oklahoma City, or possibly because the location of the building was important to American neo-Nazis such as those individuals who supported Richard Snell who was executed in Arkansas on April 19, 1995....

Secret workshops have reportedly been held in the U.S., where HizbAllah and Hamas members have been taught bomb making techniques and small arms practice. HizbAllah, the Iranian-sponsored and Syrian-backed "Party of God," is believed to be behind a series of bombings in July of 1994 that took 117 lives in Argentina, Panama, and Britain. HizbAllah is the same Lebanon-based terrorist group that perpetrated the October 1983 bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut.^[495]

The most notorious U.S. terrorist cell was in Jersey City, led by Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, the group responsible for plotting the destruction of the UN building and the Holland Tunnel. Three of Rahman's followers were convicted for bombing the World Trade Center. One of their leaders, El-Sayyid Nosair, spelled out his plans to terrorize the United States: "We have to thoroughly demoralize the enemies of God.... by means of destroying and blowing up the towers that constitute the pillars of their civilization such as the tourist attractions they are so proud of and the high buildings they are so proud of."^[496]

Another influential figure in Islamic radical circles — Sheik Mohammad al-Asi, the religious leader of the Islamic Education Center in Potomac, Maryland, was quoted on PBS as saying:

"If the Americans are placing their forces in the Persian Gulf, we should be creating another war front for the Americans in the Muslim world — and specifically where American interests are concentrated. In Egypt, in Turkey, in the Indian subcontinent, just to mention a few. Strike against American interests there."

While the Arab underground structure in the U.S. is generally based on the PLO, not all of its members are Palestinian. Many may emigrate from Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, and Libya, the five nations most often connected with terrorism. According to former Israeli intelligence officer William Northrop, the original PLO structure shifted in 1991, after the PLO/Israeli peace process began. As Northrop writes:

The Texas Cell is based in Houston and is supported by several sub-cells, one of which is based in Oklahoma City. This Texas Cell was tied into the World Trade Center bombing on 26 February 1993.

The Oklahoma City sub-cell originated with the Palestinian students who were sent from various Arab countries to study Petroleum Engineering at OU in Norman. (the current Deputy Petroleum Minister of Iran is an OU graduate.)^[497]

Their members may also come from a broader philosophic milieu, and unlike the PLO, have a wider range of targets, including not only Israel, but secular regimes in Muslim countries and those states that support them.

Notes Middle East analyst James Phillips: "Because they are motivated by apocalyptic zeal, and not sober political calculations, their choice of possible targets is much wider and more indiscriminate than that of other terrorists."^[498]

The goal of this new breed of terrorist was not aimed at influencing U.S. or world opinion over the Palestinian issue, but to prove the strength of the Muslim fundamentalist cause. As former Dallas Special Agent in Charge Oliver "Buck" Revell said:

"...If you listen to what [the Islamic extremist terrorists] are really saying, they're not just aimed at the Israelis, they are not just aimed at the Jewish state. Their goals are completely and totally to eradicate any opposition to Hamas and to Islam and to move against the United States ultimately."^[499]

Obviously, these journalists and experts hadn't developed their theories in a vacuum. The evidence was clear, and the warnings were imminent. Allan Denhan wrote in *ASP Newsletter* that a Jordanian Intelligence official had passed a "target list" to an American businessman two months prior to the bombing, and the Murrah Building was on that list. Although this information is unconfirmed, it makes perfect sense, since Jordan has a long-standing intelligence relationship with the CIA.

In March of 1995, Israel's Shin Bet (General Security Services, Israel's equivalent to the FBI), arrested approximately 10 Hamas terrorists in Jerusalem, some of whom had recently returned from a trip to Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. According to Northrop, interrogation of those suspects was thought to have revealed information concerning the plot to bomb the Murrah Building. "The Shin Bet filed a warning with the Legal Attaché (FBI) at the American Embassy in Tel Aviv as a matter of course," wrote Northrop. [\[500\]](#)

On April 20, the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Arhonot* wrote:

Yesterday, it was made known that over the last few days, U.S. law enforcement agencies had received intelligence information originating in the Middle East, warning of a large terrorist attack on U.S. soil. No alert was sounded as a result of this information. [\[501\]](#)

Northrop also said that the German Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND, the equivalent of the American CIA), also sent a warning to the U.S. State Department. That was followed by a warning from the Saudis. "A Saudi Major General... informed former CIA Counterterrorism Chief Vince Cannistraro, who in turn informed the FBI. There is a 302 (FBI report) in existence." [\[502\]](#)

The agent Cannistraro passed the information to was Kevin L. Foust, one of the FBI's leading counterterrorism agents. Ironically, the information was given to Foust on the same day as the bombing.

According to the information obtained by Stephen Jones, the Saudi Arabian Intelligence Service reported that Iraq had hired seven Pakistani mercenaries — Afghani War veterans known as the Mujahadeen — to bomb targets in the U.S., one of which was the Alfred P. Murrah Building. They also advised the FBI that — as is often the case — the true identity of the sponsor may not have been revealed to the bombers. [\[503\]](#)

Interestingly, Northrop stated that three Israelis were in Oklahoma *before* the April 19th attack to "*keep an eye on things.*" Avi Lipkin and William Northrop were two such individuals. [\[504\]](#)

In addition to these warnings — as well as the mighty armada of U.S. intelligence agencies, analysts, and surveillance technology which would have undoubtedly been monitoring the situation — at least one local informant tried to warn authorities in advance. His warnings went unheeded.

The Drug Connection Informant

After the bombing, Cary Gagan stepped forward to tell Jones that he had been present at a meeting of bombing conspirators including Middle-Easterners, Caucasians, and Hispanics which took place in Henderson, Nevada. [\[505\]](#)

In depositions and interviews with Jones and in numerous interviews with the author, the government informant and former drug courier described a number of meetings at the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City. In 1980, the Soviets asked Gagan to assist them in procuring military secrets from Dan Howard, a contact of Gagan's who worked at Martin Marietta, a large defense contractor in Waterton, Colorado. The Soviets had been watching Howard. Gagan was a friend. He informed the FBI. [\[506\]](#)

In June of 1986, the Soviets again asked Gagan's help — this time, to assist illegal Iranian immigrants needing false IDs. The small-time hustler and counterfeiter met his contact, a man named "Hamid" who worked at Stapleton International Airport in Denver, and secretly recorded the conversation. He turned the tapes over to FBI Agent Bill Maten, and Kenny Vasquez of the Denver Police Intelligence Bureau. [\[507\]](#)

The 51-year-old government informant supported himself by ferrying Cocaine between Mexico and Colorado for Colombians posing as Mexicans, living in Denver. It was through his association with these Colombians that Gagan met "Omar" and "Ahmed," in Las Vegas in March of '94.

"They tried to first play themselves off as Colombians, " said Gagan "but I knew they were Iranians... or Middle-Easterners. They were multi-lingual, with big-time funding.

It was at this meeting that the drug dealer learned he was to transport kilos of cocaine from Mexico to Denver. He informed DEA Agent Robert Todd Gregory. "I told Gregory this dude looked like a banker to me. They had heavy cash. They took care of me. They had all kinds of connections."

On May 16, 1994, Gagan met his new contacts at the Western Motel in Las Vegas, where his brother worked as a pit-boss. There were eight

men at the meeting, five of whom were Middle Eastern, including Omar and Ahmed. "Two of them didn't say a word," recalled Gagan, "but they looked like Colombians to me — you know, Latin."

One of the Middle Easterners was from Oklahoma City. He appeared to be the leader. The Eighth man was Terry Nichols. In a sworn deposition, Gagan told McVeigh's attorney:

Gagan: "I met with some Arabs, and in that group, and I did not know it at the time, but in that group was Nichols."

Jones: "Terry?"

Gagan: "Terry Nichols."^[508]

Gagan first recalled seeing Nichols in the parking lot of a bingo parlor the men had stopped at. "He was wearing a plaid, short sleeve shirt and dockers.... I remember going, 'That's kind of a dirty lookin' dude.' That's all I said. I thought, you know, he didn't fit in the picture here. He looked like a scientist."^[509]

The men snorted cocaine at the Western Motel and discussed their plans, then drove to an apartment complex in Henderson called the Player's Club. It is not known whom they met with. As far as Gagan knew, they were all there to discuss drug dealing. It wasn't exactly clear what the Colombians were doing with the Arabs.^[510]

Gagan would soon find out though. Omar and Ahmed, who had been paying Gagan with counterfeit money (mostly counterfeit Iranian \$100 bills), wanted him to take part in a plot to blow up a federal building in Denver, using a mail truck packed with explosives.

"I was going to be part of it because I could move through... because I'm Anglo and I'm a U.S. citizen and, you know, I wouldn't draw attention.... I'm in and out of that federal building every day."

The truck, purchased from a government auction, was painted to resemble a working mail truck. On January 14, 1995, Gagan picked up the truck at the Metro Bar & Grill and drove it to the Marriott Hotel, just outside of Golden, Colorado.

"Omar came out with me, showed me where the truck was, and said, 'Just get in it and drive down I-70, and here's where you park it. And as soon as you make the delivery, make this call....' And I gave the FBI the pay phone number saying it was there. And I stayed in there and had a drink — in the bar, and came walking out, and the sucker was gone."

Gagan says he talked to the FBI duty agent from a pay phone at 9th and Logan for over 35 minutes. "I said 'Hey, I need you to tell what to do here.' And they never called back."

In the back of the truck were approximately thirty duffel bags of ammonium nitrate marked "U.S. mail," and boxes from Sandex Explosives [in Las Vegas] marked "High Explosives."

Gagan boarded a bus and went home. He said the agents never showed up.

"Can you imagine if I'm driving this truck and it blows up in the city of Denver?" said an incredulous Gagan.

Also in the back of the truck was a Lely farm mixer. Gagan recalls that it was approximately four feet high, two feet across, and "shaped like a diamond."

Interestingly, this was the same description given by witness David King. King, who was staying at the Dreamland Motel in Junction City — where McVeigh stayed — saw a Ryder truck with a trailer attached to it in the parking lot on April 17. Inside the trailer was an object secured by a canvas tarp. "It was a squarish shape, and it came to a point on top," said King. "It was about three or four feet high."

In June, Gagan discovered plastic explosives in an athletic bag packed with cocaine he was to deliver to Denver. The bag, Omar said, was to be left at the Postal Center, a shipping and receiving facility owned by George Colombo, who also operated a Ryder truck leasing center across the street. A friend of Gagan's, Colombo would occasionally let him stay at an apartment he maintained when things got too heavy.^[511]

Things were definitely getting heavy for Gagan. When the casual cocaine user decided to open the bag and help himself to a little "blow," he discovered plastic explosives wrapped in brown paper. "And I'm thinking, 'Jesus, how the hell did this get by the airport'? So I packed it up, and I'm thinking, 'I'm going to the feds,' because you know... I'm a felon, this is C-4... I'm going [down] forever."

Gagan asked Colombo to hold the bag for him. He then called the Denver Police Intelligence Bureau and met them at a Burger King in Aurora. Gagan sat in the unmarked car, as his friend Billy, a cab driver, watched from nearby.

"I said, 'Look, there's some C-4...' I'm feeling them out... I give them some names, you know, what the deal was in Las Vegas. I tell them I'm

in contact with the DEA — Robert Gregory and all that. They don't say anything. This is June, mid-June of '94. They say they'll get back to me."

Three weeks later, after contacting the FBI, the police called Gagan back. "They tell me quote, 'Since you're the source of the information Gagan, we're not going to investigate.'"

Gagan then called Gregory at the DEA. Gregory told Gagan, "Hey, we can't take you on."

The informant claims he continually challenged the police and the FBI to charge him if his information was false. "If all this was a big lie, they could have charged me with lying, but they didn't."

While the FBI and the Denver Police were debating the merits of Gagan's credibility, Omar picked up the bag from Colombo and left.

Three months later, in September, Gagan was approached by Omar and Ahmed again. "They said 'It's going to involve terrorism, do you have a problem with that?' I said 'no.' I asked them, 'What kind of money are we looking at?' They said 'a quarter of a million dollars.' I said 'up front?' They said 'Yes.'

Gagan accepted the money, which he believes was paid out of the Cali Cartel. "The FBI knew it," said Gagan. "They never got back to me."

Were Latin American drug dealers conspiring with Arab terrorists to blow up the Federal Building? Said 25-year DEA veteran agent Mike Levine: "When you consider terrorist actions like TWA 800 (or Oklahoma City), and you omit any drug trafficking involvement, it's insane — it doesn't make any sense.... You know you take for example two years or three years ago the La Bianca plane that was blown out of the sky — it was attributed to drug traffickers. I can think right off the top of my head of another case in Colombia of a plane blown up with a lot of passengers to kill one person, and probably many, many more."

Levine, a highly decorated DEA agent, and the DEA's former Argentine Station Chief, told me that countries such as Bolivia, Paraguay, and Colombia are full of Arabs doing business with Latinos, including drug dealing. "The first thing you have to keep in mind is that drug trafficking is now a half a trillion dollar business around the third-world," said Levine, "and it's mainly a third-world business. The top drug traffickers around the world have more power than presidents. The Mujahadeen for instance, which we supported, were always top heroin smugglers. They were rated one, two and three by DEA as a source, and they right now support every Muslim fundamentalist movement on the face of the earth...."^[512]

The parallel may be more than speculative. Shortly after the bombing, on May 8, Tulsa police veteran Craig Roberts received information from a law enforcement source in Texas that "Juan Garcia Abrego was involved in the bombing as a 'cash provider' for the event. The source said that Abrego had sent two Mexican nationals to Oklahoma City with a satchel full of cash to finance the bombing."

Abrego was a Mexican Mafia chieftain involved in the cocaine and heroin trafficking through Mexico from Guadalajara to Texas. He allegedly was the ground transportation link during the Iran-Contra/Mena affair.

This information was forwarded to both the FBI and the DEA who were asked for each to check their files and/or computers, using various spellings, to see if they had heard of such an individual. Neither replied back that they had knowledge and no further action was taken....^[513]

Considering the FBI's apparent lack of knowledge, is curious that Abrego was at the top of the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list since March, a month before the bombing and almost two months before Robert's original inquiry.

It seemed the FBI's lack of interest in Robert's information was suspiciously similar to their lack of interest in Gagan's.^[514] What is also interesting is that their first effort to discredit Gagan — a drug runner on the periphery of the Iran-Contra drug network — coincided with the Iran-Contra affair becoming public.^[515]

"In my opinion, people were paid massive amounts of dope to carry this thing out," said Gagan. The informant's belief that he was paid by the Cali Cartel may be significant in light of Robert's information that Abrego funneled money to the bombing conspirators.

Was the FBI's attempt to repudiate the Middle Eastern connection tied to their refusal to look at the Abrego lead?

As Levine said: "The minute you start taking about terrorist actions, and you eliminate drug trafficking, well, then... you're just not credible... It's just very unrealistic to look at a situation — any terrorist situation — and not look at a drug trafficking angle anymore. In my opinion, and I think there's plenty of substantiation eventhough the government won't talk about it, you can say, this vast ocean of money traveling around the world — illegal untapped money — pays for an enormous amount of terrorist activity."

If the Cali Cartel and Gagan's Arabs were connected, and in turn tied to a tentacle of the Iran-Contra Octopus through Abrego, it's only natural that the FBI — which played its own role in covering up Iran-Contra — would tend to look the other way.

In spite of the FBI's apparent refusal to act on Gagan's information, and their subsequent attempts to discredit him, on September 14, 1994,

Gagan was granted a Letter of Immunity by the U.S. Attorneys Office in Denver. The immunity was arranged through Federal Public Defender Raymond Moore.^[516] (See Appendix)

The informant was told to stay with the group and report back to the Bureau. On March 17, Gagan met with his Arab friends at the Hilton Inn South in Greenwood Village, Colorado. *On the table were the construction plans for the Alfred P. Murrah Building, bearing the name J.W. Bateson Company of Dallas, Texas.*

Still, Gagan alleges that federal agents didn't follow up on any of his leads.

"I knew, when they did not contact me after the truck... when I was moving explosives, I knew something was up. I knew. I figured from that point on, without a doubt, they had a government agent in this ring. Because they cannot let me do that type of stuff.

"And then, after the March 17th meeting, I waited for them to contact me, because I just had a feeling that the dude that had come up [from Oklahoma City] — the new guy on the scene there — was an agent. The way he acted and talked... I just felt different than I did around the other dudes.... That's just my personal feeling."^[517]

Did the feds ignore Gagan's warnings because they had their own agent in the bombing cell and wanted to obtain more information to "sting" the bombers later on? Gagan believes this is a possibility. Yet while Gagan had the option of pulling out, he realized it would be too risky to suddenly disappear from the scene. Omar and Ahmed were watching him.

On April 4, 1995, Omar pulled up at the Western Motel in Las Vegas, where Gagan's brother worked. "Come on," said Omar to a somewhat startled Gagan, "I want you to drive with me to Kingman."

The two men then drove to Arizona, where they delivered a package to a man waiting on the corner of Northern and Sierra, wearing a cowboy hat and driving a rusty brown pick-up. Could this mystery figure have been Steven Garrett Colbern, who owned the brown pick-up seen stopped ahead of McVeigh when he was pulled by Trooper Hanger over after the bombing? The description of the man matched Colbern's height and build. But Gagan did not know who he was at the time, or what was in the package.

On the way home, Gagan recalled Omar saying, "we're taking down a building in two weeks."^[518]

On March 27 and 28, Gagan made over five calls to the U.S. Marshals Office. None were ever returned. Agent Mark Holtslaw of the FBI's Domestic Counter terrorism Squad, told me, "I can assure you that any info was thoroughly checked out.... There are things that go on in the background that the individual is not aware of." But, Holtslaw added, "there is no statutory obligation to get back to an individual regarding our investigation and its status."^[519]

Gagan doesn't buy Holtslaw's explanation. The FBI's procedures regarding informants require that they be controlled and supervised. "How do you investigate a thing if you don't contact me?" asked Gagan. "So they either had another agent or another informant inside the group."

Gagan was getting nowhere with the Marshals, the U.S. Attorneys, and the FBI. It was now less than two weeks before the bombing. On April 6, Gagan drafted a letter and delivered it to Tina Rowe, head of the U.S. Marshals Office in Denver. While Gagan waited outside, his cab driver friend dropped it off. The letter read:

Dear Ms. Rowe:

After leaving Denver for what I thought would be for a long time, I returned here last night because I have specific information that within two weeks a federal building(s) is to be bombed in this area or nearby. The previous requests I made for you to contact me, 25th & 28th of March 1995 were ignored by you, Mr. Allison and my friends at the FBI. I would not ignore the specific request for you personally to contact me immediately regarding a plot to blow-up a federal bldg. If the information is false request Mr. Allison to charge me accordingly. If you and/or your office does not contact me as I so request herein, I will never again contact any law enforcement agency, federal or state, regarding those matters set out in the letter of immunity.^[520]

Cary Gagan.

Call 832-4091 (Now)

Rowe did not respond. When she was confronted by KFOR-TV in Oklahoma City, she said that she had never received Gagan's letter. (See Appendix)

Yet Gagan's friend gave *New American* editor Bill Jasper a signed affidavit showing that he personally delivered the warning to the U.S. Marshals.^[521]

According to Rowe, the point is moot, because the college graduate and former public school teacher has a history of "psychological

problems." It seems that Gagan was sent to the Colorado State Mental Hospital in September of 1986 by Dr. Erwin Levy, at the behest of the feds. [\[522\]](#)*

"That was because I wasn't cooperating with my attorney," he said, referring to a 1986 theft case in Arapahoe County. "You tell somebody you're involved in espionage with the Soviets, and that's what they do, send you down to the James Bond ward." [\[523\]](#)

According to Gagan, the Colorado State Mental Hospital's Dr. Green pronounced Gagan sane, and he seemed level-headed when Representative Key and I interviewed him in March of '97.

Others think the informant isn't reliable. A friend of Gagan's who's known him for 30 years told me he thinks Gagan's "full of shit," and "not in touch with reality."

Another, a Federal Public Defender who represented Gagan, told me, "Cary has an encyclopedic memory, of events, places and times." She said that Gagan was "bright [and] well-intentioned," although she added, "My gut sense is that the pure facts may be right, but I sometimes questioned the legal significance of some of it." Overall, she said she "liked" the informant. [\[524\]\[525\]](#)

Moreover, if Rowe's allegations regarding Gagan's credibility are valid, why then did U.S. Attorney Henry Solano grant him a Letter of Immunity? If the feds thought Gagan was incompetent, they had a full decade of experience with him [as did the Denver Police] from which to establish his credibility or lack thereof.

"If I had a history of mental illness," explained Gagan, "they couldn't take me on as an informant."

The feds' opinions may have stemmed from a 1983 incident where the informant was blacklisted by the DEA due to allegations he provided false information to the benefit of several drug dealers. Yet Gagan claims he redeemed himself by obtaining sensitive DEA-6 files that had been stolen from their office. Gagan said the DEA noted the informant's assistance on his record. [\[526\]](#)*

Then in 1986, while Gagan was in jail for insurance fraud, he was visited by Kenny Vasquez, Bill Maten, and two FBI agents: Phillip Mann and Stanley Miller. They offered to get him early release if he would work again as an informant. Gagan declined. "They wanted to take me out of jail, and bring me back at night," said Gagan. "I Didn't want any part of it."

In January of 1989, Agents Miller and Mann again asked Gagan to assist them in a joint FBI/Customs counterintelligence sting operation known as Operation Aspen Leaf. Their interest centered on one Edward Bodenzayer, a Soviet spy whom Gagan had met in Puerto Vallarta in 1982. Bodenzayer had been exporting classified technology to Russia through his import/export company.

Finally, on September 14, 1994, the Justice Department granted Gagan his immunity. The agreement, printed on an official U.S. Justice Department letterhead, read [in part]:

This letter is to memorialize the agreement between you and the United States of America, by the undersigned Assistant United States Attorney. The terms of this agreement are as follows:

1. You have contacted the U.S. Marshals Service on today's date indicating that you have information concerning a conspiracy and/or attempt to destroy United States court facilities in [redacted] and possibly other cities.
2. The United States agrees that any statement and/or information that you provide relevant to this conspiracy/conspiracies or attempts will not be used against you in any criminal proceeding. Further, the United States agrees that no evidence derived from the information or statements provided by you will be used in any way against you.... [\[527\]](#)

In spite of the sensitive nature of Gagan's information, and the Letter of Immunity, "In the period of one year, from September 14, 1994, to the first week of September, 1995," said Gagan, "not one agent recontacted me, not one U.S. official of any kind recontacted me except [FBI SAC] Dave Shepard in Vegas."

Naturally, the FBI denied any wrongdoing.

Assistant U.S. Attorney James Allison was quoted in the August 12, 1995 issue of the *Rocky Mountain News* as saying, "Why would I grant somebody immunity and then not speak with him?"

When this author contacted Allison, he said, "I'm not going to discuss who is or who isn't a federal informant."

Yet U.S. Attorney Henry Solano, Allison's boss, granted an interview with Lawrence Myers of *Media Bypass* magazine, violating the informant's confidentiality agreement, placing Gagan in danger. In the October, 1995 issue, Myers printed Gagan's letter which had been hand delivered to U.S. Marshall Tina Rowe. When Myers reprinted the letter — which was faxed to him by Solano — "April 6" was changed to "April 1," a weekend, in an attempt to show that Gagan couldn't possibly have delivered the warning. It is not clear whether Solano or Myers changed the date.

Discharged from a mental hospital in 1980 with a personality disorder, Myers was convicted of extortion in 1985 and was later asked by FBI Agent Steve Brannon to work as an informant. Myers denied working for the FBI.

Yet in 1991 he showed up at the trial of Leroy Moody, working as an "explosives expert" on behalf of the defense. Curiously, he then turned around and fed confidential information to the FBI and the state prosecutor.^[528]

Interestingly, Myers claimed to have worked for the CIA in Central America, apparently at the behest of Wackenhut, a CIA proprietary infamous for gathering intelligence on U.S. citizens. Even more interestingly, he wrote several books on explosives for Palladin Press, another CIA proprietary, including *Counterbomb*, *Smart Bombs*, and *Improved Radio Detonation Techniques*. One Myers title, called *Spycomm*, instructs readers on the "dirty tricks of the trade" regarding "covert communication techniques."

Myers also showed up at ex-spook Charles Hayes' home in London, Kentucky on the premise of writing a flattering story on the CIA agent turned whistle-blower. Hayes subsequently wound up in jail on a murder conspiracy charge — a charge he adamantly denies.

Hayes says he thinks that Myers was working for the government when he came to Kentucky to write a flattering profile of Hayes for the magazine *Media Bypass*, then privately told FBI agents that Hayes was looking for someone to kill his son.^[529]

Were Solano and Myers part of a coordinated effort to discredit Gagan? Said a private investigator and retired Army CID officer regarding Myers: "I got the impression he was probably Counterintelligence... just by knowing these parts. The people he mentioned — the people he knew — told me that he was probably in the C.I.C. (Counterintelligence Corps) at one time."^[530]

Conetta Williamson, an investigator for the Tennessee Attorney General's office, described Myers in court testimony as "a professional and pathological liar."^[531]

Myers also wrote a piece about Federal Grand Juror Hoppy Heidelberg, the only grand juror who dared question the government's line. In fact, Heidelberg never consented to be interviewed by Myers, who had obtained the content of a privileged attorney/client interview of Heidelberg surreptitiously. The information was then crafted into an "interview" and published in *Media Bypass*, ultimately resulting in Heidelberg's dismissal from the grand jury.

It seemed that Myers, using *Media Bypass* as a cover, had managed to put a government whistle-blower in jail, discredit a federal informant who had embarrassing information implicating the government in the bombing, and cause the dismissal of a troublesome grand juror.

If the feds were so intent on discrediting their own informant, why had they granted him a Letter of Immunity? Not only did Solano grant Gagan immunity, but the informant had retained it for a full 17 months. If Gagan was actually incompetent, why didn't Solano revoke the immunity instead of letting Gagan continue working with terrorists?

"It doesn't make much sense does it?" said Gagan.^[532]

It appears that the Justice Department had granted Cary Gagan immunity so they wouldn't look bad. After all, Gagan had already informed Dave Floyd at the U.S. Marshals office in September about the meeting with Omar and Ahmed.

The cat was out of the bag.

Gagan believes he was granted the Letter of Immunity as part of a more sinister scheme — a plan to allow him to proceed with the bombing plot unhindered — at which point the Letter of Immunity was revoked.

"What if at that time I was told to go in and get immunity by the terrorists, and somebody working with the terrorists... like the U.S. Government?" said Gagan. "I can't get prosecuted, can I? [The terrorists] knew that they would give me a Letter of Immunity and they knew that the FBI would cut me loose. So what's that enable them to do? If there needs to be something moved, and I'm the one that's moving it, I can't be prosecuted. I can haul as much shit as I want, and I have immunity, as long as I call the FBI, and let them know."

As a Florida police detective who's investigated connections between Arab-Americans, the PLO, and the Cali Cartel told me, "Who has the best route for getting something across? Drug dealers."^[533]

Was Cary Gagan part of some sinister plot by the feds? Or was he merely used as a "mule," allowing the terrorists to move money, drugs, and explosives while another government agent monitored the situation from within? Perhaps the new man from Oklahoma City who appeared on the scene in March?

Was Cary Gagan a "throwaway?"

Recall that Gagan had transported a duffel-bag filled with C-4 and cocaine, and had driven a truck laden with explosives across the state at

the behest of his terrorist friends. He claims the FBI did nothing to stop him.

"You got to understand something here," said Gagan. "Federal law *prohibits* me from doing what I was doing. You cannot go out as an informant — I'm not an agent — I cannot take drugs and explosives from point A to point B...."

Yet it seems that permitting the informant to commit such illegal acts would focus more light on the government's role — whether it involved foreknowledge or an actual conspiracy — as Gagan began to go public with his story. But Gagan, who believes he was scheduled to be "terminated" after the bombing, disagrees. The informant displayed medical records showing that he was badly beaten, and claims to have been the victim of a drive-by shooting.^[534]

Whatever the case, it is interesting to note that authorities alleged that the bombing conspiracy began in September of 1994, the same month that Gagan received his Letter of Immunity and began informing the FBI.

On April 10, four days after he delivered the warning letter to Tina Rowe, Gagan received a note instructing him to appear at the law library of the U.S. Courthouse.

"I just gave the U.S. Marshals a bombing warning," said Gagan. "They didn't call me back. I had to go somewhere to cover my ass. I came back, I got a note saying, 'We need to see you; come to the U.S. Law Library.' I thought it was the U.S. Marshals or the FBI."

When Gagan arrived at the law library, he met his contact: an "athletic looking dude, 40s, short hair," dressed in a blue Nike cap and jumpsuit. "I get there and say, 'Hey, you got the shit?' He said, 'Hey, we've got everything taken care of. We need you to do this....'"

The man was not one of Gagan's Arab friends. "He was government," said Gagan. "He was probably CIA."

The mysterious figure asked Gagan to drive a trailer to Junction City, Kansas. In the trailer was the same Lely mixer that Gagan had driven to Golden on January 14. This mixer — the one that was driven to the Marriott at the behest of an Arab terrorist — was now on its way to Junction City at the request of a government agent!

The date was now April 11, three days before Timothy McVeigh checked into the Dreamland Motel in Junction City. As previously mentioned, David King, who was staying at the Dreamland, recalled seeing a Ryder truck with a trailer attached to it in the parking lot on April 17. The trailer contained a "squarish object about three or four feet high that came to a point on top," secured by a canvas tarp. This was the exact description Gagan gave of the Lely mixer.^[535]

On April 13 Gagan drove to Oklahoma City, he said, to case the Murrah Building.

Three days later, Gagan says he drove a van from Denver to Trinidad, Colorado, that was picked up by Omar and Ahmed.

According to Gagan, it wasn't until three months *after* the bombing, in July of '95, that Las Vegas FBI Agent Dave Shepard agreed to meet him. "We're sitting in the car behind the Sahara, and Shepard tells me we're not interested in pursuing the lead."^[536]

That lead — was the two Arab suspects seen running from the Murrah Building towards a late model brown Chevy pick-up minutes before the blast — the same suspects that the FBI had issued an All Points Bulletin (APB) for on April 19:

"...Middle-Eastern males 25-28 years of age, six feet tall, athletic build, Dark hair and a beard — dark hair and a beard. Break."^[537]

"And these two Middle Eastern dudes that were seen running from the scene — that's the same description I had given," said Gagan. "Gray in the beard, you know — Omar and Ahmed — to the FBI... on September 14."

Gagan had provided that information to the FBI *six months before* the bombing. After the bombing, Gagan contacted Solano and said, "Isn't that amazing. You know, these are the [same] two dudes...."

In a letter to Gagan dated February 1, 1996, Solano and Allison wrote:

Attempts by federal law enforcement officers to meaningfully corroborate information you have alleged to be true have been unsuccessful.... Therefore, the immunity granted by the letter of September 14, 1994 is hereby revoked....

You are warned that any statement you make which would incriminate you in illegal conduct, past, present or future can be used against you. You are no longer protected by the immunity granted by letter on September 14, 1994.

Recall that after ATF informant Carol Howe had revealed that her knowledge of the bombing plot was reported to federal authorities *before* April 19, they tried to discredit *her*, claiming that she was "unstable," just as they had done with Gagan. While they revoked Gagan's Letter of Immunity, they indicted Howe on spurious charges.

Howe also reported a subsequent bombing plot by neo-Nazi activists, but, like Gagan's warnings both before and after the bombing, she claimed her calls weren't returned.^[538]

Interestingly, Howe was also told by her ATF handler, Angela Finley-Graham, not to report her informant payments, and was led to believe that her debriefings were not being taped when they were. Both are a violation of C.I. (Confidential Informant) procedures. Was this a way to discredit Howe in case they needed to distance themselves from her later, as they attempted to do with Gagan?

One year later, Gagan filed a lawsuit alleging that numerous federal officials had failed to uphold their agreement with him; failed to exercise proper procedures in regards to the handling of an informant; failed to investigate a terrorist conspiracy against the American people; failed to warn the public; and failed to properly investigate the crime after it occurred.

It is not surprising that officials wouldn't take Gagan's warning seriously. On December 5, 1988, a Palestinian named Samra Mahayoun warned authorities in Helsinki that a Pan Am 747 leaving Frankfurt was to be bombed within two weeks.^[539]

Two weeks later, on December 21, Pan Am flight 103 was blown out of the skies by a terrorist's bomb. Two hundred and fifty-nine people plunged to their deaths over Lockerbie, Scotland, and 11 more died on the ground.

State Department official Frank Moss later called Mahayoun's warning a "goulish coincidence." Mahayoun, they claimed, was just not credible.^[540]

Demonstrating the limits of absurdity the government will go to in order to cover up its complicity and negligence, the U.S. Marshals Service was still insisting — after 169 people lay dead in Oklahoma — that Cary Gagan was still not credible.^[541]

Yet this is not the first time the government has ignored viable warnings. Prior to the World Trade Center bombing, the FBI's paid informant, Emad Eli Salem, had penetrated Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman's Jama a Islamiya and had warned the FBI of their plans. The agent in charge of the case, John Anticev, dismissed the former Egyptian Army Colonel's warnings, calling him "unreliable." On February 26, 1993, a large bomb detonated underneath the twin towers, killing six people and injuring 1,000 more.

At the same time as "unreliable" people like Cary Gagan were warning federal authorities in Denver about the pending attack, *The Star Ledger*, a Newark, New Jersey newspaper, was reporting:

U.S. law enforcement authorities have obtained information that Islamic terrorists may be planning suicide attacks against federal courthouses and government installations in the United States.

The attacks, it is feared, would be designed to attract worldwide press attention through the murder of innocent victims. The *Star Ledger* has learned that U.S. law enforcement officials have received a warning that a "fatwa," a religious ruling similar to the death sentence targeting author Salman Rushdie, has been issued against federal authorities as a result of an incident during the trial last year of four persons in the bombing on the World Trade Center in New York.

The disclosure was made in a confidential memorandum issued by the U.S. Marshals Service in Washington calling for stepped-up security at federal facilities throughout the nation....

According to the source, Iranian-supported extremists have made it clear that steps are being taken to strike at the "Great Satan," a phrase that has been used to describe the United States...

Even more strenuous security precautions are being taken in New York, where 12 persons, including the blind fundamentalist Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, are currently on trial on charges of conspiring to wage a war of urban terrorism against the United States by blowing up the United Nations, FBI headquarters and the tunnels between New York and New Jersey...

The memo, issued by Eduardo Gonzales, director of the *U.S. Marshals Service*, warns that attacks may be designed to "target as many victims as possible and draw as much media coverage as possible" to the fundamentalist cause...

The terrorists, possible suicide bombers, will not engage in negotiations," the memo warned, and said "once the press is on the scene, the new plans call for blowing everyone up."^[542]

If that last statement is true, it could explain the presence of a box of explosives found in the Murrah Building with a timer on it set for ten minutes after nine. The initial bomb(s) blew up at two minutes after nine.

The U.S. Marshal's Service — the federal agency charged with the task of protecting federal facilities — had clear warning from at least two different undercover informants. Why then was there no security at the Murrah Building on April 19?

It was also reported that the Israelis, the Saudis, and the Kuwaitis all warned the U.S. about an impending attack. Whatever the U.S.

Marshals Service felt about Cary Gagan's warning, Gonzales apparently felt his other sources were reliable enough to issue a nation-wide alert. Perhaps that memo, like the one issued by the FBI in 1963 to its field offices warning of an attempt on the life of President Kennedy, just "disappeared."

A Trail of Witnesses

On April 19, Abraham Ahmed, a Jordanian, was detained by authorities as a possible bombing suspect as he attempted to fly from Oklahoma City to Amman, Jordan. American Airlines personnel observed Ahmed "acting nervous," prior to his flight, and notified security personnel, who in turn notified the FBI.

Agents detained Ahmed in Chicago, where the Oklahoma City resident explained that he was on his way to his father's wedding, and was scheduled to return to the U.S. in July.

Yet Ahmed's story changes. He told reporters alternately that he had gone back to Jordan: a) for a wedding, b) to build a house, c) to replace the youngest son who had moved out, and d) to attend to a family emergency.

After being questioned for six hours, the FBI allowed Ahmed to continue on his way. Yet he was detained in London the following day, where he was questioned for another five hours, then handcuffed and put on the next plane back to the U.S.

In the meantime, Ahmed's luggage continued on to Rome, where authorities discovered a suitcase full of electronic equipment, including two car radios, silicon, solder, shielded and unshielded wire, a small tool kit, and, incredibly enough, a photo album with pictures of weapons and missiles! Security sources at London's Heathrow Airport also said that a pair of blue jogging suits and a timing device was found in one of his bags.^[543]

When asked what he was doing with these items, Ahmed explained that they were for his relatives in Jordan, who could not obtain good-quality electrical components. Ahmed also had a blue jogging suit similar to what a Middle-Eastern suspect was wearing at the Murrah Building on the morning of the blast. According to an account in the *London Telegraph*, Ahmed was reportedly in Oklahoma City on Wednesday — the day of the bombing.^[544]

If Ahmed had been cleared by U.S. authorities for the worst domestic terrorist attack in U.S. history, why did British authorities refuse to allow him into the country? Did they know something the U.S. did not?

The Justice Department's Carl Stern downplayed the breakthrough saying only, "There are a number of good, solid leads in this investigation."^[545]

Yet in FBI agent Henry Gibbons' affidavit, special mention was made of the items in Ahmed's suitcase, and his coincidental April 19, 10:43 a. m. departure time, and Gibbons stated he considered Ahmed's testimony in front of the Federal Grand Jury vital.

One FBI source interviewed by KFOR's Jayna Davis admitted that he didn't think Ahmed was telling the truth on a polygraph test. Yet Ahmed was simply allowed to go on his way, and like so many other suspects and witnesses, was never called before the grand jury.

Interestingly, the Middle Eastern community was apologized to by President Clinton. This is very interesting coming from a president that failed to apologize to Randy Weaver, the Branch Davidians, and the thousands of people wrongly accused, imprisoned and murdered each year by U.S. law-enforcement personnel.

A possible explanation may be found in the bombing of Pan Am 103. In February of 1989, a prime suspect in the case, Jordanian bomb maker Marwan Kreeshat, admitted in a statement provided by Jordanian intelligence that he had manufactured at least five highly sophisticated, powerful bombs for PFLP-GC (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command) leader Ahmed Jibril, by cleverly concealing them in portable radios — the same type which destroyed flight 103. Jordanian intelligence officials, who have maintained a close, long-standing relationship with the CIA, admitted that the Jordanian national was actually an undercover agent, and was also an asset of U.S. intelligence.^[546]

Could this explain why the FBI released Ahmed?^[547]

Taylor Jesse Clear, a retired State Department Counter-Terrorism expert who has studied the case, disagrees with this analysis. Clear believes that Ahmed's conspicuously timed departure, complete with nervous act and a suitcase full of electronic gear, was a diversion. "They wanted to inoculate the media to the Arab connection," explained Clear. Letting Ahmed get caught with a suitcase full of that stuff, then discovering he was innocent, inoculated everybody to the Middle Eastern connection. Then they could come back, beat their chests, and say, 'look what you did to the Arab community.'^[548]

Yet the brown Chevy pick-up seen speeding away from the Murrah Building was traced to an Oklahoma City business run by a Palestinian, with possible PLO ties. That man... is a good friend of Abraham Ahmed's. According to a witness who worked for the Palestinian, Ahmed was seen driving the pick-up in the weeks before the bombing.

Numerous witnesses also place McVeigh in Oklahoma City in the days before the bombing with a friend of Ahmed's — an Iraqi — a man who bears a strong resemblance to the mysterious, stoic passenger seen in the Ryder truck by Mike Moroz on the morning of April 19 at Johnny's Tire Store.

KFOR reporters Brad Edwards and Jayna Davis broke the story on June 7, 1995 with a series of interviews with witnesses who saw McVeigh with the Iraqi, first in a bar, then in a restaurant, then in a pawn shop.

One of the witnesses, a barmaid at the Roadrunner Tavern on South May Avenue, saw McVeigh buying beer for the man on Saturday, April 15. "He was dark, kind of muscular, he had on a ball cap," said the barmaid. "He talked like they do over in Iran or Iraq, or whatever during Desert Storm, when you would hear the way they talked on TV."

When Davis asked her how sure she was that the man they had been tracking was the man she saw with McVeigh, she replied, "I'm sure."

The tavern owner also saw the Iraqi a few days after the bombing. He picked him out from a group of photos. While the Iraqi claimed he was never in any bar on NW 10th Street, a co-worker interviewed by KFOR said he had drunk with him at a bar on NW 10th and Indiana, and in fact he was arrested for driving under the influence around the corner, at NW 8th and Blackwelder in early June.^[549]

In another interview, three women who worked at a pawnshop stated that McVeigh and two other men came into their shop twice: "...on April 14 and again on April 17, just two days before the bombing."

"It had to have been McVeigh," said the pawn shop owner. "If it was not McVeigh, it was his twin brother."

"They spoke in a foreign language," said one of the pawn shop employees. "They huddled together and they all three spoke secretively to one another, and it was a foreign language."

A restaurant owner down the street also remembered McVeigh and the Iraqi. "[McVeigh acted] like a contractor coming in and buying his hand lunch, that was the impression I had," recalled the proprietor.

As previously mentioned, restaurant worker Phyliss Kingsley recalled a Ryder truck pulling into the Hi Way Grill at SW 104 and Portland on April 16. Accompanying the truck was a white long-bed Chevy pick-up, and a darker pick-up, possibly blue or brown. She recalls Timothy McVeigh strolling in and ordering two "trucker burgers" and fries to go. Accompanying McVeigh was a short, stocky man of about 5'2", either Mexican or American Indian (or Arabic) descent, with black, curly hair. She said the man closely resembled the FBI sketch of John Doe 2, but with slightly thinner features. Kingsley recalled that the man spoke briefly with McVeigh.^[550]

Waitress Linda Kuhlman described him as having straighter hair and being slightly taller. She described him as wearing green army fatigue pants and a white t-shirt.

Kuhlman, who grew up around trucks and hot-rods, is positive that one of the trucks was a Chevy long-bed, most likely an '87 model. When shown photos, including the Iraqi and Michael Brescia, they came close to picking out the Iraqi, but could not positively identify either man. The passenger in the Ryder truck, they said, a man with longish wavy, permed-out brown or dirty blond hair and glasses, never got out.^[551]

Dennis Jackson, a VA worker, recalled seeing two or three Arabic men in the Murrah Building the following day, April 17. "There was a distinct air about them," recalls Jackson. "We were working late that day, the office had closed, and they were just kind of hanging around the Social Security office. I thought that was kind of unusual... They might have been there for Social Security, but I hardly think so."

Jackson's co-worker Craig Freeman recalled one of the men as a short, stocky Arabic man, about 5' 2", 150 pounds, wearing khaki military style pants, combat boots and a white T-shirt — the same combination seen on the Middle Eastern suspect described by Linda Kuhlman.

In a bizarre twist, a white Chevy pick-up showed up a Freeman's house several days after the bombing. Freeman recalls a Caucasian looking man in the truck, which was parked near his house on two consecutive days. "It was right before and right after the FBI and OSBI (Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation) came and interviewed me," recalls Freeman. "I could tell this guy was watching me because when I walked by, he sort of turned away and hid his face. I'm a former Air Force Master Sergeant and a third degree black belt, and I'm trained to be observant."^[552]

Could the man Freeman saw have been there to intimidate him?

The barmaid at the Road Runner Tavern also told KFOR's Brad Edwards that after her interview aired, the Iraqi pulled up by the open back door of the tavern and stared menacingly at her. What is interesting is that the Iraqi's Palestinian boss owns a white pick up truck — a Nissan, however, not a Chevy. Freeman and Linda Kuhlman are positive the truck they saw was a Chevy.

Yet another witness to a post-bombing incident involving the Palestinian claimed that he also was followed by the man, who was driving a white pick-up.

Back in Junction City, the manager of the Great Western Inn was watching TV with two reporters when the sketch of John Doe 2 flashed on the screen. The manager immediately recognized the man as the person who had stayed in room 107 on April 17. "He spoke broken English," said the manager. "[He] gave a foreign name and was driving a Ryder truck."

The man's name would never be revealed, however, because the FBI confiscated the hotel's log book. ^[553]

Several months later, *Newsweek* reporter Leslie Jorgensen uncovered information that several men had stayed at the Radisson Inn in Oklahoma City the day before the bombing. The men were dressed in Arab garb, but according to an employee, were not Arabs. At the same time, phone calls were placed from the Radisson to one of Timothy McVeigh's friends — a man in Idaho associated with the Aryan Republican Army.

A few days earlier, across town, two men had checked into the Plaza Inn. They told desk clerk Tiffany Harper they were Spanish visitors from Mexico. But Harper thought they were Arabs because of the way they talked.

According to employee Ruby Foos, another man checked into the motel a day or two later, went to his room, then emerged wearing flowing Arab robes. As far as Foos could tell, the man was not connected with the other two men. ^[554]

While it may not be unusual for Arab-garbed individuals to be in Oklahoma due to its connection with the oil industry, Douglas Boyer, the security guard at the Plaza, said a yellow Ryder truck was parked out front. All of the men checked out a day or two before the bombing.

Interestingly, two Middle Eastern men were spotted driving from Oklahoma City to Dallas immediately after the bombing. The men stopped to ask directions from an Oklahoma Highway Patrolman. When the officer ran their plate, he discovered that it didn't match the vehicle. The plate belonged to a rented blue Chevy Cavalier, which was later found at a motel in Oklahoma City. The driver of that vehicle, Asad R. Siddiqy, a cab driver from Queens, along with the other two men, Anis Siddiqy and Mohammed Chafi, were taken into custody. ^[555]

While the men were ultimately questioned and released, a blue Chevy Cavalier would be spotted by a witness in downtown Oklahoma City — along with a Ryder truck, a yellow Mercury, and a brown Chevy pick-up — the other vehicles in the bombing convoy.

On the morning of the blast, a woman was riding the elevator in the Murrah building, when she noticed a young Arab man wearing a backpack, hurriedly pushing the buttons as if trying to get off. As previously mentioned, she followed him outside, not suspecting anything was amiss. Moments later, she was sent sprawling to the sidewalk as the building blew up behind her.

Gary Lewis, a pressman for the *Journal Record* newspaper, had just stepped outside to smoke his pipe when he remembered he had left something in his car. As he walked down the alley, a yellow Mercury peeled away from its spot near the Murrah Building, jumped a concrete barricade, swerved to avoid hitting a dumpster, then bore down on him, forcing him up onto the curb. Lewis got a good look at the driver, describing him as one Timothy James McVeigh, and his passenger as resembling the sketch of John Doe 2. He said the car had an Oklahoma tag which was dangling by one bolt.

Several minutes later, Lewis was thrown to the floor as the *Journal Record* building rocked with the impact of the blast. As he picked himself up, another, more powerful explosion sent him sprawling again. As he and his fellow workers rushed outside, he noticed a peculiar sight: an Arab man standing nearby, staring at the Federal Building, grinning from ear to ear.

"It unnerved me," said Lewis, who described how the man seemed out of place among the throng of battered and bloody people. He seemed "enraptured."

As discussed earlier, another witness saw two men running from the area of the Federal Building toward a brown Chevy truck just prior to the blast. The witness described the two men as "males, of possible Middle-Eastern descent, approximately six feet tall, with athletic builds." One of the men was described as approximately 25-28 years old, having dark hair and a beard. The second person was described as 35-38 years old, with dark hair and a dark beard with gray in it — the same description Cary Gagan gave. He was described as wearing blue jogging pants, a black shirt, and a black jogging jacket. The witness also described a third person in the pick-up. ^[556]

Was this the same pick-up seen by Leonard Long and his daughter? Long was driving east on 5th Street at approximately 8:00 a.m. when he was forced to swerve out of the way by a erratically-driven brown pick-up with tinted windows. As the truck pulled up alongside, the passenger, a stocky, dark-skinned, dark-haired man began hurling racial epithets at the black couple. Long said the driver was a tall, thin white man with sharp features, a description not unsimilar to that given by James Linehan. The truck took the I-35 exit and headed south. ^[557]

Approximately 50 minutes later, as Margaret Hohmann and her friend Ann Domin were pulling into a parking spot in front of the Murrah Building, a brown pick-up peeled away from its parking spot, burning rubber as it tore down 5th Street. "Where's the cops when you need them?" Hohmann thought to herself. ^[558]

A few blocks away from the Murrah Building, Debra Burdick and her daughter were on the way to the doctor's office. As she stopped for a light at 10th and Robinson, she noticed three vehicles parked on the north side of the street between a church and a garage. One was a brown pick-up, one was a blue Chevy Cavalier, and the other was a yellow Mercury.

"I looked across," said Burdick, "and there was that light blue car, it had a white interior, and there were three men in it. They were dark, but they were not black... I would say they were Middle Easterners. There was a brown pick-up, but I couldn't see in (because of the tinted windows), and behind it was the yellow car with the cream top.

"Now, I noticed the three men in the car, that guy sitting in the middle was kind of staring out.... I said 'Huh, I wonder what they're looking at?' and as I turned around, I said 'there's nothing there but buildings.'" [\[559\]](#)

A few moments later, the bomb(s) went off. Hohmann and Domin, who were inside one of the Murrah Building's restrooms, were sent crashing to the floor. At the same moment, Debra Burdick and her daughter went skidding to the side of the road. When she looked back, the three vehicles were gone.

Five blocks south of the Murrah Building, at Robinson and Main, Kay H. had just raced out of her office. As she stepped on to the meridian, she was nearly run over as the brown pick-up came careening around the corner. The near miss gave her an opportunity to get a good look at the occupants.

"The driver — I made eye contact with him," recalled Kay. "He looked like he was in his twenties — late twenties. [He] had an angry look on his face. I'll never forget the look on his face. It just was full of hate and anger. It really struck me, because everyone else — people were coming out and they looked scared and confused, and he just looked full of anger." [\[560\]](#)

Kay recalled that two of the three people in the truck were Middle-Easterners. When she was shown photos, she picked out the Iraqi — the same one seen with McVeigh — as the driver.

David Snider, the Bricktown worker who had spotted one of the Ryder trucks that morning, ran outside after the bomb went off, and saw the brown pick-up as it flew past. "They were doing about 60 mph," recalled Snider. "They turned north and headed over the Walnut Street Bridge." [\[561\]](#)

An all-points-bulletin (APB) was quickly put out on the pick-up:

Dispatcher: "Be on the lookout for a late model almost new Chevrolet full-size pick-up — full size pickup brown pick-up. Will be brown in color with tinted windows — brown in color with tinted windows. Smoke colored bug deflector on the front of pick-up."

"...Middle-Eastern males 25-28 years of age, six feet tall, athletic build, Dark hair and a beard — dark hair and a beard. Break."

Officer: "Ok, Is this good information, or do we not really know?"

Dispatcher: "Authorization FBI." [\[562\]](#)

Strangely, the FBI canceled the APB several hours later, refusing to say why and demanding that it not be rebroadcast. When KPOC's David Hall asked the FBI why they canceled it, they denied ever putting it out. But when Hall played back his copy for the FBI man, he suddenly had "no comment." [\[563\]](#)[\[564\]](#)

Soon after, Brad Edwards received a tip that the pick-up had been seen several times before the bombing at Sahara Properties (not its real name), a real-estate business in northwest Oklahoma City. The owner of Sahara Properties, an Israeli-born Palestinian named Sam Khalid (not his real name), was the Iraqi's employer. [\[565\]](#)*

Not long after KFOR's reports began airing, the Iraqi sued the station, then held a press conference claiming that he was not a suspect in the bombing, and that he had a solid alibi for the morning of April 19. His name was Hussain al-Hussaini, and he was at work, he said, painting a garage on NW 31 Street. Yet Alvin Devers, a neighbor interviewed by Davis, claimed no one was working on the house that day. "I didn't see anybody," said Devers. "I'd remember...."

In addition, Hussaini's co-worker, Ernie Cranfield, said Hussaini's alibi for the morning of April 19 — a time sheet stating he was at work at 8:08 a.m. — was patently false. Cranfield told Davis that Hussaini was working at a different house *by 10:00 a.m.*, six blocks away, but wasn't there at 8:30 a.m.

"They was out there acting like they was painting on that garage all morning," Cranfield told me. "They didn't know I was already there before...." [\[566\]](#)

Moreover, according to Cranfield, Sahara Properties doesn't use time sheets: "They use a time clock. They started about five months ago — five, six months ago... I've seem them clocking in every morning." Davis later learned that Khalid's daughter Heather had concocted Hussaini's "time sheet" at the request of her father. [\[567\]](#)

Hussaini also claimed that he worked a second job as at the Western Sizzlin restaurant — as a janitor, three days a week, from 10:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. — which would have kept him too busy to be at the Murrah Building on April 19. Yet when Davis checked with Jeff Johnston, the assistant manager, she was told Hussaini hadn't worked from April 17 through April 20.

According to Khalid's secretary, none of Hussaini's Iraqi co-workers, who started working for Khalid in November, showed up on the 17th. Was it merely coincidental that Craig Freeman and Dennis Jackson saw a suspicious group of Arab men in the Murrah Building on the afternoon of the 17th?

Interestingly, Hussain al-Hussaini reapplied for his job at the Western Sizzlin in May, then quit in June, saying that he didn't need a job. Khalid's secretary said that Hussaini also purchased a Cadillac after the bombing. Had he suddenly come into a large amount of money?

When KFOR shared their evidence with the FBI, they downplayed their findings. FBI spokesman Dan Vogel said that eyewitness accounts are "notoriously inaccurate. Their credibility must be checked out, their stories corroborated."

Yet KFOR was able to corroborate their story with at least eight different witnesses. They not only placed McVeigh with Hussaini in at least three different locations in Oklahoma City, they were able to trace the brown pick-up to the business where Hussaini worked — to a businessman that had been investigated by the FBI for PLO ties. They determined that Hussaini had a tattoo exactly as described by the FBI, and that his alibi for the morning of April 19 was patently false.

Strangely, the FBI decided to back up Hussaini's story, telling KFOR that it might be difficult to place Hussaini near the Murrah Building on the morning of the 19th. Apparently the government had not counted on a local TV station stumbling onto Hussaini. After KFOR's story broke, a major damage control apparatus went into motion. KWTV, KOCO, the *Daily Oklahoman*, and the *Oklahoma Gazette* all ridiculed KFOR's reporting. [\[568\]](#)

Interestingly, when Hussaini appeared before TV cameras on June 15 to dispel the "rumors" about him, it was Abraham Ahmed who appeared as his interpreter!

The *Gazette* and KOCO also both claimed that Hussaini couldn't speak English, implying that he couldn't have been talking with McVeigh. Yet KFOR learned that he spoke broken English, and a police D.U.I. report indicated that he replied in English when questioned. [\[569\]](#)

"The information quoted on Channel Four is not true," FBI Agent Jeffrey Jenkins told the *Daily Oklahoman*. Though Jenkins later denied saying that, he admits that "he cringed when he saw the KFOR report."

Perhaps Jenkins cringed when he saw Hussaini on TV because the news station had, quite accidentally, uncovered the FBI's confidential informant. Why else would the FBI act so patronizing towards KFOR, who had clearly established a link between Hussaini and McVeigh?

The FBI wouldn't say if they had checked out Hussaini. Nor would they clear him. They told KFOR that they were "not in the business of clearing suspects." Yet, as Jayna Davis pointed out, they did clear numerous other John Doe 2 suspects, including Robert Jacks, Gary Land, and Todd Bunting, the Army private seen at Elliott's Body Shop. Interestingly, they then used the Bunting incident to say that John Doe 2 had been a red herring all along. John Doe 2, the FBI claimed, had never existed. [\[570\]](#)

Just why would the FBI issue a blanket "no comment" on a suspect who was seen by numerous witnesses with Timothy McVeigh, and was seen speeding away from the bombing?

For his part, Hussaini claims he was an officer in Iraq's elite Republican Guard, and was imprisoned for distributing anti-Saddam literature. According to the *Gazette's* account, he was released after serving eight years of a 13-year sentence. [\[571\]](#)

But the story changes. According to KWTV, he escaped during a prison uprising at the end of the war, and after searching for his family, he "ran to American soldiers and asked for help." He was then interned in a Saudi refugee camp, where he spent the next four years, until he was relocated to the U.S. in 1995. [\[572\]](#)

The problem with this story is that U.S. forces didn't get within 200 miles of Baghdad, which means that if Hussaini "ran to American soldiers," he would have had to run across several hundred miles of open desert.

Yet according to his boss, Sam Khalid, Hussaini was *never* in the Republican Guard at all. A Shi'ite Muslim, he was imprisoned for his anti-Saddam beliefs, and forced to serve as cannon fodder on the front lines, as the Republican Guard withdrew. [\[573\]](#)

Yet the story changes once again. According to William Northrop, Hussaini served in the Hammurabi Division of the Republican Guard, and "was captured by the American 24th Mechanized Infantry Division in a fight on Highway 8, west of Basra, a few days after the war ended." Northrop stated that the Iraqis encountered the U.S. force, and, thinking it was merely a probe, opened fire. The Iraqis were badly beaten in the ensuing firefight, and Hussaini was wounded. He claims Hussaini was never in an Iraqi prison. [\[574\]](#)

If Hussaini was trying to concoct a cover-story, he apparently wasn't doing a very good job.^[575] According to Northrop:

This lad was no *ordinary soldier*. [He] came to the United States around November of 1991. He triggered a "watch" on the Iraqi community in Boston and shortly thereafter, moved to Oklahoma City. I understand that he is currently residing in Houston.

Northrop also states that "Ramzi Ahmed Yousef (The 'mastermind' behind the World Trade Center bombing) served in the Hammurabi Division of the Republican Guard during the Gulf War..."^[576]

While it is not known how accurate this information is, there is evidence tying Yousef — a Pakistani Baluchi born in Kuwait — to Iraqi intelligence. The Baluch, who are Sunni Moslems, oppose the clerical Shia regime of Tehran, and had forged close links with Iraqi intelligence during that country's 10-year war with Iran. According to Dr. Mylroie, Iraq used the Baluch to carry out acts of terrorism against Iran.^[577]

Alias Abdul Basit Mahmud Abdul Karim, Yousef arrived in the United States carrying an Iraqi passport.

Both Yousef and his partner in the World Trade Center bombing, Ahmed Ajaj, worked for Edwards Pipeline Testing and Technical Welding Laboratories in Houston, whose CEO is Maunal Bhajat, a close associate of Ishan Barbouti — an international Iraqi arms dealer who built Libya's chemical weapons plant at Ràbta. Barbouti's son Haidar (like Hussaini) also lives in Houston. According to Louis Champon, who went into business with Haidar, "Haidar Barbouti is an Iraqi agent."^[578]

It was Barbouti who financed Champon's Product Ingredient Technology through his son Haidar. Wackenhut (a company with long-standing ties to the FBI and CIA) provided the security. According to Champon, Barbouti (with perhaps a little help from the secretive and mysterious Wackenhut) secretly drained thousands of gallons of ferrocyanide — a naturally occurring Cherry extract used to make cyanide gas — from Champon's plant.

Barbouti's ability to procure U.S. weapons technology for sale to Libya and Iraq wasn't exactly hindered by U.S. officials. While the Bush administration was publicly decrying Hussein's use of chemical weapons on the Kurds, the potassium ferrocyanide was shipped to Iraq to manufacture chemical weapons for Iraq's army, with the full knowledge and complicity of the Bush administration.

Said Champon, "Not one U.S. agent — not one official, ever questioned Haidar Barbouti — for evasion of taxes, where he got his money from, his involvement... in shipping cyanide outside the P.I.T. plant... nothing. I was told — and this is a quote from U.S. Customs [agent Martin Schram] — "This matter is highly political. Haidar Barbouti cannot be indicted, and if he were, he would never be convicted."^[579]

The key that allowed the Iraqi "businessman" (Barbouti doesn't like to be called an arms dealer) to interface with the CIA was one Richard V. Secord, an integral player in the Iran-Contra arms-for-drugs network. Secord, it should be noted, was also a business partner of Vang Pao, the Laotian General who ran a heroin smuggling ring out of Long Tien Airbase during the Vietnam War, and Monzer al-Kassar, the Syrian arms and drugs dealer who was involved in the Pan Am 103 bombing — another crime that was successfully covered up by the CIA and the FBI. According to Richard Babayan, a former CIA contract employee, "Barbouti was placed in the hands of Secord by the CIA, and Secord called in Wackenhut to handle security and travel for Barbouti and his export plans."^[580]

Mike Johnston, the attorney who sued Barbouti on behalf of TK-7, an Oklahoma City company, ran into the same sort of stonewalling by the Justice Department. As Johnston was told by the federal team investigating this little corner of Iraqgate, "Mr. Johnston, you don't understand, we have to limit the objective of the investigation so we can get on with the business of running the government."

"Going into the investigation... was a disguised whitewash," Johnston later told me, echoing what U.S. Customs agent Martin Schram told Louis Champon.

Former CIA asset Charles Hayes said the CIA-connected Wackenhut was helping Barbouti ship chemicals to Iraq, "Supplying Iraq was originally a good idea," he maintains, "but then it got out of hand."^[581]

Said Champon, "I can assure you, that if drums of cyanide left our plant, Dr. Barbouti had his reasons, either to be used against American troops or terrorist acts against the United States at home."^[582] Cyanide is a necessary ingredient in the development of nerve gas. One thousand grams of cyanide later wound up in the World Trade Center bomb, constructed by Iraqi agent Ramzi Yousef.

Yousef's partner, Ahmed Ajaj, a member of the Egyptian-based Al-Gama'a al-Islamiya, lived in Texas. A Texas hamburger stand was reportedly used to relay telephone calls between the World Trade Center bombers as a means of avoiding detection. It was owned by some Palestinian friends of Ajaj, and Yousef and Ajaj used the number for conference calls while Ajaj was in prison.

The records may also indicate a tie between Ajaj and Hussaini's boss, Sam Khalid. Records obtained during TK-7's civil suit against Ishan Barbouti show a phone call to one of Khalid's properties in Houston. The person who made call was Ahmed Ajaj.^[583]

Yet Barbouti wasn't just trying to procure material and technology from U.S. companies on behalf of Iraq. Barbouti also built the bunkers

used to house Saddam Hussein's Mig jet fighters during Desert Storm. It was during TK-7's suit against Barbouti that the Americans learned of these bunkers. Barbouti's London head of Security, Tony Davisson, decided to sell the Americans the blueprints. It isn't clear whether Davisson had a falling out with Barbouti, or was simply being patriotic. The point may be moot, as Barbouti was apparently dead. The Iraqi arms dealer died (or faked his death) around the same time the Israeli Mossad knocked off his contemporary, Gerald Bull, the developer of the ill-fated Iraqi "Super-Gun."^[584]

Davisson called TK-7's attorney, Mike Johnston, who flew to London, where he purchased the plans for \$2,700, and promptly turned them over to the CIA. With the plans for Saddam's underground bunkers, the U.S. Airforce was able to practically wipe out Iraq's entire fleet of Mig fighter jets at the start of the war.

This didn't exactly make Saddam happy. In the parlance of the Arab world, this equated to pay-back time. If Hussein thought Barbouti was responsible for the destruction of his air force, he may have insisted the arms dealer cooperate in an act of revenge against the United States.

Yet the destruction of the Hussein's air force wasn't the only motive Iraq had for seeking revenge against the U.S. While Americans were busy tying yellow ribbons on their front porches for our boys in the Gulf, these same brave boys were slaughtering enemy soldiers and helpless civilians by the thousands. As reported by Mike Erlich of the Military Counseling Network at the March-April, 1991 European Parliament hearings on the Gulf War:

...hundreds, possibly thousands, of Iraqi soldiers began walking toward the U.S. position unarmed, with their arms raised in an attempt to surrender. However, the orders for this unit were not to take any prisoners...

The commander of the unit began the firing by shooting an anti-tank missile through one of the Iraqi soldiers. This is a missile designed to destroy tanks, but it was used against one man.

At that point, everybody in the unit began shooting. Quite simply, it was a slaughter.^[585]

The government-controlled sanitized media campaign beamed into our living rooms, replete with scenes of high-tech "smart-bombs" whistling through the windows of enemy command centers, merely belied the terrible and deliberate carnage inflicted upon thousands of helpless civilians.

On February 13, 1991, a U.S. Air Force Stealth Bomber dropped two 1,000-pound, laser-guided bombs onto the roof of the Al-Amira air raid shelter in Baghdad. Two hundred and ninety four people — mostly women and children — died in what the U.S. military called a "military surgical strike."

According to William Blum, author of *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*, the bombing of the Al-Amira air raid shelter wasn't accidental, it was deliberate:

The United States said it thought that the shelter was for VIPs, which it had been at one time, and claimed that it was also being used as a military communications center, but neighborhood residents insisted that the constant aerial surveillance overhead had to observe the daily flow of women and children into the shelter. Western reporters said they could find no signs of military use.^[586]

An American journalist in Jordan who viewed unedited videotape footage of the disaster, which the American public never saw, wrote:

They showed scenes of incredible carnage. Nearly all the bodies were charred into blackness; in some cases the heat had been so great that entire limbs were burned off.... Rescue workers collapsed in grief, dropping corpses; some rescuers vomited from the stench of the still-smoldering bodies.^[587]

Said White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater after the bombing of the shelter: It was "a military target... We don't know why civilians were at this location, but we do know that Saddam Hussein does not share our value for the sanctity of life."^[588]

This so-called "value for the sanctity for life" shown by American forces and lauded by the Bush administration, included not only attacks such as the one at Al-Amira, but the bombing and strafing of unarmed civilians who tried to flee to the Jordanian border.

Buses, taxis, and private cars were repeatedly assaulted, literally without mercy, by rockets, cluster bombs and machine guns; usually in broad daylight, the targets clearly civilian, with luggage piled on top, with no military vehicles or structures anywhere to be seen, surrounded by open desert, the attacking planes flying extremely close to the ground... busloads of passengers incinerated, and when people left the vehicles and fled for their lives, planes often swooped down upon them firing away....

"You're killing us!" cried a Jordanian taxi driver to an American reporter. "You're shooting us everywhere we move! Whenever they see a car or truck, the planes dive out of the sky and chase us. They don't care who we are or what we are. They just shoot." His cry was repeated by hundreds of others.....^[589]

Mike Ange, a GI from North Carolina, described the carnage:

I actually went up close and examined two of the vehicles that basically looked like refugees maybe trying to get out of the area. You know, you had like a little Toyota pick-up truck that was loaded down with the furniture and the suitcases and rugs and the pet cat and that type of thing, all over the back of the this truck, and those trucks were taken out just like the military vehicles.^[590]

"The U.S. military considers the murdering of our children nothing more than 'collateral damage,'" said Al Kaissy, an information officer at the Iraqi Interests section of the Algerian Embassy in Washington. "They have never apologized or even admitted their mistake."^[591]

At the same time, the American public, fed a daily dose of propaganda generated in Pentagon media briefing rooms, could not understand how terrorists could bomb a civilian building in the heartland of America.

While the estimate of Iraqi forces killed runs as high as 250,000, the actual number of Iraqis killed, including civilians, runs much higher. American planes deliberately destroyed Iraq's power plants, its sewage systems, and its hospitals. The economic embargo severely compounded the situation, forcing an entire population to struggle amidst massive epidemics of starvation and disease. Their infrastructure decimated, without sanitation, food and medical supplies, hundreds of thousands of civilians suffered horrible, lingering deaths — all caused by the U.S. military, the greed of Big Oil, and their life-long friend, George Herbert Walker Bush.

The people of Baghdad have turned the rubble of the Al-Amira air raid shelter into a shrine, complete with mementos and pictures of the children who perished.

In Oklahoma City, victims placed mementos of their dead relatives on a chain-link fence surrounding the remains of the Alfred P. Murrah Building and asked, "Who could do such a thing? Who could kill innocent civilians?"

While the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City bombings may have been the result of Iraqi revenge, what ultimately lay behind the New York and Dhahran bombings appeared to stem from a broader-based alliance of Islamic militants from Iraq, Iran, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and other countries committed to the expulsion of U.S. troops from the region and an all-out attack on the "Great Satan."^[592]

It has been reported that groups ranging from the Palestinian-based Islamic Jihad, Hamas, the Sudanese National Islamic Front, the Pakistan-based al-Fuqra, and groups funded by Saudi Arabian Osama bin-Laden were involved in the World Trade Center bombing and related plots.

In fact, as early as 1990, World Trade Center conspirators El-Sayyid Nossair, Mahmud Abouhalima, and al-Fuqra member Clement Rodney Hampton-El (an American Black Muslim) had met in New York City with Sheik Abd-al-Aziz Awadah, who is alleged to have been a senior commander engaged in the coordination of terrorist operations with Iranian, Palestinian, and Hizbollah leaders.^[593]

Such alliances were also reflected in a major terrorist conference held in Tehran in 1993, where it was decided the terrorists' war against the U.S. would include "targeting buildings for bomb spectaculars."^[594]

Another major terrorist conference was held in Tehran on June 20-23, 1996, during which it was announced that there would be increased attacks against U.S. interests. Two days later, on June 25, the military housing complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, was bombed, claiming the lives of 19 servicemen. The Movement for Islamic Change, which had already claimed credit for the Riyadh bombing, took credit.

This was followed by another terrorist conference at the Northwest Frontier Province town of Konli, near the Afghani border in Pakistan on July 10-15, 1996. The meeting saw some of the most important militant Islamic leaders come together under one tent. They included Osama bin Ladin, a Saudi Arabian who funded the Mujahadeen, was implicated in the Riyadh and Dhahran bombings, and was a close associate of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, Ahmed Jibril of the PFLP-GC (who carried out the Pan Am 103 bombing on orders from Teheran), Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, a senior representative of Iranian intelligence, senior Pakistani intelligence officers, and senior commanders of Hamas, HizbAllah, and other groups. All resolved to use whatever force was necessary to oust all foreign forces stationed on Islamic holy land.^[595]

One Arab observer with direct knowledge of the conference said the participants' resolution was "a virtual declaration of relentless war" on the U.S.-led West.^[596] A glimpse of that conference can be seen in *Defense and Foreign Affairs*:

Rasul Sayyaf stated that "the time to settle accounts has arrived." The senior representative of Iranian intelligence declared that "attack is the best means of defense." He urged a combined offensive, both in the Muslim world, particularly the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, and at the heart of the West. He repeated Iran's commitment to the cause and reiterated Tehran's willingness to provide the Islamists with all possible aid.

Another commander concurred, adding that "there is an imperative need for an integrated plan to deal a fatal blow to the international forces of arrogance." A UK-based commander from a Persian Gulf state stressed that given the immense strategic importance of the Persian Gulf to the U.S. and its allies, the only way to compel the West to withdraw was through the infliction of so much pain on these countries, that their governments would find it impossible to tolerate the public outcry and be compelled to withdraw as the only way to stop the Islamist terrorism at home.^[597]

On July 16, one day after the Konli conference, the U.S. Senate passed sanctions against Iran and Libya. With their continued sanctions against the innocent civilians of Iraq, and now Iran, the U.S. was building to a confrontation with the militant Islamic community. As Ronald W. Lewis wrote in the November, 1996 edition of *Air Forces Monthly*:

On the following day (after the Konli conference), July 17, the Movement for Islamic Change sent a chilling fax to the London-based Arab newspaper *al-Hayat*, warning: "The world will be astonished and amazed at the time and place chosen by the Mujahadeen. The Mujahadeen will deliver the harshest reply to the threats of the foolish American president. Everyone will be surprised by the volume, choice of place and timing of the Mujahadeen's answer, and invaders must prepare to depart alive or dead, for their time is morning and morning is near." That fax, and a warning by Israeli intelligence that Iran was likely to launch an attack against a U.S. aircraft, were ignored.

At 8:31:10 p.m. (0031:10 GMT) that evening, nobody could dismiss the horrendous explosion of TWA Flight 800 off the coast of Long Island, New York. Attack number three had just been carried out. [\[598\]](#)

That excerpt appeared in a U.S. military newspaper. But Lewis wasn't the only observer cognizant of these facts. As Dr. Laurie Mylroie noted regarding the July 17 attack on TWA flight 800, it occurred precisely on Iraqi national day. The day of the bombing, Saddam Hussein had made his own threats, telling the U.S. that they would be unable to avoid "the sweeping flood and flaming fire that is burning under their feet...." [\[599\]](#)

The bombing of the World Trade Center occurred on the second anniversary of Iraq's surrender to coalition forces in the Gulf.

While reports from the State Department and such institutions as the Heritage Foundation decry the use of Arab state-sponsored terrorism against the West, the truth is that the West — and especially the U.S. — has been exporting terrorism in the form of economic sanctions, assassinations, coups, death-squads, and covert/overt wars in almost every part of the world since the beginning of the century. [\[600\]](#)

To the Muslim world, and especially terrorist groups such as the PLO, Islamic Jihad, Hizbollah, and Hamas, the U.S. assault on its ally Iraq represented a turning point in Islam's struggle against the West. The Gulf War marked the first time the United States had used an all-out, full-scale military assault on an Arab country, with devastating results.

Under the influence of religious figures such as Sheik Omar Rahman, the Mujahadeen (the Afghani freedom fighters who had been trained by the CIA) and their allies became staunch opponents of the United States. Thousands of Muslims from almost 40 countries flocked to Afghanistan and Pakistan during the war, and thousands remain there, training for the day when Islam will rise up in its final great Jihad against the West. [\[601\]](#)

To these groups, the Gulf War marked the signal for a new escalation in their war against the U.S. The bombing of the World Trade Center, the Federal Building in Oklahoma, the Al-Khubar military complex in Daharan, and possibly the shootdown of TWA 800, were all expressions of this rage against the United States.

On January 25, 1993, less than one month before the World Trade Center attack, Mir Aimal Kansi, a Pakistani, vented his rage by opening fire with an AK-47 outside CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia. Two CIA employees were killed and three others were wounded. Like Ramzi Yousef, Kansi was a native Baluchi. He was involved with the Pashtun Students Organization, the student wing of Mahmood Khan Achakzai's Paktoon Khwa Awami Milli Party, which claimed the CIA's sudden pull-out of Afghanistan resulted in millions of deaths at the hands of the Soviets. Kansi claimed the CIA had betrayed his father. [\[602\]](#)

Yousef himself spent considerable time in Baluchistan. Located in western Pakistan, Baluchistan is a nexus for the Muslim Jihad, and a major arms and drug network. Pakistan has served not only as a training center for the Mujahadeen, but a haven for Philippine terrorist groups such as Abu Sayyaf and the Moro Liberation Front, who have used the free-flowing Pakistani arms and drugs nexus in an effort to promote and finance their activities. [\[603\]](#)

Support in the form of arms and drugs flowed from Pakistan and Afghanistan to militant Islamic groups around the world, aided by the CIA, rogue intelligence officers, and senior U.S. officials in for their piece of the action — just as Oliver North's "Enterprise" would do with the Contras in Nicaragua. In fact, many of the same individuals were involved.

Yousef next showed up in the Philippines with a Libyan missionary named Mohaimen abu Bakr, leader of the Libyan Mullah Forces. It was there that he joined forces with an Afghani named Wali Khan Amin Shah and his old friend from Kuwait, Abdul Hakim Murad. They were there to train the Abu Sayyaf.

Headquartered on the Philippine island of Mindanao, the 400-member strong Abu Sayyaf has conducted over 10 major terrorist attacks in the last six years in its bid for autonomy, and is strongly allied with other Islamic revolutionary groups, such the Philippine-based Moro Liberation Front. Abu Sayyaf's funding and support comes from high-profile Islamic leaders such as Libyan President Muammar Qaddafi, and wealthy Islamic financiers such as Tariq Jana, a Pakistani businessman, and Osama bin Laden.

Considered by the State Department to be one of the world's preeminent sponsors of Islamic radicalism, bin Laden's threats to wage Jihad

on Americans in the Middle East immediately preceded the November, 1995 blast at a U.S. military facility in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, in which five Americans and two Indians were killed. Eight months later, a massive truck-bomb killed 19 servicemen and injured 400 at Dhahran.

In a March, 1997 interview with the *London Independent* from his Afghani hideout, bin Laden warned of additional measures against U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia, and said he had obtained the support of thousands of Pakistanis.^[604]

Readers will also recall that General Wafiq al-Sammara'i, the former head of Iraqi military intelligence, told the *London Independent* a year earlier that the 1996 Dhahran bombing "strongly resembled plans drawn up by a secret Iraqi committee on which he served after the invasion of Kuwait..."^[605]

Not surprisingly, in February of 1995, U.S. authorities named bin Laden and his brother-in-law, Mohammad Jamal Khalifa among 172 unindicted co-conspirators in the World Trade Center bombing and related plots to blow up New York City landmarks, including the Javitz Federal Building and the United Nations. Those plots were strongly linked to Iraq.^[606]

Khalifa also ran an Islamic center in the Philippines linked to similar organizations in countries such as Iraq and Jordan. Given Abu Sayyaf's close ties with bin Laden, Khalifa, and their connections with the Mujahadeen, it is only natural that Ramzi Yousef, a Pakistani who is considered an Iraqi agent, would be involved with the group.

Abu Sayyaf's former military strategist, Edwin Angeles, who surrendered to Philippine authorities in February of '96, admitted that the Abu Sayyaf was in fact linked to Yousef and Murad — both of whom recently went on trial in New York for their role in "Project Bojinka" — a dramatic plan to blow up 12 U.S. airliners in a single day. The plot was foiled when police raided Yousef's Manila apartment on January 6, 1995, after a fire caused by the pair mixing bomb-making chemicals in a sink. While Murad was captured, Yousef escaped, making his way to Pakistan, where he was captured by police in February.^[607]

Nine of his accomplices — six of them Iraqis — were rounded up one year later along with plastic explosives, blasting caps, detonating cords, time fuses, and fake passports. The terrorists, including a Sudanese and two Saudis, were part of a plot to bomb various Western targets and assassinate Pope John Paul II during his January, 1995 Philippine visit.^[608]

Before his capture however, Yousef, an engineering graduate of Britain's Swansea University, had time to try out his new bomb — an experimental form of nitroglycerin. The small test-bomb, taped under a seat on Philippine Air flight 434, killed one Japanese tourist and injured 10 others. Before the explosion, Yousef had safely departed the plane in Cebu City.

Another temporary resident of Cebu City was Terry Nichols. As discussed, Nichols had moved to Cebu City with his new wife, Marife Torres, a mail-order bride whom he met there in November of 1989. After trying life in Michigan and Nevada, the couple moved back to Cebu City in early 1993, where they lived for a short time.

According to Nichols' ex-wife Lana Padilla, her former husband had traveled to the Philippines about four times a year since meeting Marife. Although some of the visits were to see his new bride and make arrangements for her entry into the U.S., he occasionally traveled alone.^[609]

"Sometimes he went when Marife was in Kansas," wrote Padilla. "It didn't make sense, but I never asked why."^[610]

Nichols told Padilla he was traveling to Cebu City to meet "potential business partners." The Michigan farmer was making the multi-thousand dollar trips, he said, to bring back little paper "butterflies" — curious merchandise for a man intent on setting himself up in the military surplus business.^[611]

It is also curious why Nichols carried two stun-guns on his last trip, why he left \$20,000 taped behind a drawer for his son, and a note to McVeigh telling him "You're on your own," and "go for it!" in case he didn't come back, and why his son cried, "I'm never going to see my Dad again...."

Perhaps Nichols had reason to worry. According to FBI 302 reports and investigations conducted by McVeigh's defense team, Abu Sayyaf leader Edwin Angeles spoke of a terrorist meeting in the vicinity of the Del Monte labeling factory in Davao, on the Island of Mindanao, in late 1992 or early '93. It was there, Angeles said, that Ramzi Yousef, Abdul Hakim Murad, Wali Khan Amin Shah, and several others discussed the Oklahoma City bombing plot.^[612]

One of the men at the meeting, recalled Angeles, introduced himself as "a farmer."^[613]

When the "farmer" returned home from his last visit to the Philippines on January 16, 1995, and discovered that Padilla had opened the mysterious package and read the contents, he turned "white as a ghost."^[614]

On April 19, 1995, Abdul Hakim Murad was sitting in his New York jail cell when the word went out that the Oklahoma City Federal Building had been bombed. Murad casually admitted to a prison guard that the Liberation Army of the Philippines — a group connected to Abu

Sayyaf — was responsible.

Abu Sayyaf leader Edwin Angeles later corrected Murad for the record: "It was the Palestine Liberation Army and/or the Islamic Jihad which Murad was referring to," he said. "This army is associated with Hamas and based in Lebanon...."

However, given the fact that Saudi intelligence informed the FBI that Iraq had hired Pakistanis who might not have known they were operating on behalf of Iraq, it is highly possible that Murad (a Pakistani) and Angeles were unaware of their true sponsor. As the *Washington Post's* Jack Anderson reported in 1991: "A preferable revenge for Iraq would involve having a 'surrogate terrorist' carry out a domestic attack that Hussein could privately take credit for...."

