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OKLAHOMA CITY DAY ONE





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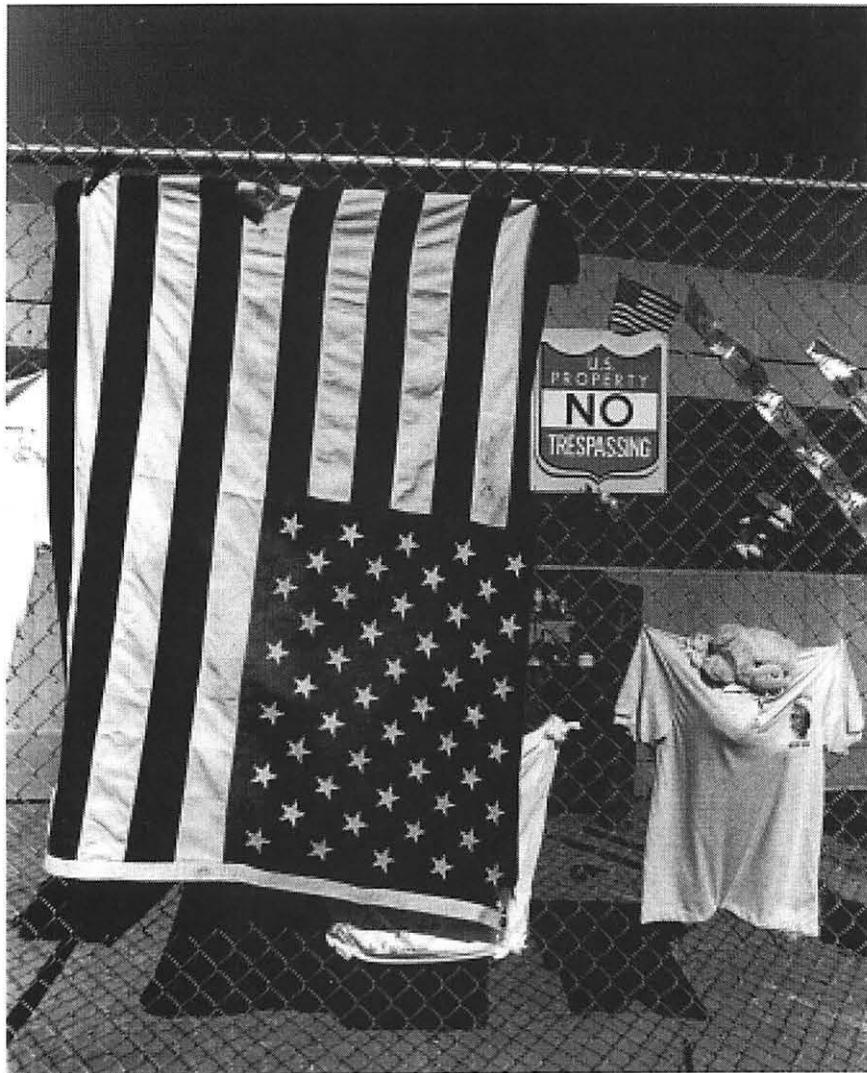


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OKLAHOMA CITY

DAY ONE

A Detailed Account of the
Bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
April 19, 1995

Michele Marie Moore

With a Foreword by
William Cooper



Published by
The Harvest Trust
Eagar



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April 19, 1995

Michele Marie Moore, with a foreword by William Cooper
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FIRST EDITION

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"Another parable put he forth unto them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field;

"But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.

"But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also.

"So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? From whence then hath it tares?

"He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up?

"But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them.

"Let both grow together until the harvest; and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them, but gather the wheat into my barn."

— Matthew 13:24-30





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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the memory of my grandfather

JAMES ELTON WATKINS
December 14, 1895–October 29, 1990

a veteran of World War I
and the greatest patriot I have ever known.

He was never ashamed of loving and supporting his country
or of standing with and for his God.

Always aware of the true state of the nation,
he taught me about political realities when I was but a child
and strongly believed that a knowledge of history
would open many doors to understanding current events.

He was our family patriarch
and loved us unconditionally all his life.
I love him unconditionally to this day.

Because he would have instantly grasped
the meaning and consequence of this tragedy,
the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building
would have irreparably broken his heart.

For that reason,
I am thankful he did not live to see it.





¶ ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ¶

I could never have completed this monumental task without the patient, tender support of my husband, daughter, and mother. The astute perceptions of all of you contributed greatly to the orderliness of the presentation of this material. Your prayers for me brought such comfort and peace as I was daily confronted by the horrific details of the bombing—an unavoidable consequence of writing this book. Because of your love, I could believe to be healed.

Darling daughter, because of you, I can still smile at the end of the day. Your hugs are such a blessing to me and you give them so freely. I love you and am eternally thankful for the joy you continually bring to my life in these dark days. Be always strong, faithful, and very courageous. It is our way.

Mom, you have been to me a loving, concerned sounding board, ever balanced and never shocked, no matter what devastating information comes to light. You have always seen the "big picture" and you always tell me the truth. It is so wonderful to have you as my closest friend.

Dear husband, you are the whole of my heart forever and ever. Thank you for enduring this unexpected project in its totality. You have held me and us together through the all-nighters, the seemingly endless series of interviews, the phone calls from friendly informants and creepy provocateurs, the perils of the investigation, and what was, for me, the extremely personal and confrontational task of actually writing the book. It has been an exercise in overcoming fear and standing steadfast and unmovable on what we know is right and good. Your contributions to the material and your participation in the investigation have been invaluable to me—even when I foolishly resisted your good advice. Thank you for helping me change my mind. You have always been right about everything. May God keep us ever together in health and safety.

This book would never have been written had it not been for the vision and persistent supportive guidance of William Cooper, Director of Intelligence, Second Continental Army of the Republic.



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Bill, you demanded a level of performance from me that I was not sure could be achieved and you wouldn't take "no" for an answer. Your unfailing encouragement and keen-eyed advice always brought focus and direction when the project became overwhelming—which was all too often the case. Thank you for your integrity which has served as the example and the inspiration for so many. I continue to be grateful for the opportunity to serve and to grow in the responsibilities you have placed before me. But more than anything else, I am thankful to have you and your family as my close, personal friends. That is a forever thing.

The compilation of the research material for this book would have been impossible without the willing assistance and complete dedication to duty of untold numbers of members of the Intelligence Service of the Second Continental Army of the Republic, CAJI News Service, concerned citizens, victims of the bombing, and "special helpers"—all of whom must remain nameless in the interest of security and the continuance of the bombing investigation, which is far from over.

To these supremely committed Americans I must give full credit and thanks. You know how much I have depended upon your tireless work, and you know why I cannot publicly declare the details of your immense contribution to this effort. This book is *your* book. I am so proud of you and thankful for the loyalty of your stand. Your kind affection for me has made this project bearable when times were tense and doors were closed. Thank you for caring so much that you gave a part of your life to this project and to me personally. May you be rewarded for the quality of your service to your country and the strength of your courage.

To my other family: God is our sufficiency, our strength and shield. Thank you for your prayers, sweet fellowship, and love.

— Michele





FOREWORD

Oklahoma City: Day One has been a joint effort of many people directly under the supervision of Major Michele Marie Moore. It is the initial results of the investigation by the Intelligence Service of the Second Continental Army of the Republic, Militia, of the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on April 19, 1995.

The Intelligence Service does not wear uniforms, drill with firearms, or run around in the woods. It is recommended that our people own and be proficient with firearms of all types. They must be prepared to fulfill their mission under any and all situations, including—if necessary—living on the ground in the woods. No people can survive in this world unless they have men and women who are prepared to give their lives, if necessary, in support of certain principles and ideals; and those people cannot survive without timely and accurate information. Our mission is to gather, by any and all legal and lawful means, information from all sources, and provide for the free flow of information to the whole of the People, the Militia of the several States of the Union.

Most of those who took great risks, contributed their own money, volunteered time and effort to seek out and gather the truth of the Murrah Federal Building bombing cannot be identified. To do so would put them at even greater risk; to do so would compromise their ability to function as intelligence officers in any future endeavor. They have pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor in support of Freedom. Without them this investigation would have produced nothing. Without them the master of deceit might have been successful. Their service has been in the highest tradition of all those who have gone before.

Michele Marie Moore is a remarkable woman. She entered my life through e-mail asking if she could be of some help. No matter what I said or did, she not go away. Eventually I assigned her the task of transcribing tapes of *The Hour of the Time* into text files for the online computer database. At some point she became a member of the Intelligence Service, executed her Oath of Allegiance, and was assigned to intelligence gathering. She excelled. In the last two years she has risen from Lieutenant to Major and has been recommended for a position on the command staff. Michele has demonstrated that she is a natural leader, intelligent, loyal, dedicated, and very talented. She is unassuming and sometimes shy. If you asked her to describe

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herself she will tell you that she is "just an opinionated female." I have seldom found that to be true, although she will not budge on an issue if she believes that she is right—a trait that I also possess.

It must be recognized that no matter how dedicated and resourceful Major Moore has been, she could never have accomplished much without the physical and emotional support of her husband and daughter. Her husband, another Intelligence Service officer, has an uncanny ability to fulfill any mission assigned. Some crucial data was obtained by him. He also functions as security for his wife, who is one of our most valuable assets. Her daughter has taken on many extra chores and readily accepted some hardships to which she was not accustomed. In the midst of all this turmoil, the Moore family has grown stronger and more supportive of each other than ever before. They serve as a fine example for all of us to follow.

Oklahoma City: Day One is as complete as humanly possible. It is only lacking in a historical perspective. That history must be provided for the reader to fully understand the full meaning and consequences of the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.

Many centuries ago the Roman senator Cicero implemented a plan to invoke the ultimate decree of the senate, a declaration of martial law which would permit summary execution of "Outlaws" and the suspension of *provocatio*, the ancient right of appeal to the people in capital cases.

Cicero claimed Rome's enemy was within. He used slogans such as: "The plot against Liberty; pernicious designs of nefarious citizens; seditious plots against the present form of government; passionate men, always disposed for violence, ready for revolution."

Cicero fostered "an atmosphere of prejudice and hysteria in which any proposal for the reinforcement of constitutional rights would be denounced as a cover for conspiracy." Rome's constitutionists were assassinated or exiled; the followers of the "most dangerous" were massacred. Cicero warned against patriots and veterans who "would not excel as farmers" that might take up arms against the senate. A law forbade anyone carrying arms within the gates of Rome.

When no *real* subversives could be found, Cicero or his confederates would hire thugs to attack and beat citizens. Those attacked were considered sacrifices for the greater good of the Empire. If the political opposition was particularly strong, a government building or a temple might be sacked and burned. There was said to a "new order."

The Romans were great propagandists, fooling themselves and their slaves into believing Rome represented the defender of liberty, justice, and peace for the world. Citizens of Rome felt they were an elite class of humanity.

Arthur Kahn wrote in his *Julius Caesar*, "Cicero adopted the prophetic magniloquence of the newly popular eastern mystical cults which preached



Foreword ¶ 19

an eternal war of ‘the armies of light against the forces of darkness’ and promised initiates eternal happiness after death through the grace of divine redeemers.” Cicero, it appears, was “illumined.”

The German National Socialist Worker’s Party, or Nazis, promoted mysticism and lectured about “the armies of light against the forces of darkness.” The SS required the candidate be given an occult education at an isolated castle, culminating in the officer’s initiation into the “new religion.”

When Herr Hitler could not muster enough votes to control Germany, he burned the Reichstag, Germany’s congress. He labeled his political enemies responsible and rounded up his opposition literally overnight. By this method, Hitler seized power over all Germany.

Hitler spoke of a “new order of the world.” To confidants he whispered of spirit visitors. The Jews became the enemy within the gates. The Japanese Ambassador, noting how well the “enemy within” worked upon the German people, is said to have commented, “I wish we had some Jews in Japan.” The 1938 gun laws disarmed the German people. The Nazis were also masters of propaganda.

The same scenario is presenting again. The ancient mystery religion has risen like the Phoenix and taken wing in the so-called fraternal orders and the New Age movement. President Clinton speaks of an eternal war of “the armies of light against the forces of darkness.” Hillary was recently discovered performing seances in the White House where she communicated with “spirit guides.” There is a “new world order.”

When the administration wanted an Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill, the World Trade Center in New York City was bombed. The terrorists used fertilizer and a Ryder rental truck. It was later revealed during their trial that they were working for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI taught them how to make the bomb. The FBI taught them how to drive the truck. When the culprits wanted to substitute inert ingredients so as not to injure or kill anyone, the FBI denied their request and insisted they use the real thing. The FBI in their usual thorough fashion recorded everything on tape. It was introduced at the trial and a transcript was printed verbatim in the *New York Times*.

When the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill languished in Congress with no hope of passage, the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City was bombed. Those accused supposedly used a Ryder rental truck and a fertilizer bomb. The President spoke of “those who have sacrificed.” A year of lies and propaganda followed, along with gun control legislation on a massive scale. It has been discovered that, before the bombing, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms was performing experiments blowing up trucks in the New Mexico desert with fertilizer bombs.

The Antiterrorism legislation passed into law, giving government almost the same powers Cicero sought and Hitler realized. Once again, a Republic is





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moving to oligarchy, then to dictatorship. The American People, as the Romans, as the Germans, haven't a clue.

— William Cooper
Director, Intelligence Service
Second Continental Army of the Republic, Militia
Eagar, Arizona
June 25, 1996







Oath of Allegiance

I do affirm with free will and full knowledge that I will carry out to the best of my ability all legal and lawful instructions of the Officers of the Intelligence Service. And that I will gather by any and all legal and lawful means information from all sources. I will provide for the free flow of information to the whole of the People, the Militia of the several States of the Union. If required I will Protect and Defend the Constitution of my State, Execute the Laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasion. I will Protect and Defend the Constitution for the United States of America from all enemies foreign and domestic. For the support of this oath, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, I Pledge my life, my Fortune, and my Sacred Honor.

Signed _____ Date _____

State/Republic
County

Before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the said county and State, personally appeared and swore or affirmed this Oath in my presence. Witness my hand and notarial seal this _____ day of _____ 19_____.
My Commission expires _____
Signature _____



**Oath of the Intelligence Service
Second Continental Army of the Republic, Militia**

I do affirm with free will and full knowledge that I will carry out to the best of my ability all legal and lawful instructions of the Officers of the Intelligence Service. And that I will gather by any and all legal and lawful means information from all sources. I will provide for the free flow of information to the whole of the People, the Militia of the several States of the Union. If required I will Protect and Defend the Constitution of my state, Execute the Laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasions. I will Protect and Defend the Constitution of the United States of America from all enemies foreign or domestic. For the support of this oath, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, I Pledge my life, my Fortune, and my Sacred Honor.

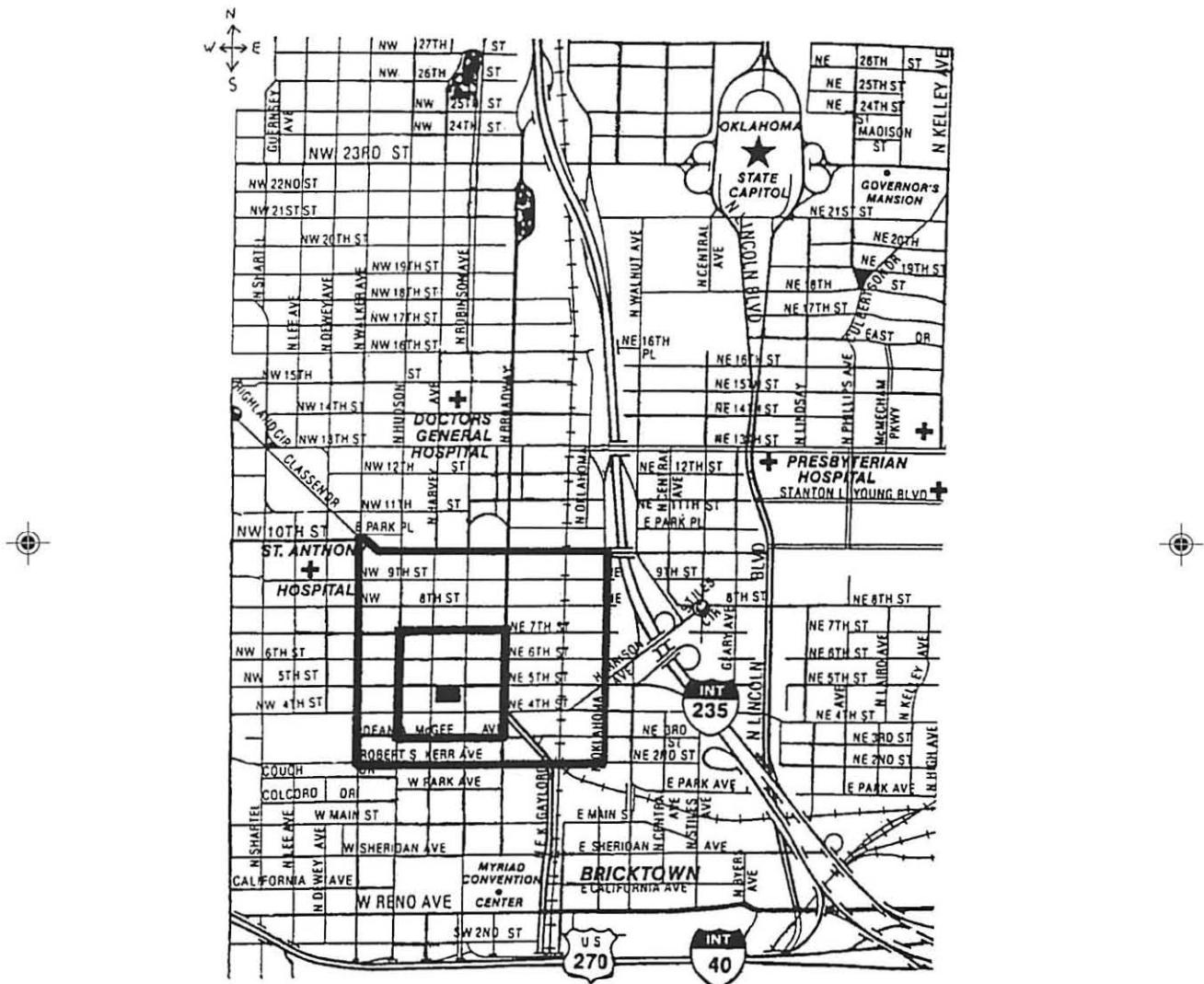




Aerial photograph taken April 26, 1995

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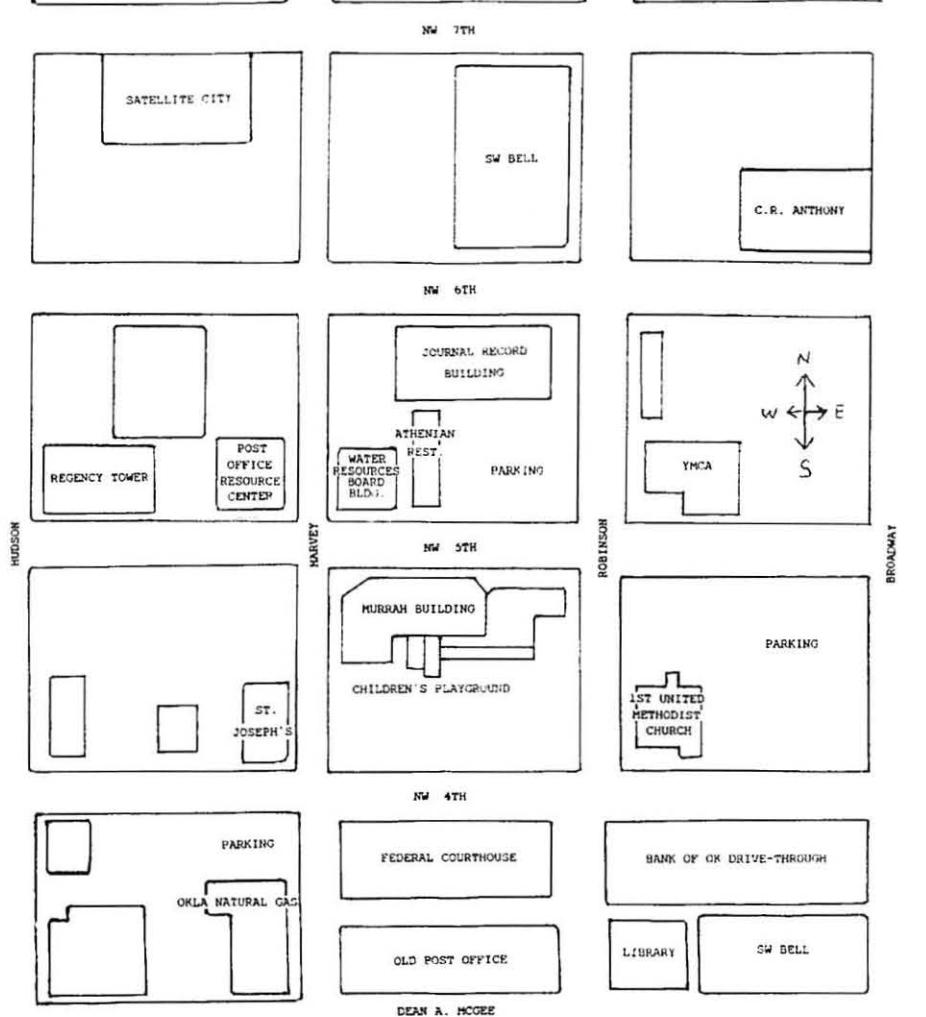




Map: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—Murrah Building Area, Inner and Outer Perimeters



Maps # 25



Map: Bomb Site Landmarks, Inner Perimeter



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INTRODUCTION

"Human blood is heavy; the man that has shed it cannot run away."

Those words ... At first they had been nothing more than a quietly passing thought, the barely discernible voicing of an ancient proverb. Initially, they had served as the dismal acceptance of the overwhelming events of that day, an acknowledgment of the evil that had come upon us.

But now the day was over. Long over. Hours before, midnight had come and gone, a chill had settled, and the air was unnaturally damp and oppressive. The sticky heat of the afternoon had been swept away by a sharp, bone-chilling northern blast that rushed through the city shortly before sunset, bringing unwanted rain and high winds. Threatening clouds, hanging low and thick in the southwest, and distant lightning had warned of continued gloom.

The whole world seemed to shudder that night. But how could you avoid it? After all, human blood is heavy ...

That night should have been the first vibrant blush of wild prairie spring. Oklahoma April! It should have been a time both tranquil and fragrant with the scent of newly blooming iris and daffodils, a peaceful hour that should have carried the fragile perfume of honeysuckle on the prevailing southern breeze. It should have been a night for throwing open the windows after the bundling of winter and drifting sleepily into the late hours on thoughts of starlight and beauty.

But you see, human blood is heavy ...

It had been eighteen hours since the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City had exploded in an instant of carefully orchestrated horror and terror. Already it was evident that deceptions deliberately and meticulously rehearsed were being given their first performances for an unsuspecting, shocked, and numbed audience. Already a multitude of contradictions had been revealed, altered, denied, and disguised. Already a quickly manufactured blanket of disinformation had been thrown over the disaster by players who did not even realize they were performing in the drama. And from some inner place of spiritual strength and personal conviction, I knew that this situation could not be allowed to stand unchallenged. Human blood is heavy; the man that has shed it cannot run away.



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Those words ... Throughout the day, those words had increased in intensity and fervor in my mind, and just then, in that cold darkness between days, I was hearing them at full volume. No longer were they merely the miserable acquiescence of helplessness in the face of so great a trauma and disaster. No longer were they the impotent sigh of hope against hope that someday someone might solve the mystery of who was responsible for these multiple acts of wanton murder. No longer was I content to remain silent and motionless while my homeland became the sacrificial altar and my countrymen the hapless victims in a highly ritualized political execution.

Those words had become my force of will.



There was no contemplative silence that night. For many hours, the atmosphere of my home had been a confused jumble of sounds. Television, local radio, police-scanner reports, and shortwave broadcasts were all simultaneously transmitting the news of the same event. Every available audio cassette deck was in use. Every boombox was recording a different local radio station, isolated in a closed bedroom or closet. The video recorder was rolling tape, preserving information from different visual news sources. The fax machine was in operation, the computer word processor was never far from my fingertips, and always there was the ringing telephone, even into that late and desperate hour.

At that moment, exhausted and shivering in the unseasonable coldness, belting back yet another cup of coffee, I knew that the possibility of sleep was out of the question. I was not so much sleepy as emotionally drained. My husband and I continued working throughout the night and into the next day, planning for an uncertain future and collecting the initial information that would later assist in the separation of truth from the official story.

So much vital and revealing information was broadcast during the first thirty-six hours after the explosions—information that might consist of nothing more than a passing glance at a significant piece of the rubble of the building, a full-face shot that identified an individual walking before the camera who should not have been there, or an unintentionally telling remark made by a witness or an expert. Important audio information was recorded from reports made by eyewitnesses at the scene, much of which would later be vigorously denied by federal officials. Some of that information would vanish completely after the first day, never again to be repeated over the airwaves. In later stages of the investigation some of the witnesses and journalists who broadcast those reports denied ever making the statements that had been recorded in their own voices.

But all of these minute details would have to wait for another day of sorting and careful thought. The important thing at that particular moment was to





Introduction ¶ 29

stay totally focused on the collection of information of local origination. It required intense concentration due to the large number of sources being recorded simultaneously, but more importantly, it required me to be fully conscious—and my eyes were burning with fatigue. I poured another cup of coffee, cut the bitterness with a generous dollop of milk, stretched long and hard in the hope of forcing wakefulness into my bones, and returned to the living room to monitor the course of events.

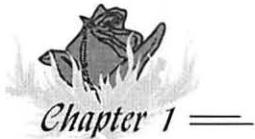
The need to focus inwardly and grieve was not to be given rein at this time. The intense desire to shut out the noise and withdraw into my own private haven of safety and security could not be indulged. Human blood is heavy ... and its weight is a call to service.

As a member of the Intelligence Service of the Militia of the Second Continental Army of the Republic, I had a clearly defined duty to perform, the importance of which could not be underestimated. I was sworn upon my sacred oath to "gather by any and all legal and lawful means information from all sources ... [to] provide for the free flow of information to the whole of the People, the Militia of the several States of the Union." This was my responsibility, and I would perform it to the best of my ability, to my last dying breath.

While tracking the video tapes, flipping the audio cassettes, and monitoring the police scanner with my husband, I reviewed in my mind the fearsome facts of that first day: April 19, 1995.







Chapter 1 ==

MORE THAN THE WISEST MAN CAN ANSWER

April 19, 1995: A Shock to America's Heartland

I first heard about the explosions that destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building while drinking my morning coffee. A friend had telephoned to make certain that my husband was not working in downtown Oklahoma City that Wednesday morning. I assured him that my husband was right there in the house, and asked why he was so concerned. It was then that he told me what had happened. Finding himself unable to adequately describe what had occurred or to answer the barrage of questions I asked, he finally, with an odd resignation in his voice, told me to turn on the television for full coverage of the disaster. He said it was the only way I was going to understand. His utterly serious tone and uncharacteristic speechlessness about the details was enough to alarm me. He encouraged us to pray.

Before the telephone receiver ever left my hand, I called frantically to my husband to quickly turn on the television so we could see what was going on. Rushing into the living room to see for myself, I stopped dead in my tracks at the scene before me. A single glance sent me bounding back to my desk to telephone a report to my commanding officer, William Cooper (See Appendix A).

I knew it was still quite early in Arizona where he lived—two hours earlier than in Oklahoma—but this was a situation of such magnitude and with so many potentially dangerous consequences that I decided not to wait until a more reasonable hour to break the news. I was shaking as I dialed the number. During my telephone conversation my husband continued monitoring the television news reports.

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The telephone in Arizona rang only twice, and Mr. Cooper's wife Annie answered. I identified myself, asked for Bill, and told her it was an emergency. In the background I could hear her urgently rousing him from sleep. Bill took the receiver and at first sounded a bit groggy, still half asleep; but the instant he knew what had happened, he became fully alert and gave me his undivided attention. I again identified myself, apologizing for calling so early in the morning, and told him I thought he should know what had occurred here. Much like the friend who had first notified me, I suddenly found myself incapable of fully describing the event. I glanced once more at the pictures on the television screen. How could such gut-wrenching information be conveyed? My shocked mind was going into a verbal shut-down, and after a moment of struggling to find any words at all, I blurted out, "Bill, somebody just blew up the Federal Building in Oklahoma City. The building looks like the whole front of it has been sliced off and a big chunk cut out. A lot of people have been injured and probably many are dead. Just go turn on your TV. Get something on the satellite feed. The coverage is live everywhere." I'm sure I sounded a bit hysterical—I *was* a bit hysterical.

There had been multiple explosions. The video reports of the disaster showed extreme asymmetrical damage: the front of the building, facing north, had been blown outward and at the far east end a large, rounded section of the interior, which had collapsed vertically upon itself, was now nothing more than a confused pile of rubble, dust, debris, and blood two stories high.

At first there were two columns of smoke, one coming from the building, and the other, larger column of black smoke boiled upward from the parking lot across the street on the north side of NW 5th Street, where many automobiles were burning. Several eyewitnesses would later report seeing a mushroom cloud of smoke rising from the building. There was not yet any information about the number of dead or injured, only frightened and shocked speculations offered by the news media.

Firefighters were already on the scene, extinguishing the burning cars and initiating the rescue operation. The streets were filling with the dazed and bloodied walking wounded, who staggered out of the rubble of the Federal Building and the wreckage of other damaged buildings in the area.

Friends and relatives of government and civilian workers in the Murrah Building came running from their offices nearby. Some were crying hysterically as they searched for their loved ones; others rushed into the dangerously unstable remains of the building and began extracting the wounded from the shattered concrete and twisted metal. Mothers, weeping and screaming for their children buried inside the building's day-care center, were clawing at law-enforcement officers, who held them back from the dangerous wreckage.

Medical personnel began pouring into the area, and many unnamed civilian heroes joined the medical, police, and fire-rescue workers to save as many





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of those still living as was humanly possible. The scene on television was graphically tragic and violent, dreadful and compelling. It was painful to watch, yet it was impossible to look away.

All of this information was streaming into my living room as I made my sketchy report to Cooper. At that moment nothing conclusive could be relayed other than that the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City was, quite simply, gone.

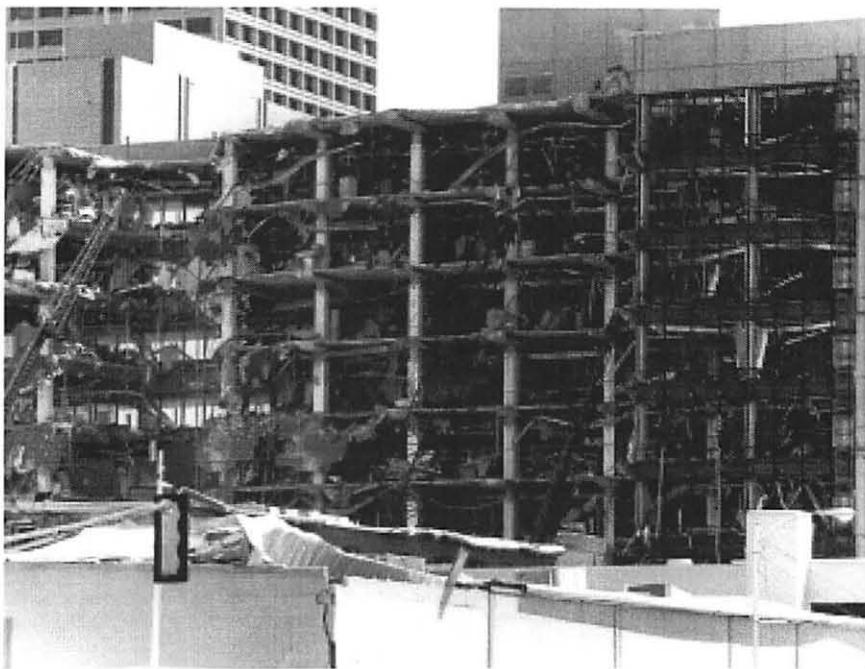


PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

Murrah Building as photographed from above and behind the damaged roof of the Athenian Restaurant and the Water Resources Board Building. Note shock-wave structural damage to the corner of WRB Building, lower center of the photograph, to the right of the traffic signal.

The Building's Namesake

The Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, located at 200 NW 5th Street, was originally called the GSA Building and was later named for a circuit court judge of distinguished reputation.

Alfred Paul Murrah had been born in Johnston County, Oklahoma, on October 27, 1904. The son of George Washington and Nora (Simmons) Murrah, Alfred received his LL.B. from the University of Oklahoma in 1927. He became a member of the Oklahoma Bar in 1928 and married Agnes Milam on June 29, 1930. Together they had three children: Ann, Paul, and Sue.

During the 1930s, Alfred Murrah was active in Democratic Party politics and helped coordinate the Young Democrats Organization. With his school



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buddies, Luther Bohannon and Roy Savage (known together as "the Rover Boys"), Murrah helped engineer the triumphal 1936 United States Senate campaign of Joshua Bryan Lee, his former speech professor at the University of Oklahoma.

From 1937 to 1940 Murrah served as a U.S. District Court judge, and in 1940 became a judge for the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, 10th Judicial Circuit, where he served for many years, later as Chief Judge. He earned his LL.D. from Oklahoma City University in 1954.

In 1947, as one of a three-judge panel ruling on an appeals case, Murrah helped open the doors of Oklahoma University to black students when he ordered that George W. McLaurin, whose law-school application had been denied solely on the basis of race, be allowed to attend classes at the Oklahoma University College of Law.

Always active in civil-rights cases, Murrah found himself again working with his long-time school friend Luther Bohannon, who had become a federal judge in his own right. When the school busing issue came before the courts, it was Judge Bohannon's ruling that changed Oklahoma City public schools from the neighborhood concept and brought about the policy of busing students to achieve integration and racial balance—a decision that remained controversial for decades.

Judge Murrah, a Methodist, served as a trustee for Southern Methodist University in Texas, and in 1954 received the Distinguished Service Citation from Oklahoma City University and the Hattom W. Summers Award. In his later years he served as the executive director of the administration office of the Federal Judicial Center in Oklahoma City.

Murrah was a member of the American Bar Association, the Oklahoma Bar Association, the Order of the Coif, Lambda Chi, Phi Alpha Delta, and was a 32nd Degree Freemason of the Southern Jurisdiction of the Scottish Rite. Murrah passed away in 1975 and is buried in the northwest corner of the Fairlawn Cemetery located at 2700 N. Shartel in Oklahoma City.

The Building's Occupants and Description

The building that would eventually bear Murrah's name had been designed under the direction of James Loftis and had been a joint architectural venture between the firms of Shaw Associates and Locke, Wright and Foster. The structural engineer was Ed Kirkpatrick. The building was designed in the late 1960s and early '70s, and the ground-breaking ceremony took place in 1974. Construction, completed in March 1977, had taken eighteen months and had cost \$13.2 million. The building was dedicated the following October.

Within the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building were the offices for the following government agencies and departments:

the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms [BATF];



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the Defense Department Investigative Service Field Office;
the Department of the Army Oklahoma City Recruiting Company Headquarters;
the Drug Enforcement Administration [DEA];
the Federal Employees Credit Union;
the General Accounting Office [GAO];
the General Services Administration [GSA];
the Social Security Administration;
the U.S. Air Force [USAF];
the U.S. Customs Service;
the U.S. Department of Agriculture;
the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD];
the U.S. Department Lab;
the U.S. Department of the Treasury, Secret Service;
the U.S. Government Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration;
the U.S. Government Office of Health and Human Services;
the U.S. Government Office of Personnel Management;
the U.S. Labor Department Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training;
the U.S. Marine Corps Recruiting Station and Officer Selection Office;
the U.S. Small Business Administration;
the Veterans Administration [VA];
the offices of several federal judges; and
the America's Kids Day Care Center.

Although the Murrah Federal Building was described by the media as a nine-story structure, it actually had thirteen stories—four of which were underground—and included several levels of underground parking. According to James Loftis, head of the building's design team, two-thirds of its square footage was underground. It had 107,000 square feet of office space, 196,000 square feet of storage, and 11,750 square feet of "special space," which included bathrooms and a cafeteria—for a total of 315,000 square feet. Originally, the underground parking garage had been built with a 10,000-gallon gasoline reservoir and pump, but fortunately, the reservoir had been filled with sand.

Following the explosions, all that remained of the exterior, aboveground structure were the shattered east, south, and west walls. The north front wall—a curtain wall constructed primarily of steel-reinforced concrete, glass, and aluminum—had been blown fifty yards to the north across NW 5th Street. The flying rubble had crashed into the south side of the Journal



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Record Building, falling into a mangled heap piled onto the sidewalk and parking lot.



PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

Damage to the southeast corner of the Journal Record Building. Note deformation of heavy steel purlins disposed horizontally across the roof, over the rafters.

The Surrounding Properties

The Journal Record Building had been constructed in 1923 by the Masonic Temple Building Association of Oklahoma Lodge Number Thirty-Six, and for fourteen years its auditorium played host to many illustrious entertainers. The Masons and the India Temple Shrine used the new Masonic Temple as their principal place of business for seven years until 1930, when both organizations moved to other locations. After the explosions of April 19, 1995, the ornate columns and symbolic temple architecture adorning the east side of the Journal Record Building was all that remained unscathed. The rest of the building, inside and out, was a wreck.

Many of the properties in the immediate vicinity of the Murrah Building had originally been owned by the Oklahoma Masonic Lodge Number Thirty-Six, the India Temple Shrine, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, and the Knights of Columbus. For almost fifty years following the Oklahoma Land Run of 1889, these four organizations had leased, borrowed, bought, and traded the properties among themselves.

Most of those fraternal organizations lost their downtown property holdings during the Great land on which would eventually be built the Myriad



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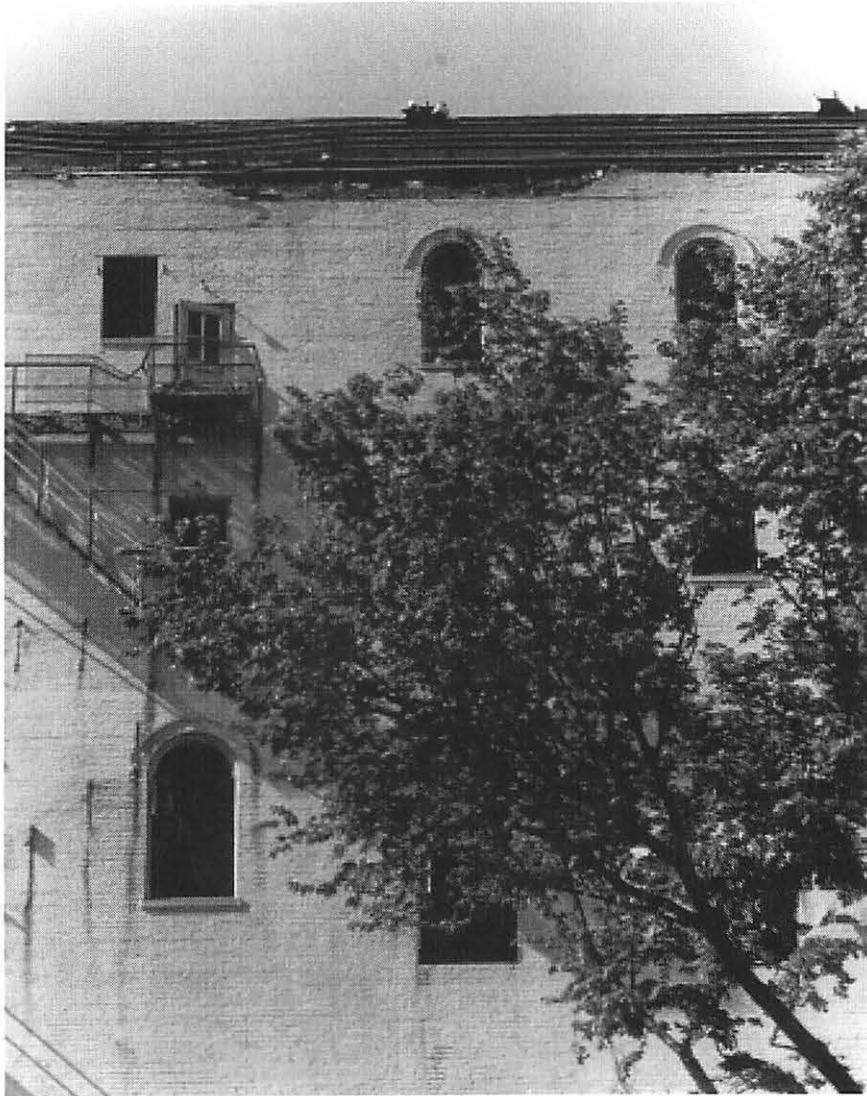


PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

South side of the Journal Record Building. The tree in the photograph, now known as the "Survivor Elm," remained leafy and sturdy on the day of the explosion in spite of its scarred trunk and branches. The Survivor Elm was directly in the path of the Murrah Building's flying fascia.



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Convention Center, the BancFirst Building, the Wright Building, the Kerr McGee Complex, the Colcord Building, the Internal Revenue Service Office Complex, the Federal Courthouse Building, the Oklahoma Natural Gas Building, the Oklahoma Depression of the 1930s. These properties included City Hall, the Maney Building, the YMCA Parking Annex, Liberty Bank Tower, Trigen of Oklahoma, the White Temple, the Journal Record Building, and the Murrah Building.

In November 1995, as federal prosecutors were preparing the Oklahoma City bombing case, it was discovered that the Murrah Building had been built upon a piece of property known as Block 39. Much mystery still surrounds the property, and as of this writing the issue has not yet been resolved. It seems that the Murrah Building itself was owned by the federal government; however, there was no documentation in any of the real-estate records that indicated that the government had ever taken possession of the land upon which the building stood. In the absence of that vital possession document, it was ruled that both the federal and local governments had concurrent jurisdiction in the case against the men accused of the bombing, and thus murder charges could be brought against the suspects at every court level.



PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

The Journal Record Building as viewed from the east side. The temple architecture remained relatively undamaged, although windows were broken throughout the building.



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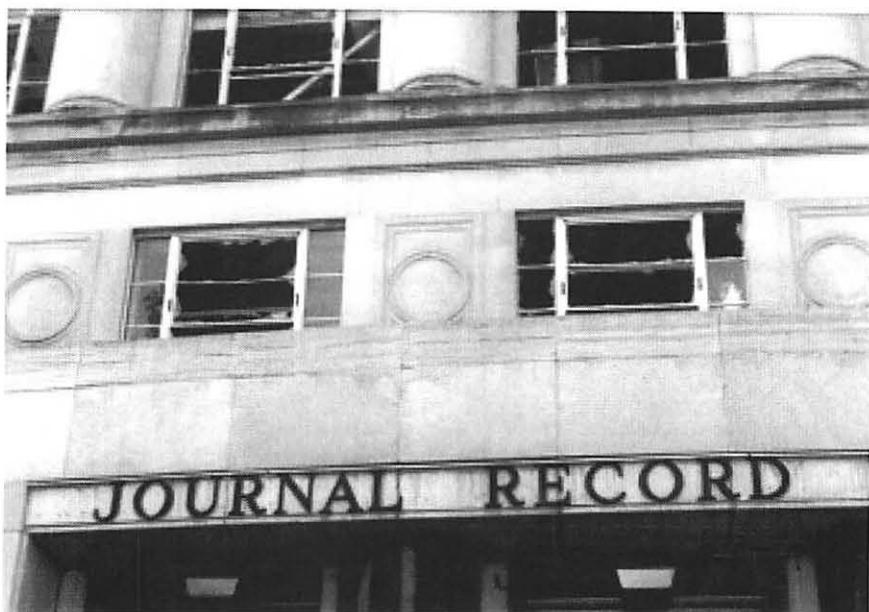


PHOTO BY BRETT WOOLEY

Glass damage to the east side of the Journal Record Building.

The Outer Damage

Across the street from the Journal Record Building, the entire side of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building was severely damaged, but the west end was not as structurally devastated as the east end. The outer measurements of the building were approximately 70 feet deep (north to south) by 200 feet long (east to west). In only four portions of the building's interior did the support columns remain standing:

A section at the west end that measured approximately 70 feet (north to south) by 40 feet (east to west). This was the single largest interior area still standing.

To the east of that section, a middle section of the interior remained that was approximately 35 feet (north to south) by 60 feet (east to west). A section of equal size, which comprised the entire north half of the building, had been blown outward at this location.

To the east of the middle section, a portion of the building approximately 60 feet by 60 feet had been gouged out of the structure, leaving only ten feet of flooring material still attached to the south wall.

The very small southeast corner section remained standing, measuring approximately 50 feet (north to south) by 20 feet (east to west).



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The interior of the building was completely, totally gutted.



As I spoke to Bill Cooper on the telephone the morning of April 19, I could hear Oklahoma City Mayor Ron Norick (See Appendix A) on the television reporting to the media that there had been an estimated 590 workers and possibly another 400 citizens conducting morning business in the building at the time of the explosions. We were suddenly faced with the first speculation of the day: that there might have been almost 1000 people in the Murrah Building when the explosions occurred.

The information being reported was so horrific as to be unbelievable. This sort of event happened in places like Beirut, Lima, Bogota, or New York City—anywhere but here. Like everyone else, I felt totally out of my element. This could not have happened in Oklahoma—in my state, in my city. I felt myself hovering near panic. Thousands of possible imminent scenarios were passing through my mind. It seemed to me a foregone conclusion that before the day was over, martial law would be declared. What would that mean in the practical reality of daily living? Having no information yet about possible suspects, but knowing that escalating terrorism and inner-city violence had long been used to manipulate the American people politically, the immediate future looked very bleak indeed. I was uncertain what plan of action to take in response to the bombing, and that indecisiveness had a paralyzing effect upon my thinking.

Cooper calmly took matters in hand and brought some focus to the situation. I was instructed to try to find out what was going on. That sounded simple enough, and I thought my husband and I would be able to assemble some kind of a report on the situation before the day was through. I told Bill we would do our best and I would get back to him late in the afternoon. But as the day progressed, my husband and I discovered that it was going to be a far more complex assignment than we could have ever imagined.

Initial Suspicions of Middle East Terrorism

As Cooper and I conversed, my husband reported that former Oklahoma Congressman Dave McCurdy was speaking via telephone to KWTV Channel 9 news anchors Kelly Ogle and Jenifer Reynolds. Although the bombing had just occurred, McCurdy was already certain that Islamic fundamentalists were the parties responsible for the tragedy.

McCurdy stated that there was a "false sense of security in the heartland" that made it more vulnerable to terrorist attack. He further remarked that a "lax security environment" existed in places like Oklahoma City and that terrorists "operate more freely in that environment." Using his position as former Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee as his foundation for expertise, McCurdy said he was aware that "extreme radical supporters of



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terrorism in the Middle East" had spoken to groups in Oklahoma City, and stated that he believed that Islamic fundamentalist involvement was "a very real possibility."

Having just impugned those of Middle Eastern descent specifically and Muslims generally, without any evidence whatsoever of their participation in this disaster, McCurdy further speculated that the bombing might otherwise have been the work of "some extreme, right-wing militant anti-government" group. His reasoning centered on the fact that Wednesday, April 19, was the second anniversary of the government raid on the Branch Davidian church in Waco, Texas.

Dave McCurdy was not the only official personage offering public speculation and innuendo. U.S. Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen from Miami, Florida, told the press that she had notified the FBI of testimony before her subcommittee in Washington. She stated that Steven Emerson, who had produced the PBS documentary entitled "Jihad in America," had described witnessing a meeting in Oklahoma City attended by 3000 "Islamic fundamentalists."

According to Lehtinen's press conference, Emerson had testified that a "militant Islamic leader based in Pakistan," Kamal Kelbawi, had addressed the group, saying, "O brothers, the Palestine cause is not a conflict of borders and land only. It is not even a conflict over human ideology. And not over peace. Rather it is an absolute clash of civilizations, between truth and falsehood, between two conducts: one satanic, headed by Jews and their conspirators; and the other religious, carried by Hamas, the Islamic people in general, and the Islamic movement in particular." Emerson's PBS special had aired on educational television in November 1994.

This thirdhand information, in tandem with Dave McCurdy's secondhand information, was used by the media to fuel anti-Islamic sentiment that would endanger the lives of respectable citizens and result in at least one death in the Islamic community before the madness changed direction and fingers began pointing at other bombing suspects.

A warning light went off in my head as I felt the wheels of the national propaganda machine beginning to roll into motion. It was going to be a day of rumor and speculation, and it would be critical to keep track of what was said, when it was said, by whom, to whom, and to what it was responding. One thing was certain: the Middle East rumors were originating with the Washington bureaucrats.

Later reports of Middle Eastern participants were obtained by the news media from eyewitnesses in the downtown area. However, by that time the government and federal law-enforcement agencies had targeted American patriot groups, vigorously denying all of the rumors they had previously encouraged. Additionally, some of the witnesses who had seen men of Middle Eastern appearance in the area of the Murrah Building on the morn-



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ing of April 19 stated that they had been threatened and harassed by federal law-enforcement agents to keep quiet and say nothing about what they had seen.

That persons of Middle Eastern appearance were observed in the area was not surprising. As the evidence began to pile up, it was apparent that these men were deliberately in place and were intended to be seen by the public. It also became clear that they were not acting on the instructions of some Muslim fundamentalist terrorist leader or group, but were under the direction and control of federal agencies who had planned a sting operation for the night of April 18 that had gone tragically awry. It was also never established that these men who were meant to be seen were Middle Eastern nationals; they were probably American citizens of Middle Eastern descent.

Bill Cooper had warned me to observe a pattern that would soon emerge. He predicted that Islamic fundamentalists would initially be blamed for the disaster, but that within a few days charges would be leveled against militia groups in the United States. I filed that information into the back of my mind for future reference.

In only fifty-one hours Cooper's prediction came to pass, and by that time I fully understood how he could anticipate it so accurately. By then the disinformation campaign was in full swing. Evidence of a major cover-up by federal authorities was already well-documented and obvious to anyone who could break through the mass hysteria produced by the media's bombardment of the public consciousness. It was going to be treacherously difficult to keep one's footing on firm, logical ground in the face of what occurred over the following days.

In the meantime, Ms. Lee Evans of KFOR Channel 4 Television received a telephone call at 9:45 a.m. from an unidentified male who claimed to be a member of the Nation of Islam. The caller stated that the Nation of Islam claimed responsibility for the bombing and that such a thing could happen again in other buildings in the area. The caller immediately hung up.

Ms. Evans contacted the Nation of Islam headquarters in Chicago, Illinois, hoping to speak with Minister Louis Farrakhan to ask him to confirm or deny the claim. She was told by Nation of Islam representatives that the organization would hold a press conference in the afternoon to comment on the matter, but at that time they had nothing to say in response.

Later that afternoon, shortly before 2:30 p.m., the Nation of Islam national headquarters released a statement denying any involvement in the Oklahoma City bombing, saying, "Nation of Islam officials emphatically deny any connection with the terrible act and, along with the entire country, pray for the success of public officials, rescue workers, and all those working to save lives and property." The Chicago headquarters announced that an official press conference would be held at 3:00 p.m., and further statements would



be made at that time. That press conference was not broadcast in the Oklahoma City area.

The rumors, claims, counterclaims, and denials about Middle Eastern perpetrators continued at full strength for two-and-a-half days and would later reappear as other "independent" investigations (directed by the local news media) got under way. Only once was any effort made by the news media to discern and publicize the difference between the Nation of Islam and the Middle Eastern practitioners of the Islamic religion. That there was a substantial difference between the two groups—to say nothing of the differences between Muslims and Muslim fundamentalists—was never fully explained to the public. The general public was thus encouraged to believe they were all the same thing, and this ignorant and prejudicial view caused great tension in the Islamic communities of Oklahoma City, Norman, and Edmond.

Dr. M.A. Shakir, a cardiologist and president of the American Muslim Association in Oklahoma City, addressed the situation in the newspapers. He had spent hours working at the bomb site helping the rescuers and providing treatment to the injured. Dr. Shakir's wife, an anesthesiologist at St. Anthony Hospital, had worked a seven-hour shift aiding the wounded until the hospital began to send medical personnel home when it became apparent that there were going to be few if any additional survivors. Said Dr. Shakir, "There is an element of concern in the [Muslim] community—until they find whoever did it—that there might be a backlash. As a doctor, as a parent, I can feel the tragedy. Nobody in the Muslim association in any way condones the crime, and everyone hopes the criminals, whoever they are, will be punished."

The media was asked to remain objective and calm and to act with restraint. In the late afternoon Ibrahim Hooper, National Communications Director for the Council on American-Islamic Relations in Washington, D.C., stated that the possibility of a Middle Eastern suspect did not mean that the suspect was necessarily a Muslim.

"This is what happens in these situations," Hooper said. "But there are no suspects. Why people jump to those conclusions that this was done by Muslims, I don't know. The thing is, members of the Muslim community hesitate to even discuss this because even in condemning it, we're associating ourselves with it."

The Council on American-Islamic Relations, in conjunction with other American Muslim groups, issued a formal statement condemning the bombing attack as "a criminal and immoral act." The statement also said, "To link this attack with the religion of Islam places millions of responsible American Muslims at risk." The sentiment of most Muslims in the Oklahoma City area was summed up by one gentleman who asked to remain anonymous



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for fear of retaliation: "We are just like any other Americans here. We condemn it as much as anybody else."

That there are people of Middle Eastern descent in the Oklahoma City area should not have come as a surprise to anyone. There is a large, peaceful, and well-respected Middle Eastern Islamic population in the metropolitan area, estimated at from 6,000 to 10,000 people. For at least two decades the University of Oklahoma in Norman had attracted large numbers of students from the Middle East because of its excellent petroleum engineering and land-management degree programs. The Oklahoma City area was home to many wonderful business and professional people of Middle Eastern descent, and the city of Edmond, located fifteen miles north of Oklahoma City, had recently erected a mosque in which Islamic worshippers practiced their religion.

The aspersions cast upon those from the Middle East—all of whom were automatically and incorrectly assumed to be of the Islamic faith—were racist, prejudicial, and predictable. Many local citizens assumed that, given the violent nature of the war in the Middle East and the terrorist bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City, it was only logical that Muslim fundamentalists must have been responsible for the bombing in Oklahoma City as well.

During the broadcast of "ABC World News Now," John McWethy, reporting from the Pentagon, speculated: "The fact that it was such a powerful bomb in Oklahoma City immediately drew investigators to consider deadly parallels that all have roots in the Middle East. The car bomb has been a weapon of choice there for decades, and in recent years the skillful bomb makers have exported their skills and often their extremist hatreds all over the world. The first horrible evidence of that in the United States was the World Trade Center bombing in 1993."

Few local people, if any, realized that court documents filed in May following the World Trade Center event revealed that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had been implicated in the World Trade Center bombing; that it had supervised the building of the bomb; that it had planned and directed the event; and that an FBI employee even instructed accused bomber Mohammed Salameh how to drive the infamous Ryder rental van two days before the explosion occurred.

In addition to the court documents, the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* had published transcripts of tapes made between an FBI informant and his federal government handlers that clearly documented and demonstrated the degree of involvement of the FBI in the World Trade Center Bombing—a disaster designed to achieve a specific political end.

That the manipulated suspects in the New York tragedy were of Middle Eastern descent and were considered "Islamic fundamentalists" was very convenient indeed for providing ready-made scapegoats in the Oklahoma



City bombing. A similar and at times identical scenario would play itself out in the local and federal investigations that followed.

The Evidence of Multiple Explosions

The rumors of Middle East terrorists were but the first of many speculations and false assumptions that would rule the day. Of even greater import were the rumors that only one explosion had occurred on the morning of April 19. There has always been an overwhelming amount of direct evidence indicating multiple blasts, but for some reason federal officials denied then—and continue to deny today—that more than one explosion occurred.

The first call for help was received by the Oklahoma City Fire Department within three seconds of the blasts. The emergency tapes reveal that the initial report described more than one explosion: "We have a large column of smoke to the south of this address ... we just heard some loud explosions"

The earliest eyewitness reports of the bombing indicated that people had heard the sounds of two distinct and separate explosions. Evidence would later indicate that there had actually been several explosions, occurring so closely in time as to sound to the ear like one detonation, in conjunction with the detonation of the cover-up bomb—the proverbial yellow Ryder rental truck supposedly filled with many blue 55-gallon barrels of ammonium nitrate fertilizer mixed with fuel oil. To the ears of witnesses within a few miles of the scene, there were unmistakably two concussions followed by the long, low rumbling of the collapse of the Murrah Federal Building.

Brett Wooley, who lives approximately three miles northwest of the Murrah Building, was in his front yard working on his car and listening to his scanner radio at the time of the explosions. He reported hearing two very loud "staccato-like" explosions separated in time by five to eight seconds and followed by "a long, diminishing rumbling sound, like rolling thunder and lower in pitch than the two explosions."

Mr. Wooley stated that he first thought that the railroad cars at NW 36th Street and Broadway Extension had blown up or that a natural gas explosion had occurred. Immediately thereafter, he reported the scanner radio "went nuts" as rescue workers began arriving at the scene.

Jim Ferguson, one of the assistant building managers and the electrician and air-conditioning foreman for the Murrah Building, stated, "Everyone in town, everybody who was there, knows there were two blasts." At the time of the explosions he was in an office at the U.S. Federal Courthouse just south of the Murrah Building. He firmly declares that he heard two distinct and separate explosions.

Mr. Ferguson's wife was shopping a mile and a half away when the explosions occurred. She reported hearing two blasts about five to eight seconds



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apart and said she saw two separate clouds of dust and smoke rising from the building.

Two blocks from the Murrah Building, P. G. Wilson had been starting his day's work at the Investors Capital Building when the explosions occurred. He said, "The walls seemed to bulge out as if pulled by a strong wind, and debris fell from the ceiling and walls. A second explosion came after the first one and shards of glass began flying in the office. The office employees ran from inside the building. The odor of sulphur was very strong."

Two attorneys with offices in downtown Oklahoma City were both dictating correspondence at the time of the explosions. The taped records of the two explosive events and the rumbling of the collapse of the Murrah Building are clearly discernible on their audio cassettes.

Michael Hinton lived in the YMCA building located a half-block diagonally northeast of the Murrah Building. He was standing on the corner of NW 5th Street at 8:50 a.m. on the morning of April 19. Because he had missed the first bus that would have taken him to work, Hinton ran east another block to the corner of Broadway to catch another bus at 8:55 a.m. He remarked how thankful he was that he had chosen to catch the Broadway bus. His initial thought had been to catch the 9:05 a.m. bus that stopped directly in front of the Murrah Federal Building.

After boarding the Broadway bus, Mr. Hinton seated himself next to the bus driver and rode to the transfer terminal to connect with the bus he would take to the State Capitol. He stated: "I had just climbed aboard the bus and sat down when I heard this very violent rumble under the bus. 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 pushed the bus again, and I thought the second time the bus was going to turn over."

The driver threw the bus into gear and beat a hasty retreat from the area. The passengers on the bus, all of whom distinctly heard and felt the two explosions, learned later that the Federal Building had been destroyed as they saw the streets filling with emergency vehicles.

Just prior to the explosions, a staff meeting was under way at the Oklahoma Water Resources Board Building located on NW 5th Street opposite the westernmost front of the Murrah Building. The audio tape of the staff meeting clearly recorded two separate explosions, the rumbling collapse of the building, and the panicked escape of the staff employees as they picked their way through the falling ceilings, flying glass, and collapsing walls of their building.

Lt. Col. George Wallace had had much experience with explosives. He had served in Vietnam and was a retired Air Force fighter pilot with twenty-six years in the service. From his home nine miles northwest of the Federal Building, Wallace was pouring a cup of coffee when "I saw it jiggle and



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shake. I immediately ran outside."As an experienced combat pilot, he stated that the explosions sounded like a succession of bombs being dropped in the distance—an unmistakable sound he had heard often in Vietnam.

Dr. Charles J. Mankin (See Appendix A) of the Oklahoma Geological Survey located in the Sarkeys Energy Building on the University of Oklahoma campus in Norman, Oklahoma, granted an extensive interview about the interpretation of the seismic records of the events. Dr. Mankin stated, "We had originally heard there were two [explosions]. That was what came over the radio. And so when we heard there were two and we saw these two events [on the seismic record], the logical conclusion was to say, well, the first one looks about right for the time, and so apparently the second one relates to the second blast. That was a hell of a blast! (See Appendix B.)

"All I can tell you is that there were two events. They look very similar. We've done every analysis we can think of. We know it's not the air blast. There's no question about that. The time is dead wrong. Everybody is agreed to that. While we can't rule out a refraction [an echo], everybody that has looked at the signal has said a refraction 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. So if you get a refraction—like an echo off of a building—a refracted wave, you're going to have a loss of energy. You'll lose a part of the energy in the process. And so the fact that the two events are of equal intensity suggests ... well, that makes it difficult.

"Secondly, the arrival time is wrong for a refracted wave. You're going to have to take it [the refraction] off the mantle or off of basement rocks or something. The problem with the shallow section of the earth's crust between here and Oklahoma City is that we've got a pile of rather discontinuous sandstone and shale, a big delta called the Garber Delta. That's where we get our water. It's a big delta consisting of channels of sand that go from east to west, and they're irregularly scattered through this pile of material. There aren't coherent layers from which you could get a reflection until you get some depth. And if you try to calculate the travel time down and back up, the time is wrong, and it still wouldn't be the same intensity.

"So we've ruled out reflections, refractions, and the air blast. The thing I can't rule out is that there could have fortuitously been an earthquake somewhere. But we didn't pick up anything like an earthquake. So we determined it was a local phenomenon. From an earthquake, you pick up surface waves some distance away.

"But here, we knew the building was blasted. We knew where it was. We had the seismometer. We got this record and said, Okay, if it was this building, then this first event would have occurred at 9:02 plus some seconds. And if you look at the signal, it looks very much like a quarry blast, very much like some of the information you would expect. So our interpretation of this event is that these signals on the seismic record are the building being blown up.



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"Now, that interpretation was confirmed in an indirect way by the Omniplex seismometer sitting up in Oklahoma City. It picked up two events. Unfortunately, their clock was malfunctioning so we couldn't get an absolute [time] number. But we saw the two events on our seismogram, and we saw the two events on their seismogram. We said, the Omniplex was closer to the event, so it should have higher amplitude. It did. There should be two events if we are both recording the same thing. The Omniplex had two events and we had two events. We determined that these two records of these two events corroborate our interpretation that there were two explosions."

Although we did not realize it at the time, the witnesses who reported hearing two separate explosions would not be heard from again that day or for many days to come. When their stories began to be told weeks later, few would be willing to allow their names to be used for fear of government harassment. Their stories were, for some unknown reason, being discounted or completely suppressed. None of the witnesses who had initially told radio news reporters of hearing two explosions were ever interviewed a second time. No account of the two explosions was recorded in the newspapers that hit the stands later that Wednesday afternoon. None of the newspapers published the next morning mentioned two explosions. As far as the mainstream media was concerned, only one explosion occurred. In daily press conferences the representatives of the media were told by federal officials what to say and how to explain the event to the public, and the media obeyed.

Taking it a step further, approximately two months after the bombing, ABC National News claimed that it had just acquired the audio tape from the staff meeting at the Oklahoma Water Resources Board building, and a heavily edited version was aired on television. The televised version of the tape revealed only the first explosion, followed by very poorly executed and obvious audio edits leading directly to the panic-stricken escape section of the tape. The sounds of the second explosion and the collapse of the Murrah Building had been completely removed from the televised version of the Water Resources Board tape! One must assume that the sloppy editing had been done under the direction of ABC News. One has to ask: who ordered ABC News to edit the tape prior to national broadcast, and why was it so important to remove all evidence of the secondary explosion? Who or what was being protected by those audio edits? Why was the evidence being altered?

The nature of the injuries that resulted from the bombing, the bodies of the dead, and the remains of the building itself all told a story that contradicted the official reports. Those official reports began taking over the airwaves by the afternoon of the day of the bombing. The building had been destroyed from both within and without. The fact that the entire north face of the Murrah Building had been blown fifty yards away to smash into the Journal



More Than the Wisest Man Can Answer ¶ 49

Record Building was the clearest indication that at least one explosion must have occurred within the building itself.

The children in the second-floor day-care center had been eating breakfast at the side of the room at approximately 9:00 a.m. The north wall of the day-care center, which faced NW 5th Street, had been blown outward, and the inner wall that buried the children had also been blown outward from the inside of the building, crushing them where they sat at the breakfast table.

Later in the investigation, the spokesman for the Medical Examiner's Office, Ray Blakeney, would report that the bodies of some victims had been blown outward from the building through concrete walls and into the street.

One rescue worker on the scene commented about the instability of the building. Oklahoma Highway Patrol Trooper Kyle Greenfield left the building, saying, "That building could go at any minute. It's totally shook off its foundation." But the building stretched four stories deep into the earth. A single car bomb located fifteen to twenty feet from the building at street level would not have greatly affected the underground structure. Only explosive devices placed *within* the building on the support columns could have shaken the building from its underground foundation.

Jim Hargrove worked in the office of the Inspector General for the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. His office was located on the south side of the building. Mr. Hargrove said, "The most disconcerting thing about my office is, there is an office to the right of me and an office to the left of me, and after the explosion there was just nothing there. It was bare. I looked out from my office, which was on the south side, and normally I couldn't see anything except the other offices, and there was nothing there at all. No offices. Instead, I could see my car out in the parking lot on fire. We tied curtains together and lowered ourselves through the window of the third floor to escape."

Something was terribly wrong with the big picture. If the bomb had been in the street, why wasn't the front of the building blown *into* the building? Why was the damage so asymmetrical? Why was so much of the building destroyed? Why had the columns in the building collapsed vertically, as if they had been sliced away from the foundation?

Within a few hours of the event, members of the news media suddenly began stressing, with much repetition, that there had been only one explosion. They all stated too emphatically too many times that the one explosion alone had done all of the damage that we were seeing on television.

I silently wondered about these strange contradictions. I wondered why the media had stopped airing the interviews of the witnesses who had heard two explosions, who had seen two pillars of smoke, who had felt two concussions. Right before my very eyes, within only a few hours after the explosions, the official story of the event was being carefully crafted, cautiously molded, and delicately manipulated away from the testimony of



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witnesses to become something else entirely—some fiction that had virtually nothing to do with what had actually occurred. I wondered who was doing it and why. But most of all, I wondered why no one else seemed to be asking any questions.

*Examinations are formidable even to the best prepared,
for the greatest fool may ask
more than the wisest man can answer.*

— Charles Caleb Colton
Lacon, 1825





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As one group of firefighters concentrated on putting out the fires in the parking lot across the street from the Murrah Building, others began trying to assess the number and nature of the injuries. Said Sgt. Eric Thompson, "There were people crawling, just stumbling out to the street. Several people were bleeding. There was debris everywhere. There was still stuff falling out of the air."

Within minutes medical personnel began arriving at the scene in great numbers. Paramedic Mark Robinson stated, "I and my partner and five other paramedics in plainclothes all piled in the back of one of the ambulances at headquarters and we headed down to the scene immediately."

Many medics came rushing from area hospitals, some drove downtown from their homes, and some drove miles from out of town to assist in any way possible. One hospital later reported receiving telephone calls from as far away as Illinois, asking if any additional help was needed. Within the first hour, volunteers had arrived at all Oklahoma City hospitals in such great numbers that there was a doctor available for every injured person needing treatment and at least one nurse, sometimes two or more, to assist every doctor.

Upon arriving at the bomb site, emergency medical technician Scott Moore stated, "We were immediately swarmed by about twenty or thirty people, all with lacerations to the face. Some had chest injuries, some were pale, apparently in shock, all saying, 'Can you do something?' and 'Can you help us?'"

Within those early moments the scope of the disaster became apparent from the scanner reports: "We're reporting multiple incidents inside the county courthouse and the YMCA building. Mass-casualty incident at that location over a six-block area. We're not sure what the center of the explosion was at this time."

At 9:08 a.m. witnesses monitoring the scanners knew exactly where this disaster had occurred, and from that source the news media went into action informing the world. The words of the firefighter reporting what he saw sent waves of shock through everyone listening: "The whole front of the Federal Building is gone, all floors to the roof!"

The blasts had not only devastated the Murrah Federal Building, but had also destroyed cars, tossed a tractor-trailer rig through a fence, crushed brick walls, collapsed smaller concrete buildings in the area, caused foundations to shift in the larger buildings nearby, and shattered windows for miles around. Eventually, many other buildings in the area would be searched for possible victims and assessed for structural damage. The final toll of damaged buildings would exceed 200.

Responding to the urgent requests for assistance, the Norman Police Department sent two medical crews of six people along with Captain Phil Cotten and the Emergency Medical Service Disaster Bus, which could be



One Very Long Moment ¶ 53

used as a triage center capable of treating a large number of injured. The Disaster Bus was then stationed at the corner of NW 6th and Robinson Street to handle triage from that location.

The purpose of a triage station in a mass-casualty incident is to sort the merely injured from the dying and the dead, to prioritize the needs for medical treatment. Scott Moore explained the triage function in more detail: "The unresponsive patients, the patients with mortal injuries like the tracheal lacerations, the woman with the portion of the filing cabinet impaled into her chest, still stuck there—those people went out first. Ones that had severe injuries were set in another section. They were also laying down. Then we had a section for the walking wounded. Those were the people there that had glass cuts that looked severe but really weren't severe."