As Stephen Jones wrote in his March 25th Petition for Writ of Mandamus:

This terrorist attack was "contracted out" to persons whose organization and ideology was friendly to policies of the foreign power and included dislike and hatred of the United States government itself, and possibly included was a desire for revenge against the United States, with possible anti-black and anti-Semitic overtones. Because Iraq had tried a similar approach in 1990, but had been thwarted by Syrian intelligence information given to the United States, this time the information was passed through an Iraqi intelligence base in the Philippines. [\[615\]](#)[\[616\]](#)

The sighting of Terry Nichols with Islamic terrorists in the Philippines dovetails with Cary Gagan's sighting of Nichols with his "Iranian" friends — Omar and Ahmed — in Henderson, Nevada. Gagan recalled how Nichols looked "out-of-place" among his Arab comrades at the May '94 meeting.

Was Terry Nichols associated with World Trade Center bomber Ramzi Yousef, a reputed Iraqi agent? Was Timothy McVeigh associated with Hussain al-Hussaini, a former Iraqi soldier? Were Yousef and Hussaini part of a terrorist network set up by Iraq to infiltrate the United States?

On January 28, 1991, the *Washington Post* reported that an Iraqi terrorist network was being sponsored and planned by Saddam Hussein. The article stated in part:

Highly classified US intelligence reports say that the United States has received information that Saddam has already dispatched more than 100 terrorists, both experienced and novice, to try to infiltrate the United States. One report, quoting sources inside Iraq, cites a specific number of terrorists — 160 — who have been sent off with missions in America.

That coincides with reports that at least two and possibly as many as four Iraqi diplomats in their embassy in Washington were monitored as they attempted to set up terrorist cells in the capital and elsewhere in the United States....

...A recent intelligence report says that Saddam has deposited money in several Swiss bank accounts that will automatically be paid out to terrorists no matter what happens to Saddam... Iraqis living in the United States who support Saddam strongly enough to resort to violence would probably be used to provide bank accounts, safe houses and materials for the experts who sneak into the country.

According to Northrop, information from a London banker "Sayarin" (source) showed that several million dollars was transferred from the Bank of Iraq, through the SWIFT international banking system in Brussels, Belgium, to a bank in Kingman, Arizona under the account name of "Nayaad." Attempts by Northrop to confirm this information were unsuccessful. [\[617\]](#)

What is also interesting is that Cary Gagan claimed to have received \$250,000 from his Arab friend Omar, who wanted to set up an account for him. Omar and Gagan had also traveled to Kingman. The million dollar account was to be wired from a Swiss bank and deposited into the Bank of Cherry Creek in Denver.

Part of the plan was to allow Omar and Ahmed to purchase the Postal Center, a shipping and receiving store in Denver owned by George Colombo, who also operated a Ryder truck leasing operation across the street. Omar had asked Gagan to broker a deal to buy the facility from Colombo. He believes they were interested in the mail and truck rental facility. For some reason, the deal fell through.

While Gagan claims he was paid by Omar, there is no direct evidence that McVeigh or Nichols were funded by Gagan's Arab contacts. Yet there is circumstantial evidence that the two bombing defendants met with Sam Khalid, who spent considerable time in Las Vegas. The Arab high-roller frequented Binyon's Horseshoe, the Glitter Gulch, and the MGM casino, where Nichols would occasionally take his 12-year-old son Josh. [\[618\]](#)

As Northrop said, "gambling is a favorite pastime of Sunni Moslems...." Was Omar simply there to gamble, or did he have another agenda?

According to Gagan: "Omar and Ahmed were wiring money in and out of MGM. They used to get money — huge amounts of money — they were using these wire transfers."

Former high-ranking CIA operative Gunther Russbacher told author Rodney Stich (*Defrauding America*) that Binyon's Horseshoe was one of the casinos used for money laundering and political payoffs. Khalid is a regular at Binyon's Horseshoe.

Two other frequent visitors to Binyon's Horseshoe, it appears, were Terry Nichols and Timothy McVeigh. The two men attended the Claude Hall Gun Show in Las Vegas in November and January of 1994, stayed at Padilla's house, and reportedly frequented Binyon's and a strip joint next door called the Glitter Gulch, where Khalid is also a regular.^[619]†

While no one at the casinos would cooperate in placing Khalid with the two bombing suspects, Padilla said that Nichols had met with "Middle Eastern" men while in Las Vegas.^[620]

That information dovetails with Cary Gagan's testimony. As stated earlier, the federal informant said he met with approximately eight men — five of whom were Middle Easterners — at the Western Motel in Las Vegas on May 16, 1994. There was an Arab man from Oklahoma City who Gagan referred to as the "leader."

The Eighth man was Terry Nichols.

The question remained, who was Omar, and was he connected with Sam Khalid? Interestingly, Khalid's alias is "Omar."^[621]

In an attempt to track Khalid's whereabouts in Las Vegas, KFOR's Jayna Davis hired a security guard and part-time P.I. named Louis Crousette. Crousette had worked at the Glitter Gulch. In a transcript of the conversation, Davis asks Crousette if Angie (not her real name), Khalid's favorite stripper, recognized him:

Crousette: "She knew who he was. Her eyes... her... her... how do I want to say this? Her whole demeanor changed. She went from being a calm person to being a scared little rabbit."

Davis: "All right. And she said she didn't want to get involved..."

Crousette: "Does the word getting up and running and leaving the place tell you anything?"

Davis: "Okay. So..."

Crousette: "She left. She got up and left. She left her money and left. She grabbed her stuff and was out the door."

According to Crousette, Angie also described an Arab man in the Glitter Gulch acting as a "recruiter," who introduced Khalid to a pair of "skinny white guys." Could these two skinny white guys have been Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols?

Angie declined to say, telling Davis that she'd "wind up at the bottom of Lake Meade" if she talked.^{[622][623]}•

But just who was this "recruiter" that Crousette spoke of? Crousette saw him hobnobbing in a wealthy part of town with a man in a white BMW. Just who was in the car with him wasn't clear. However, the information is curious in light of Gagan's report that he and his Arab friends met at the Player's Club, an upscale apartment complex in a Las Vegas suburb.

Also mentioned in Crousette's phone conversation is "Jaffer," an apparent reference to Jaffer Oshan (not his real name). Oshan, who sometimes goes by the name Ossan Jaffar, is an electrical engineer who works for Khalid, and translates for his rusty Arabic.

Oshan was reportedly the target of FBI surveillance at the same time Khalid was being indicted for insurance fraud. Like Abraham Ahmed, Oshan disappeared just before the bombing, traveling to Jordan. And like Ahmed, he gave a similar story, telling Ernie Cranfield he was going to the Middle East to attend to family matters — in this case — his own wedding. According to Cranfield, he did not marry.

A native Jordanian, Oshan showed up in KFOR's surveillance photos with Khalid and Hussain al-Hussaini. Crousette showed the photos to his "intelligence" source:

Crousette: Three people that I know of that went in service — two feds and two of them were ex-company (CIA). They know who these guys are. When I showed them these pictures they looked at me and told me, "Get the hell out of it. What the hell are you doing doing this?"

Davis: Did they tell you they were Iraqi Intelligence?

Crousette: Two of them did, yes.... The feds know who did it.

Davis: And they're not arresting them?

Crousette: I'm not gonna' get involved.

Davis: Are they Middle Eastern?

Crousette: I'm not getting involved on this. Okay. I'm sending in my bill. I'm getting out of it now....^[624]

Crousette has since avoided all attempts to contact him. Gordon Novel, an investigator who used to work for District Attorney Jim Garrison, spent a week in Las Vegas attempting to talk with the former security guard. "He was real adamant about not wanting to be talked to," said Novel.

As a frustrated Novel was about to leave, a large goon appeared at his hotel room with an automatic tucked in his belt and some words of advice: "You betta' stay da fuck out odda Oklahoma thing," he warned. "Work on da Waco thing if ya wanna, but stay out odda Oklahoma thing. There's a lodda sand out dare where no one will ever find ya."

"He had a very serious big gun," said Novel, "and he wasn't a cop — I don't know what he was."^[625]

Why would an apparent Mob mule be concerned about steering an investigator away from a Las Vegas connection to the Oklahoma City bombing? Was Khalid connected to the Mob?

KFOR first bumped into Sam Khalid when reporter Brad Edwards received a mysterious phone call from Sharon Twilley. Twilley was working at the time for Khalid's real-estate business, Sahara Properties, which he owned with his ex-wife Carol, who died in the bombing. A three-year employee, Twilley did a variety of jobs for Khalid, including bookkeeping and acting as rental agent for his 500-plus properties.

Twilley told Edwards and Davis that she had seen her boss in the company of Abraham Ahmed, who had been detained by the FBI as a possible suspect on April 19 as he attempted to fly from Oklahoma to Jordan.

According to Twilley and Ernie Cranfield, Ahmed had been seen driving the brown Chevy pick-up seen speeding away from the bombing, back and forth to Khalid's place in the days prior to the bombing. Ahmed's increasingly frequent visits coincided with the arrival of Hussain al-Hussaini and five other Iraqis in November. Twilley also said that Khalid began acting very secretive after the arrival of the six men, and would only speak to Ahmed in Arabic.

Yet, perhaps most incredibly, both Cranfield and Twilley had seen a yellow Mercury Marquis parked at Khalid's office; Twilley said she saw Abraham Ahmed in the passenger seat.^[626]

The presence of Ahmed wasn't the only thing that raised eyebrows at Sahara properties in the days following the bombing. Cranfield told the FBI and Edwards that he saw one of Khalid's Arab employees, a man named Haider al-Saiidi, acting strangely ebullient after the bombing.

"When the news reports first came about some Islamic group being responsible, well Haider kind of laughed about that," recalled Cranfield. "I heard they found three babies that was dead from the blast, and I went and told the guys... and John Doe 2 (Cranfield's reference to Hussaini) started crying. He went out on the porch to cover his face and he stood by the wall crying. He was upset that children got hurt. He was really upset. And Haider was laughing because he was crying."^[627]

To make things even stranger, Khalid decided to visit Las Vegas on the evening of April 20, the day after his ex-wife Carol was killed in the bombing. It seems Khalid had asked her to help him with his taxes on Monday, her regularly scheduled day at the Department of Agriculture. Consequently, she went into work on Wednesday, her day off. As news reports showed Dr. Espe, Carol's boss, being carried down a ladder by rescue workers, Khalid's daughter Heather began crying. She knew her mom worked in that office.

"We was all sitting around the office watching the news," said Cranfield. "And when they showed Espe being carried down that ladder, she (Najaya, Khalid's current wife) just burst out laughing. Heather was crying, and Najaya was laughing."^[628]

Some might consider it odd that a girl's stepmother would burst out laughing upon learning that her mother had been killed. Some might consider it stranger still for a man to be partying on the eve of his ex-wife's death.

Was there a motive? Did Khalid know there would be a bombing on Wednesday? Did he know Carol would go into work on Wednesday to make up for her day off?

"It was set up," said Cranfield. "I know it was set up. He got rid of her because of the taxes she filed."

According to Cranfield, Khalid reported to the IRS that his employees were sub-contractors, thus avoiding having to pay benefits. Khalid's steady worker of nine years also told me that his boss made up business cards for the employees that purported to show their "independent" status.

It was Carol on whom fell the responsibility of preparing the returns. Cranfield caught a glimpse of her on Monday, two days before her death.

"She didn't look happy that morning when she was doing his taxes," recalled Cranfield. "She did not look happy at all... 'cause he was

fucking the government over the taxes."^[629]

At the time of this writing there was a case pending against Khalid for tax fraud. Carol most likely would have testified against him in that case.

The circumstances at Sahara Properties in the days after the bombing were too much for Cranfield. "I left the job site and went to the office and said 'I want my money.' I told them I didn't want to work for no terrorists. I was so... I feared that these people were involved, and them workers were involved in this. And with all the strange things that was going on, I wasn't going to take no chances. And when they found Abraham [Ahmed], that was it. That was all I needed to know. That's all I wanted to know. I wanted to get the hell out of there!"

The brown Chevy pick-up that Ahmed had been seen driving was found abandoned the Tuesday after the bombing at the Woodscape Apartment complex on Route 66. Resident Jeannie Royer recalled a heavy-set Middle-Eastern man getting out of the truck which was left near a storage shed. The man gave Boyer a hard look that said, "You'd better forget what you just saw."

The man showed up a week later and followed Royer while she was out walking her dog.^[630]† When shown a photo of a heavy-set Middle Eastern suspect by KFOR (one of Khalid's workers), she said, "It sure does look like him. I would sure like to see a close-up of his eyes. Those eyes of his were frightening!"^[631]

The abandoned pick-up, incidentally, had been painted yellow, and the serial numbers ground off. "You could see the yellow over-spray all over the chrome fender," said Joe Royer. The FBI then towed the truck to its impound lot, and nothing has been heard about it since.^[632]

What is even more interesting (or coincidental, depending on your point of view) is that Khalid owns the property on which a body shop is located — Route 66 Auto Collision — a nondescript, run down place on the far side of town. Route 66, curiously, is two miles directly due west of the Woodscape Apartments.

A body shop would be a very convenient place to paint a pick-up.

Khalid bought the property in 1994 at a tax auction. The sale was disputed by the current owner, Rex Carmichael, and as of this writing, the case was in court. "I'm sure it wasn't painted there," said Carmichael. "Khalid hasn't had anything to do with that body shop.... he's tried to get it, he's tried to own it, he's tried to possess it from me...."^[633]

Interestingly, an anonymous caller to Oklahoma State Representative Charles Key who claimed to be a friend of the brother of a man involved in the bombing, told him that a meeting of bombing conspirators took place at a garage on Northwest 39th Street. Although he didn't state the name, Route 66 is located right on Northwest 39th Street.^[634]

After the bombing, Route 66 changed its name to Tom's, but is not listed in the phone book or the information directory under either name. KFOR's P.I., Bob Jerlow, told me he staked the place out for five days but never saw anybody go in for an estimate. "It's probably a chop-shop," said a retired police officer.^[635]

If so, it may fit into what Cranfield told me next: "They (Khalid and his employees) would always buy cars, then I found out that they was taking them and running them to Mexico, running trips to Mexico and selling the cars.... Within two weeks to a month, everyone of them was driving a different car. They wouldn't have it but less than a month, then they'd be rid of it, and you wouldn't see it again.

"I seen them many times up there at this garage (Route 66). It was the same guys that came in [in November]. The same six that came in. Just them — them six."

One of the six was Hussain al-Hussaini.

The date November, 1994 may be prophetic. Three witnesses in Stillwater, about an hour's drive north of Oklahoma City, saw a man who closely resembles Ramzi Yousef in late October, early November, 1994. The man, who called himself Y.T., was managing Boomer's Used Auto Sales in Stillwater, along with a man who resembled John Doe 2. He drove a yellow Mercury Marquis similar to Timothy McVeigh's, albeit with a vinyl roof.

Ronnie White (not his real name), who was working as a mechanic for Boomer's at the time, said the men ran a "shoddy" operation and were "hostile" towards customers. The business, he said, was buying used cars and shipping them overseas, possibly to Kuwait. While in itself not an unusual practice, White said he saw as much as \$100,000 pass through per month, which is unusual for such a small operation.

White says the two men suddenly departed for Ohio the last week of October, 1994. They told him "Don't tell anybody where we're going." They left no forwarding address and no way for the customers to pay their bills. (Coincidentally perhaps, Timothy McVeigh was in Kent, Ohio on October 5.)

Said customer Michael Reed, "They were some pretty strange people. They were supposed to be running a car lot, but they were always

gone." They returned from their supposed car-buying trip the first week of November, with one used Honda.

White went to the FBI when he saw Yousef's wanted poster in the local police station. Like many witnesses, the FBI appeared to show no interest.^[636]

Was the man these witnesses saw really internationally wanted fugitive Ramzi Yousef? A Washington source familiar with Yousef and the World Trade Center bombing doesn't think it likely that Yousef reentered the country after the 1993 attack. The FBI put Yousef in the Philippines in November and December of '94, just in time to launch an ill-fated attack on President Clinton during his APEC visit, but his exact timeline was never established.

Yousef himself is a chameleon. One FBI photo depicts him as a thin, haunted-looking criminal, the other a boyish-looking foreign exchange student. Yet all three witnesses in Stillwater are adamant. "I was shocked," said Michael Reed, "it looked just like him."^[637]

Had the Arab cell involved in the bombing reinlisted the aid of expert bomb maker Ramzi Yousef for the Oklahoma City attack? A U.S. Marshall told Jayna Davis that he believed the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City bombings were linked. Other sources expressed similar opinions.

Finally, the Justice Department's Office of Inspector General report on the Oklahoma City bombing indicates that nitroglycerin was found at the scene. As previously stated, Yousef had been experimenting with a new form of nitroglycerin.

If Y.T. was Ramzi Yousef, he didn't seem too concerned that he was operating in the U.S. as a wanted fugitive.

Samir Khalid, who by now was being investigated by KFOR and surveilled by Jerlow, apparently didn't seem too concerned he was being watched either. At one point he casually strolled up to Jerlow and Edwards, who were staking out his house, rapped on their window, and said "What do you want with me?" Jerlow, his hand on his gun, watched in amazement. Later, Khalid called him on the phone. "Which country hired you to investigate me," Khalid demanded to know, "and how much are they paying you?"

A curious question. If Khalid wanted to know what *country* had hired Jerlow, it would subsume, at least in his mind, that the U.S. would have no reason to investigate him. Why would he assume such a thing? Was Khalid an operative or an informant for the U.S. Government?

When Hani Kamal, a Lebanese/Jordanian businessman, occasional FBI informant, and long-time acquaintance of Khalid's was shown KFOR's surveillance photos by OCPD officer Don Browning, he reportedly became frightened and said, "You have to leave this alone. This is the Mossad. You do not know what you're messing with." After that, Kamal would no longer talk to the cop.^{[638]*}

Jerlow's sources also came up dry. When the P.I. asked his phone company source to pull Khalid's records, they had mysteriously "disappeared." An attorney friend of Jerlow's who had some dealings with Khalid told him, "Khalid is a dangerous motherfucker. You stay away from him." He didn't explain why.^[639]

His warning may have been well-founded however. Three months after the bombing, on July 3, a man matching Khalid's description, and driving his truck, showed up at Sharon Twilley's house, pulled out a pistol, and fired four shots. Two of the bullets went into Twilley's bedroom, one went into her car, shattering the windshield, and another lodged under a neighbor's window.

A terrified Sharon Twilley rolled out of bed, clutching the phone in her hand, and dialed 911. She then ran over to neighbor Glenn Moore's house. "He knows where I slept!" she told Moore, who had watched the scene from his window. "He could have killed me if he had wanted to!"

Just why Khalid would want to scare Sharon Twilley literally to death is an interesting question. This excerpt from the police report may shed some light on the motive:

Twilley stated she worked for the suspect until after the bombing of the Murrah building when the F.B.I. came out and questioned her about the suspect's activity. The next day she was fired. Since that time the suspect has tried to kick her out of his rent [sic] house. He had refused to accept her check & had taken her to district court & the judge ordered him to serve a 30 day notice. Twilley stated that since that time her residence was burglarized and then this incident of the shooting took place. Twilley stated the F.B.I. had spoke [sic] with her a few times since she was fired & then it all started. Twilley stated Khalid was furious when he found out she had spoken to the F.B.I.

Just what had Twilley told the FBI? When I interviewed the OCPD detective who wrote the report, he told me that Twilley had seen "some new deal he was into," and was "nervous."

"She didn't want him to know that she had talked to the FBI," said the detective. "She was definitely afraid."^[640]

FBI agents James Strickland and Dave Swanson's names also appeared on the report. Why would the FBI take an interest in a local assault case? Although Khalid later admitted to the author that he had been interviewed and polygraphed by the FBI in regards to the bombing, Strickland wouldn't comment.^[641]

In spite of the bullet holes in Twilley's house and car, and Moore's eyewitness account, the OCPD did little. Assistant DA Sherry Todd declined to prosecute the case on "lack of evidence." The police report stated it as follows:

Moore stated on the morning on 7-3-95 at approx. 3:30-4:00 he heard gun shots. Moore got up & looked out the window and saw a dark skinned male running from the house. I asked him if it was Mr. Khalid. Moore stated "I think it was him, but I'm not sure. It looked like him but I'm not positive. He was driving the same white Nissan pick-up that he drives. But I'm not sure.

Moore seemed a bit more certain when I spoke to him. "He was a short guy that smokes a cigar," said Moore. "[He] looked real aggravated. He was randomly shooting; he shot four times."

In fact, the police report had previously stated Moore's identification in more positive terms:

Moore recognized the suspect as the landlord who rented the house out prior to Twilley living there & knew him as having a white Toyota pick up & he said that was him, meaning the suspect.

As if to add more grist to the mill, Khalid and an associate had shown up at Twilley's house the previous day and had smashed a brick through her window. Moore told me he recognized Khalid by his baseball cap, cigar, and white pick-up.

I began to suspect that Todd's refusal to prosecute came from DA Robert Macy, who had blindly cooperated with the Justice Department by refusing to pursue a local investigation of the bombing. Todd dismissed that notion. "It's very, very rare when he's involved in the decline or acceptance of charges," she said, then added, "I felt there were some problems with the witnesses statements."^[642]

Although initially polite, when I suggested that Khalid might be involved in the bombing, and that she should re-open the case, she turned suddenly hostile, and said, "I'm gonna' go back to work. This case is closed," then abruptly hung up.

Some time later, Mike Johnston, a local attorney familiar with the case, ran into Assistant U.S. Attorney Ted Richardson in the courthouse. Johnston raised the issue of Sam Khalid. "Oh you must have been talking to that guy from San Francisco," Richardson replied, referring to the author. When Johnston said that he had gleaned his information from other sources as well, and suggested that Richardson look into the matter, Richardson looked at his watch and said, "Well Mike, that's an interesting theory. I gotta' run."^{[643]*}

As for Glenn Moore, he told me he was being followed by Khalid and didn't want to get involved. And Sharon Twilley? Moore said she was scared and had probably moved back to Georgia.

Was Khalid guilty of assault with a deadly weapon? Was he involved in the bombing? His attorney, Francis Courbois, put it eloquently when he said, "...he is typical of those immigrants who work hard to achieve the opportunities America offers."

Indeed.

In 1973, Khalid was convicted of Grand Larceny.

In 1991, he was indicted in Federal Court on eight counts of insurance fraud, which included setting fires to some of his 500-plus properties. He served nine months out of a year at El Reno Federal Prison.^[644]

Robert Kulick, a former employee of Khalid's, told the FBI that Khalid had instructed him to set fires to four of his properties. When agents questioned Kulick and his wife about Khalid's associations, Mrs. Kulick blurted out, "We don't want to get Sam [Khalid] in any trouble," whereupon the agents immediately advised Kulick of his Miranda rights.

Kulick later jumped bond and fled to California after claiming he had received "threatening phone calls." He didn't say from whom.^{[645]*}

Yet the FBI's interest seemed to lay more in Khalid's connections to the PLO than in arson. According to Northrop, the FBI investigated Khalid for alleged PLO activity in 1991. Khalid's attorney insisted that it would have been precisely the FBI's interest in Khalid — "the microscope under which he, as a Palestinian, has been monitored" — which would have revealed any wrongdoing.

For all intents and purposes, Sam Khalid appears to be just what his lawyer says he is, a hard-working immigrant out to achieve the opportunities America has to offer. A 56-year-old Palestinian, Khalid was born Samir Abdul-Ghani Sharif Khalid, and emigrated to the U.S. from Kuwait in 1968.^[646]† He received his M.A. from Oklahoma City University in 1975, his Ph.D. in psychology from O.U. in 1979, and went on to teach at public schools and at nearby Tinker Air Force base. He also did a brief stint in the Oklahoma Department of Human Services.^[647]

Khalid claims to have relatives in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq, who provided the money for his education and real-estate investments. In 1982, Khalid quit teaching and devoted himself full-time to his burgeoning real-estate business. By 1995 he had acquired over 500

properties, mostly through HUD, the federal agency besieged with corruption in the late '70s and early '80s. [\[648\]](#)

Hani Kamal was surprised when I told him Khalid owned over 500 properties: "In the '70s this son-of-a-bitch did not have a dime to his name. He couldn't survive. He used to ask me for money. Where did he get 500 properties? Where did the money come from?"

Kamal, who claimed to have worked with the Insurance Fraud Division of the FBI (Browning said he was merely an informant), believes Khalid is a money launderer. "Khalid should be a millionaire with that much property," exclaimed Kamal, "but he lives in a dilapidated shack on 32nd Street." Sure enough, Khalid makes his home in a run-down, low-income part of town. It is Kamal's opinion that Khalid is just an "errand boy," and somebody else really owns the properties.

Northrop agrees. He says the money to fund this burgeoning real estate empire comes from the PLO, which instructs him on how to live for appearance' sake. Northrop also indicated that Khalid's claim of numerous relatives — an apparently false claim — merely provides a cover for the funneling of money to his business.

Do these largely circumstantial facts make Sam Khalid a terrorist? That depends on who you talk to. According to Northrop:

[By information and belief] Khalid is a long-standing participant in PLO fund-raising activities in the United States. He is most probably a sub-cell leader, part of the intellectual fringe that guide the cell, a classic Russian Nihilistic Terrorist structure. The destruction of the *fringe leadership* can be seen in the so-called *Spook War* between the Israelis and the PLO that took place in Europe and the Middle East between 1972 (the Munich Massacre) and 1986 (the death of Abu Jihad).

Khalid fits the pattern of the well-funded, well-educated father figure who takes care of his flock, remaining *outside* the center core of sub-cell foot soldiers (*the hel* in the Nihilistic structure). [\[649\]](#)

A West 57th Street documentary described how fund-raising by insurance fraud is a classic PLO technique. The May, 1989 episode, entitled, "Palestinians: Dirty Business," focused mostly on insurance fraud in Miami in the early to mid-'80s. Sunrise, Florida Police detective Don Cannon said the money was "being sent back to fund the PLO or the PFLP or the *Intifida*."

The principals of this fund-raising scheme, CBS reported, hailed from the West Bank town of Deir Dibwan. Reporter Karen Burnes received confirmation from the FBI that a number of scams were going on throughout the U.S. at the time. [\[650\]](#)

One method of raising money involved small store owners who would open businesses, buying merchandise on credit, then quickly close shop and vanish with the proceeds. There were other scams. California insurance lawyer Gordon Park told CBS, "What they would do is throw a brick through their front window and say, 'Ok, gosh, I got burglarized.'" [\[651\]](#)

In Brooklyn, investigators discovered a phony coupon redemption center run by Mahumud Abouhalima — currently serving 240 years in prison for his role in the World Trade Center bombing. [\[652\]](#)

"Insurance scams first surfaced in the United States in the mid-1970's," wrote Northrop, "when California authorities busted a PLO cell in Los Angeles." The Israeli said that Khalid travels to Israel at least once a year, and avoids any contact with the PLO, but communicates through a "cut-out," a member of his family. Northrop also stated that Khalid had been transferring funds from the Bank of Oklahoma in Tulsa to Bank Hapolim, an Israeli bank in Jerusalem:

The signatory on this particular account in Israel is a member of the Nashashibi clan, a prominent Palestinian family who live in Jerusalem and the surrounding area (West Bank). These funds have been used to help finance "Palestinian aspirations" (and all that implies). [\[653\]](#)

While this information in itself is largely circumstantial, it begins to look less exculpatory when combined with other evidence.

In May of 1996, U.S. Customs agents in Los Angeles seized a shipment of weapons — Semtex plastic explosives and small arms — bound for Florida. The North Korean-manufactured ordinance had been shipped through Manila, and was bound for a Hamas group in Miami.

The co-founder of Islamic Jihad — a close cousin of Hamas — Fathi Shikaki, had been assassinated in Syria by the Shin Bet (Israeli Secret Service) in October of 1995. Islamic Jihad now needed a new leader, and they sought him in Professor Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, an adjunct political science teacher at the University of South Florida in Tampa.

Shallah co-founded the World and Islam Study Enterprise (WISE), linked to the Islamic Committee for Palestine, both of which have been accused by federal authorities of fronting for terrorist groups.

While Shallah vehemently denied these allegations, he suddenly appeared in Syria in November of 1995 as the new head of Islamic Jihad.

Cary Gagan claims to have seen Shallah in late 1994 and February of '95 at Caesar's Palace and The Racetrack — two Las Vegas casinos. "Who is this dude?" Gagan asked Khalid about the short, fat, balding man with a mustache and beard. Gagan was simply told he was a

professor from Florida.

Shallah also appeared in Teheran in June of 1996 as HizbAllah International was organizing its joint working committee to coordinate international terrorist attacks. Authorities later discovered that Shallah had been Jihad's number two man in Tampa. ^[654]

While the Florida group had made threats over the extradition of one of their operatives — Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzuk — to Israel, the FBI and the Jewish community hadn't taken them seriously. After the Oklahoma City bombing however, and the interception of the arms shipment in May, the scenario changed. The FBI and the Jewish community were now taking a keen interest in the Miami group.

Back in Houston, Northrop was checking into some PLO suspects. He punched up an inquiry into the Aman (Israeli military intelligence) computer on Hussain al-Hussaini. It came up empty.

But the FBI had a list of 27 PLO and Hamas operatives in Florida and Oklahoma. Ten of those individuals had previously been arrested by the Israelis in March of '96, and the FBI needed their help. When an Israeli agent in New York named Avi ran the names through the computer, he noticed Northrop's inquiry on Hussaini. He called Northrop and asked him to fly to Miami.

What Northrop discovered when he arrived was that the same group he had been investigating in Oklahoma and Houston had been seen in Miami. Hussain al-Hussaini, Sam Khalid, Jaffer Oshan, and Haider al-Saadi — six to seven in all — were positively ID'd by Israeli Sayanim in Ft. Lauderdale. They were there, according to sources, meeting with members of Hamas.

It appears that the Khalid family's activities in the terrorist underworld date back at least to 1982. According to Army CID (Army Criminal Investigation Division) records, Khalid's brother Mike, (AKA: Ahmed Khalid, Mike Yousif, Wahid S. Yousif), was involved with a group of Iranians in Huntsville, Alabama who were romancing local female enlisted personnel in an attempt to procure military secrets. ^[655]

Yousif/Khalid's mission was to court a woman named Walker from Tuskumbee, AL, whom he had met in Oklahoma City in late 1982, when they worked together at Shotgun Sam's Pizza Parlor. Walker's brother, Jimmy, was the pilot for General Robert L. Moore, Commander of the Redstone Arsenal U.S. Army Missile Command in Huntsville. As commander, Moore had responsibility for the Army's missile program *worldwide*. ^[656]*

"What he had wanted, according to her," said a retired Army criminal investigator who wishes to remain anonymous, "was all kinds of information about General Moore." ^[657]

Moore also recalled the case. He told me the Army had stepped up security around him during this time. Interestingly, this was around the same time that attacks on U.S. military installations were occurring in Europe. ^[658]

The Army investigator also recalled that "Huntsville, Alabama, at that time, was a hotbed of espionage. There were 27 known KGB agents in Huntsville. They were known. They were known to the Bureau (FBI); they were known to military intelligence."

This espionage activity was due to the close proximity of Redstone Missile Command, NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center, and similar high-tech facilities located throughout the area. The investigator has no doubts that the Iranians and the KGB were cooperating.

This account also jives with Gagan's story. The Soviets had asked Gagan's help in obtaining classified information from his friend at Martin-Marietta. Later, the Soviets introduced the informant to a man named Hamid who needed fake documentation for illegal Iranians entering the country.

"Back at the time we had a big problem with Iranians," said the former CID investigator, "a big problem. They were always trying to infiltrate the arsenal. A number of them were attending Alabama A&M University under student visas, but most of them didn't go to school. They were involved in a lot of different criminal enterprises, drugs, stolen property, prostitution, all sorts of things...."

The suspects were also linked to a string of convenience stores. Interestingly, Northrop believes that Sam Khalid is a "money man" for Arab immigrants wishing to open businesses — namely convenience stores. Those wishing to do so must split the profits with the "money man" fifty-fifty. Could this be another PLO funding scam?

CID opened their case on Yousif/Khalid in September of 1982. "During the course of all this, to verify that the guy was real, we got his phone number... and I called the number one night, and I asked for Ahmed Khalid, and this guy got on the phone and said, 'I don't know him.' And I said, 'Well, it's got to be you. I got to talk to you — it's important.' Twenty-four hours later that guy was in Tuskumbee, AL."

Like his brother Sam, Wahid was never prosecuted. "The FBI [officially] took no interest.... Another CID investigator got reprimanded by our SAC, because he went and did this (interviewed Walker). That was the total gist of the FBI's involvement." ^[659]

The Army investigator's experiences paralleled that of Gagan's. "That's a pretty common thread when you deal with them (the FBI)," Gagan explained. "You bring them information, and you never hear another word about it."

Florida police who investigated Arab links to insurance scams and organized crime received the same treatment from the FBI. "People didn't want to investigate this," said a police detective I spoke with. "Things weren't right. It was as if someone was looking at this and saying, 'stay away from it.'" [\[660\]](#)*

In spite of the FBI's stonewalling, the Army investigator remembers the case well: "The female soldiers would go out at night to the different clubs and discos and stuff... we caught one out there, and he supposedly ran a convenience store.... And we caught him on the arsenal....

"Hassan Niakossary — he was the big leader of this gang. He was associated with a local gangster named Dewy Brazelton, who ran a club called the Plush Horse. He had a lot of Cosa Nostra connections into New York — a lot. Hassan worked for him." [\[661\]](#)†

Middle Eastern terrorists involved in espionage with the KGB, associated with the Mob? The Army investigator said Niakossary traveled frequently to Las Vegas, a known Mob town. So does Wahid's brother, Sam Khalid. A regular high roller, Khalid reportedly shows up with at least \$10,000 in his pocket.

As Hani Kamal pointed out, the Cosa Nostra has cooperated with Iranians in money laundering in the past. Could this explain Khalid's frequent visits to Las Vegas? Were his trips part of a money laundering operation?

As Gunther Russbacher explained, several Las Vegas casinos, including Binyon's Horseshoe, are pay-off points for political and judicial slush-funds. Federal judges and others are allegedly paid off through Shamrock Development Corp. in Ireland, via off-shore banks and Las Vegas Casinos. The bribe recipients collect their money in the form of gambling chips, then cash them in.

Is Khalid receiving money this way? It's hard to say, but it is worth noting that the CEO of Shamrock, Donald Lutz, was on the management staff of Silverado Savings & Loan, the S&L case tried by Judge Matsch, who would later try McVeigh and Nichols (Neil Bush, a board member of Silverado, walked).

And what about Omar's trip(s) to Kingman? It was there that Omar and Gagan drove from Las Vegas, two weeks before the bombing. Why would a high-roller like Omar drive to the dusty, isolated desert town of Kingman? One possible reason may have been to make contact with Timothy McVeigh, who was holed up in the Imperial Motel at the time.

Another reason may have revolved around drugs. Recall that Gagan's original relationship with Omar was under the guise of drug dealing. "I brought some back from Puerto Vallarta for him," said Gagan, "using a camper with a false top... through San Diego. At one time I saw 10-15 kilos. That's quite a bit of dope."

Recall that Gagan had delivered a bag of cocaine from Kingman to Denver (which contained plastic explosives), and he believes the \$250,000 Omar paid him came from the Cali Cartel. [\[662\]](#)

As mentioned earlier, on April 4, 1995, Gagan and Omar delivered a package to a man in a cowboy hat in Kingman, driving a rusty brown pick-up. Authorities reported that a brown pick-up, belonging to Steven Garrett Colbern, was caught on Trooper Hanger's video camera as he stopped McVeigh on I-35 an hour and-a-half after the bombing. [\[663\]](#)*

A chemist who knew McVeigh under the alias of "Tim Tuttle," Colbern had recently been spotted with a bag of ammonium nitrate in his truck. His roommate, Dennis Malzac, was being held on charges of arson for a small explosion that had damaged a house in town two months earlier. That house was owned by Rocky McPeak, a friend of McVeigh's. Colbern, who shared a mailbox in Kingman with McVeigh, was absent from work four days prior to and ten days after the bombing. He claimed he was in California visiting his parents. [\[664\]](#)†

Interestingly, FBI agents digging in the desert outside Kingman for evidence, found more than 150 pounds of ammonium nitrate buried in the sand. [\[665\]](#)

Colbern was arrested in May of 1995, and released on April 23, 1997, after serving time in Lompac Federal Prison on illegal weapons charges. [\[666\]](#)

Despite the incriminating connections, Colbern disappeared from the official radar screen almost as quickly as he had appeared. The Oklahoma Highway Patrol video showing the brown pick-up — like the numerous surveillance tapes showing the activity at the Murrah Building on the morning of April 19 — was "seized" by the FBI.

Was Colbern the man to whom Omar delivered the mysterious package on April 4? Was it meant for Timothy McVeigh?

Did Khalid meet Terry Nichols in Las Vegas in May of 1994? Were Nichols and McVeigh the "two skinny white guys" he met at the Glitter Gulch in November?

Was McVeigh's yellow Mercury at Sahara Properties as Ernie Cranfield claimed? And was McVeigh with Hussain al-Hussaini at the pawn shop and the Roadrunner Tavern in Oklahoma City as KFOR's witnesses said?

Ultimately, were McVeigh, Nichols and their friends in fact plotting with Arab extremists to blow up the Alfred P. Murrah Building?

"He (McVeigh) had mentioned before that he wanted to become a mercenary in the Middle East, because they paid the most," recalled former Army buddy Greg Henry, "But we just took it as a joke. But he's the kind of person that would have become that."^[667]

Was McVeigh some sort of intermediary between neo-Nazi groups and Arab terrorists? While this may sound bizarre, as previously noted, cooperation between such groups has been well documented.

The origins of Arab-Nazi collaboration go back to WWII. The Mufti of Jerusalem, who was Hitler's guest, actually raised Muslim SS units for the Nazi war effort, culled from Bosnian Muslims and Arabs.

ODESSA, the Nazi organization formed to funnel support to ex-SS members, arranged rendezvous with representatives of various Arab organizations after the war, as part of the Dulles/McCloy/OSS Ratlines. This secret CIA operation also funneled Nazis to various Latin American countries, where they set up "security services" (death squads) for their respective government employers.

One ODESSA member, former Gestapo Chief General Ernest Rhemer, settled in the Middle East, where he set up intelligence operations for several Arab countries, including Syria and Egypt. Rhemer, who is currently active in the "Revisionist" scene, for several decades played a key role in coordinating German Right-wing activity with the Arab world.

Alois Brunner, Aldoph Eichmann's chief, who murdered 128,500 people during the Nazi Holocaust, played an early role in Arab-Nazi collusion.^[668]

Also playing a role in Arab-Nazi cooperation was Hitler's "favorite commando," Otto "Scarface" Skorzeny, who helped install Gamel Abdul Nasser as Egyptian president with the assistance of an elite corps of former SS storm troopers. Skorzeny also helped train early PLO groups for commando raids into Israel. The ardent Nazi, who conveniently missed his day at the Nuremberg trials courtesy of the U.S. Government, was stationed in Egypt at the behest of the CIA.^[669]

One of Skorzeny's subordinates, a Swiss Nazi named François Genoud, served with Skorzeny's troops in Egypt. Genoud also befriended Ali Hassan Salameh, the leader of Black September, the group which murdered nine Israeli athletes during the 1972 Munich Olympics. Currently a banker in Geneva, Genoud reportedly masterminded several airplane hijackings for the PLO.

A close friend of Genoud's, French attorney Jacques Vergès, defended several members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and spoke as a "character" witness on behalf of the notorious Gestapo chief Klaus Barbie (the "Butcher of Lyon"), who murdered hundreds of French resistance fighters, and deported 7,000 Jews to the death camps.

And as recently as the early 1980's, a neo-Nazi named Odifried Hepp was responsible for attacks against at least four U.S. military and NATO installations, as well as German nightclubs frequented by U.S. servicemen. Hepp worked with the PFLP, and was also financed by Yasser Arafat's Al Fatah, who in turn was supported by François Genoud.

As another example of Arab-Nazi collaboration, when members of Abu Nidal, and Abu Abass' Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) hijacked the Greek cruise ship *Achille Lauro* in 1985, they demanded Hepp's release. "I know Hepp quite well," Abass told the French daily *Liberation* in 1985. "He is a friend."^[670]

The German magazine *Der Spiegel* reported on a group of neo-Nazis called Kampfsportgruppe, headed by a man named Hoffmann (a Hoffmann member had blown himself up, along with 11 others, at the Oktoberfest celebration in Munich in 1981). Kampfsportgruppe, it seemed, was connected to terrorist groups in Beirut.^[671] At the same time, a number of German terrorists have reportedly been trained in Palestinian camps in Jordan, South Yemen, Syria, and Iraq.

Iraqi arms dealer Ishan Barbouti met with former Nazi scientist Volker Weissheimer in order to recruit other former Nazis to work on Libyan and Iraqi chemical weapons projects.^[672]

The Syrians — who are well-known sponsors of terrorism — offered funding to Robert Mathews, the former leader of The Order, also known as "Der Buders Schweigen" (The Silent Brotherhood). Mathews, who was killed in a shoot-out with police in 1984, had issued a "Declaration of War" against the so-called "Zionist Occupied Government, including Jews, blacks, Hispanics, Asians and white "race traitors" who didn't agree with white supremacist goals. Mathews' Order was responsible for a string of armored car robberies and the machine-gun killing of Jewish talk show host Allen Berg in Denver.

As discussed earlier, reports of other Middle-Eastern "terrorist" states such as Libya funding or offering funding to neo-Nazi and other dissident groups such as the Black Muslims and the EI Rukns has been reported. One of Libya's primary beneficiaries was the Nation of Islam (NOI), whose leader, Louis Farrakhan, received \$5 million dollars from Libyan President Muammar al-Qaddafi.

As previously discussed, Farrakhan's predecessor, Elijah Muhammad, had formed a pact with the KKK and American Nazi Party in 1961.

This unusual alliance stretched right up to the present day. In the fall of 1992, WAR leader Tom Metzger appeared on the Whoopi Goldberg Show preaching the benefits of young blacks joining the NOI.

In 1985, Metzger and Farrakhan spoke together in Los Angeles, and in October of 1996, David Irving, a British Nazi Holocaust Revisionist, showed up with a pair of NOI bodyguards.

Twenty-five year DEA veteran Mike Levine described to me the unique connection between Nazis and Arab terrorists: "Years ago I was undercover in the American Nazi party, and it was an odd mix of people that I ran into. First of all, I'm very dark, and my undercover I.D. said I was Italian — Mike Picano. But, what I found interesting was that members of the American Nazi party were Arabs, you know, [and] there were light-skinned Latinos... There were Arab members of the American Nazi Party going all the way back to 1968, when I was a member. The mutual hatred was the Jews and the blacks."^[673]

As Levine says, the ties that bind these two seemingly disparate groups is a loathing of the U.S. and hatred of "World Jewry," which they see as the dominating force behind all world political and financial power.

In April of 1991, Ahmed Rami, European correspondent for *Al Shaab* newspaper, urged a "Western Intifada" against alleged Jewish dominance. Rami's call was duplicated in several Right-wing German publications, including *Deutsche Rundschau*, *Remer Depesche*, and *Recht Und Wahrheit*, which wrote:

One can say that the only winner of WWII was the organized World Jewry... attained through Auschwitz, a never-before existing freedom to unrestricted development of power. Today, Jews control all important positions of power in the U.S.A.

Similar twisted sentiments were echoed by the Islamic Association of Palestine, which published a communiqué urging Muslims to die in a holy war against Jews, who they call "enemies of humanity, the bloodsuckers, and the killers of prophets." The principle American support group of Hamas, is the IAP in Dallas, Texas.

According to ABC 20/20 reporter Tom Jarriel, law-enforcement sources said that Iranians had emigrated to the U.S. for the purpose of "recruiting" Americans for homegrown terrorism. The January, 1996 episode focused on David Belfield (AKA Daoud Salahuddin), a young black man who became disenchanted with American social and economic life and was drawn to the militant Islamic movement.

In 1980, Salahuddin assassinated a former Iranian Embassy official, Ali Tabatabai, who had advocated the overthrow of the Ayatollah Khomeini. Like Cary Gagan's "Iranian" friends who had planned to bomb a federal building using a postal truck packed with explosives, Salahuddin used a postal jeep to gain entry into the official's home. He then fled the U.S. and assimilated himself into the Arab terrorist underground. According to the report, Salahuddin was typical of many young black males indoctrinated into the Islamic faith by Iranian agents, who convinced them that terrorism was a legitimate means of protest.

With the help of Washington, D.C. private investigator Carl Schoffler, ABC 20/20 investigators were able to obtain police intelligence reports which established that "the Ayatollah had established a recruiting and training program within the U.S. for home-grown terrorists."

Calling themselves the Islamic Guerrillas in America (IGA), the group, originally comprised of approximately a dozen young black men, became involved in murder, bank robbery, and threats on the lives of judges and prosecutors.

Regarding the assassination of Tabatabai, Salahuddin told 20/20, "I assume that the decision came from what was the Revolutionary Council in Iran, in Tehran. That's my assumption."

Another of Salahuddin's close pals was Clevon Holt, who under his Islamic name, Isa Abdullah, fought against the Israelis in Lebanon and was seen extensively outside the Marine Corps compound in Beirut just before it was bombed in 1983. Shoffler recalls that Abdullah was once arrested while casing Air Force One, the Presidential jet....

According to Schoffler, "There are clear signs that constant recruitment's going on...."^[674]

Some of this recruitment was for a group known as al-Fuqra, which claims between 200 and 300 operational members. A splinter from the Da'ar al-Islam sect, al-Fuqra was founded in Brooklyn in 1980 by a Pakistani cleric named Shaykh Mubarik Ali Gilani. Al-Fuqra's international headquarters is in Lahore, Pakistan, and they maintain strong ties to both Pakistani intelligence and the Mujahadeen.^[675]

The group, which is based on the classical terrorist cell structure, is thought to have at least five operational cells in the U.S., and is suspected of 17 bombings and assassinations throughout the country, including the murder of at least 12 people.^[676]

In September of 1989, the FBI confiscated the contents of a storage locker in Colorado Springs owned by al-Fuqra members, including 30 pounds of explosives (three pipe-bombs, homemade plastic explosives, hand-grenades, mines, fuses, mercury switches and timing devices), weapons (10 handguns and silencers), military manuals, bomb-making instructions, a photo of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, target-practice silhouettes with such headings as "FBI Anti-Terrorist Team" and "Zionist Pig." Also included in the lot were plans to attack Colorado military installations, and Colorado utilities and aviation infrastructures.^[677]

Cary Gagan was already familiar with Al Fuqra from his time in prison. Omar had asked Gagan to "take care of" an al-Fuqra member named "Eddie," should he call. Gagan believes the man was Edward Flinton, a Colorado-based al-Fuqra member charged with conspiracy to commit murder in the August 1984 firebombing of a Hare Krishna temple, and the February 1993 murder of Rashid Khalifa, an Iman of a Tucson mosque. [\[678\]](#)

In August of 1995, six months after the bombing in Oklahoma City, "Eddie" called. Gagan met the al-Fuqra member, and the two allegedly discussed plans to detonate car bombs outside the Governor's Mansion, the Attorney General's office, the Department of Labor and Employment, and the Colorado Bureau of Investigation (CBI). [\[679\]](#)

The plan included not only blowing up buildings — but assassinating a federal judge — Lewis Babcock. Babcock was one of several judges and federal agents on the terrorists' hit list.

"He was my guy up here," said Gagan. "I was to take him out."

The idea was to take Babcock's upstairs neighbor, John Strader, hostage, tie him up, then plant a bomb in his apartment. Apparently, this time the U.S. Marshals took Gagan's warning seriously. A call to Babcock and Strader confirmed that the judge had extra security around him during this time. Nevertheless, Gagan said Agent James Tafoya didn't want to follow up. [\[680\]](#)

On October 20, 1995, Gagan returned to Denver at the behest of his "Hizbollah" contact, where he met two Americans named "Paul" and "Daniel" at the Broadway Plaza Motel. "I had just come back from Kingman, where I dropped off money to a militia-looking dude," said Gagan. The men discussed bombing targets in Denver and Phoenix. "Daniel deals with these dudes (al-Fuqra)," said Gagan. "They were connected to Hizbollah." [\[681\]](#)

Although the agencies targeted for the attacks stepped up security at these facilities, the FBI began a concerted effort to discredit Gagan.

Then in early February, Gagan says he met at the Tomahawk Truck Stop in Watkins, Colorado, where he helped load approximately 300 pounds of high-grade explosives allegedly stolen from Explosives Fabricators. Also loaded into a van were anti-tank weapons stolen from the Army, electronic circuitry, and boxes of chemicals marked Ammonium Silicate. Gagan says he drove the van to Denver, whereupon he contacted Agent Matt Traver of the ATF.

Gagan said he informed FBI Agents Johnson and Holtslaw and U.S. Attorneys Allison and Solano. Gagan told Holtslaw he would take a Polygraph test, requested that he confirm the status of his Immunity Letter, and meet with his family to assure them that precautions would be taken for their safety. Gagan alleges that Holtslaw refused, and ceased all contact with him. The FBI claims that Gagan refused to take a Polygraph, and was therefore unreliable.

Yet Gagan's involvement with al-Fuqra is significant in light of several factors. First, Clement Rodney Hampton-El and Earl Gant, both al-Fuqra members, were indicted in the World Trade Center bombing and the subsequent plot to blow up four New York City landmarks by Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman's Jama a Islamiya. Hampton had fought with Gulbaddin Hekmatyar's Hizb-I-Islami (Islamic Party) during the Afghan War, and assisted in the testing of explosives for the New York City bombings, although he didn't actually take part in the final plot. [\[682\]](#)

Second, al-Fuqra is aligned, not only with Pakistani intelligence, which supports the Mujahadeen (World Trade Center bomber Ramzi Yousef is a Pakistani who reportedly fought alongside the Mujahadeen), but to the HizbAllah International through leaders such as Gulbaddin Hekmatyar. Al-Fuqra's contacts also include Hamas, and the Moro Liberation Front, based in the Philippines, where Terry Nichols and Ramzi Yousef allegedly rendezvoused.

Third, an individual claiming to be the brother of the friend of a man involved in the plot called Oklahoma State Representative Key to provide him with information after the bombing. According to the anonymous caller, one of the bombers was a black Muslim. He spoke of a man named "Colonel Hardin" from Arizona, whose "supposed to be deeply involved in this, along with some with some Middle Eastern and some black Muslims."

The reader should take note that this conversation occurred before any discussion of Middle Eastern involvement became public as a result of Stephen Jones' Writ or other investigations:

Caller: So, according to him there was nine people that he knows of that was supposedly involved in this. Now there was... there was two white guys and a black dude. And he said that he thought one of the white guys could possibly be a short-haired girl that she looked like she might be from the Middle East or something.

But the second time that he saw the car, he said it was about ten minutes before the bombing, he said they drove up to him and told him to get the hell out, that there was gonna' be a bomb. And he said it was the same car only that it had the white guy and the black dude in it. The other person, he said thought might be a female wasn't in the car at that time. Now this about ten minutes before....

And this black dude-he's a member of the Nation of Islam, but he's also prior service military. And this stupid asshole, he supposedly called

Channel Four after the bombing, claiming credit for it.

Key: Well I heard that... I forget who called in to where but somebody called in and said, you know, it was the Nation of Islam.

Caller: Well, he was supposed to have been the one. And another thing... Channel Four said late last night that this leg was supposed to have had some PVC embedded in it. And, you know, you use PVC pipe to pack plastic explosives in. It greatly increases the detonation of it and the shear power of it, and it's also a tidy way of handling it.^[683]

Finally, there is the unidentified leg found in the rubble of the Murrah Building. The severed leg, allegedly belonging to a black female, was clothed in combat boots, two pairs of socks, and an olive military-issue blousing strap.

Authorities eventually claimed the leg belonged to 21-year-old Air Force Airman Lakesha Levy, who was in the Social Security office at the time of the blast.^[684]

What is strange is that there were eight bodies with missing or severed limbs. If the leg was clothed in military garb, it should have been a simple task to match it with Levy, who likewise would have been wearing a military uniform. Eventhough Levy was buried before this leg was found, it should have been a simple task to go back and see which of the bodies with severed limbs belonged to military personnel wearing military uniforms. Yet authorities originally buried a different leg with Levy before finding this one on May 30.

The State Medical Examiner's Office originally claimed the leg belonged to a white or light-skinned male, most likely under 30 year of age. This finding was later recanted by the FBI, who "decided" that it belonged to Levy. Of course, By stating the leg belonged to Levy, the FBI conveniently removed all speculation as to whom the leg really belonged to. As Stephen Jones stated, "[Perhaps] the experts are more interested in proving the non-existence of a different bomber at the scene than validating the Oklahoma Medical Examiner."^[685]

Could the unidentified leg have actually belonged to the real bomber — a black Muslim prepared to sacrifice himself or herself for the cause? Perhaps this explains why authorities allegedly recovered no bodies that matched this leg. It is possible the leg belonged to an additional bomber who was disintegrated by the blast. This could also explain the confused look Daina Bradley witnessed on John Doe 2's face after he walked to the back of the Ryder truck. Perhaps upon opening the door, he was confronted with a comrade who ordered him away, then set off the device, neatly severing himself or herself in the process.

While the Nation of Islam (NOI) are supposedly enemies of Al Fuqra, it should be pointed out that the NOI has forged links with the KKK, the American Nazi Party, and Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR).

The Tulsa, Oklahoma leader of WAR, Dennis Mahon, freely admitted to William Jasper and other journalists that the Iraqis paid him \$100-a-month — \$4800 total — between 1991 and 1995, to stir up dissent among the neo-Nazi/White Supremacist community against the Gulf War sanctions. (At least Mahon believes the money came from the Iraqi embassy.)^[686]

A former Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, Mahon had visited Germany in an effort to recruit young Germans into the KKK. Also recall that during the Gulf War, the Anti-Zionist League's Michael Kühnen, working with his old mercenary friend Michel Faci, negotiated a contract to provide 200 German, American and British neo-Nazi volunteers to fight alongside Iraqi troops.

As previously discussed, Kühnen was succeeded by a man named Hubner, who has spoken with Kirk Lyons at meetings of the group "Deutsche Alternative." Lyons' client was Michael Brescia's roommate Andreas Strassmeir, a good friend of Dennis Mahon's. A frequent visitor to Elohim City, Mahon was close friends with Brescia. He almost certainly knew Brescia's friend, Timothy McVeigh.

Again, the question must be asked: Were McVeigh, Nichols, and their comrades in fact plotting with Arab extremists and their black Muslims counterparts to blow up the Federal Building, and was Iraq behind it?

As the *Washington Post's* Jack Anderson stated: "A preferable revenge for Iraq would involve having a 'surrogate terrorist' carry out a domestic attack that Hussein could privately take credit for..."

Anderson's analysis may be rather prescient. States and their intelligence agencies have been using terrorist groups as "cut-outs" for years in order to maintain deniability. *Defense & Foreign Affairs*, stated it thusly:

...despite the important evolution in the role of the terrorist organizations and other entities through the HizbAllah International, the actual control over the operations themselves remains firmly in the hands of, and under the tight control of, the sponsoring states, being perpetrated by operatives of intelligence services....

It is through these "organizations" that the sponsoring states in effect take credit for their terrorist operations and have their message clear and explicit. Given the marked escalation of international terrorism and the higher stakes involved, the importance of the front groups "speaking" for the sponsoring states — particularly Iran and the global Islamic Revolution it is running — is of growing importance and centrality to international terrorism.^[687]

Another example of such methodology was the World Trade Center bombing. As Ramzi Yousef's accomplice Mahmud Abu Halima put it, "The planned act was not as big as what subsequently occurred.... Yousef showed up on the scene... and escalated the initial plot... Yousef used [Salameh and the others]... as pawns and then immediately after the blast left the country."^[688] Some terrorism experts think Yousef was working for Iraq.

Stephen Jones believes a similar plan unfolded in Oklahoma City. As he stated in his March 25th Writ of Mandamus:

The plan was arranged for a Middle Eastern bombing engineer to engineer the bomb in such a way that it could be carefully transported and successfully detonated. There is no reported incident of neo-Nazis or extreme Right-wing militants in this country exploding any bomb of any significant size, let alone one to bring down a nine (9) story federal building and kill 168 persons.... This terrorist attack was "contracted out" to persons whose organization and ideology was friendly to policies of the foreign power and included dislike and hatred of the United States government itself, and possibly included was a desire for revenge against the United States....^[689]

In November of 1994, Gagan said he made a trip to Mexico City with Omar, where he ran into a familiar face amongst the terrorist crowd — Frank Terpil. "I saw him down in Mexico City... with Omar," recalled Gagan. "We met him in the Zona Rosa area."

A retired CIA communications specialist, Terpil had been convicted, along with rogue CIA agent Edwin Wilson, of selling 20 tons of C-4 plastic explosives and 50,000 electronic timers to the Libyan government.

Terpil had also lined his pockets by supplying torture devices to Ugandan Dictator Idi Amin, and sophisticated detonators and communications equipment to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. He and Wilson had also set up a terrorist training camp in Libya, and had recruited U.S. Green Berets to train Arab terrorists in bombing and assassination techniques.

After being indicted, Terpil fled the country, and was last seen hiding out in Cuba, until he showed up in Mexico City... with Omar. "They met at the bar," said Gagan. "Terpil and Omar spoke for about fifteen minutes, alone."

"Who's that dude?" Gagan asked Omar as they left the bar.

"An ex-CIA agent named Terpil," came the answer. "He lives in Cuba."

"Frank Terpil? I thought he was dead? What's up with him?"

"He lives in Cuba. He's hands-off...."

Considering Terpil's well-documented relationship with Arab terrorists, and his "wanted" status in the U.S., it is understandable why he would choose to meet Omar in Mexico City.

Gagan himself was no stranger to Mexico City. As previously discussed, the Soviets had solicited Gagan's help in 1980 to procure military secrets from his friend at Martin Marietta. They requested his help again in 1986 to assist illegal Iranian immigrants who needed false IDs.

While in Mexico Gagan had also met an Austrian, Eduard Bodenzayer, a Soviet spy, and had been to the Russian embassy repeatedly. As he told Stephen Jones, "My contacts there were a guy named Vallery and Elyia."

Did Omar, Sam Khalid, or their associates have contact with the Russians? Considering Khalid's reported ties to the PLO and Hamas, and the long history of Soviet-Arab cooperation, it is highly likely.

Like Nazis and neo-Nazis who've forged links with Arab terrorists, the Soviets have provided wide-ranging support to Arab terrorist groups throughout the years. As James Phillips of the Heritage Foundation writes:

During the 1970s the Soviet Union and its satellites greatly expanded their support for terrorist groups. Moscow often used Middle Eastern client states such as Iraq, Libya, Syria, and the former People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen as intermediaries to mask Soviet arms, training, intelligence, and logistical support for a wide variety of terrorist groups.^[690]

If the Russians were sponsoring their Arab friends in terrorism, it is likely the Arabs may have wished to maintain further deniability by engaging the assistance of American neo-Nazis. This possibility became more apparent as connections were drawn, not only between Dennis Mahon and Iraqi embassy officials, but between Terry Nichols and Iraqi terrorist Ramzi Yousef, and between Timothy McVeigh and former Iraqi soldier Hussain al-Hussaini.

This likelihood became clearer after interviewing Michele Torres, the daughter of a former Communist Party official (P.R.T. Party) in Mexico City. An intelligent young woman, Michele had been raised under the harsh regimentation of a person destined for a position in the Communist Party, but had rebelled, and at age 17, fled to the United States.

Torres recalled the numerous and strange faces that would often pass through her home and her father's office. Arab men from Jordan,

Palestine, Iraq... she was not allowed to ask them their names or their business.^[691]

Torres also claimed to have overheard conversations between her father and PLO representatives some years earlier. The meetings, she said, involved discussions of a bombing plot to be carried out in the U.S.

It was the winter of 1992, and Michele's father, Hiram Torres, was working in the office of the PLO in Mexico City. He was speaking with a man from Palestine, and another from Jordan or possibly Iraq. In broken English, Torres recounts the conversation:

Torres: They were saying: "What do you think about the new plan?" And the other man says: "Well, we can... the Russian officers told us we can probably blame the fascists." You know what I mean? "Americans — the American Patriots, and all the stupid stuff with the white supremacists and the neo-Nazis. So we can give two strikes at once."

Hoffman: Did he explain what he meant by two strikes?

Torres: They didn't explain it but I understood it.

Hoffman: Did they say anything about the Patriot Movement or the Militia Movement?

Torres: They don't say anything about militia. When they want to talk about militia, they say fascists or neo-Nazis. And when they speak about Patriots, or Yankees... the way they say. They used to speak about white supremacists... all Americans... white Americans are white supremacists. Yankees and fascists.

Hoffman: Tell me what they meant by the two strikes at once.

Torres: They wanted... the Arab people wanted... to make a terrorist act. They needed to make a terrorist act. There was like, some of the Arab leaders — wanted to make — wanted to give a strike to the United States. They didn't even understand why. But at the same time, the Communist Party tells them that it was a great idea to...

Hoffman: Now are you relating the actual conversation?

Torres: Yes. They were saying that it was... all the time they were talking about... what the Russian officers told them to do. So that man who was talking was the Palestinian man — my father told him that it was very good, and that they would probably find an easy way — an easy way to blame that kind of people. That he was trying... that he had tried to contact neo-Nazi people to help him...

Hoffman: Did he say who?

Torres: Yes. He tried to contact any kind of National Socialist people (American Nazi Party)... I tell you the way I heard it: "We can probably use those neo-Nazi bastards. I tried to contact them, but they refused to do it, and they don't want to get involved in that kind of stuff with Communists. And I don't think anyone can get those fucking idiots, but I don't care." He said something like, "I don't care. We are anyway going to blame them."

Hoffman: We don't want to get involved with Communists and that kind of stuff and what...

Torres: "But anyway can blame them. No matter if they want to cooperate with us or not." Then he told me... he told that guy that... he was going to hire a white man.

Hoffman: To act as a neo-Nazi? You mean to play the part of a neo-Nazi?

Torres: To play the part of a neo-Nazi. And... and to participate with his comrades... he spoke about his Arab comrades.

Hoffman: In what respect?

Torres: His Arab comrades... and he used to call them brothers or some kind of thing...

Hoffman: Your father spoke of them this way?

Torres: Yes. But, well, he told it in Russian, that he was — that boy who they were going to hire, was going to work together with the Tobarich (Russian for comrade). With the Tobarich.

Hoffman: Do you remember any names — any specific names of any people — anybody?

Torres: No. That time, they were just going to plan it. That was the plan...

Hoffman: This was in the winter of '92?

Torres: Yes. They were just discussing the plan. They didn't even know the names. My father was... by that time my father was... deciding.

Hoffman: Now why do you think so long ago? That's four years between now and then.

Torres: They always plan it in that way. They take their time, and always a very long time. They always take a very long time...

Hoffman: Is there anything else about what they discussed that you haven't told me that you think is important?

Torres: They said they were going to do it in the middle of the country. And they were going to do it in a business office.

Hoffman: Did they say how big?

Torres: Yes, big. And they wanted... children to be victims of it. There must be children there — it must be an office where children were somehow. They had to kill children. Because it was a very important part of the emotional part of the strike....

Hoffman: Did they ever mention Pan Am 103 or the World Trade Center bombings in reference?

Torres: They talked something about... trade centers. Anyway they spoke about trade centers — about places where business were made, because Americans regard so much their money and their business. That was the explanation my father gave to the Palestinian guy. They spoke about places where business were made, and that it was not the only strike they were going to make.

You know one of the reasons I am not scared of this conversation (this interview) is because I heard — I listen to this kind of conversation all of my life. My father — he has killed a lot of people — he has done a lot of wrong things. He was involved...

While Torres' mention of Russian intelligence seems to have all the makings of a Claire Sterling novel, it should be mentioned that Mexico City is home to one of the largest Soviet consulates in the Western hemisphere, with its attendant Soviet intelligence apparatus.

It appears that what Torres was describing was more than a loose-knit group of terrorists, but a sophisticated centrally-controlled state-sponsored terrorist apparatus. As *Defense & Foreign Affairs* stated:

Despite the unprecedented role of the HizbAllah International in the decision making process, all major terrorist operations remain state-controlled. These operations are conducted by agencies of states and in pursuit of the long-term and strategic interests of the controlling and sponsoring states. The "names" and "profiles" of the organizations and groups issuing the communiqués and claims constitute an integral component of the state sponsorship mechanism. These named entities serve a specific function: stating the identity of the interests involved in, and the outlining of the logic and objectives behind, these operations without having the sponsoring states assume formal responsibility....

Incredible as it sounds, Torres' story may be the key piece of the puzzle linking the Arab and neo-Nazi contingents. Her story is significant in light of the fact that Dennis Mahon was being paid by the Iraqis to stir up dissent amongst the white supremacist community.

Her story also ties into the fact that Omar allegedly met with Frank Terpil in Mexico City; and Terry Nichols reportedly met with Ramzi Yousef in the Philippines.

Finally, Timothy McVeigh, an alleged white supremacist, was seen with Hussain al-Hussaini, an Iraqi. [\[692\]](#)

Interestingly, within hours of the blast in Oklahoma City, *Radio Tehran* in Iraq had the answer. "...the perpetrators were Christian extremist militias from Montana and Oklahoma observing the two-year anniversary of the U.S. government killing of 86 men, women, and children in the Branch Davidian Waco massacre." [\[693\]](#)

Was Timothy McVeigh the "neo-Nazi bastard" that Michele's father talked about hiring? [\[694\]*](#)

And were the Russians using Middle Eastern terrorists as proxies — who in turn were using American neo-Nazis — to destabilize the West while maintaining deniability? While the apparent demise of the Soviet Union convinced a lot of people that the long-feared Communist threat was over, many within the intelligence community disagree.

A recent Reuters report quoted Raymond Mislock, Chief of the FBI's National Security Division, as saying that the Russians "still are on the scene," and continue to employ intelligence officers in this country. In fact, the FBI was investigating over 200 cases of suspected Russian espionage activity at the time of this writing. [\[695\]](#)

And what about Khalid's employees trips to Mexico? Was Khalid liasoning with terrorists there? Ultimately, the question was, who was

Khalid working for?

Although Louis Crousette avoided any further attempts to contact him, he left Jayna Davis with one final word of advice. Echoing Hani Kamal's words of warning regarding Israeli intelligence, Crousette said, "You know who's your best bet to talk to, if you haven't thought about it... the Mossad."

That final adage led me straight back to Northrop, who stated in his report that Khalid "fit the role" of a PLO operative, and insisted that the bombing was the work of Iraqi terrorists. But if Khalid, Hussaini, and Oshan were simple Arab terrorists — and they had left a trail of evidence a mile long — why were they still walking around?

In spite of Novel's and Davis' unsuccessful attempts to positively I.D. Khalid with McVeigh or Nichols, Gagan stated that he had seen Nichols with Omar, at a meeting which took place just outside of Las Vegas.

The FBI had also investigated Sam Khalid for PLO fundraising activities, and had looked into the shooting assault of Sharon Twilley.

They had put out an APB on the brown pick-up driven by Hussain al-Hussaini, which was seen speeding away from the scene of the bombing. And Hussaini's alibi for the morning of the April 19 was patently false.

KFOR's witnesses who placed Hussaini with McVeigh seemed perfectly credible, and KFOR had passed on their information to the FBI.

Khalid had access to an auto body shop, and one of Khalid's employees had been seen abandoning the re-painted pick-up in a nearby apartment complex.

Then there was the mysterious disappearance of Khalid's phone records, and the strange comments he made to Ernie Cranfield when he was asked why Abraham Ahmed had been seen hanging around Khalid's place in the brown pick-up.

Khalid had been placed by Northrop's sources with the same Hamas operative in Miami — Ramadan Shallah — that Gagan had seen in Las Vegas.

Finally, Omar (Khalid?) was seen meeting with Frank Terpil — a rogue CIA agent who had supplied Arab terrorists with several tons of C-4.

Although circumstantial, the facts were sufficient to make an incontrovertible case, and yet these people seemed to walk through walls. Could the FBI be so inept? Were their agents so compartmentalized that they couldn't put two and two together? Or had the Justice Department's investigation become so politicized that bureaucratic ineptitude had become the desired and inevitable result? It would seem all of the above, and yet this still seemed too simple an answer.

Even Northrop's report seemed a bit one-dimensional. While the former Israeli intelligence agent drew a picture of Arab terrorists forged in the fire of the PLO, the image that lurked just beneath the surface, one drawn in invisible ink, was that of intelligence operatives conceived in the secret chambers of the Mossad... or the CIA.

This was the one remaining possibility that lent credence to the seemingly irreconcilable facts which presented themselves. After all, why had the FBI ignored a veritable mountain of damning evidence? Why had they suddenly and mysteriously canceled the APB on the brown pick up? And why, after 48 hours of reporting nothing but Middle Eastern connections, did the Justice Department and their obedient lap dogs of the mainstream press suddenly announce that no Middle Eastern connection existed?

Certainly the capture of McVeigh and Nichols did not repudiate the still-standing Middle Eastern connection. Nor could the sudden change have been the result of information from low-level agents in the field. No. It could have only been the result of one thing — a strategic decision from the Justice Department, which had as its basis, a political directive from the White House.

It was to Washington that Khalid traveled shortly after the bombing, according to employees, to meet with a Congressional representative. The purpose? As an emissary to discuss the problem of "Muslim bashing."

Yet KFOR's P.I., Bob Jerlow, claims he spoke to the Representative's aide who checked the Congressman's schedule and claimed she never saw the name Khalid.

If Sam Khalid was a run-of-the-mill Arab terrorist who had just played a role in the biggest terrorist attack in U.S. history, why would he attract attention to himself by firing shots at Sharon Twilley? A convicted felon like Khalid would easily earn a stiff prison sentence for possession of a firearm and assault with a deadly weapon.

Unless he was "protected."

This would tend to explain why he acted so non-chalant towards Ernie Cranfield, Bob Jerlow, Brad Edwards, and the author. It would likewise tend to explain the FBI's lack of interest in Khalid.

If Khalid and Hussaini were run-of-the-mill Arab terrorists, what was Khalid doing meeting with such high-level U.S. officials? It would seem that President Clinton's publicly televised admonishment not to blame the Arab community also served as a handy excuse to cover up the Middle Eastern connection.

Yet why would Clinton want to cover up their connection to the bombing? There are two reasons: First, Clinton needs an excuse to crack down on the Patriot/Militia community, who represent a threat to Clinton's anti-constitutional plans for America, and the establishment's plans for a "New World Order." This Clinton did with a vengeance. Once the Justice Department had announced the capture of McVeigh and Nichols, the mainstream media, with information supplied mainly by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith (ADL), and the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), was able to focus their anti-militia spotlights, launching vitriolic attacks against anyone connected with the far-Right. Under the orchestration of the ADL, attacks on the Patriot/Militia movement continued for months, even though there was no documentable proof of the suspects' connections to the militias, or the militias' connection to the bombing.

Number two, Clinton and Bush were responsible for bringing individuals like Hussain al-Hussaini into this country. Between 1992 and 1995, over 18,000 Iraqi refugees and their families were resettled into the U.S. under a largely unknown and hotly debated program initiated by President Bush and followed up by President Clinton. They were part of a contingent of Iraqi refugees that flooded the Saudi border during and after the war, including many former Iraqi soldiers and deserters.

According to Oklahoma Senator David Boren, approximately 950 of these former soldiers were resettled in the U.S. in 1992 and 1993. Congressional Research Service figures indicate that an additional 549 soldiers were resettled in 1994, and 219 in 1995.

A "Sense of the Congress" resolution initiated by Republicans Don Manzulla of Illinois and Clifford Stearns of Florida attempted to halt the resettlement.^[696]

"We're rolling out the welcome wagon to prisoners of war, yet our own veterans who fought there are having trouble getting any help," Stearns said. Some of the refugees included Shi'ite Muslims who were oppressed by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and in some cases rebelled against him. Others included Iraqi soldiers who Hussein vowed to execute because they didn't fight to the death. "I'm sympathetic with the idea that people who opposed Saddam Hussein should not be allowed to be massacred," said Tennessee State Republican Representative John L. 'Jimmy' Duncan Jr., "but we should give the benefit of the doubt to our own people and put the burden of proof on the people who want to come in."^[697]

In spite of the resolutions, the White House backed the program, officially admitting approximately 18,000 Iraqi refugees into the U.S. According to Manzulla's office, the figure may be higher. Some figures put approximately 5,000 Iraqis in the Tulsa and Oklahoma City areas alone.

Others fear that such a resettlement would create a sort of "blowback." The U.S. already has Muslim extremist cells, and it is difficult to gather accurate intelligence on all those admitted under the program. According to the Congressional Research Service Report, "...there has been no contact with Kuwaiti intelligence services in the effort to verify that the refugees are not Iraqi agents."^[698]

If Hussain al-Hussaini, a former Iraqi officer, was resettled into the U.S., it is possible — highly possible in fact — that he was recruited by the CIA or DIA as part of a deal.

There is a precedent for such collaboration. In 1949 and 1950 the National Security Council issued NSC Intelligence Directive 13 and 14, which expanded the CIA's authority to function inside the U.S. (in violation of the CIA's charter.) One of their programs involved bringing "favored European exiles" into the country.

"Favored European exiles" was a euphemism for Nazi war criminals.^[699]

It may not be fair to compare Iraqi war refugees with Nazi war criminals or Islamic terrorists. But given the United States' precedent in using expatriated Nazis and Cubans for their covert operations, and the extremely low-key nature of the Bush/Clinton Iraqi resettlement program, one has to wonder what Hussaini's real purpose was.^[700]

As former Pentagon investigator Gene Wheaton observes: "Every major Middle-Eastern terrorist organization is under surveillance and control of the intelligence agencies in the U.S. None of these guys move around as freely as they'd like you to think."

If Hussaini was working for the Mossad, the FBI, the DIA, or the CIA, who have been known to cooperate with each other on "special projects," he may have been a double-agent, working for Iraq at the same time. Remember that Saddam Hussein had threatened revenge against the United States ("Does the United States realize the meaning of opening the stores of the world with the will of Iraqi people?... Does it realize the meaning of every Iraqi becoming a missile that can cross to countries and cities?")

If an element of the United States Government played a role in the destruction of the Alfred P. Murrah Building, using an Arab to do its dirty work would prove far easier than attempting to recruit an American citizen.

Sam Khalid's ability to monitor the activities of a group of Middle Easterners with dubious connections (through hiring and renting homes to Arab immigrants), and his status as former felon, make him a likely candidate as an operative or informant.

Was he playing both sides of the fence?

Politically, the government's refusal to concede the complicity of Iraq in the World Trade Center bombing, and possibly to the Oklahoma City bombing, may stem from its desire to halt any public outcry against U.S. policies. One major example is the government's refusal to face the consequences of its immoral, brutal, and devastating actions in the Gulf.

Dr. Laurie Mylroie believes the Clinton administration's failure to address the problem lies in its refusal to face the specter of state-sponsored terrorism. Instead it chooses to adopt a microcosmic "law-enforcement" approach to what she perceives as an international problem — hence the focus on "domestic terrorists."

Moreover, the White House may not want to admit the specter of state-sponsored terrorism because it might panic the populace. Such is the case of a state-sponsored biological attack which has been increasingly threatening our population.^[701]

If Iraq indeed proved to be behind the Oklahoma City bombing, it would not fare well for the Clinton administration, who followed up on President Bush's Iraqi resettlement program. It would not fare well for Bush and his business and political cronies — the same CIA/Iran-Contra coterie who armed and fueled Saddam Hussein's military machine with conventional and biological weapons.

And it would preclude this same international arms/drugs cabal from profiteering by re-supplying Iraq in the future. In short, it would preclude "business as usual."^[702]

Whatever the reason, certainly the public wasn't being told the full truth about the Oklahoma City bombing. They would never be allowed to glimpse any evidence of the Middle Eastern connection.

Yet this was only part of the picture.

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**"No Stone Unturned"**

"We will leave no stone unturned in our effort to get to the truth."
— Attorney General Janet Reno

"McVeigh and Nichols are going to hell regardless. I'm just looking forward to sending them there a little sooner."
— U.S. Attorney Joseph Hartzler

Almost from the beginning, the Justice Department and the mainstream press focused their attention on Timothy McVeigh, painting him as a spurned ex-soldier who was angry for failing to make the Special Forces; an extremist Right-wing "Patriot" who hated the government with a passion for their atrocities at Waco. McVeigh, the angry misguided loner, it is alleged, conspired with anti-government tax protester Terry Nichols to teach the Federal Government a lesson in Oklahoma.

Like the arrest of Lee Harvey Oswald, the "capture" of Timothy McVeigh was an incredible stroke of timing and luck. Like Oswald, who was arrested for walking into a movie theater without paying, McVeigh would be arrested for speeding down the highway with a conspicuously missing license plate.

In both cases, the FBI was quickly notified that their "suspect" was in custody. With their extraordinary run of good luck, the FBI was able to instantly trace the serial number found on the bomb truck to Ford, then to Ryder, then to Elliott's rental agency, then to a "Bob Kling," and finally to "McVeigh."^[703]

Like Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, which the FBI traced from its entrance into the U.S., to an importer, to Klein's Sporting Goods, to a sale to an "A.J. Hidell," then to Oswald — all without computers and over a weekend — the FBI would quickly trace the Ryder truck to the lone bomber.

Finally, like "lone nut" Lee Harvey Oswald, "lone nut" Timothy James McVeigh would be transferred from the Noble County jail, paraded in front of onlookers and the press as the mass murderer. While there was no Jack Ruby to intervene this time, McVeigh would be led away in a bright orange jumpsuit, without a bullet-proof vest, which he had specifically requested.

Ironically, his departing words were, "...I might be Lee Harvey Oswald, Jr.... You remember what happened with Jack Ruby."^[704]

As in the arrest of Lee Harvey Oswald, the circumstances surrounding the arrest of McVeigh and Nichols would prove highly questionable. The media widely reported that McVeigh was stopped by Highway Patrolman Charles Hanger 78 minutes after the blast(s), heading north on I-35, near Perry. McVeigh was driving without a license plate. As Trooper Hanger's affidavit states:

"...That I stopped the vehicle and the defendant was the driver and only occupant of the vehicle.... That as the defendant was getting his billfold from his right rear pocket I noticed a bulge under the left side of his jacket and I thought it could be a weapon.... That I then told the defendant to pull his jacket back and before he did he said, 'I have a gun under my jacket....' That I then grabbed a hold of the left side of his jacket and drew my own weapon and pointed it at the back of his head and instructed him to keep his hands up and I walked him over to the trunk of his car and had him put his hands on the trunk...."

Yet accounts vary. Some articles stated that McVeigh was speeding at 81 miles per hour. Yet Hanger only cited him for no license plate, no insurance, and possession of a concealed weapon. Were these accounts meant to suggest that McVeigh was trying to make a fast get-away? If so, why would a man who had just committed such a heinous crime wish to draw attention to himself?

McVeigh supposedly just blew up a building and killed 169 innocent people — men, women, and children — including a number of federal agents. It is 78 minutes later, and he is being pulled over by a state trooper. He has no tags, no insurance, and is carrying a concealed weapon without a permit. He is most likely going to jail, where his name, Social Security number, and description will be uplinked to the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) at the FBI — an FBI that is now on full alert.

McVeigh is carrying a large combat knife, and a Glock model 21 automatic pistol loaded with deadly hollow-point bullets. McVeigh is a trained soldier, a top marksman, and a hardened combat veteran.

The cop is exiting his vehicle and walking over to McVeigh's car. McVeigh's life outside the electric chair is very likely about to come to an end. What does McVeigh — this hardened combat veteran, this brutal killer of 169 innocent people — do? He casually informs the cop that he has a concealed weapon, and meekly hands himself over for arrest.^[705]

Of course the mainstream press wouldn't make any attempt to analyze this bizarre inconsistency in McVeigh's behavior, only reporting that he was "uncommunicative," (*Time*), "calls himself a 'prisoner of war,'" (*New York Times*), and is refusing to cooperate with investigators and prosecutors..." (*U.S. News & World Report*) — a story which would be repeated by numerous other papers.

Yet as McVeigh stated to *Newsweek*, "I never called myself a prisoner of war."^[706] McVeigh's account is backed up by the *Los Angeles Times*, which obtained McVeigh's arrest records. As the *Times'* Richard Serrano notes:

....They reveal a McVeigh sharply different from the one sources had earlier portrayed. He was not the silent soldier who gave jailers only his name, rank and serial number. Rather, he was often polite. And smooth.^[707]

With only the serial number of a truck differential and a sketch to work with, the FBI fanned out through Junction City. Upon examining the rental receipt at Elliott's Body Shop, the FBI discovered all the information on it was false. As Agent Henry Gibbon's affidavit states:

The person who signed the rental agreement identified himself as Bob Kling, SSAN 962-42-9694, South Dakota driver's license number YF942A6, and provided a home address of 428 Maple Drive, Omaha, Nebraska, telephone 913-238-2425. The person listed the destination as 428 Maple Drive, Redfield, South Dakota. b. Subsequent investigation conducted by the FBI determined all that information to be false.

Yet employees of Elliott's Body Shop did recognize the sketch of Unsub #1 as the man who rented the truck used in the bombing. The FBI then took the sketch of Unsub #1 to the Dreamland Motel, where they found that Unsub #1 had rented a room from April 14 through the April 18. As the FBI affidavit states:

An employee of the Dreamland Motel in Junction City, Kansas, identified Timothy McVeigh as a guest at the motel from April 14, 1995, through April 18, 1995. This employee, when shown a photo lineup identified Timothy McVeigh's picture as the individual who registered at the motel under the name of Tim McVeigh, listed his automobile as a Mercury bearing an Arizona license plate, and provided a Michigan address, on North Van Dyke in Decker Michigan.^[708]

On April 21, only hours before McVeigh was due to be released from the Perry County Jail, "District Attorney John Maddox received a call from the FBI telling him to hang onto the prisoner."^[709]

As the *New York Times* reported, "...a routine check of his Social Security number matched one flagged by the FBI as belonging to a suspect in the bombing."^[710] This subsumes that the FBI had obtained McVeigh's Social Security number from the accurate registration information at the Dreamland, not the false information at Elliott's.

Why would Tim McVeigh — who was bent on committing such a terrible crime — use a fake name and address at the Ryder rental agency, yet use his real name and address at a motel right down the street?^[711] Perhaps because, as will be explained below, McVeigh never visited the rental agency.

While in custody, McVeigh listed James Nichols as a reference. Why would McVeigh list the brother of his so-called accomplice as his only reference?

On April 21, Terry Nichols was busy with chores around his new home in Herrington. Unbeknownst to him, a team of 11 FBI agents had already staked out his house.

Later that afternoon, Nichols heard his name being broadcast as a possible suspect. At 2:42 p.m. he and Marife got into their blue pick-up, and drove to the Herrington police station, with the FBI on his tail. According to Marife, Terry was frightened, and anxious to know why his name was being broadcast. Inside, Nichols asked why his name was being mentioned on the radio in connection with the bombing. The cops replied that they didn't know, but they had some questions for him. "Good," Nichols said, "because I have some questions for you."

Strangely, FBI agents then read Nichols his Miranda rights, something not normally done unless someone is under arrest, and told him three times he was free to go.

In fact, Nichols wasn't free to go. An arrest warrant had been issued five hours earlier, but Nichols wouldn't be informed of this until almost midnight. In the interim, he and Marife were questioned by the FBI for over nine hours.

Back at his house, a SWAT team had already arrived, and agents were sealing it with crime tape, and checking it for booby traps. It was there that agents would claim to discover 55-gallon barrels, rolls of primadet detonator cord, non-electric blasting caps, and a receipt for 40 50-pound bags of ammonium nitrate with McVeigh's thumbprint.

If Terry Nichols was an accomplice in the bombing, why would he leave such incriminating items in his house? Wouldn't he have attempted to hide the items before driving over to the police station?

Moreover, if Nichols was a co-conspirator in the largest domestic terrorist attack in the history of the country, why would he casually stroll into the police station asking why his name was being broadcast on TV? This makes about as much sense as Timothy McVeigh casually pulling over for Officer Hanger and meekly handing himself over for arrest.

Several days after McVeigh's arrest, Hanger claimed to have recovered a crumpled business card from behind the front passenger seat of his patrol car, where McVeigh had been sitting. The card for Paulsen's Military Supply of Antigo, Wisconsin, contained a handwritten note: "Dave. TNT at \$5 a stick. 708-288-0128. Need more. Call after 1 of May, see if I can get some more."

Had McVeigh actually left such a note in the cruiser? When McVeigh defense team investigator Marty Reed attempted to interview Hanger, he was told by OHP chief legal counsel John Lindsey, "The FBI has requested that no one interview Trooper Charlie Hanger."

And as in the Kennedy case, the evidence collected by the FBI in their case, code-named "OKBOMB," would prove just as specious. The FBI quickly claimed that they had traced the Ryder truck from a serial number — 6 4 PVA26077 — found on its rear differential, which had flown 575 feet through the air "like a boomerang" and landed on a Ford Fiesta. (For those confused about the FBI finding the serial number on the "axle," it was actually on the axle housing.)^{[712][713]}

Curiously, while Deputy Sheriff Melvin Sumter told me he had found the axle, an Oklahoma City Policeman, Mike McPherson, claimed that he had in fact discovered it, as did an FBI agent. These three accounts were contradicted by Governor Frank Keating, who claimed that he had actually found the axle.

The Ryder truck belonging to the axle, rented under the alias of "Bob Kling," the FBI claimed, was the instrument of the deadly destruction in Oklahoma City.

But had it actually been rented by Timothy McVeigh?

The "McVeigh" Eldon Elliott described to the grand jury was 5' 10" to 5' 11", with medium build, weighing between 180-185 pounds. Elliott's mechanic Tom Kessinger stated that the man had a "rough" complexion with "acne," and employee Vicki Beemer said he had a deformed chin.

Not only is McVeigh clear-skinned, he is a lanky 6', 2", and weighs only 160 pounds. He does not have a deformed chin.^[714]

Readers will also recall that ATF informant Carol Howe, who had penetrated the Elohim City enclave, told ATF and FBI agents that the sketch of John Doe 1 who rented the truck appeared to be Elohim City resident and close Strassmeir friend Peter Ward.^[715]

According to J.D. Cash, so did Dennis Mahon. Mahon told the reporter that Ward was "known at Elohim City as 'Andy's shadow'... Ward went everywhere Strassmeir did and is dumb as dirt." Mahon also added, "...you know his brother, Tony, has a pocked complexion..."^[716]

Yet authorities insist that it was McVeigh who rented the truck on April 17. They introduced surveillance footage from a Junction City McDonalds, slightly over a mile from Elliott's, showing McVeigh walking towards the cashier at approximately 3:55 p.m. Yet McVeigh was not wearing military attire as was "Kling." Nevertheless, the prosecution contends that McVeigh left the restaurant, walked the 1.3 miles to Elliott's during a light drizzle, then showed up nice and dry, wearing completely different clothes.

Eldon Elliott would play along for the prosecution. In spite of his previous grand jury testimony, and the FBI 302 statements of his employees, Elliott testified at McVeigh's trial that Timothy McVeigh was the man who rented the truck.^[717]

Interesting that he could make such an assertion, when the FBI hadn't brought him before a line-up eventhough they had questioned him just 48 hours after the bombing. In fact, the FBI didn't show Elliott a photo line-up until *48 days later*. During McVeigh's trial, Elliott attempted to compensate for the discrepancy in McVeigh's height by stating that McVeigh had "leaned" on the counter while filling out the reservation form.

Had Elliott been coached by the prosecution?^[718]

"From his body language, the way he acted nervous, avoided my questions, I could tell he was under some sort of pressure," said former Federal Grand Juror Hoppy Heidelberg.

When defense team investigator Richard Reyna went to interview Elliott, he was told the FBI had instructed him not to talk to anyone about the case because "they didn't want to get things distorted." He then handed Reyna the card of FBI Special Agent Scott Crabtree.

When Marty Reed and co-investigator Wilma Sparks approached Elliott a week later, he referred them to a man named Joseph Pole. Pole

stated that he was "working for Ryder... indirectly." He refused to speak with the investigators and excused himself, saying he had to make a phone call. When Sparks and Reed went outside, they noticed a government car with the license number G-10 03822, parked in front of the shop.

When they returned the next day, they were again met by the mysterious "Ryder employee" who didn't produce a business card. When they asked the body shop's employees why the government car was there, they were told it was being worked on. But the investigators saw no signs of damage. Upon returning the following day, the car was parked between two campers, ostensibly in an attempt to conceal it. [\[719\]](#)

Was the FBI attempting to influence a key witness? A reporter who worked the case later told me, "They were very hooked in with the FBI... the Ryder security was obtained through the FBI... and they're in constant touch with the FBI for briefings, or they were. And I got that from the PR guy who's the Vice President of Ryder in Miami... A *Newsweek* reporter that I work with got Elliott on the phone, and somebody clicked down the phone as he was talking to her. Elliott was saying 'let me just finish, let me just finish,' and all of the sudden, the phone went dead." [\[720\]](#)

Such a symbiotic relationship between the FBI and Ryder shouldn't be surprising. According to one bombing researcher, Ryder's CEO, Anthony Mitchell, is a member of the Trilateral Commission — the New World Order folks. She also uncovered the fact that both the FBI and the ATF have leasing contracts with the company. [\[721\]](#)

To rent his Ryder truck, "McVeigh" allegedly used his pre-paid phone card, obtained in November of 1993 through the *Spotlight* under the name "Daryl Bridges," to call Elliott's and make the reservation. Vicki Beemer told the FBI she recalled speaking to a man named "Kling." Records supposedly indicate the call was made on April 14, from a Junction City, Kansas bus station. [\[722\]](#)

Yet the FBI had no way of proving that the call placed to the Ryder agency under the name "Kling" was actually made by McVeigh, or even that the *Spotlight* card was used for the call. OPUS Telecom, which runs the system used for the pre-paid card, maintains no records indicating exactly who placed a specific call. [\[723\]](#)

As an example of the uncertainties promulgated by the FBI, they originally asserted the call was made at 8:44 a.m. from a pay phone at Fort Riley. They later decided it was made at 9:53 a.m. from a pay phone in Junction City. However, Beemer, who took the call, said it came at 10:30 a.m.

At the time the FBI alleged McVeigh made the 9:53 a.m. call, he was at a phone booth down the street from a Firestone store, where he had been negotiating a deal on a 1977 Mercury. The store manager who sold McVeigh the car, Thomas Manning, testified that his customer excused himself, then came back 10 or 15 minutes later. The FBI contends that McVeigh used this period to make two calls, one to Terry Nichols' house, and one to Elliott's. Yet, as the *Rocky Mountain News* noted:

An early version of the FBI reconstruction showed two calls within two minutes from phones 25 miles apart, which implied involvement by someone other than McVeigh and Nichols, since neither was then in the second location.

But the location of that call later was reassigned to a place fitting the government's case. [\[724\]](#)

How convenient.

Moreover, as the defense pointed out, Manning hadn't bothered to mention the fact that McVeigh left the Firestone store for over a year-and-a-half, despite being interviewed by defense attorneys and FBI agents 11 different times. [\[725\]](#)

Additionally, while rental receipts and employee testimony indicates "Kling" rented his truck on the 17th, a Ryder truck was seen days earlier by James Sargeant and other eyewitnesses. Sargeant reported seeing several unidentified men crawling in and out of the cargo area for three days, backed up to the lake so that no one ashore could see inside. "I really began to wonder about why someone would be wasting their money on a rental truck out there... no one was ever fishing, either." [\[726\]](#)

Barbara Whittenberg, owner of the Sante Fe Trail Diner in Herrington, recalled seeing a Ryder truck, along with McVeigh, Nichols, and John Doe 2, on Saturday, April 15. The men had stopped by the restaurant for breakfast at 6:00 a.m., and Whittenberg reported seeing a large Ryder truck at Geary State Fishing Lake later that afternoon. [\[727\]](#)

Lea McGown, owner of the Dreamland Motel in Junction City, and her son Eric, both recall seeing McVeigh pull into the motel with *his* truck on the afternoon of Easter Sunday, April 16, as did residents Renda Truong, Connie Hood, David King, and King's mother, Hetta. The truck appeared to be an older, privately owned Ryder truck. McGown had just returned from Manhattan, Kansas, where he and his mother were having lunch. The time was approximately 4:00 p.m. Truong testified she had seen it after Easter Sunday dinner, which would have been around dusk.

Yet under examination by the prosecution during McVeigh's trial, Eric McGown would not testify as to the exact date he saw the truck. Yet his FBI 302 said: "He thinks the man came there with a truck on April 16, 1995, and that the Ryder truck sat at the motel all day on April 17,

1995."^[728]

His mother, like both Hood and Truong, was certain it was the 16th. As she stated in her FBI 302:

She is certain that the Ryder truck she saw parked at the DREAMLAND MOTEL and in which she observed TIM MCVEIGH sitting on one occasion was driven into the motel grounds on Sunday, April 16, 1995.

She recalls that the Ryder truck that was parked at the DREAMLAND MOTEL on April 16, 1995, through April 18, 1995, did not have the word Ryder on the back doors as do other Ryder trucks she has seen. She recalls the back doors of the Ryder truck in which she saw TIM MCVEIGH were a plain faded yellow color, with no printing visible on them.^[729]

Hetta King was also sure it was Sunday the 16th. "There's no question in my mind — it was Easter Sunday," King testified.

The reader will recall that this is the exact same day that Phyllis Kingsley and Linda Kuhlman saw the convoy, including "McVeigh," John Doe 2 and 3, and the Ryder truck at the Hi Way Grill just south of Oklahoma City. It was approximately 6:00 p.m.

The two locations are hundreds of miles apart — too far apart to drive in two hours.

This is also the same day the FBI alleged Nichols drove from Kansas to Oklahoma City to pick up McVeigh, who had left his Mercury Marquis near the YMCA as the "get-away" vehicle. Yet a witness at the Dreamland recalled seeing McVeigh's yellow Mercury at the motel the next day.

Interesting that "McVeigh" and his car could be in two places at once.

Real estate agent Georgia Rucker and her son also saw a Ryder truck at Geary Lake days before "Kling" rented his. Then on Tuesday morning, as Rucker again drove by lake, she not only saw a Ryder truck, but two other vehicles as well. She thought this was "very suspicious."^[730]

On Monday, April 17, Connie Hood saw the Ryder truck again. This time, there were several men "fiddling with the back of the truck." Hood thinks one of those men was Michael Fortier; she recalls he had scraggly hair and a beard. Those who recall the photo of Fortier taken after the bombing may recall that Fortier had just shaved off his beard, leaving a clearly visible demarcation line.

While these are all blatant discrepancies in the FBI's official timeline, the Bureau was apparently interested in McGown's testimony because the Dreamland is the only place where McVeigh, or someone purporting to be McVeigh, signed his real name.

What is curious is that the FBI has consistently promoted the idea that there was only one Ryder truck involved. Yet the statements of McGown, Bricktown warehouse worker David Snider, and others indicate that there were two Ryder trucks involved. When a *Newsweek* reporter spoke to the security guard at Elliott's, he said "Think about two trucks."^[731]

This fact was reiterated by grand juror Hoppy Heidelberg. "A small number of people testified during the grand jury hearings about two trucks," said Heidelberg. "McVeigh picked his truck up on Monday. John Doe 2 had his truck the weekend before. The fact that there were two trucks I'm very comfortable with."^[732]

If McVeigh had rented his truck on April 17, as the FBI contends, why did witnesses report seeing a Ryder truck at Geary State Fishing Lake as early as April 10? It was at this lake, on April 18, the FBI originally asserted, that the two suspects built their magic ANFO bomb. FBI agents reported finding diesel fuel and strands of detonator cord on the ground.^[733]

Yet at the time witnesses first saw the truck at the lake, neither McVeigh or Nichols were in Kansas. As the *Denver Post* reported:

Nichols was returning from a gun show in Michigan, and McVeigh was holed up in a residence hotel in Kingman, Arizona. The government's key witness, Michael Fortier, also was not in Kansas.^[734]

Interestingly, shortly before the start of McVeigh's trial, the prosecution dropped its contention that the bomb was built at Geary Lake. It's possible they did so because had the defense brought up the witness sightings on the 10th, it would have conflicted, not only with the prosecution's carefully constructed timeline, but the fact that there were additional suspects.^[735]

As will be seen, this is not the first time the government excluded witnesses who's testimony didn't fit with their carefully crafted version of events.

Nevertheless, it was this truck, rented by "Kling" on April 17, authorities insisted, that was loaded with ammonium nitrate and guided by the lone bomber to its final and fateful destination at the Alfred P. Murrah Building.

To build their magic ANFO bomb, the FBI reports McVeigh and Nichols began searching for racing fuel and detonator cord in September of '94. Using the calling card McVeigh and Nichols had obtained under the pseudonym of "Daryl Bridges," ostensibly inspired by the film "Blown Away" starring Jeff Bridges, McVeigh allegedly made over 22 calls to various companies who supply chemicals, racing fuel, and even one of the country's largest explosives manufacturers.

His first call was to Paulsen's Military Supply, just outside of Madison, Wisconsin, looking for detonators. According to authorities, McVeigh left Paulsen's business card in the patrol car upon his arrest, that read, "Dave" (presumably David Paulsen, Ed Paulsen's son, who McVeigh had met at a gun show), with the notation, "More five pound sticks of TNT by May 1."^[736]

A salesman at Fatigues and Things, a military store in Junction City, said McVeigh and another man bought a book entitled *Improvised Munitions* two weeks before the bombing. The other man was not Terry Nichols.

Prosecutors also called an old friend of McVeigh's, David Darlak, who allegedly received a call from him in an attempt to obtain racing fuel.

Another friend was Greg Pfaff, whom McVeigh had met at gun shows. Pfaff testified that McVeigh had called him seeking to buy det cord. McVeigh was so eager to obtain the cord, Pfaff said, that he offered to drive to Virginia.

Another of the calls reflected on the mens' calling card was to Mid-American Chemical. Linda Juhl, an employee of the company, remembered receiving a call in the Fall of 1994 from a fellow in Kansas who wanted to purchase Anhydrous Hydrazine, a rocket fuel which can be used to boost the power of an ANFO bomb.

The FBI also reported that two individuals, one named "Terry Tuttle," visited Thumb Hobbies, Etc. in Mariette, Michigan in mid-December, 1993, looking to buy 100 percent nitromethane model airplane fuel. According to Sanilac County Sheriff Virgil Stickler, the store clerk inquired about ordering it, then told the customers several weeks later that he could not or would not do so. The clerk said that "Tuttle" replied that it was okay, that they had found another source.^[737]

Another incident not made public until the County Grand Jury investigation was the recollection of Gary Antene, who saw McVeigh and John Doe 2 at Danny's Hobby Shop in Oklahoma City the Saturday before the bombing. The two men asked him if Danny's carried 100 percent nitromethane fuel.

"I explained that no one in the RC (remote-controlled) airplane hobby used 100 percent nitromethane as a fuel, that at most we generally used nothing over 20 percent," said Antene.

Antene reported the incident to the FBI a couple of times, but was not called to testify at McVeigh's trial, probably because his account didn't fit into the FBI's "official" timeline.^[738]

On October 20, the FBI alleged that McVeigh checked into a motel in Pauls Valley, Oklahoma. The next day, he drove 170 miles to the Chief Auto Parts Nationals drag race in Ennis, Texas. Timothy Chambers, an employee of VP Racing Fuels, testified at McVeigh's trial that he and co-worker Brad Horton sold a man resembling McVeigh three 54 gallon drums of Nitromethane racing fuel for \$2,775. The man said the fuel was for him and his friends who race Harleys once a year in Oklahoma City. Chambers testified it didn't make sense for a few motorcycle racers to buy that much fuel, and had never seen anyone pay cash for that large a purchase.^[739]

Interestingly, the FBI didn't announce this new lead until one month before the start of McVeigh's trial, as other evidence, including that from the FBI's crime lab, began falling apart. The *Rocky Mountain News* reported that Glynn Tipton had alerted the ATF to the strange purchase as far back as October of 1994.^[740]

Yet this "new" evidence would coalesce perfectly with the government's emerging case, now that many Americans were convinced that a simple ANFO bomb hadn't destroyed the Murrah Building. A bomb built with volatile, highly-explosive racing fuel would make the prosecution's case much more convincing.

The startling discovery of McVeigh's racing fuel purchases, like the new revelations of Thomas Manning, or those of Eldon Elliott, were reminiscent of the sudden discoveries by Lockerbie investigators of Libyan terrorists. The 1988 bombing had originally been attributed to Iran, contracted through former Syrian army officer Ahmed Jibril of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), in retaliation for the American downing of an Iranian passenger liner a year and-a-half earlier. Now that George Bush needed the cooperation of the Syrians for his Gulf War coalition, the blame needed to be shifted to someone else.

Then, ten months after the bombing, Lockerbie investigators discovered new evidence. The owner of a clothing store on Malta suddenly remembered to whom he had sold some baby clothes that had been found in the bomb suitcase onboard the plane. In fact, not only had he recalled the customer, he remembered the precise date of the purchase, and recalled the man clearly enough for artists to render a sketch. He was Abu Talb, a PFLP-GC member who was known to have visited Malta shortly before the bombing.^[741]

At least that's what the FBI wanted the public to believe. In fact, owner Tony Gauci and his brother Paul made 18 different statements to authorities, most of which were vague and contradictory. They then signed statements even though they couldn't read English. Nevertheless,

investigators quickly placed 24-hour guards around the shopkeepers bearing this valuable "new evidence," just as the FBI had done with Eldon Elliott.

Yet records show that the calls to chemical companies continued in October of '94 from Kingman, around the same time that the suspects allegedly drove there to hide stolen explosives, and around the same time they allegedly began purchasing ammonium nitrate. The indictment states that Nichols allegedly stole Dynamite and an explosive called Tovex from the Martin Marietta quarry in Marion, Kansas, not far from where Nichols had been working as a ranch hand.

Bud Radeke, a blaster and driller for Martin Marietta, testified at McVeigh's trial that 299 dynamite sticks, 544 blasting caps, detonator cord, and Tovex was stolen over the long Labor Day weekend. FBI agents discovered a drill bit in Nichols' home that they claim matched the hole drilled in one of the magazine's locks. The suspects had allegedly made the mistake of leaving one of the five locks they had drilled into behind.

Yet could the FBI actually tell from a hole drilled in a lock which particular bit had made the impression? The FBI hadn't discovered the bit in Nichols' tool kit until six months after the robbery. No doubt it had been used since, as Nichols, a handyman, had recently moved into his new house. The signature of the drill bit would undoubtedly have been altered.

How could the FBI be so sure it was the bit which had drilled the locks at the quarry?

Ed Hueske, a firearm and tool examiner at Weckerling Scientific Laboratory near Dallas said a drill bit can "leave marks that are characteristic of the nose of the bit," especially "if the bit is worn or damaged." A former forensic specialist with the Tulsa Police Department, Hueske added that such a test is "not routine," but is "theoretically possible."^[742]

Yet if the bit was used afterwards on metal, or if it had been sharpened, it would change the striations of the markings. If it still contained bits of metal shavings from the lock, however, then a match could be made. But agents testified that no shavings were found.

Then how did the FBI match the bit? Frank Shiller, a firearm and tool examiner at Forensic Consultant Services in Fort Worth, offered his opinion: "Some of that type of work has been done, but it's not a very frequent thing. I don't think it would be very productive."

Shiller, who has 36 years experience in forensic science, has never even been asked to conduct such a test, nor has his boss, Max Courtney, with 27 years experience.

"It would be extremely difficult to match a drill," said Shiller, "because of the random motion of the drill moving through its... moving up and down the hole. So it would be hard to track any imperfections or microscopic markings that might be present. That would be a pretty tough task."^[743]

Even Hueske, who admitted the theoretical possibility of such a test, said that the two or three drill bit tests he's conducted over the years produced no results.

The quarry also had pre-mixed professional grade ANFO in stock. Why didn't Nichols steal that too, since, as the government alleges, it was the prime ingredient in the bomb? This certainly would have been easier and more discreet than buying large quantities of ammonium nitrate, diesel, and racing fuel, then attempting to mix it into a gigantic bomb. But for some reason, our prime suspects decided to leave the professional grade ANFO behind, and go to the trouble and expense of making their own.

The two men then allegedly drove to Kingman on October 4, where McVeigh rented a storage locker to hide the goods.^[744] It was in Kingman that McVeigh allegedly showed his dangerous booty to his friends, Michael and Lori Fortier. Lori testified at trial that McVeigh asked her to wrap up the blasting caps as Christmas presents for the long ride back to Michigan.

A friend of Nichols and McVeigh, Kevin Nicholas, testified that he helped McVeigh unload his car upon returning to Decker. "I was just grabbing stuff and just throwing it in the back of my truck; and Tim said, "Don't handle them. I'll take care of them two Christmas-wrapped packages there."^[745]

Phone records also show that McVeigh called military surplus dealer Dave Paulsen on December 17 from Kingman, and Nicholas testified that McVeigh drove to Chicago to see Paulsen in late December to sell him the blasting caps.

On September 30, 1994, according to the FBI, McVeigh and Nichols, who used the alias "Mike Havens," purchased forty 50-pound bags of ammonium nitrate at the Mid-Kansas Co-Op in Manhattan, Kansas. Then, on October 17, after renting a room in Salina under the name "Havens," Nichols rented storage locker No. 40 at Boots U-Store-It in Council Grove, under the alias "Joe Kyle." On October 18, the dynamic duo was back again at the Mid-Kansas Co-Op, stocking up on more fertilizer, buying another forty 50-pound bags to be stored at the locker in Council Grove.

Nichols attorney, Michael Tigar, attempted to explain his client's use of aliases by stating that Nichols wanted to hide his assets from Chase Manhattan bank, which had won a large credit card lawsuit against him. This explanation does not explain why Nichols used the alias while purchasing fertilizer.

Finally, there would be the ordinance found at Nichols' home and the farm of his brother James. The Decker, Michigan farm contained 28 fifty-pound bags of ammonium nitrate, non-electric blasting caps, a 55-gallon drum containing fuel-oil, and large fuel tanks which appeared to contain diesel fuel. As previously mentioned, neighbors Daniel Stomber and Paul Isydorak told authorities that the Nichols brothers and McVeigh would experiment with the items to make small homemade bombs.

A search of Terry Nichols' home by the ATF and FBI allegedly turned up 33 firearms, an anti-tank launcher (which was inert), five 60-foot Primadet detonator cords, non-electric blasting caps, ammonium nitrate, a fuel meter (which was inoperable — a fact that was never mentioned), and four 55-gallon blue plastic drums. (Nichols' son Josh, who frequently played at his dad's house, believed the barrels were white with blue tops.)

While some accounts indicate that the drums were of the type used in the bombing, the *New York Times* wrote on April 30, "...it is not clear that they match blue plastic fragments found at the blast site."^[746] In fact, the FBI never stated that the fragments removed from bombing victims matched those from Nichols' home. Certainly the FBI, with the most sophisticated crime lab in the world, would have been able to determine whether the fragments were of the same type. Moreover, most of the fragments, if they had come from Nichols' home, would have been white, not blue.

Nichols' attorney, Michael Tigar, raised this issue while cross-examining an FBI agent during a pre-trial hearing. According to Tigar, the FBI's inventory list described the barrels simply as white without blue lids. The agent replied that the FBI doesn't list the lids separately. When Tigar asked the agent why they had inventoried a collection of 5-gallon buckets with the lids listed separately, he had no response.

Those blue fragments may very likely have been from the 80 or so blue trash barrels distributed throughout the building for the purposes of trash collection. As Richard Williams, a 51 year-old GSA manager testified at McVeigh's trial, "They were placed throughout the building for pickup during the week."

One month later, Nichols would write his cryptic letter to McVeigh, instructing him to extend the lease on unit number 37, which allegedly contained stolen coins and guns, and "liquidate 40," in case Nichols failed to return from his last trip to the Philippines. It was this letter that contained the infamous phrase, "You're on your own. Go for it!"

Was this a message inspiring McVeigh to bomb a federal building, or a note encouraging him to make a success of himself in the military surplus business? According to James Nichols, it was the later. Nichols claims his brother was about to make a large cash loan to McVeigh for this purpose, and the note was simply in case of his death. Terry, he said, was a very meticulous and thorough man who always made certain his affairs were in order.^[747]

Nichols family friend Bob Papovich also claims the pair was selling fertilizer at gun shows as plant food, along with an odd assortment of other items sold at gun shows, repackaging it in smaller bags to increase their profit margin.

Yet two tons of fertilizer is an awful lot to sell at gun shows. Had McVeigh and Nichols actually purchased that much fertilizer? What is interesting is that employees of Mid-Kansas Co-op were never able to positively identify McVeigh or Nichols during the purported fertilizer buying trips. Although employee Frederick Schendler thought one of the men may have been Terry Nichols, he said during a pre-trial hearing that the second man *wasn't* McVeigh. He was driving a truck that didn't appear to be Nichols', with a red trailer attached. Papovich told me that Nichols owns no such truck.

Federal prosecutors were also counting on a receipt found in Nichols' home for the purchase of a ton of ammonium nitrate, allegedly containing McVeigh's thumbprint. Had Nichols foolishly kept a receipt for bombing materials that could be traced back to him? Was he as stupid as Mohammed Saleme, the World Trade Center bomber who returned to the Ryder agency after the bombing in an attempt to retrieve his rental deposit? Or was McVeigh's fingerprint actually on the receipt after all?

FBI agent Louis Hupp testified at trial that he hadn't found McVeigh's fingerprints at Elliott's, in motel rooms where McVeigh stayed, or in the storage lockers where McVeigh allegedly stored the bomb-making materials.^[748]

Ramsey: Agent Hupp, you identified — or handled many documents with regard to fingerprints, didn't you, with regard to this case?

Hupp: Yes, ma'am.

Ramsey: Did you also test the Ryder rental truck reservation form?

Hupp: Yes, I did.

Ramsey: And did you find Timothy McVeigh's fingerprints on that?

Hupp: No, ma'am.

Ramsey: Did you find Timothy McVeigh's fingerprints on the Ryder rental truck form where he actually — where it was actually rented?

Hupp: No, ma'am....

Ramsey: Did you check the counter at Elliott's Body Shop for fingerprints? I don't recall if I asked you that or not.

Hupp: The countertop was removed by me and transported back to headquarters and was in fact processed for latent prints.

Ramsey: And did you find any fingerprints of Timothy McVeigh?

Hupp: No, ma'am.

Ramsey: And did you also check to see if there were any fingerprints on any of the storage units that have been discussed in this case?

Hupp: Yes, ma'am.

Ramsey: And did you find any fingerprints of Timothy McVeigh?

Hupp: No, ma'am.

Hupp also testified that he had not found McVeigh's prints on the rental paperwork, or the key belonging to the Ryder truck, found in a nearby alley. Yet Hupp explained, "There are many times a person doesn't leave prints. It's a chance impression."

What if the FBI *had* claimed it had discovered prints?

On November 22, 1963, after JFK's murder, the FBI took Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano rifle to their Washington, D.C. crime lab. The technicians concluded that Oswald's prints were not on the weapon. The FBI then returned the rifle to the Dallas Police Department. Shortly thereafter, the DPD excitedly announced that they had "discovered" Oswald's palm print. [\[749\]](#)

This "new evidence" forced even the Warren Commission's chief counsel, J. Lee Rankin, to conclude, "Because of the circumstances which now exist there is a serious question in the minds of the Commission as to whether the palm impression that has been obtained from the Dallas Police Department is a legitimate palm impression removed from the rifle barrel or whether it was obtained from some other source...."

In 1984, FBI Agent Vincent Drain, who handled the weapon, was questioned by JFK researcher Henry Hurt. Drain concluded that there never was such a print. "All I can figure is that [Oswald's print] was some kind of cushion because they were getting a lot of heat by Sunday night. You could take that print off Oswald's card and put it on the rifle. Something like that happened."

In spite of this, the Warren Commission made no effort to resolve the issue, and presented Oswald's so-called palm print as fact. [\[750\]](#)

Yet the fertilizer receipt containing McVeigh's thumbprint wasn't the only ammunition in the FBI's arsenal of specious evidence. Prosecutors would rely heavily on an explosive component called PETN, allegedly found on McVeigh's clothing. A pair of earplugs found on McVeigh also reportedly tested positive for EGDN, a chemical found in dynamite. Finally, there was a piece of plywood from the Ryder truck which contained glazed ammonium nitrate crystals.

Yet once again, this evidence was highly questionable. It seemed the crystals had disappeared before independent experts for either the prosecution or defense could confirm its existence.

Interestingly, affidavits of Frederick Whitehurst, a Special Agent in the FBI's lab division, announced to an incredulous public in September of 1995 that the Bureau had been mishandling evidence and slanting results to favor prosecutors for years. [\[751\]](#)

As one FBI lab technician told the *New York Times*, "You get an inadvertent bonding of like-minded individuals supporting each other's false conclusions."

After federal agents searched the residence of Richard Jewell, a private security guard who was an early suspect in a bombing at the Atlanta Olympics... FBI scientists and other specialists warned that "you've got the wrong guy," an FBI laboratory official said. But their cautionary remarks, based on the absence of even trace amounts of explosive materials, went unheeded for months. [\[752\]](#)

In March of 1997, the *Los Angeles Times* reported the findings of the Justice Department Inspector General's office, which concluded that the lab made "scientifically unsound" conclusions that were "biased in favor of the prosecution" in the Oklahoma City bombing case.

The still-secret draft report, obtained by the paper, also concludes that supervisors approved lab reports that they "cannot support" and that

FBI lab officials may have erred about the size of the blast, the amount of explosives involved and the type of explosives used in the bombing.

According to the *Times*, the draft report shows that FBI examiners could not identify the triggering device for the truck bomb or how it was detonated. It also indicates that a poorly maintained lab environment could have led to contamination of critical pieces of evidence, the *Times* said. [\[753\]](#)

Whitehurst also told the Inspector General that the agents who conducted the tests in Oklahoma City, including Tom Thurman, Chief of the Explosives Unit, and Roger Martz, Chief of the Chemistry and Toxicology Unit, were not even qualified to do so. [\[754\]](#)

During the 1993 World Trade Center bombing investigation, Whitehurst decided to secretly test efficiency and procedures at the lab. He mixed human urine with fertilizer and added it to some of the bomb material being tested. Martz subsequently excitedly identified the urine-fertilizer mixture as an explosive. [\[755\]](#)

Whitehurst also contended that Martz's examining room was contaminated, making it impossible to accurately test for explosives and other substances, including the PETN allegedly found on McVeigh's clothes. [\[756\]](#)

During the prosecution's closing argument, Martz made an interesting Freudian Slip: "The evidence shows that Mr. McVeigh's clothing was contaminated with... excuse me, Mr. McVeigh's clothing was filled with bomb residue."

Whitehurst also claimed that Martz had perjured his testimony in prior cases. Whitehurst himself was even asked to alter his reports. Materials-analysis-unit chief Corby "had me come into his room one day and told me they — I don't know who 'they' were — wanted me to take statements out of my report.... Whitehurst refused. [\[757\]](#)"

During the 1991 trial of Walter Leroy Moody, convicted of killing Federal Judge Robert Vance with a letter-bomb, both Thurman and Martz "circumvented established procedures and protocols... [and] testified in areas of expertise that [they] had no qualifications in, therefore fabricating evidence in [their] testimony," Whitehurst wrote in a memorandum to the Bureau's Scientific Analysis Chief James Kearny.

Both Martz and Thurman were fully aware of the fact that they were in violation of procedures and protocols of the FBI Laboratory and did knowingly and purposely commit perjury and obstruction of justice in this matter. [\[758\]](#)

Interestingly, the chief prosecutor in the case was none other than Louis Freeh, who was an Assistant U.S. Attorney at the time. According to Whitehurst, Freeh did not have a single piece of evidence tying Moody to the crime. Thurman got around this little inconvenience by sending the evidence to his friend Roger Martz, who, like Thurman, was not qualified to perform the examination. Both Thurman and Martz were recently removed from their positions due to allegations of falsification of evidence and perjury.

Thurman's original claim to fame was the Pan Am 103 case. He had concluded that a tiny fragment of microchip, amazingly discovered two years after the bombing, was part of a batch of timers sold to the Libyans by the Swiss firm MEBO. This "new evidence" allowed the U.S. government to point the finger of blame at Libya, conveniently letting Syria — originally implicated in the bombing — off the hook.

After the assassination of JFK, nitrate tests conducted on Lee Harvey Oswald concluded that he had not fired a rifle on November 22. Yet this fact, like the false palm print, was kept secret for 10 months, then buried deep inside the Warren Commission Report. [\[759\]](#)

In the Moody case, Freeh possessed copies of reports that disproved the prosecution's allegations, but did not even make them available, or known, to the jury. Freeh also failed to inform the jury that his chief witness, Ted Banks, failed a lie-detector test regarding his association with Moody. In 1995, Banks testified at an appeal hearing that Freeh had threatened and coerced him into testifying against the defendant. [\[760\]](#)

In the World Trade Center case, Whitehurst testified that he was told not to provide any information or evidence, such as alternate explanations to the urea-nitrate theory, that could be used by the defense to challenge the prosecutors' hypothesis of guilt. [\[761\]](#)

In Oklahoma, Whitehurst conducted a test on McVeigh's clothes, but found nothing.

While the FBI claimed it found traces of PETN in McVeigh's pants pocket, on his shirts, and on a set of earplugs, Agent Burmeister acknowledged on cross-examination that no PETN or ammonium nitrate was found at the blast scene.

Nor was ammonium nitrate found in McVeigh's car, his personal effects, hotel rooms he had stayed at, the various storage sheds the suspects allegedly used to store the bomb-making components, or in Nichols' Herington, Kansas home. The Bureau also found no evidence of explosives residue in samples of McVeigh's hair, or scrapings from his fingernails. [\[762\]](#)

Burmeister also testified that crystals of ammonium nitrate, which he found on a piece of wood paneling from the Ryder truck, later vanished.

"That piece has gone through a lot of hands since the time that I've seen it," Burmeister testified, "and I can't speak to how they could have disappeared."^[763]

As Canadian County Sheriff Deputy Clint Boehler said, "The FBI disturbed and removed evidence. They don't tell anybody else; they don't work with anybody else.... How did they know it was the truck? They never looked at so many obvious things."^[764]

Yet, as in the Kennedy case, Federal Prosecutors went to trial armed with deliberate lies and other distortions that favored their somewhat questionable version of events.

While the FBI's evidence procedures would be called into question, prosecutors would seek to impress the jury with evidence of the suspects' militant Right-wing leanings. Prosecutors began with letters McVeigh sent to his sister Jennifer, expressing his rage over the events at Ruby Ridge and Waco, at the same time millions of Americans were expressing the very same anger.

"The Federal Government was absolutely out of control," said Sarah Bain, the San Antonio school teacher who served as forewoman of the jury that acquitted the [Davidian] sect members of most of the serious crimes they were charged with. "The wrong people were on trial," Bain complained. "It should have been the ones that planned the raid and orchestrated it."^[765]

But it was other evidence — more incriminating and disturbing — that would provide the critical elements needed to convince the jury of McVeigh's malicious intent. In November of '94, McVeigh visited his family in Lockport, New York, where he confided to his sister Jennifer that he had been driving around with 1,000 pounds of explosives.

In a letter sent to her in March, a month before the bombing, McVeigh wrote, "Something big is going to happen in the month of the bull."

Finally, to prove McVeigh's malevolent intentions, prosecutors introduced a letter stored on Jennifer's computer. The letter, addressed to the ATF, warned, "ATF, all you tyrannical motherfuckers will swing in the wind one day, for your treasonous actions against the Constitution and the United States. Remember the Nuremberg War Trials. But... but... but... I was only following orders!..... Die, you spineless, cowardice bastards!"^[766]

McVeigh also supposedly left a letter to a "girlfriend" (which media psychojournalists claimed he didn't have) in the glove compartment of his car, outlining plans to bomb additional targets.

Had McVeigh actually left such a letter in his vehicle, and dropped Paulsen's business card in the patrol car? While it is possible, such scenes are reminiscent of the doctored photograph of Lee Harvey Oswald holding a rifle and Communist newspaper, or Earth First! activist Judi Bari holding a machine gun, which was loaned to her for the photo by an FBI informant — a photo which he took.

In Oklahoma City, as in all criminal conspiracies, the old adage, "follow the money" would apply. Certainly a pair of lone nuts with a fertilizer/fuel bomb wouldn't need much — a couple of thousand dollars at most — considering they didn't have to pay off a web of co-conspirators.

A November '94 robbery in Arkansas would prove to be just the crime investigators needed to put the final piece of the puzzle in place. When the indictments were returned, the grand jury concluded the bombing was financed by the robbery of gun dealer Roger Moore (AKA: Bob Anderson), who had known McVeigh and let him stay at his home.

Yet what is interesting is that the FBI had already come to the conclusion that the bomb components were already purchased or stolen by the date of the robbery.

The indictment was also incongruously worded: "McVeigh and Nichols "caused" the robbery of \$60,000 worth of guns, coins and precious metals. Exactly how had they "caused" the robbery? The prosecution first presented the testimony of McVeigh's friend Kevin Nicholas:

Nicholas: He said that he screwed him some way out of some money or something.

Mackey: Who is "he"?

Nicholas: That Bob did for when Tim worked for him.

Mackey: And as a result?

Nicholas: He said he — that he'd be an easy guy to rob because he lived way back in the sticks and, you know, there was woods around his house and stuff.

Yet McVeigh had a solid alibi. He was at a gun show in Kent, Ohio on November 5.

Still, the government attempted to have Michael Fortier implicate his friends at trial by testifying that McVeigh called him and said, "Nicholas

got Bob!" This largely hearsay testimony would not be backed up by further evidence.

Authorities never proved that McVeigh or Nichols actually robbed Moore, but did prove that on November 7, 1994, Nichols rented a storage locker — number 37 — in Council Grove, under the alias "Ted Parker" to store some of the stolen items.

In his "confession" to authorities, Fortier said that McVeigh met him in Kingman on the 15th, whereupon they drove to Kansas. On the way, Fortier testified, McVeigh pointed out the Murrah Building as the target of the upcoming attack. When they reached the storage locker, they loaded 25 guns into Fortier's rented car.^[767]

Back in Kingman, Fortier pawned the weapons, or sold them to friends, including his neighbor, James Rosencrans.

On November 16, Nichols rented locker Q-106 at AAAABCO Storage in Las Vegas, where ex-wife Lana Padilla discovered gold and silver bars, jade, along with wigs, masks, and pantyhose. A safety deposit box key belonging to Moore was found at Nichols' home.

The 60-year-old Moore claimed he was surprised one morning shortly after 9:00 a.m., when two masked men accosted him outside his kitchen door. The men, wearing woodland-style camouflage fatigues, bound him and ransacked his house, taking guns, coins, jewels, and personal effects.

What is strange is that the thieves left a number of expensive handguns and large-capacity magazines, both highly desirable items. The private gun dealer, who had enough weapons to supply a platoon, did not have an insurance rider for the guns, and most of the serial numbers weren't registered.

Moore told the author he didn't have a rider because he was afraid some insurance company secretary would see his large collection and tell her boyfriend, who would then come and rob him. A curious explanation for failing to insure a highly valuable collection. Moore claims he only got a limited settlement — approximately \$10,000.

Interestingly, one well-connected source I spoke to asserted that "the [Moore] robbery was staged.... that's the truth.... He (Moore) used a lot of aliases, he had eight different social security numbers, eight different dates of birth, and that's only the ones that I know about...."

This source also claimed, long before defense attorney Michael Tigar's allegations were made public, that the motive of the "robbery" was insurance fraud, staged with the help of Nichols and McVeigh. "Nichols had simply bought weapons [from Moore].... Moore approached Nichols about the fraud originally.... Moore took payment of some odd items that winds up in Terry Nichols' [storage locker]."

This assertion was reinforced at Nichols' trial, when Tigar questioned Moore's girlfriend, Karen Anderson, about why she had included on her list — a list she claimed had been drawn up in late 1992 or early 1993 — a gun that hadn't been purchased until late 1994!^[768]

When I spoke to Moore's friend and neighbor, Nora Wayne, she told me Moore had complained to her that the local Sheriff who investigated the robbery, "blew [Moore's] cover."

Could a phony robbery set-up explain the wigs, masks, and pantyhose in Terry Nichol's storage locker? Given the relationship between McVeigh and Moore, it is possible the two men made some sort of deal.

Former grand juror Hoppy Heidelberg is another person who had doubts about Moore: "Something wasn't right about him," said Heidelberg. "It wasn't that his testimony wasn't believable. He was just cocky. He had a strange attitude for a man testifying before a grand jury. He was so casual about it, that was strange. He testified like a man who had done it many times before.... It wasn't anything he said, it was his attitude. You'll see the same attitude in an FBI agent whose testifying."^[769]

"Moore's being protected," said my source. "No matter how this thing's going to get played out. He'll talk to you all day long and won't tell you a thing. He knows how to talk."

John Doe Who?

"We have no information showing anyone other than Mr. McVeigh and Mr. Nichols are the masterminds" - U.S. Attorney Beth Wilkinson

On the day of the deadly attack, Attorney General Janet Reno announced, "The FBI and the law enforcement community will pursue every lead and use every possible resource to bring these people responsible to justice.... It is very important that we pursue each lead... it is going to be very important that we leave no stone unturned..."

In fact, numerous stones were left unturned.

While the Justice Department (DoJ) focused its efforts on McVeigh and Nichols, scant attention was focused on other suspects — John Doe 2, the mysterious entity who was seen with McVeigh, and had accompanied him the morning of the bombing. Witnesses also saw him with McVeigh in the Murrah Building, in stores, at restaurants, at a bar, and at the truck rental shop before the bombing. Still others claim to have

seen him speeding away from the scene. All in all, there are almost two-dozen witnesses who reported seeing John Doe 2.

The FBI made a big show of tracking down this illusive, menacing-looking suspect. "The FBI has conducted over 9,000 witness interviews and has followed every possible lead in an intensive effort to identify and bring to justice anyone who was involved in this disaster," stated U. S. Attorney Patrick Ryan in a letter to the victims' families.^[770]

The search for John Doe 2 quickly became the biggest man-hunt in FBI history. What authorities weren't saying however, was that not only was there a John Doe 2, there were least four John Does! Yet the issue was quickly and quietly narrowed down to just one John Doe 2.

On April 23, four days after the bombing, The *Washington Post* quoted a senior law enforcement official who said "at least four" men were involved in the terrorist act last week and "there very well could be more."^[771]

The FBI then requalified its position on May 15: "Wherever we look, it's Terry and Timmy, Terry and Timmy — and nobody else," quipped an unnamed FBI official in *Time* magazine.

Yet on June 11, another FBI official was quoted in the *Post* as saying, "I think when this is over we'll have at least six or eight guys indicted and in custody. It's just too big for two guys to pull off."^[772]

Then on June 15, the FBI backtracked again. "Periodically you just get something in an investigation that goes nowhere. John Doe 2 goes nowhere. It doesn't show up in associations, it doesn't show up in phone calls. It doesn't show up among the Army buddies of McVeigh..."^[773]

The previous day, the FBI put out a story that John Doe 2 may have actually been Todd Bunting, a soldier at Fort Riley, Kansas who had rented a truck at the same dealer McVeigh had. The FBI stated that Bunting wore clothing similar to that ascribed to John Doe 2, that he had a tattoo in the same place, and that he wore a hat similar to John Doe 2's.

Yet Elliott's employees dismissed Bunting as the person who was seen with McVeigh, and Bunting held a press conference stating that he had in fact rented a truck at Elliott's — 24 hours after McVeigh allegedly rented his.

The Bunting story was officially dropped.

Then, on January 28, 1996, the prosecution switched tracks again, officially resurrecting the Todd Bunting story. In a long brief, the government disclosed that Elliott's employee Tom Kessinger was the only one who could recall John Doe 2 well enough to describe him.

Now, after a November interview with a prosecutor and two FBI agents, Kessinger was "confident that he had Todd Bunting in mind when he provided the description for the John Doe 2 composite." Kessinger, the brief continued, is "now unsure" whether anyone accompanied McVeigh. But his two co-workers "continue to believe that two men came in to rent the truck."

In that brief, the prosecution speculated that the defense might use "Kessinger's admitted confusion" to challenge his identification of McVeigh.

It seemed it was less "Kessinger's admitted confusion" than a deliberate fabrication by prosecutors and the FBI to cover up the existence of John Doe 2. As Kessinger told bombing victim Glenn Wilburn, who conducted his own investigation, "I don't know how they came up with that one."

Kessinger later changed his story at the urging of federal prosecutors Patrick Ryan and Joseph Hartzler. During a pretrial conference, Jones challenged Kessinger:

"How can you be so wrong 60 hours after the event and so right a year and a half later?" Jones asked him. "Could you be changing your mind because the government wants you to?"

"No," Kessinger replied.^[774]

Yet on March 25 and April 5, Hartzler had written Jones that "The existence and identity of this John Doe 2, whom we are confident is not Mr. Bunting, is the subject of a continuing investigation."

And in a May 1, 1996 letter written by Hartzler, the government prosecutor informed Jones that Kessinger and Beemer had been shown a picture of the cap Bunting wore when he picked up a truck on April 18. "They both stated that the cap was not the same one they saw on John Doe II," Hartzler wrote, "and they reaffirmed that this second individual accompanied 'Kling' when he rented the truck."^[775]

Yet at a hearing on April 9, federal prosecutor Beth Wilkinson stated that the government "has no information showing anyone but Mr. Nichols and Mr. McVeigh were the masterminds of this bombing."^[776]

"They keep telling us they're looking for John Doe No. 2, but then they turn around and give statements indicating that they don't believe there is a John Doe No. 2," said a woman whose husband was killed in the bombing.^[777]

Other victims, like naive children, blindly placed their faith in the government's dubious assurances. Hartzler held one meeting with bombing victims in which he "discussed and disposed of some of the more bizarre theories."

"I just got a better feeling about what's going on," said Bud Welch, whose daughter, Julie, died in the attack. "The prosecution assured us that there was no evidence that was suppressed. We really didn't know that," added Welch.

"We know what's going on now and that they're there for us," Pamela Weber-Fore said of the prosecutors.^[778]

Other victims weren't as easily fooled. "I don't think that there's any question about the fact that they're covering up who was involved in the bombing," said V.Z. Lawton, a HUD worker who was injured in the blast. "I've talked to five witnesses myself who saw McVeigh with John Doe number two in Oklahoma City that morning, within fifteen minutes of the blast... tells me that there is something wrong."^[779]

As Nichols' attorney Michael Tigar said, "It's strange that the official version has focused on Nichols and McVeigh, and that the government is now busily engaged in denying all possibility that there could be anybody else."^[780]

Grand Jury Bypass

"The FBI has thoroughly investigated all leads and I am confident in the investigation." - lead prosecutor Joseph Hartzler

Naturally, while many eyewitnesses stepped forward to tell the FBI they had seen additional suspects, *not one* was ever called before the grand jury.

Yet federal prosecutors still had one hurdle to overcome before they could make their case. They had to deal with Hoppy Heidelberg. Heidelberg, who often quoted from the grand juror's handbook, was aware that the grand jury was charged with the task of determining the relevance of the evidence, and asking those questions pertinent to the case. So far, all the evidence centered around Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols. Heidelberg wanted to know why prosecutors had not subpoenaed the many witnesses who had seen John Doe 2.

"No one who saw McVeigh with other suspects, was ever allowed to testify before the federal grand jury," said Heidelberg. The obvious inference being that those who saw McVeigh would have also seen John Doe 2.

But Patrick Ryan seemed to be controlling the jury. He did not like Heidelberg's tendency to go against the flow. In a letter to the victims' families, Ryan states:

The United States has never maintained or even suggested, that no other person or persons were involved with McVeigh and Nichols in the commission of these crimes. As stated earlier, the question of involvement of others is the subject of intensive investigation by federal investigators and prosecutors who are totally devoted and committed to identifying and prosecuting all persons involved in the planning or commission of these crimes.

Yet, as in the Kennedy assassination, federal prosecutors simply paraded before the grand jury those witnesses favorable to their preordained view of the case, ignoring leads and witnesses that conflicted with their highly dubious version of events.

Although Heidelberg attempted to question grand jury witnesses, he was repeatedly stonewalled by prosecutors. In an interview with journalist Jon Rappaport, Heidelberg stated, "They said I'd have to get the prosecuting attorney's okay for each question I wanted to ask. But you know, in dialog one question leads to another right away, so you can't cross-examine that way.

"They kept promising and promising to answer all my questions, but ultimately they stalled me. I was had."^[781]

In an interview on CBS This Morning, Stephen Jones said, "...what is troubling here is that the prosecutors, in effect, according to this grand juror's allegation, took away from the grand jury their duty to go after the *full* story, not just concentrating on the two people that had already been arrested."^[782]

Not buying the government's story of a couple of pissed-off whackos with a fertilizer bomb, Heidelberg also asked that bomb experts be called in to identify the type of bomb used. "Let's get the answer... Let's get the architects and engineers who built the building in there and question them," Heidelberg told Rappaport.

"Did you request that?" asked Rappaport.

"Of course! I demanded bomb experts all along. And engineers and geologists. They said — do you want to know what they said? They

didn't have the money! I said I'd go down to the University of Oklahoma and bring some geologists back myself for free. They wouldn't let me.

"The bomb is the key to the whole case."^[783]

In order to satisfy the grand jury that an ANFO bomb blew up the building, prosecutors called in one bomb expert — Robert Hopler. Hopler, it turns out, recently retired from Dyno-Nobel, an explosives manufacturer in Salt Lake City. Dyno-Nobel used to be Hercules Powder Company — a reputed CIA front.

"I knew he was CIA," said Heidelberg. "It was pretty obvious to me and most of the jury."^[784]

Judge David Russell eventually dismissed Heidelberg from the grand jury for having the audacity to question the government's case. In a letter to Heidelberg dated October 24, 1995, Russell states:

Effectively immediately, you are dismissed from the grand jury. Your obligation of secrecy continues. Any disclosure of matters that occurred before the grand jury constitutes a contempt of court. Each violation of the obligation of secrecy may be punished cumulatively.

The government's excuse for dismissing Heidelberg was an anonymous interview he supposedly gave to Lawrence Myers of *Media Bypass* magazine. As previously noted, Heidelberg never consented to be interviewed by Myers, and in fact, Myers had surreptitiously obtained the content of an interview conducted by the investigator for Heidelberg's attorney, John DeCamp.

But Heidelberg claims the real reason was a letter he wrote to Judge Russell dated October 5th, in which Heidelberg states:

The families of the victims deserve to know who was involved in the bombing, and there appears to be an attempt to protect the identity of certain suspects, namely John Doe 2....

"I think they (the government) knows who John Doe 2 is, and they are protecting him," said Heidelberg in an interview in *Jubilee Magazine*. "This is because John Doe 2 is either a government agent or informant and they can't afford for that to get out."^[785]

Eventually, the FBI dropped the John Doe 2 lead altogether. John Doe 2 had been a red herring, a false lead, the Justice Department claimed. John Doe 2 had never really existed.^[786]

Dozens of credible witnesses think otherwise.

Catina Lawson, who was friends with McVeigh, remembered John Doe 2 from the Summer of '92, when she and her friends would hold parties and invite soldiers from nearby Fort Riley. McVeigh showed up with Andy Strassmeir, Mike Fortier, and Michael Brescia. In fact, Lawson's roommate, Lindsay Johnson, dated the handsome, well-built Brescia.

Two days after the bombing, Lawson called the FBI and told them that Brescia closely resembled the sketch of John Doe 2.

Yet in spite of overturning 21,000 stones, the FBI never even bothered to follow up on her story.

Robert Gohn, who lived across the road from McVeigh in Kingman, recalled seeing one of the mysterious John Does around the early Summer of '94. According to Gohn, one day a short, stocky man who looked "like a weight lifter" arrived at McVeigh's trailer with Terry Nichols.^[787]

On April 7, Dr. Paul Heath was working in his office at the Murrah Building when "McVeigh" and two of his companions stopped by for a chat. Heath recalled one of the men as "American-Indian looking" and "handsome."^[788]

As the Associated Press reported on April 27, 1995:

... [U.S. Attorney Randy] Rathburn said neighbors of Nichols'... reported that Nichols spent April 12-14 with McVeigh and several unidentified men. One of the men resembled sketches of John Doe 2....^{[789][790]}

On Saturday, April 15, Barbara Whittenberg served breakfast to three men at the Sante Fe Trail Diner in Herrington, Kansas. One of the men was dark-skinned and handsome. When he told her they were on their way to Oklahoma City, McVeigh shot him a hard look that said "keep quiet."^[791]

Early the next day, around 1:00 a.m., Melba was working the deli counter at Albertson's Supermarket on South May in Oklahoma City, when "McVeigh" and John Doe 2 stopped by for sandwiches.^[792]

"McVeigh," it seems, was still in town when Phyliss Kingsley and Linda Kuhlman saw three vehicles pull into the Hi-Way Grill, just south of

Oklahoma City, around 6:00 p.m. on Sunday. McVeigh came in and ordered hamburgers and fries to go, and was accompanied by a short, stocky, handsome man, of either Mexican or American Indian descent. The man closely resembled the FBI sketch of John Doe 2.^[793]

That same day, back at the Dreamland Motel in Junction City, Connie Hood was returning to her room around 12:45 a.m. when a man in room 23 quickly opened the door as if expecting a visitor, then quickly closed it when he saw Hood. The man, who startled her, was in his early 20s, about 5'8" tall, 180 lbs., with dark hair brushed straight back and an olive complexion. Hood recalls he closely resembled the sketch of John Doe 2, but with slightly fuller features. She described him as a "foreigner."^[794]

The following day, Hood and her husband Donald returned to the Dreamland to visit their friend David King in room 22. A Ryder truck pulled up at the same time they did, the driver strongly resembling the man Hood saw the previous day.

Shane Boyd, a helicopter mechanic who was also staying at the Dreamland, later told reporters and investigators that he saw a bushy-haired man resembling the John Doe 2 sketch in the parking lot near room 25 — Timothy McVeigh's room.

One exit away from the Dreamland Motel sits the Great Western Inn. According to the manager, a Middle Eastern man stayed at the motel on the 17th. "He spoke broken English," said the manager. "[He] gave a foreign name and was driving a Ryder truck." The man closely resembled the FBI's sketch of John Doe 2.

"Sometime on Monday," recalled Connie Hood, "those two — McVeigh and the foreigner — loaded up together, in a Ryder truck, and pulled out of the Dreamland parking lot together... that was the last I saw of them."^[795]

Later that day, janitors Katherine Woodyly and Martin Johnson were working the 5-9 p.m. shift in the Murrah Building when they saw "McVeigh" and John Doe 2. McVeigh spoke to Martin about a job, and John Doe 2 nodded to Woodyly.^[796]

At 3:00 p.m. on Monday, or possibly Tuesday, Jerri-Lynn Backhaus and Dorinda Hermes were working at the Easy-Mart in Newkirk, 100 miles north of Oklahoma City, when a convoy pulled in. One of the vehicles — a light blue pick-up with a camper top — was being driven by Terry Nichols. Backhaus recalled Nichols' passenger as average height, dark-skinned, with black hair and a muscular build. "He looked just like the John Doe 2 sketch," she said.^[797]

Debbie Nakanashi was working at the Post Office across the street from the Murrah Building around on Monday or Tuesday when "McVeigh" and John Doe 2 stopped in and asked where they might find federal job applications. Nakanashi helped provide the description for the well-known profile sketch of John Doe 2 in the baseball cap.

Guy Rubsamen, a security guard at the Murrah Building saw a large Ryder truck pull up to the curb in front of the building around 4:00 p.m. on Monday, the 17th. Rubsamen later concluded it was a dress rehearsal.

"There was either two or three men, but one jumped out the driver's side, and one or two out the passenger side," Rubsamen told the *Rocky Mountain News*. "The first thing that struck me was how quickly they jumped out. Those guys were in a hurry."^[798]

The Ryder truck would make its appearance the following evening at the Cattle Baron's Steakhouse in Perry, Oklahoma. Jeff Meyers and another customer recalled seeing McVeigh and a companion, who stopped by for a few beers. The man was approximately six feet tall and weighed 260 pounds — a description not befitting the John Doe 2s described by other witnesses.^[799]

Richard Sinnett, the assistant manager of the Save-A-Trip convenience store in Kingman, Kansas, sold fuel to McVeigh and three other men at approximately 1:30 a.m. on April 19. Sinnett saw three vehicles in all, including a Ryder truck, an older brown pick-up (possibly belonging to Steven Colbern?), and a light colored car.

Sinnett described John Doe 2 as muscular, 170 to 180 pounds, with short light brown hair and a light complexion. He recalled the Ryder truck was towing a trailer that contained a large, round tank filled with clear liquid. The store is about 175 miles north of Oklahoma City.^[800]

Fred Skrdla, a cashier at a 24-hour truck stop near Billings, told the FBI he sold fuel to McVeigh between 1 and 3 a.m. on April 19. The station is about 80 miles north of Oklahoma City.

As the sun rose, McVeigh and a friend sat down for coffee at Jackie's Farmers Store in Mulhall, Oklahoma. Mulhall Postmaster Mary Hunnicutt stood right next to McVeigh as he ordered his coffee. She was "advised" not to discuss what she had seen, lest she be summoned before the Federal Grand Jury. She wasn't.^[801]

Ten minutes before the blast, Leroy Brooks was sitting in his car at the Sooner Post Office across from the Murrah Building, when a Ryder truck pulled up across the street, trailed by a yellow Mercury. The drivers of both vehicles got out and walked to the back of the truck, where they spoke for a few seconds, and exchanged a small package. After Brooks came out of the Post Office, he saw that the Ryder truck, which contained a passenger, had moved in front of the Murrah Building. "McVeigh" was walking briskly across 5th Street towards the Journal Record building.

Danny Wilkerson sold "McVeigh" a pack of cigarettes (McVeigh doesn't smoke) and two soft drinks at a deli inside the Regency Towers apartments a block from the Murrah Building. Wilkerson recalled a passenger sitting in the cab of the Ryder truck, which had a cab overhang, and was shorter than the 24-foot model the FBI claimed McVeigh had rented.^[802]

Federal authorities had still more witnesses to call on had they wanted to. Mike Moroz, who was at work at Johnny's Tire Store on 10th and Hudson, on April 19, looked up to see a Ryder truck pull in at 8:40 a.m. The occupants were looking for directions to the Murrah Building. Moroz caught a glimpse of the passenger — a stocky man with dark curly hair wearing a ball cap, and a tattoo on his upper left arm.

Several minutes earlier, David Snider was waiting for a delivery in Bricktown, about 25 blocks away, when a Ryder truck passed slowly by, as if looking for an address. However, this time the driver was a dark-skinned man with long, straight black hair, wearing a thin mustache and tear-drop sunglasses. The passenger was "McVeigh." Since Snider's account of the occupants differed remarkably from the previous accounts, could this have been the second Ryder truck described by witnesses? If so, did this mean there were two "McVeighs" and two John Doe 2s?^[803]

At approximately the same time as Snider saw the Ryder truck, Tulsa banker Kyle Hunt came upon the truck at Main and Broadway, trailed by a yellow Mercury. Hunt said the Mercury driver was Timothy McVeigh. "He gave me that icy, go-to-hell look," said Hunt. "It kind of unnerved me."^[804] While Hunt didn't see the occupants of the truck, he did recall two passengers in the car. One of them, he said, had long hair, similar to the man Phyllis Kingsley saw on Sunday at the Hi-Way Grill. None of the men was Terry Nichols, who was in Herrington that morning.

Just outside the Murrah Building, Dennis "Rodney" Johnson was driving his catering truck, when he suddenly had to brake to avoid hitting two men who were running towards the parking lot across the street.^[805]

The men, who were in "a fast lockstep" with each other, appeared to be Timothy McVeigh and John Doe 2. Johnson described McVeigh's companion as "Mexican or American-Indian." He was "dark-skinned... probably about 5-8 and maybe 160 pounds," Johnson said. "He was wearing blue jogger pants with a stripe across the side. He had slicked-black hair."^[806]

Then there was Gary Lewis. A pressman for the *Journal Record*, Lewis stepped outside to smoke his pipe just minutes before the blast. As stood in the alley across from the Murrah Building, a yellow Mercury peeled away from its spot and bore down on him. The driver, whom he made brief eye-contact with, appeared to be Timothy McVeigh. And his passenger resembled the sketch of John Doe 2. The car had an Oklahoma tag (not an Arizona tag as authorities claimed) dangling by one bolt.

Even FBI Agent John Hersley had testified before the Federal Grand Jury that "...several witnesses spotted a yellow car carrying McVeigh and another man speeding away from the parking lot near the... [building] before the blast."^[807]

Finally there was Daina Bradley. A young mother, Bradley was standing by the window of the Social Security office seconds before the blast, when she saw a man get out of the passenger side of the Ryder truck. Moments later, Bradley's world turned to blackness, smoke and dust as she was showered by falling concrete. Bradley, who lost her leg, her mother, and her two children in the bombing, still clearly recalls the man who got out of the truck. He looked like John Doe 2.

Of course, federal "investigators" would show as little interest in these and other discrepancies as they would in the numerous John Does. Some of these witnesses were never even contacted by the FBI, even though all of them had repeatedly tried to alert the Bureau. Only after federal prosecutors had coerced Daina Bradley into changing her story, did she testify at McVeigh's trial. None of the others were ever called.

"I know I wasn't called because I would have to testify that I did see John Doe 2. I know I saw John Doe 2," said Rodney Johnson.^[808]

Then in March of 1997, after changing it's mind half a dozen times about the existence of John Doe 2, it was "leaked" to the press that the FBI was searching for a John Doe. His name was Robert Jaques.

This "new" John Doe 2 had appeared at the office of real estate broker William Maloney, of Cassville, Missouri, in November of '94, along with Terry Nichols and a man who looked like McVeigh. They were there to discuss purchasing a remote piece of land. Joe Lee Davidson, a salesman in Maloney's office, recalled the encounter with Jaques: "The day he was here, he seemed to be the one that was in control and in charge of what was going on," said Davidson. "Nichols never said a whole lot and McVeigh never did come in...."^[809]

Maloney described Jaques as muscular, with a broad, dark face, similar to, but not quite identical as, the original FBI sketch of John Doe 2.

Is it possible the sudden announcement of Jaques was a diversion, to satisfy a public increasingly savvy about the existence of John Doe 2?

Nevertheless, a month after this new lead was announced, the government went ahead with the trial of McVeigh, making no attempt to introduce any additional suspects.

They also dropped the lead on Steven Colbern, in spite of the fact that his pick-up was seen stopped ahead of McVeigh 90 minutes after the bombing.^[810]

The Middle-Eastern lead was also dropped. The FBI denied putting out the APB on the brown pick-up containing the three Middle Eastern males seen speeding away from the bombing. And while the FBI knew about Sam Khalid, they did nothing but ask him some questions.

An affidavit submitted by FBI Agent John Hersley stated: "A witness to the bombing saw two, possibly three persons in a brown Chevrolet pickup — fleeing the area of the crime — just prior to the blast." Although agents interviewed the witness who saw Hussain al-Hussaini driving the brown pick-up, she was never brought before a line-up, and never called to testify before the Federal Grand Jury. Hussaini's friend Abraham Ahmed was turned loose as well.^[811]

As in the Kennedy assassination, the FBI sent thousands of agents hither and yonder to scour the country, searching out even the most obscure leads. Agents swarmed through Kingman, conducting warrantless searches, arresting innocent people, and wrecking havoc. Dozens more swooped down on Terry Nichols 12-year-old son Josh, whom they thought may have been John Doe 2. Agents were sent to the Philippines to investigate Nichols' activities there, and thousands more had detained and questioned anyone even remotely suspicious.

Yet, as in the Kennedy case, few agents actually knew just why they were following up on any given lead. Very few ever were ever allowed to compare notes, or catch a glimpse of the "big picture."

More importantly, those individuals who should have been prime suspects for questioning were never even detained. No agents were sent to Elohim city to interview Andreas Strassmeir or Michael Brescia, or Peter and Sonny Ward. Likewise, none of the Middle Eastern suspects previously mentioned were arrested.

Had any FBI agents actually attempted to follow up on any of these leads, like their predecessors in Dallas, they would have been quickly reassigned to other cases by Washington.

The same held true for local law-enforcement. FBI SAC Bob Ricks — who doled out a mendacious dose of propaganda during the Waco massacre — was appointed Public Safety Director after the bombing, putting him in charge of the OHP.

The OSBI were made coffee boys and drivers for the FBI. District Attorney Bob Macy, along with local police, were "advised" to stay out of the case.^[812]

Six days before the start of McVeigh's trial, Steven Jones filed a defense motion citing law-enforcement and defense interviews with a Filipino terrorist who admitted meeting with bombing defendant Terry Nichols.

Lead prosecutor Joseph Hartzler called Jones' carefully investigated and researched information "pulp fiction."

Yet a Washington-based terrorist expert who investigated the World Trade Center bombing and is familiar with some the suspects in Jones' brief said, "The whole idea that no one but Timothy McVeigh — that there's nothing wider than this — no one would believe it if the government weren't saying it. It's so implausible a story.

"The government has the nerve to call it pulp fiction," added the highly-respected source. *Their story* is 'pulp fiction.'"^[813]

Apparently, the government was concerned enough about Jones' revelations to order all the witness statements sealed.

In the end, the FBI propounded its disingenuous theory that McVeigh and Nichols were the "lone bombers" just as quickly as they had decided that Lee Harvey Oswald was the "Lone assassin" twenty-eight years ago.

Choir Boys

"Stated simply, neither the ATF nor any other federal agency had any advance knowledge of the deadly bomb that McVeigh delivered to the Murrah Building.... The prosecution is not withholding anything that even remotely would support such an outrageous charge." - Department of Justice

"I can assure you that there has been no government misconduct and the men and women of the FBI that we're working with are beyond reproach."

- U.S. Attorney Joseph Hartzler

"Our government, unfortunately, has shown remarkable ability to lie."

- Stephen Jones

One example of the Justice Department's refusal to admit the possibility of any suspects other than McVeigh and Nichols was its stubborn insistence on hoarding discovery documents that it should have been rightfully turned over to the defense under the federal *Brady* requirements. In a motion filed six days before the start of McVeigh's trial, Jones alleged that the prosecution not only lied about the available evidence, they deliberately obfuscated and distorted certain ATF and FBI reports on Elohim City, deliberately misspelling the names Carol Howe, Robert Millar, Andreas Strassmeir, Dennis Mahon and others so that the defense would be unable to retrieve any documents regarding these suspects during their computer searches. As Jones wrote in his brief:

Defense counsel is convinced that the government has engaged in a willful and knowing cover-up of information supplied to it by its informant. The defense was unable to locate this insert using a computer because all major search terms contained in the insert were misspelled. Elohim City was misspelled or misidentified (Elohm City), as was Mahon (Mehaun), Strassmeir (Strassmeyer), the Rev. Robert Millar (Bob Lamar) and in addition, Carol Howe was not identified in the insert at all. [\[814\]](#)

Thus the defense was unable to locate important information that Carol Howe, a ATF informant, had provided critical warnings that the Murrah Building was about to be bombed. As Jones wrote:

Our patience is exhausted... We are no longer convinced the documents drafted and furnished to us, after the fact, by bureaucracies whose very existence and credibility is challenged, can be relied upon....

The government has told the district court that it had "no information" of a possible foreign involvement when it did. The government has told the district court that "Andreas Strassmeir was never the subject of the investigation," when he was....

Statements to the court by the prosecution that it cannot connect Strassmeir and Mahon to the bombing are hardly surprising. They did not try very hard to connect them because had they been connected, and Carol Howe's previous warning disclosed, the resulting furor would have been unimaginable....

The repeated practice of the government and prosecution in this case when the shoe gets binding is to make a partial disclosure, assure the District Court it understands its *Brady* obligations, and hold its breath, hoping the court does not order further disclosure, or will rely on the prosecution's "good faith"....

This is a solemn criminal case, not Alice in Wonderland where definitions mean only what "the Queen thinks" and what she thinks is not known to anyone else. [\[815\]](#)

Lying about additional suspects wasn't the only crime the "Justice" Department was guilty of. Manipulating and confiscating evidence also seemed to be a major tool in their arsenal of deceit.

Richard Bieder, the attorney representing a group bombing victims in their negligence lawsuit against the government, told the *London Telegraph* that he had seen internal ATF documents which supported many of the claims made by Carol Howe. But the reports for December 1994, probably the most critical ones, have vanished from the files. [\[816\]](#)

On April 14, 1995, the FBI placed a call to Assistant Chief Charles Gaines at the Oklahoma City Fire Department to warn him of a potential terrorist threat within the next few days. Yet like the FBI's warnings of the threat against the life of President Kennedy, or Nixon's infamous Watergate tapes, the audio logs of the Fire Department's incoming calls were mysteriously "erased."

When asked to explain this "accidental" erasure, Assistant Chief Jon Hansen intelligently replied, "We made a boo-boo." Hansen then admitted to reporter J.D. Cash that the tapes had been erased *after* the national media had requested them. [\[817\]](#)

On April 28th the tape of James Nichols' hearing was released by court order, and it was blank. Nothing whatsoever could be heard on the tape. It was the only record of the proceedings.

On April 19, the seismic data monitor at the Omniplex Museum, four miles from the Murrah Building, had recorded the shock waves of the explosion. The seismograph readings, including one from the University of Oklahoma 16 miles away in Norman, presented startling evidence — evidence that the explosion that ripped through the Alfred P. Murrah building may in fact have been several distinct blasts. The implications of this are ominous.

At a meeting of the Oklahoma Geophysical Society on November 20th, Seismologists Ray Brown of the Oklahoma Geological Survey and Tom Holzer of the U.S. Geological Survey gathered to discuss the findings. Pat Briley, a seismic programmer, who has independently investigated the bombing, attended the meeting, as did U.S. Attorney Patrick Ryan and Assistant U.S. Attorney Jerome A. Holmes.

Although the two scientists disagreed on findings regarding the number of bombs, less than a third of the way through the presentation, Ryan got up, walked to the back of the room, and began giving a private press conference:

"I was certainly satisfied that these scientists could not say that there was anything other than one bomb that caused the seismology reading," said Ryan, a statement obviously inconsistent with the discussion occurring at the time.

"Ryan lied very heavily," said Briley. "This guy really lied."

After the meeting, Briley politely asked Ryan to give him the original seismogram in the FBI's possession. Ryan got up, angrily accused Briley of working for the defense team, then stammered out of the room.^[818]

Surveillance cameras located in the parking lot across from the Murrah building, and on neighboring buildings, would have recorded the entire fateful event that terrible morning. The tapes would have also shown the building collapsing. They would have conclusively proven whether the structure was destroyed by cutting charges, or by a truck-bomb. But like Abraham Zapruder's famous footage of the Kennedy assassination, the tapes were quickly confiscated by the FBI.

In an interview with Jon Rappaport, Hoppy Heidelberg said, "The various surveillance videotapes of the bombing, tapes from, say, Southwestern Bell and the Journal Record Building across the street, we don't know that they showed all the details of the bombing, including the perpetrators, but it's possible. None of this material was shown to us in the grand jury."

Certain segments of the footage was presented by the prosecution at trial. One cut included a shot of a blue GMC pick-up with a white camper top (the kind owned by Terry Nichols) driving slowly past the Regency Towers apartments near the Murrah Building on April 16 — the day Nichols allegedly drove to Oklahoma to pick up McVeigh.

The prosecution also displayed a still frame of a Ryder truck driving by the Regency Towers on the morning of the blast. The time was 8:59 a.m. They then showed a still of the truck blowing up, stamped 9:02 a.m. Curiously, the government was careful not to show the jury any footage which showed any suspects getting out of the truck.^[819]

Surveillance footage taken by Trooper Charles Hanger upon his arrest of McVeigh had caught a brown pick-up stopped just ahead — thought to belong to Steven Colbern. When researcher Ken Armstrong questioned the OHP about the tape, he was told it had been "seized" by the FBI. The OHP would not comment further.^[820]

On June 1st, KFOR reporter Brad Edwards sent the Justice Department a Freedom of Information request concerning the various surveillance footage. In their reply, the FBI stated:

A search of our indices to the Central Records System, as maintained in the Oklahoma City Office, located material responsive request (sic) to your request. This material is being withheld in its entirety pursuant to the following subsection of Title 5, United States Code, Section 552: (b) (7) (A)

When Jones finally filed a motion for disclosure after prosecutors refused to hand over the tapes, he was given 400 hours of footage. According to defense attorney Amber McGlaughlin, the tapes did not reveal the presence of Timothy McVeigh.^[821]

Of course, who knows what the FBI actually turned over to the defense. In the Kennedy case, the most revealing evidence was the Zapruder film — homemade footage showing President Kennedy's head being blasted towards the right-rear — indicating the fatal shot came from the Grassy Knoll, not the Book Depository as the government claimed. Yet the FBI confiscated Zapruder's film and altered the sequence of the incriminating frames, reversing them to give the impression that Kennedy's head had lurched forward. It was only later that experts revealed the tampering.

The FBI said it was a "mistake."

The Zapruder film was finally released in 1968, the result of District Attorney Jim Garrison's courageous efforts to reveal the truth. The question is, when will the American public get to see the video footage of the Oklahoma City bombing?

While the FBI did their best to keep key evidence from the grand jury, as in the Kennedy case, they even went so far as to convince several witnesses that their former statements were false, and to retract them in lieu of statements more favorable to the prosecution. A primary example is Michael Fortier, who originally told investigators, "I do not believe that Tim [McVeigh] blew up any building in Oklahoma. There's nothing for me to look back upon and say, yeah, that might have been, I should have seen it back then — there's nothing like that.... I know my friend. Tim McVeigh is not the face of terror as reported on *Time* magazine..."

But after the FBI raided his home, Fortier reversed his statement, saying that he and McVeigh had "cased" the federal building, in response to an offer of a plea bargain. Fortier was then transferred to the Federal Medical Facility at Fort Worth, Texas. It is not known why.^[822]

According to Heidelberg, the FBI brought 24-hour-a-day pressure on Fortier for months before he was arrested. Consequently, Fortier did

not retain a lawyer, didn't know he needed one, and was subsequently bullied by the Bureau. By the time he managed to retain a lawyer, Fortier had already been broken.

Lori Fortier testified that McVeigh tried to solicit Nichols' help in building the bomb, but that Nichols wanted out. He then allegedly tried to solicit her husband. According to her testimony, McVeigh got down on the floor of their trailer and, using soup cans to represent 55-gallon drums, demonstrated how to make a bomb.^[823]

Were the Fortiers relaying accurate testimony? Like the testimony of Eldon Elliott about McVeigh's height, or that of Thomas Manning regarding McVeigh's phone call to Elliott's, none of this information was contained in prior statements made by the Fortiers to the FBI.

As will be seen with prior incidents of government witness tampering and fabricated testimony, their testimony is highly circumspect.

The Fortiers' testimony is also somewhat questionable due to their drug use. According to co-worker Deborah Brown, who testified at McVeigh's trial, Lori Fortier used crystal methamphetamine almost daily. Methamphetamine is widely known for its ability to induce delusional or even psychotic states over time.^[824]

Fortier eventually confessed to transporting and selling stolen firearms, drug possession, foreknowledge of the bombing plot, and failing to inform federal authorities.^[825]

Said grand juror Hoppy Heidelberg, "The FBI relied on a man, Fortier, who really couldn't provide anything important to them. You need to remember that. That's important."^[826]

Lori Fortier also testified that "I still believed he (McVeigh) couldn't really do it." Jones then asked her, "Ms. Fortier, you said you thought McVeigh really wouldn't carry out his plans, then you said you, 'wanted out.' How can you 'want out' if there was nothing to 'be in'?"

Jones would take this one step further. On cross-examination, he assiduously questioned Fortier's motivations:

Jones: Now, in addition, in your conversation you had with your brother on April the 25th, 1995 — that's your brother John?

Fortier: Yes, sir.

Jones: Did you make the following statement: "I've been thinking about trying to do those talk-show circuits for a long time, come up with some asinine story and get my friends to go in on it"?

Fortier: Yes, sir, I made that statement.

Jones: And in the same conversation, did your brother say to you: "Whether the story is true or not, if you want to sit here and listen to a fable, that's all it was at the time is a fable"? And then did you say: "I found my career, 'cause I can tell a fable"? And then did you burst out laughing and say, "I could tell stories all day"?

Fortier: Yes, sir.

Jones: Then do you know an individual named Glynn?

Fortier: Yes.

Jones: And his last name, sir?

Fortier: I think you're referring to Glynn Bringle.

Jones: Did you have a conversation with him by telephone on April the 30th?

Fortier: Yes.

Jones: And did you say, "I want to wait till after the trial and do book and movie rights. I can just make up something juicy"? And then did you laugh?

Fortier: I'm not sure if I laughed or not, but I did make that statement.

Jones: "Something that's worth *The Enquirer*, you know." You made those statements.

Fortier: Yes, sir.

The obvious inference was that the "Justice" Department had a hand in generating the Fortiers' testimony. As Jones pointed out during his closing argument, the terms of Fortier's plea agreement provided that any leniency would be contingent upon his performance in court.

Not true, according to the FBI, which spent over 175 hours soliciting statements from the Fortiers; and Joseph Hartzler, who met with his "star witness" between 7 and 10 times to "make sure he told the truth."^[827]

In fact, during McVeigh's trial, Lori Fortier testified on cross-examination that she had arrived in Denver five days before she was scheduled for trial. She testified that she spent the better part of Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday practicing for her testimony with federal prosecutors.