Said paramedic Don Carter, "We couldn't tie up our complete attention for those that were still able to walk. There were more critical patients that needed our attention that were either unconscious or couldn't walk due to their injuries."

Calls for medical help dominated the scanner traffic: "We've got a lot of victims here at ... what the hell is that? ... Sixth and Robinson ... "

"I'm at 5th and Harvey. We've got quite a few injured right here. We need some help."

"I need at least three ambulances at the corner of 5th and Hudson. I've got three patients that are in critical condition ... "

"We've got about four or five criticals right now and about a hundred walking wounded."

"We've got two critical at 10th and Hudson. We need a unit."

"I'm at 4th and Harvey. I need a hospital. I've got one critical head and eye."

"We're getting ready to depart. We've got two critical and one walking wounded. Can you advise which hospital?"

"We're starting to run into equipment shortages. The squad that is stationed at Station One, have them gather up the medical supplies and run down to NW 5th and Robinson."

Norman Regional Hospital sent fifteen medical staff members and many supplies to aid in the rescue operation. Paramedic instructors from the Moore-Norman Vocational Technical Center coordinated the staffing of the EMS Disaster Bus. Said one medical technician, "We had approximately fifteen to twenty people laying on the ground with various types of injuries. There was enough blood covering each person that I didn't know who was injured and who wasn't injured. You literally just had to go up and ask them, 'Are you hurt?'"

Additional triage units were quickly established on the east and south sides of the Murrah Building, often moving from place to place wherever triage





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was needed at the time. The Old Post Office Building located south of the Federal Courthouse on Dean A. McGee Street was transformed into a temporary hospital.

Television cameras captured the scene of a double line of fourteen ambulances removing the injured. In the early moments after the explosions, ambulance service provider EMSA had requested that the Norman ambulances provide coverage to the Moore and South Oklahoma City areas. But within a half-hour of making that request, EMSA summoned all available ambulances in the surrounding metropolitan areas to the scene of the disaster.

When all of the statistics were compiled several months later, we learned that there had been 66 emergency medical units involved in the rescue operation: 34 from Oklahoma City, 29 from Mutual Aid (surrounding communities), and 3 from Tulsa. The number of people transported by these medical units was 215: 95 by EMSA, 44 by Mutual Aid, and 76 by other means (bus or police vehicle). An unknown number of patients were transported by private civilian vehicles.

Two command units were on the scene within two minutes of the explosions, and three life-support units were placed on twenty-four-hour standby. The response to the bombing utilized 165 EMSA employees, and the helicopters involved in the rescue operation came from Mediflight Oklahoma and Fort Sill MAST Flights.

Other emergency medical service agencies involved in the rescue operations came from Anadarko, Ardmore, Carnegie, McClain County, Purcell, Sinor, Stephens County, Stillwater, Watonga, Wellston, Empact EMS, EMSA Eastern Division, Life EMS, and Lifesat EMS.

Emergency personnel associated with EMS agencies were supplemented by more than twice as many medically trained volunteers who assisted in the rescue operation. In spite of the fact that their numbers can be estimated but not accurately calculated, their service was needed, appreciated, and invaluable.

We will also never know how many of the injured were taken to area hospitals in the vehicles of private civilians. A large number of emergency vehicles was available at the scene, but the number of injured far exceeded the capacity of those vehicles. Without the willingness of private citizens to transport the wounded to area hospitals in their own cars, trucks, or vans, the death toll might have been much greater. That willingness of heart to serve in whatever capacity needed made the difference between life and death for many of the injured.

Within the first hour after the bombing, St. Anthony Hospital sent out an emergency call for blood and requested that all off-duty medical employees report to the hospital. Similar calls for medical personnel went out from all metro-area hospitals. It was called Condition Black—a state of total



One Very Long Moment ¶ 55

emergency that required every available medic to be on hand in a state of readiness.

The Cleveland County (Norman) Red Cross announced that the disaster had placed a tremendous drain on the blood supply, and asked everyone who was at least seventeen years old, in good health, and who weighed at least 110 pounds to come to the Red Cross Blood Center at Max Westheimer Air Field, located in north-central Norman. Within thirty minutes of the announcement, the Blood Donation Center was overwhelmed with donors. The parking lot was filled to capacity and cars were parked for hundreds of yards along the roadway and in the grassy fields surrounding the Center.

Within two hours the Norman Red Cross announced that they could take no further donors at the Westheimer location because the response to the call had been so generous. A secondary blood donation center was hastily set up on Haley Drive near the University of Oklahoma campus in the Delta Gamma House. It also rapidly filled to capacity with volunteer donors.

The Oklahoma Blood Institute's Sylvia N. Goldman Center, located within five miles of the Murrah Building, put out a call for donors. Within minutes its parking lot was filled and cars were parked on the street, on the sidewalks, in the center medians of the roadway, and on the grass for blocks surrounding the Blood Institute, creating an incredible tangle of traffic in the downtown area. The line of donors quickly filled the lobby and spilled onto the lawn.

In order to accommodate the number of blood donors, secondary donor centers were set up at the nearby Clarion Hotel and at Tinker Air Force Base. Soon word came that the University Hospital Mobile Blood Donation Unit was filled to capacity. The Edmond Blood Institute north of Oklahoma City was also full and secondary sites were established in that community to accommodate donors.

For the volunteer donors waiting in line, some of whom waited for many hours, it was all they could do to help. Everyone wanted to assist in some way, and the public response to the calls for blood was instant and overwhelming.

The Red Cross set up a large supply depot and triage unit in the Oklahoma Publishing Company warehouse located at NW 5th and Oklahoma Street. As the rescue operation progressed, this warehouse would also serve first as a triage unit and later as a temporary morgue. There were 250 Red Cross volunteers dispatched and another 200 who signed up for relief duty.

Also arriving at the Red Cross supply depot were many uniformed men and women from Tinker Air Force Base's 38th Engineering Installation Wing Headquarters, which specializes in communications. They had come to assist in coordinating the communications between the different medical units on the scene, law-enforcement personnel, firefighters, and the other specialized rescue teams that were arriving.



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Dozens of counselors, psychologists, mental-health workers, ministers, and priests arrived to aid the wounded and to comfort and counsel the family members who had loved ones trapped inside the Murrah Building. Later in the day, specialized counseling (called Critical-Incident Stress Debriefing) was made immediately available for every worker who came out of the Murrah Building because of the extremely disturbing and emotionally wrenching situation with which these rescuers were confronted.

Food and supplies donated by the public began pouring into the Red Cross depot in such quantities that storage space was at a premium. The Red Cross issued an announcement that they would ask for specific items when it was known exactly what was needed, and graciously asked the generous public to wait before driving into the downtown area. Traffic for miles around the blast site was at a complete standstill at that moment, and it was too early to know what more was going to be required. Everyone was urgently searching for some way to help, and the only way to know what was needed was to stay tuned to the television and the local news radio stations.

The scenes on television were extremely graphic, raw, and, for the most part, unedited. Time and again viewers were warned about the explicit, violent nature of the broadcasts for the sake of any children who might become upset by what they saw. That warning could have been issued for viewers of any age or experience. We were seeing a bloodbath. As one news anchorman defined it: "This is a disaster of international proportions."

The people who came stumbling out of the ruins of the buildings had had their clothing torn off or ripped to shreds by flying glass. One man removed his own clothing to cover a bleeding victim lying in shock on a stretcher in the street. A rescue volunteer who ran to the scene from the Kerr-McGee Corporation complex wrapped a small boy in his own dress shirt and stayed with the child, warming him and speaking tenderly to him, until the child could be transported to a local hospital for treatment. U.S. District Judge Gary Purcell, who had come running from his courtroom in the Federal Courthouse behind the Murrah Building, wrapped one of the injured in his judge's robe.

The walking wounded carried the more seriously injured out of area buildings, often assisted by unknown civilian volunteers. Two men carried a woman with a profusely bleeding leg wound to volunteer medics by using an office chair as a litter. Other civilians loaded the injured into their own cars or laid them in the beds of pickup trucks to transport them to area hospitals.

So many volunteers helped so many victims. Some of the injured would never know the names of the persons who helped save their lives; some would later be reunited with their rescuers and, with grateful tears, embrace one another as if they were family members meeting after many





One Very Long Moment ¶ 57

years' absence. A volunteer carrying a small boy to the medics for treatment was asked by a television reporter, "Do you know who that is you are carrying?" He replied, "I don't have any idea."

That was so often the story. Those who could walk helped those who could not, and this selfless gift of assistance to strangers was given over and over again by hundreds of people throughout the morning. It was simply the right thing to do, and no one ever gave it a second thought.

Reporters from every local media source had converged on the area, collecting curb-side interviews with victims, civilian volunteers, local business owners, rescue workers, hospital personnel, and later, from federal officials. It would be midafternoon before members of the national news media descended on Oklahoma City in droves. During the earliest hours of coverage, the local media struggled to convey to the rest of the world the scope of the disaster that had occurred in our capital city, in what would be forever after called "the Heartland."

To the television audience, the sight of the Murrah Building defied description, but the details of the experience and the aftermath were unimaginable. Gradually, the accounts of the survivors and eyewitnesses began to emerge and the emotional horror of the event was given voice. The interviews were disturbing and shocking. The people interviewed were themselves in shock. Many had barely escaped with their lives, and some were bleeding and trembling, answering reporters' questions as medics cleaned and bandaged their wounds. We were about to get our first taste of what would eventually become over a thousand personal accounts of the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.

David Sykes, a mail carrier, was in the mail room in the basement of the Federal Building when the explosions occurred. He stated that at first he thought it was a boiler explosion. He and several other mail carriers ran into the hallway and found it destroyed and in flames. Sykes said, "There was glass and fire everywhere. We just got out of there." But upon reaching the street level, the sight of what had happened stunned Sykes completely. He instantly realized it had not been a boiler explosion.

"Man, it must have been a bomb. I know it was a bomb," he said. "And I'll tell you what was really weird: when we got out, there were cop cars and ambulances everywhere, and it took us only about forty seconds to get out of the basement."

Of even greater interest was the fact that Sykes reported fire in the basement level of the building, supposedly caused by an explosion that occurred outside the building up at the street level.

Third-year nursing student and member of the Oklahoma Air National Guard, Donna Trimble was hurrying to class at the University Health Sciences Center. She was going to be late to class because of a flat tire, which



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had delayed her arrival. Trimble was about six blocks away from the Murrah Building when the force of the explosions slammed into her car.

"At first I thought I'd had a wreck," Trimble said, explaining that the jolt had caused her head to hit the windshield. "And then, when I realized I didn't have a wreck, I thought it was maybe some sort of building demolition downtown." Seeing an Oklahoma City Fire Department truck rushing past her into the downtown area, Trimble followed it.

Then she saw the building. "It was the worst thing I've ever seen. There was a lot of confusion." Abandoning her car and rushing into the scene on foot, Trimble ran through the thick black smoke rising from the parking lot full of burning vehicles and helped remove an injured woman from a crushed car. When the woman had been safely placed in the hands of other medics, Trimble hurried toward the building.

"Water was gushing into the lower levels of the building and people were yelling for someone to shut off the power and the water. I saw one man sitting in his office. I could tell from where I was standing that he was dead. The whole wall of his office was gone." Trimble continued working throughout the morning in the triage units around the Murrah Building, helping in whatever way she could.

Sam Patterson was employed in the office of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services located on the south side of the third floor of the Murrah Building. He described his experience: "It wasn't really loud. It was more of a muffled noise. But immediately after the explosion, I could see clear through the building and out the other side. I could see the parking lot across the street and all the cars looked like they were on fire." The ceiling of Patterson's office had collapsed, but fortunately the floor beneath him held firm. Everyone from Patterson's office made it safely out of the building with only a few minor injuries.

Witnesses saw two employees from the ninth-floor office of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms staggering around without shirts, the torn rags of their trousers bloody. Jim Staggs, bleeding profusely from the head and chest, told the media that he had been talking on the phone in the BATF office when he heard the explosions.

"We were just trying to get out of there," he said as a medic cleaned and bandaged his wounds. "The doors were locked. We couldn't get out. We were just trying to find a way out. Debris was everywhere."

The second BATF employee, Vernon Buster, was covered with glass cuts. He described the scene within the building as "frantic." He said, "I felt the explosion come from my left, and then there was this force of pressure, and debris started falling and glass flying." Immediately after making this statement to the press, Buster laid down on the street, weak and white with shock.



One Very Long Moment ¶ 59

Captain Henderson Baker was not sitting at his desk at the time of the explosions. Baker worked in the Department of the Army's Oklahoma City Recruiting Company Headquarters. He stated that he was standing talking to a co-worker when suddenly he began falling. The portion of the fourth-floor office in which his desk was located had disappeared into the dust, smoke, and crashing concrete. "I just didn't know what was going on. I was surrounded by black smoke. It was dark, black, and I was falling. I landed on the first floor and saw a light ahead. I just walked toward it."

Dazed and shaken, Baker miraculously managed to walk directly out onto NW 5th Street. With blood flowing down his face, internal injuries, abrasions, an injured arm, and multiple bruises, Baker then went back inside the building to search for his co-workers, but after the first hour six were still missing. Henderson was eventually taken to Mercy Health Center for medical treatment.

One man, who did not identify himself, told reporters, "I had a meeting with the building manager, and he and I had just left the meeting. We walked out to the elevator shaft. We were out by the elevator when all of a sudden I heard a big boom, and everything went black and things were falling in on us. There was thick dust everywhere. You could hardly breathe. So I yelled for the building manager and I finally heard him answer me. Although he had been standing right next to me when the blast took place, I couldn't find him afterward. Finally we connected and he and I tried going out together. We found a couple of ladies caught in the debris. We helped get them out. All of us went out together. We finally found an exit. I thought I was going out the front door but somehow ended up going out a side door. Everything was just debris and rubble. The building had collapsed around us. It was so dark and dusty you could hardly breathe. You just had to survive to get out."

Deputy County Assessor Tim Gilbert had run from his office a block away when he felt the force of the explosions. Upon reaching the Murrah Building, he was stunned by what he saw. "It was like a big concrete tomb. It was incredible. Everything was collapsing down on everything." He heard a call for help under a pile of concrete, but when he reached the pile of rubble, the call for help had stopped. Then he found a woman's hand. "We dug down to her and I saw the wedding ring on her finger. I felt her pulse and she was dead. She was pregnant. I couldn't get her out by myself. I thought maybe if we got her out, we could save the baby, but we couldn't do it alone."

The vertical collapse of the support columns and the subsequent pancaking of the floors of the Murrah Building resulted in a pile of rubble some twenty-five-feet high. The angle of the collapsed floors had created a chute down which workers, office furniture, fixtures, and building debris had fallen. Tim Gilbert climbed on the two-story pile of debris and, with five



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other men, formed a human chain. Together they worked feverishly to pull people out of a sinkhole in the middle of the building.

"They were lifting people out and we would grab them. There were people yelling, 'Over here! Help me!' I don't know what happened to those voices. The last five minutes we were in there, we couldn't hear them anymore. We got seven people out, two adults and five kids." When asked if he felt like a hero, Gilbert said, "No, I'm not a hero. They needed help. Everyone was trying to do what they could."

An employee from the fifth floor of the Murrah Building described how he survived the explosions. "I went under the table when the ceiling started to cave in. That saved me, I guess." Others had a similar story. One man claimed, "When I crawled out from under the desk, there wasn't any building left around us. Our whole office area was gone. My floor was okay and the ceiling had come down, but there was still concrete above, so it was just the corner of the office that was left that we were in. Everybody else that we work with is gone."

Dr. Brian Espe, a veterinarian for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, survived the bombing and said he never dreamed the building in which he had worked for six years would be the target of a terrorist attack. In a statement released to the press in the late morning, Dr. Espe said his entire staff of seven people was gone, lost somewhere in the rubble of the building. All but a few of the offices in his area of the building's fifth floor disappeared in the rumbling collapse.

Fellow Agricultural Department employee Jack Gobin said that at first he thought it was an earthquake. He felt the force first and then the windows blew into his office. Gobin said he got under his desk and was not hurt. Both Gobin and Espe said they feel very lucky to be alive. Many of their co-workers did not escape the disaster.

Registered nurse Toni Garrett worked all day and into the night up until the time the FBI took over the medical operations. Toni stated, "When we went over to the south side of the building, I had noticed several citizens, police officers, and firemen who were trying to dig at the rubble, trying to get the people out. And on the upper floors there were people that were sitting at their desks that, when you first looked at them, you really didn't know that they were dead. But when you got a closer look, you saw that there was no way they could be sitting there alive with metal fragments through their bodies. It seemed like there were people just sitting at their desks waiting for someone to come and get them."

Television reporters conducted an interview with an unidentified male who had escaped from the building but then tried to go back inside to rescue his co-workers. The man was shaken and stunned. "We couldn't get back there. Stuff was falling down, and we started throwing stuff out, looking for people. We couldn't find anybody. We were hollering. We went around on



One Very Long Moment ¶ 61

the north side of the building and then that's when I saw it. I cannot believe it. You could see the crater. It looked like a car or something had been parked directly in front of the glass doors at the street. The crater ... it did make a hole in the ground, but you could see everything. There was rebar as big around as my arm bent over like a pretzel. You could see where the blast was."

There was definitely a crater in the street in front of the Murrah Building, but neither witnesses nor officials could ever seem to agree upon its size. Some said it was thirty feet wide; others said twenty. The general consensus was that the crater's depth was eight feet, although one member of the National Guard stated it was twelve feet. It was difficult to estimate depth because of the amount of debris piled everywhere, and at no time was the public informed that anyone had measured the depth or diameter of the crater.

Published aerial AP laserphotos clearly show the crater from different angles. The diameter of the crater can be estimated relative to the size of vehicles located on a plane parallel to the crater. Such estimates indicate that the diameter was probably not in excess of twenty-five feet.

There is a more accurate estimate available. Published in this volume is a photograph of the crater taken by Oscar Johnson (page 62). Near the crater are several five-gallon buckets that were used for debris removal. The buckets are fourteen inches tall. Using that measurement as a reference, it appears that the crater is approximately twenty to twenty-three feet in diameter. The depth appears to be approximately four feet.

Early in the rescue operation we were told that the crater was covered with plywood to protect the rescue workers while going into and out of the building. However, closeup photographic evidence indicates that the crater—which was actually very small—was filled during the search-and-recovery period. The plywood appears to cover uneven debris, but is located to the right of the crater. The crater was always visible after it was filled, yet we were told there was a huge crater beneath the plywood. The plywood ramps remained in place until the independent investigation conducted by defense attorney Stephen Jones (See Appendix A) and his team of experts. The investigators who accompanied the defense team into the ground-zero area were shocked to discover that the alleged "huge crater" had been filled prior to their inspection, and Jones was later quoted as saying, "I don't know when they filled it. If they filled it after I filed my motion, I frankly would find that disturbing." Jones also said that his explosives expert from the State of Washington, Sid Woodcock, would have learned more from the inspection "if they hadn't filled in the pit area." No one seemed to notice that the actual bomb crater was very small and had been filled for quite some time.

No one is willing to specify who authorized the filling of the crater, nor has any explanation been forthcoming as to why the crater—itself a vital piece





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of evidence in the bombing—was irreparably altered before it could be studied and assessed by nongovernment experts. Whether or not this tampering with the crater evidence constitutes obstruction of justice remains to be determined.

New American reporter William F. Jasper brought one particular incident to light in his overview of the evidence of internal explosions provided by Brig. Gen. Benton K. Partin (See Appendices A and C). Wrote Jasper: “One of the more interesting examples of the general’s vindication can be found in the ‘official commemorative volume’ of the Oklahoma City tragedy, *In Their Name...*

“In the middle of the book is a large illustration of the Murrah Building spanning two pages (pages 86–87) and detailing the damage caused by the April 19th blast. What is quite striking about the illustration is that the artist has obviously *moved the bomb crater to the left, so that it is aligned with the deep blast cavity that extends into the building ...*

“What this episode demonstrates is that—whether consciously or unconsciously—the illustrator (and/or the book’s producers) have attempted to reconcile the conspicuously conflicting data by altering the evidence to fit the official story.”



PHOTO BY OSCAR JOHNSON

Crater allegedly caused by the bomb vehicle. The five-gallon bucket seen at the center of the bottom edge of the photo is fourteen inches high. Using that measurement as a reference, the diameter of the crater can be calculated.



One Very Long Moment ¶ 63

Mr. Jasper's assertions, while intriguing, do *not* fit the photographic evidence. General Partin's best estimates placed the crater approximately four feet to the right of column A4 (See Appendix C). However, it appears from the aerial photos that the crater is actually about four feet to the *left* of A4. While this placement concurs with the drawings on pages 86-87 of *In Their Name*, a closer examination of pages 82-83 *does* place the crater to the left of A4. There does not appear to have been any deliberate attempt to alter the evidence in this matter.

Far from hurting Partin's conclusions, this placement actually renders his report more devastating by moving the alleged source of the explosion farther from the collapsed column A8. Mr. Jasper's concerns were based on General Partin's placement of the crater, but Partin erred in his assessment by eight feet. Given the tiny size of the crater, even if the bomb vehicle had been placed directly in front of the deep blast cavity, it would not have caused the damage done to the building, and most assuredly would *not* have brought down column A8.

Behind the Murrah Building on the south side sits the Federal Courthouse. At nine o'clock in the morning, U.S. District Judge Gary Purcell was almost ready to call his court to order. Suddenly the building began to sway and rock, and Judge Purcell said he felt like his eardrums might burst. "There was a terribly loud noise, and it kind of knocked me forward into the bench. I caught myself, and someone said, 'It's an earthquake.' I said, 'No, it's a bomb! Everybody get out!'"

Forcing open the courtroom door, Purcell and about twenty others escaped from the building. Said Purcell, "It was utter chaos. There was smoke and heat and screaming. At first we thought it was our building, but once we were outside, we could see the smoke coming from the Murrah Building." Glass had shattered throughout the courthouse, but not on the floor of Judge Purcell's courtroom and office. Bulletproof glass had been installed on Judge Purcell's floor the previous week.

Oklahoma City attorney Jack Pointer had also been in the Federal Courthouse that Wednesday morning. "All the windows blew out," he said. "We ran outside. When I saw the smoke, I thought it was the courthouse and I started running toward it." But Pointer soon realized the smoke was coming from the Murrah Building. As he approached it from the south, he couldn't see the devastation that had occurred on the opposite side of the building.

A woman, screaming hysterically, ran up to Pointer, saying, "My baby! My baby is in there!" Other women joined her, all crying about their children. It was then that Pointer learned that there had been a day-care center located on the second floor of the Murrah Building. Pointer tried to calm the women and said that he would go and check on the children.

Just then a policewoman arrived and told them to "get out of here!" Pointer told her, "We're going to check on these women's babies on the second



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floor." The policewoman replied somberly, "There is no second floor." Pointer could then see where the building dropped away to nothing but rubble. The staircase leading to the day-care center and the door of the center were standing, but beyond that point the center no longer existed.

With the realization that there had been a day-care center in the building, firefighters began making other urgent demands heard on the scanners: "Is there a possibility we can get the police department dogs to help us with locations? We're supposed to have at least twenty-five to thirty children in this area and we've only found about four or five. Can we get heat sensors or police dogs, please?"

Firefighter Monte Baxter, working with his partner in the area that had once been the day-care center, started calling out to the children. Said Baxter, "Danny went left and I went straight and kind of to the right, hollering out, 'Please say something! Holler at us! We're firefighters! Is there anybody here? You've got to make noise. We can't see you!' Probably within thirty minutes, we had three children out, freed up, and we handed them over to somebody else." Of the many children present in the day-care center that morning, only six would survive.

As the day progressed, the removal of the dead would begin. Some of the bodies were taken first to the children's playground area on south side of the Federal Building, and later to the temporary morgue set up in a warehouse at the corner of NW 5th and Oklahoma Street. Tearful medical personnel remarked how tragically ironic it was that the dead children should be laid in their own playground, a place in which they would never again play.

In 1989 when the day-care center had first been built, it was called Uncle Sam's Kids Corner. Under the leadership of then-Governor Henry Bellmon, the General Services Administration had spent \$48,000 on sod, fences, and other improvements to provide a scenic, safe outdoor place for the children to play while their parents worked nearby. At that time, only six years previously, the provision of on-site child-care services was considered an excellent employee benefit. After the Oklahoma City bombing, many who had fought hard to win on-site child care were reconsidering the wisdom of keeping children near any federal office. It is an issue still being hotly debated and remains unresolved.

On this day—April 19—the fencing materials, which had previously provided safe boundaries for the children at play, were being used as ladders with which to reach and extract the injured from the Federal Building. Surrounded by the tiny, often unidentifiable bodies of the children wrapped in small blankets and laid side by side in the south playground area, the Rev. George Miley of the Anglican Church of the Holy Cross walked among the dead, praying as he carried his open Bible. "I am asking God to receive them," Miley said. It was the last intercessory act he felt he could perform—an act of peace in the midst of the confusion and turmoil all around him.



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According to rescue workers inside the Federal Building, bodies and severed body parts were scattered everywhere. Those still living were trapped and crying out for help. Medical workers who had set up triage centers in the area and makeshift hospitals were hanging IVs on portable metal racks. Victims were resting on blankets spread out on the concrete. It was a gruesome scene. Mike Taylor, Director of Cardiopulmonary Services at Norman Regional Hospital, was quoted as saying, "They're having to cut off body parts to get them out of there. One worker came out with a medical backpack and just collapsed from the intensity of the scene."

In spite of the fact that the rescue workers were being sent into the building for only thirty- to forty-five-minute shifts, many were completely overcome by what they saw inside and by what they had to do while there. In one unforgettable moment of many that day, television viewers watched in grief as a police officer, stumbling trancelike from the building, stopped by the street curb near a parked patrol car. Overcome with the emotional stress and tragedy of the event, the officer folded his arms around his face as if to blot out all he had seen, bowed himself over the hood of the vehicle, and wept openly. We all wept with him.

Moments later a fellow officer approached, placed a comforting hand on the man's shoulder, and together they helped each other leave the horror of their first shift of duty in the Murrah Building bomb site. It was going to be like that for days and weeks to come—people helping each other cope. The wounds of that day were not all visible, and many would take far longer to heal than injuries to the physical body. These were wounds of the heart.

Shock and disbelief were the order of the day. Medical workers treated a man wandering from the building in a daze, with cuts and broken bones. He had lost both arms in the explosion but seemed strangely unaware of his condition. A man's body was discovered about a block away to the northwest of the Federal Building in an alley behind the Post Office Resource Center. Witnesses thought he was a passerby, but no one seemed to know who he was, what he was doing, or the exact cause of his death. One man, covered in blood, was found walking alone along the sidewalk several blocks away from the Murrah Building. He said he was going home, but he couldn't remember his name and he didn't know where his home was. Behind him was a trail of blood in the shattered glass that carpeted the downtown streets and sidewalks.

Other medical workers handled the "bio-bags," collecting tissue and body parts from the debris. "They may not ever find some of those people," said Craig Bishop, a member of the American Red Cross Disaster Action Team. "It's that torn up. I heard moaning, but couldn't tell if it was coming from survivors buried in debris or from people under stress trying to clear away the rubble. It's bad. It's real bad."

The dead were so numerous that rescue workers had no choice but to cover most of them and mark the location of the bodies with spray paint on





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the building debris. At that time of the crisis, the emphasis was still on rescuing the living and no ambulance could be spared to remove the dead. Specially trained removal teams would later be brought in to handle the dead.

Across the street to the north of the Murrah Building, David Harper had been sitting at his desk in the Journal Record Building when the explosions occurred. "It felt like somebody slammed me in the back of the head with a bat. We pushed debris to the side so we could get out. My office was chest-deep in debris."

Another worker in the Journal Record Building, Ernie Ross, reported that the force of the blast threw him twenty feet across the room into a table. "The windows were all gone and the inside walls collapsed. You did not know where to run to get out. It was just frantic. The flying glass sliced me up. I was standing with a co-worker. I hope he's all right. I'm sure glad to be alive. I never went through anything like that when I was in Vietnam." Ross was taken to University Hospital for treatment of large cuts on his leg, facial lacerations, and a crushed nose.

Norman resident Mary Mowdy had just started her third day on the job in the Journal Record Building with the Oklahoma Guaranteed Student Loan Program. Seated at her desk by a window when the explosions occurred, Mowdy was pierced by thousands of pieces of flying glass. She was somehow rescued from the scene by co-workers. After being rushed to Presbyterian Hospital, Mowdy endured more than seven hours of surgery and received over a thousand stitches. She would again face surgery the next day. Mowdy suffered a broken arm, cut tendons in her arms, and severe cuts to her lower face and neck. Of the seven injured and three critically injured in the Journal Record Building, she was the most seriously hurt.

Berbe Lovelace had been in the Oklahoma City Downtown Lions Club office on the second floor of the YMCA Building, which was located a half-block to the northeast of the Murrah Building. "It took us only one-and-a-half to two minutes to get outside, and there were police cars already there—men in their heavy helmets."

Lovelace had just stepped away from her desk when suddenly it was covered with shards of glass, ceiling tiles, and insulation. "The windows blew in and the ceiling fell," she said. "Everything that was not concrete just went. The force blew me toward the door. I have glass cuts all the way across my face. I did what every normal human being does—I panicked. I jerked open the door, which was blocked by ceiling tiles, and limped down the hall. Everybody was screaming and crying, but we made our way down the stairs."

Lovelace, with several of her co-workers, went back inside the YMCA to remove children from the day-care facility in that building. She didn't realize how badly she was bleeding until someone handed her a towel. "Strangers





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walked up and began picking up the children and taking them out into the street. Parents were running and calling out the names of their children. One father was so panicky that he didn't see his own daughter in the arms of a man who was holding her right in front of the dad." Strangers held children who were not their own and waited for parents they did not know.



PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

All that remains of the entrance to the YMCA. Every window in the building was destroyed.

State Representative Kevin Cox, who was in front of the YMCA and less than a block from the Murrah Building at the time of the explosions, said, "All of a sudden I felt like I was in a hammock between two trees in my car. The windshield shattered and blew me and the car into a building at NW 5th and Broadway. I was very shocked. I know I bailed out of my car and fell down several times. I wanted to run for cover. The whole side of the building was blown out, and every car in the parking lot directly across from the Federal Building was ablaze. Cars within that block are buried in rubble. I could see two people standing in the rubble, trying to find a way out. People who lived in the YMCA came out in their bare underwear."

Todd Pendleton was driving away from the YMCA Building where he had just taken his son Evan to day care. He heard and felt the initial blast from several blocks away. He said he thought another car had rear-ended him, but when he looked back, all he could see was black smoke. He whipped his car around, drove back and parked as close as he could to the YMCA.



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Pendleton got out of his car and began running. He could see people already removing the fifty-two children who were in the YMCA day-care center that morning. "Boy, I was running, looking everywhere for Evan. I found him in the arms of a YMCA worker. That staff was so committed. They were all hurt and bloody and all they could think about were those kids." Within seven to ten minutes all of the children were accounted for and out of the day-care center.

Pendleton began helping the workers remove the children, some of whom were seriously hurt. He took one injured child to the nearest ambulance for transport to the hospital, but the ambulance medics were treating people at the scene who could not yet be moved. Realizing he was going to have to take the child himself, Pendleton told YMCA staff members that he was driving the child to St. Anthony Hospital. Pendleton and his son Evan took the injured child to the emergency room and stayed with the child until the parents arrived.

The Regency Tower, a multistoried apartment building located one block west of the Murrah Building, was home to more than 250 residents, some of whom had lived there since the building's opening about thirty years earlier. Deanna Jordon had been in her apartment with her sister-in-law and young daughter. Deanna said, "I thought the people outside doing scaffolding work were coming through the windows until we heard the building alarm telling us to evacuate. The walls are buckled and cracked. There's mortar coming off the outside of the building." Deanna's five-year-old daughter Melinda was still shaking and clinging to her mother when she told reporters her own version of what had happened: "I heard screams ... screams, and everything fell down."

A gentleman known only as Mr. Ramsey was interviewed by a television reporter. His son works for the Oklahoma City Police Department. Mr. Ramsey reported to the television media that his son had heard the explosions a few blocks away. Ramsey said, "My son was at the Oklahoma City Police Station. He said at the time of the explosion about 300 policemen pulled their guns because they thought that someone was in the police department and had set off a bomb there. He is a bicycle patrolman, and he immediately hurried to the Federal Building ... He was sharing with us that he had pulled out four two- to three-year-olds that were dead and I think six adults that were dead. He's got a daughter that is three years old, and when he got to the part about the kids, he just couldn't stand it too much. And I can't see how anybody could do this. It's unreal! He saw many people who were in great pain—maimed, tops of their heads blown off, eyes blown out—horrible, horrible things! And to the people that did this, there is no reason for anything like this. None, ever."

Local media representatives interviewed Carole Lawton, an elderly woman who was wrapped in a blanket to protect against the onset of shock while she was being assisted by medical personnel. She had great difficulty



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speaking, as if her mouth could not form the words her mind was thinking. From time to time during the interview, she hid her face in her hands as if to blot out the images that would be forever impressed in her memory.

"It got dark," she said, "and then the floors from above went down, and glass ... It just kept falling and there was this horrible noise. A horrible noise ... It was just after whatever happened, happened. It was just a roar of the whole building ... crumbling. And where I was sitting, it was the only place the floors didn't cave in. I mean, right over here the floor was gone ... my little area where I was sitting ... I was on the seventh floor, and the eighth floor came down and went through, and then it just kept on going down. There was a window to a hall by my desk and I crawled over it and got out. The stairwell was still lit. The light was on in the stairwell. I know that some people are still in the building that they haven't gotten to yet. I saw a lot of people very badly hurt. People were getting out covered with blood and just stunned ... I mean it was just a shock."

As the news reporter conducting the interview was about to ask another question, Ms. Lawton turned suddenly pale and weak as new cries from the Murrah Building came rushing from behind her, frantic and emphatic: "Move back! Let's go! All companies come out of the building! Right now! Possibly explosives planted in the building! Everybody evacuate the Federal Building! Get out—NOW!"

Suffering is one very long moment.

We cannot divide it by seasons.

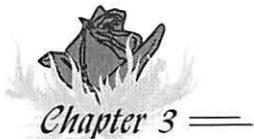
We can record only its moods and chronicle their return.

— Oscar Wilde
De Profundis, (1905)



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Chapter 3 ==

TURN OVER THE FALSEHOOD

The Bomb Alert, Weapons Disposal, and a Red Herring

It was almost half-past ten o'clock in the morning. The warning came that another bomb had been discovered in the ruins of the Murrah Building. This was the first of three times during the day that rescuers would be evacuated from the building because of the discovery of other explosive materials.

Witnesses monitoring the police-scanner radios reported hearing the urgent announcement: "All companies come out of the building! Right now! Everybody evacuate the Federal Building! Remove all your personnel from the building immediately! Possibly explosives planted in the building! Repeat: Evacuate the building immediately!"

All personnel were ordered from the building and the surrounding area, some leaving victims trapped in the rubble who desperately cried after them to stay. Oklahoma City Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen, in writing about the evacuation, stated, "The decision to pull our people was made quickly. In truth, there was no choice to make. The first rule for those responding to an emergency is not to become victims themselves ..."

"When the call came to evacuate, some of our people were working to extricate victims from the debris that trapped them. We learned later that some of those rescuers opted to stay with the injured and ride out the threat. We didn't reprimand any of them for their decision. We felt it was one of those few times in life where there wasn't a right or wrong choice. Whatever each rescuer personally chose to do, given each specific situation, was the right thing to do ..."



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"Rescue workers were forced to leave some people who were conscious but trapped. Leaving was extremely tough on everyone who was sent out of the building, but it was obviously far worse for the victims left inside ... The rescuers who saw their faces caught glimpses of pure terror, and those expressions are something they will carry with them for the rest of their lives."

Firefighter Monte Baxter echoed Chief Hansen's words as he tried to explain how difficult it was for the rescuers to leave the victims. "I don't think anybody knows how tough that is, especially for a firefighter, to know that you're sitting here with somebody who is trapped and hurting and very frightened, and then you're ordered to leave."

"Some of the trained individuals who had patients sitting right next to them refused to leave the area until those patients were removed," said medical technician Scott Moore. "It's real hard to sit there with someone who is bleeding and dying, who is looking at you and asking you not to leave, and then just go ahead and leave them. It's real hard to do that."

An unidentified firefighter, obviously deeply affected by what had occurred, stated, "When we got back [after the first evacuation], some of the people who were alive when we left them had died by the time we returned."

Deputy County Assessor Tim Gilbert had to abruptly end his search near the nursery when reports of a second bomb led to the evacuation of the area. "God, I hope they get those little kids out," he cried. "I had to leave little kids on the second floor. I'd rather be horse-whipped than leave these little kids."

An ashen-faced volunteer, Robert Buckner, stated, "I would have gladly given my life for one of those kids' lives ... just one child."

In describing the sudden panic that struck those at the bomb site, paramedic Mark Robertson said, "All of a sudden I looked up and I saw this large group of firemen running just as fast as they could. A lot of them were older firemen with whom I'd made many calls during the six years I'd been out in the field, and I saw fear on their faces. Some of those guys were running faster than I'd ever seen them move in my life. I thought, If these folks are scared about something, then it's time to run."

As word of the ordered evacuation spread, civilians in the area panicked and began to run away from the Federal Building fast as they could in every direction. Everyone was moved back from the bomb site while law-enforcement officers made more secure the makeshift perimeter that had been hastily erected around the devastation. More yellow crime-scene tape went up, wooden barricades were brought in, and more guards were posted. Demolition experts arrived to handle this newest emergency.

People all over the world, watching on television and listening on radio, were riveted to the spot as the Oklahoma Highway Patrol bomb squad





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entered the building. All listened with bated breath for any information from the officers. Moments after arriving, a bomb squad officer reported, "All companies on the general alarm be advised: There has been another device found in the Federal Building. Clear a four-block area."

On the police band a horrifying conversation between two workers in the Federal Building was overheard by scanner buffs who were following the downtown developments. This conversation was reported by three separate and unrelated witnesses:

"Boy, you're not going to believe this!"

"Believe what?"

"I can't believe it! This is a military bomb!"

What was going on here? No word had yet been released to the public concerning the make-up of the bomb or bombs that had devastated the building. But suddenly we were confronted by the voices of experts on the scene describing as "a military bomb" the device that was being handled at that moment by the bomb squad.

This was a very serious development; it turned out to be something that would later be denied by all federal law-enforcement representatives and by the primary local players when the media was finally allowed to ask the hard questions. In fact, once the denials began, the subject of other explosives in the building became the issue that would simply be ignored by all officials for several months to come.

Nevertheless, witnesses at the scene had plenty to say about it at the time. Mail Carrier David Sykes, who had earlier escaped from the basement area of the Federal Building, reported that a firefighter ran toward the crowd gathered nearby and told him and his co-workers, "You folks might want to move on west. They found another bomb!"

Cathy Garrett, the Red Cross Public Information Coordinator, told reporters, "Everyone just started running. They were shouting, 'Get out of the way; there's a bomb!' I ran!"

Andy Cullison, a cameraman who had been at the Good Printing Company seven blocks north of the Murrah Building at the time of the explosions, had moved closer to the scene to observe the rescue operation. As he was watching, a firefighter approached and warned him and others to evacuate the area. Cullison said the firefighter told him, "They believe there's a second device, and it's more powerful than the first."

Two firefighters and one other gentleman, each speaking independently of the others and on condition of anonymity, testified to what was found in the building. They all stated that the second bomb was actually several bombs—five-gallon-sized olive-drab-colored canisters bearing Milspec numbers and clearly labeled "fulminate of mercury," with a hole in the top of each canister through which a detonator was attached.



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This could account for the comments about "a military bomb," because fulminate of mercury is a powerful explosive used primarily by the military. It is practically impossible to purchase this substance in any quantity at all. It is intensely controlled by federal regulations, and a person desiring to acquire fulminate of mercury must first obtain approval and a federal permit, and then jump through many hoops of bureaucratic red tape. Fulminate of mercury is an extremely dangerous substance, is extremely difficult to obtain, and is not available to just anybody.

In an interview conducted in May 1995 by *Relevance* magazine, Oklahoma City Police Department Public Information Officer Bill Martin confirmed sketchy reports that several containers of fulminate of mercury were discovered inside the building. He guessed that they might have been used routinely by the BATF in their explosives work. By late summer 1995, Martin had changed his story, knew nothing about the fulminate of mercury, couldn't imagine how the rumor got started, and suddenly could not recall the name of the magazine that had interviewed him the previous May.

The fact that this chemical was found in clearly labeled military canisters obviates the possibility that some local thug manufactured the chemical in his kitchen (if such a thing were even possible) or bought it "on the street." The fact that there were multiple canisters of military origin found in the building casts an entirely different light on everything that happened thereafter.

Several witnesses at the scene watched as the rescue operation was stopped, and they stated that they saw at least three additional bombs taken out in barrels from the third floor by bomb-squad personnel. Others reported that explosive devices from the building were removed under blankets on medical stretchers. It was later reported that these devices were taken to a county property and detonated.

Additionally, the *Dallas Morning News* later wrote, "Early reports speculated that the terrorists may be traceable through the unexploded device agents recovered from the building."

When questioned about who might have been responsible for the bombing, Dr. Randall Heather, a terrorism expert, said, "We should find out an awful lot when the bombs are taken apart. I think it was a great stroke of luck—and it's hard to talk about luck on a day like today in Oklahoma City—but it was a great stroke of luck that we actually have got defused bombs. It's through the bomb material that we'll be able to track down who committed this atrocity."

As far as the bomb squad, the police, the experts, and the eyewitnesses were concerned, there were secondary devices discovered and removed, possibly of military origin. As far as the media was concerned, these discoveries were going to supply the big break needed to track down the perpetrators. Amazingly enough, the devices were not used to track down



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anyone. Their existence was denied, concealed, and lied about by federal officials, and eyewitnesses were threatened and told to keep quiet. No questions were asked.

Later, in what would possibly be the most inane statement made by any federal official on April 19, Jack Killorin (then spokesman in Washington, D.C. for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) said, "Public safety personnel on the scene think they have found an unexploded device in the building. We believe this was a bombing and we are responding as if it was, but we do not have any forensic evidence yet to confirm that. The damage, however, appears consistent with a bombing."

Killorin's nonexplanation was made in the afternoon when all the world—except him—knew for certain that a bombing had indeed occurred. It is interesting to note, however, that his unfortunate remarks were made prior to the unexplained transformation of the facts into what later became the official story. Killorin would never again refer publicly to secondary or unexploded devices, nor would he again appear in his role as BATF spokesman during the bombing investigation.

In spite of the testimony of numerous witnesses and reports from personnel on the scene, national news representatives would for months to come continue to say, "The suspicious devices turned out not to be bombs." This statement and all others like it were bold-faced lies.

No one in the mainstream press with the possibility of public exposure and the power to inform was asking any questions about these obvious contradictions. For reasons unknown, all immediately adopted the revised version of the event—in whatever twisted configuration it had at the time—and have continued to do so through the story's many subsequent alterations.

But the fact remains that television viewers heard the screams warning everyone to run from the scene. We heard the voices crying, "A bomb! Another bomb!" We saw the press scrambling to safety. We saw medical personnel grasping the walking wounded under the arms and dragging them away from the area. We listened to the reports from eyewitnesses who saw the secondary devices. Something was definitely going on, and everyone who saw the bomb squad truck arriving at the scene and later observed the bomb squad removing devices from the building had no doubt that something had been discovered.

Nurse volunteer Toni Garrett spoke about the discovery of the secondary explosive devices: "There was a period when we were bringing the bodies to the playground, and that's when we were told that we needed to evacuate the building because they had found another bomb. There were at least four other people who told me that there was a bomb inside the building, and they were all part of the rescue effort. Two of them actually saw the removal of the bombs when the bomb squad came down to the Murrah Building, and described to me a timing device on one of the bombs. It had



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been set to go off ten minutes after the earlier explosions. We assumed that the mechanism of the bomb with the timer malfunctioned because of the first blasts. So that's why the second bomb did not explode."

For what seemed like the longest hour in human history, we all waited in uncertainty, weeping for the victims and praying for the injured and the rescuers, while the bomb squad brought its equipment and personnel into the area to defuse and remove the secondary explosive devices.

For those outside the building, everything was at a complete standstill. As we waited with great anxiety, C.A. Davis, who had been involved downtown with the rescue efforts, telephoned KFOR Channel 4 Television to offer a report for the public. When asked if he could describe the scene inside the building, Mr. Davis said, "You just can't imagine it. There are bodies laying everywhere. There are people just laying there screaming, trying to get out. I've helped rescue several bodies. There were a bunch of babies that we've had to drag out. It's just a real gruesome sight. What they're trying to do right now is to search in there for another bomb. We're just trying to pull everybody who is a civilian back to a four-block radius. It's just a terrible sight.

"I'm a construction company owner, and I was coming down here to a trim company when the explosion happened. It rocked me pretty hard, and I didn't know what was going on. I went down there and they asked me if I could take somebody to the hospital. I took four or five victims in my truck over to the Baptist Hospital, left there, and came back.

"I knew the maintenance man of the Federal Building. He was trying to help get blueprints to go down there and shut off the auxiliary power. We went down there and the generators didn't kick off. The folks were afraid to get in the building because of all the live electrical. I just was trying to be a concerned person and help. I got deeper into it, and then things started falling on us. What we're trying to do now is to get some heavy cranes in here and try to get the bigger I-beams and concrete off of these people and try to secure the area."

As we waited, word came that a two-and-a-half-year-old, fair-skinned female child with red hair and blue eyes was being taken to Southwest Medical Center. Her condition was stable, but she needed surgery. She could not tell anyone her name and no one could find her parents. Video footage of the child's wide-eyed, frightened face and tiny clinging hands was broadcast as she was gently cradled and carried to an ambulance by a female volunteer. It was hoped that someone would recognize the child and contact the hospital or the parents.

As the bomb squad continued to work in the Murrah Building, Dr. Thomas Coniglione, the medical director of St. Anthony Hospital, made an impromptu speech in front of the emergency entrance. He was very concerned about the delay in the rescue operation caused by the discovery of





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the secondary devices, and he offered his report to a public hungry for any information about the status of the injured who had been brought to his hospital. He looked tired and stressed as he spoke:

"The situation at the present time is that we have treated more than fifty-six injuries. There have been several more since the last count. 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. Then once the medical teams enter, we expect quite a large number of rather badly injured individuals being brought here.

"We have an incredible capacity. I will tell you that of the fifty-six we've treated, each of the fifty-six injured individuals had a single doctor and at least one or two nurses with them. So we've had an amazing outpouring of support from the medical community. To have fifty-six doctors here at one time treating fifty-six patients is rather unheard of.

"We also right now have at least three or four other doctors who are just sitting here waiting for more of the injured to come. We have three patients in the operating room at the present time. We have more operating rooms ready to be used if needed. We don't have a problem with capacity. We do have a problem with a few too many volunteers. We've had volunteers coming from far out of town, and I can't tell you how much I appreciate them being here. Right now I think we have all the doctors, nurses, and EMTs that we need.

"Concerning the number of injuries, the most that we've heard from the police department is that there are quite a number who are dead at the scene. There is another large number who are injured, but we have no absolute numbers. We've had fifty-six. I think some of the other hospitals have had comparable numbers, so if you add that up, that's easily a couple of hundred injured.

"The initial group of injuries we saw were of people who were on the street and outside, and they were injured by exploding glass. They had many superficial lacerations of the face, the scalp, and the back. There was one lady who had her hand on a doorknob when the explosion took place. The door flew open, and the power of the exploding door fractured the bones in her arm. She is currently in the operating room. Those are being fixed.

"So the initial injuries were people who were standers-by or visitors or walkers in the street. And then we started getting some children from the day-care center, and then we got some people from within the building. Those within the building were injured considerably worse than those who were out in the street.

"There are three people in the operating room right now. One has an injury to the carotid artery, which is the large artery in the neck. The other one has



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multiple injuries of the face and neck. The third one has injuries to his leg and the arteries supplying his leg. So these are rather substantial injuries.

"I had asked that some of the more critically injured people be brought here because of the physician supply we have here. We have many neurosurgeons, many orthopedic surgeons. They deal with the most severe injuries, so I've asked that those injuries be brought here. We're well-equipped and well-supplied with staff to take care of them. I do not know how they are being triaged from downtown, but I would think that we could handle any of the injuries because of our proximity and because of the enormous number of specialists we have."

"We have also set up a special area for all families. It is in the gymnasium of our Mental Health Center. If any of the families go into the gymnasium, on the wall we have a huge board with names of everyone who has been injured and the hospital location of that individual. So it doesn't matter if that individual is here or elsewhere. Come here and you can find out where the individual is. And we also have conditions on a large number of these patients also. So we'd be delighted to be helpful if we can to anyone who wants to come to our Mental Health Center."

This was the first official report the public had received from any medical authority, and the news was not encouraging. By the end of the day twelve hospitals would report treating bomb-related injuries: St. Anthony, Presbyterian Hospital, Baptist Medical Center, South Community Hospital, University Children's Hospital, Mercy Hospital, the Veterans Hospital, Deaconess, Hillcrest, and the hospitals in Bethany, Edmond, and Midwest City.

At the time of Dr. Coniglione's report approximately 200 individuals had been treated at area hospitals. By the end of the day, that number would exceed 500. Two days later, when all of the numbers were finally tallied, it would be reported by the media that over 700 persons had been treated for bomb-related injuries at area hospitals and private clinics.

During the lengthy statement by Dr. Coniglione, our attention had been focused on the people receiving medical treatment, the victims we all hoped and prayed would survive and recover. But then suddenly an official report was released to the media from the Governor's office. It was publicly confirmed that there were eight dead, and six of them were children. We had just heard the first death count of many more to come over the next sixteen days.

Licensed practical nurse Lydia Winfrey reported that several of the children who had been removed from the building had had severe head injuries; one had been decapitated, and another had a hole in its head filled with plaster pieces. According to a local dentist working at the triage center on the south side of the Murrah Building, it appeared that the children had been hit in the face by the blast and had been blown backward toward the north side of the day-care center. The shocking description given was that "their





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faces were blown off." Another witness described the bodies as "sand blasted, as if they had been peeled." This was but one more indication that a bomb or bombs inside the building had exploded in addition to the bomb out on the street. Dolls and toys found near the young victims were brought out as possible aids to identification.

Renewed waves of grief and shock swept through the community as this report became known. No one could have anticipated the number of fatalities that would ultimately be confirmed as a result of this horrible incident. We knew there had been a large number of people in the building at the time of the explosions, but we were also hearing of large numbers of injured who were being treated and released. That appeared to be a hopeful sign at the time—and people needed a hopeful sign—but things became progressively worse, and it soon seemed that there would be no end to this tragedy.

The situation was grim. It was almost eleven o'clock in the morning, and of the possible 1000 people believed to have been in the building, we knew the confirmed status of only eight. All we could do at that moment was wait and pray.

The television news media then offered this report: "The first bomb that was in the Federal Building did go off. It did the damage that you see right there. 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. It is just incredible to think that there was that much heavy artillery somehow moved into the downtown Oklahoma City Federal Building.

"From what we were told in the last couple of live reports from downtown, they are starting to allow rescue and evacuation workers to move back closer to the building. So we would assume that they are doing so with some degree of certainty that there is some integrity and security around the building now. But both of the other devices that they found—of the three in all—the first one went off; the other two, we understand, were even larger than the first, and that is really almost too much for us to comprehend when you look at what that one bomb did to the front of the building."

This was the first official media announcement that the bomb squad had indeed discovered additional explosive devices in the building. This report was repeated numerous times between eleven o'clock and noon. At the time these secondary-device announcements were being made, they were simultaneously being confirmed by police and firefighters on the scene by way of local radio and scanner reports. But by midafternoon the story had begun a transformation. By then certain officials began saying that no other explosive devices had been found. The media followed suit and repeated what they were told.



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Something was very wrong with the way the story was taking shape, and it was particularly disturbing to observe that eyewitnesses were telling one story while officials—especially officials from Washington, D.C., who were not at the scene—were telling something completely different. It would be but a few more hours until all parties got coordinated, and then every local and federal source would tell every media representative that there was only one bomb, only one explosion, and that no secondary devices were found in the Murrah Building. They would stand uniformly by that story for twenty weeks.

At the first official press conference, which was held in Oklahoma City at approximately 5:00 p.m. Wednesday afternoon, questions concerning secondary explosive devices were at first emphatically denied. Later such questions were simply ignored. Public inquiries about secondary explosives were denigrated in the press, and anyone asking pertinent questions was automatically labeled a conspiracy nut.

The Sumter Video Tape

Several months later, however, an event occurred that changed the official story into something new and different. That event was the release of a ninety-minute videotape made inside the perimeter by Technical Sergeant Melvin Sumter of the Oklahoma County Sheriff's Department. The ninety-minute video released to independent investigators was a shortened version of many hours of video footage taken by Sumter for the Sheriff's Department and that he himself had edited. Even after editing, the visual information was damning indeed.

When considering the contents of Sumter's videotape, it is important to recall that things that are similar are not necessarily identical, and a single point of dissimilarity disproves that they are identical. A brief seven-minute section of Sumter's videotape reveals firefighters removing weapons, ammunition, and explosives from the rubble of the building, under the direction of federal law-enforcement agents, with crowds of other workers observing nearby, including Sumter.

An hour earlier in the videotape, Sumter's footage shows the 10:30 a.m. call for the evacuation of workers immediately following the discovery of other bombs in the building, the arrival of the bomb-squad personnel, and the removal of rescuers from the area, including the evacuation of Sumter himself.

What happened as a result of Sumter's videotape, and why is this a problem?

The discovery of the canisters of fulminate of mercury was made by local rescue workers. The removal of the undetonated explosive devices from the building was executed by local bomb-squad personnel after the majority of workers had been evacuated from the building and all people in the area



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had been moved back at least four blocks. The removal of these devices took place between approximately 10:30 a.m. and 11:15 a.m.—a time of day in which, in daylight saving time, shadows are still west of any sunlit object.

The later seven-minute segment of weapons being removed shows no bomb-squad personnel active on the scene. The weapons, ammunition, and explosives are being removed by firefighters under the direction of federal law-enforcement agents. Many other workers are standing around waiting to be sent into action. And the shadows cast by the workers on the scene are indicative of a midafternoon time frame.

One point of dissimilarity is enough to show that two events are not identical. These two *similar* events are not the same incident by any measurement.

But there was a problem: When federal investigative agencies became aware of this videotaped evidence, they decided to tell the world that the two events *were* identical, then began to make public statements to the effect that the weapons, ammunition, and explosives removed from the Murrah Building during the afternoon by firefighters were the *same* explosive devices that had been removed by the bomb squad several hours earlier, during the late morning. This was another bold-faced lie, but not many people were paying attention to the details. Many well-intentioned people fell for the government's specious explanation.

The federal government had a particularly thorny problem on its hands. Too many witnesses knew for a certainty that multiple canisters of fulminate of mercury had been removed from the building by the bomb squad. Too many people were talking about how the government had been lying when it said that no other explosive devices had been found on the scene. Even the news media had a hard time swallowing the idea that after they had dutifully released all the official reports of discovered explosive devices based on solid eyewitness reports from the bomb site, those reports had been false because police and bomb-squad personnel had "made a mistake in their reports to the media." This one wasn't going to fly.

Suddenly, after the feds had stood by their false official version for five months, they changed their minds. Now they were going to admit that explosives had been found in the building after all. But *which* explosives?

When Sumter's videotaped evidence came to light, it became necessary to explain away that evidence somehow. The feds' explanation—preposterous though it was—confused the issue completely for most people. The government had no choice but to admit that the videotape did indeed show weapons, ammunition, and explosives being removed from the building. In addition, photographs had been released of arsenal rooms that had belonged to the BATF. There was just no getting around these facts. The easiest way to handle this sticky situation was to make the public believe that



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the weapons, ammunition, and explosives that had belonged to the BATF were the same devices the bomb squad had removed during the morning. But they were not the same thing at all.

The BATF Arsenal

When this video and photographic evidence forced its hand, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms finally had to admit that they indeed had arsenal rooms and that there had been weapons, ammunition, and explosives illegally stored in the Murrah Building. But the organization then stated that they weren't *real* explosives. They were all inert "training devices." Amazingly enough, BATF spokesmen, both locally and in Washington, D.C., were able to repeat this story to the media while maintaining a straight face.

No explanation was given about why the existence of these so-called training devices had been so vigorously denied for so long and acknowledged only when it could no longer be hidden from the public.

No explanation was given about why, if the devices were totally inert and harmless, the BATF felt their presence in the building had to be concealed.

No explanation was given to questions concerning the legality of storing weapons, ammunition, and explosives—inert or otherwise—in a federal building a mere seven stories above the location of a day-care facility.

No explanation was given for why federal law-enforcement agents consistently lied to the media and the public about the weapons, ammunition, and explosives for five months following the bombing.

And of course nothing was ever said that would distinguish the removal of the BATF's materials during the afternoon by firefighters from the removal of the military's explosive materials during the morning by the bomb squad.

With few exceptions, federal and local officials are still lying to this day about the secondary explosive devices found in the building during the first bomb scare at 10:30 a.m. on April 19, 1995. The somewhat sheepish admissions by the BATF merely serve as a smoke screen, and should be seen for exactly what they are.

The weapons, ammunition, and explosives stored by the BATF and removed by firefighters during the afternoon are *not* the canisters of fulminate of mercury or any other device removed by the bomb squad during the morning. There are clearly two different events under discussion here, and the media and federal agencies are doing their best to muddy the waters and confuse the public. There is a reason for this.

Expert analysis (detailed in Appendix C) confirmed that small, carefully placed demolition charges had indeed been present in the building, and the disaster on the morning of April 19, 1995 was the result of a multiphase plan: the bomb in the street served as the cover for the true cause of the massive destruction to the building; and the perpetrators of the street bomb



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had cooperated, possibly unknowingly, with other parties to bring about the most devastating terrorist act in American history.

Even without the testimony of the experts, other evidence began to cast a sinister shadow over the entire federal investigation. Frightened eyewitnesses had privately come forward who had seen "construction workers" drilling and cutting cavities into the concrete support pillars at the second underground parking level days before the bombing. They had also overheard conversations between the alleged construction workers in which explosives and bombs were discussed and the relation of bombs to the size of the holes in the columns. No effort had been made by the workers to hide their activities, and it was not unusual to see construction workers in and around the Murrah Building. The workers did not appear suspicious to the witnesses, and it was believed at the time that the workers' comments were made in jest. It was only after the bombing that the significance of what had been observed struck home.

In light of this information, it is clear that the bombing of the Murrah Building involved much more than a street bomb and some BATF weapons stored on the ninth floor. There were obviously many players in this tragic drama, but federal investigators decided to let the BATF take some of the heat rather than discuss fulminate of mercury or cavities cut into support pillars. It seemed to be a move of simple self-preservation.

If agents or agencies of the federal government or the U.S. military or the National Security Council knew about the bombing plan, planned it themselves, or participated in the action, it would be absolutely necessary to conceal and/or disguise that participation by any means possible. A perfectly utilitarian—and extremely convenient—explanation and excuse would be the presence of the huge arsenal of weapons and miscellaneous ordnance stored in the Murrah Building by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

Because the BATF was still smarting from such bad press following the Waco Massacre and the "good ol' boys round-up" scandal, and because it had become federal agency *non grata* in the eyes of the public, it was completely logical, plausible, and believable that this agency could have illegally stored weapons, ammunition, and explosives in the Federal Building that "just happened" to explode as a consequence of the detonation of the street bomb, thus causing the massive and asymmetrical damage to the building. This excuse, if believed, could successfully be used to disguise the involvement of any other person or agency in the bombing of the Murrah Building.

The only problem with this scenario was that the BATF was not ready to serve as the sacrificial lamb and continued to assert that its "explosives" were only inert training devices. This arsenal-room-explosion hypothesis is one of the more popular conclusions touted by the underground press and by some independent investigators. But this is not what happened that April 19.



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Investigative officials have yet to discover (or admit) that any of the stored ordnance detonated at any time (which could not have happened anyway, had it been inert). But even if these munitions had detonated as a result of the force of the street bomb, this would not account for the second explosion, which occurred a full five to eight seconds after the first; nor would it account for the presence of military canisters of fulminate of mercury in the Murrah Building; nor would an explosion in the BATF arsenal room located on the ninth floor sever the concrete support columns at their bases, or at the third-floor level as much evidence also suggests.

Suffice it to say that the hypothetical accidental detonation of BATF explosives cannot explain even a small portion of what happened that day. Yes, there were weapons, ammunition, and explosives illegally stored in the federal building. Yes, there was a BATF arsenal room on the ninth floor that had been ruptured by the initial blast. Of that there is no doubt. But these matters were not the primary or even secondary cause of the devastation to the Murrah Federal Building. Nevertheless, it must have seemed needful to federal officials that the public be swept away by this new BATF scandal, and in very subtle ways information was regularly and intentionally leaked to lead independent investigators away from the truth.

Of particular interest is the fact that even while officials have reluctantly admitted that BATF explosives were stored in the building—which would allow the hypothesis of a supplemental detonation to stand even though its timing would be completely wrong (and even though the BATF claims the devices were inert)—the feds have continued to deny that there was more than one explosion.

It is also interesting to observe that when it became useful to cast blame in the direction of the BATF to disguise the real facts about the bombing and its perpetrators, more local officials became willing to offer information. This information must be very carefully weighed, because it is only partly true. These leaks serve as a deliberate distraction designed to satisfy the public's suspicions while completely side-stepping the issue of the second explosion, the fulminate of mercury, and the evidence of demolition charges inside the building's support columns.

Investigator John Cash

An example of this sudden willingness to tell all was provided by the self-proclaimed "independent" investigator and possible damage-control operative, John D. Cash, who inserted himself into the investigation in the role of a free-lance writer conducting research for a book about the bombing. The timing of his entrance on the scene coincided with public complaints from several family members of deceased victims about the unsatisfactory explanations offered by federal officials.

Understanding that no parasitic lie can exist without a modicum of truth on which to feed, one has to separate Cash's genuine discoveries of truth from



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his deliberate manufacture of misleading falsehoods. Cash skillfully used small bits of truth as bait, but reeled in his unsuspecting victims on a line of false conclusions.

If you wish to gain the trust and respect of a group you intend to infiltrate, you must offer something substantive on which to build the relationship. This Cash did with great expertise, bamboozling most people who came in contact with him. Those persons never again questioned his sources, conclusions, contacts, background, means of support, or real purpose in the investigation. In this regard, the persons Cash was allegedly serving as an independent investigator were completely deceived. But it would be almost six months after the implosion of the Murrah Building before Cash would show his true colors.

In the early stages of his independent investigation, Cash interviewed hundreds of witnesses, victims, and officials, including Dick Miller, the Assistant Fire Marshal for the Oklahoma City Fire Marshal's Office. Cash revealed the gist of his conversation with Miller in an interview with Chuck Allen. Mr. Cash said:

"Dick Miller, in very clear terms, readily admitted that there were explosives removed from the Murrah Building immediately after the disaster on the very same morning. And it was those devices that were removed from the Murrah Building which caused the evacuation of the rescue workers on at least three different occasions. It's important for people to understand that while they were in the process of removing these explosives, people were left bleeding to death and dying. This was a very real situation."

What is wrong with Cash's account of Miller's testimony? The admission by Dick Miller is genuine. That he made the statement has been confirmed in independent interviews. However, the sentences following Miller's statement are Cash's misleading conclusions. The devices "removed from the Murrah Building ... the very same morning" were *not* the materials stored by the BATF; and the BATF materials were *not* removed during the morning, as he implied in his next statement.

Cash continued, mixing fact with fantasy:

"We have all heard the news story that came out from the BATF and the FBI that these explosives were nothing but training devices. This is the most absolutely ludicrous excuse. If anyone believes that, they are overlooking the very simple and obvious fact that experts went into that building, experts removed police, fire, and civilian rescuers, and moved them blocks away while they endeavored to remove all of these explosive devices."

"Dick Miller told me that the 10:30 a.m. bomb scare was related to a two-foot by two-foot by two-foot box marked 'High Explosives.' In a subsequent interview with another reporter, Miller explained that he watched the bomb squad load that box up and haul it off. The box contained percussion caps that are used for C4."



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It is certainly possible that such a box existed and might have been removed from the building. However, Miller's statement in this regard has not been confirmed from any source other than himself. No other testimony about the box marked "high explosives" has been forthcoming from any other worker at the bomb site. While no corroborating testimony supports the existence of Miller's box, three independent witnesses have confirmed the existence and removal of the military canisters of fulminate of mercury. Again we are faced with the manufactured confusion concerning which explosives were removed when and by whom.

Additionally, in the quotation above Cash failed to identify the other reporter to whom Miller allegedly told this story. The most likely candidates for the other reporter are two gentlemen with whom Cash had many close dealings over many months and with whom he continues to associate: Arnold Hamilton of the *Dallas Morning News*, and Lawrence W. Myers of *Media Bypass* magazine. Neither of these gentlemen have come forward with this same story to confirm or deny Dick Miller's statements, and it is inconceivable that they would not do so if the statements were true and corroborated. If Miller intended that his statements be kept confidential, Cash violated that confidence by this disclosure.

Remembering to always consider carefully the conclusions reached by Cash, one must look at the last statement in the earlier paragraph: "The box contained percussion caps that are used for C4." Cash does not say that Dick Miller made this comment, nor does he state that Miller revealed this information to the other reporter. We cannot confirm that the box existed, or if it did, that it contained anything.

It is also extremely important to note that C4 is not activated by percussion caps, but rather by blasting caps. Percussion caps are used in the reloading of ammunition. When a percussive blow is struck against the percussion-cap end of a bullet by the hammer of a firearm, the powder in the bullet explodes and the resulting gases force the bullet from the barrel of the gun. Blasting caps, on the other hand, are usually (but not always) activated electronically. Under no circumstances would a box of percussion caps—which are not in and of themselves considered ammunition—be labeled as high explosives; nor would a box of percussion caps be any threat at all—certainly not one requiring the presence of the bomb squad. The alleged presence of percussion caps in a box labeled "high explosives" makes absolutely no sense whatsoever.

It is inconceivable that a man as knowledgeable as Dick Miller would confuse percussion caps with blasting caps; nor would he associate percussion caps with C4; nor would he state that the bomb squad was required to remove a box of percussion caps from the Murrah Building. In this regard it seems more likely that Cash has again reached a false conclusion or has purposely created a red herring with his comments about the contents of the alleged box.



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Continuing with Cash's interview, he launched into the BATF arsenal-room hypothesis:

"I had speculated early on that the BATF, the Secret Service, and the DEA were most likely storing explosives illegally in the building in their arsenal rooms. Sure enough, as time went by witnesses came forward, and we now have video tapes of the workers removing all kinds of ordnance from the ruins of the building on the day of April 19 [referring to the Sumter videotape]. I have discovered that indeed the DEA and the BATF had arsenal rooms on the ninth floor. I have obtained photographs of the BATF arsenal room. I have four different live witnesses on tape who have said that they watched the BATF unload their arsenal room two weeks after the blast. They helped them load different devices and firearms—every firearm known to man. There were hundreds of thousands of rounds of ammunition, explosives, boxes marked 'Explosives,' TOW missiles, hand grenades—just about everything short of a T-72 Russian tank was in that building. But the most important thing is that they were storing devices that were high explosives which definitely did not belong in a public building."

A sharp, knowledgeable reader might have caught every misleading statement in Cash's account and discerned truth from fiction. The fact remains that no matter what the BATF or any other federal agency might have been storing in the Murrah Building, those devices were *not* the canisters of fulminate of mercury removed from the building during the 10:30 a.m. evacuation, nor were they the cause of the secondary explosions, nor did they sever support columns—all of which we know did occur.

The fact that the BATF kept an arsenal answers none of the real questions in this situation, and the implications are not lost on a public that was reeling emotionally from the slaughter of innocent children. Cash's account served mainly to alter and color the perceptions of that public. Additionally, his alleged witnesses who watched the unloading of the BATF arsenal room *two weeks after the explosions* were obviously not referring to the materials removed on the afternoon of April 19, or the military materials removed that morning.

The real intent and thrust of Cash's statements are summed up in his own words: "... the most important thing is that they [the BATF] were storing devices that were high explosives which definitely did not belong in a public building."

The *most* important thing to whom? What "high explosives"? Cash has a very real problem here with the truth.

If the BATF materials were harmless and inert, then those materials did not contribute in any way to the destruction of the building or to the deaths of the victims.

If the BATF's materials were *not* inert, there is still no evidence that any of its materials detonated at any time (if they had, there would have been little



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material to remove two weeks later), and thus neither contributed to nor caused the devastation.

If the BATF's materials were *not* inert, and if any evidence existed that the rupture of the ninth-floor arsenal room resulted in a supplemental explosion, the location of that explosion would still not account for the column collapses in the building. And if such a thing occurred, the government would have to admit that there had been secondary explosions on April 19. This they have not done.