Philadelphia prosecutors spent a lot of time with Veronica Jones to "make sure she told the truth" too — convincing her to implicate journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, accused of shooting police officer Daniel Faulkner. Jones, who was facing unrelated felony charges at the time, originally told police she saw two other men flee the scene. After threats and promises from police, she changed her story, testifying to the government's version of events. Her felony charges were subsequently dropped.^[828]

Fortier, whose speech and appearance were magically transformed for his day in court, reportedly received a reduced sentence of three years in exchange for his testimony. His wife Lori was granted complete immunity from prosecution for her's.

Jones also accused the FBI of harassing Jennifer McVeigh and her friends in the days after the bombing, hoping to obtain derogatory information about her brother. He said the FBI scared people "beyond belief with threats of prosecution" if they didn't talk.^[829]

On the fifth day of Jennifer McVeigh's interrogation, the FBI ushered her into a room with huge blown up pictures of her and her brother (taken off her refrigerator door), and babies who died in the bombing. Interspersed between the photos were statutes from the U.S. Code pertaining to treason, with phrases such as "Treason is punishable by death," and "The penalty for treason is *DEATH*." (government's emphasis)

Under cross-examination, Jennifer was asked if she was aware that treason is only punishable in times of war. Stunned by this revelation, she answered, "No."

The FBI also tricked Jennifer into testifying by promising her immunity from prosecution if she cooperated. During a break in the trial, a reporter asked prosecutor Vicky Behenna why Jennifer needed immunity. "She didn't," Behenna replied, "but she wouldn't testify without it, so we gave it to her."^[830]

The FBI also tricked Marife Nichols into signing a consent form before they searched her house. When she was asked if the agents advised her of her right to retain a lawyer or refuse to answer questions, the 23-year-old Filipino answered, "I don't remember. I don't think so." Marife said that when she asked whether she did need a lawyer, prosecutors and FBI agents discouraged her. "They told me, 'You're okay as long as you are telling the truth. You don't need a lawyer.'^[831]

James Nichols discovered they were raiding *his* house after he heard it on the news. "I heard on the radio they were raiding a house in Decker, Michigan. I said, 'Wow, that's awful close to home.' Well, within an hour I found out... Mine!"^[832]

Nichols believes the ATF, which raided his house, set him up to be murdered, either as an act of revenge or to prevent him from testifying at trial. He told *Dateline's* Chris Hansen that after the agents entered his home, they asked him to retrieve a gun he kept in his bedroom. Nichols responded, "No, I won't go get it. I told you, send an agent or two in there to go do it." "Aw, go ahead. Go and do it," the agent responded, and they all turned their backs, real nonchalantly. I said, 'Whoa, wait a minute...' They'd 'a shot me, because they would have just said 'He pulled a gun on us.' The fate of Terry and Tim would have been signed, sealed and delivered... Dead people don't testify."^[833]

For his part, Terry Nichols believed that he was not in custody after he walked into the Herrington, Kansas police station on April 21 to see why his name was being broadcast on television. Apparently, the agents were hoping they could get more out of Nichols by leading him to believe they had no intention of arresting him.

"Mr. Nichols was coerced, deceived, and subjected to psychological ploys designed to overcome his will and make him confess," his attorney stated in a legal brief. Defense attorneys also contend Nichols was falsely promised he could review agents' notes on his statements for accuracy, and was falsely told he or his wife could be present at searches.

Prosecutors countered that federal agents acted "with remarkable diligence and in a manner that honored the Constitution."

Sure.

"We are going to impose our agenda on the coverage by dealing with the issues and subjects we choose to deal with." - Richard M. Cohan, Senior Producer of CBS News

"The business of the New York journalist is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon, and to sell his race and his country for his daily bread." - John Swinton, CEO, New York Times, New York Press Club, April 12, 1953.

"The Central Intelligence Agency owns everyone of any significance in the major media." - William Colby, former CIA Director

Eight months after the bombing, Oklahoma State Representative Charles Key, dissatisfied with the "official" investigation, attempted to form a state oversight committee. House Speaker Glen Johnson ridiculed Key's efforts, stating his satisfaction with the Justice Department's official fantasy tale. Anyone who subsequently attempted to challenge the government's official line was publicly discredited by Governor Keating, sneered at by Attorney General Drew Edmondson, and laughed at by the mainstream press.^[834]

The local media provided a convenient platform for Governor Keating to dismiss critics of the government's handling of the case, including Edye Smith, Hoppy Heidelberg and Representative Key. In an attempt to discredit Heidelberg, Keating headed a carefully orchestrated chorus of media pundits, stating that Heidelberg was "off the reservation."

Keating also joined KWTU in attacking KFOR's coverage of the Middle Eastern connection, stating they lacked integrity.

He labeled Jim Levine, an attorney who represented several victims *pro bono* in an attempt to release money from the Governor and Mayor's Victims Relief Funds a "bottom-feeding" lawyer.^[835]*

For his courageous efforts in uncovering the truth, Keating said Representative Key was "baying at the moon."^[836]†

Along with bombing victim Glenn Wilburn, Key attempted to impanel a County Grand Jury. Such a jury, operating outside the scope of the federal investigation, would not only have the power to investigate facts ignored by the federal grand jury, but have the power to level criminal obstruction of justice charges against anybody whom they believed might have impeded the investigation.

Given the allegations of wrongdoing in the federal investigation, such charges could conceivably be leveled against everybody from the ATF to the Justice Department.

In an interview in the *McCurtain Gazette*, Key explained, "Indisputable proof exists now that the federal grand jury was purposely shielded from witnesses who saw Timothy McVeigh with other suspects, both prior to and immediately after the bombing assault.... They may have a good motive for this, but thus far it escapes me — and, I might add, several members of the federal grand jury who witnessed this farce."

Keating's response, quoted in the *Daily Oklahoman* was: "I don't think a legislative committee would contribute one whit of intelligence to this process."^[837]

The *Daily Oklahoman* and the *Tulsa World*, the state's two largest dailies, which should have led the pack in ferreting out the truth of this terrible tragedy, instead led the local media chorus with editorials such as this one in the *Daily Oklahoman*, entitled, "Drop It, Mr. Key."

The *Daily Oklahoman* has opposed Key's mission from the beginning.... State Rep. Charles Key's quest to prove that a government conspiracy played some role in the Murrah Building bombing is a weird and misguided exercise.... Oklahoma County District Attorney Bob Macy is correct in appealing a court ruling that allows Key a free hand to seek a county grand jury probe of his conspiracy theories....^[838]

The *Tulsa World* chimed in with editorials such as "Making Tragedy Pay," which labeled Key as a "dedicated hustler" peddling "goofy theories" to rightwing-crank audiences." They also accused the representative of profit-making from the sale of his bombing videos, which barely paid for themselves. The fact that Key had recently lost his insurance business due to his tireless efforts investigating the bombing, and was living on his \$33,000-a-year salary to support a wife and three children in a small, ramshackle house, was not mentioned by the yellow journalists of the *Tulsa World*.

The "truth seekers" of the local media weren't finished either. They eagerly focused on the efforts of Drew Edmondson, who accused Key of proposing a "wasteful witch hunt" and of engaging in "the worst kind of paranoid conspiracy pandering." (See Appendix)

One article reported how Edmondson had convinced the State District Attorney's Council to oppose Key's investigative funding bill.

"This is unprecedented, as far as I know, for the Attorney General to go to such lengths with the District Attorneys Council and to use such

intemperate language," the soft-spoken Key told *The New American*.

In fact, local radio polls revealed that an overwhelming majority of Oklahomans supported Key's efforts. While the *Tulsa World* and the *Daily Oklahoman* went to extremes to label Key as a "conspiracy nut," they never bothered mentioning that little fact. ^[839]*

Naturally, the CIA-connected *Washington Post* would have their say, comparing the "myth" of John Doe 2 to the Loch Ness Monster.

Lead prosecutor Joseph Hartzler added his voice to the ensemble, calling the leads "whacky theories." ^[840]

Key's grand jury petition was quashed on November 6th, 1995 by District Judge Daniel Owens on the grounds that it would be "re-inventing the wheel." ^[841]

Key appealed. As his attorney, Mark Sanford stated, "Legally [Owens] didn't have the right to quash the petition. But because he's a judge he has the power, whether it's legal or not." ^[842]

Beverly Palmer from Bob Macy's office argued at the appeals hearing in defense of Owens, claiming that the petition was "insufficient on its face," and the request was duplicitous of the federal grand jury's efforts.

Yet, as Appeals Judge Ronald Stubblefield pointed out, nowhere did Judge Owens state why the petition was insufficient. In fact Stubblefield was highly skeptical that Owens had any facts to advise him properly in his decision. "I question whether Judge Owens has the discretion" said Stubblefield. "He's just operating on what he knows about the bombing. Do you think it's right to make a judgment based on what he reads in the newspaper?" ^[843]

The same could be said about DA Bob Macy. At the time I interviewed him, he was collecting information on the case by reading Morris Dees' *Gathering Storm*, and *The Turner Diaries*. This was a year and-a-half after the bombing — a bombing that occurred right outside his window. He didn't know about John Doe 2. He had no idea about the Middle Eastern connection. He had done absolutely no investigation.

"I have not seen these things you are talking about right now," Macy told me. "When I see the evidence... I haven't been presented with the evidence." Macy subsequently claimed he wanted me to work with his so-called "task force" that was "investigating" the bombing, then never called me back.

His attitude was adequately reflected by his Assistant DA, Beverly Palmer. Visibly nervous, Palmer grasped at straws during the appeals hearing, arguing that the grand jury shouldn't be convened because of the need for "judicial economy," and that it contravened "public policy concerns."

"What policy concerns?" Judge Daniel Boudreau asked. ^[844]

In spite of the efforts of a group of good ole' boy politicians to sabotage justice, Judge Stubblefield remained firm: "The people have the right to circulate a petition if the people find that things aren't going the way they ought to be," he said. "Is it not the right, by the sanctified right of the grand jury in Oklahoma, to inquire whether a crime is committed? Don't they have the right to investigate people who they think are involved? This is a highly protected right."

The Appeals Court upheld Key's right to petition for a County Grand Jury by a unanimous vote.

Just two months before the hearing Macy claimed to this author that he intended to prosecute McVeigh and Nichols in a state trial on 161 counts of First Degree Murder. "I don't like taking a second seat to the [federal] prosecution," Macy stated. "The bombing killed 10 of my friends."

In a May 24, 1995 letter to Senator Orrin Hatch, one of the original drafters of the Anti-Terrorism Bill, Macy wrote:

First, immediately following the trial or trials in Federal Court, I shall, working in conjunction with the United States Department of Justice and the federal law-enforcement agencies investigating the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building, prosecute the cowards responsible for murdering innocent people in the area surrounding the Federal Building....

The State of Oklahoma has an overwhelming, compelling interest to seek and obtain the maximum penalty allowable by law for the senseless and cowardly killings. Not only is it in the interest of the State, it is my sworn duty to seek those sanctions, and I intend to fully carry out my responsibilities....

Every day of delay represents a victory for these cowardly cold-blooded killers and another day of defeat and suffering for the victims and all other Americans who cry out for justice. ^[845]

Macy also impressed upon the author his interest in getting at the truth: "I'm prepared to do what ever it takes to get to the truth," Macy

exclaimed. "My sole intent is in learning the truth!"

Yet when asked if he intended to conduct an investigation independent of the Feds', he said, "Well... I don't want to be a party to anything that will interfere with the Feds' prosecution. *I Don't want to open up a new can of worms.*"^[846]

After Macy lost the appeals hearing, he met with Wilburn and Key, explaining that he actually wished to cooperate with their investigation. Three days later, the two men discovered that Macy had decided to contest the Appeals Court's decision.

When a furious Key confronted Macy, all that the courageous, truth-seeking DA told him was, "*They won't let me.*" When Key demanded to know who "they" were, Macy just lowered his eyes to the floor and repeated, "They won't let me."^[847]

Key later learned from a source at ABC News that Macy had received a conference call from Janet Reno's deputy Jamie Gorlick, and the government's lead prosecutor, Joseph Hartzler, along with Governor Keating, Oklahoma City Fire Chief Gary Marrs, and Judge Daniel Owens.

When the grand jury was finally impaneled, federal prosecutors quickly attempted to block the testimony of federal employees.

Key also accused [Chief Assistant DA Pat] Morgan and others in Oklahoma County District Attorney Bob Macy's office of influencing and intimidating witnesses. "I am very upset about it," Key said. "Everyone should be outraged because of this."^[848]

Interestingly, during a debate with Representative Key, Keating stated, "Nobody could get away with a cover-up; it would not be tolerated by civilized Oklahoma City.... Nobody's afraid of the truth."^[849]

KFOR's Jayna Davis shed some light on the "truth-seeking" efforts of Bob Macy and the good ole' boy network of politicians from which he descends. Two years earlier, after an 8-year-old boy was raped, both Davis and the Public Defender demanded to know why Macy hadn't done anything. When Macy thought the camera was off, he whipped around and sternly admonished the reporter: "Lady, I don't know who you are or where you came from, but this isn't how we do business in Oklahoma!"^[850]

Representative Key eventually took the case to the Oklahoma Supreme Court. In his opposing brief, Macy again argued that it would be "a waste of the taxpayers' time and money to convene an Oklahoma County Grand Jury when one was already in session or when a Federal Grand Jury had already heard all available evidence."

The Supreme Court did not agree with Macy. They unanimously upheld Key's right to impanel the grand jury, which was seated in June of '97, and is hearing evidence as of this writing.

Naturally, the Ministers of Truth at *The Daily Oklahoman* wasted little time, pumping out more bland editorial drivel to muddy the waters. The following piece, entitled "Conspiracy Theories," focuses on the fact that the County Grand Jury is only exacerbating the "agony" of some victims, who are apparently more concerned with some fairy tale notion of "closure" than in learning the truth:

Whatever the cause, the delay adds to the agony of those bombing victims who believe the investigation is a waste of time.

The Oklahoman shares that belief, but we are optimistic the probe may satisfy many who are suspicious about events before the bombing. Yet, we wonder if the more conspiratorial-minded will ever be satisfied....

Conflicting conspiracy theories and an olio of circumstantial evidence abound here. Jurors in Denver sorted through testimony and found McVeigh guilty. Frustrating as it may be to some, there is little more to this crime than meets the eye. The rest is the stuff of fiction.^[851]

By the *Daily Oklahoman's* account, the numerous credible witnesses who saw Timothy McVeigh with other suspects on the morning of the crime adds up to little more than "circumstantial evidence," while what prosecutors presented at trial — McVeigh's phone calls to chemical companies, his political views, and the completely irrelevant emotional tales from bombing victims — are not.^{[852]*}

Given the local media's connections to the political good 'ole boy network via the Washington-connected Frank Keating, their position is hardly surprising. Famed Watergate journalist Carl Bernstein put some perspective on the matter when he revealed in a 1977 *Rolling Stone* article that over 400 U.S. journalists were employed by the CIA.

These ranged from freelancers who were paid for regular debriefings, to actual CIA officers who worked under deep cover. Nearly every major U.S. news organization has had spooks on the payroll, usually with the cooperation of top management.

The three most valuable assets the CIA could count on were William Paley's CBS, Arthur Sulzberger's *New York Times* and Henry Luce's *Time/Life* empire. All three bent over backwards promoting the picture of Oswald as a lone nut in the JFK assassination.^[853]

The political good 'ole boy network wasn't finished trying to stop the courageous efforts of Representative Key. On May 7, 1997, Edmondson

subpoenaed Key before a multi-county grand jury, alleging that he violated procedures in raising money for the bombing investigation. The *Daily Oklahoman* proudly proclaimed how it had played a critical role in bringing about the investigation of Key:

The Attorney General's action is a result of an inquiry by *The Oklahoman* about Key's seven-page solicitation letter on the Internet. The letter asks for money to "secure copies of the voluminous (federal) government documents and to pay independent investigators" and other expenses for the county grand jury investigation....

Bill Graves, an attorney who represented Key at the grand jury inquest, stated: "The law is pretty clear that you are not required to register before you hit the ten thousand dollar threshold, and Charles [Key] had not hit that limit so was not required to register. Edmondson knows that. They're just trying to slow Charles down or stop him through harassment."^[854]

"This is all about stopping us and making us shut up, said Key. "If I would just quit the grand jury deal, this would all go away."^[855]

Says V.Z Lawton, a HUD worker who survived the bombing, "You don't have to be that bright or look that hard to see the fraud and hypocrisy in these charges. For over a year and a half, they've been doing everything imaginable and employing the most absurd arguments to prevent Charles from impaneling a grand jury to investigate one of the worst crimes in our country's history. Now, after he's overcome all of their legal challenges in the courts and is close to getting a county grand jury investigation going, they drag him before a multi-county grand jury for what amounts to jaywalking, while the bombing and other genuine, serious crimes go uninvestigated."^[856]

Lawton also brought to the attention of bombing investigators a February 5th, fax transmission to federal employees on the official letterhead of Attorney General Drew Edmondson. The letter sought signatures from survivors to go with letters that were to be sent to various news organizations. The cover sheet said it came from Richard M. Wintory, Chief Deputy Attorney General of the Criminal Division.

The letter, entitled, "A Plea to the Media from Oklahoma City: Don't O.J. Us!!!" purports to be a spontaneous response from victims asking the media not to "manipulate" and "exploit" them "for no purpose other than to enhance their ratings on the air and in publications."^[857]

This obvious propaganda counteroffensive was in response to ABC 20/20's January, 1996 show about prior knowledge. It referred to the "so-called report" by ABC as "tabloid journalism" filled with "unsubstantiated and baseless claims that have been repeatedly debunked."

"We are appalled at the lack of interest in the truth and the underhanded method utilized by 20/20" stated the letter, which claimed that ABC had wrongfully implied that certain victims agreed with the "paranoid delusion" of the "ridiculous theory of government conspiracy in this crime." It added that "reporters are sometime tempted to forget the truth." Ultimately, it stated, "It is PEOPLE that matter in this life, either money nor possession nor a Pulitzer Prize."^[858]

This classic PSYOP piece launched by Edmondson (which he angrily denied in a letter to the author) was signed, "Many Survivors and Family Members, Oklahoma City Bombing."

Lawton and HUD employee Jane Graham were two survivors who angrily denounced the letter for the sham that it was. "Since the communication was loaded with lies and half truths, I certainly could not sign it," said Lawton, "and I felt like a state Attorney General could better spend his time supporting an effort to find the truth rather than this transparent effort at helping to hide it."

"I am angry," stated Graham in a typed response to the letter, "that the Attorney General's office would play on the emotions of this office at HUD under the guise of keeping us posted on how they are proceeding and planning the case, causing further emotional turmoil in this office between employees."^[859]

During a June 13, 1997 television interview, Edmondson was asked why those witnesses who saw McVeigh with other suspects were never called to testify at McVeigh's trial. Edmondson replied that prosecutors usually don't present witnesses whose testimony isn't "credible" or conflicts with other witnesses.

Rodney Johnson, who saw McVeigh with another man in front of the Murrah Building moments before it exploded, called Edmondson's statement "misguided."

"I took those comments to be rather personal," said Johnson.^[860]

Edmondson's **blatant** attempt at coercing the victims to pander to the official government line is similar to a letter from a group of victims suggesting passage of the Anti-Terrorism Bill. The recipients were urged to call Edmondson if they were interested in participating.

Of course, while Edmondson accused ABC 20/20 of "manipulating" and "exploiting" the bombing victims, it is obvious that Edmondson himself hasn't done *anything* to manipulate or exploit *anyone*.^[861]

Interestingly, several months after the scandalous smear campaign against Representative Key, Governor Keating was accused by the Oklahoma Ethics Commission of 32 violations of using state-owned vehicles for political fund-raising, including the state's \$2.9 million

airplane. Conveniently forgetting his own shameful and dishonest smear attacks against Representative Key, Keating sanctimoniously whined about how the allegations were "irresponsible, silly and completely unjustified." No doubt the Ethics Commission was "off the reservation," and "baying at the moon."

In spite of his unsuccessful attempts to smear honest men like Representative Key, Keating and his crooked political cronies wasted no time in discrediting Edye Smith, calling her allegations "hysterical." Smith was the mother of two young boys who perished in the bombing — Chase and Colton. Smith immediately gained the attention of concerned citizens all across America. Hundreds of thousands of letters and checks began pouring in, and relief agencies used Chase's photo on a poster memorializing the disaster.

On May 23, the day the Federal Building was demolished, Edye Smith, in a live interview on CNN, stated, "There's a lot of questions that have been left un-answered. We're being told to keep our mouths shut, not to talk about it, don't ask those questions..."^[862]

CNN's Gary Truchmann asked Smith to describe the nature of the questions: "We, along with hundreds of thousands of other people want to know, where was the ATF the morning of April 19th? All of their employees survived. They were supposed to be the target of this explosion and where were they...? Did they have a warning sign? I mean, did they think it might be a bad day to go in the office?"^[863]

"They had an option to not go to work that day," Smith continued, "and my kids didn't get that option, nobody else in the building got that option. And we're just asking questions, we're not making accusations. We just want to know why and they're telling us, 'Keep your mouth shut, don't talk about it.'"^[864]

Truchmann quickly ended the interview.

Kathy Wilburn was the Grandmother of Chase and Colton. Wilburn was among the first to arrive at the scene of the bombing, and she and Smith, who both worked at the nearby I.R.S. office, had witnessed the carnage first-hand. Now, as she watched the building come down, an eerie silence filled her soul. Later that afternoon, Kathy Wilburn walked into the empty room where the little boys had lived, picked up their stuffed animals, and began to cry.

Wilburn's husband Glenn had been a vocal opponent of the government's investigation, and their explanation of the bombing did not sit well with him. The Grandfather felt the loss of the two boys keenly. Wilburn had taken it on his own to investigate the bombing, and the facts he was coming up with did not make him happy.

On the afternoon the building was demolished, Wilburn received a call from U.S. Attorney Patrick Ryan. Ryan wanted to meet with him and speak with the family.

"They wanted to set our minds at ease our minds that there wasn't anything sinister going on," said Wilburn.

Two days later Smith and Wilburn were visited by an entourage of federal agents including Ryan, ATF Agents Chris Cuyler and Luke Franey, an IRS Criminal investigator, and a member of Louis Jolyon West's victim's assistance team.

"They all came in and sat down and said 'We want to answer your questions and make you feel good.' I said 'fine.' Then I looked them right in the eye and said, 'You guys had no indication that April 19th could be a dangerous day down there?' They both answered, 'no sir.'"

"Well, two hours later I tuned on the TV, and CNN is interviewing ATF Director John Magaw. The interview starts out, "Mr. Magaw, based on the significance of April 19th, did you take any precautions?"

"Clearly there was an interest all over the country to do that," replied Magaw. "And I was very concerned about that. We did some things here in headquarters and in all of our field offices throughout the country to try to be more observant..."

"Well, if there was ever a point that I was hooked into this thing, and there was nothing that was gonna' stop me," recalls Wilburn, "that was it... because by God, somebody lied that morning."

Ryan's conciliatory meeting with the family did not last long. The federal prosecutor became nervous after Wilburn casually mentioned that he had talked to a family lawyer. Ryan quickly got up and left.

While Edye Smith was quoted as saying that she was "satisfied" the agents had explained their whereabouts, she later told me, "I believe they sat their and lied to us."

Unmarked cars soon began showing up at Glenn Wilburn's house. When Wilburn went out to confront them, they sped off.^[865]

Two months later, Edye Smith and Kathy Wilburn had their Workers' Compensation checks cut off. Out of 462 federal employees affected by the blast, they were the only two employees who were mysteriously "denied."

Moreover, out of thousands of checks sent to Smith through the Red Cross, none were ever received. All the letters had been opened, the

checks missing, including some sent via the Governor's and Mayor's office. "All the mail that the Red Cross delivered to my house, probably thousands of pieces of mail, every single piece was opened before I got it. And it all had my name on it," said Smith.

"We started noticing that the mail that came to the house had money in it," said Kathy Wilburn, "but the majority of the mail that came to us through the Red Cross... it was all opened and there was never a thin dime in any of it."

When Smith called the Red Cross to complain, she was told that her mail wasn't being opened, and that no money was being taken. When Wilburn confronted the head of the local Red Cross, she was told that their letters were being opened to check for "hate mail." Wilburn told her that the explanation was "ridiculous."

"A mother sent me a little card that her little boy drew." said Smith, "She said 'my little boy saved this three dollars and wanted you to have it.' And the three dollars was gone."^[866]

Keating's answer to the missing funds? Interning college students were responsible for the thefts. Perhaps former G-Man Keating was training the young lads for upcoming counter-intelligence operations. Such would not be unusual tactics for a man who worked as an FBI agent during COINTELPRO (the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program of the late-60s to mid 70s), where he personally infiltrated anti-government activists like the Weathermen, the Black Panthers, and the SDS (Students For A Democratic Society), and stated he sees little difference between them and the militias.^{[867][868]}

Keating also served as Assistant Attorney General under Edwin Meese. Meese was Attorney General during the 1985 fire-bombing of MOVE headquarters. MOVE was a group of black housing activists living in a squatted building in Philadelphia. The satchel charge, dropped from a helicopter by Philadelphia's finest (with a little help from the FBI), resulted in the deaths of over 11 people, including five children, and destroyed numerous square blocks of the city.

Instead of launching a proper investigation into the matter, Meese's response was "consider it an eviction notice."

Meese would later be implicated in the October Surprise scandal, which propelled Ronald Reagan into the White House via a secret deal to release the hostages in Iran after the defeat of Jimmy Carter. As his reward, Meese was appointed Attorney General, where he would go on to commit then cover up other crimes, the two most notorious being Iran-Contra and the Inslaw affair.

But Keating's involvement with the scions of truth and justice doesn't end there. Keating served in the Bush administration as Assistant Treasury Secretary during the Iran-Contra investigations. Gene Wheaton, a former Tulsa police officer and Army CID investigator who worked for the Christic Institute, observes that it was George Bush who personally selected Keating as Assistant Treasury Secretary in 1985, where he supervised INTERPOL, the Customs Service, The Secret Service, and the ATF.^[869]

As Wheaton writes:

The word in Tulsa is that Bush is his "political godfather;" that Keating got his job in the Treasury Department through Bush's good offices and that Bush "loves Keating." The connection appears to be an old-boy connection through the Southern Hills Country Club in Tulsa, Oklahoma.^[870]

"In his position, Keating could control both the investigative and prosecutorial side of any scandal that came his way," adds *Portland Free Press* publisher Ace Hayes. "1985-88 had guns, drugs, and illegal money moving all over the globe. Was the ATF, who couldn't find it's ass with both hands, as really as incompetent as it appeared, or was Frank Keating there to make sure they did not?"^[871]

In fact, it was while Keating was serving as Assistant Treasury Secretary that IRS investigator Bill Duncan — who was investigating Iran-Contra drug-running activities at Mena — was instructed to perjure himself. As Duncan stated in a deposition before a joint Congressional/Arkansas Attorney General investigative committee:

Duncan: In late December of 1987, I was contacted by [the] Chief Counsel for the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime... who told me that they were looking into the reason why no one was indicted in connection with the Mena investigations. The Internal Revenue Service assigned to me disclosure litigation attorneys, which gave me instructions which would have caused me to withhold information from Congress during my testimony and to also perjure myself.

Committee: And how did you respond to the Treasury Department?

Duncan: Well, I exhibited to them that I was going to tell the truth in my testimony. And the perjury, subornation of perjury resulted in an — resulted because of an allegation that I had received, that Attorney General Edwin Meese received a several hundred thousand dollar bribe from Barry Seal directly. And they told me to tell the Subcommittee on Crime that I had no information about that.^[872]

Arkansas State Police investigator Russell Welch, who provided the information to Duncan, was subsequently poisoned. Two months later, Keating was appointed as Associate Attorney General.^[873]

It seems that Frank Keating has served as a point-man, weaving a twisted trail through some of America's most notorious crimes, including Iran-Contra, BCCI, Iraqgate, the S&L crisis, and... Oklahoma City.

Keating has always been at the nexus bridging the agendas of good ole' boys like George Bush, with their elitist agendas, and the subsequent covert-operations sub-cultures which they spawned. In an article in the *Portland Free Press* entitled "Another Bush Boy," Wheaton writes:

The covert-operations "lunatic fringe" in Washington, which took over key operations at the national security level, [and] still controls them today, was Bush's 1981 agenda, and Keating is the next generation to carry it on.^[874]

It was only three months after Keating's inauguration as Governor that the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building occurred. Given his background and grooming, Keating was in a perfect position to direct "damage control." As Wheaton notes:

Keating is in a perfect position to control the direction and scope of any state investigation which might not correspond to the official federal inquiry.

It appears Keating did just that. As Governor, Keating was in a position to halt the hurried demolition of the Murrah building, ordered by federal authorities under the guise of "safety." Bob Ricks, the FBI PR flack who spoon-fed a daily dose of lies to the press during the Waco siege, was appointed Oklahoma Director of Public Safety by Keating after the demolition. Keating and Ricks were good friends from college.

The demolition was ordered under the pseudo-psychological premise of providing "closure" to the festering wound hanging over the city. The demolition also effectively prevented any independent forensic investigation of the bomb site.^[875]

Said a victim whose spouse was killed in the explosion, "I was upset right from the start when there was the big rush to destroy the crime scene, to take the building down. A lot of important evidence was destroyed that could have helped solve this."^[876]

The feds' decision to destroy crucial forensic evidence has an eerie parallel to the demolition of Mt. Carmel. The destruction of the Branch Davidian church prevented independent examiners from determining that the ATF had fired into the roofs of the building during the early part of the raid, and that FBI snipers had deliberately shot people trying to escape.

The destruction of the Murrah Building is also akin to the Secret Service's hasty (or carefully planned) decision to illegally remove President Kennedy's body from Parkland Memorial Hospital. Once under control of military officials, including Generals who were undoubtedly involved in the assassination plot, Kennedy's autopsy could proceed under carefully controlled parameters. While observing the autopsy, these military officials prevented a thorough examination of the body, which would have revealed the presence of multiple entry wounds. Back in Dallas, Secret Service agents carefully washed Kennedy's limousine to remove all traces of bullet fragments, and had Governor Connolly's clothes, bullet holes and all, cleaned and pressed.

Said Jannie Coverdale, who lost her grandsons Aaron and Elijah in the bombing, "Everyone I talk to has the same questions: What happened? What is going on? We don't want this to be another John F. Kennedy deal, where 32 years later the real story is still unknown."

The Federal Bureau of Intimidation

"There is no place on earth where you will be safe from the most powerful forces of justice." - FBI director Louis Freeh.

In a motion filed by Stephen Jones, affidavits show that numerous witnesses were instructed by the FBI to "keep quiet" so the facts of the case "wouldn't get distorted." This aura of secrecy quickly turned into obstruction of justice, as FBI agents routinely instructed witnesses not to talk to defense team investigators or journalists.

When defense investigator Marty Reed attempted to interview Oklahoma Highway Patrolman Charlie Hanger (the patrolman who had arrested McVeigh), he was told by OHP chief legal counsel John Lindsey, "The FBI has requested that no one interview Trooper Charlie Hanger."

Mitchell Whitmire, who knew McVeigh when they were both in the Army, was contacted by defense investigator Neil Hartley. Whitmire told Hartley he was instructed by the FBI not to talk to anyone about the case unless he obtained permission from the FBI.^[877]

When this author tried to interview two members of the Sheriff's Bomb Squad, they became visibly nervous. They claimed no other bombs were pulled out of the building, clearly contradicting news accounts showing additional bombs that were taken away and detonated.

As discussed previously, FBI agents put up a protective perimeter around Eldon Elliott, preventing him from talking to journalists and defense investigators.

KFOR-TV, who took the lead in investigating the case, found it almost impossible to interview witnesses. "We get there and all of a sudden they've been told to shut up," said Melissa Klinzing, KFOR's former News Director. [\[878\]](#)

A Tulsa fire captain told investigator Craig Roberts he saw machinegun-toting black-clad agents with no markings removing boxes of files from the Post Office ten days after the bombing. When he was subsequently interviewed by this author, he denied seeing anything.

Ann Domin, who originally told a Tulsa police officer she had seen two Middle Eastern males loitering near the front of the Murrah Building just before the blast, later denied saying that. [\[879\]](#)

According to a conversation Jon Rappaport had with *Daily Oklahoman* reporter Ann DeFrance, witness Peter Schaffer told DeFrance he had seen the Murrah Building collapse in on itself, suggesting that cutting charges were used. When Rappaport questioned Schaffer, he denied seeing the building falling down at all. When Rappaport got back to DeFrance, she remained adamant about what Schaffer told her. "She didn't budge at all," said Rappaport. [\[880\]](#)

"The FBI must have gotten to him," said Heidelberg. "You know, the FBI has been able to get witnesses to shut up about important things they know. We've talked to some of these people. In certain instances the witnesses believe that concealing evidence is the right thing to do. They really believe it. The FBI has sold them a bill of goods about national security or something like that. In other cases the FBI has used straight-out intimidation on witnesses. They size up people. On one witness they'll use something like national security. On another, they'll go for intimidation." [\[881\]](#)

Heidelberg's own brush with the government didn't end with his dismissal from the grand jury. Several minutes after agreeing to do an interview with Jayna Davis, he received a call from U.S. Attorney Joseph Hartzler telling him that a reporter was on her way and that he was not to talk to her, or he would be arrested. Obviously, Heidelberg's phone was tapped. [\[882\]](#)

"They tried everything to shut me up," said Heidelberg. "They have said they were going to throw me in jail. When that didn't work, they got down on their hands and knees and begged. I mean... they have tried everything to keep me from talking to the press about this."

On July 19, FBI agents Jon Hersley and William Teater appeared at Heidelberg's home, just hours after Judge Russell called him and discovered that he had taken his grand jury notes home. Apparently Teater wasn't too pleased with Heidelberg's casual attitude. At one point, he pulled back his jacket, revealing his gun, which he had conspicuously stuck in his waist belt.

"They were trying to impress upon me the seriousness of... they were trying to give me the message that this is big time, that this is heavy weight," said Heidelberg, "and I was supposed to be frightened... Guns mean business... I was supposed to behave and be a good boy and not give them any trouble. The implication was that they were gonna' shoot me, but I knew better than that," Heidelberg said. [\[883\]](#)*

Heidelberg doesn't feel he will serve any jail time for his actions. "They don't want me exonerated or indicted," said Heidelberg. "They want me twisting in the wind." [\[884\]](#)

In February of '97, ABC planned a follow-up to their 20/20 "Prior Knowledge" piece, which included an interview with ATF informant Carol Howe. Hours before the piece was to air on "World News Tonight," it was killed.

According to ABC producer Roger Charles: "They were uncomfortable with it after a series of phone calls from high-level Justice Department and ATF people, saying that well, yes, the story is right, but you're going to draw the wrong conclusions unless we can explain it." According to an interview with ABC conducted by McVeigh's defense team, the conversation went something like this:

Justice Dept: "We have to admit now Strassmeir has been investigated."

ABC: "But you have denied over and over that he was ever the subject of an investigation."

Justice Dept: "Well, we're undenyng that now. He has been investigated, but we could not involve him specifically in the bombing of the building.... [Regarding Howe's reports of others involved, we] "could not find anyone who bought fertilizer, could not find anyone who rented a truck, so therefore we could not charge them with anything. [Besides], we're not sure the information was credible."

ABC: "But did you or did you not send her back out?"

Justice Dept: "Yes, she was sent back out."

ABC: "Well, what in the hell does that mean?"

Justice Dept: "She did go back out, but she was unable to develop any evidence that these people had participated, [although] essentially your information is correct."

ABC then said the Justice Department press spokesman attempted to downplay the credibility of Howe by stating that the government hears these types of statements all the time from "White Supremacist compounds."

ABC: "Yeah, but there's one difference here."

Justice Dept: "What is that?"

ABC: "The God damn building blew up, that's what."^[885]

Not only would Howe's testimony have had unfortunate consequences for authorities, it would not have jived with the FBI's fantasy of the "lone nut" bomber. It seemed authorities were replaying the same scenario they had played out 28 years before. In the JFK investigation, the FBI focused on the "lone nut" scenario too. Witnesses who did not support the FBI's case against Oswald as lone participant were intimidated, debunked or misquoted in reports. Most who saw shooters other than the one on the 6th floor of the Book Depository were never subpoenaed to testify.

In 1963, Julia Ann Mercer told the FBI and the Dallas Police that she saw a man carry a rifle case up to the Grassy Knoll just before the shooting. The FBI took her statement. Later, when she was interviewed by District Attorney Jim Garrison and shown the statements she had given the Bureau, she began shaking her head. "These all have been altered, she said. "They have me saying just the opposite of what I really told them."

In the Oklahoma City case, witnesses whose statements didn't fit the government's official timeline and scenario were either ignored altogether, or intimidated into changing *their* stories.^[886]

Cheryl Wood, an employee at Love's convenience store, who saw McVeigh and John Doe 2 on April 17, told FBI agents their security camera had captured images of the two men. The FBI didn't take the tapes and didn't want to use Wood's story. "They tried to convince Wood that she was crazy — that she hadn't really seen them," said a *Newsweek* reporter who interviewed Wood. "They rattled her real good." When the store manager decided to take the video home himself, the FBI changed their minds, and confiscated the tape.

McVeigh and his friends also stopped at another convenience store about 45 minutes from Love's. As a *Newsweek* reporter who interviewed the employees told me, the FBI didn't use the statements of those witnesses either, because it didn't fit the FBI's "official" timeline.^[887]

Mike Moroz, the Johnny's Tire Shop employee who gave McVeigh and John Doe 2 directions to the Murrah building on the morning of the blast, was interviewed by the FBI several times. On the last interview they told him that he had seen McVeigh drive in a different direction than he had originally stated. The FBI then claimed to the press that Moroz had made a mistake and was confused.

Danny Wilkerson, the Regency Towers employee who sold McVeigh two softdrinks and a pack of cigarettes 10 minutes before the bombing, claims FBI agents tried very hard to get him to change his story. Wilkerson saw McVeigh and another man in an older, shorter Ryder truck with a cab overhang. FBI agents showed Wilkerson a catalog of different Ryder models, trying to coerce him into stating that the truck he saw was bigger and newer than the one actually seen. Wilkerson refused to change his story.

As previously discussed, Catina Lawson knew McVeigh when he was stationed in Kansas, and saw him at parties with Andreas Strassmeir and Michael Brescia. When Lawson saw the artist's sketch of John Doe 2, she said, "That's Mike [Brescia]. Lawson repeatedly called the FBI to tell them it was Brescia, but they didn't want to listen, and stopped returning her calls.

"I kept telling them that the man in the [John Doe 2] sketch was that Mike guy, a nice-looking guy, dark-skinned. But the FBI made me feel guilty, then ignorant, as if I didn't know what I was saying. Then, later, I tried to call in with more information and they wouldn't even talk to me."

Debra Burdick had seen the yellow Mercury, the brown pick-up, and the blue Chevy Cavalier at 10th and Robinson on the morning of the blast. Burdick called the FBI and the OSBI, and "they blew me off. They said they didn't have time to get over there.... they told me, 'you didn't see anything.' And that's when I thought I was going crazy...."^[888]

Jane Graham, along with three other women, had seen a trio of suspicious-looking men in the Murrah Building's underground garage the Friday before the bombing. The men were working with wire and a small, putty-colored block which appeared to be C-4 plastic explosive.

FBI Agent Joe Schwecke made two appointments to interview Graham, but kept neither of them. "He never showed up," said Graham. "I again called and set up another appointment for the following week and that was never kept."

When Schwecke finally spoke to her, he "only wanted to know if I could identify McVeigh or Nichols. Apparently the FBI was not interested in any time other than the Monday or Tuesday — the week of the bombing!" exclaimed Graham, "...and only if the responses pointed directly to McVeigh!"^[889]

The manager of the Great Western Inn in Junction City was certain the Middle Eastern man who had stayed in room 107 on April 17 was a

dead ringer for John Doe 2. Yet the FBI tried to discredit him, saying that the inquiry there had been a waste of time. If that is true, why did the FBI confiscate the hotel's register?^[890]

Barbara Whittenberg at the Sante Fe Trail Diner told Bill Jasper the FBI tried to get her to change her story.^[891]

Jeff Davis, who delivered Chinese food to a man in room 25 at the Dreamland Motel, had been interviewed numerous times by the FBI. They appeared interested in trying to get Davis to say that McVeigh was the man he saw.

During trial, prosecutor Larry Mackey attacked Davis' credibility, noting that two days after the bombing, he told FBI agents that the man was a white male, 28 or 29, about 6 feet tall, about 180 pounds with short, sandy hair, clean-cut with no mustache.^[892]

Yet Davis originally told the FBI, "The man to whom I delivered that bag of Chinese food is not Tim McVeigh."^[893]

Still, Mackey tried to shake Davis' confidence in his memory, suggesting that Davis had told a bartender and an ABC sketch artist that he saw McVeigh.

Mackey: "You deny that?"

Davis: "Yes, sir, I do,"

In fact, the person Davis saw had "unkempt" hair, a regional accent, possibly from Oklahoma, Kansas or Missouri, and an overbite. McVeigh possesses none of those characteristics.^[894]

"I was frustrated quite a bit because they just didn't seem to want to say 'Okay, there's somebody we may not have.' A lot of it seemed 'Damn! I just wish he'd say it was McVeigh so we could be done with it.'"^[895]

Davis told *The Denver Post* that the FBI never even bothered making a composite sketch of the man he saw. A TV network finally hired an artist to do one.

Daina Bradley had seen only one man — olive-skinned, dark-haired, wearing jeans, jacket, and baseball cap — get out of the passenger side of the Ryder truck in front of the Federal Building moments before it blew up. Yet when she testified for the defense during McVeigh's trial, she switched tracks, saying she saw two suspects.

What is interesting is that in numerous interviews with the media, prosecutors, and the defense team, Bradley adamantly maintained that she had seen only one suspect — John Doe 2. Just weeks before her testimony, Bradley again told U.S. Attorney Patrick Ryan and defense attorney Cheryl Ramsey she was certain the man she saw wasn't Timothy McVeigh.

Yet shortly after the start of McVeigh's trial — after meeting with federal prosecutors — Bradley suddenly "changed her mind."

It seemed that FBI agents were conveniently waiting at the airport to intercept some of McVeigh's defense witnesses, who would then be "persuaded" to change their testimony.^[896]

Under cross-examination by Ryan, Bradley — who had maintained a rock-solid story of John Doe 2 since the day of the bombing — now claimed she saw a second man. Yet during trial she was nervous and faltering, her testimony wavering constantly. At one point, she covered her face with her hands and quietly said, "I want to talk to my lawyer."

Ryan eventually got Bradley to say she wasn't sure whether the second suspect was McVeigh, but that there was "nothing different" between McVeigh's features and those of the second man.

In addition, Bradley told the jury she thought the truck was parked against the flow of traffic on the one-way street — a ludicrous proposition, but convenient for a government intent on convincing a jury that Bradley saw the suspect — who was not John Doe 2, but possibly McVeigh — get out of the driver's side.^[897]

Gary Lewis, the *Journal Record* pressman who was almost run over by McVeigh and two of his associates in the yellow Mercury shortly before the blast, suddenly denied seeing them at all! Just before he was subpoenaed to testify before the county grand jury, Lewis told reporters, "What I seen wasn't a fact, it wasn't true."

Claiming the FBI had "cleared up his confusion" more than a year ago, Lewis said the FBI showed him a photograph of McVeigh's distinctive battered yellow Mercury, and convinced him it wasn't the same car he spotted on April 19. "It was real similar to it," Lewis said. "It was real close but it wasn't it."

Lewis then claimed his eyewitness account, which had already been published in striking detail, had been exaggerated by Representative Key and Glenn Wilburn. "I don't care for [Wilburn] or Charles Key," Lewis told *The Daily Oklahoman*. "They kind of pushed it along for reasons I don't know why. That is about all I have got to say."^[898]

This was quite a change from the nervous witness who checked the underside of his car every morning for bombs, afraid he was targeted for assassination by either bombing suspects or the feds.^[899]

As previously mentioned, Dr. Paul Heath, the VA psychologist, had spoken to McVeigh and two of his associates at his office several weeks before the blast, when they approached him looking for "jobs."

Heath was interviewed by the FBI no less than ten times. On the last visit, "He (the FBI agent) confronted me saying he did not want me telling the story any longer. He said it was a false story, that I had made it up, that it was a figment of my imagination, and that if I pursued it, he would publicly discredit me.

"I said to him, 'that is the most despicable, uncalled for attitude that I've ever seen, and I don't know why you said that to me, but I can tell you, you're not going to change my reality with it.'"^[900]

Heath, already upset by what he witnessed the day of the bombing, is now uncertain what will happen to him.^[901]

Lea Moore, a woman who was badly injured in the blast, was contacted by a reporter from the *L.A. Times*. While he was enroute to interview her, she received a mysterious phone call telling her not to talk to him. Moore, a diminutive woman in her fifties, was frightened. When the reporter showed up at her door fifteen minutes later, Moore didn't answer.

Melba, the Albertson's worker who made sandwiches for McVeigh and John Doe 2, was hostile and frightened when questioned by this reporter — too scared to talk.

Connie Hood, who saw John Doe 2 at the Dreamland Motel shortly after midnight on April 16, then again the next morning, was interviewed numerous times by the FBI. They even went so far as to administer several polygraph tests. Hood told the agents exactly what she saw. On the last test, the FBI agent "turned around and got in her face," recalled her friend David Keen, "and said, 'You've never seen John Doe! He never existed!'"

The experience of Hood and Keen is reminiscent of the interrogation of JFK witnesses in Dallas on November 22, when FBI agents pointedly told them they did not see any shooters on the Grassy Knoll.

"This big old dude (FBI agent) right out told me, 'You did not see that!'" recalled Hood. "It got to the point where I was saying, 'Excuse me, excuse me, there was someone in that room next to us. I know for a fact there was someone in that room next to us. I did not imagine someone coming out of that fucking room!'"

Hood is sure of what she saw, and is furious about the games the FBI played with her. "I'm angry," said Hood. "It made my blood boil."^[902]

TWA 800 Sidebar

The experiences of these witnesses parallels those who saw a missile rise out of the water to shoot down TWA flight 800 on July 17, 1996, killing all 230 people on board. Over 154 witnesses on Long Island, who witnessed the attack, described what appeared to be a missile — a glowing object that impacted with the plane.

These accounts were backed up by FAA (Federal Aviation Administration) radar records, which showed an unidentified object (a "blip" that was not "squawking" a transponder code) move rapidly towards, then merge with, the large jumbo-jet.^[903]

Yet like the seismic records, and the video surveillance footage which would have shown the Murrah Building being blown up, these radar tapes would be confiscated by the FBI.

Naturally, the government lied about the crash. The National Transportation Safety board (NTSB) claimed that the most probable cause was a "spark" in the center fuel tank due to "static electricity." This is ridiculous even to the uninitiated. Said Michael Barr, director of aviation safety programs at USC, "Airplanes don't blow up just like that. I've been following 747s since 1970 and I've never seen one blow up like that."^[904]

One witness, Lou Desyron, told ABC World News Sunday: "We saw what appeared to be a flare going straight up. As a matter of fact, we thought it was from a boat. It was a bright reddish-orange color.... Once it went into flames, I knew that wasn't a flare."^[905]

Another witness told the *New York Daily News*: "It looked like a big skyrocket going up, and it kept going up and up, and the next thing I

knew there was an orange ball of fire."^[906]

Long Island resident Linda Kabot inadvertently snapped a picture of the missile while photographing friends at a party. The photo appeared in the July issue of *Paris Match*.

Eyewitnesses on the ground weren't the only ones who saw a missile. Vasilis Bakoyinis, a Greek commercial airline pilot flying behind flight 800, told the FBI that he saw what appeared to be a missile rise up from the water and strike the plane. "Suddenly I saw in the fog to my left toward the ocean, a small flame rising quickly toward the sky. Before I realized it, I saw this flame become huge...."^[907]

Private pilot Sven Faret reported a "short pin-flash of light [which] appeared on the ground, perhaps water," that rose up "like a rocket launch at a fireworks display."^[908]

Major Fred Meyer, the pilot of an Air National Guard helicopter which was in the area, said he saw "a streak of red orange" heading toward the plane. "...it arrived at a point in space where I saw a small explosion which grew to a small fireball, then a second explosion and a huge fireball," the *Boston Herald* quoted Meyer as telling a press briefing on July 18th.

Meyer's co-pilot, Captain Chris Baur, told *Aviation Week & Space Technology* on March 10, "Almost due south, there was a hard white light, like burning pyrotechnics, in level flight. I was trying to figure out what it was. It was the wrong color for flares. It struck an object coming from the right [TWA 800] and made it explode."^[909]

Ten days later, Meyer, a Vietnam veteran, told the *Riverside Press-Enterprise*: "I know what I saw. I saw an ordinance explosion. And whatever I saw, the explosion of the fuel was not the initiator of the event. It was one of the results. Something happened before that which was the initiator of the disaster."^[910]

Meyer and Baur's account was backed up by Air National Guard C-130 pilot Colonel William Stratemeir, Jr., who told *Aviation Week & Space Technology* what "appeared to be the trail of a shoulder-fired SAM ending in a flash on the 747."^[911]

Yet the government would seek to silence the hundreds of eyewitnesses who saw the missile. A team of approximately 50 FBI agents, many of the same agents who worked the Oklahoma City case, would visit these witnesses and ask, then demand, their silence.

"There was nothing I observed that gave me any indication that the streak of light I saw was caused by a missile," Meyer would later quote as saying. "I don't know what I saw."^[912]

"We did not see smoke trails [from a missile], any ignition source from the tail of a rocket nor anything..." said Stratemeir four months later.^[913]

Medical Examiner Dr. Charles V. Wetli originally told reporters that the passengers in the forward compartment were hit hardest, indicating the major event was in the front of the plane, not the center as the government claimed. Dr. Wetli and others then backed off from their findings. An explosion had happened and killed people was as much as he could say, reported the *New York Times*.^[914]

Was the government covering up evidence of a terrorist missile strike, or the negligence of the United States Navy? While the disintegration of flight 800's number three engine appears to indicate a shoulder-launched missile, the large gaping hole running from just underneath the center fuel tank through the top of the forward cabin suggests a strike by an unarmed missile "drone."

There is evidence for both theories. After denying the existence of any military operations in the area, the Pentagon eventually admitted that a C-130 military transport and two HH-60G Blackhawk helicopters of the New York Air National Guard's ANG's 106th Rescue Wing were operating in the area as part of a night-rescue exercise.

Such a "rescue exercise" doesn't explain the presence of a P-3 Orion anti-submarine warfare plane, which, contrary to claims by Navy public affairs, is capable of carrying missiles. The U.S.S. Normandy, an Aegis class guided missile cruiser (similar to the one that accidentally shot down Iran Air Flight 655 over the straits of Hormuz, killing all 290 people), was also operating in the vicinity. The Normandy carries RIM-67 Standard SM-2ER semi-active radar homing air defense missiles, with a range of 93 miles and an altitude of 100,000 feet. Was the Normandy firing drones as part of a practice drill? Such maneuvers are routinely carried out off the coast of Long Island. Area W-105 was activated as a "hot zone" at the time of the disaster.^[915]

Naturally, the Navy claimed the Normandy was 180 miles from flight 800, which was in area W-106, 15 miles to the Northwest of W-105.^[916]

FBI chief investigator James Kallstrom cited claims of military culpability as "irresponsible... total unadulterated nonsense," and, echoing the psychobabble employed by the government in the Oklahoma City bombing investigation, stated that such claims are hurtful to the victims. Jim Hall, head of the NTSB investigation, backed up Kallstrom, saying the allegations "are causing incredible pain and confusion for those who lost loved ones."

"I can tell you we left no stone unturned," Kallstrom announced, as if playing a bad re-run of Janet Reno's press conference on Oklahoma City.^[917]

Then in November, Pierre Salinger, a former ABC News correspondent and press secretary for President Kennedy, told reporters in Cannes, France, he had obtained a document from French intelligence (there were numerous French citizens onboard) detailing how the Navy was indeed test firing missiles and accidentally hit Flight 800 because the plane was flying lower than expected. Salinger said the document written by someone who "was tied to the U.S. Secret Service and has important contacts in the U.S. Navy."^[918]

Backing up Salinger's report was Lt. Col. Bo Gritz, a highly decorated Vietnam veteran and Special Forces commander, who reported in June that the Army and Navy were conducting final acceptance tests of the AEGIS-CEC (Cooperative Engagement Capability) system, in the wake of the tragic shutdown of an Iranian Airbus by the USS Vincennes.

The military chose Area W-105, claimed Gritz, in order to provide a realistic test using a densely populated area. "W-105 had been especially selected (and activated for live fire) because of its similarity to the Persian Gulf."

The Navy Orion P-3, a member of the CEC team, was loaded with up-graded gear, allowing integration of Army and Navy Anti-Aircraft Artillery acquisition radar. The equipment was supposed to "discriminate between friend-neutral-foe electronic signatures, isolate the hostile threat and select the weapon best positioned for an assured kill to launch at the target."

The simulated boogie was a Navy BQM-74E missile drone launched from Shinnecock Bay, east of Riverhead, Long Island by an Army unit shortly after the "all clear" at 8:30 p.m....

Through the thickening fog of replicated hostile images, a shot solution was plotted and relayed to the missile unit best positioned for the kill. The software then automatically triggered the launch of a Navy Standard IV Anti-missile missile....

The antimissile was programmed to climb rapidly until a "mid-course" correction would be relayed to the missile's on-board computer directing the dive to impact. Final course adjustments would be made by the missile's "semi-active" radar device after "lock-on" was achieved....

Tragically, the last radar able to see the boogie through the heavy jamming and target replication suddenly and unexpectedly went blind.... Unable to receive guidance commands to keep it on an intercept course with the target drone, the Standard IV reverted to its own programming and began seeking a target. In a heartbeat, the internal radar acquired the TWA 747 well above and to the west of the intended target.^[919]

Was the 747 destroyed by "friendly fire?" Reports that rocket fuel residue was present on seat backs and bodies of the victims, and the large entry and exit holes, tend to support these allegations.^[920]

During the 1982 Falklands War, an Argentine AM.39 Exocet anti-ship missile struck the British destroyer HMS Sheffield. Although it was a dud, "the kinetic energy of the missile, flying at supersonic speed, was able to punch through the hull and slice into fuel lines, allowing the still-burning rocket motor to ignite a deadly and explosive fire. TWA 800 may have experienced an airborne version of this same fate."^[921]

Gritz' claim that the military chose the area off of Long Island for testing jives with the well-documented fact of decades-long military testing on unsuspecting civilians in hundreds of cities across the nation — including everything from drugs and nuclear radiation, to chemical and biological weapons.^[922]

Interestingly, on August 29, six weeks after the TWA 800 crash, an American Airlines pilot reported seeing a missile pass by his 757 while flying over Wallops Island, Virginia, the site of the NASA Wallops Flight Facility, which has a program for unmanned research rockets. Wallops Island is about 220 miles south of the TWA crash sight.^[923]

Finally, as Ian Goddard reported, on May 13, 1997, Long Island's *Southampton Press* reported that resident Dede Muma accidentally received a fax from Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical intended for the FBI's office in Calverton, Long Island (the two have similar phone numbers). The fax indicated that parts of a Navy missile target drone, a BQM-34 Firebee I manufactured by Teledyne, may have been found in the wreckage. The fax shows a diagram of what appears to be a missile, along with a breakdown of its tail section and a parts list...^[924]

The near disintegration of the plane's number three engine, however, supports the theory of a heat-seeking SAM, suggesting that the plane was destroyed by terrorists.

Recall that two major terrorist conferences were held during which it was announced that there would be increased attacks against U.S. interests: one on June 20-23 in Teheran, and the other on July 10-15 in Pakistan. Intelligence officers and terrorist leaders from Hamas, HizbAllah, and the PFLP-GC's Ahmed Jibril, who carried out the Pan Am 103 bombing, were in attendance. This was followed on June 25 by the truck-bombing of the military housing compound in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.^[925]

Also recall that immediately following the July 16th U.S. Senate resolution for sanctions against Libya and Iran, the *al-Hayat* newspaper received a warning from the Movement for Islamic Change:

The world will be astonished and amazed at the time and place chosen by the Mujahadeen. The Mujahadeen will deliver the harshest reply to the threats of the foolish American president. Everyone will be surprised by the volume, choice of place and timing of the Mujahadeen's answer, and invaders must prepare to depart alive or dead for their time is morning and morning is near.

The *New York Post* also reported that the FBI was looking into an anonymous threat received after conviction of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, the spiritual leader of the World Trade Center bombing cell, convicted of plotting to blow up major New York City landmarks. The threat warned that a New York area airport or jetliner would be attacked in retaliation for the prosecution of the sheik. [\[926\]](#)

A warning was also provided to the Israelis that Iran was likely to launch an attack against a U.S. aircraft. Thousands of Stinger missiles were given to the Mujahadeen by the CIA in the 1980s. According to former FAA investigator Rodney Stich, "At least a dozen were thus obtained by the Iranian Revolutionary Guards from Yunis Khalis, a radical Muslim Afghani resistance leader. One of them was fired by Iranians at an American helicopter on patrol in the Persian Gulf on October 8th, 1987."

The U.S. produced nearly 64,500 of these missiles for the military and other countries since 1980, including Angola, Egypt, France, Germany, Iran, Israel, Kuwait, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. The Soviets are known to have sold their SAM-7 to China, North Korea, India, Iran, Iraq, Cuba, Laos, Libya, Sudan and Syria, among others. [\[927\]](#) Stingers provided to the Mujahadeen via the CIA in Peshawar, Pakistan, were often sold to terrorists and other groups.

"We have now spent more than a decade trying to retrieve those missiles," said Natalie Goldring, a defense analyst with the British-American Security Information Council. "Several hundred that were transferred during the Afghan war are nowhere to be found. They are very capable anti-aircraft missiles." [\[928\]](#)

According to Stich, the CIA has bumbled attempts to retrieve the missiles. In a letter to Senator Arlen Specter dated October 20, 1995, Stich writes:

Recent information provided to me by one or more of my contacts in the CIA community describes the dates, places, and people involved in offering the missiles to the United States, and the rejection of this offer. These sources provided me with precise details of the negotiations to give the missiles to the United States, the agreement by Afghan rebel leader, General Rashid Dostom, and a CIA attorney....

[One] possibility for CIA and Justice Department rejection of the Stinger missiles is that the CIA wants the missiles to fall into terrorists' hands, and actually wants an airliner to be shot down. The shoot-down of a commercial airliner could then be used to justify the continuation of CIA activities. [\[929\]](#)

In fact, Israel intercepted unconfirmed reports that 50 of Stingers were smuggled into the country in 1995. A letter reportedly presented to members of the Senate Intelligence and Armed Services Committee after the shutdown of flight 800 not only claimed credit for the attack, but provided the serial number of the missile that was used.

Naturally, government would trot out its usual stable of spokesmen to claim that the plane hadn't been downed by a missile, especially a shoulder-launched SAM, which the Pentagon claimed couldn't down a jumbo-jet flying at 13,700 feet.

"There's no American official with half a brain who ought to be speculating on anything of that nature," said White House spokesman Mike McCurry. "There's no concrete information that would lead any of us in the United States government to draw that kind of conclusion."

Yet the State Department has catalogued 25 incidents between 1978 and 1993 in which commercial airliners were shot down by SAMs, killing more than 600 people. (Israeli commercial airliners, like the President's Air Force One, are equipped with special flares capable of diverting surface-to-air missiles.) During the Vietnam War, Russian Grail missiles routinely shot down planes at altitudes of 11,000 and 12,000 feet. Some SAMs — including the Stinger, and the Swedish-built Bofors RBS 70 and 90, which military and aviation analyst Ronald Lewis, writing in *Air Forces Monthly* believes was used — are reportedly capable of reaching altitudes of between 15,000 and 18,000 feet. [\[930\]](#)

It is for precisely this reason that the government kept changing the altitude of the plane, which they first reported at 8,500 feet, then 10,000 feet, and finally at 13,700 feet (Apparently they didn't take into account the range of the Bofors). This is strikingly similar to their altering of the size of the bomb in Oklahoma, originally stating it was 1,200 pounds, then 2,000 pounds, then 4,000 pounds, then finally 4,800 pounds, to match their magic ANFO theory.

Given the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, however, the talking heads would modify their statements. "They will be looking at all three scenarios," said Former FBI Assistant Director Oliver "Buck" Revell, "and probably the least likely will be the missile, but it will be one that is very carefully examined." [\[931\]](#)

Even the FBI's James Kallstrom was later forced to admit, "We do have information that there was something in the sky. A number of people

have seen it."^[932] As the *New York Post* reported on September 22:

Law-enforcement sources said the hardest evidence gathered so far overwhelmingly suggests a surface-to-air missile — with the sophisticated ability to lock on the center of a target rather than its red-hot engines — was fired from a boat off the Long Island coast to bring down the airliner July 17.^[933]

On December 17, the *Washington Times* quoted a congressional aide who verified that an unnamed DIA official confirmed the missile attack: "In his opinion, the plane was brought down by at least one shoulder-fired missile," said the congressional source, who spoke on the condition of anonymity."^[934]

Interestingly, the FBI focused part of its investigation on boats on Long Island that had been chartered or stolen. One report that surfaced early on reported that two Middle Eastern men had rented a boat. A boat 30 or 40 feet in length would provide a stable enough platform for a someone aiming a heat-seeking or laser guided SAM, even if the waters had not been perfectly calm.

Obviously, the government was perfectly capable of determining who, or at least what shot down TWA flight 800. *Aviation Week* reported that technology is available to establish, within hours, the exact composition of any explosive, even after days of submersion in sea water. Yet months after the disaster, the government was still claiming it hadn't determined the cause of the crash. At times, the explanations offered by government officials bordered on the ridiculous. On July 11, 1997, a NTSB official was heard postulating before members of Congress that the plane may have been destroyed by errant "space junk."

It is hardly surprising that the government would want to cover up the truth, especially if flight 800 had been destroyed by a Stinger missile, one given to the Mujahadeen by the Central [Stupidity] Agency. If the public learned that a commercial jet could be shot down by a hand-held missile, one of many smuggled into this country, the airline industry would suffer huge financial losses. In countries where tourism is essential to the economy, such a revelation would be devastating.

Moreover, if TWA 800 had been downed by our own military, the government would be even more desperate to cover up the truth.

At a press conference on November 8, IWW reporter Hillel Cohen asked, "Why is the Navy not a suspect?" In response, Kallstrom said, "Remove that man." As about 10 security guards swiftly removed Cohen from the room, as he shouted, "We want an independent investigation!"

Nor were journalists investigating Oklahoma City immune from harassment. Jayna Davis, the courageous KFOR reporter who tracked down Hussaini and Khalid, received a warning from the Bureau that she was getting "too close" to the truth, and should drop her investigation.

Journalists and investigators who have attempted to interview rescue workers, including firemen, police and other city officials are denied interviews. Most workers say they've been told not to talk by their superiors or the FBI. "...they're afraid of losing their jobs or being subjected to abuse if they say something," said Jane Graham.

Nurse Toni Garret was one of many people who had volunteered to help tag dead victims that terrible morning. Garret and her husband Earl had just taken a break when they noticed federal agents arriving to set up a command post. "They acted like it was just a drill, like it was no big deal, said Garret. "They were kind of joking around and all that kind of stuff."

Approximately 20 minutes later, when the Garrets re-entered the makeshift triage center, they found many of the doctors and nurses gone, and a completely different atmosphere prevailed. "There was nobody helping anymore," said Earl. "Before, there were people bringing in food and medical supplies — just everything. When we came back in, there was a cold, callous atmosphere. I found out later that the FBI had taken over...."

But what really upset Toni Garret was the fact that the FBI and the Medical Examiner were suppressing the body count, which they had claimed as only 22 dead. Garret, who had personally tagged over 120 dead bodies that day, was shocked. "I was being interviewed by a lady from TBN (Trinity Broadcasting Network). I told her that I was highly upset because the news media and the information they were being given was not accurate information. There were many more bodies than what they were saying on the news media and releasing at the time...."

"[The FBI] didn't like that Toni was being interviewed by the media," said Earl. "An agent came [up] to me and said, 'Do you know her?' pointing to Toni. I said, 'Yes, she's my wife.' He said, 'What is she?' I said, 'Well, she's been down here all day trying to get people out of this building and help people.' He turned around to his friends and said, 'Well, we need to get her out of here.' Toni then told me that the agents had told her that the FBI was taking over and all of us could get out. They told us to keep our mouths shut."

Said Toni, "When they came over to me, one of the agents was very pompous and arrogant about asking me who I was, what I was doing there, if I was a civilian, where I worked, and what my name was. I didn't feel like any of that pertained to what was going on that day or what had happened that day, and he wanted to know everything about me...."

"He said, 'Well, we're down here now, and we're taking over the building. It would be advisable and recommendable that you keep your mouth shut.'^[935]

Norma Smith, who worked at the Federal Courthouse across from the Murrah building saw, along with numerous others, the Sheriff's bomb squad congregated in the parking lot at 7:30 that morning. Shortly after Smith's story appeared in a local newspaper, her house was broken into — twice. Smith, frightened, took early retirement and moved out of state. She is currently too afraid to talk to anyone.

The bomb squad, incidentally, denied being there.

New American editor William Jasper learned from an OCPD officer that during a mandatory daily security briefing at the Murrah Building, he and other assembled police/rescue/recovery personnel were told "in no uncertain terms" by one of the lead federal officials that it was necessary for "security" reasons to provide the public with "misinformation" regarding certain aspects of the case, and that this "official line" was not to be contradicted by any of those in attendance. [\[936\]](#)

"There's a lot that's being covered up, for some reason," charged a federal employee who narrowly escaped death but who lost many friends in the terrorist attack.

Said a man who lost his father, "...I'm angry because I know I'm being lied to."

"Many of us are going to come forward and challenge what's going on as soon as we get some more of the pieces figured out," pledged a law enforcement officer. [\[937\]](#)

This same police officer later told me he was called into the offices of OCPD Chief Sam Gonzales and U.S. Attorney Pat Ryan and told to "cease and desist." [\[938\]](#)

Another officer who was told to "cease and desist" was Sergeant Terrance Yeakey. On May 8, 1996, only three days before Sergeant Yeakey was to receive the Oklahoma Police Department's Medal of Valor, he "committed suicide." The 30 year-old cop was found in a field near El Reno, not far from where El Reno Prison guard Joey Gladden "committed suicide." His wrists were slashed in numerous places, as was his neck and throat. Apparently not satisfied with this initial attempt to take his life, he got out of his car, walked a mile and-a-half over rough terrain, then pulled out his gun shot himself in the head.

The media claimed Officer Yeakey "was wracked with guilt" over his inability to help more people that fateful morning. They also claimed he led a "troubled family life," having been recently divorced from his wife Tonia, and separated from his two daughters, aged two and four, whom the *Daily Oklahoman* claimed he was not permitted to see due to a restraining order.

Other accounts suggest that Yeakey was reluctant to receive the Medal of Valor due to his "guilt" over being injured in the Murrah Building. "He didn't like it," said his supervisor Lt. Jo Ann Randall. "There are some people that like to be heroes and some that don't. He was not one that wanted that."

"He had a lot of guilt because he got hurt," added fellow officer Jim Ramsey. [\[939\]](#)

Apparently, there was much more behind Officer Terrance Yeakey's reluctance to be honored as a hero.

"He kept telling me it wasn't what I thought it was," said his ex-wife, Tonia Rivera, "that they were only choosing officers who were not even at the site, you know — who didn't see anything — to take public rewards, recognition, that sort of stuff.

"They started pressuring them into taking [the rewards]," added Rivera. "There came a time about mid-year, where they were forcing him into going to these award ceremonies. As in, 'Yes, you *could* not go, but we'll make your life hell...'

The story of the reluctant hero, she added, was nothing more than a "real thin veil of truth" which covered up a "mountain of deceit."

"[T]erry wanted no part of it." [\[940\]](#)

His sister, Vicki Jones, agreed. "Terry hated that stuff. 'I'm no hero,' he would say. 'Nobody that had anything to do with helping those people in that bombing are heroes.'"

Why would the Medal of Valor recipient make such a bizarre-sounding statement? In a letter he wrote to a bombing victim and friend Ramona McDonald, the officer tells the *real* reason for his reluctance to be honored as a hero:

Dear Ramona,

I hope that whatever you hear now and in the future will not change your opinions about myself or others with the Oklahoma City Police Department, although some of the things I am about to tell you about is [sic] very disturbing.

I don't know if you recall everything that happened that morning or not, so I am not sure if you know what I am referring to.

The man that you and I were talking about in the pictures I have made the mistake of asking too many questions as to his role in the bombing, and was told to back off.

I was told by several officers he was an ATF agent who was overseeing the bombing plot and at the time the photos were taken he was calling in his report of what had just went down!

I think my days as a police officer are numbered because of the way my supervisors are acting and there is [sic] a lot of secrets floating around now about my mental state of mind. I think they are going to write me up because of my ex-wife and a VPO.

I told you about talking to Chaplain Poe, well the bastard wrote up in a report stating I should be relieved of my duties! I made the mistake of thinking that a person's conversation with a chaplain was private, which by the way might have cost me my job as a police officer! A friend at headquarters told me that Poe sent out letters to everyone in the department! That BITCH (Jo Ann Randall) I told you about is up to something and I think it has something to do with Poe. If she gets her way, they will tar and feather me!

I was told that Jack Poe has written up a report on every single officer that has been in to see him, including Gordon Martin and John Avery.

Knowing what I know now, and understanding fully just what went down that morning, makes me ashamed to wear a badge from Oklahoma City's Police Department. I took an oath to uphold the Law and to enforce the Law to the best of my ability. This is something I cannot honestly do and hold my head up proud any longer if I keep my silence as I am ordered to do.

There are several others out there who was [sic] what we saw and even some who played a role in what happened that day.

[Two Pages Missing]

My guess is the more time an officer has to think about the screw up the more he is going to question what happened... Can you imagine what would be coming down now if that had been our officers' who had let this happen? Because it was the feds that did this and not the locals, is the reason it's okay. You were right all along and I am truly sorry I doubted you and your motives about recording history. You should know that it is going to one-hell-of-a-fight.

Everyone was behind you until you started asking questions as I did, as to how so many federal agents arrived at the scene at the same time.

Luke Franey (a ATF agent who claimed he was in the building) was not in the building at the time of the blast, I know this for a fact, I saw him! I also saw full riot gear worn with rifles in hand, why? Don't make the mistake as I did and ask the wrong people.

I worry about you and your young family because of some of the statements that have been made towards me, a police officer! Whatever you do don't confront McPhearson with the bomb squad about what I told you. His actions and defensiveness towards the bombing would make any normal person think he was defending himself as if he drove the damn truck up to the building himself. I am not worried for myself, but for you and your group. I would not be afraid to say at this time that you and your family could be harmed if you get any closer to the truth. At this time I think for your well being it is best for you to distance yourself and others from those of us who have stirred up to many questions about the altering and falsifying of the federal investigation's reports.

I truly believe there are other officers like me out there who would not settle for anything but the truth, it is just a matter of finding them. The only true problem as I see it is, who do we turn to then?

It is vital that people like you, Edye Smith, and others keep asking questions and demanding answers for the actions of our Federal Government and law enforcement agencies that knew beforehand and participated in the cover-up.

The sad truth of the matter is that they have so many police officers convinced that by covering up the truth about the operation gone wrong, that they are actually doing our citizens a favor. What I want to know is how many other operations have they had that blew up in their faces? Makes you stop and take another look at Waco.

I would consider it to be an insult to my profession as a police officer and to the citizens of Oklahoma for ANY of the City, State or Federal agents that stood by and let this happen to be recognized as any thing other than their part in participation in letting this happen. For those who ran from the scene to change their attire to hide the fact that they were there, should be judged as cowards.

If our history books and records are ever truly corrected about that day it will show this and maybe even some lame excuse as to why it happened, but I truly don't believe it will from what I now know to be the truth.

Even if I tried to explain it to you the way it was explained to me, and the ridiculous reason for having our own police departments falsify reports to their fellow officers, to the citizens of the city and to our country, you would understand why I feel the way I do about all of this.

I believe that a lot of the problems the officers are having right now are because some of them know what really happened and can't deal with it, and others like myself made the mistake of trusting the one person we were supposed to be able to turn to (Chaplain Poe) only to be stabbed in the back.

I am sad to say that I believe my days as a police officer are numbered because of all of this....

Shortly after the bombing, Yeakey appeared at his ex-wife's. "About two weeks before his death, he'd come into my home at strange times," said Rivera, "two-thirty in the morning, four in the morning, unannounced — trying to give me life insurance policies.... He kept telling me we needed to get remarried immediately, or me and the girls would not be taken care of.

"I mean, why would a guy tell you to take a life insurance policy, knowing damn well it wouldn't pay for a suicide? He obviously knew he was in danger."

Yet Officer Terrance Yeakey was not the type of person to easily show his feelings. He didn't want to tell his family anything that might get them hurt.

"He told me enough to let me know that it was not what they were making it out to be," said Rivera, "and that he was disgusted and didn't want any part of it, but he never went into detail.... It scared me."^[941]

Within days of the bombing, according to a sympathetic government source who has spoken to Rivera, Yeakey began receiving death threats. He was at his ex-wife's apartment when the calls came. Afraid for his family, he got up and left.

"When he came to my apartment two weeks prior, trying to give me these insurance policies," said Rivera, "he sat on my living room couch and cried and told me how he had a fight with [his supervisors] Lt. Randall and Maj. Upchurch. He did not tell me what that entailed, but he was scared — he was crying so badly he was shaking.

"He wouldn't totally voice whatever it was," recalled Rivera. "It was like he'd be just about to tell me — he'd want to spill his guts — and then he stopped, and he just cried. And that's when he kept insisting that I take the insurance policy."

Although Yeakey was concerned for his family, the marriage was not without abuse. Rivera had filed a VPO (Victim's Protective Order) against him slightly over two years ago. In a fit of temper, Yeakey had once threatened to take his life and those of his wife and children.

"I think it was said in the haste of, well, he's going to kill all of us kind of thing — cop under pressure," said Rivera. But that was over a year and-a-half ago. Yeakey had spent considerable time with his wife and children since then, taking them on family outings and so forth.

Nevertheless, the Oklahoma City Police Department (OCPD) attempted to use the incident to claim that Yeakey was suicidal. It was on the day of his death, around 1:30 p.m., that they called Rivera, trying to get her to file a VPO Violation based on the two-year-old report. "They wanted me to come down and make some statements against him," Rivera said.

On the same afternoon, in-between messages on his answering machine from his sister, Vicki Jones and his supervisor Lt. Jo Ann Randall, Yeakey had a message from Tonia. "The message was like at 5:30 in the afternoon," recalled Rivera. "I sound like I'm whispering, and I'm apologizing for waking him up — at 5:30 in the afternoon — on Wednesday."

It seems the intent behind this cleverly-crafted deception was to convince the family and potential investigators that Rivera was an "evil person," who was sleeping with him the night before, but "went down and filed a VPO the next day."

"That tape was planted," said Rivera. "I never called his house."

It seemed the OCPD was playing an elaborate game to sow confusion and mistrust, and create the appearance that Rivera was responsible for her ex-husband's death.

"So it comes out in paper after paper how he's having problems with his ex-wife, how he's not allowed to see his children.... "They're trying to play up the story of the bitch-ass wife whose trying to get him fired...."

Yet Rivera claimed she never filed a VPO violation. "The OCPD wanted to file one," said Rivera. "But I never signed it." Rivera claimed she had gone to the police station, but simply out of concern for her ex-husband, who had been acting strangely.

"Nobody ever said, 'Mrs. Yeakey, Terry's missing. Do you know anyplace he might have gone to? They never told me that they weren't able to locate him, that they were concerned, you know — nothing. I never knew he was missing."

If Officer Yeakey's death was anything more than a suicide, the OCPD didn't go to any great lengths to find out. While his death occurred in El Reno, the OCPD took over the crime scene, squeezing the El Reno Police Department out of the picture. The OCPD's Media Relations officer, Cpt. Ted Carlton, explained, "It was our police officer who was killed. It's not uncommon [to take over the investigation] in the case of

a smaller police agency."^[942]

Although forensics are also standard procedure in the event of a violent or suspicious death, especially that of a police officer, Yeakey's car was never dusted for prints. "And the next day, they gave us the damn car!" said Mrs. Jarrahi. "It was full of blood."

When Yeakey's Brother-in-Law, Glenn Jones, inspected the dead man's car, he discovered a bloody knife stashed underneath the glove compartment. Yet according to the responding officer, Yeakey had apparently used a razor blade. Where did the knife come from? Since no forensic investigation was conducted, this remains unclear.

No autopsy was ever conducted.

"There were common sense things that were wrong about the whole thing, that makes it so weird," added Mrs. Jarrahi. "It just doesn't seem right. Why would policemen and the authorities make such common mistakes that would leave questions? It's just really weird."

If Yeakey's death was a suicide, he left no note. Although he was upset over his divorce, according to the family, he was *not* suicidal. It is also unlikely that he abused drugs, as he was an instructor at DARE, a program designed to keep children *off* drugs.

Former Canadian County Sheriff Clint Boehler, who claims to have known Yeakey, doesn't concur with this analysis. Boehler said that Yeakey showed up at his house in El Reno on the afternoon of his death, his car stopped at an angle in the middle of the road. When Boehler and his girlfriend Kate Allen, a paramedic, ran outside, they found the police officer virtually passed out.

"He couldn't tell us his name initially," said Allen. "He was ill, and he was very anxious. His heart rate was rapid; he was sweaty.... He told us he had been having concentration problems, he hadn't slept. He had all the appearances, my first guess would be, of someone who was having emotional problems. And my second guess would be, of some kind of substance abuse problem. But that's a pure guess."

Boehler added that Yeakey said he hadn't eaten, and was "throwing up, taking medication, and incoherent. "He was taking medications for his back," said Boehler. "He had four or five medications in the car."

Boehler and Allen didn't know that Yeakey had Sickle-Cell Anemia — a blood-sugar-related condition that caused seizures. It was these seizures, Rivera explained, that would occasionally cause her ex-husband to act "out-of-sorts," or even to slip into unconsciousness.

In spite of his medical condition, Rivera insisted that Terrance Yeakey was a health fanatic. The prescriptions were for his condition, she said, but he used only the minimum amounts.

According to Canadian County Sheriff Deputy Mike Ramsey (no relation to OCPD Officer Jim Ramsey), who drove Yeakey home, Yeakey was not suicidal. "He didn't give me any indications that he was out to do harm to himself," said Ramsey. "He seemed more disoriented, tired..."^[943]

There are many things about Officer Yeakey's death that remain a mystery. While Boehler described a man on drugs, the Medical Examiner claims they didn't bother to conduct a drug test because it "costs too much."^[944]

The ME's field investigator, Jeffrey Legg, also reported that Yeakey "had been drinking heavily" the day before, based on statements made by OCPD Homicide Detectives Dicus and Mullinex. Yet Terrance Yeakey didn't drink, and their own report concluded that there was no alcohol in the body at the time of death.^[945]

Canadian County Sheriffs discovered the abandoned car, filled with blood, about two and-a-half miles from the old El Reno reformatory. The OCPD was notified, and Police Chief Sam Gonazles flew out by chopper. Using dogs, they followed a trail of blood, and found the body in a ditch, about a mile and-a-half from the car. (Legg reported the body was 1/2 mile south of the car, when in fact it was 1 1/2 miles north-east of the car.)

Apparently Yeakey had tried to cut himself in the wrists, neck, and throat, then, after losing approximately two pints of blood, got out of his car (contentiously remembering to lock the doors), walked a mile and-a-half over rough terrain, crawled under a barbed-wire fence, waded through a culvert, then lay down in a ditch and shot himself in the head.^[946]

As is this weren't strange enough, Yeakey's diet-related condition would have made him too weak to walk the mile and-a-half from his car to where his body was found — especially after losing two to three pints of blood.

Nevertheless, the OCPD ruled it a suicide on the spot. Their investigation remained sealed. This reporter was unable to obtain it, and not even the family was allowed to see it.

"There were so many things that were weird," said Mrs. Jarrahi. "My daughter kept going back to the Police Department. She said, 'Well what about this... we knew he had a camcorder, we knew he had a briefcase...'

"These are things we never got back. The kid always carried camera and film. [He] never went anywhere without his camera and briefcase. He had all his important papers in there.... We got the camera back. We never got the film back. We never got the briefcase. They said they never saw it...."

In regards to Yeakey's videos, Detective Mullinex, who "investigated" the case for the OCPD, told Vicki Jones, "I really don't think you'll want to see those; they contain pornography." Jones didn't believe him and didn't care. "I want those tapes!" she demanded.

The Homicide detective finally told her she'd get them back after they had "examined the evidence."

"One minute the guy would say he had them," said Jones, "the next minute he'd say 'we don't have anything....'"

According to Jones, Mullinex then said, "Now, we all loved Terry. I hope you understand that, but I'm not going to let you see any pictures. And I don't know anything about a briefcase, but if there's anything back there, I'll give you a call, and you can come back and get them."

"And I just sat there and looked at him, and said to myself, 'You're doing a great performance, but it's not working....' Then he got really uptight and said, 'Well, some of us *hated* Terry.' [Then] he kind of grabbed his face and said 'oh shit.'"

For his part, Mullinex had "no comment either way." He then told me, "I don't remember what I said to the lady, but I certainly was not rude to her.... This comes as a big shock to me, because he was a police officer and a friend of mine. It was a hard thing and hurt me to have to work it."

Cpt. Carlton likewise feigned shock at Jones' rebuffs, and said he would have to know who the officer was who made those statements. He then asked me to have the family contact the OCPD directly (as though they hadn't already done so numerous times), and he would meet with them and discuss the case, but that Cpt. Danny Cockran, Chief of the Homicide Squad, would have to make the decision about whether or not to let the family see the files.

Yet Carlton's statements fly in the face of the experiences of not only Yeakey's mother and sister, but those of his ex-wife. In a letter to Police Chief Sam Gonzales dated September 4, 1996, Rivera writes:

Needless to say, I have many questions regarding the investigation. What type of weapon was used to inflict the gunshot wound to his head? Who located the body? How could the cause of death be determined with such confidence with the multitude of injuries to his body and how did he walk the distance indicated in *People* magazine with the great loss of blood from razor cuts not only to both wrists, but both his forearms as well as two razor cuts to his neck? Not only did he walk this distance, but he struggled with bobwire fencing to reach his chosen destination to die then inflicted the gunshot wound to himself? I request that a copy of the investigative report of his death be made available to me.

Gonzales didn't respond.

Police officials eventually responded to Vicki Jones' complaints by telling her she needed to see a psychiatrist. "They said, 'We're just trying to protect you.'"

Exactly what were they trying to protect her from? When I called Mrs. Jarrahi, the telltale signs of a tapped phone were clearly present. If Terrance Yeakey's death was a simple suicide, why would law-enforcement agencies be tapping the family's phones?

The OCPD soon began conducting surveillance on the dead man's family.

"There was always an officer out there in front of our apartment," said Jones. Anywhere we went, we had an officer or someone in a marked car following us around. It started right after I started going to the Police Department quite a bit."

They also tailed Rivera. When she confronted the officers, they ignored her, hid their faces, or sped off. Cars were parked outside her childrens' school. When she spoke to school officials about the surveillance one afternoon, she went to work startled to find the conversation on her office answering machine! Rivera had spoken to the school principal in person. How did the conversation wind up on her answering machine?^[947]

The harassment against Officer Yeakey's family wasn't limited to mere surveillance. After Rivera met with State Representative Charles Key, her car was broken into. Her house was broken into twice.

She finally moved to Enid when the heat became too hot. "I lived in an apartment on the third floor with a security alarm in it," said Rivera. "I'd come home and the alarm would be off. I'd notice things out of place. There'd be cabinets open that I'd have no reason to have opened."

About two weeks after Terry's death, Rivera went downstairs around 6:30 one morning to do some laundry, "and there was a man downstairs with huge headphones on, at 6:30 in the morning, right behind my apartment...."

The individual, who was wearing a jogging suit — wasn't jogging, and was not doing laundry. "He looked startled when I came around the corner," said Rivera. "I came back down at 8:30 and the guy was still there."

It appears that what Rivera was describing was an audio technician with a "Shotgun Mic," a portable surveillance tool designed to pick up conversations through windows and across fields. They are commonly used by private detectives and law-enforcement agencies.

One day Rivera came home to find her front door open and off its hinges. When the frightened single mother walked into her bedroom, she found a balloon tied to her door. It read: "Get well soon. This will keep you busy until you do."^[948]

It seems the OCPD and the FBI thought that Officer Yeakey had passed off some incriminating documents concerning the bombing cover-up to his ex-wife, and were intent on obtaining the documents.

The surveillance, break-ins, and thinly-veiled threats soon escalated into more serious incidents. Right before Yeakey's murder, the couple's Ford Explorer began getting mysterious flats. "And when I'd roll it into a shop," said Rivera, "they'd pull out like six or seven nails." This occurred between eight and ten times, she claims.

Rivera explained that once during a quarrel, Terry had removed some fuses from her car to keep her from leaving. The police knew about the incident, said Rivera, who thought the subsequent events were created by the OCPD to sow mistrust and provide a convenient trail of evidence to prove that Yeakey led a troubled family life. Yet while Yeakey admitted to removing the fuses, he repeatedly and adamantly denied that he had damaged the car — a car that was registered in his name and carried his cherished children to and from school.

On April 24, two weeks before he was found dead, the Explorer began acting strangely. When Rivera pulled it into the local Aamco Transmission Center, she found that it had been tampered with. "Somebody who knew what they were doing pulled hoses from your car," said Todd Taylor, the chief mechanic. "I'm sorry to tell this ma'am, but this is not just something you can pull randomly...." Taylor also said he thought Rivera's brakes had been tampered with.^[949]

About two weeks before this story went to press, the Ford's brakes went out suddenly while Rivera was traveling at 40 mph. "I went to brake," said Rivera, "and guess what? No brakes!" The large 4 X 4 slammed into the back of smaller car, damaging it badly. "The message is 'we can get to you if we want to,'" she concluded.

Officer [Jim] Ramsey also began making his presence felt. "All of the sudden, when we moved to Oklahoma City [from El Reno]," said Jones, "there was Ramsey. When we joined a new church, Ramsey was there. Ramsey was everywhere. You turn the corner, there was Ramsey.... Everything we did, he was like the helpful old guy. This went on for two months."

"He was keeping tabs on everyone," added Rivera. "He was showing up in a lot of places... just casually, in fact, places where he knew that people knew me just as well as they knew Terry, and weren't buying into the 'it's Tonia's fault' routine."

"[Ramsey] tried to claim it was his ex-wife and love for his children he couldn't see that made him commit suicide," she added. He would talk to her friends. "'How's she taking it? What does she think, blah, blah, blah.'"

Both Rivera and Jones feel the OCPD officer was sent to "baby-sit" them — to maintain an ever-present watchful eye. "[When he showed up]," Jones said, "I looked at him and said, that is not a friend of Terry's. He was never at the house. I never met him before."

Ramsey, who told *People* magazine that Yeakey was his "dear friend," also told the press that he was Terry's partner.

"That was a lie," declared Jones.

Rivera concurred. The ex-wife said that not only was Ramsey *never* Yeakey's partner, but that the two men didn't even get along. "Terry hated Jim Ramsey," said Rivera. "He put on a real good performance," she added. "He's hiding something, I believe.... It burns me up."^[950]

For his performance, Ramsey was promoted to Detective, and made "Officer of the Year."

If Terrance Yeakey did have many friends in the Police Department, they were among the beat patrolmen, not the upper echelon. While Detective Mullinex said everybody "loved Terry," according to Rivera, the brass "hated his guts." "Him and [Maj.] Upchurch had a hate-hate relationship," she said.

For his part, Mullinex claims he was "totally unaware" of any problems Yeakey was having in regards to what he knew about the bombing. "It is my opinion as a fourteen-year homicide veteran that it was a suicide," said Mullinex.... If we thought it was anything [other than a suicide] we would have pursued it to the ends of the earth. We're not hiding anything."^[951]

Really?

According to Rivera, three government sources, including a U.S. Attorney and a U.S. Marshal, hold a slightly different view. As relayed by

Rivera, the events on the morning of Officer Yeakey's death transpired as follows:

At 9:00 a.m., Officer Yeakey was seen exiting his Oklahoma City apartment with nine boxes of videos and files. He then drove to the police station where he had a fight with his supervisors.

He was told to "drop it" or he'd "wind up dead."

Yeakey was also due for a meeting with the heads of several federal agencies that morning. He apparently decided to skip the meetings, instead, driving straight to a storage locker he maintained in Kingfisher.

What he didn't realize was that the FBI had him under surveillance, and began pursuit. The six-year OCPD veteran and former Sheriff's Deputy easily eluded his pursuers. Once at his storage facility, he secured his files.

What were in the files? According to one of Rivera's sources, incriminating photos and videos of the bombed-out building. Perhaps more.

On the way back, the feds caught up with him just outside of El Reno. "He had nothing on him," at that point, said Rivera, "just copies of copies."

While it is not known exactly what transpired next, Rivera's confidential source "described in intimate detail," the state of the dead man's car. The seats had been completely unbolted, the floor-boards ripped up, and the side panels removed, all in an apparent effort to find the incriminating documents.

There were also burn marks on the floor. Apparently, the killers had used Yeakey's car to destroy what little evidence they had discovered. [\[952\]](#)

At approximately 6:00 p.m. that evening, Canadian County Deputy Sheriff Mike Ramsey was cruising the area near the old El Reno reformatory when he noticed an abandoned vehicle in a field. "Immediately [the] hair stood up on the back of my neck," said the deputy. Ramsey came upon the empty car which he immediately recognized as Yeakey's. There was blood on both seats, and a razor blade lying on the dash. Yeakey was nowhere to be found.

The deputy immediately called for a homicide investigator, and taped off the scene. It wasn't until several hours later that police dogs finally located Yeakey's body in a ditch, a mile and-a-half away. [\[953\]](#)

While it was a macabre scene, the Oklahoma City Medical Examiner's report was even more gruesome. The report released from the Medical Examiner described numerous "superficial" lacerations on the wrists, arms, throat, and neck, and a single bullet wound to the right temple.

The report also showed another curious thing. The bullet had entered just above and in front of the right ear, and had exited towards the bottom of the left ear. Apparently, whoever held the gun held it at a downward angle. A person shooting themselves would tend to hold the gun at an upward angle, or at the most, level. It would rather difficult for a large, muscle-bound man like Yeakey to hold a heavy service revolver or other large caliber weapon at a downward angle to his head. (See Appendix)

While it is true that a slug can alter its trajectory once inside the skull, a pathologist in the San Francisco Medical Examiner's office told me that a 9mm or other large caliber weapon — the type commonly used by police officers — usually tends to travel in a straight line.

But perhaps the most revealing evidence was that the wound did not have a "Stellat," the tell-tale star shape caused by the dissipating gases from the gun's muzzle. At the close range of a suicide weapon, such markings would clearly be present, unless of course... the shooter used a silencer. [\[954\]](#)

While Dr. Larry Balding, Oklahoma City's Chief Medical Examiner, quickly ruled the death a "suicide," another Medical Examiner's report would, according to Rivera, surface like an eerie, prescient message from the grave. This other report, quickly redacted and hidden from public view, showed a face that was bruised and swollen; blood on the body and clothes that was not the dead man's blood type; and multiple *deep* lacerations filled with grass and dirt, as though the body had been dragged a distance.

Yet according to Rivera, Maj. Upchurch denied that Yeakey's throat was slashed *at all*. She was later told by a sympathetic police dispatcher that his throat was indeed slashed — deeply.

Dr. Larry Balding, who signed off on the Yeakey report, is adamant. "I can tell you unequivocally and without a doubt that there was no other ME report."

Yet while attending a social function, Rivera claims her sister had a chance encounter with the mortician who worked on Yeakey's body. She was discussing the strange inconsistencies of his death with someone at the party, when the mortician, not knowing the woman was Rivera's sister, spoke up. "That sounds just like a police officer we worked on in Oklahoma City," he said. When asked if that man happened to be Terrance Yeakey, the mortician "freaked."

When pressed, he told the shocked relative that the dead man's wrists contained *rope burns and handcuff marks*. A former FBI agent and police officer, the mortician said that Yeakey's lacerations were already sewn up when the body arrived from the Medical Examiner's office. Dr. Balding's response to this was that the marks were merely "skin slippage," resulting from the natural decomposition of the body.

Yet stranger still, the body was not supposed to go to this particular funeral home at all, but to one in Watonga. While the OCPD was supposed to pay the expenses of the funeral, no funds were ever allocated, according to Rivera. "Vicki had to pay off the burial to Russ Worm [Funeral Home]. So I wonder if we paid somebody off to do the job."^[955]

Was that job to clean up Yeakey so that his manner of death wouldn't appear suspicious?

This incident is similar to the murder of President Kennedy, whose body was taken to Bethesda Naval Hospital instead of being examined by the Dallas Medical Examiner as is standard procedure. Once there, military pathologists and those controlling them were able to skew their findings to the satisfaction of the murderers. The chief pathologist burned his notes, and years later, when researchers went to examine Kennedy's brain, it was found missing from the National Archives.

Apparently, Terrance Yeakey's murderers and those covering up *his* death had not counted on this particular mortician's testimony.

Was Terrance Yeakey tortured? Was he murdered, then made to look like a suicide? Did he know something he wasn't supposed to know, or was he simply despondent over life's circumstances?

Said friend Kimberly Cruz, "I don't believe he would have done something like that. He was always happy and joking a lot."

Another friend, Karen Von Tungeln, said, "[Terry and I] talked about a friend in high school... who had committed suicide, and how stupid and selfish he was for having done so.... 'I just can't understand it man,' said Terry. 'It makes no sense to me.'"^[956]

If the officer was bent on taking his life, it would appear strange, since he had spent most of the previous month taking entrance exams for the FBI. Yeakey and best friend Barry McCrary were looking forward to becoming FBI agents. Perhaps if he had known the role that the FBI played in the bombing, perhaps even in his own death, he would have changed careers.

Like Dr. Don Chumley, Terrance Yeakey was one of the first rescuers in the Murrah Building on April 19. Had he seen something he wasn't supposed to see? Had he heard something he wasn't supposed to hear?

One afternoon, while the family was at Police Headquarters, an officer who Rivera described as Yeakey's "only true friend," pulled them off to the side, and whispered "They killed him."^[957]

Like Terrance Yeakey, the press claimed that Dr. Don Chumley was saddened and disturbed that he hadn't helped more people that terrible day. Chumley, who ran the Broadway Medical Clinic about half a mile from the Federal Building, was one of the first to arrive at the bombing site on April 19. Shaun Jones, Chumley's step-son, was assisting him. Jones recalled the scene:

"They had sent us around to the underground parking garage, where some people were trapped. Suddenly, three guys come running out of the basement yelling, 'There's a bomb! A bomb! It's gonna' blow!' Everybody panicked and ran screaming away from the building as fast as they could."

Chumley, who was working with Dr. Ross Harris, was one of the few doctors who actually went into the Federal Building, while the others waited outside. He had helped many people, including seven babies, whom he later pronounced dead.

Chumley was killed five months later when his Cessna 210 crashed near Amarillo, Texas in what Jones calls "mysterious circumstances."

"It's a pretty mysterious circumstance," said Jones. "There's no apparent reason — there's nothing we can think of."

Jones added that Chumley had been in a minor wreck during a landing a year earlier when his plane became trapped in a vortex caused by a large jet landing nearby. The small plane was forced into a snow bank causing some damage to its left wing tip. The damage had been repaired.

Would this contradict Jones' hypothesis?

"Well, from talking to pilots I that know, they say that can't cause a plane to crash. I mean, as good a pilot as he is, that's not going to cause his plane to go straight down into the ground.

Another pilot said, 'that's just like a car that's out of alignment — it happens all the time — it's just something you learn to fly with.' The plane had been flown several times since that."

According to reports in *The Daily Oklahoman*, Chumley, who was on a hunting trip that weekend, had twice landed earlier — on Friday, due to bad weather conditions. The crash occurred three days later, on a Monday.

"The thing that's odd to me is that Don was perfectly healthy," said Jones. "He was talking to the tower, and from one minute to the next he just went straight smack down into the ground."^[958]

Investigators said they could find no evidence of an explosion at the macabre scene. Chumley's throttle was still set at cruise, and his gear and flaps were up. The FAA inspector stated there were "no anomalies with the engine or the airframe," and "pathological examination of the pilot did not show any preexisting condition that could have contributed to the accident."^[959]

"To me it's unusual because I know he was a good pilot," added Jones. "Everything was fine, he was in the air for 15 minutes, he was climbing, he had just asked permission to go from six to seven thousand feet. They tracked him on the screen at 6,900 feet, and the radar technician said he saw him on the radar, then he looked back and he was gone, and the plane came straight, straight down. I mean, no attempt to land... nothing, just straight down."

Chumley's hunting partner Joey Chief said in an interview in *The Daily Oklahoman*:

"He was the kind of guy who did everything right, always. He was very cautious, very professional," Chief said, adding [that] Chumley's plane was equipped with extra safety instruments.

Mike Evett, a Federal Public Defender, had known Don Chumley for over twenty years. "I would never get into an airplane with anybody I didn't know," said Evett, "and I would never be afraid to fly with Don. For the life of me, this doesn't sit right with me."^[960]

Yet Clint Boehler, a former FAA inspector, discounts that notion. "That was an accident waiting to happen," said Boehler. "He didn't have an instrument rating, and he went out into adverse conditions. One of the classic symptoms of what's called stall-spin accidents, is people who are in limited visibility or full IFR, meaning they can't see the propeller in front of their face. And, they're not current or trained or in some way up to speed on their operation. And they'll get into some particular mode of flight, particularly a climb, and their body and mind tells them their not doing what their instruments say they're doing, and they tend to react to that. And the results is sometime they stall the airplane, and not necessarily spin it, but what it then does is it rolls over to one side and begins a very tight, steep spiral that is gaining speed all the way down. And if they ever do come out of the clouds or obscuration or whatever it is, often they see the ground at low altitude and they pull back on the wheel and overstress the airplane as it hits the ground. And this is not an uncommon thing. Its called spatial disorientation followed by the graveyard spiral. And I can cite numerous examples of that. There was a local doc here went out west some time ago — went out in a 210 — and had the same scenario exactly."^[961]

Yet Boehler is incorrect. The doctor did in fact have an instrument rating, and was an experienced pilot, having logged over 600 hours of flying time.

Did Dr. Don Chumley crash on the evening of September 25th due to bad weather? Did he commit suicide due to his grief over what he saw on the morning of April 19th. Or was Don Chumley murdered?

The *Daily Oklahoman* article described how he had cried in front of his friend Jim Taylor on the day of the bombing, after tagging seven babies, and was not satisfied he had done all he could, even after helping to organize a fund-raiser for the victims.

It was also rumored that Chumley was about to go public with some damning information. According to a local journalist who has investigated the bombing, Chumley was asked to bandage two federal agents who falsely claimed to have been trapped in the building morning. Since the pair was obviously not hurt, Chumley refused. When the agents petitioned another doctor at the scene, Chumley intervened, threatening to report them.

Chumley's crash is reminiscent of that of Dr. Ronald Rogers, whose plane went down on March 3, 1994 near Lawson, Oklahoma in good weather. Clinton's former dentist, Rogers was on his way to be interviewed by Ambrose Evans-Pritchard of the *London Sunday Telegraph*, where he intended to reveal evidence of Clinton's alleged cocaine use.

He never made it.

Like Rogers, Hershel Friday, a "top-notch pilot," died in the crash of his small plane only two days earlier during a light drizzle at his private airstrip. Friday had been a member of Clinton's presidential campaign finance committee, and was a close associate of C. Victor Raiser, another member of Clinton's presidential campaign, who died in a suspicious plane crash two years earlier.^[962]

In fact, the list of those who had potentially damning evidence on everything from the Kennedy assassination to Clinton's improprieties is a long one and sordid one, stretching to hundreds of names and spanning at least three decades.

A few years after the Kennedy assassination, a disgruntled CIA official was on his way to Chicago to inform a journalist of the CIA's complicity in the murder. His plane exploded and fell into Lake Michigan.

Another well-known crash was that of Gary Caradori, a private investigator who was hot on the trail of a pediophile ring being run by Larry King and other prominent businessmen and politicians in Omaha, Nebraska.

Caradori and his eight-year-old son Andrew died when their plane crashed in July of 1990. Caradori radioed that his compass was swinging wildly just before he went down. Moments later, the plane went into a steep dive from which it never recovered.^[963]

What is interesting is that only several days earlier, the courageous investigator had informed a friend that he had obtained evidence which threatened to break the case wide open. Among those implicated in the child pornography ring was none other than George Bush.

Like Caradori, Rogers, and numerous other whistle-blowers, Don Chumley had evidently learned of the government's hastily planned cover-up surrounding the Oklahoma City bombing.

Had he, like so many others, made the fateful decision to go public?

Glenn Wilburn, who lost his grandsons Chase and Colton in the bombing, was one of the very first to go public. A staunch opponent of the government's case, Wilburn had teamed up with reporter J.D. Cash and State Representative Charles Key to investigate the crime.

Key and Wilburn petitioned for the County Grand Jury investigation. Wilburn worked tirelessly to investigate the truth about what really happened that fateful morning, and his evidence was proving more and more embarrassing to authorities.

About a year after he began his investigation, Wilburn, 46, came down with a sudden case of pancreatic cancer. Initially recovering after surgery, he died on July 15, 1997, the day after the County Grand Jury which he convened began hearing evidence.

Three weeks later, on August 5, Assistant U.S. Attorney Ted Richardson was found in a church parking lot with a shotgun wound to the chest. The Medical Examiner's report stated: "No powder residue is apparent, either on the external aspect of the wound or in the shirt." An interesting observation considering Richardson had allegedly pushed a shotgun up to his chest and pulled the trigger.^[964]

The death was ruled a "suicide."^[965]

Yet the circumstances seemed to concur. Richardson had been depressed. He had been seeing a psychiatrist and was on Prozac. He once told a hunting buddy he "felt like ending it all."^[966]

One sunny morning, Richardson rose, fed his two dogs, got in his car, drove to a church near his house, pulled out a shotgun and shot himself through the heart.

He left no note.

Was Ted Richardson depressed enough to kill himself? And if so, why? The 49-year-old father of two had a happy marriage, and adored his 8-year-old son.

The two weeks he took off of work due to unexplained "pressures" may provide a clue. Richardson was the bombing and arson specialist for the Western District of Oklahoma. He was inexplicably transferred to the bank robbery detail after the bombing — an area in which he had no expertise. As his brother Dan explained, "Ted should have gotten the bombing case."^[967]

Instead, the case was given to Joseph Hartzler.

Friends described Richardson as "one of the few good guys," and a man with a "strong sense of conscious."^[968] It is uncertain if the same can be said of Hartzler. Given the Federal Government's conduct in this case, such labels might tend to render a man such as Richardson a piranha.

Interestingly, Richardson was the U.S. Attorney who prosecuted Sam Khalid in 1990 for insurance fraud. It was rumored that he was looking into Khalid's suspicious activities subsequent to the bombing, and was about to bring charges.

He decided to kill himself instead.

Is it a coincidence these individuals, who had witnessed events on April 19, or had been vocal opponents of the government's case, had died?

"Out of roughly 5,000 of us who were originally involved in Iran-Contra," said Al Martin, "approximately 400, since 1986, have committed suicide, died accidentally or died of natural causes. In over half those deaths, official death certificates were never issued. In 187 circumstances, the bodies were cremated before the families were notified."^[969]

Craig Roberts and John Armstrong, who investigated a similar spate of suspicious deaths for their book, *JFK: The Dead Witnesses*, revealed that most of the deaths peaked in the months leading up to one of the investigations, with the deaths often coming days or even hours before the person was supposed to testify.

In the three years following the Kennedy assassination, 18 material witnesses perished. In the time period leading up to 1979, when the last of the Kennedy investigations ended, over 100 witnesses had died. Interestingly, most of the deaths coincided with one of the four main investigations: The Warren Commission (1964-65); the Jim Garrison investigation (1965-69); the Senate Committee investigation (1974-76); and the House Committee on Assassinations investigation (1976-79).

Naturally, the CIA had an answer for these mysterious deaths. In a 1967 departmental memo, a CIA officer wrote:

Such vague accusations as that more than 10 people have died mysteriously can always be explained in some rational way: e.g., the individuals concerned have for the most part died of natural causes; the [Warren] Commission staff questioned 418 witnesses — the FBI interviewed far more people, conducting 25,000 interviews and re interviews — and in such a large group, a certain number of deaths are to be expected.

Yet Roberts and Armstrong correctly note that if the CIA were not involved in any of the deaths, why was such a memo disseminated?

Then, to add further fuel to the fire, CIA technicians testified before the Senate Committee (Church Committee) in 1975 that a variety of Termination with Extreme Prejudice [TWEPP] weapons had been used throughout the years, and many were chosen because they left no postmortem residue.

In one particular memo, the author states:

You will recall that I mentioned that the local circumstances under which a given means might be used might suggest the technique to be used in that case. I think the gross divisions in presenting this subject might be:

- (1) bodies left with no hope of the cause of death being determined by the most complete autopsy and chemical examination;
- (2) bodies left in such circumstances as to simulate accidental death;
- (3) bodies left in such circumstances as to simulate accidental death;
- (4) bodies left with residue that simulate those caused by natural death...

Regarding deaths that could be simulated to appear as "natural causes," the various assassination experts within the intelligence communities of the world knew quite well of the effects of such chemical agents as sodium morphate, which caused heart attacks; thyon phosphate, which is a solution that can suspend sodium morphate and provide a vehicle to penetrate the surface of the skin with the chemical (which is used to coat something the victim might touch); and beryllium, which is an extremely toxic element that causes cancer and fibrotic tumors.^[970]

As the daughter of a CIA contract agent who worked with Oliver North told me: "They eliminated my father, and I know what they do in the Agency. I know how they work as far as the Mafia goes.... They have no scruples. And they don't go by any law but their own. There is no conscious to these people; the end justifies the means.... They will shut anybody up that they possibly can. They're amazing. And they will go through anything to make you look crazy, to make you appear to be a liar....

"And they go into these operations, and they run amok. They run amok. And then when it gets carried away or there's a leak, here comes the damage control, and you have to make everybody else appear like they're crazy. I mean people out there drop like flies. How many people can commit suicide for God's sake. How many people can be handcuffed behind their back, and they can call it suicide because they were shot in the head?"^[971]

Tip of the Iceberg

"Justice can kill or thwart any investigation at will, and it does so on a regular basis." - Former U.S. Senate investigator

"[Justice] has been engaged in sharp practices since the earliest days and remains a fecund source of oppression and corruption today. It is hard to recall an administration in which it was not the center of grave scandal.

- Publisher and scholar H.L. Mencken

As an experienced investigator once said, "A cover-up often proves the crime, and lifts the identities of the perpetrators into relief."

In this case, those covering up the Oklahoma City bombing appeared to be the Federal Government itself. Law-enforcement officials, including those at the local level, lied about their foreknowledge of the attack. They rushed to destroy all forensic evidence of the site. They ignored dozens of credible witnesses and intimidated others. They organized a media smear campaign against anyone who threatened to reveal the truth. And they murdered those with critical knowledge of the facts who had tried to come forward.^[972]

Ironically, the letters "FBI" stand for "Fidelity, Bravery, and Integrity." A more appropriate definition might be "Federal Bureau of Intimidation." As will be outlined in Volume Two, the FBI is guilty of an whole litany of crimes, ranging from obstruction of justice to outright murder.

It might be interesting to note that the FBI's current director, Louis Freeh, rose to his position on the victory of the Leroy Moody case. Freeh's chief witness, Ted Banks, later told an appeals court that Freeh threatened him into testifying against Moody. Banks was subsequently sentenced to 44 months in prison for "perjury."

For his part, Freeh was promoted to FBI Director, where he drew around him such figures as Tom Thurman, Roger Martz, and Larry Potts, who led the murderous debacles at Waco and Ruby Ridge.

Freeh placed Potts in charge of the "investigation" in Oklahoma City.^[973]

Overseeing the FBI is the Department of Justice (DoJ), undoubtedly the most misnamed federal agency ever created. While purporting to be a law-enforcement body independent of the legislative and executive branches, in reality it is little more than a political tool utilized by corrupt leaders to cover up high crimes and intimidate and imprison whistle-blowers.^[974]

Janet Reno, the current Attorney General, rose to her position on a wave of highly dubious child abuse cases, where the only abuse, it appeared, was fostered by Reno herself.

In 1984, Reno, then Dade County District Attorney, prosecuted Ileana Fuster, a 17-year-old newlywed who helped her husband Frank by operating a day-care out of their home. To illicit the required confession from Ileana, Reno had her locked away in a solitary confinement. Stephen Dinerstein, a private investigator employed by the Fuster's attorneys wrote in his report that the formerly bright, attractive 17-year-old:

...appeared as if she was 50 years old. Her skin was drawn from a large loss of weight.... She had sores and infections on her skin and states that no sanitary conditions exist or are provided, that the shower, when received, is a hosing down in the cell. That she is in a cell with nothing in it but a light in the ceiling and that she is often kept nude and in view of everybody and anybody." [Dinerstein also noted that Ileana had become] a constantly crying, shaking, tormented person who understands little if anything about the whole process and is now being threatened and promised and is totally in a state of confusion to the point of not having the slightest idea as to month and date.... Mrs. Fuster's condition has deteriorated so badly she could hardly move and was very slow to respond to any questions. When asked if Mr. Van Zamft (her attorney) was present, she could not even recall, but said simply that the woman State Attorney (Reno) was very big and very scary and made suggestions as to problems that would arise if she didn't cooperate.

After almost a year kept in this deplorable condition, including visits by Reno to coerce her, and visits by psychiatrists to get her to confess, Ileana cracked, "confessing" to a whole legion of imaginary acts.

After serving three out of a ten year sentence, she was deported to Honduras, where her mind now clear, she immediately recanted her confession.

Only days before she was scheduled to retestify via satellite (the DA's office threatened to charge her with "perjury" if she returned), she retracted her retraction in a letter to the *Miami Herald*. Rosenthal believes she was threatened.^{[975][976]}

Several weeks after Janet Reno was sworn in as Attorney General, she authorized a plan to flood the church at Waco (containing women and children) with tear gas and ram it with battle tanks, based on allegations of "child abuse."

A 1988 Amnesty International report claimed that "CS gas contributed to or caused the deaths of more than 40 Palestinians — including 18 babies under 6 months of age — who had been exposed to tear gas in enclosed spaces."^[977] Reno's latest attempt to "save the children" resulted in the deaths of 86 people, including 25 children.

As for the allegations of child abuse, both the County Sheriff and the Texas Welfare Department, who were two of the first to interview Davidian children, indicated that there was no signs of abuse. The FBI later acknowledged their own reports to be false.^[978]

Representative James Traficant (D-OH) summed up the situation at "Justice" when he wrote to members of Congress on April 15, 1997:

There have been numerous case of prosecutorial misconduct, fraud and outright murder on the part of Justice Department personnel that

have gone largely unpunished. The American people expect the Justice Department, more than any other federal agency, to be beyond reproach when it comes to ethics and responsible behavior. Something is seriously wrong in our democracy if criminal and unethical behavior at the nation's top law enforcement agency goes unpunished. [\[979\]](#)

The crimes Trafficant's speaking of are legion. The scandals covered up by corrupt DoJ officials are endless. The cases of individuals who have been singled out for prosecution by the so-called "Justice" Department would fill volumes.

Probably the most infamous case of DoJ corruption in modern history is the Inslaw affair, where DoJ officials conspired to steal software from the small computer company, defraud them out of payments, then force them into bankruptcy. The Inslaw case provides a perfect example of how the DoJ regularly lies, destroys evidence, selectively prosecutes people, obstructs Congressional investigations, and murders those who threaten to reveal their wrongdoing.

In 1982, the DoJ signed a \$10 million contract with Inslaw to install an enhanced version of their PROMIS (Prosecutors Management Information System) software in 42 U.S. Attorneys offices. Inslaw completed the project, but was never paid for their services. Heavily in debt, they had no choice but to file for bankruptcy.

It seemed that a rival firm named Hadron, had attempted to purchase PROMIS from Inslaw. "We have ways of making you sell," said CEO Dominic Laiti, who warned Inslaw owner Bill Hamilton that Hadron was connected to Attorney General Edwin Meese. Both Meese and his close friend, Earl Brian, had financial interests in Hadron.

After the DoJ refused to pay Inslaw, Meese handed the software over to his crony Brian, who had CIA contract agent Michael Riconosciuto reconfigure the program with a special "trap door," allowing U.S. intelligence agencies to monitor and manipulate accounts of banks and intelligence agencies who subsequently purchased the program. The profits, of course, went to Brian and his cronies at the DoJ. [\[980\]](#)

When Inslaw attempted to sue the DoJ, their attorney was threatened and dismissed from his firm. [\[981\]](#) In spite of the stonewalling and harassment, Inslaw eventually won their case. Judge George Bason, ruling in favor of the company, wrote:

[DoJ officials] took, converted, stole, [the plaintiff's property] by trickery, fraud and deceit. [They made] an institutional decision... at the highest level simply to ignore serious questions of ethical impropriety, made repeatedly by persons of unquestioned probity and integrity, and this failure constitutes bad faith, vexatiousness, [a] fraudulent game of cat and mouse, demonstrating contempt for both the law and any principle of fair dealing. [\[982\]](#)

After Judge Bason ordered the DoJ to pay Inslaw \$6.8 million in licensing fees and roughly another \$1 million in legal fees, he suddenly discovered that he was not being reappointed to the bench. [\[983\]](#)

The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, chaired by Senator Sam Nunn, agreed wholeheartedly with Judge Bason. Yet the committee's efforts to probe the Inslaw scandal were blocked by the DoJ, who refused to allow their personnel to testify under oath. The Senate report stated that it had found employees "who desired to speak to the subcommittee, but who chose not to, out of fear for their jobs." [\[984\]](#)

Said a former Congressional investigator who dealt with the Justice Department for 15 years, "I've got to tell you, the bottom line is that the DoJ as presently constituted is a totally dishonest organization, riddled with political fixes. They know how to write the memo, how to make the phone call, how to deny access to Congress. The game over there is fixed."

The stonewalling by the DoJ during the Inslaw investigations paralleled that of the Oklahoma City bombing, where defense attorneys encountered continuous denials in their requests for discovery. The stonewalling of the Inslaw investigation, stated the Congressional report, included, "restrictions, delays, and outright denials to requests for information... obstructed access to records and witnesses, [and] the "illegal shredding of documents."

Yet the committee did nothing to punish those responsible, merely recommending that the DoJ request the Court of Appeals to appoint an "independent" prosecutor. While Attorney General William Barr initially refused, he eventually succumbed to media pressure, appointing one of his old DoJ cronies, Nicholas Bua, to "investigate" the matter. Bua impaneled a Federal Grand Jury. But, as in the Oklahoma City case, the prosecuting attorney, Bua's law partner Charles Knight, manipulated and controlled the witnesses. When the jury began giving credence to the allegations against DoJ, Bua quickly dismissed the jury and impaneled another one. [\[985\]](#)

Not surprisingly, one of Bua's chief investigators was none other than Joseph Hartzler. In a letter Hartzler wrote to Assistant Associate Attorney General John Dwire in October of 1994, the noble government prosecutor states:

I applaud your efforts and especially your conclusions. To paraphrase Theodore Roosevelt, we spent ourselves on a worthy cause.... [\[986\]](#)

Hartzler's next "worthy cause" would be to serve as lead prosecutor in the Oklahoma City bombing case, assisting the DoJ in one of the largest cover-ups of the 20th Century.

"I don't understand where they found him or why they chose him," says Michael Deutsch, who as an attorney in Chicago defended a Puerto Rican terrorist in a 1985 bombing case prosecuted by Hartzler, a successful prosecution that is often cited as one of the reasons Hartzler got the Oklahoma City job....^[987]

Deutsch is referring to the prosecution of four Las Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion National Puertorriqueo (FALN) members, a Puerto Rican nationalist group which the government claimed was responsible for more than 100 bombings or attempted bombings since 1970. The defense of the FALN paralleled that of the Oklahoma City bombing defendants, with crucial evidence being withheld — evidence that would have implicated the FBI and ATF in COINTELPRO-style illegal activities directed against the Chicano and Puerto Rican Movements. The judge in the FALN case, Federal District Judge George Leighton, has reported connections to the CIA.^[988]

Yet Hartzler claimed he volunteered for the role of lead prosecutor. Whether or not that is true, Hartzler, a wheelchair-bound multiple sclerosis victim, is the perfect choice — a man able to pander to the sympathies of a jury already overwhelmed by images of dead and handicapped victims. This astute observation was made obvious by none other than *Newsweek*, which wrote: "Some suggested that a wheelchair-bound prosecutor would appeal to a jury in a case with so many maimed victims...."^[989]

As the *Legal Times* observed:

Having a lead prosecutor who maneuvers around the courtroom in a motorized scooter, some say, is a good tactic for gaining sympathy with a jury — especially in a case where more than 500 people were injured.^[990]

"Others saw a malleable personality easily micromanaged by superiors in Washington," added *Newsweek*. A rather candid observation in a case where "micromanaging" is key.

"I don't think that Joe is in charge of the prosecution team," said Stephen Jones. "The shots are called by [Deputy Attorney General] Jamie Gorelick and [her top aide] Merrick Garland."

Justice Department officials scoff at such a notion, pointing out that they are too far away and too busy to micro-manage the trial team. Hartzler, they say, is firmly in charge....^[991]

Interestingly, Hartzler was chief of both the civil and criminal division of the Chicago U.S. Attorney's office during his 10-year term, a jurisdiction not unknown for its share of corruption-ridden scandals.

His assistant, Scott Mendeloff, was accused by Sherman Skolnick of the Chicago-based Citizens' Committee to Clean Up the Courts of covering up the murder of Wallace Lieberman, a Chicago Federal Bankruptcy Court official ready to finger several judges for bribery.

"The assassination of Lieberman, as Mendeloff knew, was tied to the corrupt activities of First National Bank of Cicero, a Mafia/CIA laundry," writes Skolnick.^[992]

Naturally, Hartzler doesn't see any corruption in Oklahoma. "I am 100 percent confident that when this case is resolved, everyone will think that complete and fair due process was obtained by the defendants," Hartzler told the *American Bar Association Journal*.

To facilitate this "complete and fair due process," the DoJ transferred Assistant U.S. Attorney Ted Richardson from his position as chief bombing and arson prosecutor for the Western District of Oklahoma to the bank robbery detail (where he had no experience). As previously noted, Richardson was the U.S. Attorney who prosecuted Sam Khalid for insurance fraud. It was rumored that Richardson, who friends claim had a "very strong sense of conscious," was looking into Khalid's subsequent activities. On August 5, 1997, Richardson "committed suicide."^[993]

As previously noted, the number of suspicious deaths skyrocketed in the 1980s, as the government attempted to cover up an increasing pattern of fraudulent and illegal activities.

Even reporters weren't exempt from the DoJ hit-list. On August 10, 1991 reporter Danny Casolaro, who had been investigating the Inslaw scandal and a related web of corruption he called "The Octopus," was found dead in his Martinsburg, West Virginia hotel room. Casolaro was there to meet with a witness who was supposed to provide the key link between the DoJ and Inslaw.

Like Sergeant Yeakey, Casolaro's wrists were slashed numerous times. Like Yeakey, his notes and briefcase were missing. And like Yeakey, the death was immediately ruled a suicide by police, who made no attempt to contact Casolaro's family before ordering an immediate and unprecedented embalming of the body. A team of contract cleaners was brought in to scour clean the hotel room from top to bottom, eliminating all forensic evidence.

The death of Casolaro led to an investigation by the Congressional Subcommittee on Economic and Commercial Law, headed by Representative Jack Brooks (D-Texas). The report stated:

Instead of conducting an investigation into Inslaw's claims that criminal wrongdoing by high level government officials had occurred, Attorney Generals Meese and Thornburgh blocked or restricted Congressional inquiries into the matter, ignored the findings of two courts and refused to ask for the appointment of an independent counsel. These actions were taken in the face of a growing body of evidence that serious wrongdoing had occurred which reached to the highest levels of the Department. The evidence received by the committee during its investigation clearly raises serious concerns about the possibility that a high level conspiracy against Inslaw did exist and that great efforts have been expended by the Department to block any outside investigation into the matter.

The DoJ also prosecuted a key witness in the Inslaw case, Michael Riconosciuto, who was set up on phony drug charges to prevent him from testifying. The Congressional committee probing the matter noted:

[A DEA agent] reassignment in 1990 to a DEA intelligence position in the State of Washington, prior to Michael Riconosciuto's March 1991 arrest there on drug charges, was more than coincidental... The agent was assigned to Riconosciuto's home state to manufacture a case against him. Mr. Coleman stated he believes this was done to prevent Mr. Riconosciuto from becoming a credible witness concerning the U. S. government's covert sale of PROMIS to foreign governments.^[994]

Another example of selective prosecution on behalf of DoJ is Juval Aviv, owner of the investigative firm Interfor. A former Israeli intelligence agent, Aviv was hired to look into the 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. His report was directly at odds with the government's "official" conclusions — that two Libyan terrorists were responsible for the bombing. Aviv discovered that not only had U.S. officials been specifically warned of the ensuing attack, but may have had direct complicity in the murder of 270 people.

For his embarrassing disclosures, Aviv was targeted for prosecution, and investigated by the very same FBI agents who "investigated" the Pan Am case. To punish Aviv, DoJ fabricated evidence that Interfor had defrauded G.E. Capital Corporation, a client who was completely satisfied with Interfor's work, and hadn't even filed a complaint against the firm.

Nevertheless, in 1995, the DoJ indicted Aviv on three counts of defrauding G.E. — charges for which he was unanimously acquitted. In his ruling opinion, the judge wrote:

The chronology of the investigation, the fact that it is resulting from no external complaint whatsoever but simply internally within the FBI as far as any witness has testified, leads to an inference that it was generated from some other sources, and the only source in the record so far for which any such purpose could be ascribed is the report in the other case, in the Lockerbie case.

Yet DoJ wasn't finished with Aviv. They canceled their contract with Interfor and began a systematic campaign to intimidate his clients. Interfor was financially devastated. The U.S. government, through the DoJ, believed that by intimidating people such as Juval Aviv, they could prevent public knowledge of their complicity in the murder of 270 innocent people.

As in Oklahoma City, witnesses who knew too much about Pan Am 103, or those who possessed politically inconvenient facts, were intimidated. Five years on, volunteers and policemen who participated in the search remained recalcitrant — most so those who had searched the area where the heroin was found.

The "Justice" Department also brutally attacked Pan Am's lawyers, attempting to sanction them with huge fines for daring to challenge the government's case.

The government went after Allan Francovitch, producer of the award-winning documentary on Pan Am 103, *The Maltese Double Cross*, which was due to premiere at the 1994 London Film Festival. Strangely, for the first time in its 38 year history, the festival pulled the film at the last minute.^[995]

Suspiciously, a few weeks after the film previewed at London's alternative Angle Gallery, it suffered a major fire.

One day before the film was to air on Channel 4, both the Scottish Crown Office and the U.S. Embassy sent every national and Scottish newspaper a press pack smearing four of the film's interviewers.^[996]

Within days of film being broadcast, Juval Aviv was indicted on fraud charges. His attorney, Gerald Shargel, applied for a dismissal on the grounds of selective prosecution. Even the judge was forced to condemn the prosecution's arguments as "pathetic" and "dishonest."^[997]

Allan Francovitch wasn't so lucky. Within minutes of arriving in the United States to testify at Aviv's trial, he was detained by Customs agents in a private interrogation room, and dropped dead on the spot. All evidence and documents in Francovitch's brief case were found "missing" from the scene. Francovitch had been working on three other documentaries at the time, including a devastating exposé of the U.S. atrocities in Panama.

For his role in revealing the truth, former DIA agent Lester Coleman would be arrested on fabricated passport charges and forced to seek asylum with his family in Sweden.

In Oklahoma, ATF informant Carol Howe would be arrested on trumped up charges and forced to take refuge inside a jail cell, her testimony

of the bombing blocked from even her own trial.^[998]

While reporter Danny Casolaro was murdered investigating matters related to Inslaw and BCCI, he was also checking on a lead provided to him by Lester Coleman.

Curiously, Pan Am has never been able to review those documents which the government claims would merely show its "innocence." Like so many other heinous crimes, the government sought to hide its wrongdoing under the catch-all of "national security." The government, claiming it had nothing to hide, conspired with Federal Judge Thomas Platt to deny Pan Am's discovery requests on the grounds of "national security." As Pan Am's lawyer, James Shaughnessy, wrote in opposition to the government's motion to dismiss the company's third party liability suit:

The government has fought strenuously and successfully for three years to prevent any discovery of it... Now, the government seeks millions of dollars of sanctions to punish and bankrupt my firm and me for having the temerity not only to assert claims against the government but also for even seeking discovery from the government....

The government condemns as sanctionable any view of the facts that differs from its own. In effect, what the government condemns is defendants' refusal to blindly adopt its version of the facts despite the government's refusal to produce the evidence from which defendants could have determined whether the government's version of the facts was correct....

The government expects this blind trust even though we had information from multiple sources that conflicted with the government's sweeping assertions and that suggested the government was responsible for the failure to prevent the bombing....

Seven years later, the DoJ and FBI would ask the victims in Oklahoma City for this same blind trust — lying about their prior knowledge of the attack. Lying about the number of bombs found. Lying about the APB put out on the brown pick-up. Lying about the presence of other suspects. Ignoring witnesses who saw those suspects and trying to get them to change their stories. Tapping people's phones and exhorting them into not talking to the press and defense investigators. And intimidating several witnesses into silence.

In their attempt to frame ATF informant Carol Howe on phony explosives charges, the government was unsuccessful. In his closing argument, Howe's attorney Clark Brewster waved his arms and passionately announced to the jury, "there was no bomb threat here, the only threat here is what the government can do to people when they don't like what you say or what you might say...."

Howe was acquitted.

Many others wouldn't be so fortunate.

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The Connection

"It's a total conspiracy. It has government written all over it."
— Tom Posey, Civilian Military Assistance Group/Iran-Contra Player

April 19, 1995 was, like November 22, 1963, a day that devastated America. Stunned citizens everywhere watched anxiously as another painful drama unfolded before them.

Within minutes of the brutal attack on Oklahoma City, an army of agencies leapt into action. In the White House Situation Room the atmosphere was tense as officials from the National Security Council, the Secret Service, the FBI, ATF, NSA, and CIA all assembled to brief the President.

This crisis team, led by the Justice Department, linked up to command centers around the globe, monitored by a plethora of intelligence agencies on extra-high alert. The FBI, the CIA's Directorate of Operations and their domestic arm, the National Resources Division, sent agents hither and yonder in a frantic and desperate search for information concerning the catastrophic attack.

In a quiet Maryland suburb, one former CIA official sat back and calmly monitored the ensuing chaos. He picked up his pipe, casually adjusted the volume on his television, and leaned back in his comfortable leather chair.

Two thousand miles away in Albuquerque, D'Ferdinand Carone, the daughter of former police detective, CIA operative, and Mafia bag-man, "Big Al" Carone, picked up the telephone and dialed a very private number.

A half a continent away, the former CIA Deputy Director of Covert Operations tapped the contents of his pipe into an ashtray, hit the mute button on his remote control, and answered the phone.

Carone had been trying to reach Theodore Shackley for over two weeks. As they talked, her attention was suddenly diverted by a horrible scene. What appeared to be an office building lay smoldering in ruins. People and sirens were screaming in the background as bodies were carted away by ambulance.

"I said, 'oh my God, they bombed Oklahoma!'"

"This was about the time they were talking about the plane they stopped in Heathrow [with Abraham Ahmed], and I said, 'here we go again.'"

Carone was referring of course to the World Trade Center bombing by a group of Mid-East terrorists. She assumed that this was more of the same.

"And Ted said, 'Now wouldn't you find it interesting if you found out it was terrorists from here?'"

"I said, 'excuse me?'"

"And he said, 'just what I said.'"

"Then it hit me like a ton of bricks. I got the distinct feeling that he knew who it was, and that it actually had something to do with the Agency."^[999]

While scores of intelligence and law-enforcement agencies scoured the globe for clues as to who had bombed the Alfred P. Murrah Building, one man in a small office in Maryland seemed to have the answer.^[1000]

How did he know?

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Lockerbie — A Parallel

"The covert operators that I ran with would blow up a 747 with 300 people to kill one person. They are total sociopaths with no conscience whatsoever."

— Former Pentagon CID Investigator Gene Wheaton

On December 21, 1988, in the tiny town of Lockerbie, Scotland, 270 lives came to a traumatic and fiery end when Pan Am flight 103 was blown out of the skies. Two hundred and fifty-nine people plunged to their deaths, and 11 more died on the ground.

Several minutes before flight 103 took off from London's Heathrow airport, FBI Assistant Director Oliver "Buck" Revell rushed out to the tarmac and pulled his son and daughter-in-law off the plane. [\[1001\]](#)

How did he know?

Perhaps Revell's intimate knowledge derived from his relationship with Lt. Colonel Oliver North. In March of 1986, North advised Attorney General Edwin Meese to head off the FBI's ensuing investigation into Iran-Contra. Meese informed Revell. Consequently, North managed to keep abreast of the FBI's investigation by conveniently receiving copies of all FBI files. [\[1002\]](#)

Widely known for his inestimable and illegal support of the Contras, North (along with General Richard Secord and Iranian Albert Hakim) was a business associate of Syrian arms and drug runner Monzer al-Kassar. For his role in shipping Polish arms to North's mercenary army, al-Kassar became the recipient of North's undying gratitude [and laundered drug proceeds]. [\[1003\]](#)

Like so many criminals, drug-dealers, and mass-murderers the CIA had cozied up to over the years, al-Kassar enjoyed the highly valued status of CIA "asset."

Al-Kassar was also closely aligned with Rifat Assad, brother of Syrian dictator Hafez Assad. Assad's daughter Raja was Kassar's mistress, and had once been married to Abu Abbas, a colleague of the notorious terrorist Abu Nidal. Rifat himself was married to the sister of Ali Issa Dubah, chief of Syrian intelligence, who, along with the Syrian army, controlled most of the opium production in Lebanon's Bekka Valley. The drug profits financed various terrorist groups, including the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), run by former Syrian army officer Ahmed Jibril. [\[1004\]](#)

Al-Kassar also acted as middleman in the ransom paid by the French to effect the release of two hostages held in Beirut. Given his assistance in securing the release of those hostages, the CIA believed al-Kassar would prove invaluable in negotiating the release of the six American hostages then being held in Lebanon. [\[1005\]](#)

In return for this favor, al-Kassar's drug pipeline to the United States would be protected by the CIA. This would not prove difficult, as the DEA was already using Pan Am flights out of Frankfurt, Germany for "controlled delivery" shipments of heroin. Realizing they couldn't halt the flow of drugs coming out of Lebanon, the DEA utilized the controlled shipments, escorted through customs by DEA couriers, as part of a sting operation, with the intention of catching the dealers in the U.S. [\[1006\]](#)

Negotiation with individuals like Monzer al-Kassar had only one drawback: al-Kassar was closely linked, not only with the terrorist-sponsoring Syrian government, but with groups such as Ahmed Jibril's PFLP-GC. Jibril, was also aligned with the Iranian-backed Hezbollah, which had a somewhat different agenda than al-Kassar.

On July 3, 1988, less than six months before the Pan Am 103 bombing, the U.S.S. Vincennes shot down an Iranian airliner over the Straits of Hormuz, killing all 290 people on board. Assuming the plane was a hostile craft, the captain of the Vincennes, Will Rodgers III, gave the command to fire.

While the people of Iran grieved, the officer responsible for the fatal mistake was awarded a medal. [\[1007\]](#)†

Under Islamic law, the crime had to be avenged. As Juval Aviv of Interfor stated in his report, "It was known at the time that the contract was out to down an American airliner."

That contract — \$10 million dollars — was given to Ahmed Jibril.^[1008] Jibril had already established a base of operations in Neuss, Germany, not far from Frankfurt. Central to his cell was one Marwan Abdel Razzack Khreeshat. Khreeshat's specialty was in building small, sophisticated bombs incorporating timing mechanisms capable of detonating at pre-determined altitudes.

By mid-October 1988, Jibril was ready. Khreeshat had assembled five bombs, built into Toshiba radio-cassette players. However, the German police were watching Khreeshat. On October 26, Khreeshat and 14 other PFLP-GC suspects were rounded up in an operation code-named "Autumn Leaves." One of the bombs was seized. Yet four more remained at large.

While in custody, Khreeshat demanded to make a phone call, then refused to answer any questions. Within hours, he was mysteriously released.^[1009]

The incident is strikingly similar to the arrest of "neo-Nazi terrorist" Andreas Strassmeir on traffic charges in February of 1992. "Boy, we caught hell over that one," recalled tow-truck driver, Kenny Pence. "The phone calls came in from the State Department, the Governor's office, and someone called and said he had diplomatic immunity...."^[1010]

Similar calls were made on behalf of Khreeshat. Former CIA agent Oswald Le Winter, who investigated the case, stated, "...pressure had come from Bonn... from the U.S. Embassy in Bonn... to release Khreeshat."

It seems that both Strassmeir and Khreeshat were operatives of U.S. intelligence. "I had spoken to a German reporter who refuses to go on camera," adds Le Winter, "but who is very close to federal intelligence sources in Germany, who assured me that Khreeshat was an agent of the Jordanian service, and an asset of the Central Intelligence Agency."^[1011]

Given the close relationship between the Jordanians and the CIA, this is not surprising. Yet it appeared Khreeshat wasn't only reporting to the Jordanians and the Americans; he was also reporting to Ahmed Jibril.

Two months before the bombing, Jibril and al-Kassar were spotted by a Mossad agent dining at a Lebanese restaurant in Paris. Jibril was hoping to use al-Kassar's controlled drug shipments through Frankfurt to effect the delivery of a bomb. The problem: how to protect the drug shipments while at the same time extract revenge on the Americans? Al-Kassar preferred the former option, but, due to political pressure, he grudgingly agreed to the latter.

While a CIA team in Wiesbaden, code-named "COREA," was negotiating its secret deal with al-Kassar for release of the hostages (and protecting his drug route), a second team, led by Major Charles McKee of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), and Matthew Gannon, the CIA's Deputy Station Chief in Beirut, had traveled to Lebanon to assess the odds for a military-style rescue operation.^[1012]

According to Aviv's report, McKee's team had, while reconnoitering for the release of the hostages, stumbled onto the first team's illegal drug operation. McKee refused to participate. When he and Gannon contacted their control in Washington, they received no reply. Against orders, they decided to fly home to blow the whistle. According to Aviv:

They had communicated back to Langley the facts and names, and reported their film of the hostage locations. CIA did nothing. No reply. The team was outraged, believing that its rescue and their lives would be endangered by the double dealing.

By mid-December the team became frustrated and angry and made plans to return to the U.S. with their photos and evidence to inform the government, and to publicize their findings if the government covered up.

They never arrived. That night, Pan Am flight 103 was blown out of the skies.

Was the death of McKee, Gannon, and five others on their team an unfortunate coincidence, or did someone want to ensure that they didn't reveal the carefully guarded secrets of the Octopus?^{[1013][1014]}

Given the ample and specific warnings received by the U.S. Government from the BKA, the Mossad, and a Palestinian informant named Samra Mahayoun, it would seem the latter.^[1015]

Whatever the case, it is indisputable that U.S. authorities were warned of the attack, and failed to stop it.

Was their failure deliberate?

"Do I think the CIA was involved?" asked a government Mideast Intelligence specialist quoted in the financial weekly, *Barron's*. "Of course they were involved. And they screwed up. Was the operation planned by the top? Probably not. I doubt they sanctioned heroin importation — that came about at the more zealous lower levels. But they knew what was going on and didn't care." The expert added that his agency

has "things that support Aviv's allegation, but we can't prove it. We have no smoking gun. And until the other agencies of the government open their doors, we will have no smoking gun."

The Lockerbie bombing was not the first time authorities were warned in advance of a pending terrorist attack. The situation would repeat itself five years later in New York City, and seven years later in Oklahoma.

It was an all too eerie coincidence.

Typically, U.S. authorities disingenuously denied receiving any warnings, as they would later do in New York and Oklahoma. Yet, as in those cases, evidence of prior knowledge would eventually become known. "It subsequently came to me on further inquiries that they hadn't ignored [the warnings]," said a Pan Am security officer. "A number of VIPs were pulled off that plane. A number of intelligence operatives were pulled off that plane."

Due to the warnings posted in U.S. embassies by the State Department (but not forwarded to Pan Am), many government employees avoided the flight. In fact, the large 747 was only two-thirds full that busy holiday evening. South African president Peter Botha and several high-ranking officials were advised by state security forces to change their reservations at the last hour. The South African State Security forces have a close relationship with the CIA. [\[1016\]](#)

Just as they would do in Oklahoma, government officials promised a complete and thorough investigation. Stated Oliver "Buck" Revell, who headed up the Bureau's investigation: "All of us working on the case made it a very, very personal priority of the first order."

Fronting for the CIA, Vince Cannistraro chimed in: "I had personal friends on that plane who died. And I assure you that I wanted to find the perpetrators of that disaster as much as anyone wanted to."

As in Oklahoma City, this would become the catch-all phrase that would set everything right and prove the government had no involvement. Of course, this would be somewhat difficult in Revell's case, since he pulled his son and daughter-in-law off the plane minutes before it took off. (This was suspiciously reminiscent of the ATF agents who were paged not to come into work on April 19.)

Interestingly, Revell was the FBI's lead investigator in the crash of an Arrow Air DC-8 which exploded on December 12, 1985 in Gander, Newfoundland, with the loss of all 248 personnel. As in Oklahoma City, that site was quickly bulldozed, destroying crucial forensic evidence, with an Army official maintaining a watchful eye at all times. [\[1017\]](#)

Hiding behind the cover-up was the same cast of characters — Oliver North, Duane "Dewy" Clarridge, and Vince Cannistraro — who was North's deputy at the NSC during Iran-Contra, and would later appear in Lockerbie. The same cast of characters that lurked behind the scandals in Nicaragua and Iran, and would appear like ghostly apparitions in the smoldering ruins of Oklahoma City. [\[1018\]](#)

It was also an act that the U.S. Shadow Government, responsible for precipitating, was anxious to cover up. Had the true cause of the crash — North's double-dealing with the Iranians — been revealed, the Iran-Contra scandal would have surfaced two years before it did.

Oliver "Buck" Revell would be on hand to make sure it didn't.

Three years later, in Lockerbie, the government was still claiming it's hands were clean. Yet it vigorously protested Pan Am's attempts to subpoena warning memos and other documents that would have revealed the government's foreknowledge, just as it did in Oklahoma.

Simply stated, the attack on Pan Am 103 was in retaliation for the downing of the Iranian airbus. The reason for targeting Pan Am was simple: the airline was regularly used by al-Kassar's operatives to ferry drugs. It would be a simple matter to switch a suitcase containing drugs for one containing a bomb.

That appears to be just what happened. According to Lester Knox Coleman, III, a former DIA agent in Cyprus seconded to the DEA: "I knew from the conversations around me in '88, that he (Lebanese drug courier Khalid Jaffar) was involved in the controlled deliveries. There's no doubt in my mind about that at all. When I found he was on 103 and was killed, and there was a controlled delivery going through at the time, and I knew the security problems the DEA had, and the relationships they had with the people in Lebanon, with the issues involving security, it was very simple for me to put one and one together and get the big two — that the DEA's operation had a role in all this." [\[1019\]](#)

According to Juval Aviv, the drug suitcase was switched at Frankfurt, where Turkish baggage handlers working for al-Kassar had been regularly switching bags for those containing heroin. [\[1020\]](#) As the Interfor report stated:

On December 21, 1988, a BKA surveillance agent watching the Pan Am flight's loading noticed that the "drug" suitcase substituted was different in make, shape, material and color from that used for all previous drug shipments. This one was a brown Samsonite case. He, like the other BKA agents on the scene, had been extra alert due to all the bomb tips. Within an hour or so before takeoff he phoned in a report as to what he had seen, saying something was very wrong. [\[1021\]](#)

The BKA reported this to the CIA team in Wiesbaden, who, strangely, did not reply. According to Aviv, "[The CIA unit] reported to its control.

*CONTROL REPLIED: DON'T WORRY ABOUT IT, DON'T STOP IT, LET IT GO."**

Apparently, the CIA team "did not want to blow its surveillance operation and undercover penetration or to risk the al-Kassar hostage release operation," wrote Aviv. It seemed the CIA figured the BKA would intercept the terrorists, keeping the CIA out of the picture, thereby maintaining its cover.

Yet this explanation hardly seems credible. The BKA had informed the CIA about the threat — a threat to one of its own planes. They also knew the Americans were running a sensitive undercover operation, and must have assumed the Americans would want to handle the situation themselves.

Moreover, there is no indication that the CIA *had* instructed the BKA or any other German authorities to stop the bombing. The question is: why not? Certainly the CIA wouldn't blow its cover by asking the BKA to intercede, as they were already aware of the CIA/DEA operation.

This raises even more disturbing questions. Had the CIA "control" in Washington, monitoring the situation, purposely allowed the bombing to occur? Was the McKee team, about to blow the whistle on the Octopus, specifically targeted for elimination? Had Middle Eastern terrorists knowingly or unknowingly conspired with the Octopus in eliminating a group of pesky whistle blowers?^[1022]†

Strangely, after the crash, large numbers of American "rescue" personnel began showing up rather quickly. As one searcher, a member of a mountain rescue team recalled: "We arrived within two hours [of the crash]. We found Americans already there."^[1023]

The first to appear was an FBI agent. According to George Stobbs, a Lockerbie police inspector, "[I] started to set up a control room, and [between] eleven o'clock and midnight, there was a member of the FBI in the office who came in, introduced herself to me, and sat down — and just sat there the rest of the night. That was it."^[1024]

Was this so-called FBI agent there to observe the Scottish police's investigation, and report any conflicting findings back to her superiors?

Tom Dalyell, a member of British Parliament, remarked: "...Absolutely swarms of Americans [were] fiddling with the bodies, and shall we say tampering with those things the police were carefully checking themselves. They weren't pretending, saying they were from the FBI or CIA, they were just 'Americans' who seemed to arrive very quickly on the scene."

The scenario was eerily similar to that in Oklahoma City, where rescue workers and bomb squad technicians seemingly appeared out of thin air.

Recall that Oklahoma City eyewitness Debra Burdick, who was near ground zero when the bomb went off, said: "And right after that, here comes the Bomb Squad, before the ambulances and the Fire Department."

"They would have had to have had some kind of warning to respond that quick, said Burdick's husband, "because they would have had to get in their gear and everything."^[1025]

As mentioned previously, Burdick wasn't the only one who saw federal agents and rescue personnel arrive a bit too quickly. J.D. Reed, who was in the County Office Building when the bomb went off, later wrote: "The paramedics and firemen were already at work. How could they move so quickly? They were there by the time we got down to the street!"^[1026]

Then there was Sergeant Yeakey's ominous letter to his friend Ramona McDonald, which stated: "Everyone was behind you until you started asking questions as I did, as to how so many federal agents arrived at the scene at the same time...."

In Lockerbie, a number of American agents — some wearing Pan Am jumpsuits — were desperately searching for something. As Dalyell recalled: "It was... odd and strange that so many people should be involved in moving bodies, looking at luggage, who were not members of the investigating force. What were they looking for so carefully? You know, this was not just searching carefully for loved ones. It was far more than that. It was careful examination of luggage and indeed bodies."^[1027]

Dr. David Fieldhouse, the local police surgeon, identified Major McKee early on. "I knew that [the identification of] McKee was absolutely correct because of the clothing which correlated closely with the other reports and statements, and the computers that were linked up to Washington."^[1028]

This would subsume that Washington knew exactly what McKee — who hadn't told Control he was coming — was wearing. In other words, it means he was under surveillance by the Octopus.

Fieldhouse also tagged over 58 bodies. "I later learned that when the bodies were taken to the mortuary, all the labels which had been put on them had been removed with the exception of two," said Fieldhouse, "but all the rest had been removed and discarded."^[1029]

A similar incident would occur in Oklahoma City. After nurse Toni Garret took a break from tagging dead bodies, she walked back to the

makeshift morgue that had been set up in a nearby church. "When we came back in, there was a cold, callous atmosphere," said Garret. "I found out later that the FBI had taken over...."

Not only had the FBI taken over, but for some reason, they were suppressing the body count, which they originally claimed as only 22 dead. This enraged Garret, who had personally tagged over 120 bodies. While giving a news interview, FBI agents rushed over and told her to stop. Garret recalled the scene: "He said, 'Well, we're down here now, and we're taking over the building. It would be advisable and recommendable that you keep your mouth shut.'" [\[1030\]](#)

In Lockerbie, police officers and military personnel would be prohibited under the Official Secrets Act from talking about what they had witnessed.

Just what had they seen that was so sensitive?

Jim Wilson knows. A local farmer, Wilson told relatives of Pan Am victims that he was present "when the drugs were found." The Tundergarth farmer had discovered a suitcase packed with heroin in one of his fields. Worried that it might harm his sheep, he informed local police, who notified the Americans, who then raced to the scene in an all-terrain vehicle. Wilson noted that the Americans seemed extremely angry that the drugs had not been discovered earlier by their own personnel.

One Scottish police officer who did speak out said that his department had been told to keep an eye out for the drugs early on. He also overheard American personnel say that there was a drug courier on the plane — Khalid Jaffar — one of the Lebanese informants used by the DEA. [\[1031\]](#)

Had the heroin belonged to Jaffar? Since the drug suitcase had been switched at Frankfurt, it would seem unlikely. A more probable explanation is that it belonged to Gannon or McKee — evidence of the illegal operation being run by the Octopus.

It would certainly explain why U.S. officials were so desperate to find the suitcase before the Scottish authorities did. Once located, the heroin was removed, and the bag placed back in its original position like nothing had happened.

In Oklahoma City, 10 hours after the blast(s), federal agents halted rescue efforts to remove files from the building. While limited numbers of rescue workers were constrained to the lower right side of the building, between 40 and 50 federal agents began carting away boxes of files from the ATF and DEA offices.

"You'd think they would have let their evidence and files sit at least until the last survivor was pulled out," one angry rescue worker told the *New York Daily News*. [\[1032\]](#)

Then, approximately 10 days after the blast, two white trucks pulled up to the postal annex across from the Murrah Building that was being used to store emergency supplies. A dozen men in black unmarked uniforms, wearing ski masks and carrying submachine guns, jumped out and formed a protective corridor to the building. Others, wearing blue nylon windbreakers and carrying hand-held radios, formed an outer perimeter. As a witness watched, he observed "box after box of what appeared to be files or documents in boxes [that] were loaded on the unmarked trucks that looked like Ryder rental trucks, but were white." [\[1033\]](#)

The witness, a Tulsa Fire Captain who was filming the site of the explosion, was told by one of the agents to put down his camera. His film was later confiscated.

What were in the boxes — boxes that were originally stored in the Federal Building — that over a dozen mysteriously anonymous federal agents armed with submachine guns were so anxious to secrete into hiding? Were they files that were being taken away to be destroyed... or to be protected? And by whom?

The public would never learn of this bizarre incident, just as they would never learn of the Mid-Eastern connection, the numerous John Does, the prior warnings of Cary Gagan and Carol Howe, and the elaborate cover-up. The government had convicted their man — Timothy James McVeigh — just as they had done with Lee Harvey Oswald 34 years ago. The victims who subscribed to the government's version of the case could now begin to experience a sense of "closure," whether they had learned the truth or not.

Five years before, the government had attempted to provide "closure" to the Pan Am bombing by announcing its newly discovered "evidence" — a tiny piece of microchip allegedly linked to the bomb. This new evidence, discovered in a remote field ten months after the crash, would conclusively prove, the government claimed, that Libyan terrorists had destroyed the plane.

Like the evidence of McVeigh's racing fuel purchases which suddenly came to light 18 months after the bombing, or the startling new "revelations" of Eldon Elliott, Thomas Manning, and Daina Bradley, this "new evidence" would help the government divert attention from the true perpetrators of the crime.

Interestingly, Tom Thurman, the FBI lab technician who matched the chip — a tiny charred fragment that had miraculously survived two Scottish Winters — would later be accused of perjury in unrelated cases.

Nevertheless, the discovery was hailed as a major find. Vince Cannistraro, the CIA Counter terrorism Chief on the National Security Council, was the front-man for new "Libyan" theory.

"The principle avenues that led to identification of a foreign role in an act of terrorism," Cannistraro quipped with mock assurance, "was forensic evidence recovered by the Scottish police at Lockerbie themselves. Investigators and townspeople on their hands and knees, crawling along the countryside, picking up minute bits of debris. And one of those bits of debris turned out to be a microchip, which was analyzed microscopically that led to the Libyan connection."

Like the Ryder truck axle in Oklahoma City that was allegedly discovered by several different people, so the microchip would have a confusing and contradictory bevy of claimants. "Three of his people (FBI agents) had sworn that they had found this piece in a piece of a coat and had signed a paper to this effect," stated Bollier. "I later heard that it was the Scottish police who had found the piece in a shirt that came from Malta." Yet in spite of this, the Scotts would attempt to have a townspeople sign a statement that he had found the chip. [\[1034\]](#)

Yet the townspeople whom the FBI claimed had discovered the chip could not even recall finding it. The man, named "Bobby," said "I got a call from a policeman asking if he could come down to my home, and would I sign to say that I picked those [items] up. He brought with him three small bags about the size of an eight-by-five piece of paper, one of which contained an item of cloth, one of which contained a brown piece which looked very much like a piece of plastic, the third piece I couldn't tell what it was."

Had the chip been planted by the FBI? The Bureau admitted that it already possessed two such timers, confiscated from two Libyans in Dakar and Senegal in 1986. The incident was remarkably similar to the Oklahoma City bombing witnesses who were coerced into signing statements that differed from what they actually saw.

Yet British authorities would willingly cooperate with the U.S. as the result of a phone call made by President Bush to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. According to *Washington Post* syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, the two heads of state agreed that the investigation should be "limited" in order to avoid compromising the two nations' intelligence communities. [\[1035\]](#)

For his part, Cannistraro had developed, along with NSC staffers Howard Teicher and Oliver North, the Reagan-inspired propaganda policy of destroying the Libyan regime of Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi. As Bob Woodward wrote in the *Washington Post*:

Vincent M. Cannistraro, a veteran CIA operations officer and director of intelligence on the National Security Council staff, and Howard R. Teicher, the director of the office of political military affairs in the NSC, supported the disinformation and deception plan....

"I developed the policy toward Libya," said Cannistraro. "In fact, I even wrote the draft paper that was later adopted by the President." [\[1036\]](#)

In spite of the obvious propaganda ploy, the evidence against Libya was dubious at best. Even more dubious was the government's theory of how the bomb got on board. According to "Buck" Revell, the bomb, built by two Libyan intelligence agents — Abdel Basset al-Megrahi and Lamin Khalifah Fhima — was placed inside a suitcase and smuggled into the airport at Malta, and tagged for its final destination to JFK airport in New York. It then flew, unaccompanied, to Frankfurt, where it changed planes, also unaccompanied, then flew to London, where it managed to change planes again, only to explode over Lockerbie.

Like the specter of two lone amateurs with a fertilizer bomb, the government actually expects the public to believe that a sensitive altitude-triggered time-bomb managed to pass through three countries unaccompanied, pass through security and customs checks, change planes *twice*, then detonate at precisely the right moment over its target destination!

Such a suggestion, even to the uninitiated, is ridiculous.

And there was no evidence to support it. According to Dennis Phipps, former head of security for British Airways: "...the records of handling of that flight were made available for me to see. There was no evidence of any unaccompanied bags. All of the bags that were carried as passenger baggage on that flight, had to be checked in by a passenger who actually traveled on the flight."

Said Michael Jones, Pan Am's London Security Chief: "I've never seen any documentation whatsoever, produced by Pan Am or anybody else, showing there was any interlying baggage to Pan Am from the Air Malta flight..."

Even the FBI's own telex, dated October 23, 1989, stated:

To Director, FBI, Priority — Records there is no concrete indication that any piece of luggage was unloaded from Air Malta 100 sent through the luggage routing at Frankfurt airport then loaded on board Pan Am 103.

In fact, it is absurd to suggest that trained intelligence agents or even clever terrorists would opt for such a far-fetched and risky plan. Especially given the security measures regarding unaccompanied bags, which would have surely aroused suspicion. This premise becomes even more ludicrous considering the unexpected delays inherent in Winter holiday flights. How had the bomb, after passing through three countries, managed to arm itself and detonate at precisely the right moment?

Miraculously, eight months after the bombing, a baggage print-out was obtained by the BKA showing an unaccompanied bag that had been transferred from Air Malta.

The government finally had its "evidence."^[1037]

Just as they had suddenly dropped the Middle Eastern lead in Oklahoma, the government was now switching tracks and blaming the Libyans for the Pan Am bombing. But why? Why, after two years of solid evidence pointing to Syrian and Iranian involvement, was the government now blaming Libya — and on such flimsy pretenses?

Naturally, like the theory of McVeigh's "revenge for Waco," the government had a handy explanation: Libya's motive for the attack stemmed from the April, 1986 U.S. air-raid on Tripoli and Benghazi, in which over 37 civilians, including Qaddafi's infant daughter, were killed. *That* raid was in retaliation for the bombing of the La Belle Discotheque in Berlin a year earlier, in which two U.S. servicemen and a Turkish woman were killed.^[1038]

In fact, the involvement of Libya in the disco bombing was highly questionable. It is also curious why Qaddafi would wait two-and-a-half years to extract his revenge on the Americans for the Benghazi attack.^[1039]

Essentially, government's desire to implicate Libya for the bombing of Pan Am 103 was no different than its desire to implicate the militia for the bombing in Oklahoma City. In that case, they claimed, the motive was revenge for the government's atrocities at Waco.^[1040]

In fact, President Bush knew perfectly well who had bombed flight 103. Six months after the bombing, Secretary of State James Baker visited with Syrian Foreign Intelligence Minister Farouk al-Sharaa. Baker asked:

"What are you doing about the GLC group?"

"What are you talking about," asked al-Sharaa.

"Jibril," answered Baker. "We know they are responsible for Lockerbie. What are you doing about them?"

"How do you know that?"

"We have the evidence," Baker replied. "And the evidence is irrefutable."^[1041]

Nevertheless, the government lied to the American people.^[1042] The investigation had turned political. In July of 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait. President Bush began forming his Gulf War coalition. Syria, formerly viewed as a terrorist state, was now seen as a necessary ally.

Interestingly, Bush had been quietly making overtures to Syrian President Assad for years. Assad was a bitter enemy of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. In order to bring Syria into the coalition, all evidence pointing to them was dropped. And, in November of 1991, the Libyan theory became the "official" version of the bombing.^[1043]

The real story appears somewhat different.

On December 20, an intercept of a call made to the Iranian embassy in Beirut confirmed that an American operative named David Lovejoy (AKA: Michael Franks, Michael Schafer) had spoken to Iranian Chargé d'Affaires Hussein Niknam, and advised him that the McKee team had changed its travel plans and booked passage on flight 103. The next day, Niknam called the Interior Ministry in Teheran and passed on Frank's information.^[1044]

The DEA was also monitoring McKee, and separately informed the CIA in Washington, British MI6, and the CIA team in Wiesbaden.^[1045]

Al-Kassar's operatives had also observed Gannon making travel arrangements in Nicosia, and reported this to their CIA handlers in Wiesbaden. This wasn't difficult, as the DEA's "controlled delivery" operation, run by DEA Station Chief Michael T. Hurley in Cyprus, utilized Arab informants, some of whom, according to Coleman, were reporting back to Ahmed Jibril.^[1046]

As one source familiar with the case said, "Every spook in Europe knew that McKee and Gannon were flying home on flight 103."

Yet while the McKee team was obviously compromised, the question begging to be answered is, who is Michael Franks? And why did Franks inform the Iranian embassy, a bitter enemy of the U.S., of McKee's travel plans?

An associate of Oliver North, Franks worked for Overseas Press Service (OPS) a television consultancy firm run by W. Dennis Suit. A former CIA operative in Central America, Suit was an associate of North, William Casey, Jack Singlaub, Jack Terrell, and Contra leaders Adolfo and Mario Calero. Lester Coleman aptly described him as a representative of North's "Georgia Mafia."

In other words, Franks worked for the Octopus.

Sent to Cyprus by OPS as a "cameraman," Franks was in a perfect position to monitor the activities of the DEA.

The other question begging to be answered is: who at the CIA Control in Washington (not their headquarters in Langley) told the CIA team in Wiesbaden: *"DON'T WORRY ABOUT IT, DON'T STOP IT, LET IT GO"*?^[1047]

It has been argued by apologists for the CIA that the Agency didn't stop the bombing because it didn't want to compromise its hostage-rescue mission — an operation being run by the Octopus in collusion with Monzer al-Kassar. Essentially, we are asked to accept the idea that the CIA was ready to sacrifice the lives of 270 people so as not to risk the opportunity to free six people.

A more plausible explanation is that the Octopus didn't want to compromise its profitable drug and gun running operation — an operation that traces its roots from the Corsican Mafia, through the Hmong tribesman in Laos, to the Mujahadeen in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and finally to the cartels in Columbia and Mexico. It is an enterprise run by many of the same spooks that ran the Cold War, channeling billions of taxpayer dollars into the military/industrial establishment, while funneling thousands of tons of heroin and cocaine into our cities' streets.^[1048]

As intelligence analyst Dave Emory notes, "When federal intelligence agencies in the United States decide to move in a particular direction — or when a faction of them decides to move in a particular direction — they do so when to move in that direction would scratch a number of different itches at different levels simultaneously."^[1049]

By passing on the travel plans of the McKee team to the Iranians, Franks allowed Ahmed Jibril to bomb the plane, eliminating McKee and Gannon in the process, and preventing exposure of the Octopus. At the same time, the Iranians got revenge for the shootdown of their airliner, and the drug dealers kept their operation relatively intact.

Using the Iranians as proxies permitted the Octopus to maintain "plausible deniability."

Describing how proxies or "cut-outs" are used in assassination work, 25-year DEA veteran Mike Levine said, "...when you say 'they wouldn't do it,' surely you don't think that the Sicilian Mafia (to use an example) sends out a couple of Italians to do a hit on a U.S. Attorney that they could link directly back? No, absolutely not. What they might do is use what's left of [August] Ricord's organization (a drug dealer in South America), they might talk to an Italian who lives in Paraguay or Monte Madeo, he then talks to the son of a German who lives in Paraguay. An arrangement is made. They want them hurt. This organization finds out that this guy's wife is flying on a plane. Not that that's happened. I'm giving you a scenario... that's the way it's done. We're living in a world where murder has become very, very high-tech, very convoluted, with cut-outs...

"TWA, Pan Am 103 — this is the perfect M.O. of this organization," adds Levine. "Not that they (Ricord) did it, but when they did things, there was no way it would ever go back to them, because they would do it for someone else."^[1050]

In the case of Pan Am 103, it appeared that the Octopus was more interested in covering up its involvement with drug smugglers than in securing the release of American hostages. And it was willing to sacrifice 270 lives to do so.

The Sting

"There were people in a position of authority that knew something was going to come down, and they didn't do anything about it... and people got killed."

— Tom G., 22-year CIA/DIA veteran

The logistical apparatus which allowed the PFLP-GC to bomb flight 103 was a controlled drug delivery at Frankfort airport — a sting operation run with the full knowledge of American, German, and Israeli intelligence. It was a sting operation that had been penetrated by Middle Eastern terrorists intent on wrecking havoc.

In Oklahoma City, another sting operation was underway. Like the DEA's controlled delivery of drugs through Frankfort, the ATF and the FBI would seek to utilize a "controlled delivery" of a bomb in Oklahoma City.

As previously discussed, the FBI, ATF, and U.S. Marshals, all had ample prior warning. Not only had the Marshals Service been warned of a *Fatwa* against American installations as a result of the World Trade Center convictions, but the FBI had received warnings from the Israelis, the Saudis, the Kuwaitis, and their own informant, Cary Gagan, concerning threats against federal buildings in Phoenix, Denver, and Oklahoma City.

Additionally, ATF informant Carol Howe had specifically warned authorities about a neo-Nazi plan to blow up a federal building in either Tulsa or Oklahoma City as far back as November of '94. [\[1051\]](#)

As the fateful day drew closer, the warnings began pouring in. Judge Wayne Alley, whose office sits across from the Murrah Building, was warned several weeks prior to the blast by "security officials" to take "extra precautions." The federal judge, who was not in his office at the time, but whose clerks were injured in the blast, told the *Portland Oregonian*, "Of all the days for this to happen, it's absolutely an amazing coincidence." When asked to discuss the nature of the warnings, Alley said, "Let me just say that within the past two or three weeks, information has been disseminated... that indicated concerns on the part of people who ought to be a little bit more careful."