It must be understood that the actions of the BATF were certainly deplorable, and the storage of the weapons, ammunition, and explosives in the Murrah Building was definitely a violation of law. These things should vigorously be exposed and condemned. But these situations and conditions do not in any way explain what occurred that morning. The focus on the BATF's arsenal is a deliberately manipulated distraction designed to turn our attention away from much more serious—and certainly more factual—evidence.

Cash has been a key player in promoting the "BATF arsenal explosion" hypothesis, and in this regard he has led many good and well-intentioned people sadly astray. Many have fallen for his stories because the stories are based in fact. But the conclusions drawn from those facts are pure fiction.

Regrettably, two of the people most intensely involved in the independent investigations into the bombing, Glen Wilburn and State Representative Charles Key, have both fallen prey to Cash's performance. Because of Cash's influence on these two respectable gentlemen, the evidence and conclusions offered by Wilburn and Key must also be carefully weighed in order to separate the truth from the deceptions perpetrated by Cash.

Glen Wilburn, the grandfather of two small children killed in the day-care center, raised many issues in his own investigation of the bombing. Wilburn said, "I've got a lot of questions about it. I also have questions about explosives in the building. I have talked to an investigator who has taped interviews with civilian employees who worked in the building—taped almost immediately after the blast—and they tell of explosives that the BATF had stored in that building and that were carried out by BATF several times in the days following the explosions."

The investigator of whom Mr. Wilburn spoke was none other than John D. Cash. If BATF explosives were stored illegally in the Murrah Building, it is unlikely that civilian employees would be knowledgeable of that fact unless they were employed by the BATF—in which case their testimony "almost immediately after the blast" is even more unlikely. And of course, if the explosives were carried from the building by the BATF in the "days following the explosions," they were *not* the devices removed by the bomb squad at 10:30 a.m. on April 19.



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Wilburn continued: "We've been told that the first bomb scare was not, in fact, a bomb scare, but was designed to get the civilians and all personnel back. Then the BATF went in there to get their files and also to take explosives out which they had illegally stored, as well as munitions from the ninth floor. If that's true, we've got a serious problem because we have explosives being stored illegally in a public federal building."

Some of Wilburn's testimony and suppositions here are inaccurate. The first bomb scare absolutely was a real bomb scare. There is nothing phony or laughable about fulminate of mercury with detonators attached. According to nurse Toni Garrett, those devices were equipped with a timer set to detonate ten minutes after the first explosion, at the very time when a large number of rescuers would have arrived on the scene to assist the injured. The canisters of fulminate of mercury were military devices, not BATF arsenal weapons; nor were they Cash's alleged "percussion caps for C4."

As for the remainder of Wilburn's statement, additional investigation did confirm that the BATF did go back into the building to recover files and stored ordnance. But the BATF was not the only federal agency to do so. Although we did not realize it on the day of the explosions, it was later revealed that several distinct and separate agendas were being followed while the world thought the emphasis of all operations was to rescue the living and remove the dead.

Robin Jones, general manager of KQCV-KNTL Radio, uncovered similar information. In her well-researched book, *Where Was God at 9:02 A.M.?*, Jones wrote, "The Secret Service, ATF, FBI, DEA, and U.S. Marshals, all housed in the building, rushed their own investigators and agents to the scene, partly to help with the rescue effort, partly to recover sensitive material."

Ms. Jones interviewed an eyewitness who stated, "Three distinctly different operations were going on. FBI and Secret Service people were searching through file cabinets and the rubble for sensitive information. Everything, every ongoing investigation, every undercover agent, was bared to the world in that rubble. They had to get it. The ATF and FBI and others were also investigating the bombing itself ... And the third was the rescue operation."

Dick Miller's information and the testimony of the witnesses mentioned by Cash, Wilburn, and Jones make for a very good story. Almost too good and almost too convenient. But while it all casts a very embarrassing light on possible illegal activities of the BATF and other government agencies, it offers nothing to explain other more compelling evidence that indicates what may really have occurred on the morning of April 19. There was much more going on than was readily apparent, and much more happened that day that has not yet been revealed. It is this "much more" that officials are still frantically attempting to conceal.

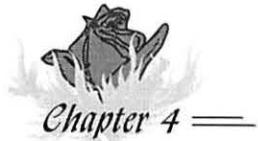


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***You never need think you can turn over any old falsehood
without a terrible squirming and scattering
of the horrid little population that dwells under it.***

— Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr.
The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table (1858)





THE SCAR OF IT WILL REMAIN

The Birth of the Official Story

The all-clear sounded shortly before eleven o'clock in the morning. Bomb-squad officers left the scene and the waiting firefighters, medical personnel, and civilian rescuers quickly filed back into the remains of the Murrah Building. Firemen had earlier reported finding survivors to whom they had been speaking through the cracks in the concrete floors, and they were anxious and impatient to return to work.

Said one medical worker as she hurried back into the bomb site, "The debris you see laying out in the street in piles and stuff, it's exactly like that in the building. It's dark and it's dusty. There are bodies and there is chaos—everywhere."

An Oklahoma City police officer, angered by the senseless horror of the scene, spoke with great frustration to the news media: "You wonder how somebody could be so heartless. You're not talking about only adult lives, but also children. There was no compassion for anybody. This is just a cold-blooded killing."

A few moments before the all-clear was announced, Governor Frank Keating (See Appendix A) ordered all state employees to go home for the day. The state legislature had recessed at about ten o'clock, and public hearings at the Corporation Commission headquarters at the Jim Thorpe Building, just southwest of the Capitol, were interrupted by evacuation orders.

Prior to leaving the buildings in the Capitol Complex, employees were asked to check their offices for anything unusual that they might not have



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seen before. They were also warned not to touch any strange object, but to immediately notify the security guards. As a precaution, Capitol police officers began systematically searching the State Capitol and the surrounding government buildings floor by floor. All buildings in the complex were evacuated and all entrances to the Capitol Building were closed except one. The entrance that remained open was heavily guarded by Capitol police.

Following the evacuation, explosives experts from the Oklahoma Highway Patrol, the Oklahoma County Sheriff's Department, Fort Sill Army Base, and Tinker Air Force Base swept the Capitol area in search of bombs. Later that afternoon, dogs trained to sniff out explosives were brought in to complete the sweep. Their first stop: the Governor's office. No explosives were reported found.

The Oklahoma County Courthouse was also evacuated with instructions that regular court business would resume the next day, but all jurors were excused from duty until the secured area became accessible.

In downtown Oklahoma City the blast had forced the closing and evacuation of the Federal Reserve Bank located at 226 Dean A. McGee. Most of the bank's windows had been blown in, and about two hundred employees were sent home for the day. Three other downtown banks—Bank of Oklahoma, Bancfirst, and City Bank—closed for the day because of damage to the buildings and their inaccessibility due to the roadblocks. Only essential personnel remained on duty at Boatmen's First National Bank of Oklahoma and Liberty Bank and Trust. Employees were instructed not to come to work the next day unless they were contacted by their supervisors. The general guideline was: if you don't get a telephone call, stay home.

As the Oklahoma State Capitol Complex and downtown businesses were being evacuated, we learned that in many other areas of the country federal buildings were being cleared of workers. Evacuations were ordered in some instances, and security was intensified at the IRS Building in Boston, Massachusetts, and at the Federal Buildings in Ft. Worth, Texas; Omaha, Nebraska; Wilmington, Delaware; Detroit, Michigan; Boise, Idaho; Portland, Oregon; Des Moines, Iowa; Indianapolis, Indiana; St. Louis, Missouri; Greeneville, Tennessee; Cincinnati, Dayton, and Steubenville, Ohio; East Palo Alto, Riverside, and Santa Ana, California; and throughout the State of New York. Security was increased generally at federal buildings in New Mexico and Washington State, and at the U.S. Capitol and the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C.

Copy-cat bomb threats were causing great alarm throughout the United States. Law-enforcement officials and terrorism experts tried to calm the public. Said Professor James Fox of Northeastern University (also an investigator into the World Trade Center bombing): "Despite the fact that we hear of these events and they make major headlines, it's still a rare event and we should not be paranoid into thinking that we are constantly at risk." Other similar announcements did little to settle the rising fear in the nation.



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After the news of the bombing spread across the country, U.S. Deputy Marshals in Denver, Colorado, were seen guarding the Federal Building and the U.S. Courthouse in that city with shotguns and automatic rifles. Armed guards were also posted at day-care centers for federal employees in Denver, Colorado, and in Ogden, Utah. The whole country seemed to be on alert because of the Oklahoma City disaster, not knowing if it was an isolated incident or the first of a series of orchestrated attacks.

In the meantime, however, rescue workers at the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building faced a new problem. Cellular phone frequencies were jammed by the heavy calling traffic, and police and medical personnel were finding it very difficult to manage their interagency communications.

Southwestern Bell Telephone Company evacuated 918 employees from its operations in five major downtown buildings, but maintained enough technical staff to set up emergency communication systems at the bomb site. Spokesman Tom Hunter said, "Because of the heavy telephone calling traffic, we have done some selected call blocking to keep the system from being overloaded to a crisis point. However," he assured the public, "no 911 calls have been blocked."

Bell's parking lot at 800 N. Harvey was quickly transformed into the central command location for federal investigators and the Oklahoma National Guard; and emergency land-line phone banks were set up in two locations for use by emergency personnel. The Cellular One Company then provided 225 cellular phones and free cellular service to emergency services personnel to ease communication problems. Radio and television stations made urgent pleas to the general public to stay off all telephone lines to help clear the communication jam.

Shortly after eleven o'clock Mayor Ron Norick granted a curbside interview to the press. He was the first official to make a public statement revealing the embryonic version of what would later become the official bomb story as it would be told by federal law-enforcement agencies and, consequently, the media. This story would eventually go through many alterations, adaptations, and transformations, but at this early hour the tale was just beginning.

It was during Mayor Norick's initial street interview that we learned that the official story was going to center around a single vehicle loaded with explosives. The official version of this vehicle would change style, color, make, and size, and the size of the bomb would also grow dramatically in the week that followed. But in its first telling, as the rescue workers were reentering the Federal Building after the first bomb scare, this was the Mayor's report:

"There are no theories at this point," Mayor Norick said, "only speculations. Obviously, it was a bomb—a car bomb. It was a very large device. Why, we can't imagine; but there's a lot of injury and there's a lot of death, and we've got to get the people out. There are still a lot of people in the building."



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When asked where the search for the other bombs had been concentrated during the bomb scare at ten-thirty, Mayor Norick, gesturing broadly toward the Murrah Building, replied: "Well, in that whole area. It's anywhere in that area. If this is a car bomb, it could be anywhere. They've got dogs, so they're checking it out. They're probably the best way to find devices, and they're using them extensively."

The Mayor was questioned about the location of the alleged car bomb at the time of the explosion, and was asked how he knew where it had been parked. "We know where it was parked from the Police Department and from other people on site," said Norick. "It left about an eight-foot crater. You can see where the car was. At first they thought it was in the parking garage, but apparently it was a car bomb on the street. It blew a crater about eight feet deep in the street and melted a couple of cars together. They'll let you all in there eventually and you can take a look at it."

But the Mayor spoke too soon. No media personnel would ever be allowed into the perimeter to inspect the crater at any time. As previously mentioned, the crater was deliberately filled prior to the inspection made by representatives of defense attorney Stephen Jones and his independent investigators. In addition, to facilitate the rescue operation the crater was completely covered with sheets of plywood, and no one other than federal officials was ever allowed investigative access to that portion of the bomb site.

As the Mayor's speech ended, KFOR Television Channel 4 news anchor Kevin Ogle began reading an AP news release directly from the news wire. He announced, "Other explosives were put into cars that were driven into the parking garage ... "

But before he could finish reading the statement he was sharply cut off by his co-anchor Devin Scillian who suddenly changed the subject, and nothing more was ever said about this at any time on any network by any newscaster. That brief and truncated announcement was the only information ever released by the media that began to address the issue of explosives cutting the support columns in the building. From this point forward, the severing of the columns would never be addressed by the media or any federal officials. It was an issue that would be completely ignored.

The Channel 4 newscast abruptly cut downtown to reporter Jayna Davis, who quoted a statement made by Oklahoma City Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen, whereby another element was added to the official story. Said Ms. Davis, "Jon Hansen just told me that the blast was so tremendous that a crankshaft was blown a half a block away."

A vehicle part would later become key evidence that would point an accusing finger at the three men ultimately indicted in the bombing. But exactly which automotive part was going to be responsible for the investigative breakthrough had not yet been solidly established in the official story. Over



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the days that followed, this vital vehicle part would be described by different eyewitnesses as a crankshaft, an axle, a differential, a rear transaxle gear, a rear bumper, and a piece of the frame.

It seemed that every automotive part discovered in the area had to be a portion of the bomb vehicle. Few seemed to consider that there were over 600 vehicles destroyed in the immediate vicinity of the Murrah Building (and many more outside that location), and auto parts of every size and description were scattered over a quarter-mile area around the building. It took federal officials a little time to determine which automotive part of many was *the* part that held the investigative key, but once they made up their minds and juggled things a bit at the scene, the axle story became etched in stone.

The suspicious automotive part was seen in at least four different locations, ranging in distance from a half-block to two blocks from the Murrah Building, both east and west of the bomb site. The actual evidence-bearing part, the actual location of the part, and the real identity of the witness who allegedly found the part have remained the subject of much controversy among people who have continued to track the inconsistencies of the federal investigation.

The crankshaft mentioned by Jon Hansen was located a half block to the northwest of the building.

Governor Frank Keating claimed to have found a suspicious axle two blocks due east of the Murrah Building. He later claimed to have found his suspicious axle *one* block away, so his previous find might have walked a little closer into town.

A police source, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said FBI agents had found an axle of a *van* believed to have carried the bomb about two blocks northeast of the scene.

KFOR news anchor Sean McLaughlin described a different axle as video footage of mangled metal was televised: "You are looking at an axle sticking out. From what we are told, that axle belonged on the car which the explosives were in, and the force of that explosion literally lodged that axle into another car, fused it, and melted it into another car."

ABC national media representatives spoke of the discovery of an axle that "might have come from a brown one-ton *pickup truck*," and described "very molten" truck parts located two blocks from the scene.

Finally in a televised interview, a local police officer laid claim to Keating's mysterious axle and stated that he was the person who had actually found it one block northeast of the building. It was never clear which of the four axles seen and described was the real bomb-vehicle axle.

Architectural design team coordinator James Loftis reported that he saw the differential of the bomb vehicle approximately 500 feet to the west of the



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Murrah Building in front of the Regency Tower Apartments, and stated that he was told by law-enforcement officials that it was from the bomb *car*.

James L. Pate, a writer for *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, claimed to have seen the rear transaxle gear from the bomb vehicle smashed into a fence located one block northeast of the building.

Richard Sherrow, reporter for *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, found a rear bumper of a *Ryder truck* two and a half blocks from the blast site. The initial examination of the bumper seemed to indicate that the truck may have been a Ford Model EC-350.

It was with a great sensation of *déjà vu* that we learned—once the axle was named as the official bomb-vehicle identifying part—that the mysterious axle just “happened” to have the vehicle identification number on it, just like the mysterious axle discovered in the World Trade Center Bombing. In spite of the fact that the many suspicious automotive parts came from a car, a van, a pickup truck, a half-ton truck, a one-ton truck, and a *large* truck, they were all supposed to be from the bomb vehicle. This situation was going to take some serious sorting and juggling.

At approximately 11:15 a.m. Governor Frank Keating telephoned President Bill Clinton to seek further help and ask for an emergency declaration. The Governor also requested that federal investigative and rescue workers be sent to Oklahoma City. President Clinton stated that he would send the exact same team that had investigated the World Trade Center bombing in 1993 to assist in the Oklahoma City situation. Members of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) were activated on a regional level and dispatched by the FBI because of the perceived potential for more problems in the area.

Immediately following these announcements, the Associated Press newswire carried this statement from Washington, D.C.: “The head of the BATF now says that it appears it was a car bomb with as much as 1200 pounds of explosives packed inside.”

Here was another piece of the official story—the 1200 pounds of explosives. This figure would increase greatly over the days to come as federal officials found it necessary to make certain that the proposed bomb was large enough to have caused such damage. Initially it was reported that the bomb contained 1200 pounds of explosives. Later this figure increased to become an indefinite “couple of thousand pounds,” followed by “several thousand pounds,” and finally expanded into 4800 pounds of ammonium nitrate fertilizer and fuel oil. No one ever explained this remarkable growth spurt.

As the size of the bomb increased, the suspected transporting vehicle also had to increase in size, which it did. The growth of the street bomb was halted only when the by-then officially designated bomb vehicle had reached the limits of its cargo capacity.





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Initially it was reported that the bomb-bearing vehicle was simply an automobile. Later, Police Sgt. Kim Hughes reported that the bomb had been carried in a blue National Car Rental minivan with Texas license plates. By Thursday the news media was reporting that the bomb had been brought into Oklahoma City in a mid-sized half-ton yellow Ryder Rental truck. The Ryder Rental truck eventually became a twenty-foot cargo carrier. This final version of the truck was large enough to accommodate the alleged 4800 pounds of ammonium nitrate fertilizer and fuel oil—which just happened to be the largest Ryder truck available to the suspects on the day that the truck was supposed to have been rented. At this point the bomb and vehicle statistics were finally settled by the feds.

Remarkably, the Ryder Rental Company seemed to have become the agency of choice among terrorists. Both the World Trade Center bomb and the Oklahoma City bomb had supposedly been transported in Ryder vehicles. It was later revealed that both the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms had long-standing user arrangements with Ryder Systems, Inc. Ironically, in the weeks that followed, the bomb-site area



PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

Photograph was taken during the search-and-removal period. In the lower right-hand side of the photo can be seen three Ryder rental trucks (arrows) parked on the east side of the Journal Record Building. These trucks were used by the FBI and BATF for evidence collection and debris removal. There were numerous Ryder trucks on the scene at all times, from the day of the bombing until the building was imploded on May 23, 1995.



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was inundated with yellow Ryder Rental trucks used by federal agencies in the removal of equipment and materials from the former Murrah Building. Also of note was the fact that Mitchel Anthony Burns (See Appendix A)—Chairman, President, and CEO of Ryder Systems, Inc.—was listed on the membership roster of the Club of 300 of the Trilateral Commission. That particular roster was publicly released April 15, 1995, and was published in its entirety in *Veritas* newspaper on June 5, 1995. (Copies of the roster can be obtained by written request addressed to The Trilateral Commission, N.A., 345 East 46th Street, Suite 711, New York, NY 10017.)

At 11:30 on the morning of the blasts, the official story was still in its infancy. We were told that a car bomb containing 1200 pounds of explosives had blown up in the street in front of the Murrah Building and that the important automotive evidence at that time was a crankshaft found one-half block to the west of the site of the explosion, located in front of the Regency Tower Apartments.

Teamwork and Cooperation

Again we went into a holding pattern. There was nothing to do but wait while rescue workers dug tirelessly through the rubble to free the few survivors they could find. At this time the bomb scene was flooded with personnel from every conceivable agency and department, and more were arriving every moment. Among the crowds on the scene were:

- firefighters
- sheriff's deputies
- tactical police teams
- small-town police officers
- BATF agents
- FBI agents
- arson and explosive experts
- state and federal investigators
- disaster team members
- FEMA representatives
- Air Force rescue-squad members
- National Guardsmen
- medical and disaster volunteers
- restaurateurs providing food
- store owners bringing in supplies
- relief workers serving the rescuers,
- media representatives, and
- busloads of additional authorities and politicians from all over the United States.





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Throughout the morning mediflight helicopters had been landing in nearby parking lots to unload supplies and remove survivors, but the number of survivors being found was dwindling rapidly. Reporter Tara Blume was stationed at the triage center at NE 5th and Oklahoma Street and found there were no victims to treat. She witnessed many army stretchers, bags of ice, boxes of water, and other supplies being collected by the Red Cross in that location, but the medical personnel were standing around waiting in uncertainty. Next to the triage center over fourteen ambulances were waiting by the side of the road to go into service the instant they were needed.

Ms. Blume's first hint of what was ahead came when she realized that the area was also being set up to serve as a temporary morgue storage facility. The body bags began arriving, and a refrigerated tractor-trailer rig was brought in and parked beside the Red Cross supply depot.

Medical personnel who were stationed at this triage center, at the EMSA triage center located at Couch and Harvey, and the triage center and temporary morgue at the children's playground area south of the Murrah Building waited for the next wave of the injured. Also waiting was nurse Elizabeth Collier, a fifteen-year-veteran at St. Anthony Hospital. Earlier that morning she had faced the greatest challenge of her career—finding space in the hospital to care for the hundreds of injured patients who had arrived during the first hour after the explosion.

In a later interview Ms. Collier described the controlled chaos at St. Anthony Hospital. "The first of the injured began arriving at about 9:15 a.m. After that, at any one point in time we had between 300 and 500 people in our emergency room drive[way]. So being able to triage the patients, family members, and volunteers to the correct areas became very important so we could free up the driveway to take care of the patients. We also had multiple staff members, physicians, and nurses. And the hall was filled with supplies so that we could triage again all those who came into the hospital. Whenever I went, whether it was to the outpatient clinic, here in the emergency room, or in our intensive care unit, I remember the crunch of the glass under my feet. I don't think there were one or two heroes. I think there were thousands."

Shortly after 11:30 a.m. the following announcement came across the Associated Press newswire: "A 52-member rescue-and-search squad is flying in from Phoenix to help search for victims of the explosion. The Arizona Fire Department says that the group includes physicians, technicians, heavy-equipment operators, and a radio specialist. The group is one of only five or six such rescue units in the nation, and it is equipped to help detect sounds from people trapped inside the building."

That news encouraged everyone who heard it. If any situation required the specialized equipment and expertise of the Phoenix team, this was it. Again, optimistic expectations rose of finding survivors in the Murrah Building,



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and for a few more hours hopes were high. None of the waiting medical personnel realized that there would be no second wave of injured arriving to receive their expert care and attention. There would be other living victims pulled from the rubble of the Murrah Building during the course of the afternoon, but they would be few in number.

After that night there would be no more.

Every rescuer on the scene hoped to find a living survivor. When one was found, the news spread rapidly through all of the teams at the site and raised the energy level of everyone working in the building. One unidentified firefighter, reluctant to be called a hero, told his story.

"I was down in the basement, and I had asked everyone to be quiet in the hope that when I yelled I would get a response from somebody, and I did. There happened to be a lady that was trapped under there. I'm not sure how long it took us to get her out, but we were down there for quite some time. Once we started getting the debris moved, there was about eighteen inches of water in which she was laying. I had to remove my helmet and crawl under some of the debris to get underneath there with her. I asked her what her name was. I told her who I was and I held her hand. I told her we were going to get her out.

"Once we got her out of the debris, I suddenly realized we had to somehow get her out of the building itself. I wasn't sure how that was going to happen. But I turned around and the rest of the rescue workers on my team had cleared a path from where we had been working all the way to the door on the east side of the building. It was just like walking in an aisle in the supermarket. That's how good of a job they did for us. It was an amazing example of teamwork and cooperation, and it really raised our spirits high."

There would be other demonstrations of such teamwork at the community level. As the noon hour approached, the Oklahoma City Fire Marshal realized it was going to be necessary to feed the rescue workers. Miraculously, the Oklahoma Restaurant Association had scheduled the opening of its annual trade show for noon that day. About a quarter of the 450 exhibitors were at that very moment in the Myriad Convention Center, located five blocks south of the Murrah Building, preparing food samples to distribute when the show opened. The Fire Marshal contacted Bill Clift, the host of the trade show, and convention chairman Ned Shadid.

Immediately, the convention exhibitors unanimously agreed to cancel the convention, and then changed the focus of their work. With unified effort, pooling their equipment and supplies, the restaurateurs began preparing lunches for the rescue workers.

Over the next nine days the exhibitors of the trade show prepared over 20,000 meals per day. The meals were served not just to rescue and relief workers, but also to people at three rescue-relief shelters near the bomb site and to families awaiting news of their loved ones. In addition, tons of





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supplies of every type from the community, and then distributed those supplies to the rescue workers.

The Salvation Army was the only relief organization allowed to set up a canteen inside the restricted area. They supplied food and beverages, provided approximately 3000 ministers, employees, and volunteers to assist in the rescue and relief effort, and counseled 1600 victims and family members during the crisis.

Five blocks from the bomb site, City Church immediately set up food and shelter for rescue and relief workers and displaced persons. In spite of its small kitchen facility, City Church served approximately 1500 meals every day for nearly two weeks.

The people in the community wanted to help in any way possible. Over the next two weeks they cooperated in innumerable ways to help meet the needs of the rescuers. The single, most-often-repeated story told by any rescue worker is the tale of the "genuine, unspendable Oklahoma dollar." It has been told and retold by every news source and has appeared in virtually every local newspaper. This true story was originally told by Oklahoma City Police Chaplain Jack Poe. With a view toward making its publication unanimous, it is included here.

"I was talking to one of the men who had come in from the World Trade Center rescue operation," said Poe, grinning from ear to ear. "This guy from New York said, 'Look here. I have an unspendable Oklahoma dollar,' and he pulled a dollar bill out of his pocket.

"I came here with expense money," he explained, "but I can't spend it. Nobody will take it. You fed me, clothed me, and sheltered me for free. You even did my laundry and cut my hair for free. When I was working the World Trade Center bombing, I had to walk eight blocks for a meal, and then had to pay ten dollars for a cold hamburger from a vendor on the street. Nothing was provided for us there. Nothing. I cannot believe the love you have here. And this is a genuine, unspendable Oklahoma dollar."

Washington, Waco, and the Experts

As the communities in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area were gearing up to support the rescue workers with open hearts and open wallets, another effort was under way. Federal agencies were preparing their statements and lining up their experts to take over the investigation of the bombing. National pundits were already saying, "A political toll has been exacted in Oklahoma City." This was the first of a veritable onslaught of similar remarks that would dominate the news for weeks to come.

At noon White House Spokesman Mike McCurry held a press conference in Washington, D.C. Said McCurry, "Here at the White House, we can just now reveal how federal agencies are now responding, and we're satisfied, based on the reports that we have from the Department of Justice, from GSA, from



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the FBI, from FEMA, from the Secret Service, from the Marshals Service, and from all the relevant federal agencies that might have a little hand in dealing with this incident, that we have a very good federal response in hand.

"The federal government has activated an emergency response plan that we train for and that we have in place so that we can coordinate an interagency response to incidents like this. The Department of Justice had already responded, had FBI personnel in place, and a variety of law-enforcement efforts are under way. They have established a mobile command center in Oklahoma City with FBI, FEMA, Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the Marshals Service, and GSA in place to give updated information to folks here in Washington.

"The President has directed for the emergency-response effort that James Lee Witt, the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, will go to Oklahoma City to coordinate the emergency response. We'll have the Department of Justice coordinating the various law-enforcement efforts that will be under way, and FEMA is responding to the emergency situation in place.

"Mr. [Leon] Panetta has been briefing the President regularly. The President, I expect, like many Americans, has been watching the developments as he sees them on television and getting updates from the Chief of Staff as we go along.

"I'd ask that you [the press]—for inquiries about the various things going on in Oklahoma City related to law enforcement—that you stay in close contact with Carl Stern over at Justice. And for the work that FEMA will be coordinating, that Maury Goodman will be a good point of contact. He'll be coordinating some of the interagency public affairs efforts as we go along."

Immediately after McCurry's speech, the BATF repeated on national television that the bombing was caused by a parked car that contained between 1000 and 1200 pounds of explosives. We were off and running at full speed on the speculation and propaganda racetrack. It was going to be a long day.

On *NBC News* Tom Brokaw hosted a live interview with Neil Livingstone, an expert on terrorism and terrorist bombings. Said Brokaw, "Neil Livingstone was recently in Oklahoma City giving a talk on—of all subjects—terrorism, to the Oklahoma City Police Department. And he joins us now from Washington. Why would Oklahoma City be a target for this kind of thing, Mr. Livingstone?"

Livingstone replied, "Well, it wouldn't traditionally be a target. Usually, terrorists strike in the major media centers. We think of terrorist attacks being much more likely in Washington or New York or Miami or L.A.—not Oklahoma City. But what we learned from the attacks in Argentina by Islamic fundamentalists a couple of years ago is that they often also go where your security is the weakest, where people least expect it."

"Why were you talking about terrorism in Oklahoma City?" asked Brokaw.



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"Actually, I've given several speeches out there, ironically, in the last couple of years, on terrorism to civic groups. There is a strong interest in public affairs and particularly this problem of terrorism. I think that the fact that they have so many people involved in the oil industry, and quite a few students from Middle Eastern countries who are studying various types of engineering in Oklahoma may have also contributed to it."

It was time to bring up the Muslim fundamentalist terrorist accusation again, just in case anyone had forgotten the statements made three hours earlier by Dave McCurdy and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen. James Fox, an investigator in the World Trade Center bombing and professor at Northeastern University offered his cautious opinion: "I think we could say there are similarities to some of the Middle Eastern groups. There are similarities to some of the groups that have been active in Europe in recent years, especially given the fact that it's an enormous bomb apparently contained in a van or a truck. But to go beyond that, I'd be reluctant to do so."

But Professor Richard Dekmenjian from USC in Los Angeles held another view: "I would be very, very careful in not immediately ascribing this to Islamic extremists. I can think of a number of homegrown organizations—the cultic millenarians, the people up in the Idaho panhandle, the Messianic types, the neo-Nazis—that could be responsible for this."

It must have also seemed like a good time to bring in the big guns, and the alleged Waco connection was mentioned by Neil Livingstone as a possible motivation for the bombing. Not all experts agreed. James Fox remarked, "I'd be surprised if it was part of David Koresh's group from Waco simply because from what I know of the Waco situation, his followers did not have the sophistication needed to put a bomb of these dimensions together and make it blow."

In spite of expert opinions to the contrary, newscasters everywhere began speculating that the Murrah Building bombing might have occurred because this day—April 19, 1995—was the second anniversary of the siege at the Branch Davidian church near Waco, Texas.

For some reason members of the news media have never referred to Mount Carmel as what it really was—a Christian church. Nor have they ever referred to the members of the Branch Davidian Church as its congregation but as "cult members." Davidian leader David Koresh was never referred to as the pastor or minister of that church, but was always dubbed the "cult leader." With that same disregard for truth and reliance on innuendo, the media began speculating again.

From these expert readers of the teleprompter now came many statements that the Murrah Building might have been the target of the bombing attack because Oklahoma City FBI Director Bob Ricks had also been a major player and FBI spokesman during the Waco Massacre.



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Although there was a small FBI office in the Murrah Building, no one bothered to mention that the primary offices of Bob Ricks and the FBI were located five miles away from the Murrah Building. An Oklahoma City spokesman for the FBI, Dan Vogel, would not comment on the possibility of a connection between the two events.

It was further speculated that the building might have been blown up because agents of the BATF—which had stormed the church at Mount Carmel, burned it to the ground, and murdered most of that Christian congregation—had an office in the Murrah Building.

No one bothered to inform the public that there were no more than a maximum of twenty BATF employees who worked in the Murrah Building, and none of those employees had served as ground troops during the Waco Massacre.

No one mentioned that the BATF offices, which were on the ninth floor in the southeast corner of the building, could have been totally destroyed had the driver of the alleged bomb vehicle parked on the east side of the building instead of on the north side—an inconceivable tactical error for a dedicated terrorist if the BATF had actually been the target.

No one was talking about the fact that the BATF office was practically empty of employees on the morning of April 19. In fact, information originating with BATF agents themselves placed only four BATF employees in the building at the time of the explosions. Everyone else was conveniently out of the office that morning ... but that is another story for Volume Two.

No one mentioned that the orders for the final fatal BATF assault in Texas had come from Attorney General Janet Reno, and she certainly did not have an office in the Murrah Building.

The media was grabbing at very elusive straws and coming to the most illogical and unsubstantiated conclusions. Again, no one was asking the right questions. When you are in a hurry to find a terrorist, any motivation will do as long as it points an accusing finger.

Prior Knowledge

(See Appendix D)

News anchor Kevin Ogle interviewed Dr. Randall Heather, another expert in terrorism. This interview offered the first piece of information that led to many other inquiries about prior knowledge of the bombing by federal law-enforcement agencies.

In keeping with the questions asked of other terrorism experts that day, Dr. Heather was asked why Oklahoma City should have been a target for a bomb attack. As we had observed in similar interviews earlier, his responses were in line with the official story. He replied:

"Anyplace you have a federal building you have a target, and these buildings could be anywhere in the United States. A car bomb is the easiest



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mechanism by which to deliver a device very close to a target. And there are very few security measures short of cordoning off parts of the city—as they are thinking about doing in Washington right now with Pennsylvania Avenue—to protect against such an attack."

The next predictable question concerned who might be responsible for the bombing, and possible claims of responsibility by terrorist groups. Dr. Heather offered his speculations, which touched every base and echoed the other guesses offered by his colleagues in the field.

"I believe the Nation of Islam who were involved in the World Trade Center Bombing—Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman's group—claimed responsibility for that event, but this claim of responsibility was done after the explosion. This discounts the value of that claim. Obviously, had it happened two or three minutes beforehand, it would have been of tremendous value. I don't know myself.

"I do know that there had been a threat phoned in to the FBI last week. I don't know what the nature of that was. But yes, they do generally try to claim credit. But remember that all targets for terrorism are symbolic. We have to divine what was the symbolism of that building."

Dr. Heather's comment about the FBI's prior knowledge of a possible attack on a federal building in Oklahoma City (confirmed by many other sources) would become a matter of great controversy in the months following the bombing.

During the afternoon press conference, Oklahoma City FBI Director Bob Ricks blatantly denied that the FBI had had any prior warning whatsoever about a possible bombing. His claims were echoed by Weldon Kennedy, FBI spokesman during the bombing investigation. Similar denials were issued by the Justice Department in Washington, D.C., until the evidence later showed that they were all lying. After those lies were made public, officials had no further comment on the matter.

Later evidence clearly established that the FBI not only had received advance notice of a possible terrorist attack in Oklahoma City, but had also telephoned a warning to the Oklahoma City Fire Department on Friday, April 14, 1995, five days before the explosions occurred. This information was confirmed by Oklahoma City Assistant Fire Chief Charles Gaines, Assistant Chief Dispatcher Harvey Weathers, and Dispatcher Carl Purcer.

In his investigation of the FBI warning to the Fire Department, Glen Wilburn confronted Harvey Weathers about officials' denials of the prior warning. Said Weathers: "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."

The FBI warning to the Oklahoma City Fire Department on Friday, April 14, was recorded by the Fire Department's radio log tapes. But there was a problem. Although the log tapes from April 19 are intact, someone "accidentally" taped over the logs from the previous Friday, removing all proof of the



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FBI warning. At the time of this writing, the Fire Department is fighting a subpoena of Dispatchers Weathers and Purcer in a civil suit filed against one of the bombing defendants.

Additionally, information came to light that the BATF and the FBI were allegedly involved in a sting operation that was to have taken place during the night of Tuesday, April 18. Lester D. Martz, spokesman for the Dallas office of the BATF, stated that the sting operation had failed because "the bad guys didn't show up." He further stated that the sting operation was called off at 6:30 a.m. on Wednesday morning, April 19, just two-and-a-half hours prior to the explosions that destroyed the Murrah Building.

When it was determined that the sting operation was not going to proceed as planned, the bomb squad was called to check both the Murrah Building and the Federal Courthouse for explosive devices. Bomb-squad personnel and vehicles were seen by many people in the area and workers in both buildings.

Norma Smith, an employee at the Federal Courthouse, observed the bomb squad searching the building early on the morning of April 19. Said Smith, "The day was fine, everything was normal when I arrived at 7:45 to begin my day at 8:00 a.m., but as I walked through my building's parking lot, I remember seeing the bomb squad. I really did not think much about it—especially when we did not hear any 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.'"

It wasn't too long after Norma had spoken with her co-workers that her ominous words came to pass. Norma was but one of many witnesses who observed the bomb squad searching both the Federal Courthouse and the Murrah Building prior to the bombing on April 19.

According to *New American* reporter William Jasper, "A mother whose infant son was killed in the Murrah day-care center says she saw bomb squad personnel standing across the street from the Murrah Building an hour before the explosion. This mother said she had just dropped her child off at the center at 8:00 a.m. and was driving south on Robinson when she saw several men in dark jackets with 'Bomb Squad' in big letters across their backs standing in front of the federal courthouse."

In an interview with the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, Oklahoma City attorney Daniel J. Adomitis said, "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?'"

In response to these and other eyewitness reports, Dallas BATF spokesman Lester Martz replied, "I have not come across any information that any kind of a bomb unit was at the building prior to the bombing."



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To make matters worse, government documents were later revealed that indicated that the U.S. Marshal Service in Denver, Colorado, had made an immunity deal with a paid government informant who had knowledge of the pending bombing and had forewarned government and law-enforcement officials about it. Redacted copies of this letter were made public by defense attorney Stephen Jones in his press conference of August 10, 1995. A copy of the letter of immunity can be viewed in Appendix D.

U.S. Attorney Henry Solano confirmed that his Denver office granted immunity to the informant in September 1994. U.S. Marshal Service representative in Denver, Tina Rowe, denied the entire incident. According to Solano, the informant was a drug courier making delivery runs between Kingman, Arizona, and Las Vegas, Nevada. The informant stated that he overheard conversations about plans to blow up buildings in the Midwest in mid-April 1995. The informant further said that the alleged conspirators were Latin Americans and/or Middle Eastern Americans with Arabic names. When later questioned about the men accused of the bombing, the informant denied that he had ever seen them or heard their names mentioned in connection with the bombing conspiracy.

On April 6, 1995, the informant delivered a hand-written letter to the Justice Department in Washington, D.C., which stated: "After leaving Denver for what I thought would be 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 ... I would not ignore this specific request for you personally to contact me immediately regarding a plot to blow up a federal bldg ... 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 in the letter of immunity."

Tina Rowe of the U.S. Marshal Service and representatives from the Justice Department continue to deny that this letter was received, although the letter has the signature of the office recipient on it.

It was undeniable that the Justice Department, the U.S. Marshals, the FBI, and the BATF had prior knowledge of the potential for a bombing at a federal facility in the Oklahoma City area. It was undeniable that upper-level authorities in the federal government also had prior knowledge. What could we find out about the failed BATF sting operation scheduled for the previous night? Why was that operation being conducted in Oklahoma City but was seemingly directed out of the Dallas office? Why, in the face of so much evidence to the contrary, were federal officials vehemently denying that they had any forewarning of any kind?

This situation raised some very interesting questions, not the least of which were these: If the bomb squad found nothing in its search of the Murrah Building and the Federal Courthouse a mere sixty minutes prior to the explosions, when were the column charges placed which severed the



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support columns in the building? When were the clearly labeled canisters of fulminate of mercury set within the building? And, more importantly, by whom?

*To tell a falsehood is like the cut of a sabre;
for though the wound may heal,
the scar of it will remain.*

— Sa'di

Gulistan (1258), translated by James Ross







THE STRUCTURE OF THE PLAY

The Media

At noon that Wednesday, a mere three hours after the explosions, we knew only that several secondary explosive devices had been found, devices that resembled military bombs; that these bombs had been defused and removed from the Murrah Building by the bomb squad; and finally, that the rescue workers were being allowed to return to the building.

No one will ever know how many people died alone and unaided in the rubble while the bombs were being removed. The rescue and medical workers filed back into the mountain of debris laced with tiny tunnels and voids where the survivors remained trapped. As the workers began moving back in, the press was kept at a distance, and the immediate area was now solidly ringed with yellow tape.

From a street corner near the building, reporter Jayna Davis questioned Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen about the progress of the rescue effort. Chief Hansen, always wary of speculation, gave us a cautiously worded first-hand account of what was happening at the scene.

"It's going very, very slowly," Hansen said. "We have to move slowly because there is still a danger of a building collapse. It's been very frustrating for us because our folks want to be in there doing things. We are in there, we're talking to victims through void spaces, and people are crying out to us. We're shoring the structure as best we can with hydraulic tools. Some of the dogs are at work in the building, and some listening devices are in use. It's just very, very slow work. We are able to reach through cracks and hold people's hands and reassure them as best we can. But actually getting to them is going to take a long, long time."

¶ 111 ¶





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"We're doing the best we can on the rubble that we can get through, but we're going to have to bring in heavy equipment and lift up some rods and flooring. This is very similar to what happened in California in the earthquake, where buildings came down and floors pancaked on other floors. There are a lot of void spaces we need to check."

"We've got a number of fatalities inside the building and we've been counting those as we go to the people who are alive. Again, you see firefighters coming out of the building with tears in their eyes. They're dealing with buried people they can't get to, but we're making those efforts, and we're going to do the very best that we can."

Ms. Davis asked, "We have unconfirmed reports from earlier this morning on the scanner that there is flooding in the basement area and the lower floors. Is that true?"

"The explosion severed lines in several of the buildings," Chief Hansen replied. "We got a report that we have had some water mains break and some gas mains break inside the building, and that's something we have to deal with to make sure we don't have any secondary explosions. So there may still be a danger of that even though the utility companies have done a marvelous job of getting those utilities cut off. It's very dangerous right now. The building is extremely unstable and we could have another collapse with our firefighters inside."

When asked to offer an estimate of how long the operation might take, Chief Hansen greatly underestimated the duration. "We're talking about the possibility of being here for several days. Right now we're gearing up for a night operation with generators and lights, and we'll work around the clock. We'll work as long as we have to until we're sure, or as sure as we can be, that all of our survivable victims in there are taken care of. It may be a couple of days."

As the work progressed, the focus of the operation would change after the first week from search and rescue to search and removal. Firefighters and military personnel would work at the bomb site for the next sixteen days before the building was officially turned over to the FBI for a final investigation prior to the building's demolition.

Early on the afternoon of April 19 the national and international press began trickling in. A few hours later they would form a veritable torrent. A media center (called "Satellite City") was being organized on NW 7th Street between Hudson and Harvey—two blocks north and one block west of the Murrah Building. From this time forward all information coming from the scene would be carefully arranged, and any video footage of the building would have to be shot from a crane or by a press-pool cameraman.

A 4000-foot mean sea level (or 2900-foot vertical) no-fly zone was established later that day covering a three-mile radius around the bomb site for all aircraft not involved in the rescue operation. This ended all aerial views



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of the building and rescue operations. From the media center only the upper five stories of the Murrah Building were visible, and all ground operations were blocked from view by the remains of the Oklahoma Water Resources Board Building and the Journal Record Building.

The outer boundaries, which were hurriedly being set up with road blocks and crime-scene tape, extended two blocks east and west (with the block containing the Murrah Building in the center), two blocks north, and three blocks south of the building, creating a twenty-square-block secured area. This initial perimeter was guarded at first by police officers and members of the Oklahoma Highway Patrol. Later the Oklahoma National Guard would be assigned to perimeter security.

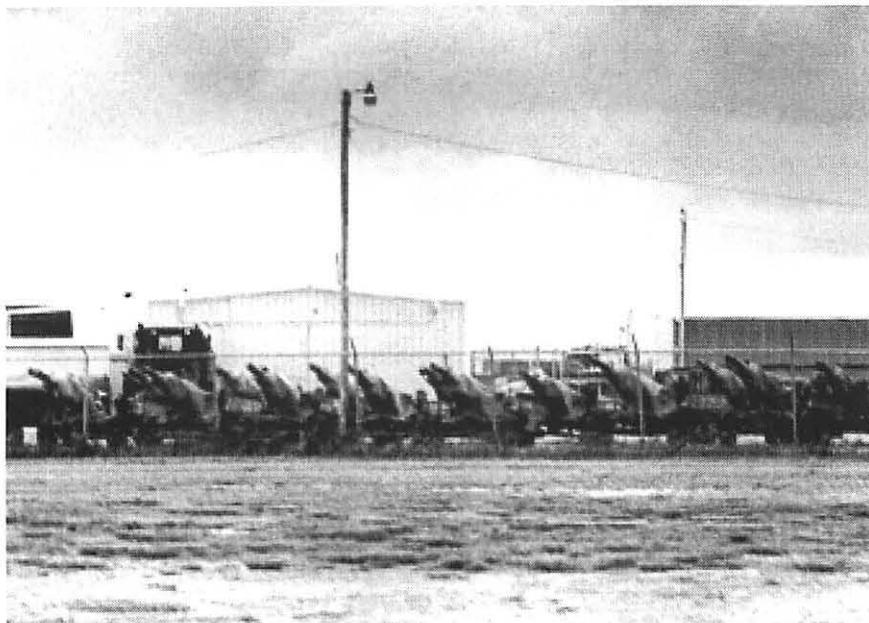


PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

Photograph taken at the National Guard Headquarters at Max Westheimer Air Field in Norman on April 20, 1995. More than a dozen Howitzers (seen inside the fence) and other artillery were brought into the armory on the afternoon of the bombing.

Within two days the first perimeter would be enclosed by a greatly-expanded, secondary exterior perimeter which was also guarded by armed law-enforcement officers and National Guardsmen. The southern boundary of the enlarged area was Robert S. Kerr Blvd.; the eastern boundary was Oklahoma Street; the northern boundary was NW 10th Street; and the western boundary was Classen Blvd.—an eighty-eight square block area. The media center was contained within the exterior perimeter and without the interior perimeter. No one could access the area without proper identification.



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At the south boundary, Robert S. Kerr Blvd., no press gathered due to the many large buildings that totally blocked all views north. All of the media personnel were jam-packed into one tiny parking area between two buildings almost three blocks north of the Murrah Building. As the world media representatives began to set up camp in this tiny spot, even the national media stars would have to make their broadcast statements standing in about four square feet of space, straddling miles of electrical and audio cables and bumping shoulders with hundreds of their competitors.

While the members of the media scrambled for territory in their newly assigned area, work in the Murrah Building continued as one crisis followed another. A water main had broken in the Federal Building and the fire department was trying to deal with flooding in the basement. Because people were still trapped in the underground parking garage, many might drown if the water could not be shut off. Gas lines had also been broken and live electrical wires were exposed. Rescue workers were warned not to smoke for fear of a possible gas explosion.

Utility company employees were rushed in to try to turn off the gas and electric service. Because of the extreme devastation, this would not be an easy task. Debris and rubble had to be cleared from the area before the utility connections could be reached and disabled.

Ed Wheeler, spokesman for Oklahoma Natural Gas, said, "The blast was so strong, you're going to have a concussion effect very similar to earthquake waves. As a result, we're not taking anything for granted. We're checking our entire downtown gas distribution and pipeline system to make sure there isn't any peripheral damage outside the perimeter of the area from which utility crews were restricted. Once we get inside the perimeter, we'll trace every single gas line and make repairs where it's necessary to do so."

Earlier Threats and Bomb Alerts

With the new perimeter restricting the movements of the news media, and with their view of the Murrah Building effectively blocked, they turned their attention to other parts of Oklahoma City to determine how those farther removed from ground zero had responded to the bombing.

It was reported that 50 Penn Place, a large shopping mall located about five miles northwest of the Federal Building, had been evacuated. The top four floors of this mall at NW 50th and Pennsylvania Avenue housed the offices of Bob Ricks, former spokesman for the FBI during the Waco Massacre and director of the main Oklahoma City offices of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

By ten o'clock that morning the parking lots at 50 Penn Place were virtually empty. The broadcast studios for KTOK Radio AM 1000, Oklahoma's premiere news talk radio station, had reduced its staff there to a skeletal crew and continued uninterrupted broadcasting. The few store employees who remained in the mall told reporters that they were afraid to stay. Shortly



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after the bombing occurred, the building was officially evacuated. Only FBI officials, a minimal number of KTOK staff members, key mall employees, and building security personnel were allowed to remain. Security officers were stationed at the entrances to 50 Penn Place. They stopped everyone who tried to enter the mall and turned them away.

A reporter met with two carloads of employees who left 50 Penn Place and drove across the street to the Penn Square Mall parking lot. The reporter stated that the employees were reluctant to talk to the press. "We can't talk to you," said one woman. When asked if she had been instructed not to talk, she said, "We just know that we shouldn't."

Of particular interest was the report given by security officer John Calhoun, who worked at 50 Penn Place. Calhoun said, "According to the news reports, the FBI received a bomb threat last week, and their offices are on four floors of that building." However, Calhoun said he was not aware of any specific bomb threats being made at the FBI offices that day.

No further mention was ever made of Calhoun's report of a bomb threat, and FBI officials denied, and continue to deny, that they received any such threats shortly before or on April 19. But there is much evidence to the contrary.

Freelance writer Pat Briley from Edmond, Oklahoma, offered this information: "The U.S. Marshals on March 22, 1995, were put on full heightened alert nationwide at all federal buildings and all federal courthouses by their director, Mr. Gonzales, because they had received threats that they considered credible enough to consume the manpower of the U.S. Marshals nationwide to be on the lookout for bombings by Arab terrorists—fundamentalists—in retaliation for the World Trade Center bombing trial.

"This alert had to be approved by Janet Reno, who is over the U.S. Marshals, and the intelligence that led to that alert had to be available to her as well. I can't imagine that if the U.S. Marshals had put everybody within their forces on alert like that, that the FBI and the BATF didn't know about it. This alert that I'm referring to was reported at length. There was a memo on this as well, issued by the U.S. Marshals, and it was quoted at length in an article in the *Star-Ledger* newspaper." (See Appendix D.)

Eduardo Gonzalez' memo, which was issued in response to information provided by "an unidentified informed source," stated that the threats were aimed specifically at U.S. Marshal Service personnel.

The newspaper article to which Pat Briley referred later became part of an official press release offered by defense lawyer Stephen Jones. The article, which appeared in the March 22, 1995, edition of Newark, New Jersey's *Star-Ledger*, was written by Robert Rudolph and reads in part:

"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



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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 of 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 ... 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.

"The Marshals Service memo said the agency believes that 'there is sufficient threat potential to request that a heightened level of security awareness and caution be implemented at all Marshals Service-protected facilities nationwide.' ... The memo, issued by Eduardo Gonzalez, 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 issue of importance in the *Star-Ledger* article is not that threats were made by Islamic extremists, but simply that threats were made. Yet even during the height of the Middle-East-suspects hysteria (which was about to get under way), the FBI and the BATF continued to deny that they had received any threats of any kind prior to the bombing.

The *Star-Ledger* was not the only newspaper to carry information concerning the prior knowledge of federal officials about bomb threats to federal buildings. On April 20, 1995, the *Oregonian* published an article that not only added to the documentation of prior knowledge, but also contributed significantly to the later recusal of Judge Wayne Alley from the Oklahoma City bombing trial.

Said the *Oregonian*, "As a federal judge whose office looks across the street at the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Wayne Alley felt lucky that he didn't go to his office Wednesday. Alley, who was born and raised in Portland, had taken the rare opportunity to work at home.

"Of all the days for this to happen, it's absolutely an amazing coincidence," Alley said in a telephone interview from his home.

"The judge said the bombing came just a few weeks after security officials had warned him to take extra precautions. '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 know that we ought to be a little bit more careful,' he said.

"Alley, who started his law career in Portland, said he was cautioned to be on the lookout for 'people casing homes or wandering about in the court-



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house who aren't supposed to be there, letter bombs. There has been an increased vigilance.' He said he was not given an explanation for the concern.

"Asked if this might have just been a periodic security reminder, he said, 'My subjective impression was there was a reason for the dissemination of these concerns.'

The article then stated, "An FBI spokesman in Oklahoma told reporters during a news conference that he was not aware of any warning." Even when officials who had been forewarned made public their knowledge of those warnings, federal law-enforcement agencies were simply not going to admit anything.

Shortly after noon, television reporter Jeff Lazalier stated, "We've learned that apparently the U.S. Marshals were hearing rumblings that something might be up within the last few days—not necessarily about Oklahoma City, but just in general—because they were moving some of the people who were involved in the World Trade Center bombing a couple of years ago. The people in custody were being moved someplace in the United States. We don't know if they were going to come through the Federal Transfer Center near the airport here in Oklahoma City on their way to another location, or what. That is just the story that is circulated to us at this time."

According to nurse Toni Garrett: "I have talked to several people who said that there had been bomb threats two weeks prior to this bomb. The FBI and the ATF knew that these bomb threats were real, and they did nothing about it."

Terrorism expert Dr. Randall Heather, in an interview with an NBC news-affiliate anchor, stated, "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."

When Glen Wilburn made it known that he had begun his own investigation into the incident, he was asked what he had learned about any prior bomb threats. In describing the events of April 19, Wilburn replied, "We finally ended up at Children's Hospital, where we were waiting to hear news about our grandsons, Chase and Colton. I had two separate people come up to me and they put their arms on my shoulder and asked me, 'Did you know they had a bomb threat in the building last week?' The first time this occurred I asked my wife, who was standing close to me, if she had heard about that, which she hadn't. She asked our daughter, Edye, and she didn't know anything about it.

"At the time I didn't think anymore about it a great deal. But as a few days went by, we began hearing more talk about bomb threats that the Federal Building had had in the week before, the day before, and even the morning of the bombing. They became almost indistinguishable. We began asking, did they have bomb threats the week before, the day before, or the day of the



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bombing; or did they have *all* of them—the week before, the day before, *and* the day of the bombing?

"We've been told by two different witnesses that the bomb squad was in front of the Federal Courthouse on April 19 at 7:30 a.m., and that at that time they had already cleared the Murrah Building. So there was something strange and unusual going on that morning because we've got the bomb squad down there clearing buildings before 7:30 in the morning, and we have most of the BATF agents absent from the building."

YMCA resident Michael Hinton could observe the front of the Murrah Building from his apartment window. He offered this statement: "About a week before the bombing I was looking out my window in the afternoon. It was between 1:30 and 2:00 p.m. I noticed a large gathering of people outside the building, maybe about two to three hundred people, and when I looked I wondered what was going on at the Federal Building. I didn't know what it could have been. Then on the morning of the bomb explosion, the TV networks locally were carrying the statement that the Federal Building had received a bomb threat one week prior to that morning of the bomb explosion. So in my mind, when I heard that, thinking of what I had observed one week earlier out my window, that could very well have been what was going on then. If that was the case, what security precautions had been taken if they knew this?"

What security precautions indeed! Six weeks prior to the explosions, federal agents reviewed the security arrangements at the Murrah Building and determined that the existing system was sufficient. Former police officer and security specialist Jim Boyd said that the level of security in the Murrah Building was not unusual. The "sufficient existing system" was comprised of one guard who patrolled four buildings on Monday through Friday from 6 a.m. until 8 p.m., the usual metal detectors inside the foyer of the Federal Building, and an array of burglar alarms.

Boyd works for Federal Protective Services, which is a branch of the General Services Administration. FPS employs 400 guards, about 150 security specialists such as Boyd, and 70 criminal investigators. It privately contracts the services of approximately 2300 guards. There are fewer than 3000 security personnel for the 8200 buildings nationwide that are under the control of the General Services Administration.

Boyd said, "Obviously, we have to assess the risk and put the resources where the needs are." He stated that the risk in Oklahoma City was assessed as low, thus the security review had found no need for change. "We were, and still are, unaware of any threat or any issue related to Oklahoma City," he said.

In attempting to determine what security precautions are taken in the Murrah Building when the single guard is off duty, the maintenance foreman for the building was asked what happens in the building after eight o'clock



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at night. He replied that the clean-up crews come in to clean the building, which takes about three hours. The crews leave around eleven o'clock at night.

When asked what security arrangements were in place overnight after the cleaning crews left the building, he replied: "None."

*The structure of a play is always
the story of how the birds came home to roost.*

— Arthur Miller

"The Shadows of the Gods:A Critical View of the American Theater"

Harper's Magazine,August 1958





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PUTTING THINGS IN ORDER

Afternoon Repercussions

Within hours after the explosions all state military bases were placed under heightened security. Although she would not specify what measures had been taken, Alfredia McGill, spokeswoman for Tinker Air Force Base, located in Midwest City, confirmed that security had been increased. All persons entering or leaving the base had to present identification at the gates, and in some cases individuals and vehicles were searched.

Fort Sill in Lawton had closed three gates to the public and placed military police at other gates. Security at the gates of Vance Air Force Base in Enid was also increased.

Shortly after noon President Clinton telephoned Governor Frank Keating to inform him that there were three FBI antiterrorist groups en route to Oklahoma City from Washington, D.C., to assist in the investigation.

It was further announced that experts were saying that the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building was the work of a well-organized and well-funded group. Said one federal agent, "This is a very sophisticated device, and it had to have been done by an explosives expert."

In an interview with Paul English of the Capitol Bureau of the *Daily Oklahoman*, Governor Frank Keating (a former FBI agent), stated, "Obviously, no amateur did this, and whoever did it was an animal."

When asked who might have done the bombing, Keating replied, "Well, obviously someone who knows a lot about explosives was responsible, because this was a very substantial device or devices."



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James Loftis, design team architect for the Murrah Building, stated that he believed whoever blew up the building had to have had access to the blueprints and was surely familiar with the building's layout and structure.

Professor James Fox of Northeastern University remarked, "I doubt if it's one person. A bomb that big would be awfully difficult for one person to put together and make work."

Television news anchor Kelly Ogle of KWTW Channel 9 interviewed Dr. Stephen Sloan, a terrorism expert from the University of Oklahoma. Said Dr. Sloan: "The level of sophistication, the techniques of the bombing, have the fingerprints possibly of a very sophisticated group with a very sophisticated infrastructure. I will tell you this: the amount of explosives attached to this bomb indicates a very heavy level of sophistication."

ABC new correspondent Vince Cannistraro stated, "This is something professional and it really implies that the person who constructed the explosive device had experience, was trained in the use of explosives, and knew what they were doing."

Jerry Bohnen of KTOK Radio AM 1000 interviewed an explosives expert who remarked that the bomb which might have been used was not of the sort that a small local group could assemble. He stated that it was much more likely that the bombing was the work of an organization with much funding and international ties. Without realizing it, this expert had just described the Central Intelligence Agency.

These opinions were never mentioned again after that first day.

By midafternoon, as the official story was solidly taking shape, the bomb would no longer be a sophisticated device, but one so lacking in complexity that any person could assemble it. Without explanation, the bomb was "dumbed down" from a high explosive with an extremely complicated mechanism to a bomb whose low explosive configuration had been known for many years, and whose manufacture was simplicity itself—ammonium nitrate fertilizer and fuel oil.

This new version of the bomb was well-known in military circles, and had been described in the Department of the Army Field Manual, *Explosives and Demolitions FM 5-25*, as a low explosive used chiefly as a cratering or ditching charge. This explosive recipe was also widely known by persons in the mining and agricultural industries, and had been used extensively in many rural areas to remove stumps and larger rocks from fields being prepared for planting.

The recipe for this new and simplified official bomb was never a secret; it had been published for years in government and military manuals, in mining, construction, and agricultural journals, in the underground press, and was also immediately accessible over the Internet by anyone with a computer, a modem, and a telephone.



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By altering the bomb configuration from one requiring great sophistication and funding to one that could be built by an amateur over a weekend, the field of possible suspects was widened to include almost anyone, and the finger of accusation could no longer point in only one direction.

In the meantime the one-bomb hypothesis was about to receive its big media push to make sure that no one would remember the ear- and eyewitnesses who had previously testified to multiple explosions. The comments about the bomb's actual complexity were never broadcast again. For all intents and purposes, those expert opinions were simply not going to be considered further by either the media or by federal investigators.

By the end of the day most of the public, if confronted by remarks from acquaintances that there had been more than one explosion, were sympathetically certain that their friends had simply made a mistake. After all, conditions had been so chaotic downtown that it was surely understandable how folks could get confused about such a thing.

To the witnesses, however, there was no confusion at all. They heard what they heard and never changed their testimony. But for most people, the implications of multiple explosions were more than they were ready or able to consider. The unwillingness or inability of the general public to accept the possibility of a massive cover-up at the upper levels of power in our country was exploited to maximum effect.

The denials were about to get under way and it would be but a few more hours before all officials were telling the same story. The authorized version of the Oklahoma City bombing would achieve its first semblance of uniformity at the first official press conference which would be held at 5:00 p.m. But it was still early yet. The afternoon had barely begun.

Television reporter Jeff Lazalier interviewed Jon Hansen, Assistant Fire Chief, shortly after the noon hour. In that interview he questioned the Chief about the other explosive devices found in the building only an hour previously by men under Hansen's command. Said Lazalier: "Bring us up to date. What is the absolute latest information you're being told at this location?"

"Well, Jeff," replied Hansen, "we're still inside the building systematically searching it. We still have survivors inside that building we're working to remove. We still have people trapped inside the building. We're setting up for a night operation at this time because there's some areas of the building we haven't been able to get to yet. It's very slow. We've got to slow down now. We've still got a danger of collapse in the building."

"Those are our priorities: lives and safety. We're into some dangerous situations. It's pretty frustrating because we have to be so slow, but we're doing that for the safety of our rescuers and the safety of the potential survivors."

"Have you heard any talk at all about any other bombs?" asked Lazalier. "We've heard things thrown about all morning long. Tell us the latest. Obviously, one bomb blew up. What about any others?"



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Hansen stated, "The bomb squad told us that if there had been a secondary device, the might of the explosion from the primary device would have detonated it. So we have bomb-squad members inside the building with our rescue teams. In case we do come across something, they can take care of it immediately."

Realizing that he had just received a nonanswer, Lazalier continued his line of questioning: "So the original word on the street of possibly as many as three bombs in total is not necessarily true at this time?"

"There is nothing that I know of to confirm that," said Hansen abruptly. He had no further comment about the other explosive devices that had been found in the building.

The Second Bomb Scare

At approximately 12:40 p.m. we heard frantic calls of another bomb scare—the second of that day. Moments of great confusion ensued. The media was again moved farther back from the building, and for the next twenty minutes all reports were in conflict with each other. First an all clear was announced, then all personnel were moved away again. A few moments later urgent word was received that another explosive device had been found at the west corner of the Murrah Building.

There were significant differences between this second bomb scare and the one that had occurred at 10:30 a.m. This time the world did not stand still while all anxiously awaited news. No public eyes watched the bomb squad go to work. No raw information would be read directly from the Associated Press newswire by the media.

The information first came rapidly in confused statements from police and reporters on the scene, followed by a multiplicity of lengthy distractions and official speeches, none of which addressed the issue of the second bomb scare. Finally, the initial reports were changed and denied. This time, with the media safely in hand several blocks away from the Murrah Building, the information released to the public was more controlled and prepackaged.

It all began with a general announcement. The news media reported that according to BATF officials, there were more bombs set to explode. Television reporter Suzanne Steely called in this report to the station: "We just had a bunch of police officers come running up to us, screaming, 'Get back! Get back!' We've been moved back about half a block, and we just got confirmation from the law-enforcement officers that they believe they've found another bomb in the building.

"Now, I was here this morning when they moved us back the first time," said Ms. Steely. "They were serious then also, but there was a lot more urgency in their voices this time. It's chaos here right now. The media was in





a big area right across the way from the building, and everybody is scrambling to try and move back again. They've moved us about a half a block back away from the media center.

"And again, the word is, they've found some kind of other explosive in the building. We're trying to find out more for you at this point, but again, there is a lot of urgency with the law-enforcement officials this time. They've been very worried about this."

Following Steely's report, KFOR Channel 4 news anchor Kevin Ogle stated, "It appears it was meant for this building to come down, to be leveled, because of the amount of power that could have gone off. There were more bombs set to go off, according to ATF officials."

For quite some time reports concerning what was found—if anything had been found—were completely contradictory. The media reported that discoveries of explosives had been made and then that the discoveries announced had been in error. Whatever was going on at the bomb site, it was a mad scramble.

Then suddenly the news coverage from downtown was interrupted by a weather alert. At this time of disaster the potential for an even greater problem was looming ahead. In the southwestern part of the state severe thunderstorms had developed and were moving toward the metropolitan area.

Weather forecasters advised officials to bring portable buildings, tents, rain gear, and other forms of temporary shelter to the bomb site because heavy rains were approximately ninety miles to the southwest of Oklahoma City, coming in several waves. The storms were already hammering Fort Sill in Lawton, Oklahoma, with torrential rains, cloud-to-ground lightning, high winds, and hail. On the radar it looked like the series of severe storms would pound the metro area for fifteen to eighteen hours.

In response to this news, public appeals were made for rain gear and portable shelters. No sooner was the announcement made than the equipment began immediately arriving, donated by members of the community. The weather in Oklahoma City was still sunny, but to the southwest the anvil clouds were building and moving our way. Workers were assigned to set up shelters on the street and rain gear was readied for the rescuers.

In the meantime, the bomb squad had gone to work again. After so many contradictory reports, the second bomb scare had to be skillfully explained to the public. Now it was time for another round of denials.

Devin Scillian of KFOR Channel 4 Television announced, "As far as the two to three devices that they have been looking over, I understand that the second device that they found may not have been a device involved in this. It may have been a training device that the ATF had. Keep in mind that the ATF offices are at the Federal Building, so we'll continue to look into exactly



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what the munitions experts found as they try and decipher who might have put what in the building."

With those somewhat rambling introductory remarks, Devin Scillian turned the report over to Suzanne Steely on the scene. Ms. Steely responded to Scillian's comments: "Devin, what you just mentioned is very relevant, because we've just found out that when we were moved back from our scene up there just a few minutes ago that there was not another bomb found. It was one of those ATF training devices that you just mentioned that was found. And that's what is making this so difficult. As they go through and search for victims, they come across this ATF training equipment. They're not sure if it's a bomb or not. Obviously, they'll have to assume it is until they know for sure. So it's still a very dangerous situation."

In contradiction to reports from the media, firefighters and police on the scene stated that hand grenades had been recovered from the building. It was later learned that these were among the many items that had supposedly fallen out of the ruptured ninth-floor BATF arsenal room. Further speculations were made that the devices might have belonged to the Drug Enforcement Administration, which allegedly also had an arsenal room on the ninth floor.

There were many such confused and conflicting statements, all of which added to the chaos at the scene. But again, although the storage of such devices in the Federal Building was illegal, and although those illegal activities might throw some civil or criminal liability on government agencies, those activities and those devices did not cause either the initial or the secondary explosions in the Murrah Building. They were a frightening diversion.

KFOR co-anchor Kevin Ogle then read a prepared statement that had been handed to him by someone in the newsroom. Said Ogle, reading the text, "We want to make sure that everybody understands that there has been *only one* detonation today—only one bomb blast today. That was the car bomb outside. There have been a couple of devices that have been found in or near the building, but only one detonation today, only one explosion. And you saw what it did."

The one-bomb hypothesis would be repeated endlessly for months until it was generally accepted as fact. But it was not fact then, and it is not fact now. It has always been a carefully crafted lie designed to conceal what really occurred on April 19, 1995, and to protect the identities of the persons truly responsible for the tragedy.

Governor Frank Keating

The issue of the second bomb scare was temporarily put on the back burner when the Governor stepped in to begin putting things in order. Shortly before 2:00 p.m., Governor Frank Keating issued a proclamation



declaring a state of emergency, followed by the activation of ninety members of the Oklahoma National Guard, including two forty-member military police units. The National Guard would be assigned to handle crowd control and the evacuation of the injured.

Bomb technicians and police dogs from the Tulsa Police Department had been summoned to the Murrah Building. The United States Army's 61st Ordnance Detachment from Fort Sill was being deployed to the area.

In addition, four FBI Special Agents-in-Charge were setting up a twenty-four-hour command post. They would supervise the work of four FBI evidence-response and explosive-ordnance teams, bomb technicians, and five of the Bureau's most experienced bombing investigators. Thirteen members of the FBI's Rapid Start Team would be logging evidence, and fifty more FBI agents were scheduled to arrive the next day.

The BATF was sending two response teams and a mobile command center for use by their explosives experts and laboratory technicians. Twenty to twenty-five more BATF personnel were on their way to the bomb site.

FEMA operations were established under the direction of James Witt and Regional Director Buddy Young; and the Secret Service sent an undisclosed number of agents and explosives experts to the area.

While officials were attempting to bring some degree of control to the chaos at the bomb site, Governor Keating quickly contacted KFOR Channel 4 Television by telephone. He offered an interview to news anchor Devin Scillian, who asked the Governor where things stood at that moment.

Keating responded to Scillian's question: "I've issued a disaster declaration. We have the Army and Air National Guard involved, cooperating and working with the Oklahoma City Police Department and the authorities. We have the Oklahoma Highway Patrol and the Department of Public Safety providing their emergency and crowd-control services. We have the hospitals involved. We have the call out for medical personnel and—obviously—for blood for the injured."

"The President called this afternoon, Devin, and said that he was sending three FBI antiterrorist units to Oklahoma City. The ATF and FBI will obviously be cooperating together with the local authorities to identify the culprit or culprits and take them out."

"But it's just astonishing to me. What a horrible tragedy for Oklahomans and for the country! This really has to be the worst terrorist attack in American history. I can't imagine anything more serious than this. The World Trade Center tragedy didn't have a dozen fatalities."

"This is obviously going to be a horrible day in Oklahoma and in American history. The people that did it are lousy predators. They are cowards for taking out innocent men, women, and children. This is just a tragic day for us."



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When asked about the investigation, Keating replied, "I talked briefly to Bob Ricks, who as you know, is the head of the FBI here in Oklahoma City, and Bob indicated that their best thought was either one or two bombs were planted in one or two automobiles."

Keating was quick to add that the number of bombs and the transporting vehicle or vehicles were still the subject of much rumor: "As far as that is concerned, we hope that this information is good and that we can identify those responsible and never permit them or others to do this again. But obviously, much of what we're picking up is rumor. Much of what we're picking up appears to be apocryphal. I just hope a lot of it is good and people will be able to identify the perpetrators and prosecute."

Scillian asked Governor Keating, "What are people coming up and saying to you?"

"Well, everybody is in shock and disbelief," said Keating. "As I said, this has to be—and I'm thinking back over American history—this has to be the most violent, the most unprecedented terrorist act in American history, right here in the middle of America, in the heartland of America. There has never been anything like this even in the worst days of the cold war, the worst days of the agony in the Middle East. We've never had anything like this. What a terrible, terrible tragedy!"

"All of us are looking to each other blankly. Anything that we can do to help one another, to pray with one another, to help the injured, we're going to do. And I just feel devastated about it, just absolutely horrible."

When Governor Keating was asked what people could do to help, he replied, "A fellow from the BBC called me and said, 'You are a very religious section of the country, aren't you?' I said, 'You'd better believe it.' And all of us are praying together that there will be survivors, that those who are injured will be able to be completely healed.

"Right now the only thing we can do is encourage the law-enforcement and the emergency medical people to do their jobs, to keep up their energy, if we can. Hopefully, it won't rain on us tonight so we can get the survivors out and look for a better day tomorrow. But it is a horrible thing that these horrible people did to these wonderful, innocent men, women, and children—especially those little kids. It's just outrageous that something like this could happen."

The Waco Anniversary

Later in the day, Paul English of the *Daily Oklahoman* asked Keating about the possibility of a connection between the Waco Massacre and the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building. Keating dismissed the issue by saying, "Take out your map and note that Waco is a long way from Oklahoma City."



Meanwhile, in Waco, Texas, media representatives had been present at a morning memorial service held to honor members of the Branch Davidian congregation who, two years previously, had first been betrayed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and then brutally murdered in their church by agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Said one media reporter: "A gasp went up from the crowd as word of the deadly bombing at a federal building in Oklahoma City was announced over a public address system."

Clive Doyle, one of the survivors of the Waco Massacre, made a brief statement to the press: "We offer our sympathy to the families who have lost loved ones or are injured."

There were approximately one hundred people in attendance at the memorial service. The ceremony began at 9:00 a.m. and stretched into the afternoon. David Thibodeaux, another survivor and later a witness testifying before the Senate Committee investigating the Waco Massacre, rang a replica of the Liberty Bell each time the name of a Branch Davidian was read. An honor guard sounded a twenty-one-gun salute. Before the ceremony, many crape myrtle trees had been planted in memory of those who had died.

Survivor Clive Doyle dismissed speculation that the bombing was related to the second anniversary of the Waco Massacre. However, government officials and the media were not yet ready to turn loose of that possibility, and rumors of a connection were tossed about during the afternoon.

Shortly after the 3:00 p.m. news break on KTOK Radio AM 1000, the statement was made that the only persons who might plant a bomb next to a day-care facility were people who had themselves lost children at the hands of federal agents. The report thus blatantly implicated survivors of the Waco Massacre as perpetrators in the Oklahoma City bombing. It was suggested that surviving Davidians should be investigated as possible suspects.

KTOK news anchor Jerry Bohnen did not give the speculative comments much credence, but he did give them air time. The issue was immediately dropped. For another forty-eight hours the alleged Waco connection would be a nonissue.

It would be noon on Friday, April 21, before officials were ready to use the Waco Massacre as a portion of their statements against the accused. But even after the Waco connection became a part of the official story, representatives of the government were never very clear about their stand on the matter. It would be some time before the Waco Massacre was universally proclaimed by the media to be a motive for the bombing, and even then the ties were shaky at best. There was something else afoot that federal officials were not yet ready to present to the public, and that something else would be the most preposterous fabrication of all. But this matter was still months away from disclosure.



Protecting the Public: Antiterrorism Legislation

In his afternoon interview with Jeff Lazalier on April 19, Governor Frank Keating was asked whether he thought the bombing was an act of domestic or international terrorism. Keating offered a nonresponse to the question, but then revealed far more than he perhaps intended with regard to the political agenda driving the situation.

"To us in Oklahoma," said Keating, "it is irrelevant whether it's domestic or international. We have suffered a grievous loss. Our innocent fellow citizens have been maimed and killed, and we are justifiably outraged and saddened.

"That's one thing that President Clinton and I talked about. He said it's the challenge of a truly free society—where people can come and go at will—to protect and prevent against these kinds of incidents.

"It's very difficult to be one-hundred percent safe because of the fact that people in America don't have transit passes, don't have travel documents, and don't have mandatory IDs. And we don't have metal detectors and armed guards everywhere you go. That is something that the American people justifiably want and demand—to be free and to be able to travel freely.

"Prudent and careful protective efforts obviously should be examined as an aftermath of this tragedy."



Prudent and careful protective efforts? What exactly was Keating suggesting here? To understand the subtext beneath Keating's comments, it is necessary to review actions of the United States Congress nine weeks earlier—actions strongly supported by Governor Frank Keating, the White House, the Department of Justice, and all federal law-enforcement agencies.

At first the connection between proposed Congressional legislation and the Oklahoma City bombing seemed almost too far-fetched to be believed. It was certainly a concept which no one *wanted* to believe, even if it were true.

No one wanted to believe that they had been, or were being, politically manipulated. No one wanted to believe that evil against the American people had been planned by government officials or agencies. No one wanted to believe that leaders in the inner circles of power in our government would sacrifice the innocent and unsuspecting citizenry to a political ideology that was abhorrent to most Americans.

We didn't want to believe it, but unfortunately the evidence began to confirm some very disturbing possibilities and probabilities. The evidence soon showed that the after-effects of the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building were going to be deliberately used as a driving force to promote a particular political agenda. Evidence would also later indicate that the bombing itself might have been perpetrated specifically for the purpose of achieving this agenda. Consider carefully the background of the situation and the political actions that resulted from the bombing.





Putting Things in Order ¶ 131

On February 10, 1995, the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill was introduced as S. 390 in the United States Senate and as H.R. 896 in the U.S. House of Representatives (See Appendix E). It was initiated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a charter to investigate political groups.

The bill was introduced in the Senate by Senators Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D-Del.) and Arlen Specter (R-Penn.); and in the House by Representatives Charles E. Schumer (D-NY) and Norman D. Dicks (D-Wash.). The two bills were introduced simultaneously and were essentially identical. The bills were passed on by the Justice Department and the White House and, prior to the Oklahoma City bombing, had bipartisan support.

The original provisions of the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill are summarized below:

A general charter for the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other agencies, including the military, to investigate political groups and causes at will.

Is a wide-ranging federalization of different kinds of actions applying to both citizens and non-citizens. The range includes acts of violence, attempts, threats, and conspiracies, as well as giving funds for a humanitarian, legal activity.

Would allow up to a ten-year sentence for citizens and deportation for permanent resident non-citizens for the crime of supporting the lawful activities of an organization the President declares to be terrorist.

The President's determination of who is a terrorist is unappealable and specifically can include groups regardless of any legitimate activity they might pursue.

The bill authorized:

Secret trials for immigrants who are **not charged** with a crime, but rather who are accused of supporting **lawful activity** by organizations which have also been accused of committing illegal acts but have **not been tried or found guilty, following secret proceedings with one-sided appeals, using illegally obtained evidence.**

The suspension of posse comitatus (power of the county)*, allowing the use of the military to engage in law-enforcement activities regardless of any other laws.

* "Whoever, except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized in the Constitution or Acts of Congress, willfully uses any part of the Army or Air Force as a posse comitatus or otherwise to execute the laws shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than two years or both." —Title 18, USC Section 1385.



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The **reversal of the presumption of innocence**. The accused is presumed ineligible for bail and can be detained until trial with no appeal.

It loosens the rules for wiretaps.

It would **prohibit probation as a punishment under the Act even for minor, non-violent offenses**.

There is one primary key to the intent of the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill: the determination of who was a terrorist rested solely in the discretion of the President. The bill contained no guidelines to define "terrorist" with any specificity, and because there were no guidelines whatsoever, the President could even name members of an opposing political party as terrorists if he felt so inclined. To do so, even without evidence or due process, would be an unappealable legal act.

A whim, a disagreement, a perceived threat to a political ambition, a personality conflict, the failure of a charitable group to support the reelection of the President, a Sunday sermon concerning a political issue—an infinite number of things could, without warning, lead to the criminal investigation of innocent persons by federal law-enforcement agencies or by the military.

The suspension of posse comitatus would instantly and retroactively legalize the Waco Massacre and any similar murderous activities that might occur in the future. Under these conditions it would be perfectly legal for soldiers to invade homes, confiscate possessions, arrest innocent persons without cause, or even commit murder if they were acting under the President's "terrorist" directive.

Under the provisions of the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill, any person who might donate money or volunteer his time in service to a worthy charitable organization could find himself unexpectedly at risk. If the President decided—for whatever reason—that the organization was terrorist in nature, the honest and law-abiding donor would then become the object of a federal criminal investigation even though no illegal nor felonious activities had been perpetrated by the organization or the donor.

The Senate and House bills both repeatedly said that "lawful" and "legal" activities could instantly become "illegal" if the President so desired.

Once arrested, without evidence or probable cause, the accused could be detained indefinitely without bail or a timely judicial hearing, would be considered guilty until proven innocent, could be subjected to secret trials, secret proceedings, and one-sided appeals, and could be convicted by the use of illegally obtained evidence.

Without evidence or guilt established by due process, the President could at will make random determinations that could affect the life of any American who might do nothing more than disagree with White House policy or who might support a legal organization that held or opposed a particular political view.



Under these conditions it might become extremely dangerous for any American to do such politically incorrect things as write to his Congressman, attend political rallies, home-school his children, pray in his home, believe in the Bible or other holy book, own a firearm, hold a hunting license, subscribe to "underground" publications, possess "dangerous" books, befriend political activists, resist psychological profiling, refuse to respond to census takers, collect precious metals or numismatic coins, store food supplies, have military surplus or camping equipment in his home, or obtain voter registration with an independent political party.

The provisions of the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill were completely totalitarian in nature, designed for use by a dictatorial government in a system where Creator-endowed rights did not exist, and where so-called human rights were arbitrarily declared, altered, denied, or discarded at will and in opposition to established legal precedent.

To disguise the real intent of the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill, certain well-known organizations were named as terrorist agencies, such as the African National Congress, FMLN in El Salvador, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland.

Yet while the government was using fear to motivate the public and pointing a finger at the above-named organizations, the Irish Republican Army was busy establishing offices in the United States with the blessing of President Clinton and the government of the United States. No one in authority was objecting to this; it was, in fact, encouraged. This bill was obviously *not* about any of the organizations or activities named by the framers of the bill.

The bill was specifically designed to give the President of the United States the ability to name whomever he wished as a political enemy for the purpose of that person's removal, and the appropriate media label would be "terrorist." One could also foresee, as a result of this bill, great strides in the effort to completely disarm the American people.

The Center for National Security Studies, noting the true purpose of the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill, stated: "Since the new offense"—international terrorism—"does not cover anything that is not already a crime, the main purpose of the proposal seems to be to avoid certain Constitutional and statutory protections that would otherwise apply."

This very bold move in Congress would require either the most extreme propaganda or the most extreme secrecy if the bill was ever to become law. As we would observe over the months following the Oklahoma City bombing, both propaganda and secrecy were evident in the attempts to pass the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill.

The breadth of the coverage of S. 390 and H.B. 896—and their later incarnations, S. 735 and H.R. 2703—would make it impossible for the government to prosecute all assistance from around the world to groups that have committed violent acts or threatened to do so. And it would be clearly



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impossible for the government to painstakingly monitor every person or organization that might hold an opinion contrary to that of the President. Its condemnation necessarily would target organizations that the President—or whoever influenced him—found offensive at any given moment. People to be imprisoned or deported would be chosen specifically because of political associations and beliefs—or whatever else might be considered dangerous, which could eventually include religious affiliations and activities.

These two bills, S. 390 (S. 735) and H.B. 896 (H.R. 2703)—eventually lumped together by the media under the vernacular title, “the Anti-Terrorism Bill”—were referred to the Judiciary Committees of both the Senate and the House.

The introduction of the bills was almost completely ignored by the mainstream press. Only the *New York Times* made mention of it in a February 24, 1995, column written by Anthony Lewis that had been imported from another newspaper.

Because of unexpected intervening revelations from the political underground that publicly exposed many of the more dangerous provisions in the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill, the bill could not be rushed through the Congress on a fast track, as its supporters had desired. Once the truth was known, opponents of the bill mobilized quickly to try to stop the insanity.

For a while it seemed that the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill was going to be mercifully stalled in the Congress indefinitely. But the Oklahoma City bombing struck a chord of fear and anger in the hearts of many unsuspecting Americans. Few Oklahomans experienced a day in the aftermath of the bombing in which they did not silently wonder if sudden death waited around the corner, and if it did, who might be the perpetrator.

Without considering that it would be absolutely impossible to legislate or guarantee freedom from death by terrorism—regardless of the breadth and scope of any proposed legislation, regardless of increased powers of federal agencies, and regardless of the number of police on the streets of our cities—many Americans began to feel that their only hope of real security rested in the “protection” offered by the federal government.

Governor Frank Keating’s comments about “prudent and careful protective efforts” were just the beginning of the massive political manipulations that would be skillfully used following the Murrah Building bombing in an attempt to rush passage of the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill.

On June 4, 1995, a group of survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing, organized by Glenn Seidl, traveled to Washington, D.C., to lobby for passage of the bill. They knew little about what they were doing and were totally in the dark concerning the actual language, provisions, and intent of the bill in its totality. These local “lobbyists”—most of whom were completely inexperienced and had never been politically active in any situation



previously—suffered from tunnel vision and focused on only one particular concern addressed in the bill: habeas corpus reform.

The writ of habeas corpus is a vital part of our judicial process that not only ensures that an accused party will be brought before a court or judge in a timely manner, but also gives the accused the right to obtain a writ of habeas corpus as a protection against illegal imprisonment. This writ demands an inquiry into the lawfulness of the restraint of a person who is imprisoned or detained in another's custody.

There was a reason for the victims' concern. Fueling the debate over habeas corpus reform was the recent execution of Roger Dale Stafford, the infamous "Sirloin Stockade murderer" who, for almost two decades, had avoided execution through use of the appeals process. That grisly multiple murder had occurred in Oklahoma, and Stafford had lived on death row in an Oklahoma prison at the taxpayers' expense for seventeen years. His execution, which occurred shortly after the bombing of the Murrah Building, served as a primary example of the perceived abuse of the appeals process and was used by the victims as documentation in their lobbying effort.

But of even greater concern to the victims was the fact that Roger Dale Stafford's attorney, who had so successfully kept him from execution for so long, was none other than Stephen Jones, the lawyer who had been appointed to represent one of the bombing defendants. The possibility that Stephen Jones could legally assist a convicted killer in the Murrah Building bombing case to avoid retribution was a greater nightmare to the victims than the bombing itself.

The survivors of the bombing were understandably very vulnerable emotionally, and this was manipulated and played upon to achieve a political end. The surviving victims wanted revenge, they wanted blood, and they wanted it now. Their unseasoned political ambitions were driven by deep and overwhelming emotions, not by reason or a desire for justice. No indictments against any accused person had yet been handed down by any grand jury—nor would they be for another two months. But that didn't matter. The men accused had already been tried and convicted by the media. Everybody "knew who did it"—or so they thought.

The plans, meetings, actions, and political moves of this group of survivors were directed expertly behind the scenes by the State Attorney General's office, which was working hand in hand with the federal prosecutors of the Murrah Building bombing case. If anything could mobilize the victims into a group of political activists, this was going to be it.

These "activists" may have meant well, but they were intentionally led astray by their legal counselors and handlers. They had only one point of view, and that perspective was controlled by their emotional frailty as victims.

In their minds habeas corpus reform would ensure that the murderers who killed their loved ones would be put to death in a timely manner. That



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habeas corpus also protected the innocent was not considered. It never occurred to these people that at some point in the future they themselves might be unjustly accused and imprisoned without trial, having no recourse to demand that cause be shown for their incarceration.

The group of victims and survivors did not realize that the issue of habeas corpus reform was a two-edged sword, especially in the Anti-Terrorism Bill. They could have been told. They could have been shown the implications. But it was the wish of neither the State Attorney General's Office nor the federal prosecutors that these people understand anything. All that was required was that they make a moving, emotional appeal to Congressional power brokers and promote a political agenda they could not in all justice comprehend.

On June 7, 1995, after Glenn Seidl and a dozen other victims had met individually with certain senators in Washington, D.C. and then held an emotional news conference on the U.S. Capitol grounds, the Senate overwhelmingly passed an antiterrorism bill that included major changes in the appeals process.

Said then-Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole: "The families of some of the bombing victims traveled all the way to Washington ... to let us know that we must take action now to put an end to the endless delays and appeals that have done so much to weaken public confidence in our system of criminal justice. It is gratifying to see that their efforts had such a profound impact here in the Senate."

Several months before the victims' Washington meeting, President Clinton had said that he would support some type of habeas corpus reform, but he had also written a letter to Robert Dole saying that he did not believe such reform should be a part of the Anti-Terrorism Bill. However, within twelve hours after the victims' press conference, Clinton appeared on the Larry King Show and reversed his position, saying, "We need to cut the time delay on the appeals dramatically and ... it ought to be done in the context of this terrorism legislation so that it would apply to any prosecutions brought against anyone indicted in Oklahoma."

This was the key to the big push, the big rush for passage. The grief and tragedy of the Oklahoma City bombing was going to be the *cause célèbre* that would demand immediate response from the Congress.

While it is not unusual for crime victims and their families to become advocates for political and judicial change, this situation was different. The victims had focused on areas in which some limiting reform was believed needed, but they had not been educated about the complete contents of the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill. They had been led to believe erroneously that their desired habeas corpus reform could come *by no other means* than the passage of this bill. In this respect the victims were used by



government officials and federal prosecutors to promote a dangerous political agenda.

In a letter dated October 31, 1995, addressed to "All Murrah Bombing Victims, Survivors and Families," Glenn Seidl and thirteen other victims wrote and signed their names to the following: "The [State] Attorney General told us that he has no doubt this [the Anti-Terrorism bill] was passed *only* because of the message brought by the survivors and the victims' families ..."

"However, we are now very concerned that our victory in the Senate, which we thought at the time to be the pivotal vote, will not necessarily mean that the reforms will become law. It has now been over five months since the passage in the Senate, and the U.S. House of Representatives has still not acted to adopt any form of the Anti-Terrorism Bill that permits the habeas reform to become law. It appears that some Congressmen are very concerned about passing any form of the Anti-Terrorism Bill because of the controversies over the Waco hearings and Ruby Ridge. Opponents of the Anti-Terrorism Bill and habeas corpus reform are very powerful, and include the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association of Criminal Defense Attorneys, the National Rifle Association, and other powerful groups.

"Our position is simply this: Whatever the concerns—work it out. *Some form of anti-terrorism must be passed in order to reform habeas.*" [Author's emphasis.]

Unfortunately, Seidl and the other victims were mistaken in their conclusions. It was certainly not news that criminals sentenced to death had lingered for many years on death row, filing appeal after appeal to delay execution—a situation that has caused great bitterness and continued grief for the victims of capital offenses. But it was *not* necessary—or even remotely desirable—for the Anti-Terrorism Bill to be passed in order to achieve habeas corpus reform. The victims and their families had been deceived.

Toward the end of Seidl's letter, the motivators behind the scenes were revealed. The letter stated, "If you are interested in participating, please feel free to contact Assistant Attorney General Richard Wintory or his legal assistant, Susan Hanna ... or Administrative Assistant Gerald Adams ... The Attorney General's office has served as a source of information and support for our efforts and has provided other technical assistance for our group."

The well-meaning survivors were being guided and instructed by officers of government who intended to propel the dangerous Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill through the U.S. Congress on the backs of the victims, using habeas corpus reform as the driving issue.

Bud Welch, whose daughter Julie had been killed in the blast, was approached by the victims' lobbying group to participate in their political



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activities. He was at first eager to help, but when he learned more about the legislation and the proposed habeas corpus reform he withdrew his support. Realizing that the victims were being used to promote a political agenda that they did not understand (and to which he was opposed), Bud Welch wrote the following letter to Senator Orin Hatch when the Senate and House bills were being reconciled in committee:

"Dear Senator Hatch:

"I am sorry I missed you when I was in Washington a couple of weeks ago. As the father of someone murdered by the Oklahoma City bomb, I write to urge you to reconsider the habeas corpus package in the bills you are being called to conference on.

"MY FAMILY AND I ARE HORRIFIED THAT CONGRESS IS CONTEMPLATING PASSING A BILL SUCH AS THE ONES YOU MAY HAVE BEFORE YOU.

"I find it telling that I, like the other family members in Oklahoma City, was approached very early in my grief by people asking: 'Would you be in favor of anti-terrorism legislation?' No explanation was given as to what such legislation would look like, or what it would do to our fundamental rights. In the throes of my loss, and with such a vague picture presented about the bill, as you might imagine my response was like that of so many other family members who have since been brought to Washington to be *used as advocates for this bill*. [Author's emphasis.] I know they do not understand, I said, 'Of course, anything to combat such horrible acts as the one which took my Julie from me.'

"Now we have actually learned what is contained in these massive bills, and we know that the last thing our family wants (and Julie was my precious 23-year-old, only daughter and my best friend) is for legislation crippling Americans' Constitutional liberties to be passed in her name and memory. Julie certainly would not want this. We, and all Americans, have already been terrorized more than enough; we do not need this legislation to terrorize us still further by taking from us our [C]onstitutional freedoms.

"Only a few weeks ago did I learn from my niece, who just happens to be a lawyer capable of understanding this massive and technical legislative proposal, what is actually in this bill. I also now know personally what legislators must certainly know, from the mouths of federal officials themselves: They have all the legislative tools they need to fight terrorism and bring terrorists to justice.

"It utterly galls us as a family so devoted to my daughter that we and our loss should be used as a political football for politicians eager to posture themselves as 'tough' on crime in order to reap



some political advantage, and to do the bidding of already powerful agencies who have demonstrated their inability to responsibly exercise the enormous powers they already possess.

"The habeas reform provisions in particular are not known or understood by the families who have been used to lobby on behalf of this bill. (One family member even told me recently that she understood habeas corpus to be an anti-terrorism investigation tool). [Author's emphasis.]

"Our family knows that meaningful independent habeas court review of unconstitutional convictions is an essential fail-safe device in our all too human system of justice. And we have learned that this package of 'reforms' you are being asked to vote for would raise hurdles so unremedied. This is true in all cases, not just life and death ones. We consider this a direct threat to us and our loved ones still living who may well find themselves the victim of abusive or mistaken law enforcement and prosecutor conduct and unconstitutional lower court decisions. Two wrongs have never made a right.

"We understand that while habeas corpus may not be household words, in Oklahoma or anywhere else in America, it is something for which our founders fought to enshrine in the Constitution, the safety net provision that ensures ALL of our rights and liberties ... including the First, Second, Fourth, and all of the other precious Amendments and other parts of the Constitution.

"Please forgive such a long letter. But I feel that Julie's memory and our rights are literally in the balance, and in your hands and the hands of your colleagues.

"I continue to educate other family members here about these bills and why they really cannot want Congress to pass them as written only. IF ONLY THEY KNEW WHAT IS IN THEM! I pray you will educate your colleagues in the same way. And I hope you will share this letter with your many colleagues. We simply could not visit in our limited time in Washington.

"Sincerely, Bud Welch, (On behalf of Julie Welch
and the surviving Welch Burton family of Oklahoma City.)"

Bud Welch was the lone voice crying in the wilderness. The television media interviewed him just long enough to learn that he was strongly opposed to the Anti-Terrorism Bill, then cut him off, and never interviewed him again about that subject. Nothing could be allowed to interfere with the Anti-Terrorism agenda.

District Attorney Robert H. Macy made clear the political agenda in a letter he addressed to the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and one of the authors of the Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill, Senator Orin G. Hatch.



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Macy's letter was written on May 24, 1995, at a time when it was believed that the State of Oklahoma would be able to bring murder charges only on behalf of the persons who died outside of the Murrah Building property, who numbered fewer than ten.

However, the later discovery in November of the absence of any federal government documents of possession for the land on which the Murrah Building was built gave concurrent State and federal jurisdiction to the case. Macy later announced that he intended to file murder charges on behalf of all of the victims. But in May 1995 the absence of the critical document was still five months into the future. Macy's letter is quoted here in its entirety:

"Dear Senator Hatch:

"The purpose of this letter is to express my support for the inclusion of the provisions for reform of Federal Habeas Corpus authored by Senator Specter and you in the Anti-Terrorism Bill, [now numbered] S.735. Apparently some persons have raised questions about the appropriateness of this measure. Specifically, I have been told that there are some who do not see the importance of these reform measures in cases such as the Oklahoma City bombing, which will initially be prosecuted by Federal Court.

"There are two points I would like to make in response to those questions. First, immediately following the trial or trials in Federal Court, I shall, working in cooperation with the United States Department of Justice and the federal law-enforcement agencies investigating the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah building, prosecute in Oklahoma State Court the cowards responsible for murdering innocent people in the area surrounding the Federal Building. And I shall seek the death penalty. We must never forget that this bombing took several lives and injured dozens of persons in the neighborhood and businesses near the 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.

"The reform measures contained in the Specter, Hatch, Dole Habeas Corpus Reform measures contained in S. 735 will in my judgment significantly curb the abuse and delays inherent in current habeas practice. 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.

"Secondly, your reform provisions will also create significant time savings during appeals from federal convictions as well. Examples of this include:



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time limitations on when habeas petitions may be filed; time deadlines on when federal courts prioritize consideration of capital appeals; a requirement that federal courts prioritize consideration of capital appeals; reform of the abuses inherent in the probable cause process; [and] limitations on second and successive petitions.

"As Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National District Attorney's Association I am proud to inform you that America's prosecutors speak with one voice and that we are calling upon you and your colleagues to set your priorities and enact reforms which will provide to every convicted murderer the rights guaranteed by the [C]onstitution, but absolutely no further consideration or delay than is constitutionally required.

"Respectfully, Robert H. Macy, District Attorney."

Macy's vigorous letter fooled only those already being led down the primrose path. The truth still remained that habeas corpus reform might have been needed, but not at the expense of personal liberty. The Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Bill was a poor vehicle for such reform, but it contained all of the cards that the federal government wished to play. It had already been a battle to the death, but the war was far from over.

On August 19, 1995, four months after the Murrah Building bombing, President Clinton tried again to push for passage of the Anti-Terrorism Bill, which was still stalled in the Congress. At the close of his radio address that day, Clinton stated, "It's hard to imagine what more must happen to convince Congress to pass that bill."

This thinly veiled threat has remained ominously present in the minds of all freedom-loving Americans ever since that date.

On October 19, 1995, six months after the bombing, Clinton complained at a press conference that Congress seemed to have forgotten about *his* terrorism bill. Said Clinton, "It's been six months since the Oklahoma City bombing ... [and] they still haven't passed the bill. They haven't even scheduled it for a final vote"—as if the Oklahoma City bombing was the reason that the bill should have already been signed into law.

But the reasons for the bill's failure to pass had nothing to do with scheduling. There was no partisan plot delaying passage. Between its introduction into the Congress in February and Clinton's complaints in October, many of the provisions of the bill had been made public. For patriotic Americans, the scope of the bill was horrifying and many heard the death knell of personal liberty.



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David Kopel of the Independence Institute commented that both the House and the Senate antiterrorism bills "define almost all violent and property crimes, no matter how trivial, as terrorist offenses. The bills thereby federalize virtually the entire criminal law."

Civil-liberties issues were causing many problems for the bill's Washington supporters, and the telephone lines to Congressional offices had been inundated with calls in opposition to the bill. Under attack were the bill's provisions that expanded the wiretapping powers of government law-enforcement agencies, the establishment of secret courts to deport aliens suspected (but not charged or convicted) of terrorism, and the arbitrary power of life and death given to the President or the Attorney General without guidelines or definitions. By October 1995 there were simply not enough votes to pass it.

Voicing his opposition to the bill, Representative Don Manzullo (R-IL) remarked in a letter to House Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry Hyde (R-IL): "I do not want to see the House fall into the political trap of reacting to a tragedy simply to be able to say it 'did something,' because what I have found in H.R. 2703 suggests we may be willing to compromise the integrity of the Constitution for the sake of responding to crimes that would be impossible to stop through the standard legislative process."

In an editorial dated October 23, 1995, the *Washington Post* offered the following opinion:

"The President's nudging complaint does not appear to take into account the real problems various members have with the terrorism package. This is not a matter of legislators getting their act together or demonstrating their abhorrence for train derailers and day-care center bombers by passing a bill. Opponents on both sides of the aisle are acting on their own deep moral convictions concerning individual rights and government power. This is not easy to sort out and may require a whittling down of some provisions of the bill. Calling for a quick vote when defeat is a real possibility is more of a risk for the President than a popular call to action."

Early in 1996 the United States House of Representatives finally passed H.R. 2703 and that bill was sent to committee to be reconciled with the Senate version, which had been passed in June 1995. After all was said and done, President Clinton was not particularly happy with the House version, stating that it had been watered down and all of its legislative teeth had been pulled.

In his radio address of April 13, 1996—six days before the one-year anniversary of the bombing—Clinton again pressed for a stronger antiterrorism bill: "It is essential that Congress send me the *right* antiterrorism legislation—legislation that finally will give law enforcement the upper hand. When I met with leaders of the Congressional majority shortly after the bombing, they assured me that Congress would give the American people strong



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antiterrorism legislation. They haven't. While the Senate passed a solid bill, the House absolutely gutted it. Under pressure from the Washington gun lobby, House Republicans took that bill apart piece by piece. Well, now it's time they put it back together."

Eventually the House and Senate versions were reconciled, and on April 24, 1996, five days after the one-year anniversary of the Oklahoma City bombing, Clinton signed S. 735 and it became Public Law 104-132.

The battle over the passage of the Anti-Terrorism Bill and all that it entailed will be handled extensively in Volume Two. On April 19, 1995, that battle was almost a year into the future.

As Oklahoma Governor Frank Keating began putting things in order by calling for "prudent and careful protective efforts," it became apparent that it was going to be necessary to paint the Murrah Building bombing with such broad and fearful strokes that terrorism would become the single most feared cause of death in America. Only in the grip of a paralyzing fear would the American people ever beg for dependable enslavement to rescue them from unpredictable liberty and its burden of personal responsibility.

*Watch out for the fellow who talks about
putting things in order!*

*Putting things in order always means
getting other people under your control.*

— Denis Diderot

Supplement to Bougainville's "Voyage" (1796)





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HOW SHALL WE LOOK AGAIN

The Community's Response

It was almost one o'clock in the afternoon—four hours after the bombing. Rescue workers in the Murrah Building had not yet cleared a single floor. As debris was removed from the building, settling began to occur. The building itself was groaning as firefighters and rescue teams worked their way toward the victims. Without warning and within mere seconds, hairline cracks in concrete slabs, balanced precariously above the rescuers, widened to half-inch gaps, showering the workers with dust and rock, threatening to crush the men attempting to remove those already trapped.

"We've had some minor secondary collapses inside the building," said Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen, "and that's going to happen to us. We've got to be very careful as we remove rubble that's unstable. There are some things that we don't want to cause for ourselves. That's always the possibility right now. And yes, we have had some secondary collapses."

Said another firefighter, "One after another they crawled back in here and worked for hours at a time. They passed out body parts. They pulled the victims past them and passed them out. I'm not going to lie to you. Yeah, I was scared. Probably my biggest fear was having a secondary collapse and being buried."

Reporter Uze Brown-Washington interviewed Officer Adrian Neal from the Edmond Police Department and asked about his experience inside the Murrah Building.

"I was inside the building," said Officer Neal. "Our agency sent out several people just [like] every other agency, and we worked from the first floor up



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to the ninth, trying to see if there was anybody, any victims that needed medical assistance. It's just incredible devastation. It's like being a miner, and you have to dig through walls and ceilings. A lot of debris has collapsed on top of desks, and there was one door I saw that had literally been blown through a block wall."

Neal was asked if there was much hope for finding survivors. "I would hope there is," he replied. "I know from what I saw that it's a bad situation. We're optimistic and we're doing everything we can. I know that there were a lot of people in there digging through the debris."



Mourners left signs and expressions of sympathy throughout the area in honor of the victims.



"We saw a pair of ladies' shoes, and all we could see was the bottoms of them. So we spent twenty minutes digging through the debris trying to work ourselves to that area. It turned out it was just a pair of shoes ... but you have to check. So that's why it is taking so much time. It is an agonizing process.

"The thing is, the stability of the building is still in question. I know that there were several times when I was up on the seventh, eighth, and ninth floors that I felt like the building was moving. You have to be very slow and cautious when you're doing this."

The wreckage of the building was so tangled and jumbled that the sorting had become painstakingly slow. Said one observer, "It would be so easy to shift some bit of crumpled concrete and inadvertently crush a living person trapped underneath it. Hurry the least little bit, and you might kill someone beneath you. Things had to be lifted cautiously, not shoved aside, and the things to be lifted weighed tons."

In a later interview Firefighter Mike Shannon described the rescue work in a part of the Murrah Building that had been nicknamed the Cave. Said Shannon, "They had to work single file, coming through the crack into here. They would move a rock and pass the rock back down the line as they found the people.

"Back in here is where they were all compacted—about eight people in this one spot, literally touching each other. So the men had to work through each victim as they worked their way to the one behind, and the one behind them, and so forth. It was horrifying."

Reporter Lee Evans offered the public a medical update from the bomb site around 1:30 p.m. The streets had become comparatively quiet and the shrieks of the ambulance sirens no longer split the air as they had during the earlier hours of the rescue operation.

Said Ms. Evans: "University Hospital is now sending four doctors down to the scene with emergency amputation kits to amputate limbs from some of the victims trapped in the rubble. We've been told that the only way to get them out is to cut them away from the rubble. It's hard to stomach the reality of this rescue. Medical personnel have had to amputate one person's arm to free the victim."

Shortly after Ms. Evans's report, Southwest Medical Center announced that it was still on a disaster alert, preparing for the second wave of the injured, but almost immediately a second announcement was made: medical personnel were no longer needed. Only the dead were being found.

Kent Ogle with KFOR Channel 4 Television reported from the University Hospital Trauma Center: "About thirty minutes ago they had some ambulances come and pick up stretchers and emergency supplies and took them out to the field hospital which is set up near the Federal Building. But about five minutes ago they brought it all back.



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"I asked some of the personnel what was going on. They said, 'We're not needed.' There are not enough survivors being removed for the medical workers to treat. That certainly doesn't look good when we're getting that straight from the medical personnel."

"The triage [center] there by the Federal Building is still open and they are hoping more survivors will come out. But right now the field hospital that was set up to treat what they had hoped would be the second wave of survivors has been torn down and brought back to University Hospital. There must be around seventy-five emergency personnel here at University Hospital, stretching as far as the eye can see, just waiting."

Reporter Tara Blume interviewed Nurse Robin Gibson at the triage center located at the corner of NW 5th and Oklahoma. Said Ms. Blume, "I am at the field hospital where they had set up a triage unit in a storage building, but they're breaking it down now because there is simply not anybody left to treat. With me is Robin Gibson. Robin, give us some indication from the people that have gone in there what they have found."

Ms. Gibson replied, "They have found lots of rubble, rocks, and no survivors so far. They have heard a few voices underneath the rubble, but they have



PHOTO BY BRETT WOOLEY



found no survivors. They are tagging [bodies] right now. They were up to thirty in the last count I heard."

Blume asked, "I heard that there was one person that they pulled out alive. Do you know about that?"

"They did pull one person out a couple of hours ago, and that person was taken to the hospital," said Gibson. "That's all we know. There were two triage centers, one up closer to the building and one right over here on this corner. They are both being pretty much dispersed. We are keeping about twenty to thirty personnel around just in case. We're not sure whether a temporary morgue is going to be set up or anything of that nature. All out-of-town ambulances are going home and we've been authorized to dismiss everyone."

"Robin, this has got to be devastating to everybody here that wanted to come and help."

"Yes, Tara, yes. I got here right around 10:30, and I had to turn away at least a hundred people who volunteered. We had fifty on reserve. We had first-aid volunteers over here, and there were just so many people."

Robin Gibson suddenly sighed and looked very tired. "It really was great to see so many people come out and try to help. But there just wasn't anything to do."

Gradually we began to understand that the Murrah Building was not going to yield that expected secondary wave of living victims who could be rescued, helped, and healed. With the exception of the small handful of survivors yet to be discovered, the Alfred P. Murrah Building was now a sepulchre from which the dead would be exhumed.

In acceptance of this situation, the local medical workers were being told to stand down. A FEMA team from Tulsa — the National Disaster Medical Service Team — dispatched its personnel to Oklahoma City. This FEMA team was more highly trained at body extraction than treating the injured who were still living. Once on the scene, they began to bring the remains of the bodies out of the building and take them to the makeshift morgue locations that had been set up at the former triage sites.

It was now two o'clock. Time was again standing still and anxiety was high. No one could be seen working in the Murrah Building because of the distance from the site, but we knew the workers were still there. We could hear the sound of the portable generators on the north side of the building.

The first broken lines of clouds from the approaching thunderstorms had made an appearance. Alternately, the remains of the building were highlighted in sunlight and then cast into pallid shades of gray. All kept a watchful eye to the southwest. It was a restless time. There was nothing to do but wait and talk. People needed to talk. Somehow that seemed to relieve the tension.



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Nicky Smith and Pam Burns were nurses who worked at Passion Home Health Care. They had been involved in the rescue operation from the earliest moments. Said Ms. Smith, "It's like a war zone. There is rubble everywhere — concrete, pieces of cars, twisted and mangled parking meters."

When asked what she observed while in the Murrah Building, Smith was momentarily speechless, unable to describe the situation downtown: "Well, it's not like anything I can really honestly put into words for you."

Nurse Pam Burns tried to add some perspective: "I guess it's the reality of TV validated — what you see on TV when something blows up and it's all theatrical makeup. Well, this isn't theatrical makeup. This is real blood this time. It's pretty graphic. When you've seen some of these big movies where things are blowing up, things are on fire and all of that — well, this is after the fire: the charred bodies, the devastation."

"At this point all of the nurses have gotten real disheartened because we went in with our adrenaline up, knowing our ER experience to try to intervene in the best way we could, to try to save these lives. And there is no one to save. There has been one survivor found in the past two hours. That's not a real good body count. One life.

"There are dismemberments. There's blood everywhere. People have been burned from the blast. It's really awful ... really awful. All of the nurses that have over five to ten years of ER experience and most of the physicians have been told that they can go home or go back to their own facilities because there is nothing that can happen.

"We've also been told that the disaster team from Tulsa trained in picking up the bodies and dealing with the evidence will be taking over at this point. So that pretty much tells me that there's nothing else for the nurses to do."

A pale and shaken volunteer, Gary Jenkins, made a statement to the media. He had been working just outside of the Murrah Building, helping first with the removal of the injured survivors and later in the makeshift morgue. When asked to describe his experience, Jenkins just closed his eyes and shook his head.

"Horrible," he said. "I don't understand how anybody in this world can conceive to do something like that to innocent people. I don't ever want to look at anything like that again in my life. I really don't. It's absolutely horrific up there."

"We've been up to the south end of the building, up to the area where they were doing the first triage, and where they were bringing the victims out. I've seen every injury conceivable."

Jenkins was asked if the majority of people being brought out were alive. He seemed dazed and confused by the question. "Oh, everything is moving so fast, you really can't get a count on anything. You just do what you can and move on."



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Nurse Toni Garrett had volunteered to assist the victims at the Murrah Building. She was on duty from the early morning until the FBI took over the medical areas later Wednesday night. Once off duty, Nurse Garrett spoke with independent video producer Chuck Allen.

"We were setting up a triage unit a couple of blocks from the Murrah Building," said Garrett, "and it wasn't until later that they asked if there was anybody that wanted to tag the bodies. I volunteered, along with a student nurse and a physician who agreed to do it. We had gone around and started looking for bodies.

"There were people that had been blown out of the windows. The first body that we found was a young female that had been found in front of the Water Resources Board Building and she had been blown to pieces. Her body was charred. She had been pregnant. Her head was gone. The only thing that was left of her head was her chin. Her arms were missing. Her right leg was missing, and the flesh from her left leg was partially missing. The only place that we were able to tag her was the bone to her left leg, lower portion.

"One baby in particular still bothers me. It had been blown around a pole and we had to literally remove it from the pole in order to get it out of the building."



After several days of body extraction, one of the recovery team members spoke on condition of anonymity to author Robin Jones. He needed to talk about his experience.



"I'm one of the people brought in from outside," he said. "The walking wounded and the people that were dug out alive on that first day weren't messed up real bad, comparatively speaking. Neither were a few of the first corpses they bagged. Some had lost body parts, but they were relatively intact. That sort of gave everyone the idea that the whole operation was going to be like that—nasty, but not too bad. We were wrong."

"Some of the next of kin were upset because they weren't asked to identify the remains by sight. They didn't realize what the remains looked like. There weren't any features you could identify. Jewelry, wallets, a tag of fabric. That's how they did it. Eventually they brought in Clyde Snow from Norman, probably the world's best identifier of remains, to help them. Considering what they had to work with, they did a phenomenal job. Just phenomenal."

Shaking his head in disbelief at questions he had been asked by the media, he said, "You can't begin to know the tenth of what gruesome really is. We've redefined the term here."

Everywhere people were talking about the events of April 19, and everywhere people were emotionally devastated by what had occurred. One indicative conversation was overheard on the scanner radio. A nurse from





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the rescue operation was talking to one of her friends on a cellular telephone. She remarked that as she assisted a policeman with the removal of one of the victims from the rubble, he gave vent to his frustration and anger, saying, "We're going to go to war over this."

The stress level of workers at the bomb site was almost unendurable. The emotional response of the rescuers to the enormity of the tragedy and the danger associated with the work greatly influenced how efficiently and safely they could do their job. It was going to be necessary to establish emotional triage centers for the workers.

Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen explained, "We've got a Critical Incident Stress Debriefing area for [the rescuers] when we bring our folks out. It is emotional. I've met firefighters coming out of the building that have tears in their eyes from crawling through and looking at the devastation both to the building and the people. And it's emotional trying to rescue people. It's very taxing. But they're going to be here throughout it, and we're going to do the very best we can."

Lieutenant Lucky Wilson of the Oklahoma City Fire Department was assigned as coordinator for the Critical Incident Stress Debriefing Team. "Firefighters repress emotions to get a job done," he said. "If you haven't learned how to get the emotions out you can hurt yourself over a long period of time."

"Situations change your life. Until that happens, you never think you can be hurt. It is a wake-up call. You have to understand the profile of a firefighter. You're talking about controlled personalities. Whether they go to a house fire, a car wreck, or something else, they see this as 'This is broken and we will fix it.' They are in control, and to be in control you have to be in control of your emotions."

As the different work shifts came to an end each day, almost all of the rescue workers attended defusing sessions held at the Southwestern Bell Building. Throughout the rescue operation and continuing until the end of the removal operation, the defusing sessions continued. They were later replaced by formal debriefings.

The sessions were directed by firefighters and mental health professionals, and were conducted as a form of group peer counseling. Lieutenant Wilson described the debriefing program as consisting of seven stages: introduction, fact, thought, reaction, symptoms, teaching, and reentry.

Initially, the meetings were introduced as an educational program, not as therapy. Each participant was asked to state facts concerning who they were, where they had been assigned, and what occurred to them during their work shifts. The firefighters then individually voiced their first thoughts about the incident.



During the reaction phase of debriefing, the participants completed the phrase: "The worst part of this for me was ..." and answered the question: "What one element could you have eliminated?" In reviewing symptoms, the firefighters were asked, "What signals let you know this was unusual?" and "Is anything still bothering you?"

Many firefighters expressed feelings such as, "If I had only run faster ..." or "If I had just arrived one minute sooner ..." or "If I had only been stronger ..." Their emotional conclusions were usually those of guilt or of feelings that the rescue worker was somehow responsible for some great ill that had befallen a victim—that because they were present, working with all their might, people should not have died.

The truth was that everyone did exactly what was required in the appropriate manner, with every ounce of physical strength they had, and with total commitment of heart. No one individual fireman could have altered the course of events once the bombing had occurred. During the rescue effort no one contributed less than one-hundred percent effort, and these brave men had to accept that one-hundred percent was all they could *ever* have given, no matter what the circumstances. It was an acceptance of human limitation in the face of forces and conditions beyond their control.

As debriefing moved into the teaching aspects, it was stressed that the reactions, signs, and symptoms observed by the firefighters were normal in a disaster of this magnitude, and they were instructed about what they might expect in the future because of their exposure to the disaster.

At the close of debriefing each participant offered a summary statement, often in the form of a positive affirmation, such as "I did everything I could and there was nothing I could have changed." It was a form of voicing the acceptance of human frailty and the limits of influence over events that had already occurred.

Said Lieutenant Wilson, "We would like to think we could go back to normal. But my own personal opinion is that normal has changed. So we have to deal with normal as it is now."

Bill Carpenter, from the Out-Patient Counseling Center at Baptist Hospital, was interviewed on the street by Theresa Green. The initial numbing shock of the bombing was wearing off. Carpenter was asked what kinds of things a counselor could do to help members of the community regain a sense of stability and balance.

Said Carpenter, "It is important to understand how people respond to disasters such as this. There is a wide range of response. We sometimes think that there is a predictable one way that people respond, but there are lots of different ways.

"Folks can get hysterical, they can get teary, or some folks can respond as if nothing had happened at all. All of those are okay ways of responding.



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People will get to what they need to do in their own time and according to their own culture and other things that determine how they're going to respond.

"As far as a neighbor offering help or calling someone—try to be with somebody during that time and try to sense what that person wants from you as you're sitting with them or talking with them. If they seem to want your presence, then stay with them. If not, then offer what you can and go on. Sometimes just the offer is a wonderful gesture of concern and compassion."

Theresa Green asked, "The rescue workers are now talking about the horrible things that they've seen. We've observed this with other disasters—similar, I imagine, to post-traumatic stress syndrome. What kinds of things are they going to be going through in the days and weeks ahead just because of what they are seeing today?"

"I think right now, of course, as they are involved in rescue, they will do well and not show any kind of emotion, for the most part," said Carpenter. "But then as the days go on, after the shock begins to show itself with them, then they will begin to experience a variety of responses."

"It's important for folks like that to understand that this particular rescue is the source of strange kinds of behavior that may come weeks later. Often people don't relate that to the stress, and so they have difficulty and wonder why."



In response to Carpenter's comments, Green added, for the benefit of the television audience, "I do want to point out that counselors here and elsewhere throughout the city have mobilized and do want to make themselves available for anyone who needs help dealing with this."

Oklahoma City psychologist Vernon R. Enlow had been involved in debriefing individual disaster victims. He tried to explain some of the grieving process to the press. "Emotional wounds will affect everyone. There are going to be the funerals, the losses, and there's going to be the scar downtown. That building will be there for weeks as a reminder. After everything soaks in, there will be anger and hostility. And if the bombing is ever associated with any specific group, hostility could be directed toward innocent people. It is important to get victims of a disaster talking about what happened, what they felt, what they saw, where they were."

"But," added Enlow with a sigh of futility, "how do you debrief a whole city?"

Jorg Pahl, an assistant professor of psychology and behavioral science at the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, stated, "Victims of the bombing could experience post-traumatic stress disorder."

"Symptoms of psychological disorders resulting from a traumatic experience may not appear until much later, and sufferers may not connect them immediately with the experience. Symptoms include loss of sleep,





headaches, loss of appetite, lack of concentration, depression, and flashbacks or nightmares. Recovery and mourning take time, sometimes years. It is important to discuss with children the nature of the tragedy and its implications," said Pahl.

Tammy Payne, reporter with KWTV Channel 9 Television, interviewed a psychological counselor with the Red Cross. Ms. Payne asked, "What do you have to say to people at home trying to deal with this—because so many people have been hit by it, whether they have a family member, a loved one, involved or not?"

The counselor replied, "I think for most of us it's just hard to believe that this could happen in Oklahoma City. There's just a lot of initial shock, disbelief, and denial, and it's like wanting to wake up from a bad dream. People should know that there will be some stages of shock, and then there will be a lot of feelings of fear and anxiety."

"Usually we all walk around with some sense of invulnerability in our life, and when something like this hits in our city so close to home, it shakes all of our sense of safety and security. So you can expect to feel very frightened and vulnerable. There will be a lot of anxiety and fear for a while."

"As for the children, I think we have to realize that children will also experience some stress and some trauma from things like this. I think everyone ought to talk with them about what happened and give them reassurance. For smaller children it is important to give them some nurturing and protection, maybe hold them a little more and talk to them. They will need reassurances."

"Children have a double vulnerability. First of all, they themselves are experiencing reactions to the event, and secondly, they are also reacting to what their parents are going through. So we need to let them know that they are safe and protected."

Counseling psychologist Stewart Beasley from Hillcrest Medical Center offered tips to help children cope with the psychological trauma of the bombing. Said Beasley: "Remember that fears are normal in children, even when a child has not experienced any kind of trauma. Do not criticize or shame a child for his fears. Do not call him a sissy. Encourage positive action. Let the children feel as though they are helping others. Spend time with your children and be physically near them."

"Help children express their feelings through art. The younger the child is, the less developed are his language skills. Art is an excellent medium for communicating emotions without words."

"Address their safety needs. Children want to know they are safe from disaster. Discuss with your children what happened, the nature of the tragedy, and its implications, but gory details should not be included. Explain that the tragedy is a rare and unusual event, and that it probably will never happen to the child."



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"Remember that children take their cues from adults in their lives, so try to react calmly. Be sure to listen and never force a child to talk."

As the afternoon progressed, the public schools were soon going to be releasing the students from classes for the day. Even this simple, everyday occurrence required special arrangements. The children who lived in the evacuated downtown area and attended Oklahoma City public schools had to be taken after school to Wilson Elementary School at 2215 N. Walker where their parents had been instructed to pick them up. Neither the children nor their parents could go home because their homes were located within the sealed perimeter. Some of the homes were now structurally unsound. Some were no longer habitable.

All counselors in the school district were placed on alert and were dispatched wherever they were needed to help children traumatized by the event. At some schools recess period had been canceled because school officials feared the possibility of another explosion in the area and wanted to keep the children indoors.

Schools and day-care centers located near the FBI offices at 50 Penn Place had been evacuated earlier in the day. In Oklahoma City, all after-school activities were canceled. In Edmond, Oklahoma, a special crisis-intervention team assembled at Memorial High School to assist with counseling needs in that community.

L. D. Barney, Oklahoma City School District spokesman, sent school-district counselors first to the Emerson Alternative Center at 715 N. Walker. Emerson was the only school building that had sustained damage from the explosions. Some students and teachers had received minor cuts and abrasions, and windows had been broken in the blast. By noon Emerson had been closed for the day and the counselors were sent to area hospitals to work with victims and family members.

At John Marshall High School televisions were set up in the cafeteria so students could keep up with the bombing news during lunchtime.

At U.S. Grant High School, Principal Bill Scoggan said, "We did have some staff and students who had relatives in the building. We had them together and individually in counseling and sharing sessions."

Jerry Rickers, principal of Putnam City West High School, said that the school had a teacher whose mother crawled out of a window in the Federal Building after the explosions. "The kids have really been great and helped each other."

At about 2:30 p.m. the University of Sciences and Arts of Oklahoma in Chickasha was evacuated because of a bomb scare, but no explosives were found.

Norman Public Schools superintendent James Gray described the procedures his staff members implemented immediately after the bombing. "We



had grave concerns about our students and employees who may have members of their families who have been injured or killed in this explosion. We immediately went through and printed lists of students with parents in the military or who are employees of federal agencies. We then contacted each principal of each Norman school to do the research on where those people are employed. Right now we are still unsure what the impact will be on Norman schools and students."

Crisis-intervention teams had already been sent to a number of schools. Louanna Law of the Family Center was the supervising head of the crisis intervention teams. "It is important for all of us to realize," she said, "that it will affect us in some way—even if you don't know someone who was injured or killed. We go through our regular routine, but we need to understand that it is okay to be affected. We want so badly to help, to feel useful—and that also makes a difference."

Throughout the afternoon television news anchors on all stations spoke to children who might be watching at home: "If you are at home alone and your parents haven't come home yet, don't worry. Stay where you are. Mommy or Daddy will be home soon. If you need help, write down this telephone number we are showing you now on the television. There are people you can talk to who will help you with whatever you need. Call this number if your parents have not returned yet."

For some of those children, Mommy or Daddy would never come home. Some thirty children were orphaned by the Murrah Building bombing, and there were 219 children who lost one or both parents. Oklahoma City resident Mechelle Murray, a single mother with children, took in the two young boys who lived next door when their mother did not come home from work on April 19.

Eleven-year-old Jonathan Hill and his thirteen-year-old brother Ricky had waited all day for a phone call from their mother, Lola Renee Bolden, an Army recruiter and fifteen-year veteran who worked in the fourth floor recruiting station in the Murrah Building. It would not be until 1:00 a.m. on Thursday morning that three uniformed Army officers appeared at Ms. Murray's door to bring the crushing news of the death of the boys' mother.

Ms. Bolden had just turned forty years old on April 1, and had transferred to Oklahoma City from Colorado the previous January. Jonathan and Ricky continued to live with Ms. Murray until their relatives arrived from Alabama. Said Murray, "What hit home to me was that she had no family here. No Oklahoma ties, no one at all for those boys. I can't think about what their lives will be like without Lola."

There were many similar stories, all of them tragic, all of them accounts of irretrievable loss. But people pulled together in a million ways to help each other cope. Ordinary people gave of themselves without reservation to do whatever they could to ease the grief and anguish.



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Dr. Robert Bomengen, honored by the American Academy of Family Physicians as the American Family Physician of 1994, was in Oklahoma City to deliver a lecture on April 19. He never gave that lecture. As soon as he learned of the explosions at the Murrah Building, he knew that the hospitals would be well supplied with doctors, but they might be in short supply at the triage centers.

With his supplies in his black bag, Dr. Bob (as he is known to his patients) rushed to the scene. He spent many hours binding wounds, treating the injured, comforting the fearful, and praying with the dying.

Said Dr. Bob, "I never have had a patient of mine near death who has died without prayer. I always ask permission and I've never been turned down. My faith is important to me. I don't proselytize. I communicate my faith by example. To me, medicine is a ministry."

Cindy Overholt, a Red Cross volunteer, was told to find nine additional volunteers to work the late relief shift from 10:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. Cindy made two telephone calls and twenty-seven people showed up to work. The eighteen extra workers made themselves useful wherever they could, assisting the Red Cross, Feed the Children, and City Church where the kitchens were kept open to feed anyone at any time who needed a hot meal during the rescue effort.

Knowing that the younger children of the victims still trapped in the Murrah Building could get restless and bored while waiting for news with their family members who had gathered at the First Christian Church's Family Assistance Center, Charlotte Campbell, a children's counselor, took her pets to the Center to relieve the stress of the children. Charlie, the spider monkey, and Shelly, the mutt dog, brought smiles and entertainment to waiting children whose whole world had cratered on April 19.

Second-graders from Edmond decided that children in the hospital might not be able to hold a book or read because of broken glass and eye injuries. In a project of enormous compassion, the students made a cassette tape they titled, "Stories, Songs and Poems Just for You."

The children made up poems, sang songs, read a book for the tape, made up their own stories, and told jokes for the victims. The students also made get-well cards, posters, and a small newsletter. Copies of the cassette were made and the various gifts were given to parents for delivery to local hospitals, where they were distributed.

Cyndy McGarr felt inspired to make a very large sign on butcher paper. She attached it to the ten-foot chain-link fence that had been hastily erected around the Murrah Building. Her sign was meant to support and encourage the rescue and recovery workers. It read:





*We're here and we're committed.
We are steadfast and strong in our combined strengths.
We're Oklahomans.
And we're not leaving until this job is done.
God be with our nation.*

From time to time during the next sixteen days, Cyndy made more signs, changing the content, always leaving a statement of hope and edification for the rescue and recovery workers. The workers inside the perimeter came to the fence every day to see what new message of encouragement had been left just for them.



PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

The northeast corner of the Memorial Fence after the implosion of the Murrah Building. The fence extends for approximately 250 feet along NW 5th Street and south on both Robinson and Harvey. It is at all times covered with items of tribute to the victims, survivors, and rescuers. At regular intervals, the Oklahoma Historical Society collects the mementos from the Memorial Fence for placement in a permanent collection housed at the Historical Society Museum located in the Capitol Complex.

From this time forward, for the next four weeks announcements about support groups, counseling sessions, telephone hot lines, or special prayer services were never absent from the news. For many days thereafter, local call-in talk shows were made available following the 10:00 p.m. televised newscast, during which members of the community could discuss the bombing, speak with a counselor or minister, or offer condolences to the families of the victims. Many people sought comfort and solace in the anonymity of those calls. Many had nowhere else to turn for help. Others



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turned to their churches, synagogues, and mosques for support and counsel.

During the afternoon of April 19, announcements were made by all the media: "Churches are calling in saying they will have prayer services tonight for the victims of the blast. Call your local churches. There have been a number of people calling saying there will be citywide services tonight to pray for these people who need it so desperately."

Evangelist Pamela Frazier, associate minister at House of Prayer Baptist Church, said, "Prayer is the only thing we need to do, and we need to intervene for everybody, even people we don't know."

One wall of the Islamic Center of Greater Oklahoma City was rapidly disappearing behind boxes of blankets, supplies, and food sent by Muslims throughout the country for the rescue workers and victims' families. Imam Shams-U-Diin Abdus-Sabur stated that prayer and worship services were scheduled for members of the Islamic community seeking comfort and guidance in this time of great distress.

Rev. Anthony Jordan, pastor of the Northwest Baptist Church, gathered his staff to pray immediately after hearing of the bombing. "I prayed first of all that God would bring peace to the hearts of those who are in crisis and their families, and that God would protect the workers in the rescue effort. And we prayed for the people who did this."

Ecumenical prayer services, sponsored by the Oklahoma Conference of Churches, were held at the First Christian Church, Westminster Presbyterian Church, and St. Luke's United Methodist Church in Oklahoma City; and at St. John's Episcopal Church and McFarlin United Methodist Church in Norman.

During the prayer service at First Christian Church, clergy from Presbyterian, Jewish, Baptist, Disciples of Christ, Roman Catholic, Episcopal, and Methodist congregations urged those gathered to share their grief with each other and with God.

Rabbi Daniel Shevits of Emanuel Synagogue recited a prayer for "those whose hearts are broken, who are suffering the death of loved ones."

Rev. Thomas Jewell, executive regional minister of the Disciples of Christ Church, said, "We pray for the media. They have an important job to do. May they each one have balance and compassion, honoring the dignity and the privacy of those who grieve."

Worship and prayer services were held for the bombing victims and the community's loss at the Anglican Church of the Holy Cross, Council Road Baptist Church, the Cathedral of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, First Presbyterian Church, the Del City Church of Christ, First United Methodist Church, Spring Creek Baptist Church, Edmond Church of Christ, All Souls Episcopal Church, St. Joseph Old Cathedral, First Baptist Church, and City Church.



How Shall We Look Again ¶ 161

Dave Wasserman, the president of the Oklahoma Conference of Churches, encouraged the community, saying, "Where there are ecumenical organizations and ministerial associations, please use these avenues to help us witness to our trust in God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and the One on Whom we can rely in such difficult times as these."

Said one editorialist for the *Daily Oklahoman*, "Some will blame God. But God did not place a bomb at 5th and Robinson. Evil men did, the kind of evil men that have been around since the beginning of history, since Cain slew Abel and unleashed the forces of chaos.

"Watching our own hometown on CNN, watching scenes that resemble Beirut instead of middle America, we are stunned by the proximity of this madness. This is what has been shattered: our sense of immunity from cataclysmic evil.

"Rather than blaming God, this is a time for the city and nation to draw closer to Him. This is a time to pray for the peace of Oklahoma City ... "

It was three o'clock on the afternoon of April 19, 1995. At that moment a total of 333 persons had been treated for injuries, and the official death toll had risen to 19 dead—17 children and 2 adults.

*We who are left how shall we look again
Happily on the sun or feel the rain
Without remembering how they who went
Ungrudgingly and spent
Their lives for us loved, too, the sun and rain?*

— Wilfred Wilson Gibson
"Lament" (1917)



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Chapter 8 —

LIKE AN OAK TREE

The Plight of the Rescuers and Survivors

By midafternoon the heavily guarded perimeter surrounding the bomb site was surrounded by a secondary perimeter—this one comprised of vehicles. The sight-seers had come out in full force, many from out of town, some from out of state. Traffic in the downtown area had now formed a dense, slowly shifting ring moving in a continual counterclockwise orbit around the Murrah Federal Building.

Reporter Ron Stahl interviewed some of those who had come downtown to view the devastation. Said one sight-seer, "You can see it on TV and that's one thing. But when you get down here, it just brings the whole thing home to you. It's ... it's just overwhelming. You feel for all of the people that were involved in it. It's just sad. I don't know what to say. Out here in the middle of nowhere, in Oklahoma City, it's all safe and then something like this happens. It's terrible!"

When asked why he had come to watch, another man answered, "Curiosity. You hear it all over the news. I was kind of wondering what's going on. It's real unbelievable. It makes me feel bad, really sad and terrible for the families that have lost loved ones, especially the kids."

One woman responded, "I've been listening to this all day long and wondering about friends. I stayed away as long as I could. I have a friend who works in federal court. I have many friends who work in Leadership Square and different buildings around here. I've been on the phone all day long calling to make sure everybody is intact, wishing there was something I could do, and I just don't know ... "



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PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

Sight-seers at the east fence after the exterior perimeter was removed. This fence was as close as anyone could get to the building prior to the implosion. At all hours large crowds gathered at the fence to both watch and weep. The fence on the west side enclosed the Regency Tower Apartments (tall building on the right) and was a block and a half farther away than the east fence. All gates to the fence were guarded by armed law-enforcement personnel. The guard for this east gate is standing just outside the frame on the south side of his patrol car, seen at the far left edge of the photograph.

In a television interview a nursing student from the University of Central Oklahoma, Chrys Moore, made a plea to pedestrian sight-seers and motorists: "We do have a lot of people that are coming down—curiosity seekers. We ask them, please go away. We've got all the emergency workers that we can handle right now, and we can't handle any more sightseers or anything like that."

Ms. Moore came to the television station directly from the rescue effort. She was still in her dust- and grime-covered work uniform, wearing a fluorescent orange hardhat spattered with blood. She seemed dazed and on edge. Said Moore, "I don't know if I can put it in words or not, but I went down from University Hospital. There were several student nurses that were called and I got pulled into the building. It was pretty distressing. There



were two amputees that we were actually working on, one on the basement, one on the first level. We didn't even get up to the second floor yet. There are approximately 100 to 150 people that are still in there trapped, and unfortunately we think that most of them are dead. There are seventeen confirmed casualties, children fatalities, and two confirmed adults who are dead."

Moore was asked, "Chrys, with many of the triage centers being disassembled now and people moving back because there are not many survivors to treat, do you sense a real gloom of hopelessness setting in which could be devastating to the work effort? Is there really a feeling of dire straits there?"

"Unfortunately, yes," said Moore. "Every time we would get set up, we got moved back. There were several gas leaks, for one thing. There were also at least two confirmed bombs that they know of that they haven't detonated yet, and we don't know where they are."

"As far as hopelessness, there are a lot of the medical staff that are grateful they were able to get some people out. We're grateful that we got to some that are still alive. I left about twenty minutes ago, and when I was inside the building we heard at least ten different voices of people who are alive. They're trapped. We don't know how seriously they are injured. At the last count we were out of oxygen and were needing things like that on the scene, but all of the area hospitals are sending more supplies and everyone is coming in to help."

At the conclusion of her interview, Chrys Moore collapsed into a chair at the television station and began to weep. Cameras gave the world an extended, close-up view of her blood-stained hardhat while station employees tried to comfort the young woman with hugs and cups of coffee.

The Third Bomb Scare

At the bomb site workers had again been moved back from the building. This was the third time that the rescue effort had been halted, and it was at this time that Technical Sergeant Melvin Sumter from the Oklahoma County Sheriff's Department videotaped firefighters removing weapons and other stored ordnance from the mountain of debris on the north side of the Murrah Building. In this instance, however, spokesmen for federal agencies were ready for the press, and the public was immediately told the official version of what was occurring. It would be months before we saw the videotape of what really happened.

Reporter and news anchor Uze Brown-Washington made a statement from the scene. "It's like a war zone here," said Ms. Brown-Washington. "It may sound like a cliché, but it is very, very real down here. They're working as fast as they can, of course. They've got some old military items in the basement there, which is why they keep pushing us back. It's not that they think



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they've found another device, but because of what's happened to that building. They don't know if some of these old military shells that are stored in the basement could be detonated and set off, so that's why they're pushing us back again."

There were no media representatives witnessing this operation. The media had been moved so far away from the Murrah Building that no one could see the workers removing any old military items from the basement. Reporters repeated what officials had told them to say to the public.

The removal of stored military shells from the lower levels of the building would not actually occur until days later. Something else was happening at this time that had nothing to do with the underground levels of the Murrah Building.

The Sheriff's Department videotape made at this time showed firefighters high up near the top of the mountain of debris, having to scale the side of the mound to reach the items being removed. Some of the items were thrown down to workers below, while others carried rifles and boxes of ammunition to a medical stretcher where these things were being collected for removal.

The statements made by officials about this particular operation were a complete fabrication as well as an impossibility. The weapons and stored ordnance on the mound could not have been blown upward from a basement storage area to the top of the mound following the collapse of the building. Nor could they have been launched from the basement area through the building, remained airborne long enough for all of the floors to collapse, and then descended together on top of the heap of debris. These were the weapons and munitions that had fallen from the ruptured arsenal room of the ninth-floor offices of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms—the existence of which would be universally denied for the next four months.

It was at this time that KTOK Radio AM 1000 reported the discovery and removal of a rocket launcher from the debris. This announcement originated with a rescue worker on the scene and was relayed to a KTOK reporter near the perimeter. The news reporter was having a very hard time explaining why a rocket launcher would be inside the Federal Building. After a rambling, confused conversation between the reporter and the news anchor, it was finally speculated that the rocket launcher must have been confiscated during a drug raid and that would account for its presence in the Murrah Building.

There would be no further mention of the rocket launcher from any media source until the afternoon press conference at 5:00 p.m., at which time Bob Ricks, head of the Oklahoma City FBI, would deny knowing anything about it.



Uze Brown-Washington continued her report to KFOR Channel 4 Television: "This situation ... when you think you've seen it all, there is something worse. Weather forecaster Dan Threlkeld just arrived down here and he said the rain is definitely coming, so they're taking that into consideration. They've got triage set up outside, and they are trying to get rain gear out now. We can see them handing out raincoats to do what they can to deal with that situation."

The afternoon had been muggy and still. The spring sunshine was only occasionally diffused by clouds. But the clouds were becoming more numerous and the wind was beginning to pick up and shift direction. Within the hour the first wave of rain would reach the downtown area, beginning with periods of drizzle interspersed with brief heavy downpours. Local meteorologists refer to these small, self-contained thundershowers as "storms of the popcorn variety." Rain would start and stop throughout the rest of the day, often accompanied by much lightning, only to rapidly drift to the northeast, pushed by the approaching storm front. By sunset the big storms would arrive.

Counseling

At this time a new public bulletin was released. Representatives from the Medical Examiner's Office asked the community to stop calling. The telephone lines were again jammed and cellular phone traffic was being slowed, blocked, and disrupted between the emergency crews and rescue agencies.

An announcement was also made concerning a central location being organized for the families of the victims who were frantically searching or waiting for news of their loved ones: "If you have family members that are missing or possibly dead, you are asked to physically go to the First Christian Church at NW 36th and Walker. There is a Family Assistance Center set up there for those of you concerned about immediate family members who may be critically injured or possibly dead."

"In addition to emergency and rescue workers, there are also mental-health officials standing by waiting to help people. Do not call the Church and do not call the Medical Examiner's Office; they cannot take phone calls. Physically go to the Family Assistance Center at the First Christian Church located at NW 36th and Walker."

As the Family Assistance Center was becoming operational, phone banks at the different television stations were being manned by mental-health officials who were fielding calls from members of the community. The number of fatalities had shocked everyone—even though the official death toll at this time was barely eleven percent of the final figure. No one was fully prepared emotionally for what was yet to come.





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To help meet the mental-health needs of the community following the bombing, Project Heartland was established as a free crisis-intervention and counseling service. The program was operated by the State Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services, and was provided funding for two years by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). The program was proclaimed by Tipper Gore, wife of Vice President Al Gore, as a national model for dealing with tragedy. However, Project Heartland was intended only for short-term crisis intervention. People needing long-term help would have to be integrated into a mental health program in the community.

In assessing the need for counselors and recovery programs, experts determined that on average each person has four to six other persons who could be considered close family, and another five or six close friends. This meant that for every person who was injured or killed there would be approximately twelve secondary victims.

When considering the number of persons treated at area hospitals and those killed in the explosions, these experts decided that the tip of the mental-health iceberg involved approximately ten thousand primary and secondary victims who would require some kind of counseling. The remainder of those assessed to be in need of mental-health assistance were the thousands of emergency, rescue, recovery, and relief personnel who were traumatized by the scene, and their family members. The projected numbers were staggering.