This is not surprising. Gagan had warned the FBI as far back as September that federal agents and judges were targeted for assassination. As previously noted, Gagan had been deep inside the Middle Eastern cell involved in the bombing. Gagan informed the feds on September 21, 1994 that his Arab comrades had been cruising Denver in a white Mercury photographing federal agents. Gagan told the author that he was instructed to assassinate Judge Lewis Babcock. [\[1052\]](#)

Had the feds warned Judge Alley? "My subjective impression," said Alley, "was there was a reason for the dissemination of these concerns, strongly suggesting an impending proximate event." [\[1053\]](#)

The Oklahoma City Fire Department, unlike Judge Alley, had the benefit of more specific warnings. On Friday, April 14, the FBI placed a call to Assistant Chief Charles Gaines to warn him of a potential terrorist threat within the next few days.

When Glenn Wilburn confronted Gaines, he was met with a blanket of denial. Wilburn then walked down the hall and confronted Chief Dispatcher Harvey Weathers, who unhesitatingly replied that they *had* in fact received a warning. Wilburn told him, "Well, you're going to be surprised to learn that Chief Gaines' memory is failing. He says it never happened." Weathers replied, "Well, you asked me and I told you. I'm not going to lie for anybody. A lot of people don't want to get involved in this." [\[1054\]](#)

When Assistant Chief Jon Hansen was later interviewed by KFOR's Jayna Davis, he said he could no longer recall just exactly *who* had called the Department, but convincingly reassured skeptics, "The FBI came in yesterday and told me it wasn't them."

Yet two reserve Sheriff's deputies on duty at the Murrah Building the night of the bombing, Don Hammons and David Kachendofer, signed sworn affidavits that Representative Ernest Istook (R-OK) told them of the government's prior knowledge. Kachendofer was guarding the northwest corner of the building when Istook approached and chatted with him. Kachendofer relates the conversation: "[Istook] made the comment to me, he says, 'Yeah, we knew this was going to happen.'

"And I said, 'Excuse me?'"

"And he says, 'Yeah, we knew this was going to happen. We got word through our sources that there is a radical fundamental Islamic group in Oklahoma City and that they were going to bomb the Federal Building.'" [\[1055\]](#)

The day after the bombing, Oklahoma City FBI SAC Bob Ricks (of Waco infamy), managed to keep a straight face while announcing to reporters: "The FBI and Oklahoma City has not received any threats that indicated that a bombing was about to take place."

Like the fox assuring the farmer that he hadn't made off with any chickens, the FBI's claims proved of little solace. Fortunately for the FBI, the audio logs of the Fire Department's incoming calls were mysteriously "erased." [\[1056\]](#)

As *The Daily Oklahoman* reported on August 14, 1997:

...Vance DeWoody, owner of Opal's Answering Service, and his employee, Pat Houser... received an anonymous telephone call saying that a bomb was going to go off in the office of the U.S. Secret Service on the ninth floor of the Murrah Building....

Opal's... takes calls for the Secret Service. The call came four days *before* the bombing. Then, on the morning of April 19, the Executive Secretariat's Office of the Justice Department received a mysterious call from someone claiming the Murrah Building had just been blown up... *24 minutes before the blast!* ABC 20/20 quoted the official government document:

The Department of Justice... received a telephone call... twenty-four minutes prior to the bombing... The caller said, "The Federal Building in Oklahoma City has just been bombed." [\[1057\]](#)

ABC anchor Tom Jarriel noted that "no action was apparently taken" by the Justice Department in response to that strange emergency call minutes before the blast. [\[1058\]](#)

Not long after Bob Rick's announcement, Carol Howe and Cary Gagan would make their presence known — informing the public that the government did indeed have prior knowledge of the attack. To cover themselves, the government only admitted that they had vague, unspecified warnings of the impending plot. As Stephen Jones wrote in his brief of March 25, 1997:

Soon the government's position will revert to the ridiculous and it will only deny any knowledge that the Murrah Building was specifically targeted at 9:02 a.m. on April 19, 1995, to be destroyed by a bomb delivered in a Ryder rental truck by Timothy McVeigh.... That is the Federal Government playing word games in order to avoid what is potentially the single most embarrassing and humiliating situation since the public found out that the FBI had an informant inside the terrorist group that bombed the World Trade Center in New York — an informant that actually helped make the bomb — but they bungled the entire situation and did not prevent that tragedy.

Nevertheless, it wouldn't be long before a significant percentage of the population would learn about the suspicious activities in Oklahoma City the morning of April 19. Attorney Daniel J. Adomitis was driving downtown around 7:30 a.m. that morning when he noticed a white bomb squad truck parked on the west side of the courthouse, close to the Murrah Building. Adomitis told the *Fort Worth Star/Telegram*, "I remember thinking as I passed that, 'Gee, I wonder if they had a bomb threat at the County Courthouse?'"

Norma Smith, who worked at the Federal Courthouse across from the Murrah Building, saw, along with numerous others, the Bomb Squad congregated in the parking lot. Smith recounted her story for her hometown Texas newspaper, the *Panola Watchman*:

The day was fine, everything was normal when I arrived at 7:45 to begin my day at 8 a.m., but as I walked through my building's parking lot, I remember seeing a bomb squad. I really did not think about it — especially when we did not hear more about it....

There was some talk about the bomb squad among employees in our office. We did wonder what it was doing in our parking lot. Jokingly, I said, "Well I guess we'll find out soon enough".... [\[1059\]](#)

Renee Cooper, whose infant son was killed in the day-care center, was driving down Robinson Street when she saw several men in dark jackets standing in front of the Federal Courthouse. The men's jackets were inscribed with the words "Bomb Squad."

Reporter J.D. Cash spoke with a woman whose brother worked in the Federal Building. "Frantic with worry, Jackie Stiles said she talked to an FBI agent at the scene who told her there had been a bomb threat made against the Murrah Building the previous week."

This fact was also confirmed by Michael Hinton, a former police officer who was staying across the street at the YMCA. Hinton witnessed what appeared to be a bomb threat evacuation of the Murrah Building two weeks earlier. [\[1060\]](#)

Naturally, the Bomb Squad denied being there. In an interview with Jayna Davis, Sheriff J.D. Sharp claimed that the Bomb Squad truck was ten miles away at the time. "I can assure you from the testimony of witnesses and the bomb commander that our bomb unit was not anywhere near the Murrah Building the morning of the blast," said Sharp.

When the author attempted to interview two members of the Bomb Squad, one of them became visibly nervous, and demanded that I speak to his superior. He denied removing additional bombs, or being at the Federal Building early that morning.

The Sheriff's Department later told NBC Extra's Brad Goode that the Bomb Squad was in fact deployed downtown for "training purposes," but claimed they were not in bomb attire. At the same time, the OCPD told Extra the Bomb Squad was not there *at all*.^[1061]

Reporter J.D. Cash received a similar response from Bomb Squad Captain Robert Heady. When confronted with the fact that at least two eye-witnesses saw the Bomb Squad members in their black t-shirts with the words "BOMB SQUAD" emblazoned across their chests in silver-white letters, the captain said, "We don't wear those type shirts."

Interestingly, a videotape made by Deputy Sheriff Melvin Sumter at the scene of the blast shows the Bomb Squad members, along with the captain, in t-shirts with words "BOMB SQUAD" in large silver-white letters written across their chests!

Still, the Bomb Squad would attempt to maintain this duplicitous charade. When he was summoned before the County Grand Jury reinvestigating the blast, Deputy Bill Grimsley claimed that the bomb squad was indeed downtown that morning. Grimsley claimed that he had left the county jail at 7:00 a.m., stopped at the nearby courthouse for a few minutes to take care of an errand, went to McDonald's for breakfast, then drove to the bomb training site ten miles away.

Yet Norma Smith saw the Bomb Squad truck downtown at 7:45 a.m. Renee Cooper saw it five minutes after eight — hardly in keeping with Grimsley's story.

Others, like Oklahoma Private investigator Claude Criss and County Appraiser J.D. Reed saw the Bomb Squad downtown in full gear. "The presence of law enforcement was in the air," said Criss. "It was everywhere downtown that morning."

As previously discussed, Debra Burdick was sitting at a red light at 10th and Robinson, five blocks from the Murrah Building. "...as the light changed, we started through the intersection," recalled Burdick, "and [that's when] the bomb went off... And right after that, here comes the Bomb Squad, before the ambulances and the Fire Department." As Burdick's husband remarked, "they would have had to have had some kind of warning to respond that quick, because they would have had to get in their gear and everything."

J.D. Reed, who rushed out of the County Office Building when the bomb went off, later wrote in a company newsletter: "The paramedics and firemen were already at work. How could they move so quickly? They were there by the time we got down to the street!"^[1062]

The testimony of Burdick and Reed dovetails with that of Criss, who arrived at his office at 8:58 a.m. "I heard a lot of sirens at that time," he said. "A lot of sirens, coming from the west, approaching downtown. There was approximately seven trucks that were traveling at a high rate of speed. When they reached the top of that hill right there, the explosion went off."^[1063]

When ABC's Extra contacted the Oklahoma City Fire Department to inquire about Criss's claim, they replied, "We can't really confirm or deny that claim."^[1064]

As Sergeant Yeakey, one of the first rescue workers at the scene later wrote to bombing survivor Ramona McDonald:

Everyone was behind you until you started asking questions as I did, as to how so many federal agents arrived at the scene at the same time.... For those who ran from the scene to change their attire to hide the fact that they were there, should be judged as cowards.

Rodney Johnson, who almost hit McVeigh and John Doe 2 as they ran from the scene minutes before the blast, didn't miss the presence of law-enforcement officers who seemed to materialize out of thin air. Where had they come from?

Associated Press photographer Pat Carter, who was at the scene within one hour of the blast, said that ATF agents were wearing full combat gear. Had they been preparing for a bust?^[1065]

HUD worker V.Z. Lawton was on the eighth floor of the Murrah Building when the bomb(s) went off. Lawton described four men who gave him a ride home that afternoon. They told him they were General Services Administration (GSA) employees out of Fort Worth, and were there doing a "routine" security check on the Federal Building. The men told Lawton this "security check" was conducted in the wee hours of the morning.^[1066]

Two of the men, Dude Goodun and Brent Mossbarger, later told the *Daily Oklahoman* they did not take Lawton home that day.^[1067]

Even more interestingly, it was alleged that no ATF agents (as opposed to clerical workers) were in the Murrah Building at the time of the blast. Word of this quickly spread when Bruce Shaw, whose wife worked in the third-floor credit union, ran up to an ATF agent anxiously asking of her whereabouts. Shaw told KFOR's Brad Edwards that the agent "started getting a little bit nervous. He tried reaching someone on a two-way radio. [But] couldn't get anybody. I told him I wanted an answer right then. He said they were in debriefing, that none of the

agents had been in there. They'd been tipped by their pagers not to come to work that day. Plain as day out of his mouth. Those were the words he said. [\[1068\]](#)

The second witness, Shaw's boss Tony Brasier, was present when the agent made those comments, and confirmed to KFOR the accuracy of Shaw's testimony. [\[1069\]](#)

The third witness was Tiffany Bible, a paramedic. When she asked an ATF agent on the scene (dressed in a black "Ninja" suit) if any of his fellow agents were still in the building, she was told they "weren't here" at the office that morning. When she asked, "who would want to bomb a building in Oklahoma?" he replied that it was in retribution for the massacre at Waco. How did he know?

"It's clear to me that the ATF knew in advance something was about to happen," says a man whose wife was seriously injured that morning. [\[1070\]](#)

In an attempt to steer suspicious eyes away from ATF culpability, Lester Martz, regional head of the ATF, put out a press release stating that several agents — Vernon Buster, Luke Franey, and Alex McCauley — had been trapped inside the building during the bombing:

ATF's Resident Agent in Charge Alex McCauley was with a DEA agent (David Schickedanz) in the elevator when the bomb exploded. The elevator dropped in a free fall from the eighth floor to the third. The two men were trapped in the smoke-filled elevator. The emergency buttons and the phone were inoperable. On their fourth attempt they managed to break through the doors and escape from the elevator. [\[1071\]](#)

Yet according to elevator repairman Duane James, who, along with several co-workers was checking equipment across the street that morning, Martz's statement is "pure fantasy." James, who was interviewed by J.D. Cash and ABC's 20/20, said five of the building's six elevators had frozen in place when the blast occurred, their doors blown inward. "Once that occurs, the doors cannot be opened — period," said James. "What I and some others did was kick in the ceilings on each of those elevators and determined that no one was in them."

James claims the remaining elevator was sitting at the third or fourth floor level and had no one in it. "Certainly it had not 'free fallen,' nor had any of the others." James explained that modern elevators cannot 'free fall' due to counterbalancing weights on them which prevent such occurrences. The elevators are also equipped with automatic safety switches that cut speed and power if the elevator starts accelerating too fast. [\[1072\]](#)

"None of those switches were tripped on any of the elevators in that building," said James. "I, along with other men with our company, checked the equipment several times. Absolutely no elevators dropped that morning."

Oscar Johnson, James' boss, told the *Daily Oklahoman* that when the elevator was found, a wall was pushed against the top of it "and there is no way you could have gotten the doors open. Our guys were the first ones there to open the top emergency access, and there was no one in it." [\[1073\]](#)

Federal elevator inspector Dude Goodun told the *Daily Oklahoman* that he agreed with Johnson. [\[1074\]](#)

So does former ATF agent Rick Sherrow. "This elevator business was garbage — about Franey being trapped in the elevator — because it didn't happen" said Sherrow. "Franey I pretty much believe was there, [but] this free-fall business, it just didn't happen." [\[1075\]](#)

Naturally, Martz insisted five ATF employees were inside the Murrah Building. Valerie Rowden, the office manager, was cut all over. Jim Staggs was hospitalized with head wounds. Vernon Buster, they claimed, had a nail driven through his arm, and his name showed up on a list of the injured. But according to David Hall, owner and manager of KPOC-TV in Ponca City, who checked with local hospitals, both Buster and Martz are lying. [\[1076\]](#)

According to a reporter who interviewed Joe Gordon, an ATF agent from Colorado Springs, there was at least one ATF agent from out-of-town (believed to have been Dallas) who was injured in the blast, that the ATF hasn't admitted to. While Buster's name showed up on the list of the injured, his name didn't. [\[1077\]](#)

Another reporter from New York developed information that the Dallas ATF office — Martz's office — was also suspiciously vacant that morning. Was the ATF running a combined operation out of Dallas and Oklahoma City? This would make sense, since Martz is the regional director. [\[1078\]](#)

DEA Assistant Agent in Charge Don Webb called the allegations against the ATF "bull-shit." Webb told the author that McCauley and Schickedanz were indeed in the elevator when the bomb went off. He also said that "Luke Franey was on the phone" at the time of the bombing (although Webb admitted to me that he himself was at a golf tournament that morning). [\[1079\]](#)

According to Sergeant Yeakey, Franey was not in the building:

Luke Franey was not in the building at the time of the blast, I know this for a fact, I saw him! I also saw full riot gear worn with rifles in hand, why?^[1080]

Yeakey also wrote that Franey ran *into* the building. While news footage showed Franey standing in a blown-out window on the 9th floor shortly after the blast, he appeared surprisingly neat and clean. His appearance contrasted sharply with other survivors who were covered in dust and debris. In the photos, Franey is holding a box in one hand, and a walkie-talkie in the other.

Interestingly, Franey later showed up at Glenn Wilburn's house with a bandaged arm. Was Franey one of the agents who Dr. Chumley refused to bandage? According to a federal law-enforcement supervisor who works in the Federal Protective Services, Franey "was a bloody mess. He had a big gash on his forehead."^[1081]

Whatever the true story, it is generally agreed that the Federal Building was suspiciously empty that morning. Wendy Greer, the Sister-in-Law of senior FBI Agent Jim Volz (retired), told me her brother said that the FBI's offices at 50 Penn Place (several miles from the Murrah Building) also appeared to be suspiciously vacant that morning.

If these agents weren't in their offices, just where were they? Some FBI agents, it appeared, were at a Special Olympics golf tournament in Shawnee (Webb told me he saw no ATF agents at the tournament). Yet this still wouldn't account for the strange activities on April 19.^[1082]

In the early morning of April 19, Bob Flanders and his wife were driving east on I-44 at approximately 3:30 a.m., when they saw a strange team of men near the State Fairgrounds. The men, dressed in government black and driving black cars, were in the grass alongside the road, operating "hoops" — circular-shaped, radio beacon directional finders. Flanders recalled that the devices were about the size of a car steering wheel, and the men held them over their heads, slowly rotating them in a circular pattern.^[1083]

At around 4:00 a.m., a man who was driving home after work saw another team operating these unusual looking devices, this time by the Alfred P. Murrah Building. As he approached 5th Street, he was directed to one lane. The person directing traffic was not a police officer, and was standing next to a white vehicle with a yellow stripe. As the man drove by, he saw several men on the sidewalk holding these hoop-like devices above their heads, slowly turning them in different directions. As the man passed through, a roadblock was set up behind him, and all traffic was diverted from the area.

The equipment these witnesses are describing matches that of RDF direction finding antennas that are used to home in on electronic transmitters. Was there a concealed radio transmitter on the one of the Ryder trucks, sending out a signal to these teams? It is likely, given the requirements of a successful sting operation, that they were electronically tracking the Ryder truck. The location of the team at the fairgrounds, high on a hill overlooking the city, is a clue to its intended mission.

Yet why were they tracking the truck? Had their quarry eluded them? Is it possible that one of the bombers, perhaps one of their own trusted undercover agents, turned off the transmitter, resulting in the loss of the signal? If so, it seems that the agents would have had what's known in law-enforcement parlance as a "loose tail," and, it appeared, they were frantically trying to find the truck.

Andreas Strassmeir, McVeigh's friend and alleged government operative, admitted that much in an interview with the *London Sunday Telegraph's* Ambrose Evans-Pritchard:

The truck had a transmitter, so they could track it with a radio receiving device. I don't know how they could have lost contact. I think there was misinformation that the operation had been canceled.

According to KPOC's David Hall, the plan was to arrest the bombers at 3:30 in the morning. Given the ATF's past publicity stunts, it is likely that they were hoping to arrest the suspects at or near the Murrah Building to ensure a highly publicized bust. As Strassmeir told Evans-Pritchard:

"It's obvious that it was a government 'op' that went wrong, isn't it? The ATF had something going with McVeigh. They were watching him — of course they were," he asserted, without qualification. "What they should have done is make an arrest while the bomb was still being made instead of waiting till the last moment for a publicity stunt. They had everything they needed to make the bust, and they screwed it up."^[1084]
^[1085]

Strassmeir added that the ATF thought that the bomb was set to go off at 2 or 3 a.m., but somehow the plan was changed. "McVeigh made some changes in the plan," said Strassmeir. "He is a very undisciplined soldier, you know... In retrospect, the ATF should have made the bust when the bomb was being built in Junction City."^[1086]

The bombers, according to the former Elohim City security chief, were to be captured "during the night, when no one was there — that's why the ATF had the building staked out from midnight until 6:00 a.m. Later, the informant believed that the bombing was off for the day and reported that... the ATF lost control of the situation, and McVeigh and the others were able to bomb the building."^[1087]

While Strassmeir heaps most of the blame on the ATF, he does task the FBI for its failure:

The different agencies weren't cooperating. In fact, they were working *against* each other. You even had a situation where one branch of the FBI was investigating and not sharing anything with another branch of the FBI.... Whoever thought this thing up is an idiot, in my opinion. [\[1088\]](#)

While Strassmeir continually protested that he himself was not involved in the plot, as either a suspect or a provocateur, he did say that the plotters consisted of "four [men], plus the informant and McVeigh."

"They probably were going to entrap whoever was coming in," said Sherrow. "They had enough intelligence that they were going to set up an operation to pop this guy, whether it was McVeigh or whoever else, and something fell through the cracks...."

"Talking from the perspective of a former ATF man, say they're going to buy explosives, or let somebody plant a bomb... they will let the deal go until the last second, before making the arrest."

Somehow, the deal went wrong.

While this startling evidence would soon make itself known to investigators, bombing victims, and a limited segment of the public — the "Justice" Department, federal prosecutors, and the ATF all rushed to refute the evidence.

"Can you imagine if we had known that... and let that happen?" said ATF agent Harry Eberhardt. "I had a lot of friends in that building — a lot of friends.... We never would have let that happen."[\[1089\]](#)

Dewy Webb, the current ATF RAC, concurred. "They had so many friends they lost in the bombing — they had to pick which funeral they could go to."[\[1090\]](#)

Although Eberhardt's reasoning sounds valid, it is likely his concern is overrated. While it is doubtful the ATF, FBI, or local officials would purposefully allow such a catastrophic event to occur, it is likely — highly probable in fact — that through their stupidity and negligence, such an event did occur.[\[1091\]](#)

Said Sherrow, "I've got agents in their court testimony saying that they don't care about the public's safety. They don't consider it. They arranged to meet with a guy here in Phoenix who allegedly had hundreds of pounds of explosives, and they chose a crowded shopping center parking lot, running around with MP-5 [sub-machineguns] and handguns and everything else.

"This happened before Oklahoma, and it continues to happen. We had a case in Pennsylvania where a guy wanted to sell a small amount of explosives. He wanted to meet [the agents] way out in the country. Instead they decided to meet him on an Interstate rest stop that was jammed with people, and brought the media. They endanger the public right and left and they don't care about it."[\[1092\]](#)

Sherrow's analysis is based on more than historical precedent and informed opinion. While ATF agents refused to admit their involvement in the bungled operation, Martz met with local TV producers behind closed doors shortly after the bombing. His intent was to convince the journalists that what was underway was a sensitive undercover operation, and that they should take pains not to reveal it.

This is most interesting considering that ATF agent Angela Finley-Graham's report of August 30 stated that their investigation of Elohim City was classified as "SENSITIVE" and "SIGNIFICANT" (as opposed to routine), and the investigation concerned "terrorist/extremist" organizations.

According to former ATF official Robert Sanders, such classifications mean that all reports would automatically be sent to Washington, as well as being routinely routed to Martz at the Dallas Field Office, which in fact, it was.

Sanders, who held every possible supervisory position including that of ATF Assistant Director, told *The New American* magazine that the activities cited in the ATF reports have "such a high potential for affecting national security" that they would have most likely been sent to the heads of the Treasury and Justice Departments as well as the White House and National Security Council.[\[1093\]](#)

As if finally stating the obvious, Martz admitted to the incredulous reporters was that there was indeed a sting operation underway on the night of the 18th that was called off at 0600 hours (6:00 a.m.). When reporters asked Martz if the operation involved Timothy McVeigh, he replied "I can neither confirm or deny that."[\[1094\]](#)[\[1095\]](#)

David Hall attended the closed-door meeting with Martz. "I don't believe that the ATF wired the building and blew it up. I *do* believe that they knew that there was going to be a possible bomb threat to the building, because they had set it up themselves, with their informants and different people they were working with. And somebody really slipped it to 'em."[\[1096\]](#)

Hall had also been long-time friends with Harry Eberhardt, and was one of the first to develop inside information regarding the ATF's activities that morning. While Martz held fast to his claim that three ATF agents were in the Murrah Building at the time of the blast, Hall insists, "that's an outright lie."[\[1097\]](#)

The seasoned investigative journalist contends that at least eight of the ATF's regular compliment of 13 agents were on assignment away from the Federal Building that morning. "Three agents (Don Gillispie, Delbert Canopp and Tim Kelly) were in federal court in Newkirk, on an arson case that occurred in Ponca City.... Two agents (Karen Simpson and Harry Eberhardt) were in federal court in Oklahoma City. Three more were in Garfield County at a hearing. The other five were out on surveillance."^[1098]

Just who were they surveilling?

"As far as can be determined," said Sherrow, "they had an undercover sting operation. They had a sting operation going that night, with about six agents involved, and they terminated it at six in the morning. Martz has admitted to this, then since backed off.... given the circumstances, it's reasonable to assume that the person they were surveilling was McVeigh."

Hall concurs. "We developed from our sources inside the ATF that five agents were up on surveillance all night long. We have to assume at that point, basically probably surveilling either McVeigh — and let me say this about McVeigh — there's a good chance that McVeigh could be the informant in this operation."

According to Glenn Wilburn, the ATF's plans changed at the last minute, and they stood down at 6:30 a.m. Then the Bomb Squad came on the scene at 6:30, checked the building for bombs, then stood down at 8:30. When the building blew up at 9:02 a.m., all the agents and police, who were already on the scene or nearby, quickly responded.

Yet it appears there is more to the story. Hall claims that on the night before the bombing, several witnesses saw McVeigh meet with ATF agent Alex McCauley and two other individuals of Middle Eastern descent in an Oklahoma City McDonalds at approximately 9:30 p.m. "He was a known ATF agent," said Hall. "[And] money changed hands."

Could this money have been the \$2,000 that was discovered on McVeigh at the time of his arrest?

Terry Nichols was interviewed by Hall early on, and was told that McVeigh had met with "men" who had provided him with a \$2,000 pay-off. Nichols left the restaurant at approximately 9:45 p.m. and drove back to his home in Herrington, Kansas. Hall interviewed Nichols' neighbors who claimed he arrived early that morning.^[1099]

Another witness, an unidentified homeless man, contacted KTOK reporter Jerry Bonnen, and told him McVeigh drove past the McDonalds and yelled "Hey, want to have a few beers?" McVeigh then gave the man some cash, whereupon he purchased two quarts at the Total convenience store across the street. A Total employee, Ron Williams, reported that a Ryder truck was parked at the McDonalds.^[1100]

An anonymous informant who contacted Representative Key, claiming to be a friend of the brother one of those involved in the bombing, said that McVeigh had indeed met federal agents at an unnamed restaurant in Oklahoma City, and had rendezvoused with at least four of them prior to the bombing. Key taped the conversation:

"This guy here, he has a recording — a video recording — a camcorder recording that shows this same DEA agent and... McVeigh in the parking lot of a restaurant. And this is was shot about dusk. And two people in suits go over to the car, McVeigh and this DEA agent get out and they're standing back by the trunk. And the DEA agent's patting McVeigh on the shoulder, and then one of the two men in suits passes McVeigh a white envelope and then they leave, And he has this on tape."^[1101]

While Representative Key never did get the videotape, another source close to the investigation told him that McVeigh was indeed an informant.

What he didn't explain was the reason for the presence of the DEA.

KFOR's Brad Edwards developed similar information," said Hall, "from totally different sources. "So we have four different sources telling us this. He also has the same name of the agent (McCauley). "I think that when this is all said and done, that we're going to find out — and this is what I've said from the beginning — that this was a sting operation gone sour."

But do you really need two tons of explosive in order to set up a sting? Yes, according to Hall. Ammonium-nitrate isn't illegal in Oklahoma, and a few hundred pounds won't convince prosecutors there was a serious bomb threat in the works. "I think the intent there was to show that it was going to do some damage, rather than, you know, a pipe bomb. It wouldn't bring the intention here in Oklahoma."^[1102]

Strassmeir agrees. "I am told they thought it would be better to put a bigger bomb in there. The bigger the better. It would make them more guilty...."^[1103]

While Martz would not confirm who the actual target of the sting was, one person who did confirm it was a man who spoke with bombing survivor and activist Ramona McDonald. McDonald had formed a group called Heroes of the Heart. Through her numerous meetings with paramedics and police, firefighters and even some federal agents, McDonald began learning the sickening truth about what really happened that day.

As the meetings wore on, a consensus was reached that the truth needed to be told. The question was how. As McVeigh's trial approached, McDonald and her group were gearing up for a trial of their own. McDonald had contacted former Pentagon counter-terrorism analyst Jesse Clear, and Clear had contacted a young fire-brand attorney named Joseph Camerata. Camerata's intent was to gather together survivors and family members, and bring a negligence suit against the Federal Government.

In August of 1996, about a month before Camerata came to Oklahoma to interview his prospective clients, McDonald received a mysterious phone call. Although the caller didn't identify himself by name, McDonald thought she recognized the voice of as that of Representative Ernest Istook (R-OK). The caller was concerned. "What do we have to do to get you to drop this?" he asked McDonald.

Although he didn't realize it, McDonald was taping the conversation. The scenario the caller lays out is, to the uninitiated, both startling and frightening. He describes in almost precise detail how the operation was a sting gone bad; how federal agents allowed a truck with a powerful bomb to be driven through a crowded city and parked next to a building containing hundreds of people. And, revealing the mystery of the elusive John Doe #2, he explains how he was an undercover agent, supposed to diffuse the bomb at the last minute... and failed to do so. [\[1104\]](#)

Caller: "I don't think they expected the truck to blow up. I believe, and I've believed this for a long time... I believe that number two — John Doe #2 — was a federal agent working undercover. And I believe that he helped McVeigh steal the goods and helped buy the equipment, and I believe that he helped McVeigh make the bomb, and I believe that his whole task in this whole thing... his only real task was to render the device safe so that the federal agents could pretend to remove it and move in. They did not want to move in until he was cleared of the scene so that they wouldn't tip their hands. See what I'm saying? And the odds are pretty good that whole reason behind this is because they were after someone bigger than McVeigh, which means they probably think he was linked to somebody in the Militia movement or something like that.

"So I think what you're saying... you know I understand what you're saying... but I don't think you see the big picture. I don't think that, you know, I'd only divulge a look at the big picture if that's the actual scenario. If that's the actual scenario, which I believe it to be, I think there really is no claim that the agent, that was John Doe #2, did not render the bomb safe. Which he very well may have rendered the bomb safe, and then McVeigh may have put in a second fail-safe which he didn't know about. Which is probably what's happened....

"I would bet money on that's, in fact, the way this whole thing came down. Yes, they stood out in front of the building. Yes, they followed him directly to the building. Yes, they watched him get out of the building... get out of the truck. Yes, they watched him drive off. That's not ... that was their *plan*. I don't believe they ever planned to apprehend him anywhere near the building. I believe that John Doe #2 was a federal witness. His job was to render the device safe. Therefore, the only thing sitting out in front of that building was a bomb... a truck loaded with a bomb that would not go off. And I think that's the situation. In fact I know it is."

McDonald: "Okay... so... so why didn't they just come out and explain that to everybody?"

Caller: "The public doesn't have to know that. When it comes to the national security and things like this, the public does not have to know... the public is not required to know. First of all, by doing that, they would've, uh, put their witness, which is the federal agent John Doe #2, they would have blown his cover, first of all. Which possibly he's involved in something right now that you have no idea about. You know, there very well may have been numerous plots involving numerous buildings. See what I'm saying? You don't have the whole picture... without full knowledge... what you may do may cost them their lives. You should be very aware of that."

McDonald: "Okay. Well, that's what I've been trying to be very careful of. I don't want to see anyone else get hurt. At the same time..."

Caller: "...Well, if that guy's cover's been blown, he'd dead already."

McDonald: "Do you think so?"

Caller: "Sure... I'm sure. Once you have gone up to this point, it has gotten out, which I'm sure it has, because there are moles everywhere... the chances are good that he's been terminated already and this whole thing has blown up in their face. I don't believe that, out of an act of negligence, these highly trained professionals would have allowed that man to leave that truck out in front of that building with its live bomb in it."

McDonald: "No, no, no. It stood out there for the whole time, from the time it pulled up until it went off."

Caller: "That's what I'm saying. They would not have allowed it. The only reason they allowed the truck to sit there so long, is because in my opinion they were under the impression that that bomb was rendered safe. And I'd say that there was no rush... there was no reason... to evacuate the building. There was no rush to make an arrest. The truck was just going to sit out there until they went and towed it off. So I don't think they thought it was an emergency and I think either that John Doe #2 made a mistake in rendering the bomb safe, or McVeigh was smart enough to plant a second fail-safe. Which most bomb makers do."

McDonald: "Do you think that's why they didn't tell anybody?"

Caller: "No. The bomb was safe as far as they knew."

McDonald: "Okay. Well, that explains why there was so many of them (federal agents) there so fast."

Caller: "Exactly. They followed him to the building, their agent was in the truck with him when they followed him to the building, everything was under control, as far as they thought, all they had was the man who built the bomb that was not going to go off, because their agent had rendered it safe. And their whole thing was not a problem. Let him drive his truck right in front of his target, then they allowed him to drive off."

"Once he drives off, he renders the truck safe, and then we can have the trooper arrest him on the interstate for bogus charges. Which they did, and this was all planned out 100 percent. I... I... I don't believe they allowed that truck..."

McDonald: "You don't think they intentionally let the bomb go off?"

Caller: "No, that's right. I'll never believe that."

McDonald: "Well, I mean, that's the only thing about this that I found so hard to believe."

Caller: "They... they thought the bomb was safe. They thought that their agent, who was in the truck and who helped prepare the bomb, would set it so it would not go off. Now, whether McVeigh went back to the truck... where the agent did not know... and put a second fail-safe... or the agent made a mistake and did not actually render the bomb safe like he was supposed to... that's what's going on here."

McDonald: "Well, see, that's it then. I wanted someone that would be able to tell us for a fact if this was, like, deliberate or not. You know what I'm saying?"

Caller: "I'm not going to tell you that. Let me tell you something. I'm sure they had... everything was under surveillance there. So I'm sure they *do* have pictures of the building blowing up, and I'm sure they *do* have pictures of federal agents, and I'm sure they *do* have audio tapes of them saying: Let 'em go, let 'em go... Wait, wait, wait..." there was no rush in their mind. In their mind, there was no rush to get that truck away from that building... that bomb... was not supposed to go off."

"Therefore, everything they did, fits, if you think about it. they followed it, they allowed it to drive up there knowing that there was a bomb in the truck. Their idea was to let John Doe #2 — their federal agent — they would be able to use him in further investigations of these bombings of these groups that are in militia groups. And this was a perfect entry in, because he could have went through there."

"After McVeigh was arrested, John Doe #2 would have become a hero to the cause of the militias. And the militias would have taken him in and hid him, which would have made him part of the infrastructure of the militias. Which is what their goal was for this whole thing... was to bust the militias. If you take the big picture, and look at the *big* picture, there were very few mistakes made on this sting operation. (except blowing up a building and killing 169 people - ed.) With the exception that John Doe #2, the federal agent, did not render the bomb safe. Just think of it this way, Ramona."

McDonald: "I've always been a big fan of the United States and that, but then... I've always been... this was the one thing that bothered me."

Caller: "They didn't let the building fall intentionally. Their opinion was that this bomb was rendered safe and this bomb would not go off. And their whole thing on this thing... if you think about it... it makes sense from a tactical standpoint. You would follow the truck to the building. You allow your lead suspect to get away from the building because it didn't blow up, because it's not supposed to. You take John Doe #2... he gets away, which is your federal agent. John Doe #1 — McVeigh — is arrested on a bogus charge and then later proven that he's the one who planted the bomb that did not go off."

McDonald: "But you honestly don't think that they really intended..."

Caller: "Not at all. Not at all. They would not have to. No.... Basically, what happened is, this was a mistake. Someone screwed up and the only one that screwed up... The agents on the scene? They didn't screw up. They did exactly what their orders were: Wait... allow the suspect to leave the scene. Once the suspect had left the scene, then render the truck safe, which is already safe. All they have to do is get in, give it a hot-wire, and drive it off to a safe location and then open up the back and disarm the bomb. Which was supposedly rendered safe to begin with. Okay?"

"And then, from there... they charge in... See, the plan... this plan was put in motion before the bomb ever went off. Their intent was to allow McVeigh to be arrested later on... John Doe#2 to get away... and then, John Doe #2, the Federal Government would have released a sketch or picture. And then, that man would have had to go underground and hide. Where would he hide? He would have hid with the militias. The militias would take him in as a hero. The militias would give him hero status in the Militia movement, which would allow him to be privy to information that the government could use later on..."

"...they did not want that building to blow up. I guarantee you this... their whole intent was that that bomb was rendered safe before it was ever parked in front of that building... otherwise, they would have quietly..."

McDonald: "...Got everybody out of the building?"

Caller: "Got everybody out of the building, before the bomb ever even pulled up in front of the building. There was no reason for them to do that, because according to their plan, the bomb was safe now. There was no reason to evacuate the building and the panic... because there was a truck loaded with a bomb that was not going to blow up...."

McDonald: "Okay."

Caller: "See what I'm saying? And John Doe#2.... By going this far with it... Let me explain something to you. Your actions have consequences. There are a lot of witnesses. There are a lot of agents right now in the hills that are infiltrating these militia groups, and... all these people will get killed. Their blood will be on your hands. I understand that you want... If I really thought that the government allowed the building to blow up, I would be with you 100 percent. But I know... and I believe... they were horrified when the bomb went off... really horrified."

McDonald: "Yeah, they all looked like they were in shock."

Caller: "They figured, as soon as McVeigh got free, as soon as he got... drove off in his car... and I'll tell you something they did. Do you what they did?"

McDonald: "What?"

Caller: "They stole his license plate off that car. You know why? So they'd have probable cause to stop him on the interstate.... They stole his plate. Why do you think the plate was never found? His plate was stolen from the vehicle and the Federal Government stole the plate from the vehicle, so that he would be arrested... John Doe #2 would go free, they would put a sketch out that would make him 'America's Most Wanted.' The only place that a man that would be wanted by the government can hide would be to be hid by the militia groups inside their infrastructure.

"But once he infiltrates the infrastructure... and he's in... all of a sudden he's a hero. And right now, you know, these groups probably believe that they have John Doe #2 and that they're hiding him from the government and they're doing the patriotic thing... and they believe that the building *should have* blown up. So they're holding him. Now, this man's privy to all kinds of information about future bombings, which we don't even know how many bombs they *have* stopped because the agents... how many lives have been saved because that agent's now in the militia. And if this comes to light... this operation..."

What the caller does is attempt to instill guilt in McDonald over her efforts to reveal the truth. Yet McDonald did not allow 169 innocent people to be killed through her negligence and stupidity. The government did.

This ridiculous and immoral rationale is similar to that used by Winston Churchill during WWII. Churchill knew the German Luftwaffe were going to bomb the city of Coventry, because the British had cracked the German code using a device called the "Enigma" machine. Churchill feared that by evacuating Coventry on the night in question, the Germans would realize their codes had been broken and change them, thus hampering British intelligence efforts. Churchill, having knowledge of the forthcoming raid, let it proceed, at the cost of thousands of lives and millions in property damage, in order not to compromise their source — in this case — the Enigma machine.

In a similar vein, the Feds would cover up the truth of the Oklahoma City bombing so as not to compromise their undercover agent — John Doe 2 — and ultimately, reveal their own negligence.

Nevertheless, McDonald's caller makes the case that she should respect these agents, who he terms "highly trained professionals," conducting an operation that has already resulted in the criminally negligent deaths of 169 people, and allow it to continue unabated, when it was undoubtedly government agents who acted as provocateurs and goaded the suspects into carrying out the bombing in the first place!

Of course, these "highly trained, dedicated professionals" he talks so admiringly about are the same "highly trained, dedicated professionals" who murdered 86 innocent men, women and children at Waco; who practically murdered an entire innocent family at Ruby Ridge; who dropped a bomb on the MOVE housing activists in Philadelphia, killing 11 people, including five children; and who bungled the World Trade Center sting operation, resulting in the deaths of six people and the injury of over 1,000.

What nitwit is supposed to buy the story that "highly trained, dedicated professionals" would drive a truck laden with explosives around a busy city — a bomb that could explode at any minute? More likely, the caller is using the "federal agent in danger" line with McDonald as a ruse to cover up the fact that these "highly trained, dedicated professionals" are nothing more than a bunch of highly dangerous, out-of-control, self-serving lunatics.

"The government must, and I say must, take responsibility for their sting operation going sour," said HUD worker Jane Graham.... "We are not expendable for their cause...."^[1105]

As of this writing, the tape is being analyzed by an audio forensics expert. Those Oklahomans who have listened to the tape, however, strongly believe that it is Representative Ernest Istook. Istook sits on the Subcommittee on National Security, which would tend to explain his

rationale that "the public doesn't have to know.... When it comes to the national security and things like this, the public does not have to know...."

Istook also voted for the 1995 Crime and Anti-Terrorism bills, and is reportedly very friendly with Senator Orin Hatch, one of the original drafters of the latter. Istook is also on close terms with the FBI, which would go a long way towards explaining his apologetic tone. He lives in the same Congressional district and neighborhood (Warr Acres) as McDonald.^[1106]

This scenario is also reinforced by a second individual — a police officer named Bob Cancemi. He told McDonald he knows "for a fact" that authorities knew in advance specifically when and how the Ryder truck-bomb was to arrive at the Federal Building. But, he says, something went "very wrong;" the bomb was supposed to have been disarmed. "I feel pretty confident that they knew exactly what was going on," he said, "and just... things didn't go according to plan."^[1107]

Cancemi's information, and that of McDonald's caller, is backed up by Daina Bradley. Peering out the window of the Social Security office minutes before the blast, Bradley caught a glimpse of a stocky, dark-skinned man exiting the passenger side of the Ryder truck. She said the man walked to the back of the truck to open the door, then spun around, looking "very nervous, almost confused." He then ran down 5th Street in the opposite direction and jumped into a brown pick-up which sped away. Could the man's confused expression have been the result of an unexpected occurrence? Perhaps when he lifted the rear gate he saw a second timing device attached to the bomb that he didn't know how to disarm? And not knowing what to do, he fled.

Yet while the caller admits the government's involvement in the bombing, he fails to take into account the additional bombs placed *inside* the building. He fails to explain why the government quickly demolished the bomb site, destroying all forensic evidence. And his story does not account for the Middle Eastern and numerous other suspects.

The caller's explanation also goes a long way towards explaining a statement made by Terry Nichols after his arrest. When Lana Padilla asked her ex-husband during a prison visit about John Doe 2, he said, "If they want to find John Doe 2, they should look in their own backyard."^[1108]

What is clear is that the government could take no chances in allowing any of their undercover operatives and informants — Strassmeir, Brescia, Howe, Gagan, Hussaini, and others — to testify at trial. To cover their butts, federal law enforcement agencies ignored, discredited, and even killed those who attempted to reveal the truth. As Officer Terrance Yeakey wrote before he was murdered:

I took an oath to uphold the Law and to enforce the Law to the best of my ability. This is something I cannot honestly do and hold my head up proud any longer if I keep my silence as I am ordered to do.

My guess is the more time an officer has to think about the screw up the more he is going to question what happened... Can you imagine what would be coming down now if that had been our officers' who had let this happen? Because it was the feds that did this and not the locals, is the reason it's okay.

The sad truth of the matter is that they have so many police officers convinced that by covering up the truth about the operation gone wrong, that they are actually doing our citizens a favor. What I want to know is how many other operations have they had that blew up in their faces? Makes you stop and take another look at Waco.

I would consider it to be an insult to my profession as a police officer and to the citizens of Oklahoma for ANY of the City, State or Federal agents that stood by and let this happen to be recognized as any thing other than their part in participation in letting this happen....

Finally, while those who said the bombing was an excuse to destroy the Militia movement were dismissed as self-deluded paranoiacs, McDonald's caller admits the *entire operation was to ensnare the Militia movement!* Of course, McDonald's caller makes no distinction between militias and neo-Nazi groups. Militia groups angrily denounced the bombing, as any self-respecting citizen would, and certainly no militia member would consider a person who killed 169 innocent people a hero.

If the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building was merely a failed sting operation, where did it go wrong? Those who remember the World Trade Center bombing, may recall that it, too, was a fouled sting operation.

In that case, the FBI's original plan to entrap the Al-Gama'a al-Islamiya group was to have their undercover operative, Emad Eli Salem, substitute a harmless powder for the real explosive, which he would help them build. Instead, due to a "disagreement," the FBI pulled Salem off the case.

Like Cary Gagan, who tried to warn the FBI of the Oklahoma City bombing, and Samra Mahayoun, who tried to warn officials of the Pan Am 103 attack, Salem, they insisted, was just not credible. Several weeks later, a truck-bomb detonated under the World Trade Center, killing six people and injuring 1,000 more.

Unbeknownst to the FBI, Salem, a former Egyptian Army colonel, had secretly recorded his conversations with his FBI handlers.^[1109] Portions of the tapes were made public and reprinted in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*. In broken English, Salem talks with the unnamed FBI supervisor who pulled him off the case:

"We'll be going building the bomb with a phony powder, and grabbing the people who was involved in it. But since you, we didn't do that."

When Salem decided to complain to FBI headquarters, FBI supervisor John Anticev dissuaded him: "He said, I don't think that the New York people would like the things out of the New York Office to go to Washington, D.C."

Salem's immediate handler, agent Nancy Floyd, is heard on the tapes agreeing with the Egyptian's account, saying, "Well, of course not, because they don't want to get their butts chewed."

In one conversation, Salem tells Floyd:

"Since the bomb went off, I feel terrible. I feel bad. I feel here is people who don't listen."

Ms. Floyd seems to commiserate, saying: "Hey, I mean it wasn't like you didn't try, and I didn't try."

...Salem recounts another point in the conversation he said he had with Anticev, saying:

"I said, 'Guys, now you saw this bomb went off, and you both know that we could avoid that.'"

...Salem talks of the plan to substitute harmless powder for explosives during another conversation with Agent Floyd. In that conversation, he recalls a previous discussion with Anticev. Mr. Salem says he told the other agent:

"Do you deny that your supervisor is the main reason of bombing the World Trade Center?"

Mr. Salem said that Anticev did not deny it. [\[1110\]](#)

What is also interesting to note is that not only did the FBI "foul up" the operation, but they had Salem act as a provocateur, recommending potential targets, teaching the terrorists how to build the bomb, then teaching them how to drive the truck used in the bombing!

As the *Wall Street Journal* reported in regards to Salem's activities inside the Sheik's group immediately following the World Trade Center bombing:

Mr. Salem helped organize the "battle plan" that the government alleged included plots to bomb the United Nations and FBI buildings in New York, and the Holland and Lincoln tunnels beneath the Hudson River. Working with a charismatic Sudanese man named Siddig Ali, a follower of Sheik Omar, Mr. Salem recruited seven local Muslims to scout targets, plan tactics and obtain chemicals and electrical parts for bombs, the government alleged. The FBI supplied a safehouse in Queens. [\[1111\]](#)

As Floyd later explained to her superior, "Emad had the information about the bombs and where they wanted to have them placed. If we had done what we were supposed to have done, we would have known about it... we would have used our heads and come up with the solution of trying to neutralize the situation." [\[1112\]](#)

When these "highly-trained, dedicated professionals" pulled Salem off the case, the bombers contacted Ramzi Yousef, an Iraqi agent and expert bomb maker. Mujahadeen veteran and World Trade Center bomber Mamud Abouhalima met Yousef in Afghanistan in 1988, and brought him and co-conspirator Ahmed Ajaj to the U.S. in September of 1992. Far from building a harmless device, Yousef constructed a sophisticated, powerful bomb, capable of causing extensive damage. Had patsy driver Mohammed Salemeleh parked the truck next to a key column, they might have toppled the 110 story Twin Towers, killing as many as *20,000 people!*

As William Norman Grigg writes in the February 19, 1997 issue of the *New American*:

Shortly after Yousef's arrival, the FBI subpoenaed two dozen of Sheik Omar's followers and questioned them about the sheik, Nosair, and Abouhalima. However, no arrests were made, no grand jury investigation was launched, and the FBI chose to downgrade its scrutiny of Omar's network — just as plans were being finalized for the Trade Center bombing. This curious decision is even more peculiar in light of the fact that the FBI had obtained intelligence on the network's capabilities and intentions from Emad A. Salem, a former Egyptian Army officer and FBI informant who served as Omar's security guard.

The FBI defended themselves by alleging that Salem had refused to cooperate with FBI guidelines and procedures. He didn't want to wear a body-wire they claimed, and refused to testify against his so-called terrorist comrades in court. Salem was summarily dismissed. When these "highly-trained, dedicated professionals" pulled Salem off the case, they lost control of the situation, and the bombers made their move.

The FBI claimed the exact same thing about one of their informants in the Oklahoma City bombing case — Cary Gagan. Although the Justice Department granted Gagan a Letter of Immunity, they and the "highly-trained, dedicated professionals" of the FBI failed to follow up on the informant's apparently credible information. Gagan hadn't just contacted the FBI and the Marshals Service once or twice regarding the plot, but had informed them on numerous occasions of the terrorists' plans. To the Gagan's knowledge, none of this information was

followed up.

After the bombing, the Justice Department tried to maintain that Gagan wasn't credible. The U.S. Attorney's Office revoked his Letter of Immunity, ignored his information, and apparently tried to assassinate him. In order to prove their bogus allegations, they removed reports from his informant file that showed Gagan had assisted the DEA in recovering critical information.

The government's conduct in dealing with Gagan paralleled their treatment of Carol Howe. As discussed previously, Tulsa ATF Agent Angela Finley-Graham had placed Howe inside Elohim City, where she reported on the activities of Mahon, Strassmeir, and others allegedly involved in the plot. It was recently learned that Howe had secretly taped conversations with her ATF handler as Salem had. Those tapes have not been made public as of this writing.

Still, the government would try to cover its tracks by claiming that Howe's information was unspecific, and that she was emotionally unstable. Yet two days after the bombing, the ATF renewed its contract with her, and sent her back to Elohim City to collect additional information. In the aftermath of the World Trade Center bombing, the FBI renewed its association with Emad Salem, paying him a reported \$1 million to infiltrate Sheik Omar's group once again.

Given the Tulsa ATF's interest in Strassmeir and Elohim City, it is highly likely that they were the initial target of the sting. ATF agent Angela Finley -Graham conferred with her superiors about raiding the compound in February of '95 and arresting Strassmeir, but FBI and DoJ officials advised against it. [\[1113\]](#)

The ATF's actions at Elohim City were a curious parallel to those of the FBI's in New York. As the *London Sunday Telegraph's* Ambrose Evans-Pritchard stated, "It appears that the local BATF had stumbled on a bigger operation being run by the grown-ups at the Justice Department." [\[1114\]](#)

If the Arabs had plotted with neo-Nazis to blow up the Federal Building. It is a foregone conclusion that they were under surveillance by the ATF and FBI.

Recall that Timothy McVeigh and Sam Khalid were both investigated by the FBI. McVeigh in 1993, and Khalid in 1990. Since Mike Khalid was investigated for espionage by Army CID, it is reasonable to assume that attention was focused on his brother as well.

Said David Hall, "I felt like... that probably the agencies involved in this, their intent was to tie together some Patriot groups and to tie in some other terrorist groups. I think the intent here was to say — go to Congress and say — that we have domestic and foreign terrorist groups, Mideast or foreign, working together and trying to blow up buildings here in the United States."

It is likely that the FBI became aware of collusion between the two groups — neo-Nazis and Arabs — as early as 1994, when Cary Gagan reported that Terry Nichols had met with "Iranians" in Henderson, Nevada. With the involvement of the Arabs, and the white supremacists at Elohim City, the sting became a joint ATF/FBI operation.

Interestingly, Hall learned that the FBI and the ATF got into a shouting match while debriefing Janet Reno. According to Hall, when Reno left the room, the FBI and ATF began yelling at each other, angrily accusing each other for the tragedy.

Somewhere along the line in Oklahoma City, the FBI and ATF lost control of the situation, and the bombers were able to make their move. As in the World Trade Center case, someone who had infiltrated the operation in Oklahoma had substituted a real bomb for a phony one, or had placed a redundant timer on the bomb, or had simply provided false information to the agents in charge, preventing them from stopping the attack.

Were the FBI and ATF double-crossed by one of their own informants? Or, as in the Pan Am case, did someone in a position of authority look at the situation and say, "*Don't stop it, let it go*"?

If the FBI and ATF were double-crossed, it may have been by one of their own agents. Recall that Michael Franks, a rogue American agent with connections to the Octopus, had provided the key information that allowed Ahmed Jibril to target Pan Am 103.

Former FBI SAC Ted Gundersen (head of the Los Angeles field office) described to me what he called a "unilateral transfer" of CIA agents into various federal law-enforcement agencies in the early 1980s. The purpose of this Reagan/Bush covert policy was to permit the CIA to head off any inconvenient investigations that such agencies might be undertaking. If so, it would go a long way towards explaining the FBI's curiously timed fit of incompetence.

There are precedents. In 1971, Louis Tackwood, an agent provocateur working out of the LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS), charged that the CCS "had been set up on the same basis as the CIA." Tackwood disclosed that CCS agents — approximately 125 of whom were agent provocateurs — were sponsored by federal intelligence agencies. As researcher Alex Constantine notes in his book, *Blood, Carnage, and the Agent Provocateur*, the CSS was directly linked to the Washington, D.C.-based Inter-Agency Group on Domestic Intelligence and Internal Security, a little-known covert operations unit made up of Right-wing agents from the FBI, CIA, DIA, NSC, Army, Air Force, and local police departments. [\[1115\]](#)

The CCS's spying activities came to a head in 1973 with the publication of Tackwood's *The Glass House Tapes*, and the unit was summarily disbanded. In its place evolved the Organized Crime Intelligence Division (OCID), which, interestingly enough, maintains no files on organized crime, but plenty on local citizens and politicians.

The OCID also still maintains its ties with the federal intelligence apparatus. According to Pasadena City Council member Michael Zinzin, who won a \$3.8 million dollar lawsuit against the LAPD's Anti-Terrorist Division, that apparatus is the same secret cabal involved in the Iran-Contra imbroglio.

In other words, the Octopus.

Mike Rothmiller, a former OCID detective, stumbled upon the connections and subsequently fell prey to an assassin's bullet. At the time, Rothmiller had been investigating one Robert Terry, an arms and drug smuggler with links to the CIA. [\[1116\]](#)

Gundersen's "unilateral transfer" could easily explain how intelligence operatives were able to manipulate the sting operation in Oklahoma City. If there were duplicitous agents inside the ATF and FBI, they would have known when and where the bomb was to be delivered. They would have known how [one of] the FBI's undercover agent(s) — John Doe 2 — was to disable the bomb. They would have had full and detailed knowledge of the plot.

Like Michael Franks, they could have easily informed those who had an interest in changing that plot — those who had an interest in seeing that the building, and possibly some of those inside it — was destroyed.

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[E: This chapter was omitted from the printed edition.]

The Octopus

"This underground empire is controlled by a handful of people for money — that's the only secret of the temple."
— Investigative reporter Danny Casolaro, prior to his murder by the Octopus

The nomenclature of the Lockerbie and World Trade Center bombings provide a unique and unparalleled insight into the dynamics of the Oklahoma City bombing. Each event gives the reader a glimpse of how the Shadow Government operates, utilizing drug dealers, criminals, and terrorists to do its bidding.

All three bombings were sting operations that utilized, and were utilized by, terrorists bent on causing destruction.

But the question still remained: who was controlling the terrorists? To understand that, one must peer through the doorway of time stretching from WWII to the present.

To prepare for the invasion of Sicily during WWII, the OSS (which later became the CIA) collaborated with the Corsican Mafia. The arrangement permitted the Mafia use the port of Marseilles for heroin smuggling in exchange for its assistance in defeating the Nazis. [\[1117\]](#)

After WWII, the heroin operation moved to Vietnam and Laos, then to Afghanistan and Pakistan, as the CIA embroiled itself in a covert war against the Soviets. Assistant Secretary of Defense for National Security Affairs Richard Armitage sat on the "208 Committee," which oversaw military aid to the Mujahadeen. Fazoe Haq, the governor of the Northwest Frontier Province (the largest heroin growing province in Afghanistan), who was originally worth \$100,000, was suddenly was worth \$200 million after the war. Armitage was his main contact. [\[1118\]](#)

Vince Cannistraro (Mr. "Libya done it") also sat on the 208 Committee, representing National Security Advisor Robert "Bud" McFarlane, Oliver North's supervisor. [\[1119\]](#)

Shortly after the start of the Afghani operation, the CIA began arming the Contras in Nicaragua. Cannistraro himself [along with Duane "Dewy" Clarridge, then Chief of the CIA's Latin American Division] headed Casey's original operation to arm the Contras, based on Reagan's March, 1981 decision. As former Green Beret Andrew Eiva said, "Cannistraro was up to his ears by 1985." This is significant, considering the Boland Amendment, prohibiting aid to the Contras, was passed in 1984. [\[1120\]](#)

Some of these are the same players who moved into other Central American countries, setting up security services (death squads) for U.S.-backed dictators, and profiting handsomely from the cocaine trade.

If anyone thinks these are outrageous allegations, consider the statements of Mike Levine, one of the DEA's most highly decorated veterans: "For decades, the CIA, the Pentagon, and secret organizations like Oliver North's Enterprise have been supporting and protecting the world's biggest drug dealers," including the Mujahadeen in Afghanistan, the Contras in Central America, the DFS in Mexico, the Shan United Army in the Golden Triangle of Southeast Asia, and "any of a score of other groups and/or individuals like Manuel Noriega. Support of these people has been secretly deemed more important than getting drugs off our streets." [\[1121\]](#)

Or consider the words of Lt. Col. Bo Gritz, former commander of the Special Forces in Latin America and the most decorated soldier in Vietnam. Gritz made a trip to the Golden Triangle in 1983 to search for American POWs, a mission that was ultimately stonewalled. Gritz believes the POWs are being used as drug mules, and the government doesn't want them returned alive, for fear they would expose the Octopus. As Gritz said: "[They] would not want the American POWs to come home. Because when they do, there will be an investigation as to why they were abandoned. At that time we will uncover this secret organization and its illicit drug money and financing. The Secret Team would then be exposed." [\[1122\]](#)

As Gritz later wrote in *Called to Serve*:

If Richard Armitage was, as Khun Sa avowed, a major participant in parallel government drug trafficking, then it explained why our efforts to rescue POWs had been inexplicably foiled, time after time... If it was true, Richard Armitage would be the last man in the world who would desire to see prisoners of war come home alive.^[1123]

As "Special Consultant to the Pentagon on the MIAs," in Bangkok in 1975, Armitage reportedly spent more time repatriating opium profits than recovering POWs. In 1976, when Khun Sa was still selling heroin to CIA officials, the head of the CIA was none other than George Bush.^[1124]

Former presidential candidate H. Ross Perot, who was appointed presidential investigator for POW/MIA affairs, came upon the same information, and was warned by former Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci to stop pursuing the connections to Armitage. As he sadly explained to a group of POW/MIA families in 1987: "I have been instructed to cease and desist."^[1125]

Ironically, between 1987 and 1991, Vice-President Bush served as head of the South Florida Drug Task Force, and later as chair of the National Narcotics Interdiction System, both set up to "stem" the flow of drugs into the U.S. While Bush was drug czar, the volume of cocaine smuggled into the U.S. tripled.^[1126]

Celerino "Cele" Castillo, the DEA's head agent in El Salvador and Guatemala from 1985 to 1991, told reporters and Senate investigators of numerous known drug traffickers who used hangers controlled by Oliver North and the CIA in El Salvador's Ilopango military airbase. When Castillo naively tried to warn Bush at a U.S. embassy party in Guatemala, Bush "just shook my hand, smiled and walked away..."^[1127]

"By the end of 1988," added Castillo, "I realized how hopelessly tangled the DEA, the CIA, and every other U.S. entity in Central America had become with the criminals. The connections boggled my mind."^[1128]

"The CIA — they're making deals with the Devil," adds Mike Levine. "Unfortunately, the Devil is smarter than they are."^[1129]

Some of those devils, like Monzer al-Kassar — "business partner" of Richard Secord and Oliver North — would be utilized to do the Octopus's dirty work.

Another name Khun Sa mentioned repeatedly was Ted Shackley.^[1130] A long-time CIA player, Theodore G. Shackley (known as "The Blond Ghost") began his Agency career as CIA Station Chief in Miami, where he directed the CIA's JM/WAVE Operation, a post-Bay of Pigs attempt to assassinate Fidel Castro and wreck havoc within that sovereign nation. Utilizing Cuban expatriates, the CIA conducted hundreds of sabotage raids against Cuba in direct violation of the U.S. Neutrality Act. Shackley also worked in close partnership with Mob figures John Roselli, Sam Giancana, and Santos Trafficante.^[1131]

While the operation was shut down in 1965, due mainly to revelations of organized crime connections and drug smuggling, many of the participants remained in Miami, continuing their illegal activities.

Later, as Station Chief of Laos, Shackley directed Major General Richard Secord's air wing in tactical raids against the Communist Pathet Lao, who happened to be General Vang Pao's main competition in the opium trade. By keeping the Pathet Lao busy with the help of the CIA and the American military, Pao's Hmong tribesmen were able to become the region's largest heroin producers.^[1132]

Of course, Shackley, his deputy Tom Clines (who supervised the air base in Long Tieng), and their colleagues in CIA front companies like Air America were only too happy to help, smuggling heroin to the U.S. in the gutted bodies of dead GIs (with the assistance of their old Mob buddy Santos Trafficante, who had helped form their ZR/RIFLE assassination team, and Vietnamese Air Force General Nguyen Cao Ky), and laundering the profits in the Nugan-Hand bank. As a 1983 *Wall Street Journal* article stated:

Investigations following Mr. Nugan's death and the failure of the bank revealed widespread dealings by Nugan-Hand with international heroin syndicates, and evidence of massive fraud against U.S. and foreign citizens. Many retired high-ranking Pentagon and CIA officials were executives of or consultants to Nugan-Hand.^{[1133][1134]}

Shackley, along with Nugan-Hand's attorney — former CIA Director William Colby — directed the infamous "Phoenix Program," a largely successful attempt to "neutralize" by torture and murder approximately 40,000 Vietnamese civilians suspected of being Viet Cong sympathizers. One Phoenix operative, testifying before Congress, stated that Phoenix was "a sterile, depersonalized murder program... it was completely indiscriminate." The assassinations would continue in Nicaragua under the code-name "Operation Pegasus."^{[1135][1136]}

After becoming the head of the CIA's Western Hemisphere operations (Latin American Division) in 1972, Shackley supervised the overthrow of the Chilean government ("Operation Track II") by murdering democratically elected President Salvador Allende. With the backing of the CIA under Shackley, the military led a violent coup by Right-wing General Augusto Pinochet, which resulted in the abolishment of the Constitution, the closing of all newspapers save for two Right-wing dailies, the outlawing of trade unions, the suppression of all political parties, and the arrest, torture, and execution of thousands.^[1137]

After a brief stint as Director of the Far East Division, Shackley directed CIA agent Edwin Wilson in training the Shah of Iran's notorious secret police, the Savak, who routinely tortured and murdered the Shah's opponents. Later Shackley would assist more directly in these efforts. [\[1138\]](#)

In 1975, Shackley became Associate Director in the Directorate of Operations, which put him in charge of Covert-Operations, Counter-Intelligence, and ironically, Counter-Narcotics, all under the command of George Herbert Walker Bush.

These associations naturally led to Shackley playing a role in the formation of the "Secret Team," (to coin a phrase invented by Col. L. Fletcher Prouty) the covert and illegal enterprise that was the driving force behind the Iran-Contra operation. Donald Gregg, one of Shackley's subordinates during his Saigon tenure, would later become Assistant National Security Advisor during Iran-Contra, reporting directly to Vice-President Bush.

It was against this backdrop that Shackley served as a "consultant" to players such as Bush, Secord, North, and Casey in their illegal and bloody guns-for-drugs network that resulted in tens of thousands of deaths and the flooding of our streets with tons of drugs.

As *Wall Street Journal* reporter Jonathan Kwitny writes about Ted Shackley in his book, *The Crimes of Patriots*:

Looking at the list of disasters Shackley has presided over during his career, one might even conclude that on the day the CIA hired Shackley it might have done better hiring a KGB agent; a Soviet mole probably could not have done as much damage to the national security of the United States with all his wile as Shackley did with the most patriotic of intentions.

Between Shackley's Cuban and Indochinese campaigns, more dope dealers were probably put onto the payroll of the United States Government, and protected and encouraged in their activities, than if the government had simply gone out and hired the Mafia — which, in the case of the Cuban campaign, it did.

CIA Director Admiral Stansfield Turner forced Shackley to resign from the Agency in 1979, due to his "unauthorized" dealings with rogue agent Edwin Wilson, who was selling plastic explosives to Libya (with Shackley's approval). Had he not left, Shackley would likely have become head of the Agency. [\[1139\]](#)

George Bush, who headed the Agency in 1976, strongly desired to continue in that post. He was not reappointed when Jimmy Carter took office. [\[1140\]*](#)

Moreover, Turner, who had little faith in HUMNIT (Human Intelligence) sources, decided to reshape the CIA along more advanced technological lines. As a result of Turner's infamous "Halloween Massacre," the CIA cut its field agents from several thousand to just over 300. As President Jimmy Carter would later state, "We were aware that some of the unqualified and incompetent personnel whom he discharged were deeply resentful." [\[1141\]](#)

The old hands of the Agency, who formerly had at their disposal almost unlimited "Black Budget" funds for covert operations, were suddenly forced into retirement, or forced into lockstep with Turner's new guidelines.

Although CIA Director William Casey hired 2,000 new covert operators in 1980, many CIA critics felt Turner's actions had already caused the secret cells of the good-old-boy networks to bury themselves — and their illegal activities — even deeper.

It is this element, birthed in the hysteria of the Cold War, legitimized by the paranoia of the National Security state, and nurtured by the politics of greed, that has buried itself in the core of American politics.

As long-time Army Criminal Investigator Gene Wheaton defines it: "An elite, very clandestine, very covert group within the intelligence community.... The CIA and DIA is just the lightning rod for the people who really control things."

Those who could accept the idea of government foreknowledge of the Oklahoma City bombing would be hard-pressed to accept the notion that certain factions within the government might have orchestrated the bombing itself. Those who have a difficult time accepting this are stymied by what they perceive as "government."

As Wheaton explains, "The government is just a bunch of monuments, office buildings, computers, and desks. They don't see the crazies in the government — the little conspiratorial cliques within the government." [\[1142\]](#)

These little conspiratorial cliques — the same players that Shackley intersects with, going back to Cuba, Laos, Afghanistan and Nicaragua — have been involved for decades in everything from drug and gun-running, to assassinations, covert warfare, and outright terrorism. It is a terrorism that increasingly has no particular face, no ideological credo, no political goal. It is a terrorism motivated by power and greed. [\[1143\]](#)

By no means the lone man behind the curtain, Ted Shackley represents one of the more visible of this lexicon of covert operators upon whom the powers that be depend on for their endless supply of "black ops" and dirty tricks. Perhaps this is how Shackley knows, or seems to know, the complex truth behind Oklahoma City. It is a truth that remains hidden behind a sophisticated labyrinth of covert operatives, all of

whom converge at similar times and places. They are, as David Corn writes, "the little faceless gray men we never see and seldom hear about." Those we call the "Shadow Government," the "Parallel Government," the "Enterprise," the "Octopus," or a half-a-dozen other names, are carefully hidden behind an endless roster of official titles and duties, and a plethora of familiar-sounding organizations and institutions.

These same faceless little gray men would pop up in the Oklahoma City bombing conspiracy like interminable weeds between the cracks of the pavement. From the Bay of Pigs to Iran-Contra to Oklahoma City, the names, faces, and players would coalesce for a brief moment in time into an indistinguishable menagerie of politicians and spooks, terrorists and assassins — to commit their terrible deed, then fade into the seamless world where little distinction is made between assets and criminals. [\[1144\]](#)

Ted Shackley was officially forced to resign from the CIA due to his dealings with friend and renegade agent Edwin Wilson. Wilson and former CIA employee Frank Terpil had smuggled two tons of C-4 to Libya, and at the behest of Shackley, had set up terrorist training camps there utilizing Green Berets led to believe they were working for the Agency. The ostensible purpose of this maneuver was to permit the CIA to gather information on Soviet and Libyan weapons and defense capabilities, and to learn the identities of foreign nationals being trained for guerrilla warfare. Upon obtaining their passports and travel plans, Shackley would alert their home country's secret police, who would then assassinate them upon their return. [\[1145\]](#)

While Wilson was sentenced to a long prison term, Terpil fled to Cuba, and has since been involved in numerous dealings with the PLO and other terrorists, supplying them with sophisticated assassination weapons, detonators, and communication systems. [\[1146\]](#)

Terpil also supplied torture devices to Ugandan Dictator Idi Amin, who used a bomb supplied by Terpil to assassinate Kenyan cabinet member Bruce McKenzie. [\[1147\]](#)

One month later, Terpil was implicated in the murder of three executives of the IBEX corporation — a high-technology company that was doing business with the Savak. John Harper, IBEX's former director of security, said that while in Tripoli, he saw a mock-up of the ambush site at the training facility that Terpil and Wilson had set up. [\[1148\]](#)†

Readers will recall this is the same Frank Terpil that was seen by Cary Gagan in Mexico City with Omar (Sam Khalid?), six months before the Oklahoma City bombing. "I saw him down in Mexico," recalled Gagan, "in November of '94, in Mexico City... with Omar."

Gagan said he and Omar met Terpil at the Hotel Maria Isabelle in the Zona Rosa district. Gagan didn't know who Terpil was at the time, but described him as a fat, balding, 60ish fellow, who was "terribly dressed." In other words — Frank Terpil.

"I heard the name because I knew Wilson's name from the Florence Federal Penitentiary in Colorado." Gagan said that one of his intelligence contacts, a man named Daniel, told him about Terpil. "The conversation came up in reference to the Gander, Newfoundland crash," said Gagan.

Was Terpil in Mexico to supply explosives to Omar? While Gagan wasn't privy to the conversation, he believes that was the purpose of the meeting.

When Wilson and Terpil were selling arms and explosives to Libya, they were reporting to none other than Ted Shackley. Kwitny notes that Wilson and Terpil were hiring anti-Castro Cubans from Shackley's old JM/WAVE program [and Green Berets] to assassinate President Qaddafi's political opponents abroad:

Some U.S. Army men were literally lured away from the doorway of Fort Bragg, their North Carolina training post. The GIs were given every reason to believe that the operation summoning them was being carried out with the full backing of the CIA.... [\[1149\]](#)

Readers will also recall that while Timothy McVeigh was still in the Army, he wrote his sister a letter telling her that he had been picked for a Special Forces (Green Beret) Covert Tactical Unit (CTU) that was involved in illegal activities. These illegal activities included "protecting drug shipments, eliminating the [Octopus's drug] competition, and population control."

This is exactly what Shackley, Clines, and Secord did in Laos — assassinating and bombing Vang Pao's opium competition out of existence.

Could this CTU McVeigh claims he was recruited for be a latter-day version of Shackley's assassins? Former federal grand juror Hoppy Heidelberg said McVeigh's letter indicates that he turned them down, while former FBI SAC Ted Gundersen claims McVeigh actually worked for the group for a while, then became disenchanted. [\[1150\]](#)

If McVeigh had actually been recruited for such a group, the question arises of what cover-story he was given. As discussed, it is highly likely he was told that he was on an important mission — to infiltrate a terrorist organization and prevent a bombing. Considering McVeigh's background and character, it is unlikely he is a terrorist who set out to murder 169 innocent people.

Also recall that McVeigh was seen with Hussain al-Hussaini. The Iraqis would provide a convincing and plausible excuse if McVeigh was led to believe he was part of a sting operation: "Son, you were a hero in the Gulf War. Your country needs you now in the fight against terrorism." It is a story a young, impressionable man like McVeigh would fall for.

It is also possible that McVeigh was sheep-dipped as disgruntled ex-GI for infiltration into the neo-Nazi community, which would provide a doorway into the bombing conspiracy through places like Elohim City.

Or perhaps, as a result of his becoming "disenchanted" and "leaving" the CTU, he became targeted for "termination," and was set up as a fall-guy. Such is standard operating procedure for those who attempt to leave the world of covert operations.

Either way, the fact that there appeared to be two "Timothy McVeighs," just as there were two Oswalds, would suggest a sophisticated intelligence operation, one that was designed to put McVeigh in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Like Oswald, McVeigh probably believed himself to be a government agent, part of a secret project. Like Oswald, McVeigh was not told what the plan really involved, and was trapped, framed, and made a patsy.

This goes a long way towards explaining why an armed McVeigh didn't shoot and kill Officer Charles Hanger when he was stopped on the Interstate after the bombing. Why would a man who had just killed 169 men, women, and children balk at killing a cop (a member of the system that McVeigh allegedly hated) on a lonely stretch of highway? The only possible answer is that McVeigh believed he was part of a sting operation — a government asset — and would be protected.

Whatever McVeigh's actual purpose and intent, it is curious, to say the least, that Ted Shackley would tell D'Ferdinand Carone that the perpetrator of the bombing was somebody from here.

How did he know?

Roger Moore, the mysterious gun dealer whom the government claimed McVeigh and Nichols robbed to "finance" the bombing, ran a company next to Bahia Mar Marina in South Florida (a popular hang-out for the Iran-Contra crowd), which manufactured high-speed boats. The boats — sold through Intercontinental Industries of Costa Rica (an Ollie North "cut-out") — were used to mine Nicaragua's harbors in "Operation Cordova Harbor."^[1151]

One source I spoke to said Moore had direct contact with Oliver North. "I don't know who his [Moore's] contact was on Iran-Contra beyond Don Aranow. I know he had access and would talk directly to Oliver North. He knew Felix Rodriguez pretty well, he knew Nester Sanchez, Manny Diaz, all those guys around Jeb [Bush] pretty well."

This source also claimed that Moore was a "paymaster" for Tom Posey's Civilian Military Assistance (CMA) — the covert paramilitary operation that served as the primary nexus for arming the Contras.

A retired CIA/DIA agent I spoke to in Arkansas, said "[Moore] was an Agency contractor."

Other sources say Moore was an informant for the FBI. He allegedly tried to sell heavy weapons to the Militia of Montana (MOM) as part of an FBI sting operation. A call to MOM indicated that Moore had indeed stopped by for a friendly chat. He told Randy Trochmann, one of MOM's leaders, that he was traveling the country meeting with militia groups in an attempt to verify black helicopter sightings and rumors of UN troop movements. This seems a peculiar pastime for a man who worked for a network of spooks devoted to bypassing and subverting the Constitution.^[1152]

What is also peculiar is a letter written by Moore to McVeigh in early 1995. Introduced at the trial of Terry Nichols, the letter, speaks of "a plan... to bring the country down and have a few more things happen."^[1153]

Robert "Bud" McFarlane went on to form his own consulting firm, and joined the board of American Equity Investors (AEI), founded by Prescott Bush. AEI's board of directors reads like a Who's Who of the spook world, including former CIA officials George Clairmont and Howard Hebert, and CIA lawyer Mitch Rogovin, who was George Bush's legal counsel when he was Director of the Agency.^[1154]

AEI invested in a Tulsa, Oklahoma company: Hawkins Oil and Gas, from 1988 to 1991. McFarlane was a "consultant" for Hawkins and several other companies on the Ech power project in Pakistan, which required frequent trips to that country.^[1155] This was during the tail end of the largest covert operation the U.S. ever conducted — the arming of the Mujahadeen, who trained in Pakistan. McFarlane sat on the "208 Committee," who's job it was to procure weapons for the Mujahadeen, and arms contracts for the Pakistani government.

Recall that Richard Armitage, who was the contact for Fazoe Haq, governor of the Northwest Frontier Province, also sat on the "208 Committee." As Alfred A. McCoy writes in *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*:

It's known that the CIA paid the Afghan guerrillas, who were based in Pakistan, through BCCI.... That the Pakistan military were in fact banking their drug profits, moving their drug profits from the consuming country back to Pakistan though BCCI. In fact the boom in the Pakistan drug trade was financed by BCCI....

BCCI also served as a conduit for the Iran-Contra operation, largely through Gaith Pharon, former head of Saudi Intelligence, who operated

out of Islamabad, Pakistan. The Saudis played a major role in funding the Mujahadeen and [via the request of Secord and McFarlane] the Contras.

McFarlane — who former Mossad official Ari Ben Menashe claims is a Mossad asset — worked with the president of Hawkins' International Division, Mujeeb Rehman Cheema, on the Ech project. Was Hani Kamal's supposed statement that Khalid was connected to the Mossad accurate? A prominent Muslim community leader, Cheema claims he does not know Sam Khalid. [\[1156\]](#)

Interestingly, Gagan said that at one point, Terry Nichols rendezvoused with his Middle Eastern friends at the Islamic society of Nevada. Cheema is chairman of the Islamic Society of Tulsa. Is there a connection? And what of Cheema's links to McFarlane? Was McFarlane using Hawkins as a front for CIA activities in Pakistan?

It is perhaps prophetic that many of the terrorists implicated in the major bombings of the last decade attended the terrorist conference held in the Northwest Frontier Province town of Konli, Pakistan in July of 1996. As noted, Osama bin Ladin, a Saudi who funded the Mujahadeen and was implicated in the Riyadh and Dhahran bombings, (a close associate of Sheik Abdel Omar Rahman, implicated in the World Trade Center bombing), Ahmed Jibril (who bombed Pan Am 103), and senior representatives of Iranian and Pakistani intelligence, and Hamas, HizbAllah, and other groups attended the conference. [\[1157\]](#)

Stephen Jones claimed he had learned through the Saudi Arabian Intelligence Service that Iraq had hired seven Pakistani mercenaries — Mujahadeen veterans — to bomb targets in the U.S., one of which was the Alfred P. Murrah Building. [\[1158\]](#)

Just who were these "Pakistani mercenaries," and were they really working for Iraq?

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The Covert Cowboys

The use of former enemy soldiers, criminals, and terrorists for their dirty work is also a time-honored tradition among intelligence agencies, who stand to gain the "plausible deniability" so coveted in the world of covert operations. [\[1159\]](#)

At the close of WWII, the U.S. Government helped thousands of Nazi war criminals escape justice, integrating them into its scientific/military/intelligence establishment. Reinhard Gehlen, Hitler's senior intelligence officer on the Eastern Front, and other high-ranking Nazis, were spirited out of Germany with the aid of the OSS and the Vatican, then installed in top-secret, sensitive posts in the U.S. and abroad.

Gehlen's SS officers had been instrumental in the mass extermination of Gypsies and Jews, and Gehlen was personally responsible for the torture, interrogation, and murder by starvation of some *4 million* Soviet prisoners of war.

Gehlen later boasted of teaching the newly formed CIA everything it knew.

Many of the world's deadliest terrorists were in fact trained by agencies such as the CIA and KGB, who went on to commit mayhem and murder on an unprecedented scale. A prime example is Shackley's JM/WAVE anti-Castro campaign of the mid-1960s, which trained Cuban exiles in techniques of assassination and terror, then unleashed them on their native country. The most infamous of these "Cuban Cowboys," Luis Posada Carriles (AKA: Ramon Medina), a member of the anti-Castro group CORU (also a member of the CIA's ZR/RIFLE assassination team under the command of E. Howard Hunt), killed 78 people in October of 1976 by bombing a Cuban airliner. [\[1160\]](#)*

Carriles said he planned the bombing at the CIA's instigation.

As one of CORU's members explained in a CBS interview, "We use the tactics that we learned from the CIA because we — we were trained to do everything. We are trained to set off a bomb, we were trained to kill... we were trained to do everything." [\[1161\]](#)

The mastermind of the bombing, Orlando Bosch, responsible for more than 50 anti-Castro bombings in Cuba and elsewhere, was released from prison at the behest of George Bush's son Jeb, who has strong ties to both the Cuban expatriate community and the Contras.

As Vice-President, Bush also headed the Task Force on Combating Terrorism. Proudly displaying his condemnation of terrorism, Bush pardoned Bosch, giving him special permission to live in Miami. [\[1162\]](#)[\[1163\]](#)

The CIA's support of the Afghani Mujahadeen between 1979 and 1989 resulted in a huge wave of well-armed and trained Muslim extremists bent on venting their political and ideological rage against the U.S. At the same time, the overflow from the Afghani operation resulted in one of the largest pools of potential recruits for covert operations.

One of the main operatives the CIA had utilized in its war against the Soviets was Sheik Abdel Omar Rahman. The CIA utilized Rahman because of his influence over the Mujahadeen, then brought him into the U.S. on a CIA-sponsored visa. While the Sheik was eventually convicted for conspiracy to bomb targets in the U.S., prosecutors encountered resistance in pursuing him and other World Trade Center bombing suspects because of their ties to the Mujahadeen, and *their* ties to U.S. intelligence.

As Jack Blum, investigator for the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, put it: "One of the big problems here is that many suspects in the World Trade Center bombing were associated with the Mujahadeen. And there are components of our government that are absolutely disinterested in following that path because it leads back to people we supported in the Afghan war." [\[1164\]](#)

A staunch anti-Western crusader, Rahman became a shining light for thousands of Muslim extremists after the war in their crusade for the holy Jihad. Nearby Peshawar, Pakistan became the staging area for tens of thousands of radicals, many of whom went on to form smaller cells around the world, including the U.S. The groups that flocked to Pakistan's terrorist training centers included the Egyptian Al-Gama'a al-Islamiya, the Palestinian Hammers, the Algerian Al-Jihad, and the Filipino Moro Liberation Front.

World Trade Center mastermind Ramzi Yousef also spent considerable time in Pakistan. As one Western diplomat noted: "The United

States created a Moscow Central in Peshawar for these groups, and the consequences for all of us are astronomical."^[1165]

As Mary Ann Weaver writes in the May, 1996 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*: "...the CIA helped to train and fund what eventually became an international network of highly disciplined and effective Islamic militants — and a new breed of terrorist as well."