Additionally, these same experts concluded that even persons who had lost no friend or relative in the bombing and had not worked at the bomb site were equally victimized. It was thought that being unable to take part directly in the rescue or relief efforts was nearly as traumatic as participating! The experts believed that uninvolved persons must feel extremely guilty for not doing more, for not being there, or perhaps for not being victims themselves.

While many of these assertions represent incredible leaps of speculation and assumption, the fact remains that many persons—directly and indirectly involved, as well as those uninvolved—did indeed suffer great emotional trauma and required assistance to regain their sense of balance and security. But many more persons did not.

It is certainly not the intent here to denigrate the need for counseling or to speak disrespectfully of those persons who did endure great anxiety and stress. For those who sought help and received great comfort and relief from the ministrations of psychologists, it is a great victory in their lives to regain emotional balance. This fact should never be minimized.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that not everyone who endured great emotional trauma required the intrusive treatment provided by psychologists





and counselors. Many persons resented such intrusions into their private lives and feelings.

Although there was much talk about the need for individualized counseling, group coping sessions did not always provide it. Some victims complained that the FEMA-funded programs failed to recognize that people respond to tragedy and trauma differently and failed to acknowledge that human coping mechanisms alone can actually resolve even major emotional stress.

Even among trained counselors there was division of opinion about the severity of anticipated future mental-health problems. Dr. Ronald S. Krug, chairman of the Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences at the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, remarked, "Research data from other disasters around the world has indicated that if we don't get to people in the first three to six months, we can expect some rather prolonged effects from the bombing."

Krug also stated that his main concern was for people who did not feel that they needed any help and therefore did not receive treatment from psychological counselors. He seemed determined to convince those who were not suffering that they should be or would be.

Shauna Struby of Contact Telephone Helpline assessed the state of the community: "I think we have a community that is grieving. It will be a long process, and we need to allow ourselves to do that. It's okay to cry. It's okay to cry months afterward."

Coordinator of the Red Cross Mental Health Response Effort, Dusty Bowencamp, commented on the future: "Things that were important before aren't important now. It's going to be a very difficult time for a lot of people. Many will have a delayed reaction to the tragedy. They will move into the anger and depression phase. Family problems will arise in which rescue workers will be exhausted and will lash out at their families, feeling that if you weren't on the scene, you simply cannot understand."

Bowencamp spoke movingly of counseling rescue workers who had been holding the hand of injured and trapped victims at the time the Murrah Building was evacuated for the 10:30 a.m. bomb scare. When the workers returned, many of the victims were dead. Those rescuers were enduring the greatest possible degree of guilt, but it was stressed that these workers needed to accept that if they *could* have removed the trapped victims, they *would* have done so. The people buried in the rubble of the Murrah Building were usually inextricably trapped. Even if the rescuers had stayed during the evacuation and worked feverishly at removal efforts, the victims might still have died. There was no way to assess the extent of the injuries of those victims.

All rescue workers suffering from this kind of agony imagined that had they stayed, the victims would have lived. There was no way to know for a cer-





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tainty if such a thing was true. But for the rescue workers it was a matter of great personal importance that could never be fully resolved factually. They were going to simply have to believe.

Allyn S. Friedman, the Executive Director for Red Rock Mental Health Center, stated that many persons were and would be experiencing post-traumatic stress syndrome. "The Murrah bombing is something that is totally out of line with a stable, predictable society, and it raises all kinds of doubts, fears, and some of our scariest feelings.

"Their life and their world have been disrupted and they are wondering when, how, and if things are ever going to be normal. But when another tragedy happens someplace else, it's also likely to trigger a negative reaction in many of those people who thought they had finally recovered from the Oklahoma City bombing."

After months of comments similar to these, people began to wonder if we would observe a self-fulfilling prophecy. Surely those who were convinced that they needed to be suffering anxiety would then manifest those symptoms. If post-traumatic stress syndrome was now going to be the normal reaction to the bombing, were you abnormal if you were not experiencing those symptoms? After several months it was reported that some uninvolved persons had begun calling the counseling centers because they were *not* feeling ill at ease. They felt there was something wrong with that because all of the "experts" had told them they should be suffering more. It was a sad state of affairs.

Ministers and trained counselors from the local churches took a less intrusive approach to treatment. The Rev. C. Dene Brown, director of Skyline Urban Ministry, stated, "Our church has decided to take the approach that if we run into a real need, we're going to try to do something about it. We will be here if we are needed, but we will not intrude into the private lives of people."

Ministry counseling involved discussing, analyzing, talking, and prayer. Other comfort rituals were invoked, including vigils, worship services, prayer meetings, memorial services, and candlelight services. In addition, ministers usually counseled one on one with victims and secondary victims rather than in group settings, recognizing that each person's relationship with God is vitally important to the healing of the heart and must be respected.

Rev. Joe Williams, head of the chaplaincy for the Baptist General Convention, worked for nineteen straight days at the Oklahoma City bomb site. He also serves as the chaplain for the FBI in Oklahoma. "I had been through some debriefing," said Williams, "and I got through a lot of that. But after the family memorial service I went back to the office still carrying that stuff with me.

"When I looked at my own granddaughter, I couldn't see her as a whole person. I could see her possibly being blown apart. But I'm one hundred



percent better now. Sometimes even the counselors need counseling. But for everyone it has to be by choice, not by intrusion."

Because so many public and private mental-health agencies were involved in counseling, it has never been accurately determined how many persons in the community have sought help. The number of workers from out of state seeking mental-health assistance as a result of the bombing has never been calculated.

Mental-health workers would continue to deal with the fears and grief of the community for months following the bombing. For adults who felt in need of help, the counseling was voluntary. Assistance and support were sought when needed, and once emotional balance was regained, the counseling program ceased for that individual.

But eventually government-funded programs were developed for school-age children and were implemented on a long-term basis. Although participation was supposed to be optional, it did not always work out that way.

In events of such magnitude as the bombing of the Murrah Building, there will always be a variety of reactions, and the adjustment to life following the incident will be different for every individual. In the case of the children, the majority suffered no after-effects at all.

While it is certainly true that some children were fearful and upset by the graphic television coverage to which they were subjected for the month following the bombing, when that constant barrage ceased, the children regained their stability and their lives continued without that constant stress. Only a few children were so deeply affected that they still suffered from anxiety a year after the event. The children most affected were the ones who had been injured in the bombing, had been near the bomb site at the time of the explosions, or lost loved ones as a result of the bombing. Each child was different, and each child handled the tragedy in a different way.

Yet for some reason known only to the "experts," all children were to be lumped together, often in group sessions during school hours, with little allowance made for individuality, specific need, or lack of need. The government-paid professionals were about to take over the scene, and they did so without considering the desires of the parents.

Many parents felt that they were themselves best equipped to console, comfort, and teach their own children how to deal with fear, anxiety, and grief. Others preferred the teachings of scripture and a reliance on religious faith as their source of comfort for their families. These personal choices were not going to be seriously considered by the psychological program directors, and at times were completely ignored.

Seven weeks after the bombing, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Education and former Oklahoma City School Superintendent Thomas Payzant visited





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Oklahoma City district schools and came away commenting how surprisingly resilient the students were following the bombing. Even the youngest children were well-adjusted and had handled the great tragedy with an unexpected degree of maturity and acceptance.

Nevertheless, Payzant was certain that the children would need more help coping during the summer when they were away from the schools, and would surely need help during the following school year. Payzant never fully explained why he believed that a child's absence from school during the summer vacation would automatically result in an increase in bomb-related anxiety; nor did he elaborate on the assumption that well-adjusted children would become emotionally unbalanced when more closely aligned with their parents rather than with the schools—as would be the case during the summer.

Of even greater puzzlement was Payzant's belief that these same well-adjusted children would automatically revert to fear-driven, emotional imbalance when school reconvened in the autumn. It seemed as if he had, without individual assessment or examination, already diagnosed the entire student body with post-traumatic stress syndrome, and the manifestation of the symptoms was going to conveniently coincide with the resumption of classes in the public schools.

Although he could find no immediate need for a massive counseling program—as witnessed by his own statements following his professional observation of the emotional stability of the children—Payzant still met with School Superintendent Betty Mason to discuss the implementation of a two-part program: counseling for students and families and the continuation of counseling training for teachers.

Payzant's plan—which would be implemented with the cooperation of other government agencies such as the State Department of Mental Health—was not going to be altered even if no one needed his help. Said Payzant enthusiastically, "We're working on long-term plans to pull the pieces together so we get the best mileage out of our dollar." Having found little overall need for the psychological program for the children, the best Payzant could do was extol its administrative sleekness.

There was a great deal of community concern about the counseling programs for children that were to be operated under the direction of the public schools. No matter what course of action might be needed to deal with the emotional aspects of the Murrah Building bombing—whether it was psychological counseling, family conferences, prayer, or any other coping system—it was generally believed by the public that the decision for that action should rest with the individual, and in the case of children, with the parents.

The issue of psychological counseling in the public schools became a matter of great controversy, and it continues to be a source of hot division and



irritation in the community even now. The post-bomb psychological programs for children continue to the present day, much to the distress of many parents. This counseling has occurred at times in direct violation of the requests of parents who did not want their children to participate in the profiling, testing, assessing, and counseling administered by the public school system and designed by government agencies.

The idea that any government-sponsored psychological program could replace or perform more successfully than the loving nurture of devoted parents was abhorrent to many. To those who relied deeply on faith, the secular humanistic approach of psychology was seen as sheer quackery. To those who had already formed deep and abiding bonds of love and trust with their children, the psychologists were viewed as very unwelcome intruders into private matters that were no one else's business. Occasionally the children themselves objected to the counseling and found the sessions more confusing and upsetting than helpful.

It was also aptly observed that there were many children who had peacefully adjusted after the bombing, who had no nightmares, who had no overwhelming deep-seated anxieties that needed to be "discovered" and "overcome" by psychological testing or counseling. Some parents felt that the constant dwelling on the fears the children were *supposed* to have—when they did not have them—was quite harmful. Some children who had been previously settled in their minds about the bombing began to feel pressured by their peers and the counselors to admit they had fears or confess that they were still upset.

But the issue that raised the hackles of more parents in the Oklahoma City area than any other was the plan to provide psychological counseling for preschool children—the toddlers in the government-licensed day-care centers—regardless of the degree of the child's exposure to the Murrah Building bombing.

This is a situation that as of this writing has not been resolved. The public school system, which is only marginally answerable to the parents, is continuing to do what it wants to do, with the complete blessing of Governor Frank Keating, and parents who complain or object publicly are taking great risks by doing so.

This controversy stems from a gut-level conflict between those who believe that parents do the best parenting and those who believe that the government can do a better job of child-rearing and has an obligation to do so. This second view has been laid before the public for consideration in the book by Hillary Clinton entitled *It Takes a Village*.

Parents concerned that government was usurping their parental rights met to discuss their views. In a small meeting held in late April 1996, they were reminded of the statement made by Harvard psychiatrist Chester M. Pierce. During the 1973 International Education Seminar, Pierce, speaking as an





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expert in public education, said: "Every child in America entering school at the age of five is mentally ill because he comes to school with certain allegiances to our founding fathers, toward our elected officials, toward his parents, toward a belief in a supernatural being, and toward the sovereignty of this nation as a separate entity. It's up to you as teachers to make all these sick children well—by creating the international child of the future."

Many parents found this reasoning offensive. It was particularly disturbing to learn that Pierce was still an influential teacher at Harvard University twenty-two years after making that statement. It worried parents that a man of Pierce's prestige influenced the policy decisions of the schools. Some saw the FEMA-funded psychological programs for children as an extension of Pierce's philosophy.

There were other similar situations that drove parents to seek legal confirmation of their parenting rights. Congressman Steve Largent (R-Tulsa) acquired 125 co-sponsors for his "Parental Rights and Responsibilities Act" (S. 984 and H.R. 1946) which says—among many other things—that "no federal, state, or local government shall interfere with or usurp the right of a parent to direct the upbringing of the child of the parent." This proposed legislation remains in committee in both the United States Senate and the House of Representatives at the time of this writing.



The supporters of government-funded and -directed psychological assistance, especially for children, made tactical errors in their push for official sanction. In their haste to convince the public that there were huge numbers of suffering parents and children in Oklahoma desperately in need of their expertise, they failed to consider how this might be viewed by the courts.



At the change-of-venue hearing held on January 30, 1996, federal authorities struggled in vain to keep the trial of the bombing suspects in the State of Oklahoma. The defense, believing that Oklahomans had been too affected by the bombing to provide an impartial jury pool for the trial, entered into evidence videotapes of the media coverage of the bombing, newspaper and magazine articles, and poll results indicating that the populace had already prejudged the defendants.

In their efforts to disprove the allegations of the defense, federal prosecutors called to the stand the same experts who had for months been telling the citizens of Oklahoma how much we were in need of their help and how we could not adequately adjust to life after the bombing without their government-directed psychological programs. These experts were suddenly forced to testify under oath that since April 19, 1995—a period of just over nine months—only about 5000 persons had sought their assistance, not the staggering numbers they had set before the public in their efforts to gain widespread support and approval. The number of persons treated was barely 1.28% of the population of Oklahoma City, and was less than one percent of the population of Oklahoma County.





Out of a state population of almost 3.2 million persons, the judge did not believe that the alleged psychological suffering of the citizens was great enough to merit a change of venue. He did, however, determine that the media saturation had been sufficiently biased and overwhelming to have already convicted the men accused prior to due process. The trial site was moved to Denver, Colorado. The federal prosecutors and FEMA-funded psychiatric authorities were left stewing in their own juices, waiting for the next propaganda opportunity.

From time to time thereafter additional attempts were made to remind the public just how much we had been emotionally scarred. A week before the one-year anniversary of the bombing, KOCO Channel 5 aired a television special entitled "Broken Smiles" which focused on the reaction of children to the bombing. During this same period newspaper articles began appearing that stated that Oklahoma schoolchildren should not be required to take the annual standardized tests because they were still so upset.

Many Oklahoma City residents simply watched and shook their heads in disbelief. It had become obvious that the federal agencies could not have it both ways. The ruling of the court had fairly well put to rest the idea of continued, eternal suffering as a result of the bombing. Life was indeed going on in spite of efforts to stop it in its tracks a year previously.

We all knew we had been scarred by the bombing. There was no denying it. And yet the remarkable thing about a scar is that when you see it, you can remember every detail of the event that caused it. But once the wound has become a scar, it doesn't hurt you any longer. The memory may linger, but the pain diminishes until it too is just a memory.

Those in need of psychological assistance will surely seek it and find their way out of whatever troubles them. Others will pray and believe God to heal their hearts as well as their physical ailments. Others will recover fully with nothing more than the blessing of the passage of time.

Those who have sought to "help" by forcing us to constantly relive the anguish and fear of April 19, 1995, in the anticipation of removing that fear are approaching the problem from a wrong perspective. Much of that concern is surely well-intentioned. But one does not have to look far to find federally-funded aid programs that are taken to extremes, fueled by a desire to perpetuate and expand one's job and one's importance to those who will become dependent. There are some who consider intrusive psychological treatment techniques in the same league as systematized emotional torment with a manipulative goal. There are others who call it mind control. And there are some who simply call it evil.

*Evil enters like a needle
and spreads like an oak tree.*

— Ethiopian Proverb



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DRAGON'S TEETH

Peripheral Damage and Local Reports

The afternoon of April 19 was now waning. It had been announced that President Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno would be making live televised speeches to the nation about the Oklahoma City bombing at any moment. A second nationally televised press conference was scheduled to begin immediately following, featuring all of the local players and officials from Oklahoma City. But as could be expected on such a day, nothing was running on time.

The media was marching in place, waiting for our leaders to step up to the microphone and address the tragedy of the day. While we waited, other interviews and statements were offered. Some initial assessment had been made of damage to the buildings surrounding the bomb site. It did not look good. Structures within a five-mile radius of the Murrah Federal Building had sustained varying degrees of damage, ranging from simple glass breakage to total collapse.

Jeff Lazalier spoke with Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen about the peripheral damage and what this might mean to the community. Asked Lazalier: "Are there any other buildings that are in serious danger right now?"

"Yes," replied Hansen, "across the street. There are some area buildings, as you can see, that have some pretty significant structural damage. These people are going to have to get structural engineers in those buildings to check the integrity prior to letting their employees back in. Again, I think Mayor Norick this afternoon will have an announcement concerning if people want to stay out of downtown tomorrow."



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Most seriously damaged were the buildings across the street from and immediately behind the Murrah Building. The Federal Courthouse, the Regency Tower Apartment Building, the Journal Record Building, the Oklahoma Water Resources Board Building, and the YMCA sustained millions of dollars worth of damage.

The Athenian Restaurant and a taxi dispatch garage located across the street north of the Murrah Building and to the west of the Journal Record Building were now nothing more than mounds of debris. No part of their architecture could be salvaged.



PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

Damage to the taxi garage located near NW 6th Street. Entry into this garage was extremely dangerous, but the access was restricted only by crime scene tape which eventually weathered away. Although federal officials thought it best to implode the remains of the Murrah Building for "safety reasons," collapsed buildings such as this garage and the Athenian Restaurant have not been removed or repaired—over a year after the explosions.

Residents of the YMCA and the Regency Tower would be displaced for months following the explosions while the buildings were being restored. At the expense of the owners of the Regency Tower, residents were temporarily housed in nearby hotels and motels for nearly five months before they could move back into their apartments. In all, well over 200 buildings and residences within several miles of the Murrah Building suffered damage.



PHOTO BY BRETT WOOLEY

Damage to the Athenian Restaurant located directly across the street from the Murrah Building. This damage still stands over a year after the explosions.

St. Joseph's Old Cathedral at 519 N. Harvey, located across the street west and one-half block south of the Murrah Building, had its roof blown completely off, and historic stained-glass windows were shattered.

The stained-glass windows were destroyed at the First United Methodist Church at 131 NW 4th, located across the street east and behind the Federal Building, and the balcony inside the church had collapsed in pieces. In addition, the skylight and other windows were blown out and the roof had been lifted up from the sanctuary.

Very shortly after the explosions smoke billowed from the roof of Investor's Capital Building at 217 N. Harvey, located two blocks south of the Murrah Building. Glass had shattered throughout the building, and it appeared there might have been some foundation shifting.

Buildings throughout the area had cracks up the walls, and windows were destroyed in every building in the vicinity. Smaller brick buildings in the downtown area had been completely demolished. The roofs of two multi-storied parking garages collapsed.

A half mile from the explosions, glass and structural damage could be observed in every direction. Abuelita Rosa Mexican Cafe, located more than a half-mile north and west of the Federal Building, had glass broken in every window. The Civic Center Music Hall, located a half mile to the southwest, showed cracks in the walls.



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Damage was sustained in businesses even beyond the half-mile radius of the explosions. The Law Center, located north of the Federal Building at 915 N. Robinson, was filled with flying glass as the building shook dangerously.

At Merkel X-Ray Company, 225 NW 9th, workers were blown from their chairs and windows were shattered throughout. Farther north, glass exploded at Dr. Richard Clay's office at 415 NW 11th. Beyond that, the Wesley Village Retirement Community, 300 NW 12th, was shaken severely and windows shattered.

The beautiful stained-glass windows at the First Baptist Church at 1201 N. Robinson were destroyed. A worker in the church thought the building was going to fall down because it shook so badly.

At a one-mile radius north of the Murrah Building, the force of the explosions was still intense. At the Devore Law Office, 1318 N. Robinson, insulation, ceiling tiles, and twisted metal came crashing down in the offices, and flying debris sent workers scurrying under their desks for safety. The heavy double doors of the First Lutheran Church at 1300 N. Robinson burst open by the force of the blasts.

All of downtown Oklahoma City had been affected by the bombing. Later that afternoon as I drove through the area, I saw glass damage from the concussions as far away as NW 23rd Street, which is approximately two miles north of the Federal Building and as far west as Pennsylvania Avenue, which is about three miles west.

For miles in every direction around the Murrah Building you could hear the sound of broken glass being crushed beneath the tires of all moving vehicles. The streets of downtown Oklahoma City were literally carpeted with shards of glass.

At the heart of this disaster was the Murrah Federal Building. For those working at the bomb site on April 19, there was definite trauma. There was shock and revulsion on an unimaginable scale. Most participants in the rescue operation sought some form of immediate emotional release after leaving the bomb site, but wherever you went in the area, there were visible reminders. For anyone with a desire to tell their story, there was always a media representative ready and waiting with a microphone at the perimeter.

For persons at home following the coverage of the event on television, any news of any kind was almost a form of comfort. It was better to know than to wonder, because after the experience of the morning people were frightened and confused. As horrifying and gruesome as the news was, it was far better—and felt far safer—than to be at the mercy of one's imagination.

KWTV reporter Cynthia Gunn interviewed two Oklahoma Highway Patrol officers. One young officer was unidentified, the other was Craig Metcalf, a trooper of many years' experience. Ms. Gunn asked the questions that everyone wanted to ask: "Tell us what you saw and what you were able to do."



The younger officer responded first. "We saw just total devastation," he said. "There are people that you can't get to. The building is not safe at this time, and you don't know where to start. We're just trying to get everybody rounded up. Now we have a storm moving in, and the building is just not secure."

Ms. Gunn questioned Officer Metcalf: "You were telling me that the children that you saw were the worst sight?"

"Yes, ma'am," said Officer Metcalf. "We don't know how many children are in there. I carried two out that had expired. We don't know how many adults are in there. I carried five expired people out. As you can see, you've got to be careful. The building is not structurally sound, and people are doing their best. We got who we could. We were able to bring two people alive out of there, and that made up for the five that I had to carry out."

"And that is the real incentive, isn't it?" asked Ms. Gunn. "Finding living survivors keeps you going?"

"We can hear them but we can't get to them," said the younger officer.

Metcalf continued, "Now the dogs are in there looking for them, trying to help us out, but with this storm coming in, the building is not safe. You don't know where it's going to fall out from under you. But we're trying to get the people we can. Now we're changing shifts and letting fresh people go in."

The younger officer offered these comments. "It just gets worse the more you look at it. It looks like a bomb shattered everything. The buildings across the street are what are amazing to me. It blew desks back and people in the [Journal Record] building were pinned behind their desks."

"[Officer Metcalf] went up further than I did, up to the third floor. The problem was, we would get up to the third floor and they'd yell 'Bomb!' and we'd have to run back out. When I first got here, I ran three straight blocks as hard as I could because we thought there was another bomb."

"What was the most frightening moment for you in there?" asked Ms. Gunn.

Officer Metcalf thought gravely for a moment and answered. "When we were trying to carry people out and they yelled 'Bomb!' That was tough. We had a lady in there that was still alive and we didn't want to leave her. They were yelling at us to come on and get out of there. But when you've got a live person, it doesn't make any difference. You try to stay with them."

"The worst part was having to leave her, but we did go back and get her. She is alive and is on her way to one of the hospitals. That's all I can tell you, ma'am."

"One thing we haven't talked about," said Ms. Gunn, "is the emotion you all must feel. When you look at what someone did—deliberately killing people, maiming people, hurting people—how do you feel about what happened today in Oklahoma City at the Federal Building?"



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The younger officer replied, "The first thing I told [Officer Metcalf] was, who would have thought that in Oklahoma City it would have happened. We've just never seen anything like it. We look at tornadoes all the time, and this is nothing like a tornado. It blew the whole side of the building off, and the building across the street that was two stories high has been leveled."

A KFOR cameraman was interviewed by reporter Brad Riggins. The cameraman had managed to get inside the perimeter and offered a report to the public. He was the only member of the media who had been near the ground-zero area since the 10:30 a.m. bomb scare, when all media were removed from the scene.

"I rode in," said the cameraman, "with an emergency medical worker without my camera to try to see what I could down there. When I did get down there, it was unbelievable. It was the first time that I had actually seen the damage. The closest I'd ever gotten was about two blocks away. But I was at ground zero.

"There were still a lot of federal agents and there were dogs searching for survivors or for bombs. The medical worker with me told me that he drove by a little earlier today and looked into the side of one of the buildings and actually saw a man still sitting at his desk like he was working, but he was dead with the phone in his hand.

"There are still a lot of people there—a lot of activity—which was kind of surprising to me. I figured most of the people would have been on the inside of the building. But the whole downtown area is covered with emergency personnel at this moment."

In another interview, Larry Jones, founder and director of Feed the Children, was asked, "What's the latest you can tell us about what your people are doing?"

"I just came from the area," replied Jones. "There just aren't any words that can express what's being said over there. There's basically very little hope for those who are left in there when you see the magnitude of the bombing—what took place. They're getting ready to start bringing people out as I speak now, and this is just a very, very sad moment, because as things have settled down, everybody is facing the reality of the moment. There is going to be a large number of body bags that are going to be brought in there. So I think Oklahoma City needs to brace itself for the number of people that have been killed in that building."

In an unfortunate and inadvertent juxtaposition of media reports, KTOK Radio AM 1000 then announced that 300 adult-sized body bags had been requested by emergency workers on the scene, and 200 were being taken into the perimeter at that time by rescue workers from Fort Sill.

Upon hearing this news, an even more oppressive weight began to settle on everyone. Motorists throughout the state began to drive with their headlights on as an indication of great mourning and deep grief.



Those headlights became the symbol for sympathetic hugs between strangers on the streets and highways. To the Highway Patrol troopers and National Guardsmen who manned the perimeter, the headlights were seen as a sign of community support. To the families waiting for news of their loved ones, they were seen as comfort and care from everyone. And in the slow-moving traffic jams surrounding the downtown area, one could observe in every direction people weeping in their cars. When occasional eye contact was made with the driver of another vehicle, silent nods of sorrowful acknowledgment were exchanged. We all understood this language. It was, after all, a pain beyond words.

As if a reflection of the grief of the community, the first wave of the coming storms then settled over Oklahoma City. Rain began falling slowly, starting and stopping unexpectedly. From time to time heavy dark clouds gathered, lowered, and drenched the downtown area for a few moments, unsettling the rescue workers with heavy thunder and flashes of lightning. And then, as quickly as it had come, the storm moved on, followed by another and then another.

Temperatures began a slow decline and then dropped precipitously shortly before sunset. The weather was becoming very unstable, and in Oklahoma all of us read these signs with great expertise. Hot, humid afternoons in conflict with cold fronts crossing the state often set the stage for tornadic activity, especially when in combination with moisture from the Gulf of Mexico. All of the necessary variables were in play to bring very severe weather into the area, and this had everyone worried.

Reporting from the scene, Randy Renner of KWTV Channel 9 Television was asked if he could see any work progressing or if the rescue had been halted because of the rain.

Said Mr. Renner, "We don't have a very good view of the bottom three or four floors of the building, so we're not sure what might be happening down in there. But we don't see the fire truck ladders that we saw a little bit earlier. I'm not sure if that means that they believe there are no more survivors in that part of the building, or if perhaps it just became too dangerous to continue those efforts. With the thunderstorm in the area and all the lightning that was flashing around a while ago, those metal ladders are certainly not something you want to be close to in the middle of a lightning storm.

"Also, the wind kicked up here considerably, and that was causing a lot of flying debris. You see hanging off the building all manner of things—pieces of roofing, flooring, pieces of tin, various things. All of that was flapping around in the wind. Some of it was coming down, crashing on the rescuers who were down below. It did become an even more dangerous situation as that first storm was passing through. But things have calmed down now.

"It is a very dangerous situation now because there is no structural soundness to the Murrah Building at all, especially here on the north side.



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Everything could come tumbling down again at any moment, and that is certainly something people are very well aware of and are very concerned about at this time."

Viewing the scene with an anguished shake of his head, news anchor Kelly Ogle stated, "Help for survivors will not be nearly as necessary as space for the dead will be." Those words turned out to be more prophetic than he knew.

Everyone was still waiting for the President and the Attorney General to speak. The scheduled address was now an hour overdue. In the meantime, terrorism expert Dr. Stephen Sloan, from the University of Oklahoma, offered his opinions and assessments of the day's events.

Said Sloan: "We've had a long feeling of parochialism that somehow it could not happen here. In addition, of course, our level of security has not been as heightened as it has been on the east and west coasts. So we've lost some of our innocence, and we're now starting to accept the reality that terrorism has happened here. And unfortunately, we may be crossing a threshold in terms of future acts within the interior of the U.S."

When asked if he was surprised that this terrorist act had occurred in Oklahoma City, Sloan replied, "I must say, I'm not. We've been involved in terms of terrorism vulnerability studies, among other things, here in the state since 1977, and no areas have ever been zoned against terrorism. If you harden targets on the east and west coasts, you displace people and you displace targets. So there are softer targets here. It also sends a message of vulnerability that did not exist before."

"I think of that as target displacement. No matter how good your physical security is, people look to softer targets of opportunity. Terrorists do that. I would like to emphasize, however, that on the state and local level, a lot of security work has been done here. But how do you prepare for something of this magnitude?"

Kelly Ogle asked, "It looks like much of the devastation that we have here was near the child-care center. Do you think that could have been an intended target, or was that just happenstance?"

"I suspect that was happenstance," said Dr. Sloan. "I suspect so, but there is concern over here as to whether the perpetrators knew that there would be a lot of people killed. It makes you wonder whether they were really worried about public opinion. It leads me to believe that they may be quite an extremist group who didn't care about public opinion."

"You have to question just how much security-zone perimeters you can maintain, particularly if you want to conduct business as usual in a large city. So, very significant also in this case is that this is a highly symbolic target, given the offices that were located there [in the Murrah Building]. There must have been some pretty heavy surveillance with regard to the selection



of targets. There is always a situation of reconciling freedom of movement versus security."

"Freedom of movement versus security"? Here we were again at Governor Keating's "prudent and careful protective efforts." It looked like this sort of reasoning was going to become a trend, and in the days that followed, similar comments were made by terrorism experts throughout the country. Illogical though it was, there would be a consensus that personal liberty would have to be sacrificed if we were to be secure from terrorist acts.

The Anti-Islamic Reaction

Our attention was suddenly diverted by an announcement read from the Associated Press newswire: "The FBI office in Oklahoma City has sent a teletype out asking agents around the country to contact any informants and sources that they might have with ties or knowledge of terrorist groups or advocates of violence to try to get more word on who may be responsible."

As the news of possible suspects began to trickle out from law-enforcement officials, KFOR Channel 4 Television news anchor Devin Scillian reviewed the information we had heard almost six hours earlier.

"Again," he said, "the Nation of Islam has released a statement saying that they had absolutely no involvement in this. And we do need to reiterate—because it would be a disservice to the Islamic community to allow the suspicion to linger—that that was an unconfirmed phone call. Clearly, we weren't able to confirm who it was who called us. It was a very quick phone call. Other than that, though, no one has taken responsibility. We don't want to commit some kind of disservice to the Islamic community, because the two don't have anything to do with each other. Keep in mind, the Nation of Islam is a different group, not Islam."

It was admirable of Scillian to try to make that distinction for the public, but the situation was never fully clarified and no further explanations were attempted. Gradually, remarks about the Nation of Islam faded from reports and all conversation would focus on alleged Muslim fundamentalists.

"As for those responsible," continued Scillian, "all I can tell you is that Oklahoma City police do have apparently two or three suspects in mind. They are looking for two or three Middle Eastern men in connection with the bombing."

Said ABC reporter John McWethy: "As a further sign of where the investigation is headed, the FBI has asked the U.S. military to send at least ten Arabic speakers to Oklahoma City to assist in the investigation."

The details of an all-points bulletin were sketchy at first. One suspect was twenty-five to thirty years old and of Middle Eastern descent; one was described as being thirty-five to thirty-eight; and no description was given



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of the third man who was believed to be the driver of the suspected vehicle.

The vehicle in question was a brown, late-model Chevy pickup with tinted windows and bug shield. The truck had been last seen southbound on North Walker in downtown Oklahoma City. Officials were examining records at the Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport, seeking information about a National Car Rental vehicle believed to have been involved.

Gail Spratt, spokeswoman for the Minnesota-based rental-car company, told the *Dallas Morning News* that the FBI suspected the car was rented from National Car's Dallas-Fort Worth office. Spratt said, "We're trying to determine the connection, if any. Something has led them to National Car Rental."

It was never entirely clear why officials believed the vehicle they were seeking had been rented from that company. The National Car Rental lead would linger for another day or so, reaching its resolution on I-35 near Dallas, Texas. But that situation was still in the future.

In the meantime a Justice Department official announced that they had received calls from six people saying they were from different Muslim sects, asserting they were responsible for the Murrah Building bombing. "But there is no way to know if the calls are genuine," the official said, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "They could be hoaxes."

Reporter Jeff Lazalier provided additional details about the suspects: "This is information that we are getting—no confirmation from official federal sources, but coming from local law officials—we understand that there was one witness who saw two people in their mid-twenties, two males, leaving the vicinity of the building about nine-ish this morning. They were driving a brown pickup truck. We don't know what model or what year it was, but they were wearing blue sweatsuits or running suits. The eyewitness described them as having a Middle Eastern look to them, but we don't know if that's just because of the hysteria that comes out of an event like this."

Hysteria did come from this event. In the days following the Murrah Building bombing, 227 instances of hate against Muslims were documented nationwide, including the burning of a mosque in North Carolina. Salam Al-Marayati, director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council in Los Angeles, made the statement that self-styled terrorism experts "exploit a gap of understanding about Muslims, who are too often lumped together with Middle East extremists." Al-Marayati remarked that the Council's offices were inundated by hate calls after the bombing.

Local Muslims did their best to calm the public. During the evening newscast KOCO Channel 5 Television, news anchor Cherokee Ballard read a press release from the Islamic Society of Norman: "We the members of the Islamic Society of Norman and the Muslim Students Association of the University of Oklahoma, are shocked to learn about the explosion that took



place in a building in the Oklahoma City area. We deeply sympathize with the innocent victims and hope that such situations do not occur in the future. We whole-heartedly condemn this and other similar bombings which disrupt the peace and harmony of the peace-loving citizens. Such incidences [sic] are totally against the spirits of any religion including Islam. We as Muslims have nothing to do or share with such inhumane activities. We are trying our best to help the victims and are available for any assistance that we can offer to the affected ones."

The press release was signed by Sohail Hasanjee, President, Islamic Society of Norman, Muslim Students' Association of the University of Oklahoma. That statement had little effect on the mood of the public.

On April 19 and 20, drive-by shootings shattered windows of a mosque at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater. The Islamic Society of Tulsa received numerous threatening phone calls. Rocks were thrown through windows at the homes of some Islamic residents in Norman. Islamic students at the University of Oklahoma were afraid to walk to classes because of the reactions of some people to the news that men of Middle Eastern appearance were believed to be suspects in the bombing.

Mas'ood Cajee, a student at the University of Oklahoma, stated that politicians and so-called terrorism experts contributed to the attitude of blame toward the Muslim and Arab communities. Said Cajee, "From Wednesday morning until Friday afternoon [April 21], all persons who appeared Middle Eastern instantly became suspects in the fatal bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. Muslims, Arabs and other communities of color suffered widespread fear and intimidation, physical assaults, and commonplace verbal harassment at school, in public, and in the workplace."

Most of the Muslims and Arabs in Oklahoma have come to the United States from Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and other Middle Eastern countries. They are primarily international students, refugees, and immigrants, many of whom have become American citizens as well as successful business owners and respected members of their communities. Fear and prejudice toward these people caused great injustices to be committed against them.

Nihad Awad, executive director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, stated that the Oklahoma City bombing prompted more harassment of Arab-Americans and Muslims in three days than the Persian Gulf War did in an entire year. The hate crimes and harassment included physical assaults, bomb threats, and death threats by telephone. Awad called on the media to refrain from reporting unsubstantiated allegations in the future, and encouraged the press to do more to inform the public about Islamic culture.

One death resulted from the hysteria about the alleged Middle Eastern suspects. Sahar Al-Muwsawi had been watching the television coverage of the bombing when she suddenly heard the screech of a car's brakes outside her



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Oklahoma City home. She then heard objects hitting the windows of her home. Sahar and her husband had moved to the United States to leave the violence of their native country, and in this context of her memories, Sahar was afraid that someone was shooting at her house.

Muwsawi, who was seven months pregnant, took her two-year-old daughter and another child into the bathroom and locked the door, trembling with fear for her life. As a result of this emotional trauma, Sahar began bleeding. She telephoned her husband, who came home and rushed her to the hospital. Several hours later a stillborn baby boy was delivered. Although many compassionate non-Arabs sent flowers and contributions to the family in sympathy and sorrow, the Muwsawi family decided to leave Oklahoma and move elsewhere. These innocent persons suffered an irretrievable loss because of public prejudice. Yet when the final tally was made of the victims of the Murrah Building bombing, the little boy born dead was not among their number.

Some people seemed to have reached a point where grief and anger were indistinguishable. Said one woman on a Norman street corner, "I don't believe in the death penalty, but I hope whoever did this gets cruel and unusual punishment."

Volunteer Gary Jenkins said, "Whoever did this should die a vicious death."

In a local grocery store an elderly grandmother, eyeing the headlines of the newspaper, remarked, "The people that did this should die as slowly and painfully as possible."

One man calling a talk radio program said, "The suspects should be thrown to the families of the victims and they should exact their own retribution."

The mood of the public was ugly and edgy. Somehow people had forgotten that at that moment, no one was under arrest, no one had been tried, and certainly no one had been convicted. But one sentiment was being expressed widely: the standard form of execution in the State of Oklahoma—lethal injection—was going to be a far too peaceful departure from this life for the criminals responsible for the bombing, no matter who they were. The desire for vengeance was growing dangerously.

Into this tense and angry moment a news bulletin flashed across the Associated Press computer screen at KWTV Channel 9. It was read to the public by news anchor Jenifer Reynolds.

"Among those unaccounted for in the bombing, according to the Associated Press: five people who worked for the Drug Enforcement Administration, one Customs officer, and six employees of the Secret Service."

Then, with a short gasp of surprise and a slight, barely discernible lift of one eyebrow, as if something had clicked in her mind, Ms. Reynolds completed reading the text: "All fifteen employees of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Agency—the ATF—have survived."



Dragon's Teeth ¶ 189

Our fathers and ourselves sowed dragon's teeth.

Our children know and suffer the armed men.

— Stephen Vincent Benét
Litany for Dictatorships (1935)





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Chapter 10 —

OTHER HANDS

Heartland Values

For about an hour there was no present tense. Everything was future now. We all waited uneasily for something: for the discovery of missing loved ones, for the rescuers to remove the victims, for the apprehension of the suspects, for the final official death toll, for the President to address the nation, for the arrival of the experts, for the next weather update monitoring the approaching severe storms. The present had become a seemingly endless, empty moment of not knowing.

This period of waiting was unlike any others that had already occurred that day. The initial numbing shock of the event was wearing thin, and the emotional blow was beginning to be fully felt and experienced. There was no expectation of happy outcome here, and the greatest anxiety is always produced while expecting the worst.

But unspoken in every heart was the troubling sensation that we were really waiting for the return of the innocent lives we had once lived. It was an odd sort of nostalgia because the change had occurred so abruptly. No matter what privations may have been suffered in life previously, no matter what great misery may have been experienced, no matter how many years those and other problems had been endured, those times were now the "good old days." No one really wanted to talk about that, but we all knew it instinctively.

A mere seven hours before, there had been a certain atmosphere of calm predictability to life. There had been a great deal of freedom in knowing that each day would be much like the one before. Anticipating that kind of



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predictability, it seemed that problems were more surmountable, dreams and ambitions more achievable; plans could be made and projects could be undertaken with a real possibility of completion.

Of course, we all knew that accidents happen, that illnesses strike without warning, that criminal acts occur, that the world could be a dangerous and evil place. But Oklahoma still had a quality not always observed elsewhere. People still looked out for the well-being of their neighbors, called the police when something appeared suspicious, came to the aid of those in trouble, and banded together for righteous causes.

And it was, we thought, because we were Oklahomans. It was, we thought, because we were of frontier, pioneer stock with a drive to make things work, to overcome adversity by religious faith, strength of will, and sheer determination. Our community heritage was one of rising above one day's troubles by simply enduring into the next day, always with the conviction that good triumphs over evil and that virtue is its own reward.

It wasn't naiveté. It really was life the way we knew it. It was life the way we had made it, sustained it, and practiced it. It was simply how things were. We had trusted that those qualities of steadfast faithfulness and an honest work ethic would always be the right way to overcome any adversity. We knew that evil men did evil things—usually to somebody else, someplace else—but we also believed that crime doesn't pay.

It was the original "family values" lifestyle, and it had stood us in good stead since the first Oklahoma settlers had built sod homes in what was then Indian territory. It had carried us safely from the rough-and-tumble days following the Land Run of 1889 to statehood in 1907. It had held life together even during the wild and lawless days of the Dalton gang, the easy money of the first big oil boom, the bootleggers' bathtub gin of the Prohibition Era, and the debilitating poverty of the Dust Bowl of the 1930s.

We had survived all of those things with our values intact, and no matter what trouble might overtake us, we knew that there was always a way to endure and overcome, and it had always been merely a matter of working together, helping each other, and petitioning heaven with prayer.

But somehow this situation was different. Everyone felt it, but no one could quite put his finger on it. Many moving speeches were made by the media about the loss of our innocence. But it was really much more than that.

The bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building had been a disaster of incredible proportion, had happened quickly and unexpectedly, and had affected simultaneously the lives of a vast number of people. This was a devastation beyond the experience or even the imagination of anyone in Oklahoma.

Instinctively—because it was what we knew to do—we turned to each other, looked for ways to help, sought comfort and solace in our churches,



prayed with our families and friends, found means of demonstrating compassion to strangers whom we knew were hurting, and we all hugged our children longer, more closely and protectively.

There was a discernible sensation of movement in the mind. Some tried to resist it, others succumbed immediately. This change was what now separated the "good old days," which had existed only seven hours ago, from this new and unknown future before us. Without conscious decision, many had begun to live in fear.

Militia Concern

Additional details were being released about the suspects being sought by law enforcement. The original all-points bulletin had been amended now to involve only two men of Middle Eastern appearance—both approximately six feet tall, both of dark complexion with dark beards, both wearing dark-blue jogging suits, one in his mid-twenties, the other in his mid- to late thirties. We never knew what became of the unidentified third man believed to have been the driver of the suspect vehicle.

It was announced that law-enforcement officers had communicated this information to officials in the neighboring state of Arkansas, but it was never quite clear why this was done. The next report we heard about the suspects was that they were being sought in Texas.

The Arkansas connection was generally believed to have little to do with the possible direction of travel of the suspects of Middle Eastern appearance. Reporters assumed that it was simply a matter of all law-enforcement agencies in the region being alerted.

But the revelation by the news media that Arkansas was entering the picture rang alarm bells in the minds of members of the so-called patriot community. There were dangerous associations linked to Arkansas that could spell real trouble for militia members who had long fought to maintain a reputation of lawful organization, personal liberty with responsibility, and respectful behavior toward all Americans, regardless of racial heritage or religious affiliation.

Although the search for the suspects of Middle Eastern appearance was only a few hours old, other matters were now in play that would reach new heights of hysteria only two days later, just as William Cooper had predicted that morning. Within two days patriots (more specifically, militias, which had been legally and lawfully organized under the laws of the individual states) would officially become "terrorists" simply because the media said so. And the media said so because federal officials said so.

For many years freedom-loving Americans—of which there were many in Oklahoma—had been fighting a growing specter of media stereotyping brought about by an implied guilt by philosophical association. From time to time, over a ten-year period, white supremacist and separatist groups,



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self-proclaimed prophets of doom, and bigot reactionaries—all of whom also professed a strong devotion to Constitutional liberty—had been violating the constitutionally protected rights of others. They had been performing felonious acts, getting into sometimes deadly scrapes with local, state, and federal law-enforcement officers, and at times provoked those encounters themselves.

The result had been events of great sensationalism in the news. Legitimate militia organizations and patriotic political groups were being given a black eye by a few obnoxious reactionaries. And without fail, patriotism was mentioned in the same breath with such terms as “religious fundamentalist,” “right-wing extremist,” “white separatist,” “anti-Semites,” “neo-Nazi conservatives,” and “antigovernment terrorists.” Gradually, the public perception of the militias and outspoken patriots had been carefully directed to mentally link those undesirable classifications of extremism with any basic, home-grown love of freedom.

Most of the media knew well that most patriots were honest, hard-working, law-abiding citizens who had astutely observed the encroachment of big government, the decline of personal responsibility in American society, and the death of many freedoms once held dear. Some members of the media had been patriots themselves but had slowly and unconsciously been led to compromise their beliefs for the sake of a salary.

The media also knew that the oddball, off-the-edge, high-visibility groups who *professed* a love of Constitutional liberty did not themselves practice it because of their warped devotion to racism, religious bigotry, lawlessness, and provocative violence. The fact that such groups comprised a definite, documented, and infinitesimal minority in the class of people termed “patriots” was seldom if ever mentioned.

But quiet, unobtrusive, law-abiding citizens do not make big news, no matter how large their number. There is no titillating story in that. There is no sensationalism in minding your own business and tending to the needs of your own family and community. The true patriots of this country received no publicity to counteract the bad press that had always spotlighted the stupidity and ignorance of radicalism. Extremism became the synonym of patriotism, even though it wasn’t true—and even though the media knew it was a misapplication of terms.

Eventually the print media would publicly admit that they could find no militia membership connection with the then-named suspects in the Oklahoma City bombing. But that would come months after the damage had been done. The retractions and corrections would, of course, be offered as quietly and invisibly as possible. Buried in a small article published by *U.S. News and World Report*, August 14, 1995, journalists admitted, “Despite lingering suspicions … [of] ties to right-wing supremacists or heavily armed militia groups, there is no evidence suggesting that the bombing was the



work of a broad conspiracy, and prosecutors have been careful to downplay talk of conspiracy."

Some nationally televised news sources—most notably CNN and ABC—would continue proclaiming militia ties to the bombing even after the absence of such ties had been firmly established by federal law-enforcement agents. Militia groups were facing a propaganda attack of ever-increasing intensity.

The switch in the focus of suspicion from Middle Eastern terrorists to American patriots began in Arkansas, shifted into Michigan, and thereafter quickly engulfed the entire country. Alert patriots observed this transformation of public mood and sentiment with great alarm.

Richard Wayne Snell

At 9:10 p.m. on the night of April 19, convicted murderer and white separatist Richard Wayne Snell, formerly of Muse, Oklahoma, was executed at the Cummins Unit of the Arkansas Department of Corrections at Varner, Arkansas. Snell had been sentenced to die for the November 1983 slaying of William Stumpp, a Texarkana pawnshop owner. The murder had occurred during a robbery of Stumpp's business.

The sensationalist rumor mill stated that Stumpp was murdered because he was Jewish and Snell was a white separatist. The robbery motivation was not often mentioned. But even after it was made known that Stumpp had been an Episcopalian, the rumors persisted.

Snell had been captured by law-enforcement officers in Broken Bow, Oklahoma, in June 1984 after he shot and killed Arkansas State Trooper Louis Bryant when the officer stopped Snell's van near Ashdown.

Snell had at one time received a stay of execution on a judicial technicality, but on March 7, 1995, U.S. District Judge Susan Webber Wright reinstated Snell's death sentence and dissolved the stay of execution. Arkansas Governor Jim Guy Tucker had been responsible for selecting the date of Snell's execution, and he chose that date within two weeks after he received the paperwork on the case from the Arkansas State Attorney General's office.

Snell was executed by lethal injection on the night of the Murrah Building bombing. A media witness, Associated Press writer James Jefferson, reported Snell's last threatening words. Said Snell, "Well, I had a lot to say, but you have me at an inconvenience. My mind is blurred, but I'm going to say a couple of words. Governor Tucker, 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."

When Snell's final words were made public, there was much media speculation that the object over Governor Tucker's shoulder might have been the Murrah Building, and the justice of which Snell had spoken might have



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been the bombing itself. This would have made the bombing an act of vengeance for an event other than the Waco Massacre.

But there were some insurmountable problems with that hypothesis, not the least of which was the fact that Snell had seen the television coverage of the bombing during that day. His execution had occurred twelve hours *after* the bombing. The "justice" to which Snell referred was "on the way." It had not yet arrived.

If the bombing of the Murrah Building had been the act of justice referenced by Snell, his final comments would surely have reflected his understanding that the bombing had already happened. However, Snell did not say, "Justice is done," or "Justice has been achieved." He said, "Justice is on the way." It is highly improbable that a man, given a final opportunity to speak his peace to the world would confuse his verb tenses in such a vital matter.

The attempts by the media to equate Snell's threatening words with the Murrah Building bombing simply did not work. There was no way to manufacture a threat of future retribution out of an event which had already occurred, and of which Snell was fully aware. The true meaning of Snell's final message remains a mystery. Given the degree of rampant corruption that exists in Arkansas state politics, there is a wide variety of possibilities. Nevertheless, no one can with any certainty determine the true meaning of Snell's last words.

In accordance with Arkansas state law, Richard Wayne Snell's execution was followed by an autopsy performed at the State Crime Laboratory in Little Rock. Snell's wife Mary then claimed the body, and he was buried on the grounds of the white separatist community of Elohim City, located in the southeastern portion of Oklahoma just west of the Arkansas border.

The Elohim City connection would later be milked for all it was worth—not because of the white-separatist beliefs of its inhabitants, but primarily because that private, self-contained community was very well armed. In addition, they considered themselves freedom-loving patriots. They viewed their white separatism as a matter of freedom of religious expression, not one of political policy. They did not actively discriminate against the other races; they simply withdrew from the world and disappeared inside their closed community.

That ready-made combination of racism, religious fervor, patriotism, and the legal ownership of firearms was incredibly convenient to anyone looking for yet another means of smearing the legitimate militias. The connection with Richard Wayne Snell added fuel to the fire, especially when it became known that Robert Millar, the spiritual leader of Elohim City, had been Snell's pastor. For a while that line of media reporting was exploited to maximum effect. Media representatives, particularly at the national level, did their best to paint the Elohim City community as a militia. But Elohim City





had never been a militia, and the group had never existed as a political entity.

According to people in the local area, the inhabitants of Elohim City are inwardly focused isolationists who practice organic gardening, home schooling, self-sufficiency, self-governance, and self-defense if warranted. But it has never been warranted.

Police officers from the nearby town of Muldrow spoke highly of the small community, reporting that the inhabitants of Elohim City never bothered anyone, never broke the law, allowed the citizens of Muldrow to enjoy hunting privileges on Elohim City property, and had kept quietly to themselves for many, many years. The inhabitants were peaceful, honest, and minded their own business. There were no records of any criminal complaints against the community in its long history.

The association of Pastor Robert Millar with criminals such as Richard Wayne Snell and Jim Ellison (former leader of The Cross, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, now living in Elohim City under the federal witness-protection program) may have seemed a great opportunity to connect Elohim City with criminal acts. But Millar was no more responsible for Snell's actions than any other minister who might counsel wayward members of his religious flock.

A review of past incidents revealed that on all occasions Millar had had a remarkably calming effect on his people. During the Arkansas event that had involved Jim Ellison ten years earlier, Millar had encouraged Ellison to give himself up to federal authorities rather than respond with violence. But the Ellison incident would not become a factor in this whole media blitz for several months. That is a matter for the next volume.

In spite of Elohim City's undesirable and unconstitutional practice of white separatism, it was going to be difficult for federal officials or the media to turn this community into an antigovernment, militaristic hate group with radical, violent leanings. The inhabitants may well have been irritated with the corruption in government, but they had never taken an offensive stance in response to it. Irritation with government in combination with the legal ownership of firearms was not going to be enough to blindly demonize this particular group. Such irritation was too widespread—even among non-patriots—and millions of harmless Americans own legal firearms.

There was simply no basis in fact for categorizing Elohim City as a militia, nor as any other kind of military organization. The only truthful statements that could be made were that the community practiced white separatism, they owned firearms and, because Mary Snell lived in the community, Richard Wayne Snell's body was buried there.

Arkansas police had been in a state of heightened alert for several days before Snell's execution because of his ties to white separatist and supremacist groups. It was reported that members of those groups had called Snell



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an American patriot. A year later when the Snell connection again made the news, it was speculated that the Murrah Building bombing might have been a "gift" to Snell on the date of his death. Much was made of reports that Snell had chuckled when he learned of the event. There were many other things to consider, but by that time media propaganda had made every patriot with a gun a militia member, and every militia member a terrorist.

Media representatives, terrorism experts, and federal officials tried to make connections between the Murrah Building bombing, Snell's April 19 execution, the murderous government siege on the Branch Davidian church at Waco, Texas in 1993, and the beginning of the raid on The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord in Arkansas in 1985—as well as the start of the Revolutionary War in 1775.

The only real connection with any of those events was the date. Snell was definitely guilty of two violent murders. He had been rightfully and properly arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. On the other hand, the sacrificed victims at Mount Carmel had been innocent pawns who were murdered by government agents. No one could ever say that Snell was even remotely innocent. He was not a martyred victim, but a criminal. He had been executed as the just retribution for the lives he had wantonly destroyed.

And what kind of connection other than the date could be made with the start of the Revolutionary War? There really was no connection whatsoever. But the Revolutionary War had been the supreme patriotic movement of all times. What better historical event to use against the militias than the original rebellion that had established American independence?

It certainly appeared that federal officials, terrorism experts, and the members of the news media were hanging by a fraying theoretical thread that they hoped might sound somewhat convincing. To any student of history, their ignorant and seemingly desperate wranglings were a complete embarrassment to the entire country.

It was those kinds of speculative leaps that caused patriots and legitimate militia members everywhere to cringe inwardly. Too many times the patriot label had been dragged through the mud and compared and equated with unlawful acts of extremism, racism, bigotry, and violence. Too many in-depth investigations into those unlawful acts had revealed the presence of government-paid informants acting in the role of agent provocateurs. But that kind of documentation rarely if ever made the evening news broadcast.

Propaganda is an interesting phenomenon. What you hear most often you are most likely to believe. Another artfully crafted media blitz was about to be organized, and this time its target was American patriots in general, and more specifically, the militias. Before it was all over, the Snell execution, the 1985 raid on The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (another Arkansas event), the Amtrak train derailment in Arizona, and almost all



occurrences of violent extremism would be attributed to the militias of this country.

In addition, if you took the media seriously, it began to seem that every conceivable unlawful act throughout all of American history had also taken place on April 19. There would be some interesting juxtapositions, but no proof. There would be much speculation and grabbing for the elusive positive connection, but it never solidly materialized.

In these vain attempts to implicate the militias, there would be the blatant manipulation of times, dates, and places to try to make some of the more sensationalistic events fit the April 19 pattern. These were so easily disproved that it was amazing that anyone would even attempt such a thing. It could not fly then, and it will not fly now.

The almost desperate search for significantly related dates and events—especially if they would implicate patriots or militias—would not reach its pinnacle of absurdity for another nine months, at which time the State of Arkansas and Elohim City would again be players. But that situation was still in the future. On April 19, 1995, life remained at a standstill.

Coping



Oklahomans were still stuck in that endless moment of not knowing on that endless Wednesday afternoon. It was an uncomfortable, often frightening place to be. Because the bombing and its consequences were miles distant from that quiet place where we knew what to do and how to handle things, many people were becoming more fearful and anxious. When that anxiety reached a certain fever pitch, it was time to get help from any available source. KWTV Channel 9 Television opened its phone banks to those in need of advice and counsel.

Dr. Mary Ann Bauman, from Baptist Medical Center, coordinated the counseling effort. "We are just opening our lines, and as you can hear, the phones are ringing. We've put together a panel of psychiatrists who will answer questions, both child and adult psychiatrists. Keep in mind that they tell us it is most important to get help for people in the first twenty-four hours. So if there are questions about your kids and what they should watch, questions about victims, whatever, please call us with those questions now."

"The Oklahoma Psychiatric Association has activated its Disaster Response Team. They will be responding to ERs, cancer centers, hospitals, and surgical areas, so we will take care of patients' problems and families' problems as they come about."

Already the telephones were in constant use, and when any of the doctors was between calls, Dr. Bauman asked the panelist to offer an indication to the public of the kinds of questions that were being handled.





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Said one child psychiatrist who was associated with St. Anthony Hospital, "This [question] was about a daughter who was coming home from school who has not seen or had any visual impressions about this disaster. The mother was asking how should she introduce this topic of disaster hitting the city to her daughter, and how she should be protected from getting the early visual impressions of what happened to children and adults.

"I told her that [the child] should know about the reality. As she is an eight-year-old girl, she may be terribly frightened about the concept of death, and she may come up with nightmares and things like that if she has received visual impressions. Maybe it would be better to protect her from visual impressions. But let her have the details. She may hear about it from others, but [should know that] it is at a distant place, and should understand that none of her family members are involved in it at this time. That will be reassuring to the child.

"There may be temporary aggravation of separation anxiety, as the child might think that it could happen to her when she goes to school, and she will need some support and reassurance that that is not going to happen."

Dr. Twyla Smith, an adult psychiatrist in association with St. Anthony Hospital, stated that she had taken a call from a woman whose husband was a firefighter working in the rescue operation. Said Dr. Smith, "The caller was wondering how to be supportive of her husband this evening when he comes home. I encouraged her to listen to him as he could talk about it. He may have numbed from the day, just pushing himself back from everything he had to do. Maybe run him a tub of water, let him get his sensory input down. Listen to him, be supportive of him.

"When he's able to connect the events that he has experienced today with the thoughts that he had during those events and with the feelings connected with those events, [it is important to] weave those back together as quickly as possible—either to write it down or to tell it to someone. Keeping those components together is one of the most helpful things to do in coming through a trauma."

Dr. Bauman asked, "How do you work with someone with post-traumatic stress? What can you do to help them?"

"What you do," replied Dr. Smith, "is to help that person put himself in a safe place, to reestablish a sense of control in his life, to renormalize his life as much as possible, and then to once again weave together the events that have happened with the thoughts that he experienced, with the feelings that he was experiencing, so that those memories get stored as a complete whole, rather than in fragments in different components of the brain."

One woman telephoned the psychiatric panel because she had been in the Journal Record Building at the time of the explosions. She had had much debris fall upon her and she was still very shaken. But she was most horrified by the fact that she had been planning that morning to put her baby in



Other Hands ¶ 201

America's Kids Day-care Center, but had most fortunately not done so. The circumstances were very frightening to her. The doctor handling her questions remarked that many people who survived would wonder why they survived when others died. Some would feel guilty because they made it and others did not. That these were known and predictable reactions to an event of this kind was comforting even though the knowledge itself did not heal the trauma. People did not know anymore what normal was.

Another woman called because she had been involved in covering up deceased infants and children with blankets in their own playground area. She was feeling great anger, and its intensity frightened her. She was told that anger was a normal and acceptable emotion to experience after such a day as this.

A man called who had been a resident in the YMCA. Because of the explosions, he was now homeless, without any possessions, and had nowhere to go. He needed to be directed to a relief agency.

An unidentified individual called to ask if it was safe to indulge in alcoholic beverages after the stress and horror of the day. Such an activity was highly discouraged by the doctors. It was more important to keep the events of the day as whole thoughts and whole memories rather than to artificially scatter and anesthetize them. It was felt that only in that way could those painful memories be confronted and resolved.

Leaving the studio phone banks, the television cameras took viewers to the Civic Center in downtown Oklahoma City, where the first official press conference was scheduled. Said KWTV Channel 9 reporter Robin Marsh, "The White House has called Bob Ricks, asking us to hold off our news conference until after the President has spoken.

"We know that the Mayor, Ron Norick, will be here; Bob Ricks from the FBI; also Governor Keating is here. Lieutenant Governor Mary Fallin and District Attorney Bob Macy are here.

"I talked with the District Attorney, and he said he will press for state murder charges to be filed against whoever is responsible for this bombing if they are apprehended. The Governor is going to be here, and then he will be going over to the site of the blast at the Federal Building after the news conference. It should start about 4:30, but of course all of this is pending the situation with the White House briefing.

"According to Bill City with the Police Department, from this point on the FBI will be the ones who are handling this since it did happen in a federal building. The buzzword around here is "terrorist attack." And if this *is* one, why in the heartland of America in Oklahoma City? It does bring back reminders of the World Trade Center bombing."

It was getting closer to the time for the President's address. For the next twenty minutes miscellaneous general announcements were made by the media as we waited. This was filler to pass the time, accompanied by visual



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images of the activities around the bomb site and file footage from the morning.

Reporter Tammy Payne announced, "The magnitude of this terrorist attack—if that is, in fact, what it is—is being felt across the country, but certainly here at home. The call for help is going out right now from Brigadier General Neal Balkan. He is imploring all members of the Oklahoma Reserve Force—every member of the Oklahoma Reserve—to call their headquarters. You will probably be needed. Some have already called. They are at work helping out. But Brigadier General Neal Balkan is asking that all members of the entire Oklahoma Reserve Force call headquarters."

Said anchor Kelly Ogle, "If you are thinking of going downtown, all of the off-ramps on Interstates 40, 35, and the Centennial Expressway, I-235, are shut down. You are not going to have any success getting into the downtown area. They don't need you down there. They need people to stay away so they can see if they can save some of these people who may be trapped in the rubble of the Federal Building at 5th and Robinson."

Then without warning, this unexpected information was offered by KWTV Channel 9 news anchor Jenifer Reynolds: "Somebody called me just a little bit ago who has some past experience in the military in working with explosives. One of the things that he has said is that we've been saying this was a car out front that may have had a bomb in it. He said we should probably keep ourselves open to the possibility that it may have been a truck or a van because of the amount of explosives—just the poundage—that would be required to set off that big of an explosion. It may be a larger vehicle than a car, and so that's something that we'll keep in mind as we get more information."

Co-anchor Kelly Ogle then changed the subject. "The news from the coroner is not good. The death toll has now reached twenty. We are told that fifty-eight people have been rescued from that building so far today. That is good news.

Added Ms. Reynolds: "By that I assume they mean they were carried out. Hundreds got out, ran out, or walked out. And the fifty-eight, I guess were either helped out or extricated from the wreckage. And we have a death toll of twenty now. The expectation is that it will go higher from there, but I think authorities are probably trying to be very cautious in terms of making sure that everyone they list as a fatality is confirmed."

Reporter Cynthia Gunn conducted an interview downtown. "We have Larry Jones here with Feed the Children who has a list," said Ms. Gunn. "He's been talking with medical officials down here and knows what they need. So we're asking for help at this moment. What do we need, Larry?"

Always a great coordinator of community support, Larry Jones offered new ways that the public could assist in the rescue effort. "We need some tents, raincoats, umbrellas, flashlights and batteries. We need some CO₂ tanks and



masks. We need medical gloves and masks. We need anything for a triage center, and also we need hot coffee.

"So if people would take these items to 333 North Meridian, then our trucks and our vans will get it to all the people who need it. Also, it's going to be a long night, so if you can't do it right now but could a little bit later, we're going to be here all night. If you could do that, we'd really appreciate it."

"And the critical thing about this," emphasized Ms. Gunn, "is that we don't want people coming down here and bringing it."

Larry Jones was adamant. "You can't get in. It's impossible to get in. I almost didn't get in and they knew who I was. But they've really got tight security because there's so many other buildings where the windows are blown out, and for security purposes, to protect other people's belongings. So if people would just take those items to 333 North Meridian—that's the Feed the Children Center—then we'll get it on down here."

"And also, if people are here with family and friends and they want a free meal, they can go there also because we're collecting food from restaurants. So many people are helping. But we do have these few needs, and we could use them as quickly as you get them to us."

Ms. Gunn asked, "You've been talking to and working with the medical professionals. What is going through their minds? Are they feeling the deep sense of loss here as they try to save those who can be saved?"

"I'm sure that you understand," replied Jones, "that everyone's adrenaline flows when you know that you can go help somebody. But when you get here and you see the devastation and you realize that there are so many who are dead, all of a sudden there is a silence. There are so many medical people who want to help, but they cannot help simply because of what's happened. There are going to be so many people that they carry out in body bags. I think Oklahoma City needs to brace itself for what is getting ready to happen, because it's not good. I've been over there, and it's not good."

"I haven't been in the building, but I've been in the front of the building, the back of the building, and I've been with the people who are coming out of the building. The best way to describe it is a silence and a look of despair."

"I go to a lot of these [disasters] overseas. This is the first time I've ever been to one in my hometown of Oklahoma City, and my heart is very low right now. This looks exactly like Bosnia. I went to the Armenian earthquake. I went to the one in Iran. I went to the one in Mexico City. But when you think that people actually caused this, this is devastating. And all those children in there. This is so sad."

"And there are going to be a lot of people who are going to need a lot of counseling and a lot of prayer. So I think that the pastors and the churches are going to brace for this. But I think we're getting ready to be really





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impacted. The bomb has gone off, but now the emotional bomb is getting ready to go off. This is really a sad day for Oklahoma City. There is so much bad news coming out of that building."

Washington Takes Over

Then suddenly the moment was upon us. With little fanfare, the cameras cut directly to President Bill Clinton addressing the nation from the White House. Speaking very slowly and deliberately, Clinton said:

"The bombing in Oklahoma City was an attack on innocent children and defenseless citizens. It was an act of cowardice and it was evil. The United States will not tolerate it. And I will not allow the people of this country to be intimidated by evil cowards.

"I have met with our team which we assembled to deal with this bombing, and I have determined to take the following steps to assure the strongest response to this situation.

"First, I have deployed a crisis-management team under the leadership of the FBI, working with the Department of Justice, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, military and local authorities. We are sending the world's finest investigators to solve these murders.

"Second, I have declared an emergency in Oklahoma City, and at my direction James Lee Witt, the director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, is now on his way there to make sure we do everything we can to help the people of Oklahoma deal with the tragedy.

"Third, we are taking every precaution to reassure and to protect people who work in or live near other federal facilities.

"Let there be no room for doubt. We will find the people who did this. When we do, justice will be swift, certain, and severe. These people are killers and they must be treated like killers.

"Finally, let me say that I ask all Americans tonight to pray; to pray for the people who have lost their lives, to pray for the families and the friends of the dead and the wounded, to pray for the people of Oklahoma City. May God's grace be with them.

"Meanwhile, we will be about our work. Thank you."

Bowing his head, Clinton left the press conference without another word. Immediately, United States Attorney General Janet Reno took her place at the podium. She too spoke very slowly and deliberately.

"This has been a tragic and heartbreakng day," said Ms. Reno. "I can tell you this: the FBI and the law-enforcement community will pursue every lead and use every possible resource to bring the people responsible to justice.

"The FBI has established a command post in Oklahoma City, and it is in twenty-four-hour contact with [the] FBI headquarters command post in the Department of Justice. Four FBI Special Agents-in-Charge have been





dispatched to the scene to provide twenty-four-hour operation of the command post. The FBI has sent four evidence-response teams and explosives-ordnance teams to Oklahoma City. Five of the very best FBI agents experienced in this type of investigation are arriving in Oklahoma City, as have bomb technicians from Boston, Chicago, Miami, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Thirteen members of the Rapid Start Team will be entering data as the evidence is collected. Fifty more agents are available for arrival tomorrow, and more will be used as needed.

"The FBI and federal law enforcement have received superb cooperation from local authorities in Oklahoma City, and the federal law-enforcement agencies are working together.

"The ATF has sent two national-response teams and a mobile command center. It has three explosives technicians and three laboratory technicians in Oklahoma City, and it is prepared to send twenty to twenty-five more personnel tomorrow.

"The Secret Service is also sending explosives experts.

"In addition, the Oklahoma National Guard has been deployed to assist in control of the area and the evacuation of the injured.

"The United States Army has deployed the 61st Ordnance Detachment with a robot from Fort Sill, Oklahoma.



"The Tulsa Police Department has deployed two bomb technicians, two dogs, and a robot and the FEMA is playing a major role in aid and assistance.

"We cannot tell how long it will be before we can say with certainty what occurred and who is responsible. But we will find the perpetrators and we will bring them to justice."

This was the end of Attorney General Reno's speech. She then took questions from the press, but offered very few conclusive, meaningful responses. What follows is the text of that press interview.

Q: There are reports that there are descriptions of a couple of people who were seen there. What can you tell us about that?

Reno: What I can say about all evidentiary issues and all leads is that it would hinder the investigation to discuss any action that we are taking pursuant to the leads, but we are pursuing absolutely every shred of evidence available.

Q: If people are to be on the lookout for someone, isn't there a way that you can describe those people?

Reno: (No response.)

Q: It sounds from everything you have said is that you've concluded that this was a terrorist attack of some kind. Can you confirm that?





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Reno: I would not characterize it as such until the evidence is in, but we are pursuing every piece of evidence with whatever motivation behind it.

Q: Do you have statistics on the casualties?

Reno: We have some statistics on the casualties, but they are increasing every moment. What we are trying to do is to make sure that we pursue every lead. What we have been told is that there were 550 people assigned in the building. Only 250 have been accounted for before I came in. There may be as many as 100 to 250 more people to account for. The casualty figures are climbing. One hundred victims have been treated. Six children who were in the day-care center have been confirmed as dead, and we are just pursuing absolutely every lead that we can.

Q: Have there been any other threats at any other federal buildings across the country?

Reno: In a situation like this there are sometimes terribly misguided, horrible people who create copycat situations. We've responded in each instance, and so far nothing has materialized.

Q: Was there any indication, was there any warning that anything like this could happen? There have been reports that—not specific warnings per se, but warnings that there might be terrorist activities in the period after March.

Reno: Again, I can't comment on any specific lead or any of the evidence that we have developed.

Q: Is there a tie-in with Waco?

Reno: (No response.)

Q: The Crime Bill that the President has signed includes a death-penalty provision. Assuming you do catch these people, will you go for that?

Reno: 18 USC Section 844 relates to those who maliciously damage or destroy a federal building. If there is death, if death occurs, the death penalty is available and we will seek it.

Q: General Reno, is there any more indication of where this device exploded?

Reno: Again, that would be commenting on the evidence that is being developed and we would not want to do that because to do so could possibly hinder the investigation.

Q: Are we crossing a new threshold of concern about security in this country?



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Reno: I think this has been a matter of concern for all Americans anytime you see acts like this around the world. And I think it is a matter that has got to be pursued with all vigor. I can't tell you if it is a crossroads. I can tell you that anytime something like this occurs, we have to do everything possible to ensure that the people who are responsible are held accountable and that we do everything we can to prevent a future occurrence.

Q: What cautions would you urge other people who work in federal buildings or who live near them to take?

Reno: We're working with the General Services Administration, the United States Marshal Service, and the FBI to take sensible precautions, and the federal employees who have been involved have just been wonderful.

Q: Is it just a coincidence that it happened on the second anniversary of the Waco siege?

Reno: Again, we are pursuing all leads. We cannot tell exactly what happened or who is responsible, and it would be better not to comment until we can conclusively talk about it.

Q: Has anyone called to claim responsibility for this?

Reno: Again, I don't think that I should comment on the evidence because to do so would hinder the investigation.

Q: Was it a car bomb?

Reno: Again, I cannot confirm any evidentiary lead that we are pursuing because I think that would hinder the investigation.

Q: If another government or governments are found to be involved, will military retaliation be appropriate? Will it be carried out?

Reno: I don't think that we should deal with what-ifs. I think we should make sure that those people who are responsible are pursued and brought to justice.

Q: The government of Israel has offered its help because it has vast experience with this sort of thing. Do you know if we are accepting that help?

Reno: We will, of course, rely on any additional resource that can possibly be involved and be utilized appropriately in bringing these people to justice. Thank you.

Following the brief press conference, all news media reiterated that President Clinton had promised swift, certain, and severe retribution for the perpetrators of the bombing. And having been told six different times by Attorney General Janet Reno that the government was "pursuing all leads," the impression of determined intensity of purpose had been conveyed.



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The local press uniformly thought it strange that Attorney General Janet Reno had been very hesitant to call the Murrah Building bombing an act of terrorism, while agents here in Oklahoma City indicated that they felt certain it was. Of greater interest was the fact that Ms. Reno had promised the death penalty, which, given the amount of information she would not or could not discuss, seemed a bit premature—especially if the bombing had *not* been a terrorist act but merely some terrible accident.

Her responses had all seemed rather unusual. Would there ever be, or had there ever been, a circumstance in which federal law enforcement had *not* pursued every available lead?

Had this been some form of emphatic government-speak? Did it mean something else?

Was it merely a nonanswer of the type to which most had become accustomed when asking questions of a sensitive nature of our government leaders? If that was the case, what was it that had been so sensitive about the questions asked?

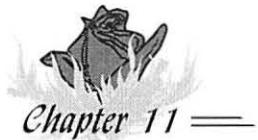
Why was the nation not urged by Ms. Reno to be alert for specific suspects or vehicles at a time when that same information was being freely broadcast by all media sources at the local level?

But what no one mentioned was that we had now crossed an important line in the situation. From this moment on the entire investigation and everything that it would entail in the future had been taken out of the hands of local officials on the scene—many of whom had been early witnesses to the disaster—and placed officially, firmly, and unmovably in the hands of federal government agencies.

*The future has waited long enough;
if we do not grasp it,
other hands,
grasping hard and bloody, will.*

— Adlai Stevenson

Quoted in Murray Kempton's *America Comes of Middle Age* (1963)



THE WHOLE HOUSE IS BUILT IN THE AIR

The Damning Quotes

Shortly before five o'clock, the first official press conference was held by state and local authorities at the Civic Center, located approximately one-half mile to the southwest of the Murrah Building.

There were clearly two different agendas being pursued by the presenters at this conference. Gradually over the weeks that followed, the local perspective would be overtaken by the federal agenda until the two were indistinguishable.

One agenda was represented by the reports offered to the press and public by Oklahoma City Police Chief Sam Gonzales, Oklahoma City Mayor Ron Norick, and Oklahoma City Fire Chief Gary Marrs. Their statements reflected factual reports of actions taken on the scene by local participants, and no attempts were made to avoid questions or to carefully word responses in order to disguise the truth.

The other agenda was cautiously directed by FBI Special Agent-in-Charge Bob Ricks—former FBI spokesman during the Waco Massacre—and was supported fully by former fellow law-enforcement brother Governor Frank Keating, who with Ricks, had joined the FBI in 1969.

While it is true that Governor Frank Keating was a state official, he was (and is) completely aligned with the federal perspective and approach. Keating has never been a states' rights loyalist, but is in fact a sworn supporter of socialistic globalism, as documented in Appendix A.

Also clumsily participating in this second agenda was the somewhat slow and lumbering Regional Director of FEMA, Buddy Young. Mr. Young is the



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former Arkansas highway patrolman who had been rewarded for his silence concerning then-Governor Bill Clinton's involvement in miscellaneous illicit sexual liaisons and the questionable occurrences at the small airport in Mena. The apparent payment for Young's silence was the regional FEMA directorship, a position that brought with it a \$90,000-a-year salary.

It was an interesting lineup of players. After this first press conference, Bob Ricks would have little to say to the media about the federal investigation, but he would be very much at work behind the scenes. In terms of visibility, Ricks would be almost immediately supplanted by FBI spokesman Weldon Kennedy, who would later be promoted for his Oscar-quality performances in Oklahoma City. (Several months after the bombing, Kennedy was advanced into the FBI's national second-in-command position, which had been formerly held by Larry Potts. Potts was soon to be demoted and transferred out of Washington, D.C., because of his unethical and unlawful actions in the Ruby Ridge/Randy Weaver incident.)

At first it appeared that this investigation was going to be another version of locals versus the feds—and for a very short time it was. But there was something else going on here, something so critical that within three weeks the local players would be completely squeezed out of the picture.

As the local officials and witnesses were forced into repression, the local media followed suit. As long as the federal agencies—most notably the Federal Bureau of Investigation—controlled the content of the official press releases, local and national media reports were going to be essentially identical. This did not occur overnight, but there was a rapid merging between local and national news reports until what became known as the official story literally took over the world.

It was during the pressure plays that the locals began to retract former statements, change their stories, deny their reports, cease participation entirely or, in some cases, disappear completely from the area. During the transitional period, we observed some of the finest, most artistically created masterworks of propaganda of all time. All of the money, power, and resources rested at the national media level, and eventually what *they* said was truth would become what most people believed.

In studying this first official press conference, it is helpful to separate the two agendas. When compared side by side, there is a remarkable distinction in style between local and federal statements—especially when one recalls the evidence and witnesses' statements that had already been made public during the first eight hours following the bombing.

The conference itself was something of a jumble. The statements of the local authorities were interspersed with those of the federal players, especially during the question-and-answer period. For the sake of more clearly demonstrating the differences, the text of this press conference will be separated into its two distinct camps. Presented first are the statements,



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questions, and answers that involved local Oklahoma City authorities, followed by those of the federal representatives.

THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES

OKLAHOMA CITY POLICE CHIEF SAM GONZALES:

"Thank you very much for your patience. We appreciate you waiting so patiently. My name is Sam Gonzales. I'm the Chief of Police in Oklahoma City.

"At 9:04 a.m. [sic] this morning, the Federal Building, located at 200 NW 5th Street, was almost completely destroyed by what we believe was a car bomb. The City of Oklahoma City, the State of Oklahoma, and all of the federal agencies have combined our efforts to handle this incident.

"The area hospitals, the area EMSA service, the local medical personnel have been working relentlessly all day long at the site getting people out of the building.

"The Oklahoma City Police Department has the lead responsibility for perimeter control and for ensuring our streets stay accessible for emergency equipment. We are utilizing officers from our police department and from numerous local agencies, officers from the Oklahoma Highway Patrol, and tonight we will also have members of the Oklahoma National Guard in to assist us with perimeter security.

"All of the search and rescue efforts are being coordinated by the Oklahoma City Fire Department, and any questions related to that should be addressed to Chief Gary Marrs of the Fire Department.

"The FBI is the lead agency for investigating the incident, and any questions related to the investigations should be addressed to the Oklahoma City FBI Special Agent-in-Charge Bob Ricks.

"Mayor Ron Norick is with us, and he will speak to you in just a few moments about the other city efforts, what we are doing.

"We also have Governor Frank Keating with us, who will tell us about the state's involvement."

OKLAHOMA CITY MAYOR RON NORICK:

"For the record, I am Mayor Ron Norick. The community is a little bit in shock, as you can imagine right now. But I appreciate very much their efforts.

"Immediately this morning I got on the news media and requested that people do not come downtown so that emergency personnel and emergency vehicles could come down. Our citizens responded ably and we kept the lines open.



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"We are setting up a phone line that will be operational within a few minutes, and I want to give you the numbers. It is for any people that were in the building at the time of the explosion. We need them to call. The numbers to call are both at my office across the street. It's 297-2424. The other number is 297-2345. Any people that were in the building at the time of the explosion, we need to have contact with those individuals. So if they would, please do that.

"The Oklahoma City Police Department is in charge of the perimeter area, as Chief Gonzales said. The FBI is in charge of the crime scene. We will secure the area. It has been secured. And we are making sure that all medical personnel and that the rescue efforts of the Oklahoma City Fire Department and the other fire departments [are not hindered].

"I want to thank all of the communities from around the country who have called and volunteered their services, their rescue squads, dog teams, a variety of things—some are on the way, some we have told that we don't need right now, but we do appreciate that.

"We have interlocal agreements with all of the communities in central Oklahoma, of which there are twenty-three. All of those police officers and fire departments are all involved in support activities or in immediate rescue activities.

"The area will be cordoned off for several days. It is going to take some time to get through the debris. All the natural-gas lines have been cut off in this particular area until we determine whether we have any major gas leaks. At the time we are not aware of any water leaks or sewer leaks, but the gas lines have been turned off until we can get more information.

"I requested from the Governor this morning that the National Guard be sent in. He immediately responded. That was at about 11:30 this morning. The National Guard will be coming in to assist with security tonight at approximately six o'clock. Again, we encourage citizens from the area, people that are not involved in the rescue effort, do not come to the downtown area. Do not impede what we are trying to do to determine if we have any more survivors in the properties. So it's important that they do that.

"The National Guard will be assisting with the police and the Sheriff's Department to make sure that we keep the area secure also for the investigators that will be brought in by the FBI."

Q: Are any repair efforts under way downtown in the businesses?

Norick: I was down there about an hour ago and I noticed a number of them had already started boarding up the windows and the broken glass. I would imagine that they'll be closed for several days because we're going to keep the area cordoned off, and we'll just have to go on a day-to-day basis, but it will be several days. But



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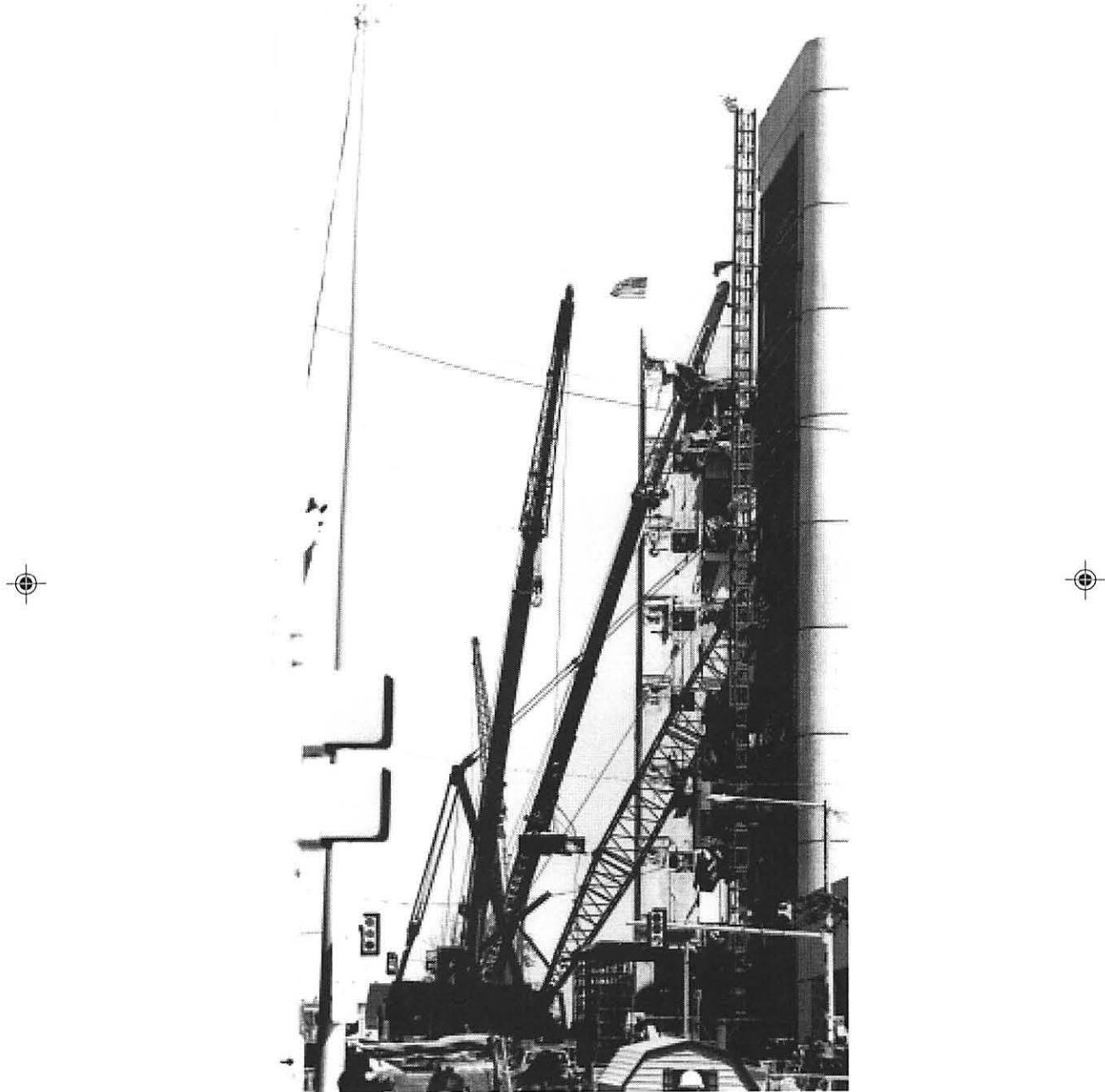


PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

Cranes and heavy equipment during the search-and-recovery period. Most of the heavy equipment used at the bomb site was donated by local construction companies, whose operators volunteered their time in the effort.



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most of them have extensive repairs that they're having to do to their own buildings right now.

Q: How much of downtown is closed?

Norick: It's approximately two blocks in all directions that's cordoned off. It may vary a little as the police move that barrier back and forth to find out exactly where they want it, but it's a large area.

Q: What about evacuations?

Norick: We sent everybody home from basically the downtown area early this morning. We encouraged employers to turn people loose, which they did, because we weren't sure of the soundness of some of the structures. Until we knew, all of the city buildings, county buildings, and I think all of the private employers turned loose very quickly this morning and sent those folks home.

Q: Is there any estimate of how much damage was done?

Norick: I have no damage estimates yet.

Q: Were there people hurt in other buildings?

Norick: Yes, there were several injuries in the surrounding buildings that have been treated at the local hospitals.

Q: Do you have any information about injuries?

Norick: No. You'll need to talk to Chief Marrs on all of that. He'll issue all of the injury reports.

Q: Are you going to try to relocate those offices that were in the building?

Norick: Well, those are federal offices. I'll let them handle that. But there are a number of private businesses; there are some apartment houses; there's a senior citizens' home. There are a number of things, and those are obviously ... right now they're trying to seal them off. It's not raining now, but it was forty-five minutes ago, and we also have the gas turned off. So those people will obviously be having to move out for a few days.

OKLAHOMA CITY FIRE CHIEF GARY MARRS:

Q: Do you have any estimates of casualties?

Marrs: The only numbers we have right now that I want to give out would be [the ones that are] confirmed. We don't want to give estimates or anything that we've seen in the building at this time, so I choose only to give numbers that have actually been extricated and confirmed. We have 58 critical transports that have occurred up to this point. We have 20 confirmed dead at a



portable morgue at this point. We are sure that that number will go up because we have seen fatalities in the buildings that have not been removed yet. But again, I don't want to start speculation on numbers. We'll update you from time to time, but what you'll get from us are the confirmed numbers at this point.

Q: I heard the Attorney General say there were persons unaccounted for. Do you have numbers for those unaccounted?

Marrs: We haven't been able to get any accountability at this point. I know the agencies are all getting hold of their people and trying to do some accountability, but we don't have any idea at this point.

Q: What is the potential for the rest of the building coming down?

Marrs: Well, we've had the architect early on show up at the building with his blueprints. He has looked through the building. We had some concerns about the stability on the west side at some point early on. That was confirmed to be more of a decorative effect on the outside and not structural members. We have some level of confidence that that structure is sound at this point with what is left standing. There is one stairway left in the rear of the building, is the report I have at this point.

Q: Can you tell us how many children were inside and where the day-care center was located?

Marrs: I don't have the numbers.

Q: Can you tell us where the day-care center was located?

Marrs: We understand the day care was on the second floor at the west end of the building toward the front.

Q: Is there any confirmation on if it was actually a car bomb, the original bomb that blew up?

Marrs: You'll have to talk to the FBI on that.

Q: How are you going about retrieving those who are still trapped in the building?

Marrs: Well, initially we had to put numerous crews ... we had about six other buildings also that had damage that ranged all the way from windows being blown out to actual structural damage, so we had to spread our resources and do those. All of the other buildings have been searched at this point. And the main building itself, now we've got about thirty percent of that building that we have completed primary search in. We have crews, not only fire crews, but we have some county-sheriff rescue personnel, numerous



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rescue personnel. We have some dog teams that are in there that are trained in rescue situations and finding people in the building.

Q: Do you know who any of the survivors were?

Marrs: I have no report of that at this point.

Q: How much did you say was done?

Marrs: About thirty percent of it. We started that effort in the upper floors. What we refer to as the pancake collapse on the lower floors is going to be a long, tedious job. We'll need to get the cranes in and the heavy equipment, so we certainly concentrated on the upper floors first to get that search done.

Q: Can you talk about the medical response? How many ambulances? Did you have enough? How many hospitals were called in? That kind of thing.

Marrs: Well, I can't give you numbers of ambulances. I know they had everything they had on the street at that time and what they could put in service later. All the hospitals became aware early either through notification or the arrival of injured. We had numerous what we consider walking wounded who either got out of the building and went themselves to a hospital or a clinic or actually came up for some minor treatment from us and then left and went to the hospital. So, early on in the incident, I was notified that all the hospitals were aware and on alert and somewhat packed at that point.

Q: How did they get their staffing levels up to full speed? Did they call people in? What were they doing?

Marrs: Who?

Q: The hospitals.

Marrs: I don't know. You'll have to talk to the hospitals about that.

Q: What is the window of time you are looking at to reach any possible survivors who may have been buried alive? Do you have a time frame?

Marrs: No, I don't. The collapsed portion is ... you've got to realize all the floors of the building are down, pancaked on each other, so you're going to have to lift those floor by floor, and that's going to be a long, tedious process. I'm sure we'll be days into it.

Q: What about the Water Resources Board across the street? Did everybody get out of that building all right?

Marrs: We did an initial search. Early on, there was some concern about the stability of that building. It was pretty well devastated on one



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corner. So we had to really monitor the crews searching that one, but it was finally completed later on.

Q: What about the underground Concourse, the underground tunnels that connect most of the buildings in downtown Oklahoma City? Is it safe at this point? Is there a danger there because of this explosion?

Marrs: I have no reports that the Concourse is in danger at this point, no. We did have some concerns over water in the basement from the broken water pipes, but that got turned off early on. So I'm not aware of any damage.

Q: What number should people call if they need information about family members in the building?

Marrs: The Red Cross County Chapter is handling that part of it.

Q: How many floors pancaked?

Marrs: All of them. Nine. From the roof down. The whole front of the building is gone all the way from the roof down. The center core, or what we believe might have been the elevator core of the building is gone even further, deeper in the building. So you have a plane and then a cutout effect to the building. But any of the building that is collapsed is collapsed from the roof down.

Q: How much of the building is still standing?

Marrs: I would say probably a little less than half of it.



THE FEDERAL REPRESENTATIVES

GOVERNOR FRANK KEATING:

"As Governor of the State of Oklahoma, today I took specific action in response to this evil, despicable, outrageous act.

"First, I ordered the Army and Air National Guard to cooperate fully with the local authorities and the federal authorities, to share resources, to provide emergency assistance as well as crowd-control assistance. These individuals will be on duty until such time as they are no longer needed.

"Secondly, I instructed the Department of Public Safety to utilize the full services of the Oklahoma Highway Patrol and other personnel to assist in emergency assistance as well as in crowd control and property protection.

"Third, I declared a state of emergency in Oklahoma City, with a view toward seeking to coordinate all of the state and local response to assist the federal family in not only assisting the injured, but also identifying and



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quickly apprehending those evil individuals who are responsible for this outrage.

"Fourth, our emergency team will be in place around the clock to assist. We will do anything we can as a state to participate in the successful investigation and resolution of this event.

"Lastly, I want to thank President Clinton. We spoke this afternoon on the telephone. He indicated to me what he announced shortly ago about the involvement of ATF and the FBI in this case, the bringing in of outside experts to assist us in this state in investigating and solving this terrible tragedy. I do appreciate his willingness to help, and certainly I'm grateful for the involvement of the state and local folks.

"I also want to thank the people of Oklahoma and the people of Oklahoma City for their outpouring of courage and commitment and compassion for those who have been injured. It really is remarkable, the lines that have appeared in front of the Red Cross and in front of hospitals to give blood.

"We intend to honor the dead and honor the living by finding out who did this and never permitting this conduct to recur."

FEMA REGIONAL DIRECTOR BUDDY YOUNG:

Mr. Young arrived late for the press conference, and his brief remarks came as an interruption to comments being made by Bob Ricks. At the midpoint of Young's speech the camera signal from the news conference to the television station was lost and part of Mr. Young's comments were also lost. What follows is the transcript of those portions of Mr. Young's speech that were actually broadcast.

"Thank you. I'm Buddy Young. I'm the Regional Director for Region VI of FEMA. I would like to express my concern and sympathy for the families and the victims of this incident. This is a very tragic thing to happen.

"We have been setting up to support the local authorities, the State Office of Emergency Services, the FBI, and the Governor's Office with whatever federal support that may be needed here. We've got everything in place to offer them any type of support that the federal government has. We'll be working with the federal, state, and local governments. We're here to do that, and we'll be here as long as they need us. Thank you."

FBI SPECIAL-AGENT-IN-CHARGE BOB RICKS:

"President Clinton has declared this a federal emergency. FEMA will be responding, and they had intended to be here by now, but they should be here shortly to assist in the cleanup efforts.

"The FBI has been designated by President Clinton as the lead federal agency in this investigation. All the agencies, however, in that building have pledged their full cooperation and, of course, they were the ones most



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injured. The FBI did not have an office at that federal building, and we did not suffer any casualties. However, many of our fellow law-enforcement brothers were injured, and we still do not have a count with regard to the extent of that injury.

"We have at this time no assumptions with regard to who caused this particular bombing, and we have had hundreds, if not thousands, of leads—from individuals calling in, to reputed eyewitnesses. Each one of those is treated very seriously. But at this point we cannot speculate with regard to who is responsible.

"Other than that, I think we have very little else to add to that. We will throw it out to questions. The Chief of the Police Department indicated that we have individuals here that will be glad to respond to any [questions] that you might have."

Q: We understand there have been at least two suspects the police are looking for in a blue pickup. What can you tell us about them?

Ricks: The Attorney General came on right before we began this press conference, and I think she's absolutely correct when she indicated that we are not going to discuss individuals at this time. As I indicated earlier, we have hundreds of potential suspects and a number of coincidences that have occurred. However, to say that it's one particular group or one individual—we're not anywhere near making any statement with regard to that.

Q: Is there anything in the investigation to indicate who did this or why?

Ricks: We have no indication with regard to a group, nor do we have any indication with regard to reasons. So it would be total speculation at this time as to why Oklahoma City was picked out.

Q: Is there any link to the two-year anniversary of Waco?

Ricks: As the Attorney General indicated, we are not excluding anyone at this time. It is the two-year anniversary, so there is an obvious coincidence that exists. However, there is no indication that there is any reason why this would be the cause of the bombing.

Q: Were there any warning signs a week ago, a threat, that this might happen?

Ricks: **The FBI in Oklahoma City has not received any threats to indicate that a bombing was about to take place.***

*NOTES

The FBI had also telephoned a warning to the Oklahoma City Fire Department on Friday, April 14, 1995, five days before the explosions occurred. This information was confirmed by Oklahoma City Fire Chief Gaines, Assistant Chief Charlie Weathers, and Dispatcher Carl Purser.



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MEDIA: You said earlier that the Fire Department has confirmed that there was a warning about a bomb?

CHARLES KEY: Yes.

MEDIA: Who? What person?

CHARLES KEY: You can call Chief Gaines, Chief Hansen, Assistant Chief Weathers. I believe a dispatcher named Purcer can tell you, and then there were people in the offices there that know about this.

—Press Conference, October 24, 1995

"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?'

—Daniel J. Adomitis

"I do know that there had been a threat phoned in to the FBI last week."

—Dr. Randall Heather

"The federal building had received a bomb threat one week prior to that morning of the bomb explosion."

—Michael Hinton

"There had been bomb threats two weeks prior to this bomb. The FBI and the ATF knew that these bomb threats were real, and they did nothing about it."

—Toni Garrett

"The FBI received a bomb threat last week, and their offices are on four floors of that building."

—John Calhoun

"As I walked through my building's parking lot, I remember seeing the bomb squad ... There was some talk about the bomb squad among employees in our office. We did wonder what it was doing in our parking lot."

—Norma Smith

Q: What about the Marshal Service memo that warned about the possibility of a bombing, that the Federal Building could be a target?

Ricks: If one such memo existed, I am not familiar with that memo.*

***NOTES**

"I can't imagine that if the U.S. Marshals had put everybody within their forces on alert like that, that the FBI and the BATF didn't know about it. This alert that I'm referring to was reported at length. There was a memo on this as well issued by the U.S. Marshals, and it was quoted at length in an article in the Star-Ledger newspaper."

—Pat Briley



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"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." —The Star-Ledger

"The Marshals' Service memo said the agency believes that 'there is sufficient threat potential to request that a heightened level of security awareness and caution be implemented at all Marshals Service-protected facilities nationwide.' ... The memo [was] issued by Eduardo Gonzalez, director of the U.S. Marshals Service." —The Star-Ledger

Q: We had several reports this afternoon that there was possibly another bomb that was located in the building. Can you tell us where that device was located?

Ricks: I think it's typical with any such disaster that occurs, many rumors follow the bombing itself. We were conducting a search when there was a report of another device. Indications are that that was purely a rumor. **We never did find another device.*** We temporarily had to call off the search. **After we confirmed that no other device existed,*** then we resumed the search.

*NOTES

"All companies on the general alarm be advised. There has been another device found in the Federal Building. Clear a four-block area."

—Scanner reports

"Boy, you're not going to believe this."

"Believe what?"

"I can't believe it! This is a military bomb!"

—Scanner reports

"The second bomb was actually several bombs—five-gallon-sized, olive-drab-colored canisters bearing Milspec numbers and clearly labeled as fulminate of mercury, with a hole in the top of each canister through which a detonator was attached." —Eyewitness reports

"Oklahoma City Police Department Public Information Officer Bill Martin confirmed sketchy reports that several containers of fulminate of mercury were discovered inside the building."

—Relevance interview, May 1995

"They saw at least three additional bombs taken out in barrels from the third floor by bomb-squad personnel. Others reported that explosive devices from the building were removed under blankets on medical stretchers."

"It was a great stroke of luck that we actually have got defused bombs. It's through the bomb material that we'll be able to track down who committed this atrocity."

—Dr. Randall Heather



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"Public-safety personnel on the scene think they have found an unexploded device in the building." —Jack Killorin, BATF

"... saw the removal of the bombs when the bomb squad came down to the Murrah Building and described to me a timing device on one of the bombs. It had been set to go off ten minutes after the earlier explosions."

—Toni Garrett

"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."

—KFOR Channel 4 Television

Q: So, you think it was a car bomb that did it?

Ricks: We're not saying if it's a car bomb or not. The Chief indicated that there is every indicia that it was a car bomb. We have technicians. Our best technicians are coming from around the United States who will do a thorough crime-scene analysis. It would be presumptuous of me to try to do a crime-scene analysis at this point. We do have a crater that exists outside the Federal Building which is about twenty feet in diameter, which, of course, has all the earmarkings of a car bomb. But until we have our experts in here to examine the crime scene, we are not going to make such a conclusion.

Q: We've heard reports that a bomb threat was called in to the building this morning. Can you confirm that?

Ricks: **We are not familiar with any bomb threat.***

Q: Some heard many explosions.

Ricks: **We've had reports that there were ... witnesses have indicated they heard two separate explosions. Occasionally, when you have a large explosion of this nature, sometimes you get an echo effect.*** The sound may reverberate throughout that enclosed downtown area. So we have no real determination with regard to how many devices at this time, so we really can't say until we get the experts in there.

***NOTES**

"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." —Dr. Charles Mankin



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"We have a large column of smoke to the south of this address ... we just heard some loud explosions ..." —Scanner reports

He reported hearing two very loud "staccato-like" explosions separated in time by five to eight seconds and followed by "a long, diminishing rumbling sound, like rolling thunder and lower in pitch than the two explosions."

—Testimony of Brett Wooley

"Everyone in town, everybody who was there, knows there were two blasts."

—Jim Ferguson

"A second explosion came after the first one and shards of glass began flying in the office." —P. G. Wilson

"About six or seven seconds later, another [explosion] which was more violent than the first pushed the bus again, and I thought the second time the bus was going to turn over." —Michael Hinton

Q: What about the other devices in the building?

Ricks: There was one item that was found which does not appear to fit in there. It appeared to be a military-type ordnance, but we believe it had probably no relationship to the bombing, and because the building was so destroyed, **we cannot account for that device.** So instead of saying that there were no other devices, there was an ordnance-type device that was in there, but it does not appear to be related to this incident.

Q: What about the rocket launcher?

Ricks: We don't know to whom that belonged. Until that is determined ... **I know that has swept the city, that there was a rocket involved.*** Again, that's going to be thoroughly examined to determine if it's inert, or what that actually is. But at this point we're not making any statement further.

*NOTES

KTOK Radio AM 1000 reported the discovery and removal of a rocket launcher from the debris. This announcement originated with a rescue worker on the scene and was relayed to a KTOK reporter near the perimeter.

Q: Some people are saying the car had ammonium nitrate in it as the explosive substance. Is that correct?

Ricks: I don't believe that has been confirmed. **It's obviously a very high explosive. Ammonium nitrate could be a possible source.*** Again, until we get the experts in there and we start



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taking actual samples and do a thorough analysis, there's no way for us to conclude what it is.

***NOTES**

Department of the Army Field Manual, Explosives and Demolitions FM 5-25, [describes ammonium nitrate] as a LOW EXPLOSIVE used chiefly as a cratering or ditching charge.

Q: Has anyone claimed responsibility?

Ricks: We've had numerous calls from various organizations, from individuals to organizations. To say that we've had anyone that we think is the actual entity responsible, we cannot make that conclusion yet. We've had hundreds of calls around the country with regard to this incident.

Q: How much expertise would you have to have to create an explosion of this size?

Ricks: I cannot answer that. I would have to speculate. Obviously, it was a highly powerful explosive item that caused this particular incident.

Q: From looking at the damage, is there any way to tell how many sticks of dynamite it would have taken to do this damage?

Ricks: They can do ... obviously ... The experts will be here this evening. They will be taking the measurements. They can estimate, looking at the surroundings, how it was contained and so forth, the exact nature of the explosive device, and how much explosive was used. But again, I'm not an explosives expert and I can't stand up here and say that.

Q: How deep is the crater?

Ricks: I don't know. It's so full of debris, you can't estimate how deep the crater is.

Q: Would a device outside the building cause this much damage to the inside the building? Is that a logical conclusion?

Ricks: Yes. Obviously, if you've seen the pictures of it, it basically sheared off the front of the building, or actually, it was the side of the building. So **it had to be an extremely powerful explosive that occurred. It not only went up, it went out.** And you have debris that is in a multiblock area. This was felt over fifteen miles away.



Governor Frank Keating was seen moments later at the bomb site, making statements to the press on a street corner. His comments were almost iden-



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tical to those he had offered earlier in the afternoon, with the exception of the following two remarks.

Said Keating, "The President asked me when this thing is over to help him attempt to draft a national response—because of the law-enforcement experience I had as an FBI agent, and certainly as somebody who has supervised most all of the federal law-enforcement agencies on the national level—which I'll do."

It would have been interesting to ask if Keating's "national response" would include those "prudent and careful protective measures" he had mentioned earlier that day. But the media was not putting jigsaw puzzles of information together at this time. Instead, Cynthia Gunn of KWTV Channel 9 Television asked, "What do you say to the families, Governor?"

Keating replied, "It never should have happened. This whole tragic, awful thing should never have happened. The fact that evil people would treat innocent people like this the way they do is just beyond comprehension for those of us who live in the civilized world. Absolutely incredible."

The media representatives at the bomb-site interview thanked Governor Keating for his time, and the cameras swept the television audience back into the auditorium of the Civic Center.

Reporters were beginning their traditional recaps for the public of all that we had just heard. But behind their statements television viewers could hear the following announcement being made over the public address system. It laid out for us all the new rules of the road. From now on, everything official was going to be controlled and prepackaged for public consumption:

"Everybody listen up, please. If you're interested in future information, from this point on the Federal Bureau of Investigation will be giving you the press releases because they're in charge of the investigation."

*One deceit needs many others,
and so the whole house is built in the air
and must soon come to the ground.*

— Baltasar Gracian

The Art of Worldly Wisdom (1647), translated by Joseph Jacobs



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NOTORIOUS

The World Responds

The period of time between the local evening newscasts and the major network broadcasts was one of rhetoric, sentiment, and reflection. On the one hand, it was repetitive and strangely reassuring; on the other, it was unbearable.

To those not a part of the Oklahoma City community, the idea that the local evening news could be reassuring is difficult to comprehend, but we were slowly becoming accustomed to not knowing, and there had been no new announcements from the bomb site for several hours. During the earlier hours of the day each moment had brought a new horror, a new terror, a deeper experiential understanding of the term "gruesome." But now the changes were very slow and measured. The news of a breaking nature came as teaspoonfuls rather than as oceans, which made it seem like we could all breathe again. There were signs of restoration already beginning in the downtown area, and there was something essentially hopeful in that.

Yet at the same time that the repetitive news was becoming reassuring by virtue of its unchanging familiarity, there was also the burdensome and paralyzing sensation of life on the edge, neither advancing nor retreating. The tempo of life had been abruptly slowed to a crawl. The remains of the Murrah Building were still there. The damage had been done. No suspects were yet under arrest. The rescuers were working. The meteorologists were watching the skies. The families were waiting. There was an all-pervading helplessness, impatience, and frustration. Waiting—always waiting—and that was difficult to endure.



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There was no visible change in what could be seen of the Murrah Building. The only changes were in the official death count, which continued to climb. It would be like this for many more days to come. This horrible repetitive loop was in motion and there was no way to stop it.

The smallest bit of information—which most often involved yet another increase in the number of victims—became important simply because it represented a change. So significant were these tiny changes over the coming days of sameness that even months later it would be possible to recall which day of the week it was by knowing that day's death toll.

But on Wednesday, April 19, it seemed a century had passed in the nine hours since the bombing. There had been moments when everything was rushing past too quickly to comprehend; and there had been single moments as long as a lifetime. The rugged unevenness of the experience had been draining and wearing. It was time to go home.

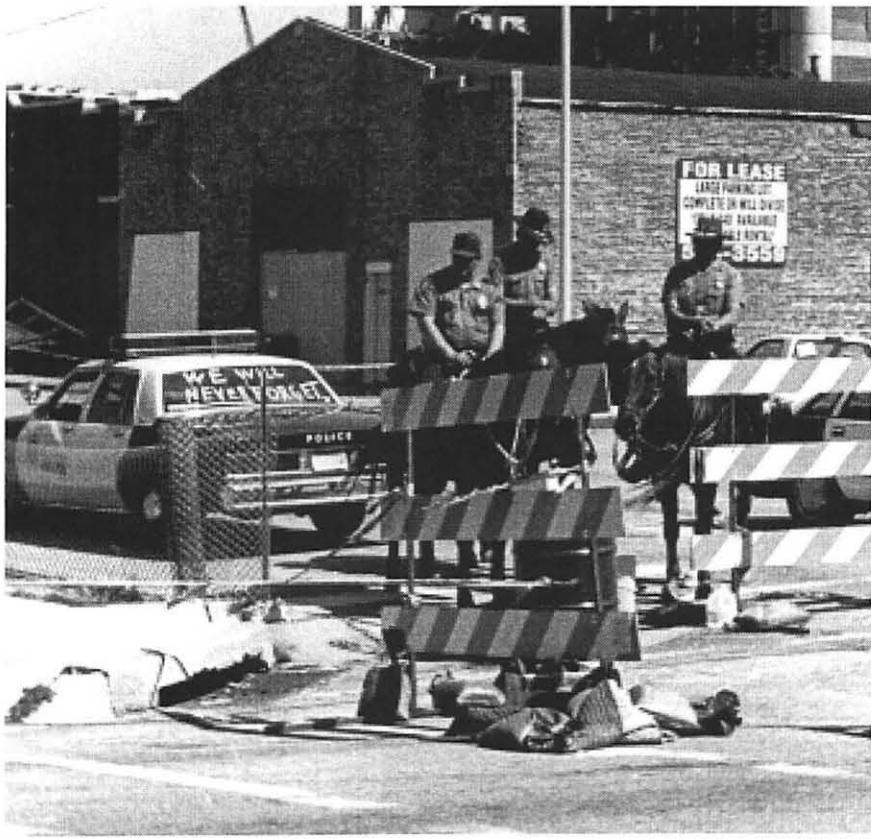
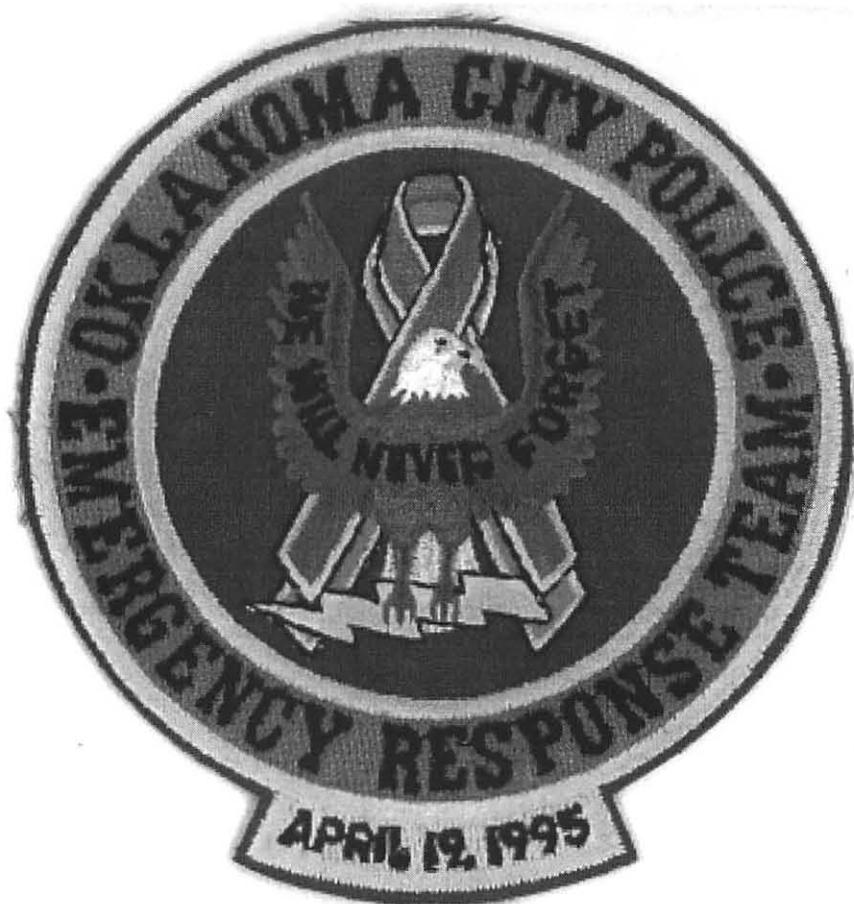


PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

Sheriff's deputies on horseback patrol the roadblock near NW 6th Street and Hudson. Several police vehicles were observed in the area bearing the slogan, "We Will Never Forget." Since that time, the slogan has been officially adopted by the police.



Notorious # 229



This is the new uniform patch for the Oklahoma City Police Emergency Response Team (enlarged to show detail). According to the Assistant Public Information Officer of the Oklahoma City Police Department, the ERT was formed prior to the bombing for the purpose of riot and crowd control during periods of civil unrest. The team is believed to be funded by FEMA, but the Police Department will make no official statement about funding. This specialized elite ERT unit differs from the police tactical teams which handle matters such as hostage rescue. The patch, designed by the men in the Emergency Response Team, displays the date of the bombing at the lower edge of the patch; in the center is the multicolored bombing memorial ribbon placed behind the eagle with outspread wings, bearing the lightning bolt in its claws. Across the eagle's wingspan is the phrase, "We Will Never Forget."

I was stuck in southbound traffic on I-35, leaving downtown Oklahoma City at rush hour. I had been in the area of the bomb site, had seen the remains of the Murrah Building, and had viewed as much of the peripheral damage as I could see from my vehicle. I had tried to find a path inside the perimeter and had been turned aside by law-enforcement officers in several different locations.



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PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS



Cramped quarters for the media at Satellite City, NW 7th and Hudson.



Parking and walking was out of the question. No one was being allowed to stop, no one could get out of his car, and there were now no civilian parking places within a quarter-mile in any direction around the Murrah Building. The military presence was everywhere, and sheriff's deputies mounted on horseback were patrolling the alleys and smaller walkways between the buildings.

But in my exploration of the downtown area—from the Family Crisis Assistance Center at the First Christian Church to the Murrah Building itself—I had seen the expression on the faces of the National Guardsmen waving the traffic onward; the faces of the media representatives making their reports from the glass-strewn streets; the faces of the relief workers dispensing supplies; the faces of the rescue workers leaving their shift; the faces of the medics without patients; the faces of the displaced persons whose homes were now uninhabitable; the faces of the priests, pastors, and counselors; the faces of the families; the faces ... It was going to be a long time before those images would vacate the forefront of my thinking.

Traffic was at a typical rush-hour standstill, made worse by the horde of curiosity seekers. The message to sightseers was now more impatient and demanding than before. Requests had been replaced by orders.

KWTV Channel 9 Television reporter Randy Renner laid it on the line for everyone: "There is one thing I want to pass along right now. We've had many, many people come into downtown Oklahoma City. Obviously, many



people want to know about their friends and relatives in the Murrah Building and perhaps other buildings next door. And we have had many other people come down here simply to gawk at the situation that has developed here.

"Emergency crews are stressing: Please, if you do not have important business—and they mean *important* business—in downtown Oklahoma City, please, please stay away. The National Guard is down here.

"The Highway Patrol have indicated that if folks continue to come down here who have no business being here, they will be escorted out and perhaps on to jail. So the authorities are going to get quite serious about this because many people who are just looking at this scene of horror and devastation don't need to be down here.

"The authorities who have already had an extraordinarily difficult day—their patience is ... it's over. There is none of it left. So again, do not come to downtown Oklahoma City."

I was glad I was on my way out of the downtown area. As I watched the bright headlights of the vehicles inching slowly forward in the opposite



Because the media was kept at such a distance from the Murrah Building, photographers often had to work on shaky makeshift platforms. The Reuters photographer, lower left, relies on his telephoto lens, focusing carefully between two buildings to get a shot of the Murrah disaster scene.



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direction on the interstate, I already knew the look of the people behind those lights. No matter what they might be feeling, I knew that their faces were pale and bloodless, furrowed at the brow, tense along the jawline, pursed at the lips. The roadway was awash in thousands of unsettled, hurting souls. We were strangers, but we were bound together by the experience of this shared disaster, touching only by way of those grieving lights of mourning. All were linked one to another by the unending, repetitive reporting of the news media.

On any other day it would have been time to prepare the evening meal, read a bedtime story to the children, and relax into the night in expectation of the next day's activities. But few felt like eating. And who could contemplate sleep, knowing that persons might still be living beneath the rubble of the Murrah Building, crying out for help, suffering, possibly dying?

This odd, simultaneous sensation of sameness and change was disconcerting and stiff with tension. The means of assessing priorities and measuring time had been drastically altered. Priorities? There was some question now about what exactly was important anymore; and time meant nothing more than anticipating the next media presentation.

But what were we waiting for? What could the national news media possibly tell us that we did not already know here? Was it the familiarity of their faces or their voices at a time when the former certainties of life had become so uncomfortably unfamiliar? Was it their supposed credibility which was built on nothing more substantial than a large production budget, an impressive wardrobe, and some high-tech graphics? Did we just want someone different to tell us with new words what we already knew? Did we expect the national media to tell us that the unthinkable had not really happened?

The unthinkable *had* occurred, but it had not ended. For sixteen more days this longing and waiting would dominate everything, and what followed that period was in its own way worse than these initial experiences. We all tried to go to work, tried to resume the routine of life, tried to act like everything was going to be fine again. It was an exercise in futility. And through it all we were constantly reminded by all levels of the media that life as we had known it was over. There was not going to be any turning back. There was more to mourn than the loss of those many human lives. So many things died that day—things the media would never discuss.



The media was now reporting that telephone calls of sympathy and support had begun streaming in from all over the world—from England, Canada, Austria, France, Israel, Rome, and from cities all across United States.

The late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin expressed the sympathy of his country in this message: "How deeply we share the sorrow and the pain



with the President of the United States and the people of the United States because of the terrible terrorist act in Oklahoma City. Our hearts and feelings are with the families of the victims. Terror must be cut off before terror will hit again."

United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated, "I am horrified at the loss of innocent lives, especially young children, caused by this cowardly attack."

Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien said, "The hopes and prayers of all Canadians are with those who have suffered injuries and who have lost loved ones in this terrible disaster."

The fifteen-nation European Union condemned the bombing. A statement was issued from the French Consulate in Houston, Texas, saying, "[We are] profoundly moved by the particularly odious attack. [Our sympathy] extends to the United States, and especially to the families concerned, [for] its solidarity during this trying period."

Wrote British Prime Minister John Majors, "It is hard to convey the depth of feeling that I believe everyone will have in their hearts about the hideous acts of barbarism and terrorism in Oklahoma, and the misery and death that has caused."

Letters were received from the World Neighbors organization: "We heard the news about the explosion against a building in Oklahoma City which killed many people, namely innocent children ... We are still under the shock and feel much sorrow, sadness and revolt." The message was signed by Fatoumata Batta from Ouagadougou and Burkina Faso in West Africa.

From Elkanah Odembo Absalom in Nairobi, Kenya, East Africa: "We are greatly disturbed by the news of an explosion in a government building in Oklahoma City. Our thoughts and prayers are with you and all those families in Oklahoma City who are directly affected by this unfortunate incident."

Similar messages of sympathy and concern continued to arrive in Oklahoma City from the leaders of the nations of the world throughout the night and into the next day.

Television media representatives too numerous to mention had arrived in Oklahoma. Among those present in the cramped quarters at the media center located at 7th and Harvey—now nicknamed Satellite City—were personnel from ABC, CBS, NBC, PBS, CNN, CBN, TBN, and CNBC. International media had arrived from the BBC in London, the CBC in Winnipeg, Canada, from Norway, from the Netherlands, and from Germany. Print-media representatives came from London, Ottawa, Montreal, Vancouver, Norway, Mexico, Italy, Spain, and Israel. Also present were media personnel from hundreds of different cities across the United States. These media reps would interview anyone who stood still long enough to make a comment. They had arrived, but nothing visible was happening.



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In lieu of reportable activity inside the Murrah Building, the media descended on every government official who showed his face near the perimeter—and there were many. At the time of the bombing several Oklahoma officials had been in Dallas, Texas, attending a regional meeting of the Base Closure and Realignment Commission that had been considering the future of Tinker Air Force Base. Present at that Dallas meeting were Senator Don Nickles, Senator Jim Inhofe, Representative Frank Lukas, Representative J. C. Watts, Oklahoma City Treasurer Butch Freeman, and Retired General Richard Burpee, the former Tinker Commander and the head of the Tinker Task Force. Governor Frank Keating and Mayor Ron Norick had been scheduled to make appearances at the Dallas meeting, but had canceled their plans because of the bombing.

Most of these officials now in Oklahoma City were waiting to participate in private meetings with the Governor and federal law-enforcement personnel arriving from Washington, D.C., who were going to determine the nature and direction of the investigation into the bombing and coordinate relief efforts for the community. That initial meeting was scheduled for 7:00 p.m.

Representative Frank Lukas had returned from Dallas only to find his office, which was located in the Old Post Office Building a block south of the Federal Courthouse, in a complete shambles. All of the windows were blown in and the doors had been knocked off their hinges.

Said Rep. Lukas: "My press secretary was literally sitting at his desk this morning with an outside window behind him. When the blast went off, it blew him up out of his chair, over his desk, and onto the floor, and it blew the window in behind him. Amazing force! We won't have a functioning congressional office for several days. I'm not sure what we'll do, but like everyone else we're going to pull together and do what we can."

"I was pleased to hear the President's comments. I was pleased to see the efforts from FEMA through the FBI and law-enforcement people he is sending into Oklahoma City, and I share the view that swift and sure punishment is what we need to do when we find whoever perpetrated this dastardly act."

Senator Ernest Istook remarked, "It violates every principle of decent behavior even when we're at war, and this is not a war, which makes it so much the worse. But how do you describe how despicable it is? And how do you try to understand the feelings of people who lost a spouse or child or a mother or father or whatever it might be? There's no way to describe it."

Senator Don Nickles, who had also been in Dallas that morning, had telephoned his comments to the news media, saying, "We will fully support federal investigators to ensure they capture the satanic mind or minds that carried out the bombing. This is a cowardly and devastating attack on innocent people. We will use all our resources available to us on the federal level to apprehend who did this."



Every government official tried to find a new way to describe the event or characterize the perpetrators. There were no new ways left. Every appropriate adjective had already been used. We had reached the limits of language when it came to describing what had occurred and what remained.

Senator Jim Inhofe had arrived in Oklahoma City and was interviewed at the scene prior to meeting with the Governor and federal agents at seven o'clock. He was asked to make an assessment of the situation.

"I'd have to characterize it in the following way," said Senator Inhofe. "I was in the first flight that went into Kuwait after the Persian Gulf War. I didn't see anything there that could even approach this. It's like a war zone. You picture three of the largest non-atomic bombs in World War II going off all at once. That's the Murrah Building."

"My office in Oklahoma City is two blocks away, and my windows were blown out. You can see windows blown out six, eight blocks ... as far as a mile away from this site. So I guess it has been determined that this is the largest terrorist action in the history of America."

"I happened to be in Dallas when it happened. I got a call from Bill Clinton. I'm not one of his closest friends, but he called just to find out if there was anything I could think of that they are not doing. I talked to James Lee Witt. He's the FEMA Director. He is arriving about now. Everything that can be done is being done."

"But we can't forget two things: number one, this is not a natural disaster. It's a terrorist action, so we're looking at a war zone over here. And number two, the people who have lined up—hundreds of people—to give blood. There was a two-block-long line of people wanting to give blood. And then the most significant thing is our prayers for the families who don't know right now."

Community Action

Senator Inhofe had paid great tribute to Oklahomans in his brief comments. Perhaps the most difficult thing for those not directly involved in the rescue effort was finding a way to help. There was something so terribly inadequate in just watching the television or listening to the radio and being horrified. We had all already done that.

The workday was ending and, for those who had been at their jobs all day listening to the news of the bombing on radio, a frustrated restlessness set in. They needed to *do* something. Some, driving home from the office, stopped by the hardware store for flashlights and batteries to deliver to Larry Jones and Feed the Children. Some loaded up their cars with groceries and over-the-counter medical supplies and headed for the Red Cross dispensary. Others drove home by way of the nearest blood bank.

It was six o'clock in the evening, and still the lines at the blood-donation centers stretched around the corners of the buildings and out into the



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streets. The centers had extended their hours of operation to accommodate the hundreds of donors who had been waiting in line for several hours and the new donors who were just arriving after work.

Said one donor, "I figure that I'll do anything I can to help. I want to feel like I'm helping somebody. And if it takes me to donate a little blood to give someone help, then I'm willing to do that. Anything. Every little thing helps."

At the Family Crisis Assistance Center that had been established at the First Christian Church, the help offered came from counselors, pastors, priests, psychologists, psychiatrists, and funeral directors. Persons searching for friends or family members had followed a circuitous route of frustration all day long. They had first been directed to the gymnasium at the St. Anthony Hospital Mental Health Center in which had been posted a continually updated list of the victims taken to all of the hospitals in and around the metro area.

After the long hours of waiting and searching through the lists, if a loved one's name did not appear, the family members were directed to the First Christian Church located at NW 36th and Walker. There they talked with counselors who were collecting information about the missing victims. The family members were asked to describe any notable characteristics of their loved ones for later identification. Some brought photographs.

One of the counselors was asked what he had experienced that day while working with the families. Throughout his comments, his voice broke and he often had to stop talking to calm his emotions before continuing.

"People have been in shock," he said. "They don't know how to feel because they don't know what's happening. I've mainly been at St. Anthony most of the day. The people there would keep looking ... at the lists ... going up and down the lists ...

"They would look at the lists, keep scanning the lists, hoping to find the name of someone, the person they were looking for. For some people it was a sister, a mother, a child. Some people had several family members in the building at one time, and they were just in shock. There was a rising sense of anxiety as the day wore on and the people's names didn't appear on the lists. Some people have sort of calmed down a little bit. But as the day goes on the sense of desperation is increasing.

"And now they've been sent from the hospital over to here. I think they are understanding that this is entering a new phase, that the people who were hurt and injured and could be helped immediately *had* been helped immediately. So now they're entering a new phase of understanding of exactly how bad the situation is for their particular family.

"They're asking questions why. A lot of them are unable to speak, actually, and the counselors must try to make sense of what they are talking about."



Shortly after this interview a prayer service was held in the counseling area and a new set of lists arrived. The television cameras momentarily scanned the faces of the families searching through the lists while listening to a counselor read the names aloud over the public address system. It seemed an uncomfortably intrusive moment, prying into private fears and grief. The camera quickly turned away, returning to what was now file footage of the morning.

The Conflicting Evidence

During the day media representatives had quickly found Dr. Brian Espe and Jack Gobin, who worked for the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In the early footage of the rescue effort, Dr. Espe could be recognized as the elderly gentleman being helped by a firefighter in his descent down a long extension ladder. His escape from the Murrah Building had been seen around the world.

The most revealing comment made by Brian Espe and Jack Gobin was that they had felt the building vibrating prior to hearing the outside explosion. It was that slight vibrational warning that caused Dr. Espe and Gobin to instinctively dive beneath the table and desk where they were working, and those structures protected them from flying glass and falling debris. Their recollections would aid in documenting that the internal explosion had occurred *before* the street bomb had detonated.

Upon reaching the street level after being brought down the Fire Department's extension ladder, Dr. Espe said, "Thank God I'm alive. That's all I can say."

Q: What's your name, sir?

Espe: I'm Brian Espe.

Q: Did you work up there?

Espe: Yes. Yes.

Q: Can you hear okay?

Espe: I'm fine.

Q: Are you?

Espe: Yes.

Q: How do you think it happened?

Espe: I happened to be in the part ... the only part of the fifth floor ... our part of the fifth floor that isn't gone.

Gobin: It was either a bomb or a gas explosion from across the street here.



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Espe: I just happened to be in that room. It's not the room I normally am in. I was working on projects. I was lucky I had a table to dive under.

Q: What went through your mind?

Gobin: Where's the table to get under?

Espe: Yeah. What's happening? It was like it was happening in slow motion.

Q: What are some of the images that you experienced while you were waiting to be rescued? What went through your mind?

Espe: Well, the same ones that are going through now. My entire staff of about seven people is gone. Just gone.

Gobin: He and I and one lady are the only ones that walked out of our floor area.

Espe: Right.

Q: Did you see any fatalities?

Espe: No, we didn't.

Gobin: No. Just a big hole.

Espe: There's no floor from the ceiling to the basement. There was nothing there.

Q: Does it make any sense to you?

Espe: No. No.

Gobin: It's like a dream still. It's not real.

Espe: If somebody did this, what could be their motive, to hurt that many innocent people?

Gobin: I thought it was an earthquake, because I resided in California for many years. It was almost like slow motion. I felt a shake, and then it began shaking more. I dove under my desk and then the glass all came in. I think that helped save me because all the glass was gone. It's all over the office.

If the street bomb had been solely responsible for the devastation to the Murrah Building, there would have been no shaking or vibrations in the building prior to that explosion. Something had been happening deep inside the structure of the Murrah Building prior to the detonation of the street bomb, and that vibration had given Dr. Espe and Gobin just enough warning to save their lives.

Others reported similar sensations prior to the street explosion. Said Larry Meyers, owner of Auto Colors, Etc. located at 7th and Walker, "I felt a kind of a rumble and then a blast. . . ."



While being bandaged by medics, Gary Glover stated, "It was like an atomic bomb went off. The ceiling went in and all the windows came in, and *then* the deafening roar. Then there was just dust and everything."

In addition to the many reports of persons hearing two explosions and the witnesses who observed the removal of secondary explosive devices from the building, there were other early indications that something was amiss with the official story about the street bomb being the only bomb. Already federal officials were hinting that ammonium nitrate fertilizer and fuel oil (ANFO) had been used as the explosive that destroyed the Murrah Building, but officials could not seem to make up their minds about how big the bomb had been or how large a vehicle it would have taken to transport that bomb of as-yet-undetermined size.

In spite of the fact that proof exists to support statements that small demolition charges had been placed on or in certain of the support columns inside the Murrah Building—and in spite of the fact that independent witnesses have claimed seeing alleged construction workers preparing the columns to receive those charges—federal officials have never wavered from their premise that only one explosion occurred outside the building, and that ammonium nitrate fertilizer and fuel oil were the ingredients of the one and only bomb. They have worked overtime to make this premise believable, sometimes altering the bomb's ingredients a bit to try to make everything fit the shaky structure of deceit that has supported their explanation of this incident. They are firm and unmovable in their story—even when it changes—but they are lying.

The problem with the conflicting evidence in this matter is that the vast majority of people in this country have no experience with, or knowledge of, explosive materials. They look to experts to tell them the meaning of the evidence and, knowing no better themselves, believe what they are told without question.

On June 8, 1995—long after the size of the street bomb had miraculously grown from 1000 pounds to 4800 pounds of explosives, and only three days after *Veritas* newspaper had published the initial documentation that proved the existence of the column charges—CNN investigator Mark Feldstein interviewed Ralph Ostrowski, a spokesman for the Dallas office of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Feldstein's report began with video file footage of a test explosion that had been conducted by that agency in November 1994. The report also included footage of two other test explosions that had occurred on August 2 and August 8, 1994, in White Sands, New Mexico.

Said Mr. Feldstein, "This was a test explosion conducted by federal agents last November. They filled a van similar to the Ryder truck used in Oklahoma with the same kind of explosives—ammonium nitrate and fuel oil."



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Feldstein must have been in serious need of an optometrist that day because the van used in the White Sands test was a typical passenger vehicle. The final and official incarnation of the Ryder truck (to which this van was supposed to be similar) was a twenty-foot cargo truck—almost twice the length—with a hauling capacity nearly four times that of the van.

Feldstein continued, "Agents used a thousand pounds, only one-fifth of the explosives that turned up in Oklahoma. But it was more than enough."

More than enough for what? Of course, every test vehicle destroyed in White Sands, New Mexico, blew up perfectly on cue. Observers of the tests reported feeling the blast pressure from the test explosions a mile away. But blowing up a passenger van and destroying a 315,000 square-foot building are two different things, particularly when one considers that the bomb vehicle in Oklahoma City was located outside the building and approximately fifteen to twenty feet away from the structure.

In addition, reports have varied concerning how far away the Oklahoma City blast pressure was felt or the sound heard, but in all cases it far exceeded a distance of one mile. The peripheral damage extended at least five miles from the Murrah Building in every direction, and persons as far away as Cushing, Oklahoma, seventy-five miles to the northeast, reported hearing the blast.

The comparisons made between the White Sands, New Mexico, test explosions conducted by the BATF and the Oklahoma City bombing rest on tenuous assumptions indeed. Explosives, particularly ANFO, can be very temperamental. You cannot conclude that because a small quantity of explosives did a certain amount of damage out in the open desert, an explosive five times as large would do five times the damage in a densely populated area against a steel-reinforced concrete structure. There are simply too many variables involved. Also to be considered is the fact that the White Sands tests were designed, controlled, and monitored by experts, while allegedly the Oklahoma City truck bomb was built by amateurs. Or was it?

In his CNN report, Mark Feldstein revealed more interesting information. "Five months later in Oklahoma City, the test proved invaluable. One of the agents involved in the testing happened to be across the street as the Federal Building blew up."

Referencing this agent who just "happened" to be on the scene "across the street"—yet who remained miraculously unharmed—BATF spokesman Ralph Ostrowski said, "He immediately called in to our Dallas Field Division, giving some very strong preliminary indicators of what he thought the device consisted of and the quantity. It gave us very quickly an idea of what had occurred out there."

Apparently this BATF agent who, for reasons unknown, was on the scene in Oklahoma City, was also in need of an optometrist, for he gave the Dallas office of the BATF its first indications of the amount of explosives used in



the bombing. But those first reports claimed 1200 pounds of ANFO. And of course that estimate lasted only a day or so when it became apparent that nobody was going to believe such an outrageous fabrication. That is when the truck bomb's growth spurt began.

But even after the truck bomb had grown large enough to reach the cargo limits of a twenty-foot Ryder truck, there were still many problems with the size, ingredients, and location of the bomb. Reaching meaningful conclusions about those problems depends greatly on the evidence at the bomb site, the observations of witnesses, and the documented differences between high explosives and low explosives.

Joe Todd, a member of the Oklahoma National Guard, had been inside the perimeter surrounding the Murrah Building and had picked up a few pieces of debris prior to an interview he granted the media on the afternoon of April 19. Said Mr. Todd, showing his souvenir to the camera, "This is a piece of one of the granite slabs from the front of the building, about two inches thick. It was shattered by the explosion. I've never seen anything like this before. I talked to a bomb expert and he said they think the bomb was 1500 lbs. of explosives. The World Trade Center was 800 lbs. I was in Kuwait City in Desert Storm. This is Kuwait City. This isn't Oklahoma City. It shouldn't happen here. I've never seen devastation this bad, even in Vietnam or Desert Storm."

Architectural design engineer James Loftis, after closely examining the remains of the Murrah Building, reported that he observed thousands of small pieces of metal, granite, glass, and concrete, which he described as "just like BBs," everywhere around and inside the building, the result of the shattering effect of the initial blast.

Color photographs were published of the vehicles that had been destroyed in the parking lot north of the Murrah Building. Often the door panels of these vehicles were dotted with hundreds of very tiny holes, about one-quarter to one-half inch in diameter, which extended all the way through the exterior panel into the interior, sometimes exiting through the opposite side of the vehicle. The cars had been pierced by the flying BB-like bits of stone, glass, and steel that had been shattered and propelled by the interior explosion.

A review of the statements of witnesses and the media accounts of the event reveals that the single adjective most often used to describe the damage to the Murrah Building and the surrounding area was "shattered." Although these witnesses and media personnel are not explosives experts, it is interesting to note that their descriptions are accurate not only when describing the damage visually, but also in terms of the definition and effect of high explosives—which differs enormously from that of low explosives. Understanding this difference is critical to understanding and documenting the presence and the effects of bombs within the building compared to the effects of the street bomb.



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In the *Department of the Army Field Manual: Explosives and Demolitions, FM 5-25*, published in May 1967 by the Headquarters of the Department of the Army, the definitions and characteristics of high and low explosives are clearly set forth. What follows are the Army's definitions:

a. Explosives.

Explosives are substances that, through chemical reaction, violently change and release pressure and heat equally in all directions. Explosives are classified as low or high according to the **detonating** or speed at which this change takes place and other pertinent characteristics.

b. Low Explosives.

Low explosives **deflagrate** or change from a solid to a gaseous state relatively slowly over a sustained period (up to 1300 feet per second). This characteristic makes low explosives ideal where pushing or shoving effect is required. Examples are smokeless and black powders.

c. High Explosives.

The change in this type of explosive to a gaseous state—detonation—occurs almost instantaneously (up to 28,000 feet per second), producing a shattering effect upon the target. High explosives are used where this shattering effect is required—in certain demolition charges and in charges in mines, shells, and bombs.



Further, this same manual, on page 12, describes the explosive characteristics of ammonium nitrate:

7. Ammonium Nitrate

b. Uses.

Having a low detonating velocity (1100 feet per second) and thus a low shattering power that produces a pushing or heaving effect, ammonium nitrate is used chiefly as a cratering charge. It is also effective in ditching.

Clearly, a combination of ammonium nitrate fertilizer and fuel oil could not have had the shattering effect so universally described by all of the witnesses. In light of these official definitions and explanations, it is intriguing to review Bob Ricks' press-conference statements about the alleged single bomb that destroyed the Murrah Building. Said Ricks, "**It's obviously a very high explosive. Ammonium nitrate could be a possible source.**"

According to Ricks, it is obvious that a high explosive was involved. But at the same time, ammonium nitrate—which is a low explosive—was deemed a possible source. Mr. Ricks simply cannot have it both ways *unless* federal law-enforcement agencies are willing to admit that two or more explosions





occurred, one outside the building and several inside. This they have not done as of this writing.

In one of the closing appendices, we review in great detail the evidence proving the presence and detonation of internally placed high explosives that worked in conjunction with the detonation of the externally placed low explosives of the street bomb. For the present discussion, however, it is useful to observe the wranglings of federal officials and their damage-control operatives when it became apparent that independent outside investigators were going to be able to prove the existence of these internally placed high explosives.

Of supreme concern to federal agents was the necessity of matching the explosive capability of the one externally placed street bomb with the damage done to the Murrah Federal Building. The most obvious changes in the official story involved the remarkable growth in the size of the bomb and its transporting vehicle over the first few days following the explosions. But when the expanding vehicle reached its cargo limit at 4800 pounds of ammonium nitrate fertilizer and fuel oil and the explosive force was *still* not adequate to achieve the degree of damage done to the building, other tactics had to be employed.

As we have shown, attempts were made from the first day to control the information revealed to the public by national media broadcasters. On June 30, 1995, a press conference was held at the Oklahoma State Capitol and attended by local, national, and international media personnel. During this press conference, which was hosted by State Representative Charles Key, solid evidence was presented by explosives experts that supported the presence of internally placed high explosives working in conjunction with the low explosives of the street bomb. The purpose of this press conference was to inform the public that there were other explanations for the bombing than the one offered by federal investigators and to itemize some of the contradictions apparent in the official story.

Following this press conference, one of the representatives of Ted Turner's Cable News Network (CNN) met with Charles Key's secretary and told her the story would not be aired. Said the CNN representative, "Our instructions are to sit on this until it will go with a bigger story."

A bigger story? *What* bigger story? Whose instructions? As of this writing, CNN has never aired its video footage of this press conference or offered any explanation for its censorship. Nor has that mythical "bigger story" ever come along with which that evidence could be combined. At the mainstream national and international level, the information was completely buried.

In spite of successful efforts to squelch this damning information by the mainstream national broadcasting media, bits and pieces of the story were carried locally in the radio, television, and print medias. At the local level,



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particularly on KFOR Channel 4, an NBC affiliate, approximately thirty seconds of coverage was afforded the news conference, although the information was presented as laughable and ridiculous. The news anchor of that station read her teleprompter with a tone of suppressed laughter and a smirk. One could hardly consider this presentation balanced and unbiased.

The important information offered at the June 30 press conference had been broadcast internationally via shortwave radio on "The Hour of the Time" on May 11, 1995, seven weeks before the Oklahoma meeting. Of the international print media, only *Veritas* newspaper published the evidence in its entirety, unaltered and unexpurgated, in the form submitted by the investigating explosives expert. The *Veritas* story appeared in print on June 5, 1995, more than three weeks before the Oklahoma City press conference. In response to public outcry and demand, the *New American* magazine followed suit and published the same information on August 7, 1995, in a slightly altered and edited form five weeks after the press conference and almost three months after the information had first been made public on shortwave radio.