To the CIA, which pumped more than \$2 billion into the fourteen-year Afghani resistance effort, Sheik Omar was what intelligence officials call "a valuable asset."^{[1166][1167]}

El Sayyid Nosair, a core member of the Al Salaam Mosque run by Rahman, shot and killed the radical Right-wing Rabbi Meir Kahane in November of 1990. During a conversation between a 20-year veteran FBI agent and one of his top undercover operatives, the operative asked:

"Why aren't we going after the Sheik [Abdel Rahman]?" demanded the undercover man.

"It's hands off," answered the agent.

"Why?" asked the operative.

"It was no accident that the Sheik got a visa and that he's still in the country," replied the agent, visibly upset. "He's here under the banner of national security, the State Department, the NSA, and the CIA."

The agent pointed out that the Sheik had been granted a tourist visa, and later a green card, despite the fact that he was on a State Department terrorist watch-list that should have barred him from the country. He's an untouchable, concluded the agent....^{[1168][1169]}

It was also revealed during the Sheik's conspiracy trial that in 1989 the U.S. Army had sent Special Forces Sergeant Ali A. Mohammed to Jersey City to provide training for Mujahadeen recruits, including Nosair and Mahmud Abouhalima, a convicted World Trade Center bomber. Interestingly, this was at the same time the pair were under surveillance by the FBI as suspected terrorists.^{[1170][1171]}*

The experiences of the CIA's expatriated Nazis, Anti-Castro Cubans, and Mujahadeen veterans were strikingly similar to that of the Ku Klux Klan, which for decades remained on the end of a long leash controlled by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

One of the most infamous examples of FBI-orchestrated terror-murder were the brutal 1963 KKK attacks on civil rights workers in Birmingham, Alabama, led by FBI informant Gary Rowe.

It seems that Rowe was no mere informant. As Curt Gentry writes in *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets*: "Klan members stated he had veto power over any violent activity contemplated by the Eastview 13 Klavern."^{[1172][1173]}

Rowe also participated in the 1965 murder of civil rights marcher Viola Liuzzo. As the *National Review* reported, "The 1978 investigation implicated [Rowe] as an agent provocateur.... Three other Klansmen testified that it was Rowe who had actually shot Viola." While Rowe was indicted on first degree murder, a federal judge blocked Rowe's extradition, claiming that a federal agent has rights that protect him when "placed in a compromising position because of his undercover work." A Federal Appeals Court upheld the ruling.

The FBI informant was also accused of helping plant the bomb that killed four black girls in a Birmingham church. Although Rowe failed lie-detector tests regarding his complicity in that and the Viola murder, he was never prosecuted, and instead was given a \$20,000 "reward" by the FBI.

A similar case of government-orchestrated terror-murder would come about in 1979 in Greensboro, North Carolina with the murder of five Communist Workers Party members by KKK and Nazi Party goons — led by FBI operative Edward Dawson and ATF informant Bernard Butkovich. Both the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* reported that Butkovich "offered to procure explosives," and "offered to train them in activities such as making pipe bombs and fire bombs."^[1174]

Even more suspiciously, the tactical squad assigned to monitor the march was reportedly "out to lunch" at the time, and a patrol car that happened to be in the area, was told to "clear the area as soon as possible."^[1175]

The incident is suspiciously similar to the ATF agents in Oklahoma who were paged not to come into work on the morning of the blast.

Echoing the factitious rants of ATF chief Lester Matz, Governor Frank Keating, and other federal officials in Oklahoma, FBI Director William Webster called the charges of federal complicity "utterly absurd." Although the killers had been recruited, organized and led on their murderous rampage by ATF and FBI operatives, none ever served a day of jail-time.^[1176]

Like the FBI's KKK mules, or the ATF's pet Nazis at Elohim City, the Pakistani/Afghani Mujahadeen and Iraqi veterans resettled into the U.S. represent the next wave of "covert cowboys" — ready and willing to do the CIA/FBI's dirty work.

As Gene Wheaton observes: "Every major Middle-Eastern terrorist organization is under surveillance and control of the intelligence agencies in the U.S. None of these guys move around as freely as they'd like you to think."^{[1177][1178]}

Ali Hassan Salameh, the leader of the PLO splinter group Black September, which carried out the 1972 Munich Olympics massacre, was put on the CIA's payroll. That is, until the Mossad caught up with him in 1979. Even so, the Israelis checked with the CIA before killing him.

A Pakistani named Ali Ahmand was standing directly behind Senator Robert Kennedy when he was shot. Former CIA contract agent Robert Morrow saw Ahmand holding a Nikon camera, and recalled seeing Nikon cameras that fired bullets while at the CIA.

Another "valuable asset," Mir Aimal Kansi, had been recruited by the CIA to assist in the smuggling of weapons to the Mujahadeen. Kansi, who had a "financial misunderstanding" with the Agency, resolved the issue by opening fire with an AK-47 outside of CIA headquarters in January of 1993, killing two Agency employees. Like World Trade Center bomber Ramzi Yousef, he fled to Pakistan.^{[1179][1180]}

Curiously, Hussain al-Hussaini — who had been seen speeding away from the bombing in a brown pick-up — would make no similar attempt to flee. Was he part of a government-sanctioned operation? As Professor Bruce Hoffman at the Center for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at St. Andrew's University in England noted, there have been various attempts to infiltrate Islamic terrorist teams in Oklahoma.^[1181]

Could this be why FBI Agent Jeffrey Jenkins "cringed" when he saw KFOR's televised report on Hussaini?^[1182]

Did Hussaini and Khalid, like Timothy McVeigh casually pulling over for Patrolman Hanger, believe they were protected?

The FBI's refusal to look at Khalid strongly points to such a possibility. Khalid's ability to monitor the activities of a group of Middle Eastern immigrants (through giving them jobs and renting them homes), and his status as a former felon, make him a likely candidate as an operative or informant.

And why had McVeigh met with Hussaini in the first place? Like Carol Howe and Andreas Strassmeir, were they both acting as undercover operatives, without each other's knowledge?^[1183]

Like McVeigh, Hussaini was most likely recruited into a covert intelligence unit after his resettlement into the U.S. Believing he was working for the government, he was given a cover story that he was preventing a bombing.

It is likely, given the necessary compartmentalization of covert operations, that each was on a "need-to-know" basis. While McVeigh, Hussaini, and their pals parked the Ryder truck in front of the Murrah Building, the *real* bombers were the third component of the compartmentalized operation.

Recall that five days before the bombing, HUD worker Jane Graham saw three men in the garage who she thought were telephone repairmen. They had plans of the building, and were holding what appeared to be C-4 plastic explosive. "It was a putty color," said Graham, "a solid piece of block.... they had that and they had this wiring.

"The man in the brown shirt obviously knew what he was doing and was in charge..." said Graham. "He reminded me of a surveyor or construction foreman except that I doubt that they would have been in that good of shape. These men were definitely physically well trained."^[1184]

Physically well-trained does not sound like McVeigh or Nichols.

The men looked "uncomfortable" when they saw Graham, and quickly put the items into a paper bag and hid it in their car — which was clearly not a utility company vehicle.^{[1185][1186]}

Another witness saw several men working on the pillars in the garage, in the dark, without lights. When they were questioned by this visitor, they said, "We're just putting things right again."

Were they, or were they placing explosive charges to be activated later?

This bizarre activity was seen by at least two other witnesses — IRS worker Kathy Wilburn, and a HUD worker named Joan. None of the "repairmen" matched the description of Timothy McVeigh, Terry Nichols, or Hussain al-Hussaini.^[1187]

Then, on the day of the bombing, twenty minutes before the blast, Michael Linehan saw McVeigh's yellow Mercury run a red light and slip quickly into the building's garage. Why did "McVeigh" need to enter the building moments before the blast? To place secondary charges or activate remote detonators, perhaps?^[1188]

Several minutes later, a woman riding the elevator saw a young Arab man with a backpack frantically pushing the lobby button, as though trying to exit the building.

After the blast, Kay H. was almost run over by a brown pick-up driven by Hussain al-Hussaini. There were three suspects in the truck. At least two of them were Arabs.

Seconds later, Gary Lewis ran outside to see a Middle Eastern man grinning from ear to ear.

Approximately 15 minutes later, HUD employee Germaine Johnston came across McVeigh and John Doe 2 in an alley near the Murrah Building. "They were just standing there watching," she said. McVeigh then asked Johnston if anyone had been killed, and both men looked sad when she told them that children had died. [\[1189\]](#)[\[1190\]](#)

If McVeigh had blown up the building — a building he knew to contain a day-care center — as an act of revenge, why would he appear sad? And if Hussain al-Hussaini had conspired with McVeigh for similar motives, why did he cry upon learning that children had been killed?

Moreover, why would he be casually hanging around near the scene of the crime? "...I ask you, does that sound like a man who was running?" said Johnston's friend and co-worker Jane Graham. "I don't think so. It sounds like a plan that went awry or something he did not know was going to happen." [\[1191\]](#)

And those federal agents who had been surveilling the building all night long... why did they appear so shocked when the bomb(s) went off? Because they didn't *expect* them to go off. As Representative Istook said, John Doe 2, [one of] the government's undercover agents, did not know how to disarm the truck-bomb, which contained a redundant timing device. They didn't know about the charges inside the building.

And the Army leg who helped place the shaped C-4 charges on the building's columns was not advised that he had a zero-time-delay detonator and was going to be vaporized. The leg was on the wrong side of the column when the detonator was activated. [\[1192\]](#)*

Fortunately for the conspirators, the crime scene was leveled to preclude any independent forensic analysis. Federal agents and local officials quickly scrambled to initiate their damage-control operation. [\[1193\]](#)

Those who threatened to reveal the "sting gone bad" were told to keep quiet for "the good of the country." Yes, it was a terrible tragedy. But brave undercover agents like John Doe 2 were safely on the job, just waiting to prevent more "militiamen" like Timothy James McVeigh from blowing up more babies.

Honest law-enforcement personnel like Sergeant Terrance Yeakey, who didn't go along with the cover-up... "committed suicide."

And the American public, was fed a completely different lie. A disgruntled racist and latent neo-Nazi and his anti-government friend, angry over Waco, using a homemade bomb, had vented their rage in a brutal and vicious act of revenge.

The Motive

"Governments, in order to perpetuate themselves, will sacrifice 400-500 people without a second thought."
— 14-year DEA veteran Basil Abbott

To understand the motive behind the Oklahoma City bombing, one must understand the political situation in the country at the time.

In 1989, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Cold War was officially over. The intelligence community was in danger of losing its appropriations; it needed a new mission. [\[1194\]\[1195\]](#)

In 1963, the Kennedy administration was said to have commissioned a select group of analysts and scholars to evaluate the problems inherent in a post-Cold War society. Entitled *Report from Iron Mountain on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace*, its conclusions and validity have been hotly debated since its "unauthorized" publication in 1967.

Although featured on the front page of the *New York Times* and subsequently translated into 15 different languages, many establishment icons and media pundits would only acknowledge the work as a "clever satire."

The *Times*, which received a "no comment" response from the LBJ White House while attempting to verify its authenticity, wrote that the possible hoax was a possibly suppressed report. [\[1196\]](#)

Others, such as Colonel L. Fletcher Prouty (Ret.), former Chief of the Special Operations Division for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, quoted from the document in his book, *The Secret Team*. And renowned economist, author, and professor John Kenneth Galbraith wrote "As I would put my personal repute behind the authenticity of this document, so I would testify to the validity of its conclusions. My reservations relate only to the wisdom of releasing it to an obviously unconditioned public."

As late as 1995, *The Nation* was still denigrating the report as a "hoax," while the *Wall Street Journal* was seriously debating its merits. As Robert Tomsho wrote in the May 9, 1995 edition of the *Journal*:

Given the tumultuous times when the document surfaced and the air of respectability surrounding those involved with it, few readers were willing to dismiss the mysterious headline-grabbing book as a hoax. [\[1197\]](#)

Whether or not *Report from Iron Mountain* was in fact a hoax, the report's conclusions, even its detractors will admit, lend a somewhat prescient and frightening measure of truth to contemporary 20th century reality. [\[1198\]](#)

Written in cold, empirical think-tank language, the report postulates that war is the fundamental basis for all political, social, and economic unity.

The report also suggests, in somewhat Machiavellian fashion, initiating "ritual blood games," renewing "slavery," and creating an "omnipotent" international police force as mitigating substitutes for the alleged socio-economic void created by a post-Cold War society. The report defined the sociological implications thusly:

War, through the medium of military institutions, has uniquely served societies, throughout the course of known history, as an indispensable controller of dangerous social dissidence and destructive antisocial tendencies.... No modern political ruling group has successfully controlled its constituency after failing to sustain the continuing credibility of an external threat of war.

The war system makes the stable government of societies possible. It does this essentially by providing an external necessity for a society to accept political rule.... *An effective substitute for war would require "alternate enemies"....* [\[1199\]](#)

A paranoid and fascistic national security establishment, no longer primarily focused on the "external necessity" of an outward military threat (e.g: the Soviet Union), must inevitably turn its attention towards the ever-present specter of an internal threat — the "alternate enemy." As

the report states:

...the motivational function of war requires the existence of a genuinely menacing social enemy.... The "alternate enemy" must imply a more immediate, tangible, and directly felt threat of destruction....^[1200]

The Oklahoma City bombing, occurring as it did in the "heartland" of America, served as no other "terrorist" act has in the history of the United States in channeling the attention of the American people towards the "immediate, tangible, and directly felt threat of destruction."

More significantly, it did so by directing the attention of the public towards an "alternate enemy" — in this case — an "internal" one.

Such mass-psychological manipulation by the ruling elite is simply the war spirit refocused. This ubiquitously American quality, so effectively used against the Germans in the 1940s, the Communists in the 1950s, and the Iraqis in the 1990s, would now be directed inward — against the Patriot/Militia movement.

By linking Timothy McVeigh to the Militia movement through a massive media propaganda campaign, the Militia movement is seen as the primary motivational force behind the bombing. The movement, becomes, by proxy, the new "alternate enemy."

By substituting what it terms a "fictive model" for war, the Plutocracy engages the false sentiments of the masses, creating, as it states, "a sociomoral conflict of equally compelling force and scope." From the perspective of the ruling elite, this sociomoral conflict must:

... justify the need for taking and paying a "blood price" in wide areas of human concern.... The fictive models would have to carry the weight of extraordinary conviction, *underscoring with a not inconsiderable actual sacrifice of life.*^[1201]

That shocking revelation was written in 1963. Thirty-two years later, former presidential advisor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. would write in *Foreign Affairs*, the journal of the Council on Foreign Relations, that mouthpiece of the plutocratic establishment:

We are not going to achieve a new world order without paying for it in blood as well as in words and money.^[1202]

Quite a profound statement, coming as it did less than two months after the Oklahoma City bombing.

Was this "blood price" carried out on April 19, 1995?

As will be explored in Chapter ?, the utilization of barbaric acts of mass-terror-murder by governments in order to manipulate political objectives is hardly new. Deliberately manipulated outrage-incidents such as the sinking of the Lusitania, the burning of the Reichstag, and the attack on Pearl Harbor, as precursors to elite-planned military campaigns has historically held several functions: it triggers the built-in nationalistic war spirit, channels the resulting righteous wrath toward the nominated enemy, and concentrates power in the executive branch, where elite control is unhampered by popular influence.

As President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who allowed 2,403 servicemen to be slaughtered at Pearl Harbor to initiate America's entry into WWII, said: "In politics, nothing happens by accident. If it happens, you can bet it was planned that way."

The American public, brainwashed by the conventional wisdom of history, with an attention span as long as the latest TV sitcom, is oblivious to this fact. A public consumed by materialism and stultified by television poses no serious threat to the ruling plutocracy. A savvy populace, intimately aware of the corruption in government, and threatening to expose or even depose the powers behind it, poses a very serious threat to the ruling elite.

The primary group which stands in the way of plans of the transnational corporate fascist cabal today is a group of Americans who call themselves Patriots. These Patriots — numbering roughly five million men and women — are comprised of approximately 400,000 individuals who belong to the militant arm: the militia.

These individuals are increasingly opting out of the federal system. They are establishing precedents for their own governance, with names like Sovereign Citizenship, States' Rights and County Rule.

Some are relinquishing their Social Security cards. Others refuse to pay income taxes, which they insist are in direct contravention of the Constitution, and an illegal outgrowth of the privately-owned Federal Reserve. Many are buying gold and silver. Some are even issuing their own currencies.

They point out the importance our founding fathers attributed to the Second Amendment — the right to bear arms — as the first and final bastion against a tyrannical government. Ultimately, they are willing to defend themselves against an increasingly oppressive federal system.

To the government, such a movement must not be allowed to grow teeth, as did the Anti-War movement of the 1960s, or the anti-corporate labor movement of the 1930s. Distrusting the Federal Reserve, believed by some to have engineered the Great Depression, many of these communities began issuing their own money — as many as 1,500 different currencies. As journalist Jon Rappaport notes:

These events created anxiety for the wealthy one percent of the country. Things might have gotten out of hand. There was a danger of mass rebellion, decentralization, a power shift downward, and so on. World War Two not only solved a job crises, it reunified the nation around an external threat. It temporarily eliminated the possibility of the disintegration of the body politic.^[1203]

Like the aforementioned outrage-incidents, the Plutocracy required a tragedy to manipulate public opinion. The Oklahoma City bombing served this purpose in the most sublime fashion. In the aftermath of that tragedy, the ruling elite sought to unify the nation around an *internal* threat — dressed up and repackaged in the form of the Patriot/Militia Movement.

Many liberal and Left-wing intellectuals and media pundits have dismissed the notion of the Oklahoma City bombing as a deliberately engineered act to discredit the militia as preposterous, self-deluded paranoia. Yet as former CIA Director William Colby stated to his friend, Nebraska State Senator John DeCamp, literally days before the bombing:

"I watched as the Anti-War Movement rendered it impossible for this country to conduct or win the Vietnam War. I tell you, dear friend, that this Militia and Patriot movement in which, as an attorney, you have become one of the centerpieces, is far more significant and far more dangerous for America than the Anti-War Movement ever was, if it is not intelligently dealt with. And I really mean this."^[1204]

In the absence of war, with the "motivational forces governing human behavior" no longer "translated into binding social allegiance," the ruling elite required a substitute. By demonizing the Patriot/Militia Movement, the Plutocracy seeks, both to divide and conquer, and to distract, the population.^[1205] As professor and dissident intellectual Noam Chomsky writes:

Over the last ten years, every year or two, some major monster is constructed that we have to defend ourselves against. There used to be one that was always available: the Russians. But they're losing their attractiveness as an enemy, and it's getting harder and harder to use that one, so some new ones have to be conjured up... They've got to keep coming up, one after another. You frighten the population, terrorize them, intimidate them.... That's one of the ways in which you can keep the bewildered herd from paying attention to what's really going on around them, keep them diverted and controlled....^[1206]

There is yet still another dimension to the situation largely unrealized. The U.S. banking system is home to trillions of dollars in foreign investment capital, resident in buildings, real estate, and industry (The Japanese government currently holds roughly \$200 billion in U.S. Treasury securities). The ruling elite must keep these foreign investors happy. Should one of them decide to withdraw their funds, it would be "inconvenient."^[1207]

But were there a rumor of civil war, all foreign investors might decide to withdraw their investments. The resulting collapse would make the crash of 1929 look like a summer picnic.

Like U.S. industrialists' investments in places such as El Salvador and Guatemala, foreign investors realize that their money is safest in countries with a happy, or at least docile and subservient work force. A population threatening to withdraw from the system and talking of revolution, represents a risk many foreign investors would prefer not take. As William Colby pointed out, such events have important people worried.

Another financial collapse such as the Great Depression, always looming over the horizon, or the threat of civil war, requires that the ruling elite have in place a system that allows them to maintain order. The Anti-Terrorism Bill, the Domestic Insurgency Act, the militarization of our police forces, operations like Garden Plot and Rex-84-Alpha, and the murderous violations of the Posse Comitatus Act in places such as Waco and Ruby Ridge, are all test runs preparing for this eventuality.

A dramatic event like Oklahoma City, used to crush the political life out of the militias, would go a long way towards calming the ruling elite and their foreign investors. Reassured that the Federal Government is still in control of the population, these investors would hopefully leave their investment capital in place.

Interestingly, FBI Director Louis Freeh stated before the Senate Judiciary Committee two days after McVeigh's conviction: "Most of the militia organizations around the country are not, in our view, threatening or dangerous."^[1208]

Yet on May 13, Freeh stated before the Senate Appropriations Committee that the focus of the government's domestic anti-terrorism efforts are "various individuals, as well as organizations, some having an ideology which suspects government of world-order conspiracies — individuals who, for various reasons, have organized themselves against the United States." The chief domestic "enemy," said Freeh, consists of "individuals who espouse ideologies inconsistent with principles of Federal Government."^[1209]

Freeh's alarmist comments impart the genuine concern which the ruling elite have for the growth of the Patriot/Militia Movement. As Colby told DeCamp:

"It is not because these people are armed, that America need be concerned," Bill explained to my surprise. "It is not that these people stockpile weapons and have para-military training sessions, that they are dangerous" Colby continued....

"They are dangerous, John, because there are so many of them. It is one thing to have a few nuts or dissidents. They can be dealt with, justly or otherwise, so that they do not pose a danger to the system. It is quite another situation when you have a true movement — millions of citizens — believing something, particularly when the movement is made up of society's average, successful citizens."^[1210]

Further evidence of the concern that the ruling elite have for this popular and growing phenomenon lie in the slanderous comments of President Clinton, the huge wave of media propaganda, and the increase in undercover sting operations aimed at destroying this largely popular movement.

While the so-called Justice Department was busy covering up evidence of the bombing, Clinton ardently sought to smear those on the far-Right — the "purveyors of hatred and division, the promoters of paranoia," as he put it. "They do practice and they do preach violence against those who are of a different color, a different background, or who worship a different God. They do feed on fear and uncertainty. They do promote paranoia...."

Challenging the American people to follow him in a campaign of divide and conquer, Clinton charged: "These people attack our government and the citizens who work for it who actually guarantee the freedoms they abuse.... They can certainly snuff out innocent lives and sow fear in our hearts. They are indifferent to the slaughter of children. They threaten our freedoms and our way of life, and we must stop them."^[1211]

Echoing and amplifying Clinton's defamations were the mainstream media, which, all but ignoring the relevant evidence, launched unceasing, vitriolic attacks against the Patriot/Militia community. Leading the charge were the ADL and the SPLC, whose connections to the Mossad, U.S. law-enforcement, and infiltration of the Patriot/Militia community have been well documented. The ADL's ties to the FBI, in fact, had been forged long ago.^[1212]*

At the same time, all legitimate expressions and concerns are ignored. Militia members are portrayed as mostly gun-crazed racists with overly conspiratorial views. As *Relevance* magazine notes:

If anyone dares to make a suggestion that serious crimes by high-ranking federal officials or an agency of government have been committed, that suggestion instantly becomes, almost by definition, a conspiracy theory, which is itself (almost by definition) beyond the pale of responsible discussion.^[1213]

Any attempts by the Left and Right to join together are explained away by establishment intellectuals as a sort of strange symbiotic aberration. In a June 19, 1995 *New Yorker* article entitled "The Road to Paranoia," author Michael Kelly describes "views that have long been shared by both the far Right and the far Left, and that in recent years have come together, in a weird meeting of the minds, to become one, and to permeate the mainstream of American politics and popular culture. You could call it fusion paranoia."^[1214]

Yet in spite of the continual barrage of government and media-orchestrated propaganda, the movement has grown. This is because the actions of the Plutocracy and its intelligence/law-enforcement minions have become so bold, so brazen, so outrageous in recent years that it is hard for the average person not to take notice. Increasing political scandals, one following on the heels of the other, catastrophic financial debacles, and the murderous actions of the Federal Government in places such as Waco and Ruby Ridge, have pushed the average American out of the sonombulic comfort of their easy chair.

Now the average citizen watches the FBI march into Waco with tanks and burn women and children, while President Clinton and the mass-media dismiss them as "just a bunch of whackos." At the same time he turns around and watches his neighbor's door kicked in by goon squads to seize piddling amounts of contraband, while his home and assets are seized without ever being charged with a crime, then given to law-enforcement agencies who divide up the bounty amongst themselves.

Compelled to take a closer look at the Patriot/Militia movement, he begins to understand that the Federal Reserve is a sham. He realizes that the politics of the nation were corporatized long ago, that his vote has no meaning.

He begins to understand that the country is actually controlled by corporate concerns who use the military and intelligence apparatus to do its bidding.

He learns how the CIA has illegally intervened and destroyed the sovereignty of dozens of nations around the world, and assisted in the murder of countless millions.

He watches with alarm as new laws are being added every day to restrict his Constitutional rights.

While his pay check is no longer enough to support his family, he wonders what happened to the Savings and Loans, and to those wealthy few who were never prosecuted.

While he sees his job being sent overseas to take advantage of some poor peasant who slaves for pennies a day, his own country is slowly being sold off piecemeal.

Unlike the mass of dumbed-down, TVed-out, passive citizens, he finally decides to join a group of people who are willing to do something

about it.

Contrary to popular opinion, the Patriot/Militia Movement is more than just a fringe element of Right-wing conspiracy nuts. While it still contains individuals who are somewhat myopic concerning social welfare issues and environmental concerns, younger people are coming into the movement every day.

Increasingly, this group represents a broad spectrum of Americans concerned about governmental corruption and the loss of their Constitutional rights. Far from being impotent, as Louis Freeh asserts, the Patriot/Militia Movement represents a threat to an establishment seeking to maintain corrupt control over its citizenry at all costs. [\[1215\]](#)

While it cannot be said for certain that the Alfred P. Murrah Building was destroyed as part of a preconceived plan to create the illusion of a domestic terrorist threat within America — as a foundation for destroying political dissent — it is clear that the investigation was politically crafted for just that purpose.

In March of 1994, there began an extensive media campaign to portray the militias as Right-wing terrorists. Numerous sensationalistic stories appeared in the media, largely orchestrated by the ADL, Political Research Associates (PRA), and the SPLC.

Then in March of 1995, Congressman Steve Stockman (R-TX) learned that a nation-wide, early-morning paramilitary raid against militia groups was planned for March 25. It seemed that a couple of concerned ATF agents had informed the National Rifle Association (NRA) about the plan, code-named Operation ROLLING THUNDER. Stockman immediately fired off a letter to Attorney General Janet 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.... [\[1216\]](#)

Stockman's letter went unanswered, and two Senators who confronted the Assistant Secretary of Defense were thrown out of his office.

What is interesting to note, however, is that the raid was scheduled just one month prior to the Oklahoma City bombing, that launched the largest anti-militia media campaign ever witnessed. [\[1217\]](#)

Yet the tension surrounding the Militia Movement wasn't the only pressure beginning to boil the political pot. Even more interesting events were to occur just prior to the bombing.

On Monday, April 17, a Special Federal Grand Jury in Little Rock, AK handed down a sealed indictment charging Hillary Clinton with bank fraud — misappropriating or embezzling some \$47 million dollars from a federally insured S&L, and benefiting from secret offshore accounts payable to Vincent Foster, Jr., her former law partner, as purported payment for "handling" Jonathan Pollard. [\[1218\]](#)

That same evening, April 17, a military C-21 Lear Jet carrying several high-ranking military officials, including a supervisor to the NSA, crashed near Alexander City, Alabama. The disaster, which occurred on a clear day, appeared to be more than a simple accident. The highly experienced crew reported "fuel management" problems, a classic sabatogue technique. Witnesses Miranda Wyckoff and Jimmy Keel claim they heard multiple explosions while the plane was airborne. [\[1219\]](#)

One story has the passengers as part of a military coup, to arrest, under the military code, their Commander-in-Chief, William Jefferson Clinton, for various acts of treason, including the cover-up of Foster's murder. Another story has an American POW from Laos onboard. Like Major Charles McKee, they planned to bring him to the attention of the public.

The plane crashed not far from a secret Delta Force base in Alabama. It has been rumored that elements of the 20th Special Operations Group (SOG) guarded Mena airport during the Iran-Contra drug-running. A Special Federal Grand Jury in Alabama was blocked from investigating the crash. [\[1220\]](#)*

The Mena drug-running, intimately connected with the activities of the Iran-Contra Octopus, was also on the Congressional investigative agenda, as were the activities of the ATF and FBI at Waco. The investigations were scheduled to start in May.

Yet on April 19, two days after the crash, the Oklahoma City Federal Building was bombed. The bombing conveniently shifted the attention from Clinton's activities at Whitewater, the ATF and FBI's murderous actions at Waco, and the Octopus' drug-running at Mena... onto Oklahoma City, and "the new enemy in our midst."

Were these occurrences coincidences? And was it a coincidence that two weeks after the bombing, a group of anonymous, black-hooded, machinegun-toting federal agents began loading files removed from the Murrah Building onto two unmarked trucks?

What were in the files that a over dozen heavily-armed agents were so anxious to hide? Given the timing of the aforementioned events, it is likely the files were either records incriminating the Octopus for its drug-running at Mena, or records incriminating the ATF for their actions at

Waco.

It may be more than a coincidence that the ATF agents who raided Waco... wore black uniforms with no identifying badges. [\[1221\]](#)

Interestingly, on the May 14, 1995 edition of "Face the Nation," White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta denounced those chairing the Waco hearings, claiming that they "wanted to take attention away from the tragedy of Oklahoma City."

Panetta also called them "despicable." Curiously, Republican legislators complained bitterly about the Executive Branch's tardy and disorganized production of documents. For instance, Representatives could not find in their 48,000 documents a copy of any April 19 Waco operation plan. [\[1222\]](#) [\[1223\]](#)

It has also been suggested that the files removed were records implicating George Bush and company for their role in selling Iraq biological weapons that have infected large numbers of American troops and their families. Peter Kawaja, who served as Louis Champon's chief of security at his Product Ingredient Technologies in Boca Raton, FL — which was secretly being used by his business partner Ishan Barbouti, an Iraqi arms dealer, to produce Cyanide shipped to Iraq — claims that documents implicating Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, and others involved in the "Iraqgate" scandal were moved to the Alfred P. Murrah Building. [\[1224\]](#)

Whatever the case, someone was obviously very uptight about some files in the Federal Building — uptight enough to send a team of hooded, heavily-armed agents to wisk them away.

Several days after the bombing, President Clinton sent his much fabled Anti-Terrorism Bill to Congress. The legislation, originally introduced after the World Trade Center bombing, had been languishing on the Congressional shelf. On June 7, the Senate passed the sweeping measure by a vote of 91 to 8. [\[1225\]](#)

Concurrent with the new legislation was a massive smear campaign against the militias, trumpeted by President Clinton. As the *Sunday Telegraph's* Washington correspondent, Ambrose Evans Pritchard, noted:

The momentum of Republican "revolution" drained away overnight, as people drew back from the anti-government rhetoric of the Right, unleashing the startling decline in its fortunes. President Clinton told reporters that he owed his political comeback to that bomb. "It broke the spell," he said. [\[1226\]](#)

The Politics of Terror

"Power concedes nothing without a demand... it never did, and it never will. Find out just what the people will submit to, and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them...."

— Frederick Douglass, August 4, 1857

[Yet the FBI wasn't [and isn't] the only agency practicing counter-insurgency techniques to discredit and eliminate its political opponents.] Ten years after *Report from Iron Mountain* was published, Theodore Shackley published *The Third Option: An Expert's Provocative Report on an American View of Counterinsurgency Operations*.

Shackley was one of the original proponents of "low intensity conflict," which manifested itself as the Phoenix Program in Vietnam, and as death squads in South and Central America. Shackley euphemistically describes this concept as "the third option."

Senior intelligence officers like myself, who had experience in paramilitary operations, have always insisted that the United States should also consider the third option: the use of guerrilla warfare, counter-insurgency techniques and covert action to achieve policy goals....

Political warfare is very often the stitch in time that eliminates bloodier and more costly alternatives. [\[1227\]](#)

Gene Wheaton calls Shackley's *Third Option* the "operational manual" for the covert intelligence "lunatic fringe." This same lunatic intelligence crowd, states Wheaton, "as far back as the early 1980s, wanted to create a domestic terrorist threat in America so the people would become so frightened that they would give up some civil liberties and Constitutional rights, and give the CIA and Pentagon covert operators major domestic counter-terrorism powers."

As Wheaton writes:

The Third Option is not to have peace in the world, and not to have a full-scale world war. Instead, they wanted to cause worldwide instability, chaos and civil unrest in order to manipulate and control people and governments, including the United States; thus the creation of the domestic terrorist threat. [\[1228\]](#)

Notice that Wheaton calls this the *creation* of the domestic terrorist threat. Wheaton states what has been known for centuries by the so-called "enlightened ones" — the Illuminati, the Masons, the Rhodes Round Table, and their successors: the CFR, the Bilderbergers, and the Trilateral Commission — that out of chaos will come order (*Ordo Ab Chao*). [\[1229\]](#)

Otherwise known as the "Hegelian Principle," this is the technique by which a normally repugnant idea (in this case a totalitarian police-state) is offered as the only viable solution to an intractable problem (in this case domestic terrorism), deliberately engineered by the state itself. As *New American* editor William Jasper notes:

...history is replete with examples of ruthless and corrupt politicians who have shamelessly exploited and manipulated tragic events and the criminal acts of a few to advance their own lust for power. In cases too numerous to mention, tyrants and aspiring despots have gone even further, engaging agents provocateurs to carry out assassinations, foment riots and rebellion, precipitate financial panics, attempt palace coups, feign foreign invasion, initiate acts of terrorism, and perform other infamous acts — all for the purpose of establishing a mass psychology of fear, a sense of "crisis," of imminent danger requiring the government to suspend normal liberties and seize vast new powers to deal with the "emergency."

Hitler came to power in precisely this manner, by burning down the German Parliament, the Reichstag, then blaming it on his enemies — in this case, the Communists. He then passed the Enabling Act (a form of anti-terrorism bill) for the "protection of the people and the state."

History is now repeating itself. As Adam Parfrey writes in *Cult Rapture*:

By definition, a terrorist must take credit for his violence, or else there is no compelling reason to commit a crime. The specific purpose of terrorism is gaining leverage on a specific political objective through the ability of threatening future terrorist acts. No one has claimed credit

for the Oklahoma City bombing. Militia groups produced particularly vehement public statements condemning the crime.

"If the bombing was not terrorism," asks *Portland Free Press* editor Ace Hayes, "then what was it? It was pseudo-terrorism, perpetrated by compartmentalized covert operators for the purposes of state police power."^[1230]

The *Portland Free Press* editor has studied the secret state for decades and can say that the OKC crime has all the characteristics of state-planned and-executed propaganda. It is not different from the bogus Viet Cong units that were sent out to rape and murder Vietnamese to discredit the National Liberation Front. It is not different from the bogus "finds" of Commie weapons in El Salvador. It is not different from the bogus Symbionese Liberation Army created by the CIA/FBI to discredit the real revolutionaries.

Probably the most well-known case was the Reichstag fire, which led to the rise of Nazi Germany through the implementation of sweeping legislative powers. On February 27, 1933, a fire tore through the German parliament building, the Reichstag. The Nazis immediately accused a Dutch Communist named Marinus van der Lubbe of the crime, and subsequently executed him.

The parallels between the Reichstag fire and the Oklahoma City bombing are eerily similar, both in the likeness of the crime, and in their political ramifications. As author William Shirer writes in his epic, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*:

The idea for the fire almost certainly originated with Goebbels and Göring. Hans Gisevius, an official in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior at the time, testified at Nuremberg that "it was Goebbels who first thought of setting the Reichstag on fire," and Rudolf Diels, the Gestapo chief, added in an affidavit that "Göring knew exactly how the fire was to be started" and had ordered him "to prepare, prior to the fire, a list of people who were to be arrested immediately after it." General Franz Haider, Chief of the German General Staff during the early part of World War II, recalled at Nuremberg how on one occasion Göring had boasted of his deed:

"At a luncheon on the birthday of the Fuehrer in 1942 the conversation turned to the topic of the Reichstag building and its artistic value. I heard with my own ears when Göring interrupted the conversation and shouted: 'The only one who really knows about the Reichstag is I, because I set it on fire!' With that he slapped his thigh with the flat of his hand."

[Marinus] Van der Lubbe, it seems clear, was a dupe of the Nazis. He was encouraged to try to set the Reichstag on fire. But the main job was to be done — without his knowledge, of course — by the storm troopers. Indeed, it was established at the subsequent trial at Leipzig that the Dutch half-wit did not possess the means to set so vast a building on fire so quickly. Two and a half minutes after he entered, the great central hall was fiercely burning. He had only his shirt for tinder.

The main fires, according to the testimony of experts at the trial, had been set with considerable quantities of chemicals and gasoline. It was obvious that one man could not have carried them into the building, nor would it have been possible for him to start so many fires in so many scattered places in so short a time. Van der Lubbe was arrested on the spot and Göring, as he afterward told the court, wanted to hang him at once.^[1231]

Shirer may just as well have been describing the bombing in Oklahoma City. Timothy McVeigh appears as a modern-day Van der Lubbe — a dupe who could have not possibly destroyed the Murrah Building with his crude homemade fertilizer bomb. Yet he was set up in exactly the same manner as the Dutch Communist, arrested instantly, and proclaimed the ultimate societal enemy — representing a group that threatened the continuity of the state — just as Clinton did with the militias in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing.

Although Göring didn't admit at Nuremberg that his agents set the fire, the Nazis seized on the event, claiming Lubbe's act was the precursor of a Communist invasion. Chancellor Hitler persuaded President Hindenburg to sign an emergency decree — Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, "for the Protection of the People and the State" — which immediately abrogated most of the German peoples' constitutional protections.

A supplemental decree created the SA (Storm Troops) and SS (Special Security) federal police agencies. These decrees (similar to executive orders of the President of the United States), gave Hitler and his goons the ability to ruthlessly suppress all opposition in the upcoming elections. As a result, the Nazis gained a 44 percent plurality in the Parliament, and [soon-to-be] Luftwaffe General Herman Göring declared that there was no further need for state governments.

The Nazis were successful in eliminating the states' authority in the same manner — instigating disorder, then quelling it by replacing local governments with Nazi-appointed Reich Commissioners.

This precedent was officially established on March 23 when the "Enabling Act" transferred the power of the states to the central Nazi-run government — making the federal government responsible for all law-enforcement, and conferring on Hitler the legal status of dictator.

Hitler immediately appointed Joseph Goebbels as Minister of Propaganda, and as Interior Minister — the top police post — Hitler appointed Herman Göring. Göring immediately filled the ranks of the Prussian police with loyal SA and SS members. As Suzanne Harris of the *The Law Loft* notes:

All of the key strategic moves were made by Göring in setting the stage for a take-over. Why? Because in order to take over a government, you have to eliminate your political enemies before they strike, not after. This means that you have to transform the police from a crime-

detecting and punishing apparatus to a crime preventing apparatus. You have to expand the definition of key crimes so that you can identify and incarcerate your enemies before they strike. You have to transform the attitudes of the police so that they view the public as the enemy and not as citizens with rights. You have to have tactical police units in place that will execute your orders rapidly without question.^[1232]

Soon Nazi storm troopers were roaring through the streets at all hours, rounding up suspected dissidents, including politicians, who were then hauled off to makeshift concentration camps and tortured or killed. As William Shirer writes:

Just to make sure the job would be ruthlessly done, Gøering on February 22 established an auxiliary police force of 50,000 men, of whom 40,000 were drawn from the ranks of the S.A. and the S.S.... Police power in Prussia was thus largely carried out by Nazi thugs. It was a rash German who appealed to such a "police" for protection against the Nazi terrorists.^[1233]

Hitler's promises that "the government will make use of these powers only insofar as they are essential for carrying out vitally necessary measures" were belied by the ruthless tally of history.^[1234]

In a manner faintly reminiscent of Hitler's assurances concerning the 1933 "Enabling laws," FBI Director Louis Freeh recently sought, and won, tentative agreement on a package of anti-terrorism measures that would expand wiretapping authority. Freeh assured legislators that the proposals would not give the government "expansive powers."^[1235]

Like the CIA's announcement to investigate itself for it's own drug-running, the wolf now seeks to reassure the public that it has no intention of invading the hen house.

One year to the day after the Oklahoma City bombing, President [K]linton signed the Anti-Terrorism Bill, "for the protection of the people and the state." Clinton railroaded Congress into passing the draconian legislation in the same manner that Hitler stampeded the German people into passing the Enabling Act.

"We can't be so fixated on our desire to preserve the rights of ordinary Americans," Clinton was quoted in *USA TODAY* in March of 1993.^[1236]

"...a lot of people say there's too much personal freedom," Clinton stated on MTV in March of 1994. "When personal freedom's being abused, you have to move to limit it."^[1237]

Clinton's Anti-Terrorism Bill includes plans to establish a new FBI counterterrorism center with 1,000 new "anti-terrorist" agents. One proposal, harking back to the days of COINTELPRO, would add 25 intelligence analysts, 190 surveillance specialists with 143 support personnel, 31 engineers and mathematicians for intercepting digital communications, and various other experts and analysts. The Bill also includes a \$66 million windfall for the ATF for "anti-terrorism" efforts.^[1238]

Now the FBI has now unveiled its "Critical Incident Response Group." Divided into five units, the "Undercover Safeguard Unit" selects recruits for [even more] undercover agents to be sent amongst the American people; the "Aviation and Special Operations Unit" which creates an FBI Air Force for both logistics and spying; the "Investigative Support Unit," which permits the FBI's flawless crime lab to become available for every law-enforcement agency in the country; and the "Crisis Management Unit" which helps the Bureau cover up such incidents as Ruby Ridge and Waco while lying to the press.

Then there is the "SWAT Training Unit," and the "Tactical Support" Division, which includes the infamous "Hostage Rescue Team," which "rescued" a nursing mother by shooting her in the face, and "rescued" 86 men, women, and children by gassing, shooting, and burning them alive.

Finally, there is the "Abducted Children and Serial Killers Unit," which should provide a measure of relief to those concerned about out-of-control criminals who gas and incinerate children while committing mass-murder.^[1239]

One recent manifestation of America's drift toward a national police force is the final report of the National Performance Review (NPR) headed by Vice President Al Gore. Said to be a blueprint for "reinventing government," this report recommends "the designation of the Attorney General as the Director of Law Enforcement to coordinate federal law enforcement efforts."

This was the same Attorney General who, along with Deputy Attorney General Webster Hubbell and President Bill Clinton, gave the "final solution" order at Waco. The FBI was the agency that carried it out, gassing and incinerating 86 men, women and children.

Now, under H.R. 97 (the "Rapid Deployment Strike Force Act"), Clinton, Reno and Freeh are calling for a 2,500-man "Rapid-Deployment" force composed of FBI and other federal agents, all under the supervision of the Attorney General.^[1240] The bill states:

On application of the Governor of a State and the chief executive officer of the affected local government or governments...and upon finding that the occurrence of criminal activity in a particular jurisdiction is being exacerbated by the interstate flow of drugs, guns, and criminals, the Deputy Assistant Director may deploy on a temporary basis a unit of the Rapid Deployment Force.

Judiciary Committee spokesmen interviewed by *Relevance Magazine* said the Rapid-Deployment Strike Force "would also serve as a model unit for local officers to emulate." A comforting thought, considering the "exemplary" actions of federal "law enforcement" at Ruby Ridge and Waco. Such a Göering-inspired national police force has the potential to become an American Gestapo.

Joe Hendricks, Chief of Police of Windsor, Missouri, expressed his concern over this trend in the June, 1997 issue of the *Idaho Observer*:

Unfortunately, at the present time, an agent of the FBI could walk into my office and commandeer this police department. If you don't believe that, read the Crime Bill that Clinton signed into law in 1995. There is talk of the feds taking over the Washington, D.C. Police Department. To me this sets a dangerous precedent.^{[1241][1242]}

Said Joseph McNamara, former police chief in San Jose and Kansas City, now at the Hoover Institute at Stanford University: "Despite the conventional wisdom that community policing is sweeping the nation, the exact opposite is happening."^[1243]

Charles "Bud" Meeks, executive director of the National Sheriff's Association, adds, "By passing statutes in an effort to make [the crime situation] better," he observed, "we're getting closer to a federal police state."^[1244]

"In SWAT units formed since 1980, their use has increased by 538 percent," said police researcher Peter Kraska. Originally designed to control armed, barricaded suspects, SWAT teams are now being routinely used in the so-called "War on Drugs," and in places like Fresno, are being deployed full-time as roaming patrols.

"The drug war created the atmosphere for this kind of pro-active policing," Kraska said. "We have never seen this kind of policing, where SWAT teams routinely break through a door, subdue all the occupants and search the premises for drugs, cash and weapons."

While the average citizen has to pay a several hundred dollar fine or serve jail time for possessing a small amount of marijuana, the biggest drug dealers in the country — the CIA — have been pumping tons of heroin and cocaine into this country for decades. Now the "War on Drugs," which even many in the law-enforcement community admit is a sham, is being used to wage war on the American people.

"It's a very dangerous thing, when you're telling cops they're soldiers and there's an enemy out there," adds McNamara. "I don't like it all."^[1245]

Yet maybe the cops won't have to worry about looking like soldiers. On October 5th, 1994, the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice held hearings on the Justice Department's proposed "Use of the National Guard in Domestic Law Enforcement."^[1246]

One increasing manifestation of this trend are Multi-Jurisdictional Task Forces (MJTF) training for urban guerrilla warfare (UGW). As numerous newspaper articles have noted over the past few years, sweeps by Army helicopters in towns and cities across America in conjunction with paramilitary police raids and training exercises have been increasing. The following incident was reported by Jim Keith and verified by the author:

During the Summer of 1993, residents of Midtown, Atlanta, Georgia were shocked in the early hours of the morning as three military helicopters came churning through their high-rise condo canyons as part of military Special Operations Command practice raids. In the same area in July of 1994, automatic weapons fire and explosions echoed off an abandoned state office building on Peachtree Street. Employees of a Kinko's copy center at 793 Peachtree Street saw men in battle gear atop the building. An employees remember a bullet shattering the store's window during the exercise.

During January of 1994, troops from the U.S. Army Special Operations Command, which includes the Green Berets, Rangers, and psychological warfare specialists, were seen rappelling off the empty 11-story St Moritz Hotel in Miami, firing paint pellets in mock assault exercises.^[1247] In Fort Lauderdale during November of 1996, troops from the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment from Fort Campbell, Kentucky, along with Special Forces, Rangers, Navy SEALs, and psychological warfare specialists, practiced "night urban navigation training."

In Houston, the crash of an Army helicopter alerted citizens to troops practicing UGW exercises with helicopters, small arms fire and explosives in vacant buildings.^[1248]

Similar exercises were practiced near Detroit during the Summer of 1994. In Van Buren township, citizens were treated to the sound of explosions and automatic gunfire. When residents complained, they were told by police, "Don't worry about it. The MJTF and Van Buren PD SWAT teams were practicing."

Resident Bridget Tuohey wasn't reassured. "I have two little kids here who are semi-hysterical," Tuohey told the *Detroit News*. When Van Buren resident Mark Spencer went to investigate, he saw men in Ninja-style black uniforms with no markings practicing mock assaults on abandoned houses.

Although the live ordnance found at the scene had already been photographed by local Detroit television crews, Wayne County Police

spokesman claimed that it did not exist.^[1249]

As Spencer recalls, "Never in 25 years of living in this area have I ever heard automatic weapons fire. Never have I heard explosives training being done here. Never have I seen men dressed in black battle dress roaming the wooded areas of my home."^[1250]

On June 6, 1996, the *Washington Times* reported:

Nine Army helicopters swooped into Pittsburgh in the middle of the night this week and turned parts of the city into war zones, complete with sounds of explosions and gunfire that frightened residents and sent one pregnant woman into labor.

What are these troops training for? According to a report in the March, 1995 issue of *Soldier of Fortune*, about 40 Army and Air Force legal and other personnel attended a secret "research symposium" at XVIII Airborne Corps between December 6th and 8th, 1994, to strategize and study for the deployment of U.S. personnel and resources to aid civilian authorities in "the suppression of domestic civil unrest." Army lawyers repeatedly brushed aside Airborne officers concerns that such deployment would violate the Posse Comitatus Act. One lawyer, responding somewhat cryptically said, "Not anymore, it doesn't."^[1251]

Then, in early March of 1966, dozens of defense industry leaders, government policy makers, and military analysts met with federal law enforcement officials at the Ritz-Carlton in McLean, Virginia. Their purpose was to strategize for the "Operations Other Than War/Law Enforcement" (OOTW/LE) initiative, designed to increase coordination between law-enforcement and the military — a trend which has been accelerating in recent years. As *Sources EJournal* reported:

In hearings on the joint Pentagon/law enforcement OOTW program in June, 1994, Dr. Anita K. Jones, director of defense research and engineering, told the House Armed Services Committee that she foresees the military increasingly being called upon to respond to "rising violence on our city streets" and to deal with the "widespread availability of increasingly powerful weapons."^[1252]

One particularly frightening aspect of this trend is the transfer of new Orwellian-style weapons and surveillance gear to domestic law enforcement. The *Orange County Register* of March 19, 1993 reported that Camp Pendleton Marine base in southern California recently added an \$8.4 million facility to train for urban warfare.^[1253]

While the DoD claims these exercises are training for "overseas" commitments, Major General Max Baratz dropped the ball when he wrote in the Summer, 1994 issue of *Army Reserve Magazine*:

In addition to providing fully ready units for our international missions, we'll have an enhanced capability to support domestic actions, [including] regional planning related to Military Support to Civilian Authorities and FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency) activities.^[1254]

As William Jasper reported in the October 31, 1994 issue of *The New American*, soldiers are currently undergoing training in disarming civilian militias at the \$12 million Military Operations on Urban Terrain (MOUT) complex at Ft. Polk, Georgia.^[1255]

This plan came to fruition in February of 1995, when a source inside the Nevada National Guard said that the FBI had asked for 400 National Guardsmen to help "put down" the Nevada State's Rights Movement. When the Guard refused, the FBI threatened to bring in federal troops.

One National Guardsman who had participated in "Desert Massacre" told an observer his outfit was being trained to "attack urban buildings." When asked for clarification, he said, "If they told us there were guns or drugs in a house, we know how to take it down."

Interestingly, Oliver North and "Buck" Revell helped develop the policy of militarizing our law-enforcement. One example is the FBI — now being given sniper training by the military. That training helped the Bureau massacre 86 men, women, and children at Waco. It was the first time in recent history that the government violated the Posse Comitatus Act by using federal troops on American citizens.^[1256]

To put some perspective on FEMA's connections to the lunatic fringe, note that Oliver North served on the Reagan-created Emergency Mobilization Preparedness Board, which oversaw FEMA's planning and operations. North was assigned there from 1982 to 1984 by Robert "Bud" McFarlane.^[1257]

Raymond "Buddy" Young, President Clinton's former Director of Security, was appointed director of FEMA's Region IV post. Young, who has reportedly participated in and covered-up the Octopus's various illegal doings at Mena, Arkansas, no doubt was given the well-paying job as a reward for his silence. He later showed up in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, directing FEMA traffic and holding press conferences.

Former Assistant Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci (Richard Armitage's pal) signed a Directive permitting senior military commanders to declare martial law "when unlawful obstructions or rebellion against the authority of the United States renders ordinary enforcement means unworkable...."^[1258]

North himself proposed a suspension of the Constitution upon the planned U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. In fact, North testified during the Iran-Contra hearings that they were prepared "to suspend the Constitution in the event of mass immigration and domestic political unrest."

The plan was called Operation Rex-84-Alpha (Readiness Exercise 1984, Exercise Plan). Rex-84, which ran concurrently with the first annual show of U.S. force in Honduras in April 1984, was designed to test FEMA's ability to round up 400,000 undocumented Central American immigrants and domestic protesters in the event of an invasion by U.S. forces, and its ability to distribute hundreds of tons of small arms to State Defense Forces (SDF). Reagan and North planned to utilize the SDFs to control and imprison American citizens and Central American refugees.

As General Frank Salcedo, Chief of FEMA's Civil Security Division, stated in 1982, at least 100,000 U.S. citizens, from survivalists to tax protesters, pose serious threats to civil security.^[1259]

Rex-84 (along with other joint-mobilization exercises as "Proud Saber/Rex-82," "Operation Garden Plot," and "Operation Night Train") was practiced with 34 other agencies such as the CIA, FBI and the Secret Service. Ben Bradlee, in his book, *The Rise And Fall of Oliver North*, writes that the Rex exercise was designed to test FEMA's readiness to assume authority over the DoD, the National Guard, and "a number of state defense forces to be established by state legislatures." The military would then be "deputized," making an end run around the Posse Comitatus Act. This was the same Posse Comitatus Act that was breached at L.A. and Waco.^[1260]

Detainment camps (concentration camps) were set up on U.S. soil to deal with the expected flood of refugees and political dissenters. Some informed sources say they still exist.

Such well-documented operations represent a frightening precedent for the Shadow Government to suspend Constitutional rights (or what little we have left) in the case of political dissent. This probability was raised by a CIA agent in conversation with DEA veteran Mike Levine. Levine recalls the discussion in his book, *Triangle of Death*:

"Don't you realize that there are factions in your government that *want* this to happen — an emergency situation too hot for a constitutional government to handle."

"To what end?" I asked

"A suspension of the Constitution, of course. The legislation is already in place. All perfectly legal. Check it out for yourself. It's called FEMA, Federal Emergency Management Agency. 'Turn in your guns, you bloody bastards, from here on out, we're watching you, you anti-government rabble rousers.' And who would be king, Michael?"^[1261]

"CIA," I said.

While Levine supposedly had this conversation with the Argentine CIA Station Chief in 1991, he told me the actual discussion took place with a drunk CIA agent in Buenos Aires twelve years earlier. As Levine recalls: "He told me America should be more like Argentina. That Americans have more rights than they should have.... He said, 'Give Americans a car, a TV set, a home, and they're happy.' He told me all you had to do was create a situation of fear and anarchy so that Americans will give up their rights.... I believe this is part of what's happening now."^[1262]

A prime example was the 1992 L.A. riots. While the beating of black motorist Rodney King was not part of a preconceived plan, many insist that the riots were allowed to rage out of control to test the government's plans for martial law, and provide an excuse for further erosion of our civil rights. It was widely reported that Police Chief Daryl Gates deliberately held back his officers, some of whom literally cried as they watched the ensuing chaos.^[1263]

Even that bastion of the establishment, the *New York Times*, reported:

Emerging evidence from the first crucial hours... provides the strong indication that top police officials did little to plan for the possibility of violence and did not follow standard procedures to contain the rioting once it began....

The police... violated the basic police procedure for riot-control by failing to cordon off the area around one of the first trouble spots and not returning to that area for hours.

Police 911 dispatchers attempted to send squad cars to the scene of the first violent outbreaks, but were repeatedly ignored or overruled.^[1264]

One deputy chief, commenting on the hundreds of officers (and National Guardsmen) who were deliberately held back, told the *Los Angeles Times*, "This is alien to everything we're supposed to do in a situation like this."^{[1265][1266]}

Others, such as Compton City Councilwoman Patricia Moore, publicly stated that the police themselves started the riots. Backing up Moore

was CIA operative Frederick George Celani (AKA: Fred Sebastian), who insisted that the riots were "fomented by federal agents."^[1267]

It is also interesting to note the similarity to the 1965 Watts riots. Police Chief William Parker testified that the Watts escalation was part of an "organized effort." Parker backed up his claim by citing reports of clandestine radio messages which interrupted regular police channels as "further evidence of organization."^[1268]

The McCone Commission, charged with the task of investigating the Watts riots — like its predecessor, the Warren Commission — typically found no evidence of organization. John McCone was CIA Director at the time of the Kennedy assassination.

The Christopher Commission, organized by Secretary of State Warren Christopher to investigate the L.A. riots, would make similar findings, this time laying the blame on L.A.'s street gangs — the Crips and the Bloods. Christopher is an attorney for IBM and Lockheed Corp., closely aligned with the CIA.^[1269]

The Kent State riots of 1970 are another interesting example. As one student recalled on a KPFK radio interview: "The ROTC building is about 200 feet from the police station, right across the courtyard. All these self-styled revolutionaries who were burning down the ROTC building *took 45 minutes to get it started*. All the time, the police never attempted to stop them. In fact, it was almost as if they *wanted* them to burn down the ROTC building.

From this point on, they used this as an excuse to stop the movement that students were involved in — the massive opposition to the war in Vietnam."^[1270]

The Watts uprising also saw a sharp increase in domestic police and military intelligence gathering, and gave rise to modern law-enforcement tactics such as the SWAT team. Ever since the riots, writes former UCLA professor Donald Freed, "domestic counter-insurgency has become a 'growth industry.' Forty thousand fast-growing police agencies, containing more than 400,000 men and women, are becoming chief customers for many defense industry contractors."^[1271]

The situation would be repeated in Los Angeles, where the riots presented a prime opportunity for the ruling elite to put 10,000 troops, including 1,508 Marines and 2,023 GIs on the streets of an American city while practicing FEMA-style martial law.^[1272]

Should a situation such as Levine refers to actually take place, the first to be "detained" would be those who oppose the current system — dissidents, radicals, and primarily, those in the Patriot/Militia movement. The movement represents a threat to the existing power structure in the same way that the Anti-War movement represented a threat to the military-industrial establishment, or the Sandinistas and the FMLN represented a threat to their U.S.-backed fascist dictators.

Used to viewing challenges to its authority on a counterinsurgency model, the ruling elite regard the Patriot/Militia movement along the same lines.

Such counterinsurgency training originated in Vietnam under the infamous Phoenix Program of CIA Director William Colby and Ted Shackley. Not surprisingly, Shackley uses examples such as Phoenix and the later-day death squads of Latin America as splendid examples of how to curb an "insurgency." Shackley refers to the poor, common people of these countries as little more than sinister insurgents out to destroy all vestiges of democracy, when in fact, any semblance of democracy, if it ever existed, would be quickly extinguished to protect the interests of U.S. industrial cartels.

Now our own democracy, largely a sham to begin with, is beginning to follow the model of these third-world countries. Shackley's "Third Option" has become the model for the counterinsurgency program now being waged against the American people. As Hayes writes:

The Imperial State is planning for war with the American people. It is planning to win that war. There is no other possible explanation for the frenzied framing of a fascist police state.^[1273]

The Shadow Government's willingness to kill large numbers of foreigners in its bloody wars and covert operations is now being extended to the American people, as its goals shift from controlling third-world populations to controlling American citizens. The same techniques of propaganda, torture, and other coercion that was field-tested by the CIA against "Communists" and other insurgents in South and Central America will ultimately be used on American citizens as the U.S. moves closer and closer politically and economically to its third-world cousins.

A Special Forces combat veteran who coached desert warfare exercises said, very matter-of-factly, that such training would be used on American citizens. "I don't know [when]," he said, "but sooner or later, it's inevitable."

As nationalism becomes less and less the defining factor, the ethical and moral equation shifts with it. It is a short leap from rationalizing the killing of hundreds of thousands or even millions of foreigners to killing a few hundred or a few thousand Americans, if the policy objectives deems it necessary. These deaths are simply viewed as "collateral damage" by the ruling elite.

While this may sound like a drastic concept, the basic idea underlying it is the same. Governments need to control their people. In Latin

America, Red China, Turkey, and Indonesia, they do it through repressive laws, incarceration, torture, and death squads. In "civilized" countries such as the United States, the techniques are the same, they only differ in the degree that they are used.

Such techniques were used at Waco. In an attempt to demoralize Church members, bright lights, religious chants, sounds of dying animals, and Church members' own voices were blasted at the compound 24 hours-a-day. The "Justice" Department brought in Dr. Igor Smirnov, a Russian specialist at the Moscow Medical Academy, to study Koresh's mind and devise appropriate mind-control techniques. It was also reported that ultra-low frequency sound waves, which cause nausea, irritability and other physical symptoms, were employed. FBI agents who were prone to using more basic techniques would hurl "flash-bang" grenades into the courtyard, terrorizing the women and children. [\[1274\]](#)

After the Branch Davidians were appropriately demonized by a compliant mass-media, the FBI rolled in with tanks and highly-flammable CS-gases (which was banned by the Geneva Convention as too inhumane to be used on *foreign* enemies), and massacred 86 men, women, and children.

While American citizens were being ruthlessly slaughtered by out-of-control federal agents, the national news media fed us the banally repetitious soap opera drama of a former football player accused of murdering his ex-wife, which played itself out in endless talk shows, tabloid "news" programs, and magazine articles for over two years — while the brutal massacre of 86 American citizens by lunatic "law-enforcement" personnel was marginalized as a relatively unimportant issue.

What the Plutocracy revealed in that case is that the American people could be persuaded — through government disinformation and a subservient media (and their own stupidity) — that the massacre was "justifiable." How many Americans can be heard parroting the official government line when asked about Waco? The Branch Davidians were "religious nuts," or "whackos," we are told, and hence deserved their fate — to be tortured, gassed, shot, and burned to death — women, children, pets and all. [\[1275\]](#)

What is painfully clear by these examples is that Ted Shackley's "Third Option," originally a model for counterinsurgency against the third-world, is now being put to the test in the U.S. — a program of counterinsurgency against the American people.

While the U.S. escalates in its use of repressive laws, imprisonment, torture, and murder, the main tool has always been propaganda, in the form of the corporate-controlled press. [\[1276\]](#) As Shackley writes:

There are cases in which a cause supported, a newspaper campaign initiated, or a particular candidate encouraged in an election could mean (and in the past has meant) that the crisis in which our vital interests might be at stake never arises. [\[1277\]](#)

Adolph Hitler expressed similar sentiments in *Mein Kampf*: "The task of propaganda lies... in directing the masses towards certain facts, events, necessities, etc., the purpose being to move their importance into the masses' field of vision..." [\[1278\]](#)

Lt. Col. Michael Aquino — a U.S. Army mind-control expert — certainly has no aversion to practicing the techniques utilized by the Nazis. The self-avowed Satanist (and reported head of the CIA's Operation MONARCH, which utilizes children for mind-control), once performed a Satanic ritual in the Hall of the Dead at Germany's Westphalian castle. The site was an occult sanctuary for Henrich Himmler's SS elite. [\[1279\]](#) As the *San Francisco Examiner* reported:

[A]quino once urged the Pentagon, in a controversial psychological warfare study entitled "Mind War," to overwhelm enemies by mobilizing every means of domestic and foreign propaganda, including brainwashing the U.S. public. [\[1280\]](#)

Such techniques were certainly employed in Oklahoma, where a massive propaganda campaign accusing Timothy McVeigh of the bombing and linking him to the Militia Movement led to the passage of the Anti-Terrorism Bill.

The Anti-Terrorism Bill, and the Crime Bills introduced concurrently, permit an increasingly oppressive Federal Government to maintain an unprecedented level of control over the American people.

Ensnared in the Anti-Terrorism Bill's cryptic language are provisions which would allow the President and the Justice Department to define which groups are subject to the increasingly broad definition of "terrorist." It would allow expanded use of wiretaps and allow illegally-seized evidence to be used in court. It would permit federal and local police agencies to trace financial information without obtaining evidence of a crime. It would allow expanded use of current laws prohibiting fund-raising for terrorist organizations, denial of visas, increased cooperation with other governments on money laundering and asset seizures. It would permit "no-knock" searches in certain cases. And it would allow the military to intervene in certain domestic situations deemed a national security threat.

In short, it guts the First, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments to the Constitution, lays the framework for an entrenched police state, and gives the Federal Government full power to target *anybody* who is deemed a threat to its authority.

With the bombing accompanied by 100 times more footage about dead children than the media mustered for Waco, it wasn't hard to convince a gullible public about the "threats" posed by militias. While the final version rammed through Congress was watered down somewhat, it was just the beginning of a wave of "anti-militia" legislation introduced in the wake of the bombing.

No doubt, future engineered "acts of terrorism" will serve to reinstate the deleted provisions of the Anti-Terrorism Bill.

On November 2, Representative Charles Schumer (D-NY) introduced H.R. 2580, his attempt to "cleanse the illness of violent extremism" from America's political culture by outlawing militias. [\[1281\]](#)

H.R. 2580 followed on the heels of its sister bill, H.R. 1544, the "Domestic Insurgency Act," introduced by Representative Nadler. The Domestic Insurgency Act purports to prevent two or more individuals from engaging in any paramilitary group who possess "any weapons capable of causing death or injury with the intention to unlawfully oppose the authority of the United States." Such a paramilitary group could conceivably include a pair of senior citizens with Swiss Army knives at a church picnic discussing their unhappiness with the Social Security Administration.

In this sense, the Omnibus Anti-Terrorism Bill can be seen as little more than an "Enabling Law," similar to Hitler's repressive legislation that allowed the German government to override their own constitutional protections.

Not surprisingly, it was Shackley who first recommended the *concept* of an Anti-Terrorism Bill:

Guide governments in the preparation of anti terrorist laws. When the cadre phase begins to unfold, many countries find they do not have laws on the books to deal with the threat.... it is better to be able to arrest and convict subversives on the basis of a *law* than on an executive *order*. If such laws cannot be passed expeditiously, the party in power should mount an education campaign to rally public opinion on behalf of their enactment. [\[1282\]](#)

Since Shackley was the first to come up with the concept of an Anti-Terrorism Bill, and since he was also one of the first to run a major CIA-sanctioned drug-running operation, one could effectively argue that the controls offered by the Anti-Terrorism Bill will go a long way towards assisting these bands of covert operators and international criminals in their illegal enterprises.

The General Services Administration, for example, noted that the Digital Telephony Bill would "make it easier for criminals, terrorists, foreign intelligence and computer hackers to electronically penetrate the public network and pry into areas previously not open to snooping." One only need look at the activities of Casey, Shackley, Armitage, and North, et al., and the blanket of "national security" they operated under, to realize the staggering implications of this.

President Reagan's Executive Order 12333 also assisted in this development by permitting the "privatizing" of intelligence gathering. Not surprisingly, Shackley, Casey, and Bush attended the December 5, 1980 meeting to draft E.O. 12333, which states:

Agencies within the Intelligence Community are authorized to enter into contracts or arrangements for the provision of goods or services with private companies or institutions in the United States and need not reveal the sponsorship of such contracts or arrangements for authorized intelligence purposes....

Not that the government needed a new law to conduct its criminal activities — it simply codified what had already been established. By privatizing covert operations, the government gets to maintain "plausible deniability."

Front-companies such as EATSCO, Stanford Technologies, Intercontinental Industries, E-Systems, Southern Air Transport, and a bewildering array of others, allow the Octopus to make large amounts of money while providing the Plutocracy with an "off the shelf" capability to conduct covert operations, while at the same time, skirting Congressional oversight. As former CIA agent Victor Marchetti writes:

With the cooperation of an acquiescent, ill-informed Congress, and the encouragement and assistance of a series of Presidents, the cult has built a wall of laws and executive orders around the CIA and itself, a wall that has blocked effective public scrutiny. [\[1283\]](#)

One example is the security firm Wackenhut, which built dossiers on Americans suspected of being Communists or Left-leaning "subversives," including anti-war protesters and civil-rights demonstrators. As Frank Donner writes in *The Age of Surveillance*:

By 1965, Wackenhut was boasting to potential investors that the company maintained files on 2.5 million suspected dissidents — one in 46 American adults then living. in 1966... Wackenhut could confidently maintain that with more than 4 million names, it had the largest privately held file on suspected dissidents in America. [\[1284\]](#)

William Corbett, an 18-year CIA veteran told John Connolly writing in the September, 1992 issue of *Spy*, "For years Wackenhut has been involved with the CIA and other intelligence organizations, including the DEA. Wackenhut would allow the CIA to occupy positions within the company [in order to carry out] clandestine operations." Other former agents and operatives confirmed Corbett's statement. "When they [the CIA] need cover, Wackenhut is there to provide it for them," said former CIA contract employee Richard Babayan. Phillip Agee, a former CIA agent who wrote his exposé, *Inside the Company* in 1975, told *Spy*, "I don't have the slightest doubt that the CIA and Wackenhut overlap."

The private "security" agency's board of directors reads like a Who's Who of the intelligence community. Former FBI Director Clarence Kelly, former CIA Director William Rabor, and former Deputy CIA Directors Frank Carlucci and Bobby Ray Inman (of E-Systems, another quasi-civilian covert contractor), are all featured prominently on the company's membership roster. Also taking a special place on the Wackenhut

board was one William Casey, the former CIA Director who had a proclivity for extralegal covert operations such as Iran-Contra.

Like E-Systems and Continental Shelf, Wackenhut was deeply enmeshed in covert technological procurement and murder-for-hire, including the 1982 assassination of Cabazon tribal leader Fred Alvaraz and his two companions. Alvaraz had made the mistake of criticizing Wackenhut operations, begun in 1979 by a spook named John Philip Nichols. [\[1285\]](#)

The goals of these "Secret Teams" naturally overlap with the agendas of the corporate-financial elite. "[Roy] Godson estimates that international crime groups outperform most Fortune 500 companies. They deliver drugs, illegal aliens, and laundered money, and provide services like violence and extortion — all with organizations that resemble General Motors more than they resemble the traditional Sicilian Mafia." Godson should know. As a member of the National Strategy Information Center, founded by former CIA Director William Casey, Godson helped Oliver North raise funds for the drug-running Contras. [\[1286\]](#)

Another example of the symbiotic relationship between the private sector and the covert community is Peregrine International in Dallas, Texas. Founded by Guy S. Howard and Ronald R. Tucker, Peregrine was most recently run by George Petrie, a veteran the Army's secret Delta-Force. Petrie told the *Dallas Morning News* that his company "consults" with foreign governments on terrorism. Petrie displays pictures of him with George Bush and other prominent politicians. [\[1287\]](#)

As reported in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Peregrine conducted covert ops with Defense Department approval from 1981 until 1984, when the company folded (although Texas Secretary of State records indicate the company was still active as of 1996). As the *Inquirer* wrote:

The company hired both retired and active duty military personnel on leave to act as "guns" — guys who had no qualms about blowing people away. Their assassination targets include planning to kill drug smugglers in Peru, Honduras, Belize, and Caribbean nations; armed and train Contras, and arm and train official military commando units in El Salvador, Honduras and Peru. [\[1288\]](#)

Was Peregrine's plan to kill drug smugglers part of a program to clean up the drug trade? Or was it an extension of Shackley's program to eliminate the CIA's heroin competition, as it had in Laos?

Perhaps that is what Timothy McVeigh's letter (about being recruited for a Covert Tactical Unit) meant about "eliminating the competition."

Navy SEAL Team commander Robert Hunt, who used to teach assassination teams for the CIA, described the activities of ANV, which served as an umbrella for Peregrine. As Rodney Stich writes in *Defrauding America*:

Shareholders in the company were present and former CIA personnel, reportedly involved in some aspect of CIA-related drug trafficking. They included, for instance, Theodore Shackley, who was heavily involved in the CIA Far East drug trafficking and then in the drug trafficking from Central and South America.... Hunt stated there were numerous ties between the groups and the Richard Secord-Theodore Shackley-and Thomas Clines Associates, all of whom were reportedly associated with the opium trade and assassination program in Laos.

ANV is the "action arm" of Continental Shelf Associates (formerly Perry Submarines/Perry Off-Shore) of Jupiter, Florida. A former CIA proprietary, it was operated by Robert "Stretch" Stevens, who had served as Shackley's Maritime Operations Chief from the Bay of Pigs to South East Asia (Shackley sits on the board of CSA). In this regard, the activities of organizations like ANV and Peregrine are no different than those of groups like the CIA's old ZR/RIFLE, set up to assassinate Fidel Castro and Che Guevera.

ANV (also known as the "Fish Farm") specializes in training foreign nationals for commando-type mercenary operations and assassinations — rented to various groups and governments around the world. On the board of ANV is Bill Hamilton, former Director of Navy special operations who attempted to establish the "Phoenix Battalion," a privately-funded, covert group that would launch "preemptive strikes" against organizations it defined as "terrorist." [\[1289\]](#)

Could Hussain al-Hussaini and his associates have been some of the foreign nationals trained by ANV?

According to Wheaton, this same group of covert operators controls a secret base on Andros Island in the Bahamas operated by the super-secret NRO (National Reconnaissance Office), the USMC, and the Navy. Named AUTEK, it is an underground/underwater computerized facility for tracking both friendly and enemy ships and subs. Wheaton claims that an "illegal secret operation buried within the complex is a covert intelligence project, database and operation *directed against the civilian population of the United States*...." [\[1290\]](#)

Wheaton claims the facility "is central control for Ted Shackley's 'Third Option' and the project to create domestic unrest, chaos, and the illusion of a domestic terrorist threat within America." [\[1291\]](#)

While operations from super-secret high-tech bases may sound like the stuff of Ian Flemming novels, Shackley allegedly directed the overthrow of Australia's Prime Minister Gough Whitlam — the first Labor Prime Minister in over two decades — from the super-secret Pine Gap facility run by the CIA. As the Sheehan Affidavit states:

On November 2, 1975, Whitlam publicly accused the CIA of subsidizing his opposition, and named National Country Party chief Doug Anthony as a collaborator. The Next day, the *Australian Financial Review* reported that the super-secret U.S.-Australian "space study

station" in Australia, known as Pine Gap, was actually a CIA electronic intelligence facility. The article also identified Richard Stallings, former director of Pine Gap and friend of Anthony, as a CIA agent. Pine Gap's true function shocked not only the Australian public, but also top government officials, including the Prime Minister.... [\[1292\]](#)

The corollary between the situation in the U.S. and that in Australia may be significant, since that country is now undergoing wholesale gun confiscation of its citizenry under "Operation Cabin Thrust" — the first step to total control of its population.

In the Philippines, "anti-terrorism" legislation has already been passed, further restricting peoples' rights. In England, laws mandating wholesale handgun confiscation have recently been implemented.

Primarily targeted is America, "land of the free," as new restrictions on privacy, free speech, and self-defense are invoked in the wake of the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City bombings.

Zbigniew Brezinsky, Executive Director of the Trilateral Commission and National Security Advisor to Jimmy Carter [and four other presidents], explained it best: "The technotronic era involves the gradual appearance of a more controlled society. Such a society would be dominated by an elite, unrestrained by traditional values."

The reader has already been given a glimpse of this "elite" and their so-called "values." Dominating society will be a Plutocracy controlling everything from politics and media, education, commerce and industry, even private property. Such plans calls for more governmental programs, more governmental controls, and more and more government-imposed order.

Carol J. Quigley, former Professor of International Affairs at Georgetown University and Bill Clinton's mentor, grasped the Orwellian implications of this over 30 years ago. As Quigley observes in *Tragedy and Hope*: "[The individual's] freedom and choice will be controlled within very narrow alternatives by the fact that he will be numbered from birth and followed, as a number, through his educational training, his required military or other public service, his tax contributions, his health and medical requirements, and his final retirement and death benefits."

Utilizing their minions in the media and the alphabet soup of federal agencies — the FBI, ATF, DEA, CIA, NSA, IRS, INS, FDA, BLM, FINCEN, and FEMA — the elite seek total control over our family, our health, our finances, our education, our thoughts, and ultimately, our very lives. What is sought is nothing less than a global plantation run by the transnational corporate elite — a modern day form of world-wide fascism.

To accomplish their nefarious ends, covert intelligence operations, highly sophisticated propaganda efforts, and a reorganization of the law-enforcement community is being combined with subtle and invasive legislative changes, all largely unnoticed by public eyes. [\[1293\]](#)

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A Strategy of Tension

"The Chickens are coming home to roost." — Malcolm X

Like the Reischtag fire, the Oklahoma City bombing served as the catalyst to impose a new wave of draconian legislation on the American people.

The bombing also dovetailed perfectly with the policy of blaming pre-arranged groups, developed in early 1980s by the CIA's Vince Cannistraro working in tandem with Oliver North to develop the policy that was used to divert attention onto Libya in the Lockerbie bombing.

The CIA had established a precedent for such policies more than forty years ago in Italy and Greece, when the OSS intervened in those countries' elections by supporting fascist collaborators who would attack the population and disrupt political proceedings. Through Operation SHEEPSKIN, the CIA worked with former Nazi collaborators in Greece to institute a campaign of black propaganda, terrorist bombings and other provocations to be blamed on the Left, resulting in a fascist coup and the murder and repression of thousands.

The CIA helped create a "Strategy of Tension" in Italy through collaboration with the Mafia, corrupt Italian secret services, and fascists working through Masonic Mafia-linked societies such as Licio Gelli's Propaganda Due (P2 Lodge). Gelli (AKA: the "Puppet Master") had been friends with fascists such as Italian Dictator Benito Mussolini, Croatia's Dr Pavlic, and Juan Peron of Argentina, and had also fought with the fascist Italian Blackshirt division during the Spanish Civil War.

Gelli's P2 and elements within the Vatican (such as Father Krujoslav Dragonovic, a Croatian Catholic priest — one of many who had helped the CIA export Nazi war criminals out of Germany through its Rat Lines), working in conjunction with the CIA, aligned itself with criminals, corrupt police, and high government officials to discredit the emerging Left and stage a fascist coup. "The Vatican's fear was clear: Communism posed a threat to its religious, political, and economic strength."^[1294]

On behalf of democracy, the Mafia enlisted as their agent Salvatore Giuliano. He and his cousin Gaspere Pisciotta led their men into Portella della Ginestra. Without prejudice, they shot and killed a dozen people and wounded more than fifty others. New elections were held, and the Christian Democratic party won a resounding victory. Later, at the orders of the Mafia, Pisciotta murdered Salvatore Giuliano. At his trial, Gaspere Pisciotta said of the massacre, "We were a single body: bandits, police, and Mafia, like the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."^[1295]

P2 — essentially a Right-wing parallel government, was aligned with a super-secret Italian organization called Il Gladio — set up in 1956 with the help of British Intelligence and the CIA. Gladio was part and parcel of MI5 and the CIA's 1948 efforts to establish a European "Stay Behind" network of guerrilla fighters who would conduct covert operations after a Soviet invasion — using arms and explosives which had been previously cached.

This network was conceived by the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, and organized by the NSC, which set up the Office of Policy Co-ordination to run it, staffed and funded by the CIA. Like Operation SHEEPSKIN, most of the so-called "freedom fighters" it recruited were little more than fascist collaborators from WWII. And like the Nazi organization ODESSA with which it often collaborated, its tentacles extended throughout Europe and Latin America, and even the United States.^[1296]

While the main focus of Gladio was to resist a potential Soviet invasion, its fascist roots and violent history indicate it has served mainly as a policy instrument to resist *internal* subversion — through terrorist means. This goal was revealed in a briefing minute of June 1, 1959, which stated Gladio's concern with "internal subversion" and its determination to play a role in the "politics of emergency." This emergency would come about during the 1960s and 1970s with the emergence of the anti-Capitalist movement, and the shift from the Center to the Left by the ruling Christian Democratic Party.^[1297]

The covert objectives of Gladio were to spread panic and unrest through the implementation of "terrorist outrages," and also to directly attack the Left in an attempt to provoke them into an armed response. The purpose of this strategy was to demonize the Left and isolate them from popular support, while providing an excuse to curtail civil liberties. As a 1969 memo from Aginter Press, a fascist front group, explained:

Our belief is that the first phase of political activity ought to be to create the conditions favouring the installation of chaos in all of the regime's

structures. This should necessarily begin with the undermining of the state economy so as to arrive at confusion throughout the whole legal apparatus. This leads on to a situation of strong political tension, fear in the world of industry and hostility towards the government and the political parties.... In our view the first move we should make is to destroy the structure of the democratic state, under the cover of communist and pro-Chinese activities. Moreover, we have people who have infiltrated these groups and obviously we will have to tailor our actions to the ethos of the milieu — propaganda and action of a sort which will seem to have emanated from our communist adversaries and pressure brought to bear on people in whom power is invested at every level. That will create a feeling of hostility towards those who threaten the people of each and every nation, and at the same time we must raise up a defender of the citizenry against the disintegration brought about by terrorism and subversion.... [\[1298\]](#)

General Gerardo Serravalle, head of "Office R" from 1971-1974 (the secret service office that controlled Gladio), revealed that at a Gladio meeting in 1972, at least half of the upper echelons "had the idea of attacking the Communists *before* an invasion. They were preparing for civil war." [\[1299\]](#) As the 1969 dispatch added:

The introduction of provocateur elements into the circles of the revolutionary left is merely a reflection of the wish to push this unstable situation to breaking point and create a climate of chaos... [\[1300\]](#)

One early Gladio-precipitated incident was the December, 12, 1969 bombing of the Banca Nazionale del' Agricoltura in Milan's Piazza Fontana. The attack killed 16 people and wounded 88. Police immediately arrested and blamed anarchists. One anarchist leader, Giuseppe Pinelli, took the fall for the bombing, literally, when police tossed him out the window of the local precinct headquarters.