Attempting to counter the credible evidence presented by experts at the June 30 press conference, federal agencies determined that it would be necessary to find other, equally credible experts. These new experts would need to claim that 4800 pounds of ammonium nitrate fertilizer and fuel oil could have produced the damage done to the Murrah Federal Building.

Almost a week later, on July 6, 1995, the counterarguments were offered by explosives expert Professor Bill Kaufman from the University of Michigan. But much to the irritation of the feds, what at first appeared to be comments supporting the single ANFO explosion turned quickly to support an alternative perspective.

Professor Kaufman began his statement safely enough by citing the 1947 ANFO explosion that destroyed two ships in a Galveston, Texas, port and added, "Another significant ammonium nitrate fuel oil explosion occurred in the financial district of London about three years ago and did enormous damage to the skyscrapers in that area and broke windows for thousands of feet distant, and the damage there has not been repaired yet."

But in spite of the history of huge ANFO blasts, Kaufman himself was apparently not completely convinced about the Oklahoma City bombing. He concluded his lengthy interview with the following comments, and then, remarkably, was never heard from again in any media report.

Said Professor Kaufman: "I understand there are some small peculiarities in this thing, like nonsymmetry and certain beams are not at equal distance where they failed—things like that. And these are the things that I think do raise reasonable doubt in some people's mind about other things happening. And I think it would be desirable to have an independent, top-notch scientific panel investigate and issue their own report. This would be a



necessary, but perhaps not a sufficient, condition to prevent a repeat of the JFK assassination and all the conspiracy theories that have come up since then.

"I think we can definitely say the government has not released a great deal of the findings that they have discovered and have documented. I don't know whether they're doing it for devious reasons or not. One would certainly hope that they are not. But the release of the technical information would have a favorable effect, and presumably, during the trial this information will be released. But I think in the interest of objectivity they ought to put this information out and let anyone who has a scientific background or interest look it over.

"One would certainly expect and demand that the government be very careful in collecting the evidence. And you know, you want photographs of the damage at as many locations as you could find. You would also want information concerning the crater. You would especially like to have an aerial photograph, high-resolution, to try to track the damage. And then, of course, the results of the analysis of chemical gas chromatography and other analytical chemical techniques that were used to pick up traces of the explosive ..."

At this point the interview with Professor Kaufman was abruptly cut off, was never repeated in its entirety, and he was never interviewed again.

The next attempted intervention involved actually changing the configuration of the bomb from ammonium nitrate and fuel oil to ammonium nitrate and various racing fuels, such as nitromethane and hydrazine. For about a week, media representatives appeared on television standing at the side of drag-racing tracks. As they choked on the clouds of exhaust, they told the world that strong evidence existed that the men accused of the bombing had purchased racing fuel, so when combined with almost 5000 pounds of ammonium nitrate fertilizer, the new bomb now had the capability of destroying the Murrah Building.

This was the final effort to alter the truck bomb, although no conclusive proof of the presence of nitromethane or hydrazine has ever been made public. In an attempt to cover all possible bases, the indictments handed down in August by the federal grand jury against two of the men accused of the bombing stated that the men "obtained and attempted to obtain the components of a truck bomb, including a truck, ammonium nitrate, racing and diesel fuel, detonation cord and other explosive materials."

In a subsequent interview with James Nichols, one of the men first accused in the bombing investigation but later released for lack of evidence, he explained how it came about that nitromethane was ever mentioned. When agents of the FBI and the BATF raided Nichols' Michigan farm on the morning of Friday, April 21, a one-pint bottle of ten percent nitromethane was



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seized from the cabinet beneath his kitchen sink. The small quantity of the so-called racing fuel had been used to power a radio-controlled model airplane, also located at Nichols' Michigan farm.

Although this nitromethane had been confiscated in Michigan, for some reason it temporarily became an ingredient in the Oklahoma City truck bomb in an attempt to give greater explosive capability to the official version of the single street bomb. Media reports also stated (but never proved) that one of the accused had attempted to purchase racing fuel but had been unsuccessful. The racing-fuel assertions quietly faded from media reports when it could not be documented that any large quantities had ever been purchased by any of the accused. In the language of the federal indictment, the nitromethane fell into the category of "attempted to obtain," and there is no law against attempting to obtain a legal substance from a legal source. The wording of this portion of the indictment is deliberately misleading and inflammatory.

In spite of all of these efforts to conceal or alter the evidence that supported multiple detonations of both high and low explosives inside and outside the building, the public was not fully convinced of anything the federal investigators were presenting. By this time, four months had elapsed since the explosions, and the lack of public belief in federal evidentiary conclusions indicated that it would be necessary to bring out the damage-control "evidence."

In videotaped interviews conducted in August 1995, the so-called independent investigator (and admitted member of the CFR) John D. Cash offered his information concerning the weapons and ammunition illegally stored in the Murrah Building by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the details of which have been reviewed in a previous chapter. But his speculations and assertions did not end with the comments quoted earlier in this book. Cash also offered the following flight of fancy:

"The truck that was parked out in front of the building brought the front of the building down. That is a cantilevered building. It is a perfect structure for a truck bomb to do the maximum amount of damage to. And if the explosion did bring down that fascia area and rupture the ATF's arsenal room, and since the ATF we know was keeping the percussion caps for C4, it is reasonable to assume that they were also keeping C4 there."

Cash's first error is stating that the truck bomb brought down the front of the building. The front of the building had been blown outward fifty yards to the north of the Murrah Building by the internally placed high explosives.

According to the *Department of the Army Field Manual: Explosives and Demolitions, FM 5-25*, C4 is detonated by a military electric or nonelectric blasting cap. The presence of percussion caps might be indicative of the presence of ammunition reloading equipment in the building, but they are



in no way an indication of the presence of C4. Cash's remark that it is "reasonable to assume" the presence of C4 is completely without substantiation. In the investigation of an event of such magnitude and consequence as the Murrah Building bombing, it is not wise to assume *anything*. There is no evidence whatsoever to support Cash's assumption that the BATF had stored C4 in the building.

Nevertheless, it would be extremely useful to some federal agencies to have an accidental detonation of an illegally stored explosive inside the building rather than face the accusation that demolition charges had been deliberately placed at some of the support columns by men under federal authority. Such an "accidental explosion" might also remove the necessity of dealing with the presence of fulminate of mercury found inside the Murrah Building. If Cash's assertions were believed, the alleged accidental explosion of the nonexistent C4 could be used to fill in the blanks in the official story when it became apparent to the public that the truck bomb alone could not have done all of the damage. It was a very convenient arrangement.

Cash might have been able to fool some of his listeners had he stopped talking at the end of the previous quote. But Cash was on a roll. He continued, "If a case of C4 fell out of that room during that initial blast—you can check with demolition people. They'll tell you C4 is extremely safe to handle, but you can set it off with 3500 pounds of pressure per square inch. So if a case of C4 came out of that room, or if C4 was stored in another area of that southeast area of the building, and if that fascia came down from the explosion outside—which I think we all agree it did—then it builds up, and 3500 lbs. is nothing when you look at the fascia of that building. That would explain that huge amount of destruction on the southeast side. So what we may have had is the government's ineptitude and the ATF overlooking and not following procedures. They may have killed most of the people in that building that day. And certainly they're not going to be the first ones to admit it."

As is always the case with any statement made by John Cash, you must weigh his conclusions carefully. He began with the statement that it was "reasonable to assume that they were also keeping C4 there." But Cash's assumption was based on the presence of percussion caps, not blasting caps, and he had no evidence at all to support that assumption. Cash's "reasonable" assumption must fail. Everything that follows that false premise is complete fiction and can be totally disregarded as propaganda with a purpose.

It appears from Cash's statement that he would like for the nonexistent C4 to have been detonated by the force of the falling fascia landing upon a case of the explosive, which he fantasizes fell from the ninth-floor arsenal room before the fascia landed on it. There are many problems with that assertion, not the least of which is the fact that the fascia was blown outward, away from the building.



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Additionally, there is a witness who actually observed the building collapsing vertically upon itself *after* the fascia had been blown northward. Ann DeFrango of the *Daily Oklahoman*, quoting Peter Schaffer, stated that he had seen the building collapse on itself from the top down, in a manner consistent with a classic implosion, which would indicate charges placed inside the building at the columns.

With the imagined C4 allegedly stored in the *top* floor of the Murrah Building, and the fascia of the building having been blown *away* from the remaining structure, it is difficult to manufacture any means by which 3500 psi could have been produced to detonate the C4 *after* it supposedly fell from the ruptured ninth-floor arsenal room—had that C4 actually existed.

But if we were to give Cash the benefit of the doubt, it is interesting to note that by the time the blast force of the low-explosive street bomb reached the ninth-floor arsenal room, its pressure was between 12 and 23 pounds per square inch, which is a far cry from the 3500 psi that Cash claimed is required to detonate C4.

Since Cash stated that we could confirm his assertions about the pressure required to detonate C4, we did exactly that. Telephone calls were made to Edward Jones at the Navy Technical Center for Explosives Safety, who referred us to a Lieutenant Oliver at the EOD Technical Division. We also spoke with technical personnel at Mason & Hangar, Explosives Technologies International (ETI), and Austin Powder Company, all firms that manufacture C4.

All agreed that C4 was very safe to handle. One gentleman explained that soldiers in Desert Storm had often set fire to small bits of C4 to warm their meal rations. But no one would confirm that C4 could be detonated by 3,500 psi of pressure. When it was explained why these questions were being asked and the technicians and manufacturers understood that the pressure exerted on the alleged C4 was to have come from the externally placed low explosive of the truck bomb, all unanimously agreed that under those conditions, there could have been no accidental detonation of C4.

Again, Cash has shown his true colors. Most of the assertions he has ever made in the investigation of the Oklahoma City bombing has directly benefited federal investigators, agencies, and prosecutors, and has served well to distract our attention from the canisters of fulminate of mercury and the demolition charges placed at the support columns.

In addition, most of his allegations have been based on fantastical assumptions that completely lack supporting evidence. Many have been fooled by this man and his media cohorts, Lawrence Myers of *Media Bypass* magazine and Arnold Hamilton of the *Dallas Morning News*. In combination, this trio of journalists has done much to assist federal prosecutors to create and maintain their cover-up of the real events of April 19.



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While wearing the disguise of a conservative independent investigator interested only in truth, Cash has provided the necessary distraction to turn all eyes toward an illusion while the truth lies in another direction. In every instance, Cash has performed well, bamboozling most of the public with his flamboyant flag-waving and blatant fraud.

*Whoever has even once become notorious
by base fraud,
even if he speaks the truth,
gains no belief.*

— Phaedrus
Fables (1st century), translated by H.T. Riley





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THAT WHICH WAS BEFORE

The Body Counts

Traffic on the interstate out of Oklahoma City was flowing more steadily as I cautiously made my way farther from the central part of the city. So pervasive was the oppressive sadness, combined with the sensation of danger, that all motorists were driving courteously at the speed limit, as if in some way trying to commiserate with others on the road.

As any professional trucker can attest, Oklahoma City has always been known as Zoom City by CB radio enthusiasts. Traditionally, the highway traffic speeds along at a minimum of ten miles an hour above the legal limit at all times, in all weather. But these were unusual circumstances. It seemed inappropriate—almost rude—to drive with the typical devil-may-care attitude normally demonstrated by most motorists. The need to express sympathy, care, and concern—even nonverbally—was demonstrated in the most remarkable ways. The headlights of mourning, the observation of the speed limit, and the considerate manner in which motorists allowed merging traffic to enter the highway—a most unusual phenomenon—all evidenced the public reactions to the shock and sorrow of the day.

It would be good to be home again. I was feeling very much in need of the support and affection of my family. During my journey home I began planning the report I would soon be preparing for my commanding officer, William Cooper. Twice during the drive I pulled off onto the shoulder of the highway to quickly jot down notes about situations and conditions that I felt might be of importance.

So many things had occurred during the day that I didn't trust my memory to recall every significant thing. I wasn't sure at that moment what was





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important and what was negligible. I knew that I was flying blind, and decided that the best procedure was to report everything that could be publicly known at the time and let the experts sort it out later. Although that method seemed somewhat scattershot at first, it proved to be an extremely efficient manner of intelligence reporting and produced an overall picture of staggering detail as the investigation progressed.

It was almost time for the national news affiliates to begin their coverage of the tragedy of the day. I expected my husband to be at home when I arrived, and I was certain he would have videotape and audiotape rolling in the machines, recording and monitoring the developments downtown, capturing the coverage from every perspective.

During the drive home ABC National News offered its evening report over the radio. I was thunderstruck by the text. From local sources it had just been stated that the official death toll at that moment had risen to twenty-two confirmed dead, of which seventeen were children. These were the official numbers being released by the State Medical Examiner's Office. Amazingly enough, however, ABC National News reported that there were eighty-one people killed in the Murrah Building, of which seventeen were children. Although we all knew that the death toll would inevitably rise as the search through the Murrah Building continued, there was simply no explanation for this sudden increase of almost sixty additional fatalities over and above the Medical Examiner's report.

Where had this inflated number originated? Searching through my memory, I recalled hearing earlier estimates that some eighty persons might have been in the Social Security Administration offices at the time of the explosions. I wondered if that was where ABC had obtained the figure. But at the same time I knew that the official death-toll numbers were being very cautiously handled by the local authorities. Officials in the Medical Examiner's Office were not releasing new figures until they were certain what they were reporting.

There were many problems encountered in the attempts to determine the true number of the deceased. The absence of recognizable facial features and identifying body markings was only one difficulty. Another major obstacle was the incredible number of severed body parts found inside the Murrah Building. These body parts and tissue samples were ultimately subjected to intense medical scrutiny and testing to determine if there were other recovered human remains to which the parts might belong.

Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen wrote in *Oklahoma Rescue*: "In determining the numbers we would release to the public, we were very careful. Above all, we wanted to avoid compounding the situation with unjustified numbers ... We made a conscious effort to be accurate in the numbers we released. In the aftermath of this tragedy, with so many rescue workers moving around in the disaster area, it would have been easy to double- and triple-count people. After careful planning, we determined that the official





count of the deceased would be based on the actual number of bodies turned over to the medical examiner."

Assembling the statistical data was extremely time-consuming and labor-intensive. Ray Blakeney, Director of Operations and spokesman for the State Medical Examiner's Office, stated that the recovered bodies were x-rayed to make sure that there was no bomb-related evidence within the body itself. Fingerprint and dental records were input into computers for the cross-checking of all post-mortem information. By the end of the search-and-recovery period, there were literally thousands of pages of handwritten field notes that had to be collated and entered as computer data—a task made more trying than necessary when FEMA pulled out of the operation and took its computer systems away. Said Blakeney, "This is an extremely difficult situation, and unbelievably stressful. Nobody in the United States has ever worked anything of this magnitude."

Ten months after the bombing, the Medical Examiner's Office reported that there were still over eighty unidentified body parts and tissue samples for which there was no corresponding match with any other deceased victim. The identity of the persons whose parts were found may never be known, and it is most peculiar that no family members have ever come forward claiming that their loved ones were never recovered from the building. At one time, a common tissue burial of these severed parts was discussed by officials, but the burial was delayed pending the trial of the bombing suspects. At the time of this writing, the unidentified remains are still in long-term storage at the facilities of the Medical Examiner.

There was something vaguely familiar about the death toll reported by ABC News. I could not quite find the correlating memory of eighty-one dead, seventeen children—but I knew that I had heard it before. It was only later that I came to realize that *the figures were the same* as those initially released following the Waco Massacre two years previously!

During a later newscast on ABC, the front-page headlines of the *Times* of London were shown: "78 Killed by U.S. Terrorist Car Bomb—Suspicion Falls on Islamic Militants and Waco Cult." Something strange indeed was happening with the body count.

It became necessary to ask: why would ABC News and the London *Times* deliberately falsify the death count at a time when every other media source was reporting accurately the figures released by the Medical Examiner's Office? There were some who speculated that it was some kind of a signal or coded communication to someone for whom those numbers would be significant. In later reports originating with ABC News, the Medical Examiner's officially released count would be offered, with no explanation ever given for the inaccurate figures previously reported.

Another problem with the official death toll was an unexpected change that occurred shortly before midnight on April 19. Throughout the day we had been told officially that seventeen children had been killed in the





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Murrah Building. Remarkably, that figure was amended in reports first released around 11:30 p.m.

KOCO Channel 5 Television reporter Jack Bowen conducted a live interview with Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen. At that late hour Hansen stated that the death toll had risen to thirty-one dead, "about twelve of those are children."

For some reason the number of deceased children was changed without explanation from seventeen to twelve. I questioned how such a thing could have occurred. It was impossible that media personnel might have misread a physician's illegible handwriting and thus reported the number incorrectly. No written reports were being issued by the Medical Examiner's Office; all reports were given orally.

It was inconceivable that any examining physician would mistake five unconscious but living children for five dead ones and accidentally report their decease in error. It also seemed an impossibility that, even under the most stressful of conditions, trained medical technicians would miscount the number of deceased children. I found it very difficult to believe that, given the difference in size, an adult's body or body part would be confused for that of a child. This unexplained discrepancy greatly bothered me.

In a statement made two days after the bombing, the Medical Examiner explained the identification procedure to the public. The bodies and body parts, once removed from the debris of the building, were taken to a preliminary holding area prior to medical examination. A part of this holding area was comprised of several refrigerator trucks, which served as a temporary morgue in which to store the bodies to prevent deterioration.

When a complete or near-complete body was recovered, it was taken to the Medical Examiner's working area that had been established in a local church building nearby. There were over a hundred persons working in this examination area, including forensic pathologists, x-ray technicians, dental examiners, radiologists, and representatives from the FBI Fingerprin Records Division.

Upon arriving at the work area, each body was first taken to an initial examination room, where items of clothing were removed and personal effects, if any, were collected.

The Medical Examiner stated that the most difficult body identifications were the children. Most of the children had no fingerprints on file anywhere, had not been living long enough to accumulate any significant medical records, and many had not yet acquired any dental records. Some footprints taken at birth were provided by the parents, but this was the only immediate clue available with which to identify the children's bodies other than bits of recognizable clothing.

The necessarily elaborate technical procedures being followed in the identification process made it impossible to miscount by five the number of





deceased children. To this day the inaccurate initial reports have never been explained or even addressed.

Throughout the day of the bombing we had been told in street-curb interviews that there were more fatalities than were being reported simply because the Medical Examiner wanted to make absolutely certain that the official death count was not unintentionally inflated by counting each severed part that was recovered as an individual. The task of assembling the bodily remains for burial was time-consuming, stressful, and extremely gruesome. We were later told that of all the victims only six were visually identifiable.

Many of the medical workers who had spent the entire day at the bomb site were upset by the body-count reports and conveyed their distress to the media. Said KWTV Channel 9 reporter Randy Renner: "Everybody who walks out of there, you can tell they've been in there, and they come by and they say, 'It's worse than anybody realizes.' And that's all you have to know."

Nurse Toni Garrett was particularly distressed. She had volunteered, in company with another nurse and a physician, to tag the bodies in the Murrah Building, the street, and the other buildings in the area. This traumatic task was especially important during the rescue effort because it enabled the rescue workers to determine at a glance that a discovered victim was deceased. If they saw the body tag, they knew that there was no immediate need at that moment to extricate the body from the rubble. Their much-needed attentions could be directed toward finding and removing the survivors.

Nurse Garrett had personally tagged over 120 deceased victims that day, and the Medical Examiner's reports of twenty-two dead had stunned her by its inaccuracy. Garrett was not ignorant of the identification procedures employed by the Medical Examiner's team of experts, and she was not over-reacting to the stress of the day's labors. In Garrett's opinion, the actual number of the deceased was being suppressed. She based her allegations on an unexpected encounter with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Toni Garrett and her husband Earl told their story in private interviews conducted by Chuck Allen. Toni's narrative begins during the late afternoon of April 19 when it had been determined that there would be no second wave of injured in need of treatment by the medical personnel.

Nurse Garrett began the narrative and her husband Earl interjected comments during her statements. Said Toni, "[My husband and I] had gone down to a triage center that they had set up at 5th and Oklahoma Street. The makeshift morgue had been moved from the church across the street south of the Murrah Building—which was also destroyed in the bombing—to this building next to the triage center. We were told that we were going to wait for any more wounded or dead to be brought to this location.



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"There were several doctors and nurses who had come in to work at the triage center. My husband and I told them we were going for a short walk, since we were all waiting, and had been for some time."

Earl continued, "When we left the triage/morgue, we needed to take a break. We had been walking down the side streets. It was about 6th Street that we went to. We looked at the damage. There was damage all the way over on Oklahoma Street. The Oklahoma Publishing Company had had their doors blown out.

"Suddenly cars started pulling up. They were all federal agencies. You could tell because they were getting their jackets out that said 'FBI' and 'ATF' and everything. I think they were wiring in a command center because there were the phone people there and the cable companies and so forth.

"They acted like it was just a drill, like it was no big deal. They were kind of joking around and all that kind of stuff. I made a comment to Toni. I said, 'I can't believe they're here and acting like nothing has even happened, like it's just another drill.' They acted like it was no big deal."

Said Toni, "When we left [to take a break], the doctors and nurses were busily working, trying to get the cots set up and get the IVs set up. When we got back, the news media was there and I was upset about the fact that they were not giving the true body count.

"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. I had tagged over 120 bodies myself during the day. I told her I was very distressed over that because I felt like the public had a right to know exactly what took place up there.

"When the interview was over, we entered the building and I noticed that most of the doctors and nurses who had been there before were gone. We hadn't been away more than twenty minutes or so."

During the twenty minutes that Toni and Earl had been on their break, a change in mood had occurred at the triage center. Earl continued the narrative at this point.

"There was just a different atmosphere," said Mr. Garrett. "There was nobody helping anyone. 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. That changed everything.

"They [the FBI] didn't like that Toni was being interviewed by the media. An agent walked up to me and said, 'Do you know her?' I said, 'Yes, she's my wife.' He said, 'What is she doing?' I said, 'She's kind of upset because they're trying to keep the body count a secret.'



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"The man turned around and walked away from me. I found out later that they were federal officials. They then spoke to my wife. The FBI told TBN to shut their cameras off. The gentleman was questioning me at the same time that Toni was being interviewed [by TBN].

"I saw these two men walk up to her, and they had been talking to the agent who had been talking to me. Another agent came back up to me and said, 'Do you know her?' pointing to Toni. I said, 'Yes, she's my wife.' He said,



PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

At ground level in Satellite City, this is all of the building that could be seen. Inside the fence is the Feed the Children dispensary. In the upper left hand corner is one of many surveillance cameras in the area, this one keeping an eye on the media area.



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'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."

Nurse Garrett continued the statement at this point. "I had had no dealings with the FBI, ATF, or Secret Service prior to the bombing. I had a friend who worked in the Secret Service department who was killed in the building, and she was a wonderful person. But this was my first encounter with actual agents.

"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. Since I didn't feel that it was important, I just told him that I had been down there all day and had done what needed to be done. It was just hard for me to be down there and see what went on, knowing what went on, and none of it was portrayed accurately by the media.

"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.'

The questions raised by the Garretts concerning the inaccurate body count remain unanswered to this day. No explanation has ever been given for the FBI's insistence that the Garretts keep their mouths shut about the issue. In addition, there has never been any move on the part of the Medical Examiner's Office to increase the official death toll to include the eighty-plus remaining body parts and tissue samples held in storage. And the full disclosure of the circumstances surrounding the exhumation of the body of victim Lakeshia Levy to remove one of the legs that had been buried with her and replace it with what had become known as the Mystery Leg—a situation that changed the official death toll months after the bombing—is a matter for close examination in another volume of this narrative.

Suffice it to say that on April 19 the death toll was still climbing; the number determined by members of the medical community involved in the body count was over four times the number officially released by the Medical Examiner's Office; and the FBI was telling medical personnel to keep their mouths shut about what they knew.

The incorrect body count was but one inaccuracy of many that day—deliberate or otherwise. Of all of the mainstream broadcast media, only ABC News had released a death toll different from the Medical Examiner's official number. As the national media began to take over the airwaves during the dinner hour, the seeds of disinformation that had been planted by



federal authorities at the five o'clock press conference took root and became the sprouts of the official story, which would now be presented as absolute fact to an unsuspecting and uninformed public.

Connie Chung

ABC News was not the only national syndicate to make a spectacle of itself. CBS News began an encounter with the citizens of Oklahoma City that to this day is still spoken of with disgust. This incident has become a byword whenever anyone wishes to refer to someone who insults from a position of arrogance and ignorance. This situation began with the arrival of a limousine in Satellite City, from which emerged none other than Connie Chung, then co-anchor with Dan Rather of "CBS Evening News."

During her live broadcast, Ms. Chung managed to alienate and anger the entire city. If she had simply experienced a momentary lapse of poise, all would have been forgiven and the incident would never have acquired the notoriety it soon achieved. If she had simply misspoken, no one would have been upset. But four times during the CBS evening broadcast of April 19, Chung put her foot firmly in her mouth and chewed vigorously. In each instance, the officials to whom Ms. Chung was speaking felt obligated to politely cover for her obvious lack of understanding of what had occurred in Oklahoma City that day.

To the people of the city it appeared that Chung was decidedly lacking in manners, and they applauded the courteous responses given by our local officials to her thoughtless questions and the discreet manner in which they tried to divert attention away from her public display of ignorance.

To Mayor Ron Norick, Chung asked, "Tell me, Mr. Mayor, is your city able to handle this? I mean, it's an extraordinary event."

Mayor Norick replied, "We *are* handling it. We have a very well-trained police and fire department, and we have trained for emergencies such as this, hoping that you never have to use it. We have a very good medical system here, and it came together very, very quickly. We have a lot of fire personnel that are still in the building. It's a very dangerous situation because the nine floors are collapsed down, basically down like an accordion, to the bottom. They are trying to go through the rubble to make sure that the building itself doesn't collapse and catch some of the rescue workers. But yes, I think we're well-trained, and I appreciate the support we're getting from all around the country. We've had many, many calls from a lot of mayors and people in emergency services wanting to help."

To Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen, Chung remarked, "Can you handle this? Can this fire department handle this? I know you're doing a great job, but it's extraordinarily difficult."

Jon Hansen patiently explained, "We've got our friends from all over this state—fire, emergency medical, state police are in here helping us. It's a



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team effort. It's not just the Oklahoma City Fire Department. It's the metropolitan area fire departments. We've got fire-department people here from Tulsa, Stillwater, Oklahoma ... so, with their help, we're able to rotate people and pretty well take care of the whole week. We're limited on how many people we can put in the building because of the weight of the rescue equipment that we bring in and because of the building itself."

In a somewhat condescending, lecturing tone, Ms. Chung continued, "But it also occurred to me you have to have these investigators, these bomb investigators, sifting through everything, and if you have rescue workers moving critical evidence away, isn't that part of the problem?"

"Oh yes, ma'am," replied Hansen. "We're not moving anything that the FBI or the ATF believe to be evidence. We'll find another way around that. With the team effort inside, we have firefighters, we have the FBI, ATF, bomb-squad people. We're going in together in kind of a unified search so those representatives can take care of those things those individuals need to, all systematically, all working together."

Not seeming to know when to quit, Chung continued her pedantic lecturing. "As you well know, in bomb investigations there is a signature. If you can find just a little morsel of information, of metal here, a shard there, that can be critical."

With only a hint of impatience, Jon Hansen answered, "Yes, ma'am. That's why we're being very cautious in our rescue efforts to preserve the scene and not move anything that our friends of the FBI or the ATF would need to convict the people who did this."

Later in that same interview with Assistant Chief Hansen, Chung asked, "Do you know if your hospitals are able to handle all of those who are injured?"

Ever long-suffering, Hansen explained, "Yes, ma'am. Our hospitals, their emergency plans were tested today. They worked very well. And again, in Oklahoma City we've got a number of very competent hospitals in close proximity to the downtown area and their emergency rooms were able to handle the number of people."

As if she were not content with the answers given by Oklahoma City's mayor and assistant fire chief, Chung interviewed Dr. Tom Coniglione, the Medical Director for St. Anthony Hospital, asking, "How are you able to handle this onslaught of injuries? I mean, you said that you handled more than a hundred of them!"

Dr. Coniglione replied, "Well, because of the location of the hospital and because so many doctors in Oklahoma trained at this hospital, they knew, when they heard of the location of the blast, that our hospital would be receiving a lot of injuries."

Chung asked incredulously, "You mean, they just came from all over the state?"



"They just came. They came from all over," said Dr. Coniglione. "At one point I had a hundred doctors in that area and three times as many nurses and emergency medical technicians, and every injured patient had his own doctor or team of doctors. It was the most amazing outpouring of support that I have ever seen for any occasion."

Chung could only respond, "That is extraordinary."

All agreed that the emergency response had been extraordinary—not just in terms of the implementation of interdepartmental plans that had already been established and rehearsed, but also because of the hundreds of civilian volunteers who appeared from all over the state to assist. For everybody, it was simply the right thing to do. In that respect, perhaps it was not so very extraordinary after all. It was a natural response that stemmed simply from the kind of people that we are. Chung's questions and comments were viewed as something of a personal insult to the entire state.

It was never known if Chung had imagined Oklahoma City as a town of rutted red-dirt roads, swinging saloon doors, clapboard houses, sod-roofed schools and cattle meandering along metropolitan-area streets. But the impression made upon the citizens of Oklahoma City was that she must have considered us a primitive, uneducated, and unsophisticated lot, and might have been somewhat shocked when she did not find steam-powered, mule-drawn fire wagons or doctors treating the injured with leeches and magical amulets.

Needless to say, all were highly offended. During the days that followed, the public outcry against what appeared to be blatant arrogance grew in intensity. T-shirts began appearing throughout the city with anti-Connie Chung slogans, anti-CBS slogans, and the inevitable photograph of Ms. Chung over which was superimposed the universal "No" symbol.

Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen wrote about what became known as "The Chung Incident" in his book, *Oklahoma Rescue*: "[When Connie Chung asked, 'Can you handle this?'] my initial reaction was certainly surprise because that's exactly what we'd been doing, and doing well, since 9:02 a.m. I had done dozens of interviews by that time and no other member of the press had questioned our ability to deal with the crisis. I didn't really take offense. I simply answered what seemed to be a silly question as politely as possible."

After all the community had endured with the bombing itself, and after pulling resources and personnel together to meet an overwhelming need, this high-handed treatment by Ms. Chung was intolerable. Letters to the editor of the local newspapers raged at her elitism and lack of compassion. All remarked that if there had been the slightest indication that the manpower, equipment, and facilities available had been inadequate to deal with the tragedy, local authorities would most certainly have been the first to address that situation and remedy it without delay.



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Assistant Chief Hansen wrote, "I had no idea at the time that her doubts about our department would so deeply offend many of my fellow Oklahomans and even the rest of the nation ... Citizens here have always felt a pride of ownership in the fire department, and after watching the rescuers at work all day on April 19, they interpreted her remark as degrading and frankly ridiculous ... The anti-Connie Chung T-shirts that showed up on the streets downtown sent a message to CBS that the problem wasn't going to go away easily ... Apparently she felt it was her responsibility to ask me what she believed were tough questions. I saw the public get tough as they responded to her question with a huge outpouring of support and respect for the firefighters searching for survivors."

Although CBS arranged another televised interview during which Connie Chung spoke once more with Assistant Chief Jon Hansen and apologetically tried to put the matter to rest, the resentment ran too deep to be wiped away by this awkwardly staged and obviously contrived reconciliation. On Saturday, May 20, 1995, Connie Chung's contract as co-anchor of the "CBS Evening News" was terminated.

There was much speculation about the ouster of Ms. Chung, and many questioned just how much the Chung Incident had contributed to her removal from the CBS news staff. But frankly, the reasons mattered little to most members of the Oklahoma City community. Their dignity and pride had been injured, and they felt they had been treated with arrogance and condescension. Chung had completely miscalculated the kind of people we are, and even at the time of this writing there are still some who will declare that her termination was appropriate and deserved.

Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen, in concluding his comments about the Chung Incident, wrote, "Was her question insensitive? That is a question the American public answered for us all, and I was deeply touched by their answer."

Columnist for the *Daily Oklahoman* Robert E. Lee devoted his column of Wednesday, April 26, 1995, to the Chung Incident. Wrote Mr. Lee:

"I doubt that Connie meant her question to be a put-down of us Oklahomans. It simply came out that way when she asked it without a cue card.

"Jon [Hansen] kept his cool, explaining patiently to Connie and her national audience that indeed, Oklahoma had a disaster plan, had put it into effect, and it was working as expected.

"I might not have been so calm in answering as was Jon. I might have told Connie: 'Get real, Connie! This is not the East Coast, this is Oklahoma. This is the Heartland, a name you Easterners gave us.'

"Yes, we *can* handle this tragedy. It isn't easy losing friends and loved ones, especially in such a needless fashion. But we're sticking together, Connie. We're not just Oklahomans. We're family.



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"We may fuss at each other, laugh behind our backs at each other, even get really mad at each other. But when the chips are down, we're family.

"As the world watches us cope with this disaster—our personal hell—we are showing them how much we truly are family.

"Can we handle this disaster, Connie? Of course we can. After all, we're family. And that's all that matters—family."

*Whenever a thing changes and quits its proper limits,
this change is at once
the death of that which was before.*

— Lucretius

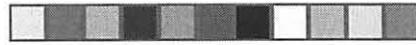
On the Nature of Things (First Century B.C.), translated by H.A.J. Munro





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SURGING TOWARD THE BARS

Preparing the Initial Report

I was never so happy to be home! As I expected, my husband already had every recording device in operation—cassette decks, boom boxes, and VCRs—attached to every available monitoring device: AM radios, scanner, shortwave, and television. When I walked in the door he was seated at the computer receiving press credentials by fax from William Cooper. Although we already held Citizens Agency for Joint Intelligence (CAJI) News Service press passes for *Veritas* newspaper, we lacked official authorizing documents that might be required in covering the bombing because of the tight restrictions placed upon the release of official information. Those documents were being transmitted at that moment.

The answering machine held several messages for me from Bill, who had telephoned during the afternoon. Each one asked me to contact him with a report at the first available moment. This *was* the first available moment, so I picked up the telephone and called Arizona.

Off the top of my head, it didn't seem that there was much to report that was new. I had been living this event so intensely and intimately throughout the day that it seemed impossible that others might not know what had happened here with the same degree of detail. Somehow I imagined that everything that had been reported in Oklahoma City had also been transmitted throughout the world. That was a silly assumption of course, but I was decompressing from a long and very wearing day and was still focused on the local perspective. I had not yet considered what people might have heard about the bombing if their only source of information was CNN.



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In my brief conversation with Cooper, I rapidly gave a verbal synopsis of events and developments and told him I would fax a report to the Research Center as quickly as I could. I glanced at the clock. It was almost 7:00 p.m. I was going to have to pull myself together right away if there was going to be a completed report transmitted to Arizona in time for that night's broadcast of "The Hour of the Time." The program was scheduled to air at 11:00 p.m. CDT on shortwave station WWCR, 5.065 MHz.

Piling every little scrap of paper in front of me on which I had scribbled notes all day, I settled at the computer and began the first of what would eventually become hundreds of reports on the bombing and its subsequent investigation. These would all be submitted to Cooper as the Commanding Officer for the Intelligence Service of the Second Continental Army of the Republic.

"CBS Evening News," which had been delayed that night, was in progress as I began typing the initial report. The national news media had solidified for the world every piece of the official story as it existed at that moment. From that time forward—until federal officials changed their minds about certain aspects of the story—the statements made by the national media were considered undeniable fact, not because they were documented, but because they were reported on television:

"A U.S. government source has told CBS News that it has Middle East terrorism written all over it."

"It was obviously the work of terrorists."

"These people are fleeing after being told that a second bomb was found in the building. Luckily, the report was untrue."

"If this cowardly bomb was designed to send a message that no one, no place, is safe, it sadly succeeded."

"There is great worry that this may have been planned overseas."

"There are no suspects."

"There was a car bomb, perhaps two car bombs."

"I saw a chassis, or actually an axle, two blocks to the east from the bomb site that was the car that was carrying the device."

"There was no second or third device."

"Just fifteen minutes after the explosion rocked Oklahoma City, federal law-enforcement agencies here learned that that was no accident. One of their very best bomb experts, in fact, was just two blocks from the scene. He rushed there and called back that it had all the earmarks of a car bomb."

"We are told now that the FBI has received claims for this attack from at least eight organizations, seven of them from the Middle East."

"I'm not sure, if they're trying to send a message, what it is. But perhaps the message is: 'America, you don't only have to worry about New York and





Washington D.C. You have to worry about Springfield and Omaha and Minneapolis, trying to spread fear throughout the entire country."

It was difficult to concentrate with so many information sources active simultaneously. Squinting at the computer screen—as if that would help shut out some of the noise—I began the first report, which would be read over the air four hours later on "The Hour of the Time."

Daina's Dramatic Rescue

While I was working, KWTV Channel 9 reported that a young woman had been found pinned under a huge pillar of concrete in the area of the building that had come to be known as "the Pit." The woman was alive but in shock. We were later to learn that the name of the survivor was Daina Bradley. I had initially heard of this rescue while in my car on the interstate. A Dr. Cornelison had given a curbside interview to one of the K TOK Radio AM 1000 reporters. Although we had heard news of several amputations performed inside the Murrah Building that day, Daina Bradley's dramatic rescue received maximum media coverage.

Police Sergeant Dan Helmuth described the conditions of "the Pit" in the official commemorative volume about the Oklahoma City bombing, *In Their Name*, edited by Clive Irving: "A cavelike area had been formed when a large slab of concrete from the floor above fell on two separate piles of rubble, ten to fifteen feet apart. More rubble had then fallen on top of the slab. At the cave opening, the roof was about five feet high. It then sloped downward to meet the lower floor, making the cave twenty to thirty feet deep."

When a fire department captain first discovered Ms. Bradley, extrication plans were immediately the main focus of attention in that cramped and dangerous place where she was trapped. Wrote Police Sergeant Kevin G. Thompson, "I could now hear this lady talking to us. She was very calm and did not sound as if she was in pain. I bent down and looked, but could only see a small part of her lower back. I looked at what was on top of her—tons and tons of concrete covered almost all of her ... As I looked up, I could see that about ten feet above us was a ten-by-twenty-foot slab of concrete hanging by only a couple of two-inch pieces of rebar. I knew that if it fell, we would die."

KWTV Channel 9 reporter Tammy Payne provided the first televised information about Bradley's rescue: "We have a report about a girl whose leg was amputated. It was successful. Our producer talked with one of the surgeons who was there. He was too upset to come on the air with us, but he said it was a successful amputation. She has been taken away from the carnage and taken to a hospital."

Co-anchor Jenifer Reynolds continued, "Let's pass along some information we got from a caller about this amputation. Apparently there was a person



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in the basement of the building, and there was water in the basement. One leg was amputated, and there were three doctors who helped with this amputation. They deserve kudos from the community because they stayed in there through the several bomb threats when many people left the building. They stayed with her and continued to work. They were belly-deep in water and they were able to save her life and get her out of there, and she is at the hospital now and is stable."

Concluded co-anchor Kelly Ogle: "Our prayers go out for her, and she is certainly a brave young woman, twenty years old, to go through that without any anesthesia."

Ms. Bradley had been inextricably pinned beneath the concrete, her right leg crushed below the knee. Only her left leg, left arm, and upper chest were free. Three surgeons, Dr. Gary Massad, Dr. Andy Sullivan, and Dr. David Tuggle, were brought into "the Pit" area to assess Bradley's medical condition and to devise a means of rescue. It was determined that the only course of action was to amputate the right leg through the knee. After Bradley was removed from the rubble, doctors discovered that she also suffered a collapsed lung, with blood in the lung cavity.

The surgeons performed this difficult but successful amputation in a narrow crevice where the victim was trapped in about eighteen inches of water. Said Dr. Massad: "When I arrived it was fairly chaotic and security was very high. They had moved the triage units several times before I arrived, so we weren't real sure where they needed us at the time. We checked two different triage positions which had been moved to NW 5th and Harrison. Then as we moved toward the front of the Federal Building, security checks allowed us to proceed through, knowing that we were medical personnel and had the proper ID. They just kind of escorted us to the front of the building and said, 'Go down in the hole, take a look, and see what you can do.' We went down.

"The one thing that I was particularly involved in was Daina, the twenty-year-old black female who was in the basement [and] whose right leg was trapped by the debris and concrete blocks. She was lying in water and had been, I guess, since the accident. It was a very narrow space where she was trapped. She had lost a lot of blood, a lot of fluid. Her arteries and veins had collapsed and we were unable to start IVs on her.

"Dr. Sullivan had been in earlier but they wouldn't allow him access to her because the debris in the building wasn't secure. So we called him and he came back down and said, 'What are we going to do?' He said, 'I can't cut her. The rebar is on top of her. I can't even get to her.' We were on our hands and knees. She was in a foot-and-a-half of water. So we backed off and said, 'If you can clear the rebar and stabilize the field we can work.'

"I decided to put a chest rope around her and made sure we had a pulley to pull her out of there once the leg was removed so that the firemen



wouldn't have to be in cramped quarters. If something fell, they would be trapped there. They weren't real sure about the stability of the concrete slabs around the victim and therefore that kind of hampered and delayed the rescue effort substantially.

"On two occasions, as we were trying to assess our ability to remove her and possibly have Dr. Sullivan perform the amputation, they made us come back and leave the building because of vibrations that one of the firemen said might cause a collapse. Eventually, though, there was a whole rescue effort. The firemen were supportive and marvelous in their work. They were very professional. There was nothing that we asked for that they didn't provide—from a harness and a rope to put around her chest so we could pull her out, to being able to take an arc welder and remove the rebar above her to prepare a field for the surgeon.

"The surgical instruments came down and then Dr. Sullivan was on his hands and knees—really on his stomach—in water, trying to amputate the leg. We had to be removed twice, so we used hemostats and things to block off the arteries and veins that were bleeding. Then Dr. Sullivan would go back in and saw some more and come back out until finally the leg was removed.

"If we hadn't been taken twice from the scene by the fire department because the building had moved, the whole process from start to finish would have been about fifteen or twenty minutes. But it took a little longer.

"It was a remarkable effort on Dr. Sullivan's part and Dr. Tuggle's part. I helped participate, but I can't tell you how much admiration I have for Andy Sullivan for being able to do that under those conditions. There was no artery, no veins for IVs, so therefore we were not allowed to give her any fluids to help assist her, and she was awake during the amputation. It was done right there on the scene.

"We had to perform the surgery without general anesthesia. I know she had a lot of pain during the amputation. She had 2 mg of Versed right before the operation and that's it. A local anesthetic. She was miraculously brave. Outside of a war zone I never expected to have to do such a medical procedure, certainly not in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

"My greatest fear was to leave the young lady because we didn't know if the building was going to cave in on us. We just knew that if we didn't amputate the leg and remove her she was going to die—she would die knowing that we were outside right next to her and couldn't help her. I think that would be a tragedy."

Dr. Andy Sullivan told his story in *In Their Name*: "Only one person at a time could be in the space. We were told that if we felt any movement at all, we were to immediately crawl out ... I cut two strands of nylon rope and gradually made a tourniquet by working both of them under her right leg, digging



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through the rubble with my hands to gain enough room ... We had the firemen position a harness under her chest so that once the amputation was complete, we could pull her rapidly out onto a spine board. I discussed the choice with the patient. While tearful, she understood. I was fearful she might not survive much longer. She was already hypothermic, hypotensive, and having difficulty breathing ...

"We selected a dose of Versed, and Dr. Tuggle crawled in and administered the anesthetic intramuscularly. Although we had some Demerol, we were afraid that it would suppress her respiration and stop her breathing. Versed had the advantage of being hypnotic and amnesic. Lying on top of Daina, I twisted the two nylon ropes with a stick to cut off remaining circulation to the leg."

Although the extrication of Ms. Bradley took several hours to complete, the amputation itself took only about fifteen minutes. Said Dr. Massad, "You cut, pull back, clamp. Cut, pull back, clamp. I'll never forget the sound of it."

Dr. Sullivan reported, "Using disposable blades and eventually an amputation knife, I was gradually able to work my way through the knee. Once the ligaments, tendons, and muscles had been cut, I cut through the remaining arteries, veins, and nerves at the back of the knee. The tourniquets worked so that she was not at risk of bleeding to death. We were then able to crawl out. The firemen were able to get on the harness and pull her out onto the spine board."

Reporting live from downtown, Jack Bowen interviewed the man who first discovered Daina Bradley trapped in the basement: "Awful as what happened today is, when the worst happens in Oklahoma it always brings out some of the best in Oklahomans. One of the ordinary people who became a hero today was a volunteer, a man named Bill Bay."

When Bowen told Mr. Bay that Daina was alive, had been rescued and taken safely to the hospital, Bay burst into tears. He had assisted Daina for three hours until the surgeons could perform the amputation that saved her life and had a large emotional stake in her situation. His heroism was rewarded that night.

When he was again able to speak, Bay said, "That news makes it all worth it. I never realized what type of position I was putting myself in. The building could have come caving in on me at any point in time, but I never gave that one thought. All I wanted to do was help this one lady. She wanted help and I was there for her."

Daina Bradley was thus rescued from the rubble of the Murrah Building and was taken to an area hospital, where she recovered and was eventually fitted with a prosthesis so that she could walk again. She did, however, lose her two children and her mother in the explosions. The community observed Daina's progressive recovery with great interest by way of many media reports, and gradually she faded from public view and resumed her



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private life to quietly deal with her personal loss, grief, and rehabilitation. Her story had a happy ending. Daina married and on the day before the one-year anniversary of the bombing, gave birth to a healthy baby boy.



PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

Display case in the reception area of the offices of the Oklahoma Geological Survey in Sarkeys Energy Center, University of Oklahoma, Norman. On the front of the glass case above the seismometer is a copy of the original OUGS seismogram from April 19, 1995. Above that record is the official OUGS report on the initial interpretations of that seismogram. Copies of these two documents were available to anyone who requested them. All mainstream media outlets acquired copies within the first two days after the bombing; yet almost a week passed before they publicly corrected the time of the event from the earliest estimate of 9:04 a.m. to the actual time, 9:02 a.m.—information that was in their possession for six days prior to reporting it.

Seismic Rumors

The initial report for William Cooper was completed almost twelve hours after the multiple explosions had destroyed the Murrah Building. In a cursory review, it seems that we knew very little that first day, so soon after



the blasts. But upon more careful scrutiny, it appears that many of the most critical pieces of the puzzle were right before us from the earliest moments.

In this instance, the media was both a help and a hindrance. Minutes after the Murrah Building had been destroyed, reports had been made on radio of witnesses having heard two explosions. Those earliest reports were never again repeated on the day of the bombing. It would be a full twenty-four hours before that memory surfaced again because of the saturation of information that followed.

In the course of our investigation of this matter, my husband would acquire from the University of Oklahoma Geological Survey offices and the Omniplex Science Museum copies of the only two seismic records that exist of the bombing. A copy of the original Omniplex record was made by a sharp-witted Omniplex employee only two days before the FBI seized the original seismogram. The employee made copies for himself, for his co-workers, and for us. With that evidence in hand, we began extensive interviews of both scientists and civilians, all witnesses of one kind or another, who could confirm that one tiny but vital piece of information.

In November 1995 new rumors circulated about the Omniplex seismogram. For several weeks it was speculated that the Omniplex record had been altered by federal authorities after it had been seized. Because the Omniplex seismometer was so near the blast site (within five miles), the intensity of the signals caused the recording needle to jump off the scale, leaving only dots on the paper where it bounced during the strong vibrations of both explosions. The rumor-mongers stated that this was positive proof federal authorities had erased the details from the seismogram in an attempt to alter the evidence.

The rumor began when Dr. Raymon Brown (See Appendix B) of the Oklahoma Geological Survey released a copy of the Omniplex seismogram on which he had tried to connect the dots to see what the record *might have shown* had the needle not been wildly bouncing. In discussing his drawing, Dr. Brown explained that he had drawn the connecting lines himself. Nevertheless, the ill-informed believed Dr. Brown's *speculative drawing* was the real record and the actual Omniplex seismogram was an altered document.

The rumor is absolutely false. In this one instance federal authorities were wrongly accused. The copy of the Omniplex seismogram published in *Veritas* newspaper, Issue No. 3, page 14, is the actual record obtained by the Intelligence Service from the Omniplex employee. That copy was made by the employee *prior* to the FBI's arrival at the museum. No alterations could have been made to the seismogram simply because *no federal agents had even seen it at the time our copy was made from the original*.

Rumors such as the Omniplex-alteration story are easily disproved. One has only to consider the fact that the FBI made no effort to alter the Oklahoma



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Geological Survey record. In a situation such as this in which only two seismic records exist, it would not be difficult to alter, remove, or destroy both of them if it was perceived a necessary objective. The Geological Survey seismogram would have been much easier to alter as the distance from the blast site was greater and thus the recorded signal smaller.

The Omniplex-alteration rumor was simply a case of the uninformed failing to document their conclusions. One telephone call to the Omniplex to determine the time the employee copied the original seismogram and the time the FBI seized the record would have settled the matter completely before the rumor started. When my husband and I confronted some of the people spreading the rumor, they were not particularly interested in documenting anything. It was more exciting to accuse federal agencies of tampering with the evidence than determining the truth of the matter.

While federal tampering did occur in other situations, that was not the case in this instance. The seismic records were publicly disclosed immediately after the bombing and have since been published in their original form innumerable times. In spite of their damning evidence, the seismograms cannot be quietly altered by anyone. Too many people already know the truth.

For several days after the bombing officials and the media were still reporting that the explosions had occurred at 9:04 a.m. It was only after consulting with the seismologists that it was determined that the blasts had actually occurred at 9:02 a.m. When six days later we saw Bernard Shaw on CNN making the time correction for the nation and holding up for the camera the official statement released by the Geological Survey, we knew that he had seen the seismic records—yet no mention was ever made of the evidence of the secondary blast(s).

Additionally, at the time my husband conducted his first interviews at the University of Oklahoma Geological Survey offices, the receptionist stated that she had spoken over the telephone with representatives from ABC national news as well as all of the local media outlets. All of these broadcasters had received the same information we received, yet not one of them corrected the time of the explosions until almost a week later. It would be months before any of them ever made mention of the indications of the secondary explosion(s). This we considered a severe dereliction of duty on the part of the media concerning their assignments, which dealt with evidence available to the general public.

By comparison, in the Intelligence Service of the Second Continental Army of the Republic, there are at all times two records being compiled simultaneously. Into one is fit all of the pieces that can be documented as the true account or state of whatever subject is being investigated. Into the second is fit all of the documentable pieces of the deception, if there is one. These two jigsaw puzzles are in various states of completion. Between them sit all



the pieces of every investigation that do not yet fit into either category. There they remain until they can be placed with surety into either the record of truth or the record of deception. Nothing is ever thrown away, and nothing is ever discounted as being too insignificant.

In the case of the investigation into the Oklahoma City bombing, there were bits of information that we knew quite early in the process, but their significance was not known until weeks or months later. It was in documenting evidence and tracing back information to its source that I gradually came to realize that in spite of the complexities and deliberate muddying of the waters that took place in the months that followed, most of the solid evidence—and almost all of the solid leads—had been available to the general public during the first thirty-six hours after the bombing.

What happened to that evidence? Much of it is presented here in this first volume, which deals only with April 19, 1995. Some of the evidence cannot yet be disclosed pending final confirmation, which we require from *at least two and preferably three independent, unrelated sources*. Some witnesses have been successfully intimidated by federal agents and are now cautious about speaking publicly of what they know. Other confirmed evidence must be withheld, because to reveal it would identify the witnesses, and such revelations would endanger their lives. Some additional information will be disclosed during the trials of the bombing suspects that we cannot reveal at the time of this writing. And of course, much additional information will be provided in the second volume as the narrative moves forward in time.

"The Hour of the Time"

At this stage it is useful to look back and consider how sketchy our initial information was on April 19, compared to the detail we now know to be documented fact. It is a remarkable gauge of the work of the members of the Intelligence Service and the Citizens Agency for Joint Intelligence—all of whom are volunteers. At 11:00 p.m., two hours after I faxed the first report to Arizona, William Cooper broadcast the following informative program to his worldwide shortwave audience of approximately ten million listeners:

“You’re listening to ‘The Hour of the Time.’ I’m William Cooper.

“Today is the second anniversary of the Waco Massacre. And I don’t want anyone out there to forget it, ever. A thousand years from now, I want patriots somewhere—and I mean patriots to principles of ideals of liberty and freedom—to remember the Waco Massacre. Unfortunately, it appears someone is using this anniversary to promote an agenda, and we will be discussing that.

“This morning, just moments after most of the workers had entered the federal office building in Oklahoma City and prepared for their daily routine,



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an explosion occurred. No one was prepared for this, ladies and gentlemen, least of all those inside the building who found themselves suddenly falling, tumbling through the air. Many of them were buried beneath tons of debris.

"As usual, the Intelligence Service has all of the facts that are available at this time, and you will find these facts have not been reported in their entirety anywhere else in the world, including the major media in the United States. As usual, we have our people on scene with press passes in hand, and they have given us a preliminary report, which I will now relay to you.

"It is important that you listen carefully, ladies and gentlemen, because rumors always abound, and we have heard every rumor and every possible solution to this. What you are going to get now are the facts. Then we will discuss some of the reports, erroneous and otherwise.

"There is an agenda here. And if you will remember, I told you that this would happen. I told you on this broadcast that incidents of terrorism within the United States will escalate to the point undreamed-of by the American people. What is the agenda? Well, you're going to find out.

"Our Station Chief was in Oklahoma City all day. Most of the facts that are available have been scantily reported on the local news in Oklahoma City only. The national news reports—especially on ABC—are completely off-base and out of line.

"As you might expect, the body count keeps going up, but as far as actual on-the-scenes reporting goes, at 4:30 p.m. this afternoon, Oklahoma time, only twenty-two were confirmed dead, seventeen of them children from the day-care center. Washington is reporting eighty-one dead, but no one on the scene has yet confirmed any numbers that even approach that number. The number confirmed at 4:30 p.m. was twenty-two dead, seventeen of them children. The Washington D.C., figure may have more to do with government workers there who cannot be reached by phone.

"At this time, ladies and gentlemen, only thirty percent of the Federal Building has been searched because of the danger of the rest of the building collapsing, and search-and-rescue has been hampered by some intermittent but heavy rain. Temperatures have been falling rapidly in the Oklahoma City area. There are certainly enough people still missing to easily exceed the Washington death estimate, but at this time their numbers cannot be considered as fact.

"There are parts of the building which seem held together only by the grace of God. You can look right through the building in several places.

"As our Station Chief drove through the Oklahoma City area, she saw glass damage from the explosive concussion as far away as NW 23rd Street, which is approximately two miles north of the Federal Building, and as far west as Pennsylvania Avenue, which is about three miles west.



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"Her brother-in-law heard the explosion in his office in Edmond, about fifteen miles north of Oklahoma City. Her sister-in-law is at this hour still on duty at Children's Hospital, where she works as a nurse. She has been on duty since 7 a.m. this morning and expects to have to continue working throughout the night.

"Immediately after the explosion, ladies and gentlemen, the shopping mall at NW 50th and Penn was evacuated because it houses an office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. No mention was made of sealing off any areas in Norman, which is seventeen miles south of Oklahoma City —in particular the office of the FBI, which is located about four blocks from the front door of one of our operatives.

"Tinker Air Force Base was put on emergency alert, and for several hours no one was admitted on or off the base. Later in the day base personnel were allowed onto the base, but everyone entering was subjected to a total identification check, and some were searched.

"The entire Oklahoma Capitol Complex was evacuated about two hours after the explosion so the building could be swept for explosives. Army personnel and bomb-sniffing dogs were brought in from Ft. Sill to search out anything that could be found in the Capitol Complex and at the bomb scene. There have been no further local reports about that investigation since about 4:00 p.m.

"Mayor Ron Norick has stated that there were approximately 590 federal employees in the building on the job when the bomb exploded, and there may have been an additional 200 to 400 citizens conducting business in the building at that time. So there could have been, ladies and gentlemen, somewhere around 1000 people in that building. The total figure at this moment is unknown.

"The total number of persons reported admitted to area hospitals because of this incident at approximately 4:30 this afternoon, Oklahoma City time, were just under 300. Many persons are believed still buried in the rubble, and the few living that have been rescued were suffering from crush injuries, lacerations from flying glass, and other injuries associated with explosions.

"One woman buried in the parking garage had to have her leg amputated before she could be removed. According to Dr. Cornelison, who made the initial report, she would not have lived had the amputation not been performed. There have been many such spur-of-the-moment street-corner surgeries performed while rescue vehicles made their way to the scene to remove the injured and the dead.

"Reports have been heard on radio of 200 adult-sized body bags being brought to the scene in anticipation of the number of bodies yet to be recovered from the building, and unless a tent has been recently erected on



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the side of the street, the bodies are still being held in a semi truck, which is serving as a temporary morgue.

"Huge floodlights have been brought in by an oil-field-equipment company, and large heaters are also being provided to the scene as rescue work continues into the cold of the night.

"Police and firefighters on the scanner report that they have heard no other moans or cries for help from any of the already-searched areas for the last two hours. No one can begin to estimate what the situation may be in the remaining seventy percent of the building.

"Only a few hours ago firefighters began working on the second story of the building, searching for anyone or anything. There are nine stories total which must be sifted carefully, and the work, ladies and gentlemen, is painstakingly slow because of the dangerous condition of the remaining structure. A lot of heroics have manifested on the part of the rescue workers.

"A special investigative team from Phoenix has arrived to assist in the search for survivors, and it is reported that they have special sound equipment which can detect the tiny sounds of breathing beneath rubble and debris. They are at work now.

"All roads leading into the main downtown area have been closed off and are being guarded by police and National Guard troops. FEMA is conducting a practice exercise. They have seized the moment, and the Federal Communications Commission is going through their routine of clearing the frequencies for the use of the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

"Our Station Chief drove south on Walker from NW 23d Street, trying to get closer, but was turned aside by guarded roadblocks. She tried entering the area from several different possible backroads routes, but there are simply too many police, National Guard, highway patrol, and sheriff's deputies to get anywhere near the scene, despite the fact that she possesses a valid press pass representing the CAJI News Service and *Veritas* newspaper. Every little alleyway and gravel half-road that she tried to access was fully guarded and sealed. The perimeter is solid.

"And I can assure you, if there was a way to get on the scene, our people would have done it. And in fact, one has, but until that person comes out again, we cannot get a report, for there are no communications out of the area unless you have access to the emergency communications equipment of the officials on the scene.

"Representatives from Oklahoma Natural Gas were allowed through the roadblocks to get to their damaged building because they are in the process of cutting off all gas lines leading into the downtown area until the total damage can be assessed. All customer calls have been routed to the Tulsa office.



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"The only other people being allowed through the roadblocks are medical personnel who can flash medical cards. No one else is being allowed into the area, regardless of the reason.

"No members of the local press who were not on the scene within the first hour have been allowed in since the rumor spread of, first, a second and then a third possible bomb. At that time, everyone in the downtown area who didn't have a medical, fire, or police function was moved back away from the Federal Building area a distance of five blocks.

"There is a media center for the press set up at 7th and Harvey, which is within walking distance of the location of the press conference which was held earlier today.

"Because of the general chaos, ladies and gentlemen, no information of any real substance is coming out of the area. Earlier reports were made of three possible suspects in a brown pickup truck with tinted windows, two of Middle Eastern appearance between the age of 25 and 35, and a third male, no description given, who supposedly was driving this pickup truck.

"Nothing was said about why they were suspects. But I question this, and so do our agents on the scene, for there is a large population of Middle Eastern Muslims in Oklahoma City, Edmond, and Norman, and the University of Oklahoma has several large Islamic student/community groups. Unless the three men actually did something suspicious, there should have been nothing out of the ordinary about their presence. Many such individuals live and work in this area, especially in that part of downtown Oklahoma City, which houses so many offices for Middle Eastern businesses.

"These are some of the rumors and erroneous reports and guesses and speculations that have been broadcast around the world today. Now remember, these are rumors—speculations.

"A local television station in Oklahoma City received a call from an unidentified male, reportedly speaking with a foreign accent, who stated that the Nation of Islam claimed responsibility for the bombing.

"On another broadcast Dave McCurdy, former Democratic Congressman, promptly came on television and repeated the same unsubstantiated rumor.

"An hour later an alleged official from the Nation of Islam telephoned KTOK Radio from Chicago to deny any responsibility for the bombing.

"On one station, an explosives expert being interviewed stated that all neo-Nazi groups, right-wing extremist political organizations, and fundamentalist religious groups would naturally be suspect because of their supposed hatred of the government.

"And early on, a political science professor from OCU suggested that the bombing might be the result of disgruntled tax protestors.

"A second explosives expert, ladies and gentlemen, was interviewed who stated that the type of bomb that might have been used (since no one



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knows at this time) was not of the sort that a small, local group could assemble, and that it was more likely that the bombing was the work of an organization with much funding and international ties. He suggested that investigators check to see what major drug trials might be going on at this time, and noted that there were similarities between the Federal Building bombing here and that of the World Trade Center two years ago. He also remarked about the fact that the courthouse building is located right behind the Federal Building, but nothing further was said about that.

"And I have to say, ladies and gentlemen, that if this second explosives expert is right, he has pinned the Central Intelligence Agency.

"Another report from the scene stated that firefighters going through the rubble of the Federal Building discovered other explosive devices and plastic, which had been allegedly kept in the offices of the ATF located in the Federal Building—that's the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. That particular report—unlike all of the others heard today—was never reported again. We have also not heard it mentioned further on the scanner. It was either another untrue rumor, or if it was true, was quickly squashed.

"A later radio report made mention of a rocket launcher being found in the debris which was supposed to have also been in the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms office. That report has never been repeated by the media.

"At 3:00 p.m. Oklahoma City time, the statement was made on radio that the only persons who might plant a bomb beside a day-care center (which was located in the second floor of the Federal Building) would be people who had lost children themselves because of the government's actions, and thus we should all suspect survivors of the Branch Davidians. This was immediately pooh-poohed by the KOK news anchor, who may have more sense than anyone previously thought. But this will surface again, I assure you.

"A later report tied Bob Ricks into the situation because of his involvement in the Waco Massacre. His office is in Oklahoma City. When questioned at the 5 p.m. press conference about the possibility of a link between the Branch Davidians and today's bombing, Ricks said merely that nothing is being ruled out and nobody knows anything yet. Very noncommittal as he shifted uncomfortably from side to side.

"Intelligence Service members have recorded some very interesting conversations from the scanner. One such conversation was being held with a nurse on the scene who was speaking on a cordless phone. She was telling a friend of her experience on the bomb scene and mentioned that as she assisted a policeman with the removal of one of the victims from the rubble, he said, 'We're going to go to war over this.' The majority of rescue workers are completely stressed out at this time, tempers are short, and all patience has been exhausted. They are liable to say anything. You can hear it in every voice on the scanner. Most emergency personnel who have been



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interviewed on radio and television seem completely shocked, and it is evident that they were totally unprepared for the sheer scope of the carnage and the devastation.

"The First Christian Church near the scene has been turned into a counseling center for people on the scene who are too upset to function, as well as for family members of the injured and the dead. The church has staffed the building with psychologists, psychiatrists, and anyone with any counseling training to deal with the people who are in extreme emotional shock. And ladies and gentlemen, I have to tell you that there are so, so many such people. A call went out over the radio this afternoon asking for more trained counselors and medical personnel to come and help.

"The Post Office building has been turned into a temporary hospital. Several triage centers have also been established on several nearby streets. Don't expect to get any mail from Oklahoma City on time.

"Many local restaurateurs, in coordination with the Feed the Children organization, are providing food for the emergency personnel at the scene, and indeed for anyone who comes along who needs it.

"The Red Cross has been taking blood donations all day long and have put out state-wide calls for donors of type O blood. The Blood Institute on North Lincoln Blvd. is still taking donors at this time, and the wait after arrival is now about an hour. People are parking wherever they can—on the grass, the sidewalks, along the streets where traffic normally flows, desperately searching for friends and loved ones.

"Our Station Chief has been monitoring the search-and-rescue situation all day in her car, and as soon as her husband got home, he began audio taping off of the scanner while simultaneously videotaping from the television set.

"At around 5:30 p.m. our Washington people began meeting with the governor in the governor's mansion, supposedly to get coordinated with the federal investigators sent in by Janet Reno. The governor has announced that the entire investigation is now in the hands of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"Should we cheer? The last time anyone's lives were in the hands of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, they were burned crisp, and the ATF wore T-shirts hailing their Texas barbecue. So forgive me if I'm not thrilled that the investigation is now in the hands of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"The most accurate information is coming off the scanner, and we are tapping constantly all around the area. There is no transmission being made that escapes our agents.

"The FBI and ATF have now set up an operational headquarters at 11 NE 6th Street.

"At 7 p.m. Oklahoma time, a call over the scanner reported packages discovered at the Medallion Hotel, and a request was made for a bomb dog to be



Surging Toward the Bars ¶ 281

taken to the hotel. If anything transpires on that, we will of course let you know.

"Things are constantly continuing to happen. There is a tremendous amount of danger connected to that building, and no one really knows what is holding the rest of it up. When they tell you that half of the building was blown away, that is not quite the truth. Half the building was indeed blown away, ladies and gentlemen, but the only thing that remains is a shell of the other half, for the entire inside of the building was gutted.

"We have people on the scene, and we have people in every aspect of public service reporting to us constantly. As you have heard tonight, this is the only complete and factual report that has occurred through any media all day long. And that is due to the people who have dedicated their resources and their lives and have taken an oath as officers and men and women of the Intelligence Service of the Second Continental Army of the Republic. Thank them.

"What happened in Oklahoma City only too conveniently overshadows Waco two years ago. [sound of an explosion] Memorize that sound, ladies and gentlemen. You will hear it more and more in America—not because I want it, and believe me, I have nothing whatsoever to do with it.

"It is a part of the agenda of the emerging one-world, totalitarian, socialist state. It is furthering the agenda of the disarmament of the American people and indeed, the people of the nations of the world. It is a deceit. It is a lie. It is a manipulation.

"Hezbollah has no truck with April the 19th. No patriot in this country would ever attack our government without being attacked by this government first—that I can assure you.

"No fundamentalist religious organization has any reason to bomb any building in Oklahoma City. We all know in our hearts why this was done and whose agenda it furthers. We must never, ever in our lives or in our children's lives or in our grandchildren's lives, or their children and grandchildren's lives forget what happened in Waco, Texas, on April 19, 1993.

"I urge you to phone this number and tell them that their scam doesn't work. We remember Waco and we will hold them accountable. And eventually the real perpetrators of this crime that occurred in Oklahoma City will be found and we will also hold them accountable. The number is 1-800-546-3224. It is the number of the Justice Department.

"We remember Waco. We will hold the perpetrators responsible ultimately under the law. The fax number is (202) 616-9898.

"Insist upon a complete investigation of the Waco Massacre. Insist upon a complete and thorough investigation of the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City. And insist upon an independent criminal





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investigation that does not involve the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms.

"Remember the sound of that explosion. You will hear it again in America. And again, and again, until they realize their goal of their utopian, totalitarian, socialist world government. What is happening furthers an agenda.

"It is not our agenda. It is the agenda, ladies and gentlemen, of world totalitarian socialism, and don't you ever in your wildest dreams forget it. It will come again.

"Good night, and God bless you all."

*The thing I am most aware of is my limits.
And this is natural; for I never,
or almost never,
occupy the middle of my cage;
my whole being surges toward the bars.*

— Andres Gide
Journals, August 4, 1930, translated by Justin O'Brien





HOPE IS NECESSARY

The Last Survivors

As we approached the nine-o'clock hour when the evening finally turned into night, the weather situation in the Oklahoma City area became critical. More heavy rains passed through the city in combination with extremely high winds, dangerous lightning, and very cold temperatures. All televised newscasts were being interrupted with increasing frequency by urgent warnings for the communities southwest of Oklahoma City, where tornadoes had been spotted on the ground. These storms were traveling to the northeast, headed directly for the metro area at speeds of fifty miles an hour.

There was something about the chill, the darkness, and the dangerous weather that amplified anxieties and cast an even greater sensation of gloom over the city. Tensions were running high, and some people were reaching a breaking point. For the next two hours the community found itself riding a roller coaster of emotional extremes, unable to stabilize or direct its course.

During a live update televised by KWTV Channel 9 from the First Christian Church Family Crisis Assistance Center, reporter Robin Marsh was suddenly confronted by a situation that quickly escalated into violence. A man at the Center had apparently endured all the frustration he could handle. In a fit of grief, uncertainty, fear, and anger, he began demanding answers and solutions from people who had no answers. As his protests became more animated and hostile, he was quickly surrounded by sheriff's deputies.

A scuffle ensued during which chairs were overturned, and grieving family members backed away, huddling together for safety. The overwrought man

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was taken down to the floor beneath a table and restrained by law-enforcement officers. He was then removed from the Family Crisis Assistance Center, but apparently was not placed under arrest. He was calmed and counseled, and the situation at the Center was again settled.

Everyone seemed to recognize that we were all just a hair's breadth away from snapping because of the frustration and tension brought about by the day's events. This emotional incident caused many to take a deep breath and hold tighter to their composure. Matters surely did not need to be made worse than they already were.