In addition to this, the Procurator General of the Republic, De Peppo, ordered the one unexploded bomb found in the wreckage to be detonated immediately. As in Oklahoma, the destruction of this evidence destroyed the single best chance at uncovering the true perpetrators of the deadly attack. [\[1301\]](#)

Nevertheless, police eventually discovered the real perpetrators — two fascists: Franco Freda and Giovanni Ventura. Ventura, it seems, was in close contact with Colonel Guido Giannettini of the SID (part of the secret services), who was a fervent supporter of MSI. The trial of Ventura and Freda was delayed for 12 years, when they were finally given life sentences, only to be cleared on appeal. [\[1302\]](#)[\[1303\]](#)

Former Gladio agents also attributed the 1969 Piazza Fontana bombing and the 1974 [and subsequent 1980] Bologna bombings, which resulted in over 113 deaths and 185 injured, to P2. These attacks include the Mafia's involvement in the Red Brigade's kidnap and murder of Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro in 1978. The P2 organization was also suspected of the 1976 assassination of Italian magistrate Vittoria Occorsio. Occorsio was investigating P2 links to neo-Nazi organizations at the time. His death conveniently terminated any further investigation. [\[1304\]](#)

This "strategy of tension," organized around a brutal campaign of terror and murder, resulted in the deaths of hundreds of people during the decades of the 1970s and '80s. The wave of terror led to the severe restriction of civil rights, with the 1975 law restricting popular campaigning and radical political discussion. Many people were locked up under "anti-terrorist" legislation (sound familiar?) or expelled from the country.

As the Left (the Red Brigades) resorted to armed struggle to defend themselves, it only strengthened Gladio/P2's position. The Red Brigades, which had been systematically infiltrated by the secret services, were repeatedly blamed for the attacks, all the while unknowingly serving the agenda of the fascist P2 establishment.

One unforgettable example of this wave of terror was the Bologna railway bombing in 1980, that killed 80 people and injured over 160. While reportedly masterminded by P2 members Stefano Delle Chiaie and Licio Gelli, the attack was blamed on the Red Brigades to discredit the Italian Communist party. According to author Steve Mizrach:

Some Italian political analysts believe that P2 and "Ordine Nuova" (New Order) may have cooperated with the CIA [to bomb the railway station].... There are clearly overlapping circles of membership between P2, the CIA, and the Knights of Malta, a "sovereign military order descended from the Knights of St. John-Hospitallers," and whose membership in the U.S. has included Bill Casey, Alexander Haig, and Prescott Bush [and reportedly George Bush]. [\[1305\]](#)

This covertly-orchestrated "strategy of tension" would repeat itself in Belgium in the mid-80s, in a bizarre series of killings called the "Supermarket Massacres," in which hooded gunmen walked into crowded supermarkets and began firing away. The massacres, orchestrated by a group calling itself the "Killers of Brabant," were later discovered to be linked to Belgium's Gladio unit.

The Supermarket massacres occurred during the period when the U.S. was pushing a plan to base the Euro-Missiles (nuclear-tipped Cruise missiles) in different European countries. The plan led to huge demonstrations in Europe, with certain countries threatening to break ranks with NATO. Belgium was one of those countries. The Belgian Parliament, which investigated the incidents, felt that they were another attempt to sow confusion and fear among the populace, thereby generating public outcry for a law-and-order government which would be amenable to the Euro-Missiles. [\[1306\]](#)

Proof surfaced when a former gendarme, Madani Bouhouche, who worked for state security and was a member of a neo-Nazi paramilitary

group Westland New Post (WNP), was arrested with one of the murder weapons. The next day, Bouhouche's friend and fellow Right-wing militant Jean Bultot fled to Paraguay (a popular respite for Nazis). While in Paraguay, Bultot admitted to Belgian journalist René Haquin that the killings were a state security destabilization operation with government participation "at every level."

On January 25, 1988, another former gendarme, Robert Beyer, who police caught with a file of state security agents and addresses of garages filled with stolen arms, stated on Belgian television that state security had provided the weapons used by the killers.^[1307]

One of the attacks, the 1982 bombing of a Synagogue on the Rue de la Régence in Brussels, was linked to a security guard for the Wackenhut Corporation — Marcel Barbier. An ardent anti-Semite and member of the WNP, Barbier had been guarding the synagogue when it was attacked. In August of 1993, police discovered plans of the synagogue in Barbier's home, with detailed points of access. The Belgian director of Wackenhut at the time was Jean-Francis Calmette, a member of the WNP.^[1308]

The parallel to the European "Strategy of Tension" is strikingly similar to the Oklahoma City bombing. The U.S. establishment, which has sought to demonize the Patriot/Militia Movement in the aftermath of the attack, is following the exact same path that Gladio/P2 followed a decade earlier. Their links and associations to P2 (which will be detailed in Volume Two) make the parallel all the more ominous.

In 1994, a car-bomb blew up a Jewish community center in Buenos Aires, killing 87 people. Police blamed the attack on unnamed Arab militants. Yet in July of 1996, Argentine authorities arrested 17 police officers in connection with the attack.^[1309]

On October 3, 1980 the Paris synagogue on rue Copernic was bombed, killing four people and injuring 24 others. In media reports suspiciously similar to the Oklahoma City bombing, it was announced that "Right-wing" extremists were involved. Yet French intelligence pointed fingers at the Mossad. One French Intelligence report stated:

On April 6, 1979, the same Mossad terror unit now suspected of the Copernicus carnage blew up the heavily guarded plant of CNIM industries at La Seyne-sur-Mer, near Toulon, in southeast France, where a consortium of French firms was building a nuclear reactor for Iraq.... The Mossad salted the site of the CNIM bomb blast with 'clues' followed up with anonymous phone calls to police — suggesting that the sabotage was the work of a conservative environmentalist group....

Two years later, six people were killed and 22 injured when terrorists attacked Goldenberger's Deli in Paris. Again, "Right-wing extremists" were blamed. Implicated in the attack was one Jean-Marc Rouillan, leader of a mysterious Left-wing group called Direct Action. While the real facts were being covered up by the government, angry French intelligence officers — some who had quit in disgust — decided to leak the story to the Algerian National News Service. Rouillan, it turns out, had been operating in the Mediterranean under the cover name of "Sebas" and had been linked to the Mossad.^[1310]

Illustrating the concept of trained killers who work on a "need-to-know" basis, former Mossad Agent Ari Ben-Menashe describes how Abu Abbas launched an attack on the Greek Cruise ship *Achille Lauro* in 1985. According to Ben-Menashe, Rafi Eitan, the director of *Lakam*, a super-secret agency in the Israeli Ministry of Defense, gave orders to former Jordanian Army Colonel Mohammed Radi Abdullah,^[Libel - 1391] who passed on instructions to Abu'l Abbas, leader of the Tunis-based PLF, who in turn was receiving millions from Israeli intelligence officers posing as Sicilian dons. Abbas' orders were to "make it look bad," and to show what a deadly, cutthroat bunch the Palestinians were." The "terrorists" complied by killing Leon Klinghoffer, an elderly Jewish man in a wheelchair, then throwing his body overboard. As Ben-Menashe states, the entire operation was nothing more than an "Israeli 'black' propaganda operation."^[1311]

Nidal began his long and bloody career in the PLO, only to become a bitter rival of Yasser Arafat. It was a situation that the Israeli Mossad, in a manner similar to their CIA cousins, would seek to exploit. As Middle East expert Patrick Seale writes:

Israeli penetration of Palestinian organizations was common, but it was clearly not the whole story. Most intelligence sources I consulted agreed that it was standard practice to use penetration agents not simply to neutralize or destroy the enemy but to try to manipulate him so that he did one's bidding without always being aware of doing so....

Whatever jobs [Abu Nidal] might have done for Arab sponsors, and they had been numerous and nasty, he had done many other jobs from which Israel alone appeared to benefit."^[1312]

Confirming Seale's theory are top Middle East terrorism experts, including intelligence officers in Arab countries, and even within Abu Nidal's own organization. One French terrorism expert stated: "If Abu Nidal himself is not an Israeli agent, then two or three of his senior people most certainly are. Nothing else can explain some of his operations..."

A former senior Jordanian intelligence officer said: "Scratch around inside Abu Nidal's organization and you will find Mossad."

Backing up these reports was a former member of Abu Nidal's own Justice Committee, who told Seale that Mossad agents captured by Abu Nidal were usually killed very quickly to prevent them from confessing their true motives.

Abu Iyad, former chief of PLO Intelligence, added, "Every Palestinian who works in intelligence is convinced that Israel has a big hand in Abu Nidal's affairs."^[1313]

Nidal's organization has been responsible for some of the most brutal acts of terrorism in the world. According to the State Department, Abu Nidal has carried out more than 100 acts of terrorism that have resulted in the deaths of over 280 people. Some of these attacks include the 1986 grenade and machine-gun assaults on El Al counters at the Rome and Vienna airports, attacks on synagogues, and assassinations of Palestinian moderates.

He (Iyad) had told me that Abu Nidal's murdering Palestinian moderates was connected with [former Israeli Prime Minister] Begin's determination never to negotiate with Palestinians for fear of losing the West Bank. For Begin (who had once called the Palestinians "two-legged animals" worthy of extinction), the moderates, who wanted to negotiate, were the real danger and had to be eliminated. If the Israelis had in fact infiltrated Abu Nidal's organization, perhaps some spymaster in Jerusalem had said, 'We've got someone who can do the job for us.'

Abu Nidal's most well-known attack was on a Greek cruise ship in 1988 that left nine people dead and 80 wounded. As Seale points out regarding the attack on the vessel *City of Poros*, "no conceivable Palestinian or Arab interest was served by such random savagery." In fact, Greece was the European country most sympathetic to the Palestinian cause, its prime minister, Andreas Papandreou, often defending Arabs against Israel's charges of terrorism. After the attack, Greece was furious with the Palestinians, who had damaged the Greek tourist trade and hastened the fall of the Papandreou regime. The motive, as in the *Achille Lauro* attack, was apparently to cast the Palestinians as heartless murderers. Several sources that Seale consulted were convinced the attack was a typical Mossad operation. [\[1314\]](#)

What is curious is that Israel has never punished Abu Nidal's organization. Israel has a long-standing policy of launching immediate and massive retaliation against any terrorist attack. While Israeli forces have bombed, shelled and raided Palestinian and Shi'ite positions in Lebanon, and have sent hit teams to kill Palestinian guerrilla leaders in other countries, they have never attacked Abu Nidal. Given Israel's harsh and unrelenting policy of retribution against terrorist attacks, this seems more than a bit bizarre. As Seale concludes:

Abu Nidal is a professional killer who has sold his deadly services certainly to the Arabs and perhaps to the Israelis as well. His genius has been to understand that states will commit any crime in the name of national interest. A criminal like Abu Nidal can flourish doing their dirty work. [\[1315\]](#)

Former DEA agent Mike Levine described how an organization called the "Triangle of Death," founded by Nazis, would blow up whole planes to kill one person. The organization, based in Paraguay, ran heroin and cocaine, and committed murders for the French Secret Service. "The quid pro quo agreement they had with the CIA and the French Secret Service," said Levine, "is that you protect us and we'll do you favors. And they did, and they got their protection." [\[1316\]](#)

One of the most recent examples of the use of "false flags" (scapegoats) was the November 4, 1995 assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. In a classic case of political demonizing strikingly similar to the Oklahoma City bombing, the gunman, Yigal Amir, was held out to be a "Right-wing fanatic." As William Jasper writes:

The alleged gunman, Yigal Amir, was said to be a "fanatic Jewish fundamentalist." What's more, we were told repeatedly, he was part of a conspiracy of "religious extremists" — a conspiracy so nefarious and immense, mind you, that it had achieved meteorological significance, creating a "climate of hate" and an "atmosphere of violence." According to *Time* magazine, Rabin's opponents had created climatologically "the equivalent of the Right-wing milieu that led to the Oklahoma City bombing." In fact, said *Time*, even if Amir had acted alone, "he had many ideational conspirators." [\[1317\]](#)

But unlike the massive cover-up obscuring the Oklahoma City bombing, it didn't take long for investigators to discover that Amir was actually a paid informant for the Israeli security service, the Shabak. Amir had been inexplicably allowed through Rabin's protective security perimeter, and his suspected accomplice — leader of the Right-wing extremist group Eyal, Avishai Raviv, turned out to be a Shin Bet operative (General Security Service, the Israeli equivalent to the FBI).

Rabin's controversial peace talks with the Palestinians — which would have sacrificed significant amounts of land and compromised Israel's security — had made him highly unpopular with Right-wing elements, including traditional Jews and many military officials. In fact, Hamas suicide bombers were wrecking havoc with Israel's population. A writer in the *Jerusalem Post* wrote: "If Yizhak Rabin were alive he would probably have been asked to resign."

The irony was that the Shin Bet was controlled by Rabin himself, who had personally selected its head, and served as its supreme chief. In a policy suspiciously similar to the Oklahoma City situation, instead of employing the Shin Bet to protect Israelis from Arab terrorists — its primary task — Rabin employed them to infiltrate and smear his Right-wing opponents. Politicizing the Shin Bet for his own purposes, Rabin began orchestrating an Israeli version of COINTELPRO (the FBI's program of infiltrating and compromising the anti-war and New Left movements of the 1960s and '70s, and which is going on today against the militias). This included setting up phony Right-wing militant groups such as Raviv's Eyal.

As Rabin's popularity ratings dropped to a mere 32 percent, he escalated his dirty-tricks campaign, using agents provocateur to attack and smear the Prime Minister, who would then publicly criticize them for planning public disorder. Raviv's job was to distribute fervid "anti-government literature" which contributed to the "climate of hate" that allegedly motivated Amir. The *coup de etat* in this covert campaign would come in the form of a phony assassination attempt on Rabin himself. The Shin Bet would foil the gunman at the last moment, and all the world would see first-hand evidence of the crazy Right-wing conspirators.

Yet, like the disastrous sting attempt in Oklahoma City, this covert operation went horribly wrong. When Amir realized that his mentor, Raviv, was a Shin Bet operative, he cleverly fed him false information. Certain that the boastful and talkative Amir would inform his trusted mentor of the moment of his attack (as the FBI assumed with Emad Salem in the World Trade Center bombing), the Shin Bet dropped their guard, and Rabin paid the price for his mendacity.

At least that is what is obvious. What is not obvious is why the Shin Bet, who not only controlled Raviv but had ample notice of the threat on the Prime Minister's life, failed to prevent the assassination. As authors Uri Dan and Dennis Eisenberg note: "No human shield was formed around Rabin, surveillance of the crowd was lax, Rabin wasn't wearing a bullet-proof vest, and an [apparently] unknown 25-year-old was able to gain unobstructed access to Rabin."^[1318] The parallels to the Oklahoma City bombing are all too familiar.

Naturally, Prime Minister Shimon Peres, like his counterpart, President Clinton in regards to Oklahoma, would promote the idea that Rabin was killed by a pair of disgruntled "Right-wingers. And like his American counterpart, Peres promised to crack down on "political dissent."^[1319]

On his August 19, 1995 radio address, President Clinton complained that Congress still had not passed "his" Anti-Terrorism Bill. "It's hard to imagine what more must happen to convince Congress to pass that bill," Clinton warned, in the manner of an ominously veiled threat.

Then just two months later, on October 9, the nation witnessed its first attack on a passenger train, when Amtrak's "Sunset Limited" was derailed while enroute from Phoenix to San Diego. The derailment, caused by sabotage, resulted in over 100 injuries, including one death.

The terrorists left behind a cryptic note, calling themselves the "Sons of the Gestapo." The mainstream press quickly jumped on this latest "terrorist" attack, coming as it did only six months after the Oklahoma City bombing. While no one, including law-enforcement officials, had ever heard of the "Sons of the Gestapo," the purveyors of deception immediately played it up as the obvious work of a "Right-wing" militia group.

FBI officials were more cautious however, speculating that the attack may have been the result of a "disgruntled employee." Exhaustive searches through numerous data-bases revealed no group called "Sons of the Gestapo," and only someone with the technical knowledge necessary to disable a warning system on a railroad track would be capable of executing such a stunt.

It may not have mattered however. In the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, any such attack on American citizens would be excuse enough to push the Anti-Terrorism Bill through Congress. And the press and anti-militia activists such as the ADL and the SPLC were eager to jump on the militia connection. "Sons of the Gestapo," they asserted, could only be the pseudonym for a Right-wing hate-group.

Yet law-enforcement officials had only an enigmatic message to guide them. The note left behind by the saboteurs rallied against the ATF and FBI for their actions at Waco and Ruby Ridge, and stated, "This is not Nazi Germany."

Why anyone would attack a passenger train to exact revenge on government officials for killing innocent civilians (or blow up babies as revenge for killing children) is beyond credulity. Yet, as in the Oklahoma City case, this was the message that the saboteurs — and the government-controlled press — wanted us to believe. America was filled with hateful Right-wing extremists who would do anything — kill anyone, women, children, babies — to pursue their violent anti-government agenda.

As Attorney General Janet Reno announced in the Oklahoma City case, so the local U.S. Attorney, Janet Napolitano would declare: "We are going to pursue every bit of evidence and every lead very thoroughly... until we find the person or persons who committed this crime."^[1320]

While the FBI swarmed through Maricopa County, interrogating local residents and harassing the few isolated "desert rats" who inhabited the surrounding countryside, a *real* investigation was being conducted by a lone Maricopa County Sheriff. With the assistance of Craig Roberts, a retired Tulsa police officer with military intelligence experience who worked on the Oklahoma City investigation, the Sheriff was able to uncover some amazing information.

What they found was that other than rescue vehicles, there were no vehicle tracks entering or exiting the crash site. Moreover, the site itself was extremely remote, being near the summit of the rugged Gila Bend Mountains, which surrounded the site to the east, north, and west. It was there, along a sharp S-curve, that the perpetrators had pulled 29 spikes from the tracks, causing the fatal crash.

Why had the perpetrators chosen such a remote location, Roberts wondered? Had they picked a more accessible spot, he reasoned, it would have surely lessened their chances of being caught, as all they would have had to do was drive to the nearest highway. In this case, the nearest road was Highway 8, 38 miles away, necessitating a difficult drive over rugged terrain, at the same time as law-enforcement officers would surely be on a heightened state of alert.

What Roberts and his sheriff partner also discovered was that 90 minutes away by air, in Pinal County, was a mysterious air-base known as Marana. The locked-down facility was owned by Evergreen, Inc., a government contractor reportedly involved in drug smuggling during the Iran-Contra period. The base, located off of Highway 10 between Phoenix and Tucson, was the site of strange night-time training maneuvers involving black and unmarked military-type helicopters. Passersby had also witnessed black-clad troops dropping into the desert en mass, using steerable black "Paracommander" parachutes.

This began to raise some interesting possibilities. Had the perpetrators been dropped into the site by air, then picked up by chopper? Both Roberts and his colleague at the Sheriff's Department were experienced military pilots. They observed that it would have been easy for a helicopter to fly low through the mountain passes, avoiding radar, and insert and extract a team. As Roberts noted, "A full moon, wind out of the south at 8 knots, and a clear sky... would be an ideal night for air operations."^[1321]

The possibilities of a covert paramilitary commando team being responsible for the attack raised more than a few eyebrows at the Maricopa County Sheriff's Department, until they began investigating a lead provided by a sympathetic FBI agent that several hikers had seen a small group of parachuters drop into the desert that night. They also discovered the following information:

...a VFR target squawking 1200 that left Tri-City airfield in Albuquerque on a southwest course, climbed to 10,500 feet, then, when it was exactly due east of the Amtrak site, turn due west and flew a course line that took it one mile south of the site. But just before arriving over the site, it dropped to 8,500 feet. After crossing the target zone, it turned on a southwesterly course towards California at 8,500 feet. Albuquerque contacted the Los Angeles Center which tracked the aircraft to a landing at Montgomery Field in San Diego.... It crossed the valley south of the bridge at 1940 hours (7:40 p.m.)

Since the winds that night were at 8 knots out of the south, a drop one mile from the target site would compensate for wind drift. Moreover, such a flight is not required to file a flight plan listing its passengers, and an aircraft flying out of Albuquerque, squawking on transponder 1200 wouldn't look particularly suspicious.

When they checked with the refueler at Montgomery Field, the records indicated that the "N" number checked to a Beachcraft, registered to Raytheon. Raytheon owns E-systems. Like Evergreen, E-Systems, based in Greenville, Texas, is a covert government contractor, reportedly involved in drug-running. The NSA contractor allegedly developed sophisticated systems to create electronic "holes" which would allow planes to cross the border without tripping the NORAD Early Warning Systems. E-Systems, which is reputed to have "wet-teams" (assassination teams), was directed by former NSA Director and CIA Deputy Director Bobby Ray Inman.

While it is possible a jump was made from the twin-engine Beechcraft, a plane commonly used for such purposes, it still left the problem of the team's extraction. With the radar track information, the Maricopa Sheriff then went to the Air Force at Yuma, who monitor the Aerostat radar drug balloons. The DEA balloons have "look-down" capability for detecting low-flying aircraft. The Master Sergeant at Yuma agreed to help out. A short time later he called back.

"Sorry," he said. "We can't help you out."

"What? Why?" asked Jack.

"The plug's been pulled."

"What does that mean?"

The sergeant sounded very uncomfortable when he replied. "We really wanted to check this out, but all I can say is the balloons were down that night."

"Why?" asked Jack.

"Maintenance."

"All of them?" asked Jack, incredulously.

"Yes, sir." The sergeant sounded very nervous.

"Why?"

"All I can tell you is that they were ordered down for maintenance. It came from above my pay grade."

One has to wonder what "above my pay grade" means. Why would *all* the balloons be ordered down for maintenance? Obviously, a cover-up was in progress.

It was beginning to sound suspiciously like the hurried demolition of the Oklahoma Federal Building, to prevent any independent forensic analysis of the bomb site. Or the Secret Service removing President Kennedy's protective bubble from his limousine; failing to secure the windows and rooftops along the parade route; and changing the route at the last minute.

Like the two foregoing examples, only the government — or shadow elements within the government — had the capability of pulling that off. No "lone nut" or criminal syndicate could order such last-minute changes, or orchestrate such a massive and well-executed cover-up. Moreover, no militia group could order all the radar balloons down on the night of the attack.

As a Maricopa County resident stated to the *Arizona Republic* regarding the FBI's so-called militia theory, "Buddy, you can't get three people out here to get together on what kind of pickup to drive, and you think we're going to form a militia?"

Obviously, no militia would benefit from such an attack. And what about the "Sons of the Gestapo?" As Roberts wrote: "...as an old Southeast Asia hand (a marine sniper during Vietnam), I remember that one of the terms used by Phoenix Program assassins working under MACV-SOG (Military Advisory Command, Studies and Observations Group) was a twisted bar-room version of the last acronym. "Yeah," a drunk trooper would mention. "I'm SOG... a son of the Gestapo."^[1322]

The Phoenix assassination program, as previously discussed, was organized by the CIA's William Colby, Ted Shackley, and fielded by General John Singlaub. Singlaub commanded Second Lieutenant Oliver North. Shackley, Singlaub, and North would go on to orchestrate the secret and illegal Iran-Contra operation, smuggling drugs into this country at such places as Mena, Arkansas... and Marana.^[1323]

Curiously, whenever Iran-Contra drug shipments came in for the California run, the drug balloons under "Operation Watchtower" were shut down. Could this be the same mechanism that shut them down the night of the attack?

Then, in September of 1997, a confidential FBI memo intended for the U.S. Attorney's Office in Phoenix was accidentally faxed to the *Arizona Republic*, the Associated Press, and other news media. The memo states that the FBI's prime suspect is "a man with law enforcement and firefighting experience who recently moved out of Arizona."^[1324]

Apparently, the "Sons of the Gestapo" note left behind was a "false flag," a distraction designed to serve a political purpose. In this case, that purpose — like the Oklahoma bombing which preceded it — was to connect the Amtrak attack with the Patriot/Militia movement. Considering the reaction of the mainstream press, it appears they have largely succeeded.

Interestingly, the same year as the Oklahoma City bombing, a grenade exploded near the Citibank building in Manila. Another hit the Shell Petroleum building. Four people were injured. The military claimed the blasts were political statements from the leftist Alex Boncayao Brigade (ABB).^[1325] Yet five Philippine Congressmen accused the military of carrying out the attack to justify the passage of anti-terrorism legislation.

The strongest accusation came from Makati Congressman Joker Arroyo, who said the bombings could not have been staged by the insurrectionary group, the Alex Boncayao Brigade or bank robbers.

"I don't think it is the ABB nor a bank robbery group as what the police investigators said. Only the military has the capability of using grenade launchers," Arroyo commented.^[1326]

The U.S. certainly had its own share of manufactured incidents, ranging from the sinking of the *Lustitania* to the Gulf of Tonkin incident. Yet in the recent annals of CIA-connected provocations, probably no better example exists than the 1985 bombing of the La Belle Discotheque. The April 5th attack in Berlin killed two U.S. servicemen and a Turkish woman, and left 200 others injured, including 50 G.I.s.

Lybia was quickly blamed by the U.S. for the attack. Propagandized by the American press as the preeminent sponsor of terrorism, Lybia had early on incurred the wrath of the U.S. by attempting to throw off the yoke of British and U.S. imperialism. Libyan President Muammar al-Qaddafi, who came to power in 1969, nationalized oil production and shut down U.S. military bases. Qaddafi began using the wealth formerly exported to multinational corporations to improve the living standards of his own people. Huge strides were made in education, housing, medicine and agriculture in a county in which the literacy rate had increased tenfold since 1969. While actually having the gall to defer to his own people instead of the multinationals, Qaddafi made the mistake of supporting national liberation and social justice movements — assisting such groups as the Sandinistas, the Basques, the Kurds, and the Palestinians.^[1327] This, unfortunately, also included such terrorists as Abu Nidal.

In 1980, Ronald Reagan came to power on a pledge to restore U.S. military might and prestige around the world (and also by making a deal with the Iranians to hold the hostages until after his election. This little scandal was known as "October Surprise.").

He had also pledged to combat terrorism (apparently, terrorism sponsored by Reagan in Nicaragua and El Salvador was exempt from such a pledge), and on the top of his hit-list was Libya. One of Reagan's first acts was to order the CIA to destabilize, overthrow, and assassinate Qaddafi. The attempts not only failed, but resulted in a covert battle of nerves and dead bodies scattered across Europe. After Abu Nidal's attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports in December of 1986, Reagan imposed sanctions and asset freezes on Libya.^[1328] Still this was not enough for the man who had pledged to vanquish terrorism from the face of the earth (or at least certain parts of it).

Angry over the recent terrorist bombings, frustrated by the CIA's failure to eliminate Qaddafi, and still smarting from Israeli rumors of a Libyan hit-squad sent to assassinate him, the President opted for a military-style assault. All the White House needed was an excuse, and this came in the form of an attack on the La Belle Discotheque. Nine days later, Reagan ordered U.S. planes to attack the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi, which resulted in over 37 dead, including Qaddafi's infant daughter. Unfortunately for Reagan, Qaddafi survived the attack.^[1329]

But had Libya actually bombed the disco? The White House was adamant. The National Security Agency (NSA) had intercepted coded exchanges between Tripoli and the East Berlin Libyan Peoples Bureau that purportedly said, "We have something that will make you happy." A second cable, hours after the bombing read, "An event occurred. You will be pleased with the result."^[1330] What is interesting is that under orders from the NSC, the raw coded intercepts were sent straight to the White House, bypassing normal NSA analysis channels, drawing criticism from at least one NSA officer. A West German intelligence official who later saw the cables, said they were "very critical and skeptical" of U.S. intelligence blaming the Libyans.^[1331]

The U.S.'s evidence hinged on reports in *Stassi* (East German police) files passed on to West German officials. The Stassi reports, based on three separate informants, indicated the attack was planned by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), which had met in Tripoli a month earlier. A member of that group, living in Berlin, Youdeff Chraid (code-named "Nuri"), had carried out the attack.

Yet the "Libya did it" theory quickly fell apart during the trial of Imad Mahmoud, another member of Nuri's group (Nuri could not be found), as the Stassi informants' contradictions and inconsistencies cast doubts on the case. Moreover, one informant, Mahmoud Abu-Jabber (code named "Faysal") was, according to KGB files, a CIA informer. One KGB report indicated that Faysal had met with his CIA contact two days prior to the attack, and told them the price of the bombing would be \$30,000, and not \$80,000 as previously agreed.^[1332]

Stassi defector Colonel Frank Weigand, based on a PLO Security Report, concluded that Nuri was an agent for the West German police. Other evidence which seemed to back this up was that while Nuri was wanted for the murder of a Libyan CIA informer, he managed to repeatedly cross Checkpoint Charlie (the East-West Berlin border crossing), one of the most tightly-guarded border crossings in the world. When German authorities finally located Nuri in Lebanon in 1994, U.S. officials failed to provide the evidence needed to extradite him, despite repeated pleas by West German officials.^[1333]

Ultimately, West German officials concluded that the CIA was responsible for the bombing.

Weigand recalled one phone conversation intercept where a high-ranking West German intelligence officer spoke with the Berlin official responsible for the La Belle investigation. According to Weigand, the investigator, when pressed for his conclusion, told the West German spook, "Well, when I add it all up, I think the Yanks did this thing themselves."^[1334]

Weigand also cited a PLO Security Report indicating that the U.S. knew in advance of the late March bombing of the German-Arab Society. The implications of this, like those of the Oklahoma City attack, were that authorities knew about the bombing beforehand, and failed to stop it. While Nuri may have ultimately been responsible for the bombing, the question of who he was working for hung over the case like a dark cloud. As Weigand said. "I never could get [the CIA thesis] off the table, and you know, the one theory does not exclude the other."

A similar government-orchestrated outrage-incident was the Octopus' 1985 plot to bomb the American embassy and presidential offices in Costa Rica as a pretext for a full-scale U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. The plan was an offshoot of Operation Pegasus, the CIA's program of political assassinations, similar to the Phoenix Program.

The conspiracy was akin to the many American-engineered provocations of the past. The U.S. — through the skullduggery of the CIA — would bomb their own embassy, cleverly blaming it on the Sandinistas.

Civilian Military Assistance (CMA) leader Tom Posey and his band of mercenaries — Steven Carr, Robert Thompson, Rene Corvo, and Costa Rican-American land-owners John Hull and Bruce Jones — arranged for a patriotic Cuban-American, Jesus Garcia, to take part in the plot. According to Leslie Cockburn (*Out of Control*) Posey showed Garcia the blueprints of the embassy. "They came to me with a plan to hit the American embassy in Costa Rica," recalls Garcia. "They had an idea this would start a war between Nicaragua and the United States."

In addition to bombing the embassy, they were to "take out" the American ambassador, Lewis Tambs, a vocal opponent of the Colombian/Contra cocaine trade, and collect the \$1 million reward that the Ochoa clan had placed on his head. The CIA-led group, which had been funding their covert operations through arms and drug trafficking, would solve the problem of an American official who had dared interfere with their profitable business, while at the same time, serving the lofty goals of U.S. foreign policy.^[1335]

According to CMA mercenary Jack Terrell, the plan was to place C-4 in a light-box outside the embassy and detonate it. When Tambs ran outside, he would be shot. A Nicaraguan would then be killed and fake documents placed on his person to incriminate the Sandinistas.^[1336]

While Garcia refused to participate in the plot, he recalled, "The embassy plan was blessed from the White House. There were too many big people involved in this. In order to hit a U.S. embassy even us Cubans who are here in Miami would normally out of courtesy notify the CIA."

Considering the players involved, it appeared that the CIA knew fully well of the plot, as it drew members from Brigade 2506, Ted Shackley's old JM/WAVE anti-Castro Cuban mercenary group.^[1337]

A second plot designed to draw the U.S. into the war involved the bombing of Los Chiles, a small town along the border of Costa Rica. The plan was to use a plane painted to look like a Sandinista craft to drop bombs on the unarmed townspeople. Terrell described it as a "continuous undercurrent of... really terrorist activity to try to draw the United States Government into direct conflict with the Nicaraguans

because they were to be made to look like they were committing overt acts against a neutral and unarmed country, Costa Rica."^[1338]

Garcia later learned that another hit was planned, this time on the Cuban and Soviet embassies in Nicaragua. The plan was proposed to Garcia by Major Alan Saum, a confederate of Posey's and General Vernon Walters, U.S. ambassador to the UN and former Deputy Director of the CIA. As Garcia later testified in court, "Saum had come from the White House." Saum told Garcia the plan was "Vice-President Bush's baby."

While neither plot was carried out, the Octopus did manage to successfully murder eight people, mostly reporters, at La Penca, Costa Rica on May 30, 1984. The target was Eden Pastora, a Contra leader who wasn't going along with the plan, and was about to announce his misgivings at a press conference. CIA Deputy Director Dewey Clarridge had recently relayed a message to Pastora through Alfonso Robelo (who had previously met with Bud McFarlane at the White House) that his story would be "stopped" if he did not acquiesce.^[1339]

The bombing was carried out by Amac Galil, who posed as a photographer, carrying a bomb inside a camera case. CIA "hit-man" Felipe Vidal told Terrell that Galil was a Mossad agent. He allegedly received his explosives training from John Harper, and his C-4 courtesy of John Hull. Vidal also told Terrell, "...we put a bomb under him and it didn't work because of bad timing."

As Terrell later stated: "...if anything happens to these people, whether they were carrying out directly or indirectly any plan of our government, it's easy to be at arm's length and have this great big beautiful deniability factor."^[1340]

Naturally, the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* blamed the bombing on the Sandinistas.^{[1341][1342]}

Yet Garcia knew better. "There are people here who are above the Constitution," recalled Garcia. "I didn't know the federal system was like this. I never dreamed."^[1343]

Garcia was eventually set up by Saum on a federal gun charge, he figured, either because he refused to go along with the first plot, or simply because of his knowledge of it.^[1344]

John Mattes, Garcia's defense lawyer, while investigating Garcia's story, began uncovering North and Casey's twisted web of gun and drug smuggling. While Mattes was eager to present the evidence in court, he never got the chance. The "Justice" Department, which initially started a probe, suddenly switched tracks. They "weren't interested" in going any further with it, Mattes said. He and his investigator were later called into the U.S. Attorney's office in Miami and told, "Get out. You're out. Stay out. You've crossed the line. You've gone too far." (The U.S. Attorney threatened the public defender with "obstructing justice.")^[1345]

During testimony, Saum admitted that he had operated "under orders" to bring about Garcia's arrest. Saum's wife told Cockburn that he was working for the CIA.

Terrell would eventually express his misgivings to the press. As he writes in *Disposable Patriot*:

During an operation, the gravity of what you are doing is obscured by the determination to do whatever it is you have been programmed to do. If you whack a bunch of people, blow up cars or hotels, or murder children, it doesn't make any difference. Something in your character sets you apart from normal people, and once it's trained and propagandized to where you start believing what people are telling you, you lose your sense of right and wrong, and in some cases, your sense of morality. In the end, when the veil of perceived sanction is lifted and you no longer have the protection of the invisible barrier that justifies all your actions, then those unspeakable acts committed in the name of freedom and democracy, come back in a more objective retrospect. Finally, you understand the impact. You say to yourself, did I do that? Usually, you did.^[1346]

Former CIA officer Victor Marchetti discovered this unfortunate truth long ago. As Marchetti writes in *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*:

The "clandestine mentality" is a mind-set that thrives on secrecy and deception. It encourages professional amorality — the belief that righteous goals can be achieved through the use of unprincipled and normally unacceptable means. Thus, the cult's leaders must tenaciously guard their official actions from public view. To do otherwise would restrict their ability to act independently; it would permit the American people to pass judgment on not only the utility of their policies, but the ethics of those policies as well....

Finally, there was the blatantly uninhibited statement of former OSS Colonel George White, one of the original founders of the CIA:

"I toiled wholeheartedly in the vineyards because it was fun, fun, fun. Where else could a red-blooded American boy lie, kill, cheat, rape and pillage with the blessings of all the highest?"^[1347]

Ten years later the Octopus would demonstrate similar ethics by bombing the Federal Building in Oklahoma, taking out two potential whistle-blowers in the process — Secret Service agents Alan Whicher and Mickey Maroney, while blaming it on Timothy James McVeigh — a "disposable patriot."

Were Whicher and Maroney — like Gannon and McKee — a "strong secondary target?" As HUD employee Jane Graham said, "Maybe there was a sting within a sting... to eliminate agents who knew too much."

Whicher formerly served on the White House detail, and was reportedly involved in a little-known incident involving electronic bugging of the White House by the Japanese. Whicher was subsequently transferred to the Federal Building in Oklahoma City. [\[1348\]](#)

It was also rumored that the Secret Service agent had talked to his wife just minutes before the blast, telling her that he had to get off the phone because he was told to wait for an important call. Apparently... that call never came.

Maroney served on Clinton's presidential campaign and transition detail, and told friend and bombing survivor V.Z. Lawton about some of the many Clinton-related improprieties he witnessed. Maroney, described by Lawton as a "Christian person" and a "super guy," said that the Clinton's were "two of the most foul-mouthed... low-lives" he had ever been around. In one humorous incident, he recalled how Hillary threw an ashtray at Bill, only to miss and have it strike a Secret Service Agent (who no doubt courageously threw himself between the President and the deadly ashtray). One has to wonder however if Maroney witnessed more than just obscene word play. [\[1349\]](#)[\[1350\]](#)

Yet perhaps most interestingly, it was rumored that one of the charges that destroyed the Murrah Building was beneath the Secret Service office. This possibility became all the more apparent when *The Daily Oklahoman* recently reported that a warning call was placed to an answering service several days before the bombing, claiming that an explosive charge was *placed inside the Secret Service office*:

...Vance DeWoody, owner of Opal's Answering Service, and his employee, Pat Houser... received an anonymous telephone call saying that a bomb was going to go off in the office of the U.S. Secret Service on the ninth floor of the Murrah Building.... [\[1351\]](#)

Opal's Answering Service... has a contract with the Secret Service.

It seems the deaths of Whicher and Maroney can be added to the growing list of approximately 40 victims involved with or knowledgeable of Clinton's financial, extra-marital, and drug-related activities at Mena, Arkansas who have met violent and untimely deaths.

The murders of Whicher and Maroney also have ominous parallels to the deaths of Major Charles McKee and Agent Matthew Gannon aboard Pan Am flight 103.

Describing how an organization might blow up an airplane or a building to kill one or two people, former DEA Agent Mike Levine says: "Once you arrange a death, once you employ one of these organizations that do this sort of thing, it's out of your control." [\[1352\]](#)

The deaths of Whicher and Maroney also meant two less witnesses to testify about the Octopus' drug-running and related skull-duggery.

While scratching that itch, the Octopus managed to remove sensitive files, conceivably implicating it in its illegal and murderous activities.

Finally, with the destruction of the Oklahoma City Federal Building, the Federal Government could point to a new "terrorist threat" in our midst, while effectively halting political dissent, and successfully arguing for a whole new spate of laws and regulations that threaten to do away with what little freedoms Americans have left.

Let Them Eat O.J.

*["All men will see what you seem to be; only a few will know what you are, and those few will not dare to oppose the many who have the majesty of the state on their side to defend them."
— Niccolo Machiavelli, 1532 A.D.]*

McVeigh is sentenced to death. We are all saved.

Anyone who believes this is brain dead and deserves the consequences. Lies beget new lies. Crimes beget new crimes. Murder begets new murder. Nothing has changed in people's thinking in five thousand years. If there is a blood sacrifice for the gods, all is well. The rule of ritual blood sacrifice is supplanting the rule of law, due process and constitutional rights under the rubric of "victims' rights." The regression to social barbarism is matched by individual regression to infantile magical thinking and *The Lord of the Flies* is the ultimate destination. [\[1353\]](#)

On June 2, 1997, Timothy McVeigh was convicted of all 11 counts in the federal indictment: eight counts of murdering federal agents, and one count each of possessing a weapon of mass destruction; of conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction; and of destroying federal property with a weapon of mass destruction. The sentence was death by lethal injection.

In the trial, which was hailed as "brilliant," "textbook," and "close to perfect" by government legal pundits, prosecutors presented largely circumstantial evidence combined with emotional tales from bombing victims, and won immediate convictions.

In the last murder "trial of the century," prosecutors displayed an impressive array of hard, solid evidence against former football star O.J. Simpson and were met with acquittal. [\[1354\]](#)

Federal prosecutors introduced no witnesses who could have placed McVeigh in Oklahoma City on April 19... because McVeigh was always seen in the company of other suspects — a can of worms the government, and the defense, could not afford to open. Yet while prosecutors interspersed relatively circumstantial evidence with heart-wrenching and completely irrelevant tales from tearful bombing victims, the defense wasn't allowed to present any expert witnesses debunking the government's "single bomb" theory, or any evidence linking other suspects to the crime!

Finally, just one month before the start of McVeigh's trial, the *Dallas Morning News* "leaked" alleged documentation that McVeigh had "admitted" to a defense team member Richard Reyna that he alone drove the Ryder truck to the Alfred P. Murrah Building (hardly a credible assertion at this point). Like the startling revelations of McVeigh's racing fuel purchases a year and-a-half after the fact, this well-timed ruse was engineered to resuscitate the government's rapidly deteriorating case.

While Jones' superbly crafted and highly revealing Writ of Mandamus barely registered a blip on the official radar screen of the mainstream press, McVeigh's highly dubious "confession" became the immediate focus of tabloid attention.

In documents recently discovered by the *National Globe*, it was learned that Lee Harvey Oswald made a "confession" to Dallas Police on November 22, in which he states that he, a) Acted alone; b) Had no ties with any mob or intelligence organizations; and c) Was mad at the President and wanted to make a political statement.

"That should put this controversy to rest for all time," said former president and Warren Commission member Gerald Ford.

Lee Harvey Oswald didn't live to tell the truth. Timothy McVeigh chose not to speak it. Yet, as Stephen Jones noted, if McVeigh dies, the truth may die with him.

While Judge Richard Matsch bared much of the relevant evidence pertaining to the case, he permitted numerous victims' completely irrelevant testimony about their personal trauma, obviously designed to sway the emotions of an ignorant and confused jury.

Matsch also barred ATF informant Carol Howe's testimony as "irrelevant," saying that it "would confuse or mislead the jury." Howe's

attorney, Clark Brewster, said his client could have given "compelling testimony in support of a potential conspiracy theory."

The trial was also one of the most secretive ever held. According to the Associated Press, a "review of 1,000 documents filed between Feb. 20 and Sept. 5 found 75 percent of the records have been at least partially sealed."^[1355]

Given the mainstream media's largely acquiescent attitude towards the government's fairy tale, it would hardly have mattered. One of the most important and revealing documents in the case, McVeigh's Writ of Mandamus, was dismissed as a concoction of conspiracy theories designed to cast doubt on McVeigh's guilt. Judge Matsch would have no part of "conspiracy theories." He ordered all important exhibits of McVeigh's Writ sealed.

While Jones and the government both decided that McVeigh couldn't receive a fair trial in Oklahoma, critics argued that the case was moved to Denver to put it under the careful control of federal lap-dog Richard Matsch. In one of the most controversial environmental cases ever, Matsch used a one-sided hearing to brush aside charges that radioactive contamination from the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant near Denver was adversely undermining the health of area residents.

A Nixon appointee, Matsch also presided over the Silverado Savings and Loan case, involving George Bush's son Neil — a case thick with dirty covert operatives and shady criminals linked to the CIA and the Iran-Contra operation. Bush walked.^[1356]

McVeigh's defense lasted little more than a week. In that regard the trial was little different than the trial of the surviving Branch Davidians, who were not allowed to introduce evidence that they had acted in self-defense. The superficial two day defense, presented after weeks of bogus evidence presented by the government, resulted from Judge Smith who said he would not allow the defense to "put the government on trial." Yet in fact several jurors expressed their opinions that the government should have been on trial — not the surviving Branch Davidians.

While he wasn't allowed to introduce evidence of a broader conspiracy, Jones did spend considerable time focusing on the disembodied leg, clothed in camouflage military garb, found amid the rubble of the Federal Building.

Jones introduced expert testimony that such a leg could be left intact from a blast that disintegrated the remaining body. It was this leg, which wasn't matched to any other victim, Jones suggested, that belonged to the real bomber.

Yet Judge Matsch wasn't about to allow Jones reveal his knowledge of a wider plot, as was portrayed in his Writ of Mandamus:

The theory of the prosecution in this case, not the Grand Jury's theory, is that the two named Defendants constructed a simple device capable of toppling a nine-story building at a public fishing lake and that one of them transported this device over two hundred miles without blowing himself up. That is the heart of the prosecution's case. Any evidence concerning the participation of others, the complexity of the device, or foreign involvement takes away the heart of the government's case and there is therefore an institutional interest on the part of the government in keeping such evidence shielded from the defense and the public.

Some critics argued that Jones' decision to wait until one week before the start of his client's trial to file the important and revealing document ensured that the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals would reject the motion.^[1357]

Other, such as prominent "Patriot" attorney Nancy Lord, insisted that Jones "should have violated the judge's order, presented evidence of a larger conspiracy to the jury, and gone to jail for contempt. If I would have been the defense attorney, some things are important enough to go to jail for," Lord said. "I am shocked at Stephen Jones' conduct in this case."

An attorney on Jones' legal team rated his defense as "no better than a C-minus," although he added, "I think he had some high-points."^[1358]

As Jones solemnly stated in November of 1995, "Some day, when you know what I know and what I have learned, and that day will come, you will never again think of the United States of America in the same way."

The American public never learned what Stephen Jones knows. Yet on the day of his sentencing, Timothy McVeigh finally spoke out: "Our government is the potent and omnipresent teacher for good or for ill," McVeigh boldly if somewhat enigmatically announced to the court. "It teaches the whole people by its example. That's all I have to say."^[1359]

Naturally, the government and many of the bombing victims took this as a sign of McVeigh's confession. The rest of the quote may shed some light on the meaning:

"Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for the law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy. To declare that in the administration of the criminal law the end justifies the means — to declare that the government may commit crimes in order to secure the conviction of a private criminal — would bring terrible retribution."

McVeigh also accused Jones of lying and screwing up. "The truth is this guy only succeeded in getting [me] the death sentence," said McVeigh, "and now he doesn't want to let go."

Asked what lies Jones told him, McVeigh was not specific: "It's for Congress, the bar, and the judiciary to investigate and discover. You would not believe some of the things that have occurred in this case. The man has repeatedly lied to me in the past."^[1360]

Obviously, Timothy McVeigh is holding his cards close to his vest. As Jones stated during his closing argument: "Two people share a terrible secret. One will not talk, the other is bound by law and can not talk."

The public still hasn't learned what that terrible secret is.

Other rumors abound that Jones — who stands to make millions in legal fees from the government — purposely threw the case.

"He is the most dishonest person I've ever met, including all the criminals I've defended," says his onetime law partner Alec McNaughton, who nevertheless describes Jones as "brilliant."^[1361]

As a young attorney in 1964, Jones began his career working for a lawyer named Richard Milhous Nixon. His clients have run the gamut from '60s radicals such as Abbie Hoffman to establishment politicians such as Governor Frank Keating.

Jones and Nichols' attorney Michael Tigar share a common bond through the late Edward Bennett Williams, senior partner of Williams & Connolly (later Williams, Wadden & Stein). Williams' client roster included Senator Joseph McCarthy, Mafia don Frank Costello, Teamster Jimmy Hoffa, industrialist Armand Hammer, and Texas Governor John Connally.

A man on intimate terms with the CIA, Williams was offered the post of CIA director by two presidents, a job which he declined, probably because he was already a de facto CIA official.^[1362]

While Jones openly admires Williams, Tigar was actually employed by him in the late '60s and mid 70s. Williams often referred to Tigar as his "most brilliant protégé."

A University of Texas Law School professor, Tigar himself claims an interesting bevy of clients, ranging from "Chicago Seven" member Angela Davis, who was tried for conspiracy to incite riots at the 1968 Democratic Convention, to John Demjanjuk, accused of being the notorious Nazi concentration camp guard "Ivan the Terrible."

Jones and Tigar have collaborated before, defending a controversial Oklahoma City psychotherapist.^[1363]

"Tigar is a passionate defender of people who have been oppressed by the government," said 24-year Oklahoma City attorney Jim Bellingham, who thinks the possibility of Jones and Tigar running "damage control" for the government is "hogwash."

"I can't imagine the man selling out, and nobody's going to tell him how to run his defense," said Bellingham.^[1364]

But former Nebraska State Senator John DeCamp, who investigated a child abuse ring run by high government officials, doesn't put much faith in Stephen Jones. DeCamp believes Jones actually made a deal with the feds. DeCamp represented a bombing victim in an early action against the Federal Government and was just about to file a motion to preserve the building as evidence. As he wrote in *The Franklin Cover-Up*:

Only hours before I was to file the legal papers for a civil action to keep the building standing, I was contacted by Timothy McVeigh's attorneys, who presented me with two major requests.

First, they asked that I allow them to file the motions to keep the building standing so that the investigation could be conducted. They had cogent legal arguments for this request: because McVeigh was/is under federal criminal charges, he had the definite legal right to keep the building standing under the federal rules of evidence which grant criminal defendants the right to preserve evidence that would significantly impact their defense. It was clear that if McVeigh's attorneys believed, or even suspected government cover-up, they would definitely want the building examined.

Their second request was that I release from retainer the bomb investigation team I had assembled — John A. Kennedy and Associates — which, they claimed, they wanted to hire.

I granted these requests to McVeigh's attorneys.

A few hours later, I watched in horror as CNN and all the national news channels reported that McVeigh's attorneys had no intent to file any motions to keep the Federal Building standing. They had "just reached agreement with the government," the reporters explained, to permit the building to be destroyed almost immediately.

Angry beyond belief, I called McVeigh's attorney and asked what they were doing. Since this all occurred on a weekend, I could take no

legal action to stop the building's destruction. McVeigh's attorney told me, "Oh yes, we are going to allow the building to be destroyed." "Why?" I demanded. "Because we could not afford to pay the retainer fee that the Kennedy and Associates firm wanted," he answered.

Shocked by this feeble explanation, I asked, "Well, just how much do they want?" McVeigh's attorney floored me: "\$30,000," he said. "and we have no resources to pay it, because we are a court-appointed attorney and there are no funds for this purpose."

"For God's sake!" I screamed at him. "I will raise the money! I will pay the fee! There's too much at stake for America. "How," I demanded, "can McVeigh go along with wanting that building destroyed, when that building is the one thing that can tell America the story of what really happened? I will get you the money, somehow, but don't refuse to keep the building up for that reason!"

My protests were futile. Within hours of my call, by mutual agreement between McVeigh's attorneys and the government prosecutors, the building was destroyed, and any evidence was destroyed with it.^[1365]

Jones disputed this, stating in a letter to the author:

...if anyone took the trouble to check the public filings in the case of *United States v. McVeigh* they will find that one of the very first Motions that I filed was to stop the implosion of the Murrah Building until the Defense could go in and take films and moving video pictures. The Court sustained my Motion and we were able, together with an architect and an explosives expert, to tour the building. Any claim that we made a "deal" with the Federal authorities to permit the demolition of the Murrah Building before the Defense could inspect if is absurd and contradicted by the public record.^[1366]

A source within the defense team told me that Jones' team actually did go into the building to conduct forensic analysis. The group consisted of a videographer, a still photographer, and one bomb expert, who were accompanied by several FBI and ATF agents. The source said that the bomb expert walked around with only a jeweler's loupe, no forensic kit, and did not take any samples for analysis. The agents restricted their passage through the building, and by the time they arrived, the crater had been filled.

Jones also made no mention of the amazing letter McVeigh sent to his sister, describing his recruitment into a secret government team involved in illegal activities, which she had read before the Federal Grand Jury.

What he did do was show a film about Waco, further reinforcing the allegations of his client's guilt, including the absurd notion that McVeigh murdered 25 innocent children in Oklahoma to avenge the murder of 25 innocent children at Waco.^[1367]

Did Jones have a *quid pro quo* with the government not to reveal any evidence that his client was a government agent? Did he purposely throw the case? His highly incriminating Writ of Mandamus and impressive opening statement tend to belie that theory. As Jones said in his opening statement:

"I know who bombed the Alfred P. Murrah building. It was NOT Tim McVeigh.

"Even more important, the government knows who bombed the Alfred P. Murrah building. The government knows it was NOT Tim McVeigh.

"The government also knows that its case against Tim McVeigh is corrupt. At its core, it's rotten. I will show you in what way, and why.

"The most important difference between us, is that the government won't tell you who bombed the Alfred P. Murrah building.

"I will."

Jones never got the chance. The exclusion of ATF informant Carol Howe sounded the death knell for other defense witnesses such as bomb expert General Benton Partin, seismologist Dr. Ray Brown, and the many witnesses who saw additional suspects. While the prosecution called 27 phone company employees to testify that McVeigh and Nichols used a pre-paid calling card to make chemical purchase inquiries, they didn't call even one of the many witnesses who would have placed McVeigh downtown on the morning of the blast!

While the government solicited the testimony of British explosives expert Linda Jones, McVeigh's attorney curiously did not call General Partin, who could have blown the lid off the government's single bomb theory.

"The judge would not permit... in his ruling he would not permit anything except one man, one bomb," said Partin. "...they structured the whole case — the whole prosecution — completely eliminating the building and anything to do with it... because they couldn't afford to get into that."

Referring to Jones, Partin added, "I didn't expect to be called by these guys. I had absolutely no confidence in them. I didn't expect it — not from Jones."^[1368]

In response, Jones said, "I did not put Partin on the stand because my experts do not credit his theory...."^[1369]

Yet the question still remains: why didn't Jones take the issue of Judge Matsch's illegal decisions before the Appellate or Supreme Courts? Jones replied by stating that the appellate court "refused to accept jurisdiction of the case and said [it] would review the issues on appeal, if there was a conviction."^[1370]

Some have speculated that the millions Jones stands to make in legal fees from the government played a part in his apparently poor defense.

Those who expected a similarly poor defense from Michael Tigar were shocked to find him introducing evidence of other suspects, and putting ATF informant Carol Howe on the witness stand.^[1371]

No doubt Nichols' conviction of conspiracy and involuntary manslaughter stemmed from the critical opinions jurors had of the prosecution's "limited hang-out."

"I do not believe that the government gave us the whole case," said Linda Morgan, one of the jurors who decided Nichols only had a minor role in the bomb plot. McVeigh, she said, "was seen with too many other people. Who were these other people?"

"I think that the government perhaps really dropped the ball," said jury forewoman Niki Deutchman, who criticized the FBI for halting its investigation after arresting Nichols and McVeigh.^[1372]

"I think there are other people out there," she said, recalling defense witnesses who saw others with McVeigh before the bombing. "I think this was a horrible thing to have done... and I doubt two people were able to bring it off."^[1373]

Deutchman also criticized the FBI for sloppy crime lab procedures, and claimed agents were "arrogant" for failing to tape-record Nichols' initial 9-hour interrogation. "It seems arrogant to me on the part of the FBI to say, you know, 'We have good recall and you can take what we have said.'"^[1374]

Nor could jurors agree on the scope of Nichols' involvement. While most believed he played a major role, others questioned if he did much at all or had backed out completely or been coerced.

"Some people felt he wasn't involved at all in building the bomb," Deutchman said before echoing an oft-repeated mantra from the defense: "I think he was building a life."

Juror Holly Hanlin, too, felt the government failed to fully prove its case. "We couldn't find enough evidence to convince at least all of us that he intended, that he was involved from the very beginning, that he built the bomb. We felt that evidence was shaky at best...."^[1375]

Others, like juror Keith Brookshier, said"[I] know that Terry Nichols was into it up to his eyeballs and that's the only thing I had to decide.... We're not trying John Doe 2, or 3 or 4 or whatever." U.S. Attorney Beth Wilkinson naturally added her voice to the ensemble, stating that "sightings of John Doe 2 were about as common and about as credible as sightings of Elvis."^[1376]

As the trial of Terry Nichols winds down, the public's attention will resolve itself to the latest scandal, reported in the same exposé-tabloid fashion that riveted its attention on the O.J. Simpson trial. As in both cases, the relevant facts will remain obscured behind the colored smoke and lights of what will certainly be more circus trials. Attorney Larry Becraft told *Media Bypass*, "They got Oswald, they got James Earl Ray, they got McVeigh and once they're finished with Nichols, they've offered the public a couple of sacrificial lambs, and they hope it will all go away."

By the time this book is published, a few select facts may be brought to light. They will first be revealed by a few victims' families, angrily demanding justice; by the few public officials courageous enough to risk their careers. And finally, they will be echoed in the courts by the inevitable specter of civil litigation.

Then, the powers that be will hasten to construct a new layer of damage control, and the cover-up will begin anew. Like the crime scene quickly demolished, and the John Does that never existed, this new "limited-hangout," in the form of a few "startling revelations," will be used as a dam, to hold back the onrushing tide of truth.

Will Timothy McVeigh ever choose to reveal that truth — what he knows of it — or will it go with him to the grave, or die with him in a prison "suicide?"

As Fletcher Prouty states: "The whole story of the *power* of the cover-up comes down to a few points. There has never been a grand jury and trial in Texas (referring to Lee Harvey Oswald). Without a trial there can be nothing. Without a trial it does no good for researchers to dig up data. It has no place to go and what the researchers reveal just helps make the cover-up tighter, or they eliminate that evidence and the researcher."^[1377]

The government illegally prevented a state trial in Dallas in 1963, as they tried to do in Oklahoma City in 1995. It came down to one

courageous District Attorney in New Orleans to open up that can of worms.

As this book went to press, a County Grand Jury, convened at the behest of two courageous men in Oklahoma, began hearing evidence.

Will these jurors will more objective and effective than the highly manipulated Federal Grand Jury? One juror, Ben Baker, was quoted in *The Daily Oklahoman* as saying: "Everyone I've talked to believes this is a waste of time and taxpayers' money. I believe the same thing."

Another juror, Kenneth Rickenbrode, is a lieutenant with OCPD Internal Affairs, which should serve rather nicely to hamstring any serious inquiry into the murder of OCPD Officer Terrance Yeakey.

Fortunately, Bob Macy's Chief Assistant DA, Pat Morgan and Assistant DA Suzanne Lister-Gump are on hand to "advise" the jurors and "pre-screen" the evidence.

Charming.

Representative Key had little choice but to work with Macy's people, the alternative being a special prosecutor being appointed by political hacks Attorney General Drew Edmondson or Governor Frank Keating. Although Key could have objected to both Edmondson and Keating based on their obvious prejudice, he felt the Supreme Court would have sat on the issue, perhaps not appointing a special prosecutor for over a year. After waiting two years, he was anxious to get the process started. The choice was "deciding between bad, worse, and worse," said Key, who now believes that Macy is "on our side."[\[1378\]](#)[\[1379\]](#)

Bob Macy — a man who "investigated" the case by thumbing through an old copy of *The Turner Diaries* — now insists he intends to uncover the truth. "I'm prepared to do what ever it takes to get to the truth!" Macy declared. "My sole intent is in learning the truth." This Macy stated to the author five months before he kowtowed to "Justice" Department wishes in opposing the grand jury.

Of course, Macy's most telling statement came when he was asked if he intended to pursue an investigation independent of the feds. "Well... I don't want to be a party to anything that will interfere with the Feds' prosecution," said Macy. "*I don't want to open up a new can of worms.*" [\[1380\]](#)

This is not surprising, coming from a man who refused to prosecute eight felony indictments against a sitting governor who was a campaign manager for President Clinton.

Consequently, Key petitioned the Oklahoma Supreme Court to order Macy to do his job. In reply, Macy stated, "I *am* going to do my job. This action by him won't have any effect one way or another. I am still going to do it the way it is supposed to be done."

Former Congressman George Hansen (R-ID) thinks Macy, whom he says was "straddling the fence," has now turned around. "Look, "he's obligated to do the will of the establishment," said Hansen. "He went along... with defending the establishment."[\[1381\]](#)

An old friend of Macy's from Washington, D.C., Hansen learned the hard way what it's like to suffer at the hands of a corrupt and vindictive "Justice" Department. Not one to easily trust the Federal Government, Hansen genuinely believes his old friend from the Department of Agriculture is now honestly going to challenge that government. "Give the guy a chance to turn around," said Hansen. "He honestly wants that grand jury to come out with as much of the truth as possible."[\[1381\]](#)

If true, perhaps Macy should imbue a sence of open-mindedness in his so-called investigators. In an affidavit filed by Richard Sinnett, the eyewitness claims that one of Macy's investigators made sarcastic comments to him about the grand jury investigation shortly before he was subpoenaed.

Sinnett could not identify the person. However, he said in the signed affidavit, the man who called him said "he did not know why he was having to do this, that Charles Key was pushing this and that nothing would come of it and that is was a waste of time."

Naturally, Macy's office denied the charge.

Perhaps the Supreme Court should order Judge Burkette, presiding over the County Grand Jury, to do *his* job. Burkett attempted to disallow hearsay evidence to be presented to the grand jury — a clear violation of Oklahoma grand jury procedures.[\[1382\]](#)

"Do not accept hearsay," Burkett said in his opening instructions to the grand jurors. "Hear only those witnesses who would present facts, which if true, would substantiate an indictable offense and not needlessly delay the courts in their other functions by listening to radical persons or facts about which you could do nothing if it were true."[\[1383\]](#)

"...radical persons or facts about which you could do nothing if it were true"??? Judge Burkett's subtle signal is suspiciously reminiscent of the 1976 House Select Committee on Assassinations investigation of the Kennedy assassination, which admitted that the evidence led to a probable conspiracy. No indicments were ever handed down.

KFOR's Jayna Davis, who testified before the Grand Jury, didn't miss this subtle signal. She told *The Daily Oklahoman* she expects prosecutors "to express a legitimate interest" in pursuing indictments against the suspects her witnesses identified. [\[1384\]](#)

Even if Macy and Burkette are eventually forced to do their jobs, the FBI can undoubtedly be counted on to intimidate key witnesses, as they did in the federal trial. Kay H., who saw Hussain al-Hussaini speed away in the brown pick-up, reportedly is afraid to testify before the Grand Jury, after publicly stating — twice — that Hussaini was the man she saw. Gary Lewis, the Journal Record pressman who was almost run over by McVeigh and John Doe 2, has now recanted his story. After his testimony before the County Grand Jury, Professor Ray Brown of the University of Oklahoma had a change of heart: "There's no evidence in the [seismographic] bomb signals for any additional charges," Brown told reporters. [\[1385\]](#)

The federal agents who might be subpoenaed will no doubt attempt to quash them on the grounds of "national security."

It is been rumored that no grand jury indictments will ever be returned.

Said Stephen Jones, "...a living nightmare for the Department of Justice is an Oklahoma state criminal trial, not only a nightmare for them, but a nightmare for the intelligence community, for the ATF. There isn't going to be any Oklahoma trial...."

"If I thought the State of Oklahoma was really interested in the truth as opposed to just some political side show," added Jones, "I would insist that Mr. McVeigh have a state trial and demand that he be released to the state authorities. But this is all politics." [\[1386\]](#)

"What [Joseph Hartzler] is trying to do is not have people learn," said McVeigh in an interview from his prison cell. "He wants to have them put their heads in the sand."

What McVeigh states may be an unfortunate axiom. Many Americans aren't interested in knowing the truth. Like Becraft said, they want it to go away. They don't want to open up a new can of worms. Many people, even those in Oklahoma, don't want to believe that the government, or elements within that government, could or would, do, or cover-up, such an evil act.

However, "very few will cover up the violent deaths of their sons and daughters, or the children of a close family friend, no matter what the price," argued a poster to an Internet newsgroup called OKBOMB. [\[1387\]](#)

Surprisingly, many of these people — including a significant number of bombing victims — are naive, intellectually lazy, and unreasonably indignant. Like this poster, these people haven't done their homework regarding the legion of evil and corruption in this country, so they don't have any basis for understanding or challenging it. Driven solely by instinct and emotion, and speaking from a place of ignorance, they react angrily to those attempting to expose the truth, whatever that truth might be.

Simply stated, they are in denial. Such denial absolves one of the responsibility of having to do something about the problem — to take a stand — and, on an even deeper level, to challenge their comfortably held belief systems. While the public servants who know the truth and choose to remain silent are guilty accomplices after-the-fact, to deny that such a truth exists to begin with is intellectual cowardice. Faced with such a choice between examining their falsely cherished values and, consequently, themselves, most people opt for the safer approach.

As another OKBOMB poster observed, "They want their lives to go on as easily as possible, without being harassed by the government, but without admitting to themselves that they sold their souls for a continued paycheck and a good credit rating." [\[1388\]](#)

The author has no respect or sympathy for such individuals, or for that matter, the majority of Americans who mindlessly subscribe to the baleful fantasies perpetrated by government liars and mainstream media whores. They can twist in the wind.

Two hundred years ago, Samuel Adams said: "If ye love wealth better than liberty, the tranquillity of servitude better than the animating contest of freedom, go home from us in peace. We ask not your counsels or arms. Crouch down and lick the hands which feed you...."

Fortunately, there are enough people who want to know the truth. These are the people worth fighting for. Approximately 500 bombing victims and their relatives are beginning to seek answers. They have brought two civil suits against the Federal Government. The suits seek to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that the government had advance knowledge of the plot but failed to stop it, in what amounted, at least on one level, to a sting operation gone wrong. [\[1389\]](#)

As Stephen Jones said in his opening statement, "Outrageously, the government shares part of the blame. Its hands have blood on them as surely as the hands of the man who lit the fuse. Horrifically, the government knew what was coming, but failed to stop it. Then it covered up its role for fear of being held accountable for its inexcusable conduct."

The acquittal of ATF informant Carol Howe and the resulting publicity surrounding Elohim City will no doubt affect the balance of evidence. Yet given the fact that no Middle Eastern witnesses have been called (at least as of this writing), the revelations of Howe will only serve to highlight the role that neo-Nazi elements played in the bombing — to the exclusion of the Arab faction.

This is nothing more than a "limited hang-out." Given the government/mass-media propaganda effort aimed at linking McVeigh and Nichols to the Militia Movement, and the Militia Movement to the neo-Nazi community, the end result differs little from the government's original premise — that the militias, being essentially neo-Nazis, are in effect, responsible for the bombing.

Should Howe's testimony reveal the government's prior knowledge, perhaps the ATF, FBI, and the "Justice" Department will eventually be forced to admit a minor role in their "tragic blunder," and those starved for a little truth will be, at last, temporarily satisfied.

Then the hearings will begin. Like the Warren Commission, the Watergate hearings, or the Iran-Contra hearings, it will eventually be revealed that a few bad apples, acting alone and outside the realm of official responsibility, were "negligent." Inevitable wrists will be slapped.

Then, as the hearings draw to a close, the deeper and more pressing questions will be swept under the rug, as the shock and tragedy of the moment gradually fades in the wake of next year's TV sitcoms. Those who orchestrated the conspiracy will disappear into the invisible cracks of time, protected by the same malignant forces that nurtured them into being.

One Congressman who allegedly displayed an interest in alternative bombing evidence was Senator Arlen Specter. As a young assistant prosecutor on the Warren Commission, Specter propounded the "magic bullet" theory. Now, on the same day as the bombing, Specter's foregone conclusions could be heard on McNeil-Lerher, propounding the "magic bomb" theory.

Soon after, Specter, who is head of the Senate Intelligence Committee, asked KFOR for all the evidence they'd collected on John Doe 2. No doubt the good Senator's collecting this information for the next Warren Commission report. [\[1390\]](#)

One American's foregone conclusion of the Oklahoma City bombing may be more revealing however. It is from a letter sent to the hospitalized survivors by a 3rd grade boy. It reads:

Hello, I hope you feel better from the explosion in Oklahoma. I wish it never happened. I felt sad when it happened. I felt bad for the people who died and the people who got hurt. That's only the beginning of what's going to happen to America. Hope you feel better.

[This page is not identical to that of the printed version. It contains selected image files from it.]

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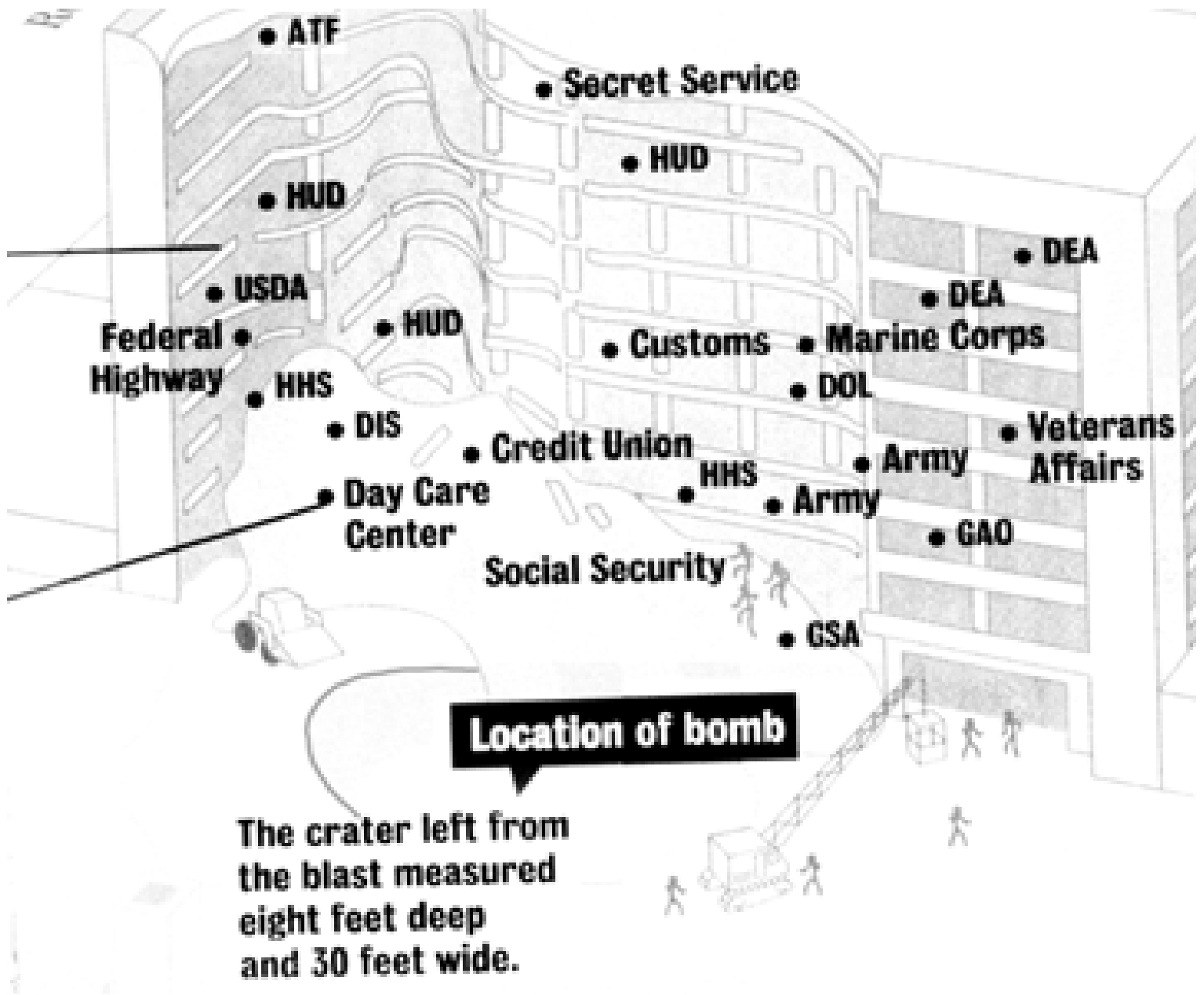
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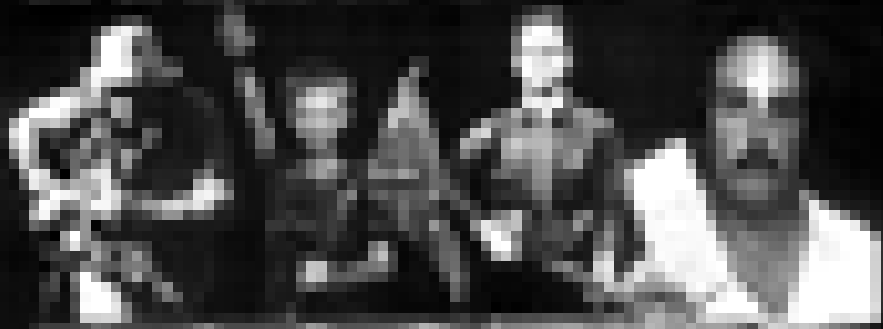
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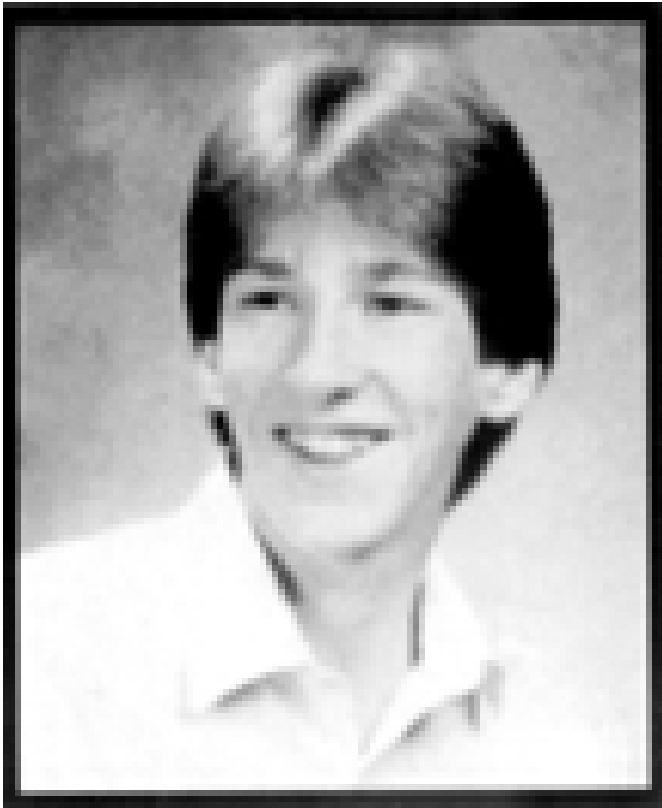
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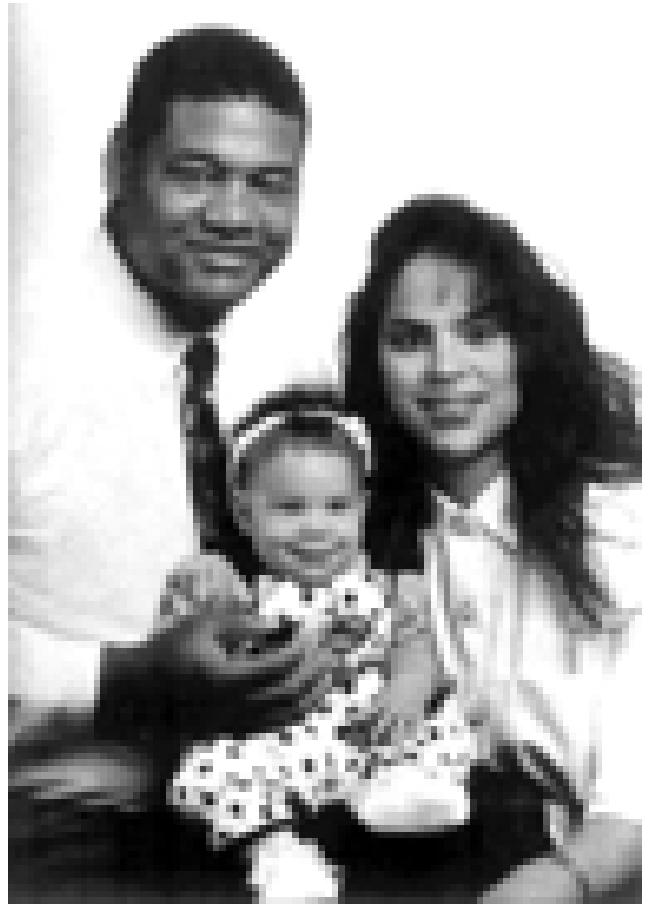




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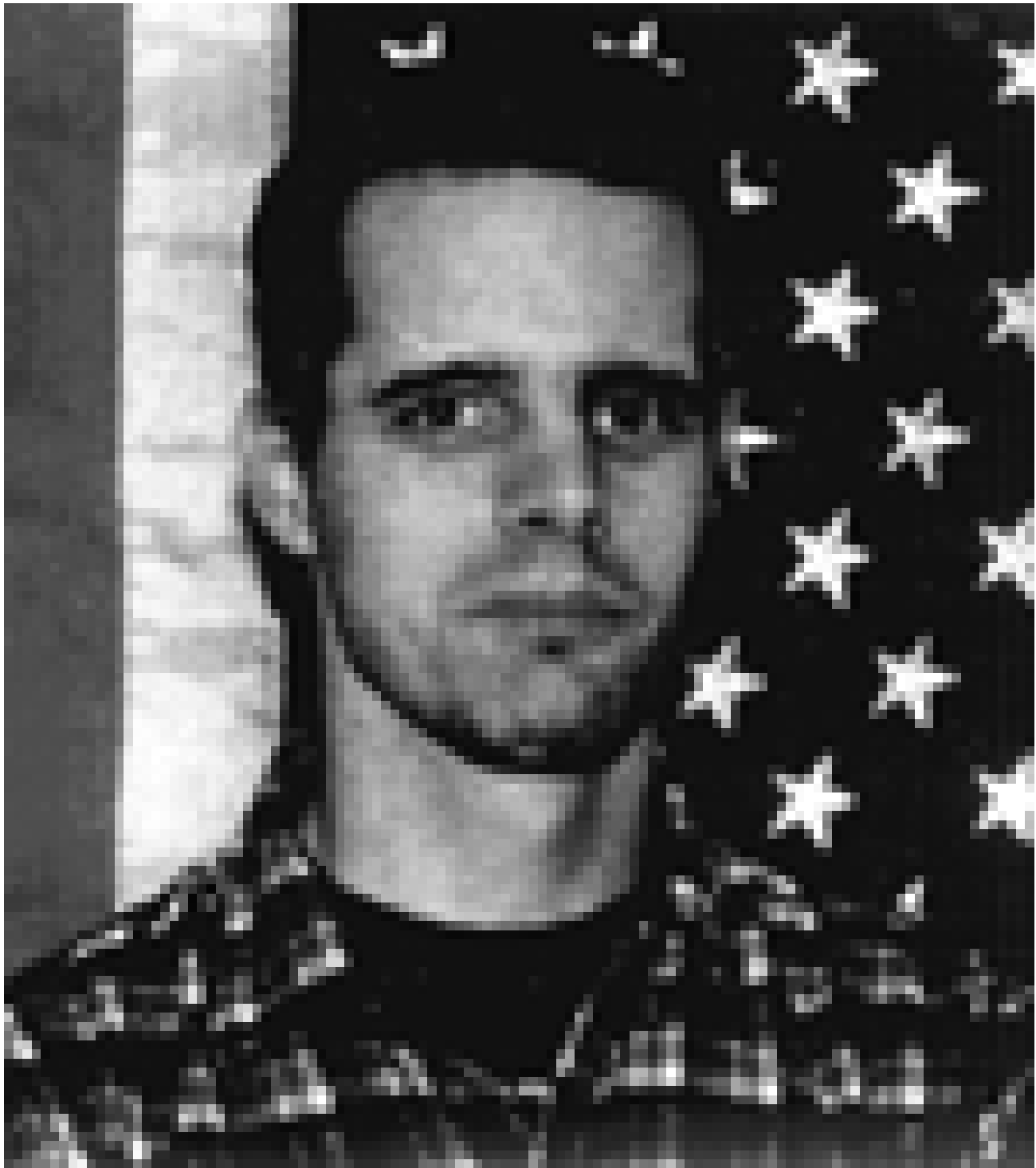
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TIME



THE FACE OF TERROR

Special Double
Portrait: Al Qaeda





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His Majesty, King Hussein the First
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Your majesty:

We are the publishers of the book *Profits of War*. This is to inform you in confidence that we have reached an out-of-court settlement with Mohammad Radi Abdullah Kassawneh in relation to his libel action regarding that book. We wish to apologize to him and to you for having published information about him which has proven untrue, and for any inconveniences caused by this unfortunate event.

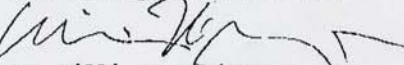
Our assurances are given that in any future printings of the book, his name and/or other identifying information about him will not appear and the references to him will be removed.

Please understand that at present we are still engaged in other litigation over this book which precludes us from publicly releasing this apology; however, at the conclusion of that litigation, we have agreed that this letter may be released.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Very truly yours,

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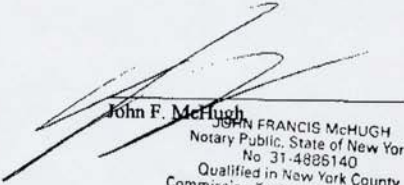
By: William H. Schaap,
Chief Executive Officer

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I verify that the copy of the letter from Sheridan Square Press to His Majesty, King Hussein the First, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan dated July 15, 1996 to which this certification is attached has been compared by me with the document received by this office from Sheridan Square Press and that this copy is in all respects identical thereto.

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