Shortly after the outburst at the First Christian Church, the community received both good and bad news all at once. At approximately 8:35 p.m. the Fire Department reported that they had just rescued three more survivors. There was no information yet available about their identity or condition other than that they were, miraculously, alive. No information was given about the location in the building where the victims had been found. The survivors were removed from the scene by ambulance and taken to area hospitals for treatment.

The reaction of rescuers to this discovery was ecstatic and electric. Enthusiasm poured over the downtown area as the word spread from person to person, until it finally reached the media representatives stationed at Satellite City.

Cynthia Gunn reported from the scene, "The excitement here is that three survivors have been brought out tonight, and that has re-ignited the excitement of all the rescue teams that are in there trying to find the people.

"They have only been through about thirty or forty percent of this building, so they still have a good portion of places that they haven't even been able to check yet. So they are inspired by this new discovery of three survivors and the successful removal of them to the hospitals.

"They are certainly still in there tonight, still digging and still looking with dogs and heat-detection devices, trying to determine where people could be in that building, then trying to figure out a way to get them out—get them out alive and safely."

At the Family Crisis Assistance Center, this news came as a breath of fresh air after the stress of the previous eleven-and-a-half hours. Peggy Pringle, a minister from the Bethany area in northwest Oklahoma City, was asked how they were dealing with the emotional extremes of the day. Said Ms. Pringle, "You just have to ask the Lord to guide you in whatever you say. You have to encourage the families not to lose the hope and to keep praying."

Said Charla Rhodes, an employee in the public relations department at Baptist Medical Center, "I tell people: God is with you and He will comfort you. He will find a way to get you through this. Through individuals like those in Oklahoma City, He will comfort you."



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As word of the rescue spread throughout the city, prayers of thanksgiving were offered in area churches, synagogues, and mosques where numerous prayer services had been scheduled that night. Many were still in progress.

In private homes, family members hearing the news on television stopped what they were doing, gathered their loved ones around them, and prayed in concert with the city. It would be one of the few remaining joyous moments in the many days to come. Although no one knew it at that time, only one additional survivor would be found inside the Murrah Federal Building, and after that there would be no more.

In tandem with the announcements about the rescued survivors came the distressing news about the weather situation downtown. Conditions were deteriorating rapidly, and the danger for anyone in or near the building was greatly increased. Reporter Randy Renner offered a live update from Satellite City.

"The wind has picked up down here," he said. "It is pouring down rain. The wind is blowing and you can see things falling off the building. There you can see huge chunks flying away. A large piece of concrete came off the side of that building just now."

"What is perhaps a twenty-mile-an-hour wind everywhere else can become thirty and forty miles an hour as it sweeps through the concrete canyons of downtown Oklahoma City. This is turning into an extremely dangerous situation now for people who are still alive inside that building and for the people trying to rescue them. The people on the ground just below the building are also in danger, as these chunks of concrete, glass, tables, and chairs could be falling out from inside the building there."

"Lightning is flashing in the distance. Some low clouds are sweeping overhead. The wind is wildly whistling through the building because the windows are out on all sides and material is whipping across the side of the building. This is absolutely the last thing we need here."

This report was cut short by another tornado warning for the communities southwest of Ardmore, Oklahoma. It was then learned that the wind gusts now hitting the downtown area were outflow winds from the storms that had just passed to the east of the city. The winds, blowing concrete off the building and bringing debris down upon the rescuers below, had reached downtown at a speed of 45 miles an hour and had then been whipped to much more dangerous speeds by the tall buildings. Meteorologists reported that these outflow winds would be decreasing for a while, but all should be alert to the severe storms moving in rapidly from the southwest.

Before anyone had time to settle into their anguished concern about the weather, the roller coaster hit another peak as new word reached the public of yet another survivor found inside the Murrah Building.

From KWTW reporter Cynthia Gunn we received this information: "I have to tell you there is some more encouraging news here tonight. I have spoken





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with one of the rescue workers who has just come out of the Federal Building. He says that there is one woman who is in the basement. She is pinned in there, and they can hear her, they can talk to her. She tells them that there are two other people that are also in the basement with her. She doesn't know if they are dead or alive. Rescuers are right now working on trying to devise a plan to get her out, but it is going to take some time, they say.

"Not only did we have those successful three rescues earlier this evening, but we have one woman who is talking with rescue workers. She is alert, alive, and they are trying to devise a plan now to get her out.

"I have absolutely no doubt that water in the basement area may be causing a problem here. And the fact that they said she is pinned in there leads me to believe that there must be some kind of a piling on her. We saw the granite pieces that were broken apart earlier, and perhaps a big granite piling is on top of her. We don't know at this point. But the fact remains that she is alive and the crews are right now with her working to get her out.

"There are about twenty-four rescue workers inside the Federal Building right now, teams of four, and they are going floor to floor. The strategy at first was to go floor to floor and look in the easy-to-look places, and now they are trying to go in and look behind huge pilings and hard-to-get-to nooks and crannies to try to find people who may not be able to cry out for help."

Governor Keating was downtown for most of the night, being briefed moment by moment by rescuers of the progress being made in the building. Upon learning of the discovery of this survivor, he said, "This is fabulous news. If we can find two or three more, just two or three more, incrementally, find some people in pockets, that's a miracle if we can do it. All night, everybody's going to work here. Hopefully the weather will stop. I just wish it wouldn't rain anymore. But two or three, that's great! We have great people here. If God is good, we'll get some more folks out."

The now-familiar holding pattern set in as we waited for news of this survivor's rescue. In the meantime word reached us that changed the information previously available about the vehicle thought to have been driven by the perpetrators of the bombing. In explaining this alteration, KWTV co-anchor Mitch Jelniker said, "We told you before it was a late model brown Chevy pickup. There may also be—or instead of that—a small blue GM car. These are now the vehicles which may be the getaway cars for the culprits in this tragedy today."

We never heard any additional explanation about this blue vehicle. Although Police Sgt. Kim Hughes reported in the newspaper the next day that the bomb vehicle was believed to have been a blue National Car Rental minivan with Texas license plates, this was the only other mention of a blue vehicle associated in any way with the bombing. At the time of this writing, it has never been determined why this information was released, to what vehicle



it referred, or why there were never any additional details available about it. The small blue GM car simply vanished from future reports.

Shortly after I faxed the sketchy initial report to William Cooper at about 9:00 p.m., a police source told reporters that the FBI had claimed the discovery of the axle of the bomb vehicle two blocks from the bomb site.

Prior to this announcement Mitch Jelniker had made a statement both historic and prophetic: "We've talked about the very small pieces of evidence found, and we remember the World Trade Center bombing. In that case the FBI found a small piece of metal that had a vehicle identification number on it. So you think when you look at that scene that they can't find anything, yet they really can—even the slightest bit, a chunk of glass, a piece of metal—can provide the clues leading to the perpetrators."

Within thirty minutes of these remarks, the discovery of the axle was announced.

How interesting it was to compare the World Trade Center bombing with the incident in Oklahoma City. The similarities were so very striking. This exact same search procedure produced the discovery of the exact same automotive part from a vehicle rented from the exact same rental company containing the exact same identifying information, and this would break this case wide open for federal authorities—or so they said. It gave us all momentary pause to reflect on the direction the investigation was taking. For many, this was the reason they began taking a good, hard second look at the federal investigation and to question its accuracy, validity, and agenda.

The Conncourse

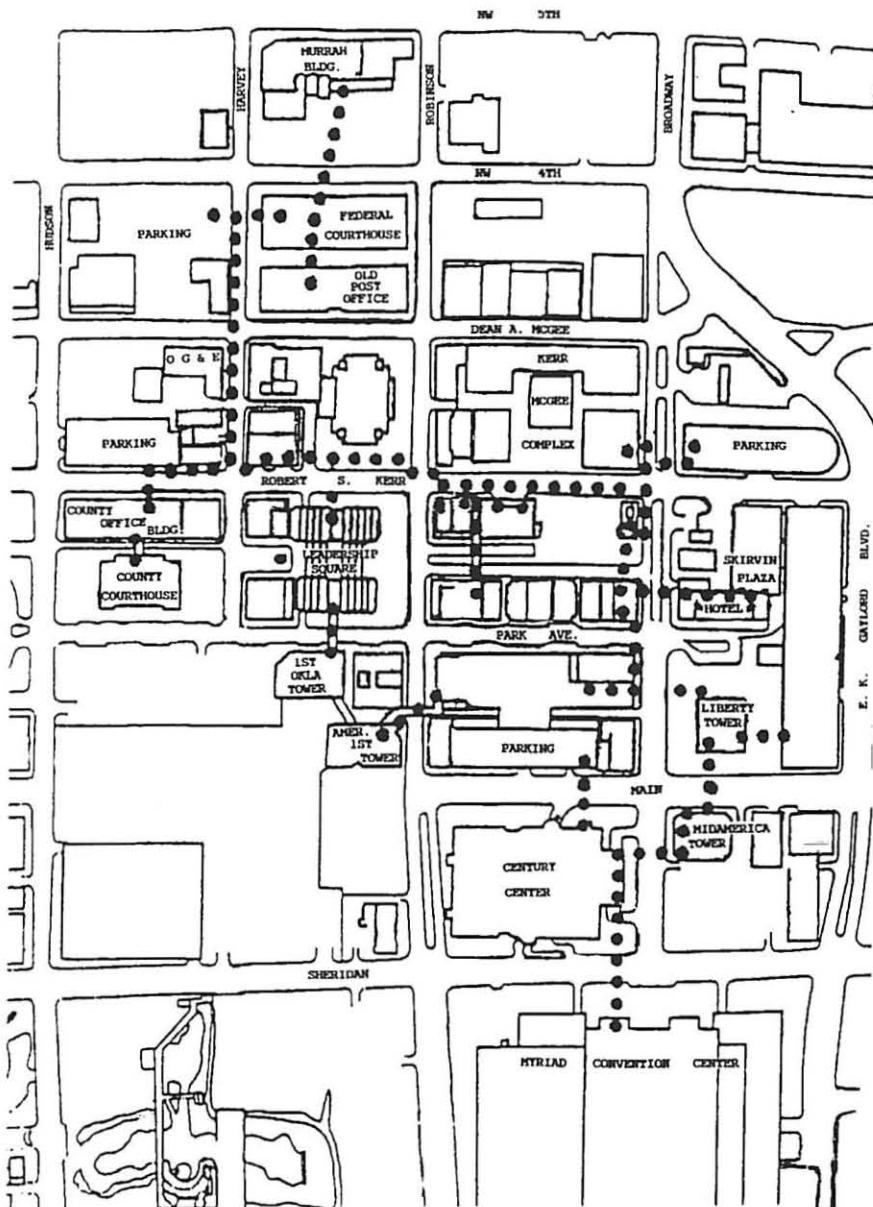
At about 9:00 p.m. new information was finally released about an issue that had concerned many for a good part of the day. Dave Balut was the first reporter to investigate the underground Conncourse in Oklahoma City. Local media representatives had questioned Fire Chief Gary Marrs about the condition of the Conncourse during the 5:00 p.m. press conference, but Marrs' response had centered on the earlier problem with broken water mains under the Murrah Building.

The Metro Conncourse (deliberately misspelled to honor Jack Conn, one of the early supporters of the project) is like an underground shopping mall. From Oklahoma City's earliest days, many underground tunnels had been built—for reasons unknown—that connected different businesses and residences in the downtown area. Over many years most of these interconnecting tunnels had fallen into disrepair and had become dangerously unstable.

Two decades earlier the City Council had decided to renovate some of those tunnels and turn them into what they hoped would be an underground shopping area which might encourage business development and economic growth. The newly renovated tunnels became known as the



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Map: Underground Metro Concourse



Concourse. It is not known how many other tunnels remain in disrepair beneath Oklahoma City, or how extensive those tunnels may be.

To the people who work downtown, the Concourse has provided increased convenience in many ways. The use of the Concourse meant an easier and more comfortable walk to area businesses, the post office, parking garages, banks, or restaurants, regardless of the ever-changing Oklahoma weather.

The Concourse in its present state can be accessed through the basement areas of approximately thirty-three different downtown businesses (and in some locations from street-level entrances), beginning at the south end beneath the Myriad Convention Center and meandering northward until it ends at the former Murrah Building location. The Concourse stretches over a seven-block area north to south, and extends east and west almost five blocks.

In the early planning stages for the revitalization of Oklahoma City—when the downtown area was dying a slow death as a result of the development of suburban shopping malls and large suburban discount department stores—the city planners sought the advice of the Urban Land Institute. However, this national advisory group's recommendations for the development of downtown Oklahoma City included such ridiculous suggestions as sidewalk cafes. These absentee experts failed to take into consideration the climatic realities of Oklahoma City, which have always included unexpected torrential rainfall, high winds, occasional dust storms, sweltering heat and humidity in summer, and below-zero wind chills in winter. The pipe-dream Parisian ambience imagined by the Urban Land Institute was completely out of touch with real life in Oklahoma City. City planners wisely ignored the recommendations of the Urban Land Institute.

In post-bomb Oklahoma City, great plans were set forth and funding measures passed to again attempt to revitalize the downtown area. And again the advice of the Urban Land Institute was sought. This time however the Urban Land Institute recommended closing down the Concourse completely to force aboveground business activity in developing areas such as Bricktown. Jay Porter, writer for the *Oklahoma Gazette*, remarked about this new plan, "The ULI report, despite being quite good overall, seems to envision all of downtown as some sort of Disneyesque Downtownland."

It made no sense whatsoever to destroy an underground business district for the prospect of herding diversion-seeking crowds to areas imagined as tourist attractions when the majority of the people who spend at least forty hours a week in the downtown area were perfectly content to support those businesses presently located in the Concourse. There seemed to be no legitimate economic reasoning behind this unexpected recommendation.

Many have questioned possible alternative uses and purposes for the Concourse, particularly entrances beneath the Myriad Convention Center



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that are so large that one can drive a military tank through it. Others have questioned certain tunnel end points within the Concourse. Speculation has always been high about the other undeveloped tunnels that exist beneath the city.

Because of the bomb crater on the north side of the Murrah Building, there was some concern about damage to the Concourse. Later some would question what role might have been played by the Concourse itself in the bombing—especially when an independent investigation of the crater was deliberately prevented by the filling of the crater prior to the defense team's investigation of the bomb site.

In addition, when independent lab work performed on samples retrieved from the bomb site revealed no nitrate residue or trace isotopes; when defense attorney Stephen Jones stated that a surveillance video of the front of the Murrah Building did not indicate the presence of his client; and when an eyewitness who had been present in front of the building four minutes before the initial blast reported seeing no large trucks of any kind on the north side of the Murrah Building, some independent investigators began questioning if perhaps the exterior explosion had actually originated within the Concourse itself. These investigators, however, were uncertain whether the Concourse extended far enough north of the Murrah Building to enable a mad bomber to plant his explosives just below ground level but fifteen to twenty feet in front of the building.

These questions and any conclusions one might draw from the situation remain well within the realm of speculation at this time. The only true and verifiable statements that can be made with regard to the underground Concourse is that it exists, it runs beneath both the Federal Courthouse and the former Murrah Building, and if any official investigation has ever been made of that portion of the Concourse, no information has been released to the public.

Dave Balut offered this report to television viewers: "Unless you're downtown all the time, most folks don't know about this, but there's a huge tunnel system which connects most of the downtown buildings. There are a lot of restaurants down there that are open for lunch, some shops, hair salons, that kind of thing.

"I got to walk through part of the tunnel network today near Liberty Bank and the Park Avenue area near the Oklahoma County Courthouse. I was not able to get near the Federal Courthouse. The doors were locked. All of that was blocked off. It is going to be interesting to see, though, because the Murrah Building and the Federal Courthouse are connected to that tunnel system, and obviously if there was a twenty-foot crater in front of the building, I suspect that the tunnel system there is going to be affected as well."

Dave Balut was right. It *will* be interesting to see—someday. At the time of this writing, a year after the bombing, the Concourse from the Federal



Courthouse north to the former Murrah Federal Building is still sealed off from the public and access is denied.

Independent investigators continue to search for information about the Concourse and its role, if any, in the bombing. One startling account was told by a rescue worker, David Sterling, when he addressed a group of approximately 100 Sunday School class members at Windsor Hills Baptist Church in Oklahoma City. The remarks made by the rescuer were disclosed in a letter from Jackie Lyon.

Wrote Ms. Lyon: "The rescue worker was one of the first on the scene. He said that they were making great progress pulling out people yet alive. As soon as FEMA and the rest [of the federal agencies] got there, they threw everybody out. The rescuers had a woman half dug out and were about to free her. The feds didn't care—out they went. They would not let the same people back in. It was almost as though they wanted as many people to die as possible. The new rescuers had to start from scratch, not knowing where the previous crew had left off. This caused a great waste of valuable time, not to mention suffering."

"The rescue worker went on to say that after a certain time they stopped work completely. This guy and a group of friends found a way to access the underground tunnel under the building, sneak up and get people out. They quietly carried the victims through the tunnel to a hidden vehicle and then [took them] to a hospital. They were very afraid of getting caught rescuing people in this way."

Until other witnesses to this action within the Concourse reveal their participation in or knowledge of the incident, it remains under investigation. It is hoped that by publishing this account, those other witnesses will come forward with confirmation and additional details. Their identities will be protected. The important issues are: what really happened in the Concourse and what evidence was in the Concourse which has never been revealed to the public?

Brandi Liggins

As I thought about these things, I glanced up at the clock on my mantle. It was almost ten o'clock at night. In another hour William Cooper's short-wave program would be broadcasting worldwide. There had been nothing on television or radio all day but news of the bombing—no regular programming, no commercial interruptions, nothing. My internal clock felt like it was time to turn on the late-night news, yet there was nothing on television *but* the news. The media coverage of the bombing was the most complete saturation effort by the media of any event in our nation's history.

It was getting colder, and it was beginning to drizzle a slow, miserable rain. The air was heavy and damp, and from my back window I could see the lightning in the southwest silhouetting the outlines of the building storm





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clouds moving toward us. I pulled a sweater out of winter storage to try to warm myself. It was time to make some coffee. This was obviously going to be a very long night.

Right before "The Hour of the Time" broadcast began at 11:00 p.m., reporter Heidi Browning provided the long-awaited update about the girl who had been discovered trapped in the basement of the Murrah Building: "Update on the rescue efforts down here. We have been talking this evening about the girl who was found alive in the basement. We have now found out she was fifteen years old. It took about an hour for them to get her out, and just a short time ago she was taken to the hospital. We understand she has very serious injuries."

We would later learn that this young lady had been present in the Murrah Building that morning to acquire a Social Security Card. She had been found in "the Pit" area, less than fifteen feet south and five feet east of where Daina Bradley had been rescued earlier that day. Tons of shattered and collapsed concrete separated the two women, and Brandi's rescue was quite miraculous.

Bob Burton, volunteer fireman from Choctaw, Oklahoma, reported: "At about 7:00 p.m. we found Brandi Liggins. We were in the collapsed area near 'the Pit' and someone thought he heard a moan. When we were able to isolate the cry we found a young woman buried."

When Burton and his assistants had removed enough debris that they could reach Miss Liggins, they asked her name. She told rescuers her name, her age, and stated that she had a heart murmur and suffered from asthma. Said Burton, "Eventually I freed her hand and she grasped mine and would not let go."

It took almost two hours to cut through plumbing and clear enough debris so that better access could be achieved, and at approximately 9:15 p.m. firefighters arrived in Liggins' location with a shoring team and other rescuers to relieve the team that had first found her.

In the commemorative volume *In Their Name*, Bob Burton wrote: "The area was very unstable and isolated ... I told Brandi we would see her again soon on the outside, but it was very difficult to transfer her clenching hand to her new caretaker, Dr. Rick Nelson."

Assistant Fire Chief Jon Hansen told the story of the firefighters' involvement in the rescue of Brandi Liggins in his book *Oklahoma Rescue*: "Excitement raced through the building so quickly when, at 9:15 p.m., firefighters found a survivor, Brandi Liggins. It had been twelve long hours since the bomb exploded, seven hours since workers had removed the previous survivor, Daina Bradley. Hope was renewed in the heart of every person in America."

"Brandi's condition prevented her from calling out, so we never heard a sound ... Rescuers realized Brandi was alive when they shone their flash-



Hope Is Necessary ¶ 293

lights on her and she opened her eyes. It took forty-five minutes to free her, and shortly before 10:00 p.m. she was safely transported to an ambulance and sent to a nearby hospital."

Brandi Liggins was the last survivor.

*Hope is necessary in every condition.
The miseries of poverty, sickness, of captivity,
would, without this comfort,
be insupportable.*

— Samuel Johnson
The Rambler (1750-52)





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PHOTO BY JOHN JENKINS

The empty remains of the Murrah Building after most of the bodies (except for three) were removed.



❧ EPILOGUE ❧

There would be no sleep that night. Already there was an immense amount of information to try to remember, digest, and assimilate into some kind of sense. After only the first day, I felt at the limits of my ability to cope.

Long into the hours of the night and into the next morning, my husband and I talked, prayed, cried, and talked again. There would be no easy solution to this incident. Maybe there would never be any solution at all.

A year later, I still feel that way about the Oklahoma City bombing.

Some might find it strange to read this first volume and find no mention of Timothy McVeigh, Terry Nichols, Michael Fortier, or John Doe Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. There are several reasons for this deliberate omission.

In keeping with the chronology of events, this volume deals only with April 19, 1995, and the subsequent situations that developed directly from issues that arose on that day. The suspects in the Oklahoma City bombing were not known by name publicly until Friday, April 21, 1995—the same day that the media began their smear campaign against the legitimately organized militias and patriots of this country.

The circumstances that brought about that situation and the conditions under which it could be made palatable for, and believable by, an uninformed and essentially sleeping public were still, on April 19, two days into the future.

In Volume Two, the chronology and details of the investigation into the Oklahoma City bombing—both official and independent—will be moved forward considerably in time. In that volume I hope to set before the reader the information and evidence that lead me to believe firmly that:

Terry Nichols played no direct role in the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building;

there is no independent overseas connection—whether Middle Eastern or neo-Nazi—that is not *first and foremost* intimately connected to the highest circles of power in our own country;

there are no Middle Eastern terrorists involved in the event, but rather Arabic-speaking members of the American military operating under a command that originates in this country;

militia groups—no matter how extremist they may be portrayed by the media—played no direct part in the bombing; “evidence”



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against them has been, and will continue to be, deliberately fabricated in order to achieve a political agenda;

many alternative plans were simultaneously being played out that day;

there were definitely two and possibly three yellow Ryder rental trucks involved in the plan to bomb the Murrah Federal Building observed by independent witnesses at the scene;

the plan to ultimately lay the blame for the bombing at the feet of patriot groups in America was a long-standing objective, the specific groundwork for which was laid as early as autumn of the previous year by government-affiliated operatives;

conditions exist to suggest that the plan to bomb the Murrah Federal Building was in place as early as 1988 or 1989, and involved foreknowledge at that time on the part of Governor Keating and political power brokers then living in the western half of the State of Oklahoma;

there are in fact several "McVeighs" who participated in the bombing—but none as the true planners or brains behind the operation; and

members of the United States intelligence community are operating in and through the media to preserve and protect the official story, which is at once both the most complex and the most transparent of any deception ever perpetrated against the American people.

To deal comprehensively and conclusively with these issues—regardless of the outcome of any trial (should the accused be allowed to live to stand trial)—is an assignment demanding its own volume.

For far too long we have all been completely oversaturated with supposed "facts" and "conclusions" regarding this case, and these are so endlessly repeated that we are in danger of accepting them without question. This volume gives the reader enough details to think about for the present.

This book is but the beginning of a very long story ...

***"For there is nothing hid, which shall not be manifested;
neither was any thing kept secret, but that it should come
abroad.***

"If any man have ears to hear, let him hear."

—Mark 4:22, 23



APPENDIX A: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

In Alphabetical Order

Mitchel Anthony Burns, President, CEO Ryder Rental Systems

Mitchel Anthony Burns, transportation services company executive, was born in Las Vegas, Nevada, on November 1, 1942. He is the son of Mitchel and Zella (Pulsipher) Burns. On November 14, 1962, he married Joyce Jordan and they have three children, Jill, Mike, and Shauna.

EDUCATION

B.S. Business Management, Brigham Young University, 1964
M.B.A. in Finance, University of California at Berkeley, 1965
Honorary Doctorate, Florida International University, 1989

EMPLOYMENT

Mobil Oil Corporation, New York City, 1965-74
Controller, 1970-72
Cost of Living Coordinator, 1973
Financial Analysis Manager, 1973-74
Ryder Systems, Inc., Miami, Florida, 1974
Executive Vice President, CFO, 1978-79
President, COO, 1979-83
President, CEO, 1983-85
Chairman of the Board, President, CEO, 1985
Ryder Truck Rental, Inc., 1980-81
Board of Directors, Executive Vice President, CFO and President

MEMBERSHIPS

Member of the Club of 300, The Trilateral Commission (North America),
345 East 46th Street, Suite 711, New York, NY 10017
On the Board of Directors for J. C. Penney Co., Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.; Chase Manhattan Corp.
Member of the National Advisory Counsel for Scholarship Management for
Brigham Young University, 1981 to present
Trustee of the University of Miami, 1984 to present
Member of the Board of Visitors, Graduate School of Business Administration,
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, 1988 to present
Board of Overseers, Wharton School, 1989 to present



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Associate Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, 1989 to present
Board of Directors and Trustee of the United Way of Dade County, Florida,
1981 to present
Chairman of United Way of Dade County, Florida 1981 to present
Dade County Campaign, 1988
Board of Governors, Chairman of Southeast Region of the United Way of
America
Trustee, Vice Chairman and past Chairman of the National Urban League

AWARDS

Marketer of the Year by the Academy of Marketing Sciences, 1983
Business Leader of the Year by the *Miami News*, 1985
Ricks College, Business Leader of the Century, 1989
Financial World, CEO of the Decade in Transportation, Freight and Leasing,
1989
Financial World, CEO of the Year, 1984, 1985, 1987
Business Leadership Hall of Fame, 1987
Americanism Award from the Anti-Defamation League, 1984
B'nai Yisroel Award by the Greater Miami Jewish Federation, 1989
Silver Medallion Award by the National Conference of Christians and Jews,
1988
Community Service Award by the Advertising Federation of Greater Miami,
1987
Joseph Wharton Business Statesman Award by the Wharton School Club,
1987
Jesse Knight Industrial Citizenship Award by Brigham Young University,
1988
Robert W. Laidlaw Humanitarian Award by the Epilepsy Foundation of
Southern Florida, 1989
Good Scout Award by the Boy Scouts of America, 1990
Sand in My Shoes Award by the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce, 1991
Equal Opportunity Award by the National Urban League, 1992
Humanitarian of the Year Award by the American Red Cross, 1993
Member of the Business Council, business roundtable; policy committee
business of Higher Education Forum

OFFICE

Ryder Systems, Inc.
3600 NW 82nd Ave.
Miami, FL 33166-6623



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Sam Cohen*
Assisted in the Development of the Neutron Bomb

Dr. Cohen is retired after a forty-year career in the nuclear weapons issue. During World War II he was assigned to the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos, New Mexico. After the war he joined the RAND Corporation as a nuclear weapons analyst. In the course of his work he developed the technical aspect of the military concept of the neutron bomb in 1958 and consulted with the Los Alamos and Livermore Nuclear Weapons Laboratory, U.S. Air Force and Office of the Secretary of Defense.

He has authored numerous articles and books over the years dealing with nuclear issues. Some of them are:

"Whither the Neutron Bomb? A Moral Offense of Nuclear Radiation Weapons," *Parameters* (U.S. Army) June 1981.

"A New Nuclear Strategy," *New York Times Magazine*, January 24, 1982.

"Arms Limits from Open Skies to Open Spies," *Wall Street Journal*, June 29, 1983.

Some of the books Mr. Cohen has authored are:

The Truth About the Neutron Bomb: Cohen, The Author Speaks Out, New York: William Morrow and Company, 1983.

We Can Prevent World War III, Ottawa, Illinois: Jameson Books, 1985.

Checkmate on War, Paris: Editions Copernic, 1980.

*See his report in Appendix C.

William Cooper
Commanding Officer, Intelligence Service
Second Continental Army of the Republic

William Cooper served in the United States Air Force in the Strategic Air Command and the United States Navy aboard the USS Tiru (SS-416), USS Tombigbee (AOG-11), USS Charles Berry (DD-1035), USS Oriskany (CVA-34), as a river patrol boat captain with the Dong Ha River Security Group at Cua Viet, RVN, in Naval Security and Intelligence (ONI), and on the Intelligence Briefing Team of Admiral Bernard Clarey, Commander-in-Chief Pacific Fleet (CINCPACFLT).

He is the recipient of many medals and honors, including two with the V for valor.

Mr. Cooper is the author of *Behold a Pale Horse*, which for over five years has been an underground best seller, and is officially known as "the most-often stolen book" by Barnes and Noble bookstores.



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He is an internationally acclaimed speaker and lecturer and is one of the few, other than popes, kings, and queens, who has appeared at Wembley Hall in London.

He has produced several videos on such subjects as the Kennedy assassination, the secret technology developed by the United States in black budget projects, and Mystery School symbology.

William Cooper is the former Chairman of the Constitution Party. He is the Director of the Citizens Agency Joint Intelligence (CAJI) and the Intelligence Service, the world's largest and most successful civilian intelligence-gathering organizations.

Mr. Cooper is the managing editor of *Veritas*, the fastest-growing national newspaper in the nation's history. Each issue is delivered at his expense by special messenger to everyone of importance in Washington, D.C.

William Cooper is the host of "The Hour of the Time," broadcast worldwide on WWCR 5.065 MHz, Satellite Galaxy 6 (G-2) transponder 14 audio 7.56, KDNO FM Delano, California, which covers one-third of the State of California, and 630 low-power FM stations nationwide, 9 p.m. Pacific, 10 p.m. Mountain, 11 p.m. Central, and midnight Eastern.

Stephen Jones Defense Attorney for Timothy McVeigh



Stephen Jones, lawyer, was born in Lafayette, Louisiana, on July 1, 1940. He is the son of Leslie William and Gladys A. (Williams) Jones. He married Virginia Hadden with whom he had one son, John Chapman Jones. The marriage ended in divorce, and on December 27, 1973, Jones married Sherrell Alice Stephens.

EDUCATION

St. Andrew Student, University of Texas, 1960-63

LL.B., University of Oklahoma, 1966

EMPLOYMENT

Secretary of Republican Minority Conference, Texas House of Representatives, 1963

Personal Assistant to Richard M. Nixon, New York City, 1964

Administrative Assistant to Congressman Paul Findley, 1966-69

Legal Counsel to Governor of Oklahoma, 1967

Special Assistant to U.S. Senator Charles H. Percy and U.S. Representative Donald Rumsfeld, 1968

Member of the U.S. Delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly NATO, 1968

Staff Counsel Censure Task Force, House of Representative Impeachment Inquiry, 1974



Appendix A: Biographical Information ¶ 301

Special Prosecutor, Special Assistant District Attorney, State of Oklahoma, 1977

Special U.S. Attorney, Northern District of Oklahoma, 1979

Civil Jury Instructions Committee, Oklahoma Supreme Court, 1979-81

Advisory Committee of Court Rules, Oklahoma Court of Criminal Appeals, 1980

Judge of the Oklahoma Court of Appeals, 1982

Now managing partner of Jones & Wyatt, Enid, Oklahoma

APPOINTMENTS

Adjunct Professor, University of Oklahoma, 1973-76

Republican nominee, Oklahoma Attorney General, 1974

Instructor at Phillips University, 1982 to the present

Acting Chairman of the Republican State Committee of Oklahoma, 1982

Counsel for Phillips University at Japan; Board of Directors of the Council on the National Interest Foundation

Board of Directors for the Council on National Interest Foundation

U.S. nominee for the Senate, 1990

MEMBERSHIPS

Member of the Vestry, St. Matthews Episcopal Church, 1974

Senior Warden, 1983-94; 1989-90

Member American Bar Association, Oklahoma Bar Association

Garfield County Bar Association

Beacon Club

Petroleum Club (Oklahoma City)

Oakwood Country Club in Enid

Tulsa Club

PUBLISHED WORKS

Author: *Oklahoma and Politics in State and Nation: 1907-1962*

Co-author: *France and China: The First Ten Years, 1964-1974*, published in 1991

Contributed articles to various journals.

OFFICE

Jones and Wyatt

P.O. Box 472

Enid, OK 73702-0472

Tel. (405) 242-5500

Fax (405) 242-4556



**Frank Anthony Keating, II
Governor of the State of Oklahoma**

OFFICIAL RESUME

Summary of Experience

Since 1981, I have been nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate for four senior management/legal positions in the U.S. Government. As General Counsel at HUD, I supervised the work of over 240 attorneys. As the Associate Attorney General of the United States, I supervised or coordinated all of the law enforcement and criminal justice issues of the Department. As Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (Enforcement), I coordinated all of the law-enforcement bureaus of the Treasury Department and developed and implemented positions on treasury law and trade enforcement issues. As United States Attorney, I managed the work of full-time professional attorneys and tried numerous jury cases to successful conclusions. As a member of the House of representatives and State Senate of my state, I was elected to leadership positions by my colleagues and developed and passed a reform agenda for state government.

Professional Experience

January 20, 1993 to present—Governor of the State of Oklahoma

1989 to January 20, 1993—Acting Deputy Secretary and General Counsel, Department of Housing and Urban Development

The Deputy Secretary is the department's second ranking position and the chief operating officer of the department. The General Counsel is the third ranking management position at HUD. It supervises the work of over 240 attorneys in dozens of program areas including community and economic development, assisted housing, homeless programs, mortgage and loan insurance and regulatory issues. As Secretary [Jack] Kemp's primary legal and policy advisor, I chaired HUD's comprehensive legislative, administrative reform program and established HUD's Ethics, Anti-Drug, and Real Estate Settlement Procedures offices. I conceived and implemented HUD's "clean-up" agenda in response to the scandals under the previous administration.

1988 to 1989, Associate Attorney General of the United States, Washington, D.C.

The Associate Attorney General is the third ranking official in the U.S. Department of Justice. The Department of Justice is the law firm of the U.S. Government consisting of over 75,000 employees. The Associate Attorney General directly manages the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the U.S. Marshals Service, the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, the U.S. Parole Commission, the Pardon Attorney, the Criminal Division, Interpol, Office of Justice



Appendix A: Biographical Information ¶ 303

Programs and the 94 United States Attorneys and their staffs. The Associate provides policy guidance to 60,000 of the department's employees.

As Associate Attorney General, I:

Reconstituted an effective Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Force Program in the thirteen core cities.

Laid the foundation for upgrading the professional standards of U.S. Attorneys by planning for advanced in-service training.

Established direct lines of communication with the components under my supervision to assure that in all instances policies and priorities implemented were those of the Department of Justice.

1985 through 1988, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (Enforcement), Washington, D.C.

The Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (Enforcement) supervises the U.S. Customs Service; the U.S. Secret Service; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; and coordinates all Treasury-wide law enforcement and trade enforcement issues.

As Assistant Secretary, I:

Created Operation Alliance, the ongoing interdiction effort along the 2,000 mile southwest border to stem the flow of narcotics and contraband from Mexico. This initiative required the creative transfer of jurisdiction from one law-enforcement agency to another and the organization of numerous bureaus and agencies from Federal, State, county and local governments to work toward a common law-enforcement mission.

Created the first financial enforcement of the Treasury Department to attack the crime of money-laundering.

Created an enforcement presence within the Office of Foreign Assets Control to enforce U.S. embargoes against certain countries such as South Africa, Cuba, Vietnam and Libya.

Created an Office of Financial Enforcement to broaden compliance from financial institutions with the Bank Secrecy Act.

1981 to 1984—United States Attorney, Northern District of Oklahoma, Tulsa, Oklahoma

The United States Attorney supervises the civil and criminal case load of ten Assistant United States Attorneys. As U.S. Attorney, I tried numerous felony jury trials and civil proceedings including public corruption, narcotics trafficking and assorted civil claims on behalf of the United States.

During my tenure, I:

Created the first narcotics task force established in Tulsa.

Chaired a nationwide effort by U.S. Attorneys to collect delinquent accounts owed the United States.





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1974 to 1981—Member of the Oklahoma State Senate

1972 to 1974—Member of the Oklahoma House of Representatives

From 1974 to 1981, as a member of the Oklahoma legislature and Minority Leader of the Oklahoma State Senate, I was five times recognized as one of the top ten legislators in Oklahoma by the *Oklahoma Observer* and served as vice-chairman of the Senate Committee on Criminal Jurisprudence, and member of the Judiciary, Mental Health and Appropriations Committees.

Author of Oklahoma's Mental Health Bill of Rights, Juvenile Justice and Criminal Law Reform, including toughening penalties for firearms and narcotics offenses.

Author of the Alcohol Services Act, Ad Valorem Tax Reform, Circuit Breaker and Double Homestead Exemption legislation for senior citizens and Income Tax Reform.

1971 to 1972—Assistant District Attorney for Tulsa County, Tulsa, Oklahoma

1969 to 1971—Special Agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C.

1972 to 1981—Associate and member of the firm of Blackstock, Joyce, Pollard, Blackstock and Montgomery, Tulsa, Oklahoma

1984 to 1985—Member of the firm of Pray, Waler, Jackman, Williamson & Marlar, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Represented white collar defendants in criminal matters.

Represented much of the hotel and restaurant industry in Tulsa in general practice areas.

Chaired the real estate department at the Pray, Walker, Jackson, Williamson & Marlar law firm.

Handled general civil practice matters such as employment disputes, arbitration, oil and gas, civil litigation, banking, administration and regulatory issues.

Martin Hubbell Rated: AV

Education

Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
A.B. History, 1966

University of Oklahoma, College of Law, Norman, Oklahoma
J.D., 1969



Appendix A: Biographical Information ¶ 305

Professional

Admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court, by U.S. Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals, U.S. District Court, Eastern and Northern District of Oklahoma.

Member of the Oklahoma Bar Association.

Civic Activities

1985—State Counsel, Oklahoma Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

1985—Chairman, Professional Division Tulsa Area, United Way Campaign

1985—Member, Board of Directors, First Oklahoma Savings Bank, Tulsa, Oklahoma

1984-1985—Counsel, Arthritis Foundation of Northeast Oklahoma

1983-1984—Member, Board of Directors, Family Mental Health Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma

1980-1983—Member, Board of Directors, Arts and Humanities Council of Tulsa

1978—Member, Board of Directors, Oklahoma Association of Retarded Citizens, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

1977-1980—Member and Vice-Chairman, Metropolitan Tulsa Transit Authority

1977-1980—Member, Associates Board, Hillcrest Hospital, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Religious Affiliation

Roman Catholic

NAMED KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE BY POPE JOHN PAUL II, 1988

Family and Personal

Age: 52

Health: Excellent

Wife: Catherine Heller Keating

Children: Carissa (Carrie) Herndon Keating, age 21

Kelly Martin Keating, age 19

Anthony F (Chip) Keating, III, age 15



Hobbies

Tennis, hunting, jogging, reading and family

—From the Office of Governor Frank Keating
State of Oklahoma
State Capitol Building
Oklahoma City, OK 73105

GOVERNOR KEATING BIO

(Provided by the Office of the Governor)

In 1994, Frank Keating won the Republican nomination for Governor and was elected to the office, in a three way race, winning by an overwhelming margin of 17 percentage points.

Frank Keating was born on February 10, 1944, in St. Louis, Missouri. Before he was six months old, his family moved to Tulsa, Oklahoma. He was graduated from Cascia Hall High School in 1962. He received a B.A. in History from Georgetown University in 1966 and earned a J.D. degree from the University of Oklahoma College of Law in 1969.

Keating's distinguished public service career began as an FBI agent, where he investigated new left terrorist activities, bombings, and bank robberies on the West Coast.

Then continuing his crusade against crime, Frank returned to his hometown of Tulsa to work as Assistant District Attorney.

From 1972 to 1974 he served in the Oklahoma House of Representatives. From 1974 to 1981 he served in the Oklahoma Senate and was unanimously elected as Republican leader of the Oklahoma Senate. During his legislative tenure, Keating was widely recognized as a reformer and a tough advocate of strong law-enforcement policies.

From 1981 to 1983 Keating served as the U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Oklahoma and as National Chair of the United States Attorneys.

In 1986 he was asked by President Reagan and, subsequently, by President Bush to serve as the highest ranking Oklahoman in both administrations.

During his stay in Washington, Frank supervised over 100,000 employees while he served in three important posts—first as Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury (1986–1988), where he supervised the U.S. Customs Service, the Secret Service, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center; then, as the Associate Attorney General (1988–1989), where he presided over the U.S. Prison System, the U.S. Marshals, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Interpol, and all 94 U.S. Attorneys; and Frank also served as Acting Deputy Secretary and General Counsel of the Department of Housing and Urban Development



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(1990–January 20, 1993) under Secretary Jack Kemp, where he spearheaded the widely praised clean-up of HUD.

Three months after his inauguration, Governor Keating faced the greatest challenge of his career when a terrorist bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City claimed 168 lives, injured more than 600 and caused hundreds of millions of dollars in damage. His firm and compassionate leadership throughout the crisis earned him and Oklahoma favorable national attention. Governor Keating continues to devote much of his time to coordinating more than four million dollars toward scholarships for children of bombing victims.

Governor Keating and his wife, Cathy, are the parents of three children, Carrie, Kelly, and Chip.

OATH OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

I, _____, in the name of the high and undivided Trinity, do promise and vow to keep and conceal the high mysteries of this noble and invincible Order of Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, from all but such as are ready and willing to serve the church of Christ, by acts of valor and charity; and that as far as in me lies, I will defend the church of the Holy Sepulchre from pillage and violence, and guard and protect pilgrims on their way to and from the Holy Land; and if I perform not this vow, to the best of my abilities, let me become inanimata [dead].

Frank Keating and the Knights of Malta

Having been named Knight Commander of the Holy Sepulchre by Pope John Paul II in 1988, Keating is an honored and high-ranking member of the Knights of Malta. His membership in this secret society has a great influence on his political actions, plans, and ambitions.

This has virtually *nothing* to do with the Roman Catholic religion. No American Catholic owes any allegiance to any foreign power or Pope through any blood oath of any kind whatsoever, nor do American Catholics carry diplomatic passports from a foreign nation, as do members of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta. Membership in the Sovereign Military Order of Malta (SMOM) has everything to do with being a participant in one of the four major player-organizations for world domination—those players being British Freemasonry, French Freemasonry, International Zionism, and the Vatican.

The “Knight of Malta” is one of the high degrees of Freemasonry. Freemasons descend from the Knights Templar. The degree of Knight of Malta is conferred in the United States as “an appendant Order” in a Commandery of Knights Templar. There is a ritual attached to the degree, but very few are in



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possession of it, and it is generally communicated after the candidate has been created a Knights Templar.

The Knights of Malta were successfully taken over by the Knights Templar during the Peasants Revolt as an act of revenge. For the Templars, vengeance was required when the Knights of Malta accepted the property of the Templars after the Pope, on orders from King Philip of France, destroyed the Templars. Consequently the Templars have sworn revenge against all Christians and nations. Their goal is to establish a one-world government and one-world religion over the ashes of all existing religions and nations.

The Vatican, which controls the Knights of Malta, was infiltrated and taken over by the "Propaganda 2" (P2) Lodge of Freemasonry. The P2 Lodge was launched in partnership by the CIA and the Mafia to serve as an intelligence source and provide for the control of European leaders after World War II. The Mafia, as the underworld arm of Freemasonry, was formed from Italian street gangs by Giuseppe Mazzini. Mazzini was in direct communication and partnership with General Christopher Albert Pike, who established the 33rd degree of Freemasonry and was the father of the judicial code of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

After World War II many of the elite of Europe joined the P2 Lodge. Enrico Fermi was hung under Black Friar's Bridge in a ritual Masonic murder for violating his blood oath after the P2 Lodge raped the Vatican bank. Piers Compton documents the infiltration and takeover of the Vatican by the "Propaganda 2" Lodge of Freemasonry in his book *The Broken Cross*.

To this day, the Knights of Malta are the militia of the Pope and are sworn to total obedience by a blood oath, which is taken extremely seriously and to the death. In times when the Pope is threatened, the Swiss mercenaries that guard the Vatican are dismissed and the Knights of Malta take station as the elite Militia and guardians of the Pope. The Knights are also sworn to instantly forsake everything and everyone and hasten to the aid of the Pope should they be called. They are sworn to absolute obedience to the Pope, forsaking all other allegiances, duties, or obligations whatsoever.

The Pope, as the head of the Vatican, is the head of a foreign national power. Membership in the Sovereign and Military Order of Malta (SMOM) denotes an allegiance to that foreign power in the form of the nation of Malta and the Pope. The SMOM headquarters in Rome covers a sizable piece of real estate. It is recognized as a sovereign nation by all nations and by the United Nations.

All members of the SMOM are issued and carry a *diplomatic passport* which exempts them from prosecution under the laws of all nations save Malta. The passport also denotes an official of a foreign government who is performing in the interest of Malta first and foremost.

By virtue of the blood oath of obedience to the Pope, members are required to support to the death the desires of the head of the Order of the Knights





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of Malta—in this case, Pope John Paul II—over and above any other allegiance to any other loyalty—such as a loyalty to the Constitution for the United States of America. The Pope is openly calling for a world government and has stated that he will be the head of that government by the year 2007.

Those who are presently members of the Knights of Malta must, on penalty of death, support those policies advocated by the Vatican. It is not hard for them to do this. They *believe* in these policies and principles. The policies espoused and proclaimed by Pope John Paul II are as follows:

End of sovereignty for all nations, including the United States.

End of absolute property rights.

End of all gun ownership rights.

The new international economic order (world government).

The redistribution of wealth and jobs.

Calls for nations to trust the United Nations.

Total disarmament.

Promote the United Nations as the hope for peace.

Promote UNESCO, the deadly educational and cultural arm of the United Nations.

Promote interdependence.

Support sanctions honoring Father Pierre Teilhard de Chardin—the New Age humanist priest.

Support the belief that the economic principle of traditional Christian or Catholic social doctrine is the economic principle of communism.

Promote the Pope as the acting go-between for the United States and the Soviet Union.

[Sources: Baigent, Michael, Richard Leigh, and Henry Lincoln, *Holy Blood, Holy Grail*, Delacorte Press, New York, 1982.

—, *The Messianic Legacy*, Dell Publishing, New York, 1989.

Compton, Piers, *The Broken Cross*.

Hogbert, Gene H., *The Plain Truth*, Nov/Dec 1989.

Mantooth, Don, *The Mantooth Report*, (newsletter), November 1989, New Haven, Indiana

Mills, Betty J., *Col. North, William Casey, & The Knights of Malta*, New Haven, Indiana, 1989.]

The secret-society members in the high levels of political and economic power, particularly if they are not the actual decision-makers, are *owned* by others. They are compromised by the surrender of their will. They chose to believe what they believe. Keating is a member in service to that Order and under complete and total obedience to the Vatican's political ambitions.



Other Famous Knights of Malta

Marty Anderson—author of *Revolution*, Member of the Board of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board

Andrew Bertie—78th Prince and Grand Master of the Sovereign Order of Malta

Patrick Buchanan—Journalist, presidential candidate

George Bush—Former President of the United States

William Casey—Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, former member of the Council on Foreign Relations, former head of the Securities and Exchange Commission, former head of Ronald Reagan's political campaign, head of the Export-Import Bank during the Nixon administration

J. Peter Grace—U.S. President of Knights of Malta, Chairman of W. R. Grace Company

Alexander Haig—Former Secretary of State

Clare Booth Luce—Dame of the Knights of Malta

John McCone—Envoy to the Vatican for President John F. Kennedy, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency

Thomas Melledy, Ambassador to the Vatican under President George Bush, former Ambassador to Uganda and Berembi, former President of Sacred Heart University in Bridgeport, Connecticut

John D. J. Moore—Member of the W. R. Grace Board, Ambassador to Ireland under Presidents Nixon and Ford

Lt. Col. Oliver North—Defendant in Iran-Contra Affair

John J. Raskob—Founding Member of the U.S. branch of the Knights of Malta, former Chairman of the Board for GM, former Treasurer of the Knights of Malta

Frank Shakespeare—U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican, former Ambassador to the Republic of Portugal, President of CBS Television Services, CBS Incorporated, New York (1950-69), Director of the United States Information Agency (1969-1973), Executive Vice President of Westinghouse, New York (1973-1975), Vice Chairman of RKO General Inc., New York (1975), Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting (1981-1985), Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Heritage Foundation

Martin F. Shey—Executive Vice President of Morgan Bank

Myron Taylor—Envoy to the Vatican for Roosevelt

Robert Wagner—Former Mayor of New York City, Envoy to the Vatican for President Jimmy Carter



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Vernon Walters—Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, chief diplomatic troubleshooter, succeeded Jean Kirkpatrick as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

Paul Weyrick—Founder of the Heritage Foundation and Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress

William Wilson—First U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican

Dr. Charles John Mankin University of Oklahoma Geological Survey

Charles John Mankin, geology educator, was born in Dallas, Texas, on January 15, 1932. He is the son of Green & Myla Carolyn (Bohmert) Mankin. On September 6, 1953, Mankin married Mildred Helen Hahn with whom he had three children, Sally Carol, Helen Frances, and Laura Kay.

EDUCATION

Student, University of New Mexico, 1949-50

B.S., University of Texas at Austin, 1954

M.A., 1955

Ph.D., 1958

EMPLOYMENT

Assistant Professor of Geology at California Institute of Technology, 1958-59

Assistant Professor of Geology at the University of Oklahoma, 1959-63

Associate Professor, University of Oklahoma, 1963-64

Professor, University of Oklahoma, 1964 to the present

APPOINTMENTS

Director of the School of Geology and Geophysics, 1963-77

Director of the Energy Resources Institute, 1978-87

Member U.S. National Commission on Geology, 1977-80

Director of the Oklahoma Geological Survey, 1967 to present

Former Chairman of Board of Mineral and Energy Resources

Former member of Commission on Physical Science, Math and Resources,
National Academy of Sciences

Former Commissioner of Commission of Fiscal Accountability of the
Nation's Energy Resources

Former Chairman of the Royalty and Management Advisory Committee, De-
partment of the Interior

Board of Directors for the Environmental Institute for Waste Management
Studies at the University of Alabama



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PUBLICATIONS

Contributed articles to professional journals

AWARDS

Conservation Service Award, Department of Interior, 1983

Fellow Geological Society of America (Co-project leader North America Geology)

Former counselor, Chairman of the Foundation, Mineral Society of America

Member American Association of Petroleum Geologists (Public Service Award, 1988)

American Institute of Professional Geologists (vice president; past president; Martin Van Couvering Memorial Award, 1988; member of foundation)

Clay Mineral Society

Geo-Chem Society

American Association for the Advancement of Science

Association of American State Geologists (past president)

American Geological Institute (past president, Ian Campbell Medal in 1987)

Society of Economic Paleontologists and Mineralogists (past president, mid-continent section)

Sigma Gamma Epsilon, National Secretary-Treasurer

Home address:

2220 Forister Court
Norman, OK 73069-5120



OFFICE

Oklahoma Geological Survey
Sarkeys Energy Center
100 E. Boyd St., Rm. 131N
Norman, OK 73019





Appendix A: Biographical Information ¶ 313

**Ronald J. Norick
Mayor of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma**

Ronald J. Norick, mayor of Oklahoma City, was born in Oklahoma City on September 5, 1941. He is married to Carolyn Norick with whom he has two children, Allyson and Lance.

EDUCATION

B.S., Management, Oklahoma City University
L.H.D., honorary, 1990

BUSINESS

President of Norick Bros. Inc., 1981-92
Mayor of the City of Oklahoma City, 1987 to present
General partner of Norick Investment, Inc.

POSITIONS AND APPOINTMENTS

Former chairman of board, Norick Software, Inc.
Trustee of Community Church of the Redeemer
Member Central Oklahoma Transportation and Parking Authority
Oklahoma City Utilities Trust
Myriad Gardens Authority
Board of Directors of the Oklahoma State Fair
Member of McGee Creek Authority
Board of Directors, Oklahoma Philharmonic
Member of the Executive Committee of Oklahoma City University
Allied Arts Foundation
Member of National League of Cities
U.S. Conference of Mayors
Oklahoma Municipal League
Board of Directors, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce
Board of Directors, South Oklahoma City Chamber
Economic Club of Oklahoma
Men's Dinner Club
Rotary Club

ADDRESS

Office of the Mayor
City Hall
200 N. Walker Ave.
Oklahoma City, OK 73102-2247



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Brig. Gen. Benton K. Partin

Thirty-one years active duty in the Air Force. Progressively responsible executive, scientific and technical assignments directing organizations engaged in research development, testing, analysis, requirements generation and acquisition management of weapons systems. Assignments from laboratory to the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Personal contributions made in the fields of research and development management, weapon system concepts, guided weapons technology, target acquisition aids, focused energy weapons, operations research and joint service harmonization of requirements. Retired as a Brigadier General.

White House appointed Special Assistant to the Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration. Personally designated to prepare the *White Paper on the Federal Aviation Administration for the 1989 Presidential Transition Team*. This included development of policy initiatives on FAA/USAF joint use of the Global Positioning System (GPS), operational life for commercial aircraft, anti-terrorism, airport and airway capacity, requirements in the FAA acquisition process and FAA leadership and management development.

Military Command Pilot and Command Missileman with 4000 hours (37 combat)

EDUCATION

B.S., Chemical Engineering

M.S., Aeronautical Engineering

Ph.D. Candidate, Operations Research & Statistics (Academics Completed)

PUBLICATIONS

Sino-Soviet Conflict, Competition and Cooperation: Risks in Force Structure Planning

A Reduced Upper Limit for Sequential Test Truncation Error

Bomb Damage Analysis of Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—July 30, 1995

Frequent TV talk shows on the Voice of Freedom

HONORS

Distinguished Service Medal, Legion of Merit, three times Distinguished Graduate of the Air War College

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

Chairman, United States Defense Committee

Member of the Board, In Touch Missions International

Member of the Board, Front Line Fellowship



Appendix A: Biographical Information ¶ 315

Founding Chairman of the School Board, Engleside Christian School
Washington Representative for the Association of Christian Schools International (1981-83)
Chairman Fairfax County Republican Party (1982-96)
Lifelong professional challenge: Continuing studies and analyses to anticipate and forecast the future course of world military/political/economic transforming process.

ADDRESS

8908 Captains Row
Alexandria, VA 22308
(703) 780-7652





APPENDIX B: SEISMIC RECORDS AND STATEMENTS

First Report Re: Dr. Ken Luza

DATE: 04/21/95

TO: William Cooper

RE: Secondary Explosion Confirmed

The report of two seismological events consistent with large explosions on the morning of April 19, 1995 IS CONFIRMED!!

At 1:20 p.m. today (4/21/95) I spoke with Dr. Luza at the Oklahoma Geological Survey, which is located in the Sarkeys Energy Building on the University of Oklahoma campus.

Dr. Luza showed me the seismograph recordings made on that morning, showing two separate seismological disturbances, the first occurring at 9:02:04 a.m. and the second occurring at 9:02:14 a.m. He said the two events were approximately ten seconds apart, give or take a few milliseconds.

He showed me charts that illustrated what a train looks like on a seismograph. Also, what heavy traffic on the freeway would look like, and then he gave me a copy of the seismograph readings, which I have here at this time.

The two events are approximately the same in magnitude, and the peaks and the spaces between the peaks are consistent with what Dr. Luza said they refer to as a "quarry blast."

Dr. Luza said he could not confirm the actual location of the seismological events from the seismographic record except that both events were in the Oklahoma City area. He stated that there have been no reports as to where the second event may have occurred that are consistent with what the government has reported as a single blast. As far as the actual seismographic record is concerned, there were definitely two events, and they both took place in the Oklahoma City area within ten seconds of each other.

Dr. Luza stated that the Oklahoma Geological Survey has sensors placed all over the state, and the time between when the sensors first record an event and the time the event arrives at their headquarters allows them to determine the approximate location of the event.

Dr. Luza's secretary [receptionist] stated that ABC News representatives were in their offices this morning. Four or five different newspapers have also asked similar questions to mine.

That's it for now.



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Official Notice of the Oklahoma Geological Survey

April 26, 1995

On April 19, 1995, the Oklahoma Geological Survey's seismograph station in Norman, Oklahoma, recorded a Lg surface-wave "train" at 9:02 and 13 seconds a.m. (140213 UTC) shortly after the explosion at the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The seismometer is located approximately 4 miles north of Norman and 16 miles from downtown Oklahoma City. A second Lg surface-wave was recorded at 9:02 and 23 seconds a.m. (140223). The location and source of the second surface-wave recording is unknown. Detailed investigations at the building site may offer an explanation as to the cause and origin of the second event.

The record is read from top to bottom and from left to right. The small vertical offsets or the horizontal lines are minute marks. Hour marks are twice as long as the minute marks. Date and time is UTC, which refers to Coordinated Universal Time, formerly Greenwich Mean Time.

The Richter Magnitude cannot be defined for surface and/or near surface explosions. Therefore, none is reported.

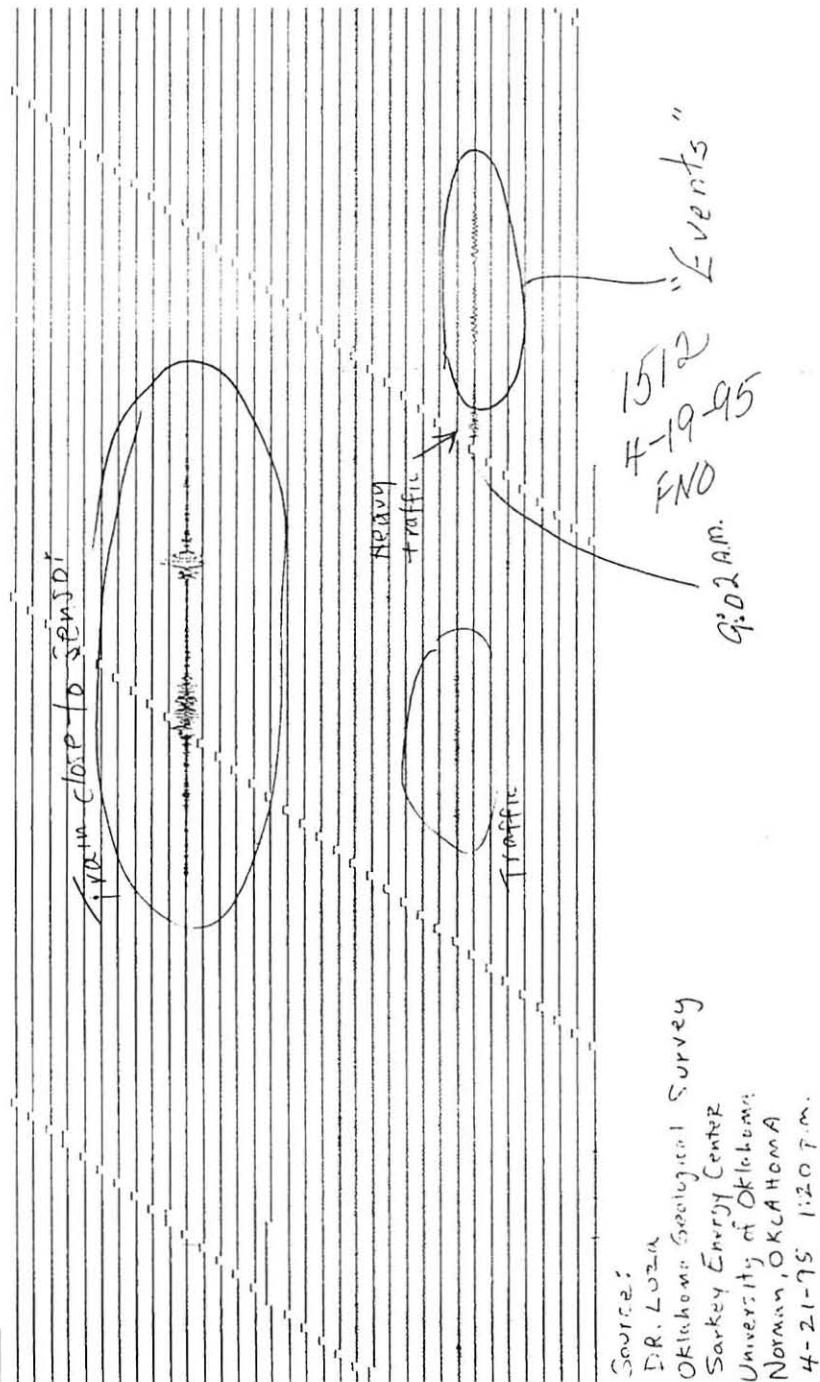
A copy of this record can be obtained by writing the Oklahoma Geological Survey.

Oklahoma Geological Survey
100 East Boyd
Norman, OK 73019-0628





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Seismogram from April 19, 1995, Oklahoma Geological Survey



Appendix B: Seismic Records and Statements ¶ 319

Second Report Re: Dr. Ken Luza

DATE: 04/28/95—1100

TO: William Cooper

RE: Morning Interview with Dr. Luza

This conversation I am reporting is also on tape. At 10:20 a.m. this morning I met with Dr. Luza again at the Oklahoma Geological Survey Office in the Sarkeys Energy Building on the OU campus.

The seismograph chart from the morning of 4/19/95 is still on display in the glass case of the lobby area, along with a bit more detailed explanation of what happened. But the report of the two "events" is still essentially the same as it was when I first interviewed Dr. Luza on 4/21/95.

In my interview, Dr. Luza's story of the two nearly identical events separated by ten seconds has NOT changed. He told me exactly what he told me before and we now have it on tape.

I told him Channel 6 News in Tulsa was reporting that he was denying that there were two events. Dr. Luza said that he DID speak with Channel 6 News, but he was very surprised to hear that they said he was denying the seismograph report. Dr. Luza did not tell me what he told Channel 6 News, but he has stuck by his original statement that there were two separate events.

The events were further defined to me today as "surface waves," which are events that originate on the surface rather than underneath the surface of the earth.

Dr. Luza's secretary [receptionist] told me this morning that there have been "... many, many ..." phone calls to their offices asking about the seismograph report. She did not specify what networks or papers had been calling, but she did say that they were definitely media rep calls, and many of them were terrifically rude over the phone. She said they want her to tell them everything right then and there, they never say "please" or "thank you," and they do not seem to understand that she is only the secretary and they need to speak with Dr. Luza if they want an expert opinion.

That's about it. If there is a cover-up going on, it is NOT originating with Dr. Luza. I have a tape of my interview with him if you want it. Michele can transcribe it sometime this weekend.



Transcript of Second Meeting with Dr. Ken Luza

DATE: 04/29/95—0915 CDT

TO: William Cooper

FROM: Michele Moore

RE: Luza material is on its way—transcript of same here

Dear Bill:

The Luza tape (microcassette) was shipped out yesterday late afternoon by Fed Ex and should be delivered to the Commercial Street address today—morning, I think.

The short interview is on Side A, and the contents are:

A fairly long section of tape while my husband waited in the lobby and occasionally chatted with Dr. Luza's secretary [receptionist].

Dr. Luza comes out of his office and chats. During this conversation, my husband tells him about what Channel 6 said. Luza confirms that he spoke with Channel 6 and says he told them what he had previously told CAJI. Luza then attributes the Channel 6 problem to something being "lost in the translation." Luza is thanked and he leaves.

A short section of tape while CAJI stands in the lobby area by the glass display case looking at the official announcement of the two "events" and reads parts of the typed explanation of the seismographic record which is posted in the glass case.

Dr. Luza comes out of his office on his way somewhere else, and stops to chat briefly with CAJI beside the glass case.

Taped material ends.

To assist you in your work, here is a transcript of the tape. The unedited running time is just shy of eight minutes.

C = CAJI S = Secretary L = Dr. Luza

C: [Enters the building and approaches the secretary's desk] Hi.
How are you?

S: Oh, good!

C: Is Dr. Luza in?

S: Um-hm. Um-hm. Um-hm.

C: Thanks.

S: I think.

[CAJI sits down to wait in the lobby area and there are sounds of the secretary speaking with other people.]

S: And ... and ... I remember you were here a couple of ...

C: Yeah. He met with me last Friday.



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S: Yes. Uh, last Friday. Arizona, wasn't it?

C: Um-hm.

S: From Arizona?

C: You have a good memory.

L: [From inside his office] Close the door.

S: [To Dr. Luza] Okay. Thanks. Uh-huh. [To CAJI:] He'll be out in a minute.

C: Thank you very much. Have y'all had a lot of people in pestering you?

S: Not in, but they've definitely been calling.

C: Calling? Yeah.

S: And I have one guy, just this morning, bless his heart, he had called to ... to call. [Laughter]

C: Oh. Well, I guess that's a nice thing to do.

S: I said, "Well, I sure do appreciate the thought."

C: Right.

S: "But you're still calling." But he said, "I know you all probably get too many phone calls and ... and things like that." I said, "Yeah."

C: Yeah.

S: Yeah, we have. And he just kept talking. I said, [indiscernible] was running.

C: Well, it's a nice thought anyway, I guess.

S: Yeah. I appreciated it 'cause some of them have been ... more than the plague out here.

C: Oh, yeah?

S: They want you to answer the question right now when you're telling them, "I know nothing," you know.

C: Right.

S: It's almost like, well, why don't I?

C: Hm.

S: I don't wanna. That's why I know nothing.

C: Yeah. Sometimes I think I don't want to, either.

S: Oh, well, bless your heart. [laughter]

[Telephone rings, secretary returns to business.]

[Secretary continues working. Dr. Luza comes out of his office.]

S: [To Dr. Luza] Getting ready to get out of here?



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L: Yep.

S: Okay.

L: Oh, I hope. [Dr. Luza approaches CAJI in the waiting area, CAJI rises to shake his hand.]

C: There he is. Hi, Dr. Luza.

L: Dr. Luza. Hi.

C: You were kind enough to speak with me last Friday ...

L: Um-hm.

C: ...when you, when you gave me a copy of the chart over there.

L: Um-hm.

C: Channel 6 News in Tulsa reported last night that they contacted you ...

L: Um-hm.

C: ...and that you, uh, told them that the two events never occurred. Is that true?

L: No.

C: Well, I'm running down what they say. I have no idea why they said that, but that's what they reported. And I couldn't ...

L: Well, I talked to them yesterday and we went over the record and I ... we explained to them what we had recorded, and what we can interpret from the record.

C: Right.

L: And if you had the record by itself, you could not determine where the source of the origin of those two waves ...

C: Right.

L: Now, I don't know what ...

C: I could hardly believe my ears.

L: Well, it's ...

C: So, I had to hot-foot it over here and talk to the man ...

L: That's just something that got lost in the translation.

C: Really?

L: Okay.

C: Okay. Well, that's all.

L: Okay.

C: Thanks for your time.

L: All right. [chuckle]

C: I just wanted to speak directly to you. Thank you.



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Report from the Omniplex

DATE: 04/30/95

TO: William Cooper

FROM: Michele Moore

RE: Seismograph from Omniplex: GOT IT!!!

I hustled on home and sent my husband to the city. While I was trying to meet with the photographer, he had telephoned the Omniplex. The gal at the museum said that the seismograph had been running on the day of the bombing, and that they had "pictures" (the word she used), but they were not on display. When he asked her why not, she said she didn't know why they were not displayed because several people had inquired about any records the Omniplex might have of the event.

We hope to at least see the records even if we can't get copies, and CAJI will be wired for sound, so we'll know something about that when he gets back, and I won't FAX this to you until he is home.

5:45 p.m. CDT: CAJI has returned from the Omniplex with a Xeroxed copy of their seismograph readings. The Kirkpatrick Center, located at 50th & Martin Luther King Blvd. (you probably remember MLK Blvd. as "Eastern Avenue"), is approximately four miles northeast of the Federal Building (as the crow flies).

We were VERY fortunate to get a copy of the seismograph record. The FBI seized the original records last Friday. It just happened that one particular museum employee had been sharp enough to make a copy for himself and his coworkers on the day of the bombing—BEFORE the original was taken—and he also just happened to be working at the Omniplex today, so CAJI obtained a copy from the employee.

Unlike Dr. Luza's records, which show two almost identical squiggles ten seconds apart, the Omniplex record shows two spots in the graph where the needle was shaken completely off the paper, separated by what looks like a ten-second interval but is probably less due to the near proximity of the seismometer. There are barely discernible marks at the top of the graph where the needle was bouncing around off the graph during the two "events."

When my husband asked the Omniplex employee about the two blanks in the record, he was told that that was where the needle went off the scale. The geophone is buried ten feet below ground outside the museum and it's very sensitive, so the "events" downtown shook that recording pen right off the scale as the paper continued to roll on the drum.

Because the seismograph equipment at the Omniplex is just part of the science museum and is more for the public curiosity than for scientific investigation, there is no one at the museum who is trained in reading



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seismograms. The fellow who made the Xeroxed copy for himself described the graph as showing a "double peak."

The employee said, "We don't have anyone on staff who is really qualified to interpret these. One of our technicians has to change the roll, basically."

The Omniplex also said: "The Geological Survey offices at OU gets all of our stuff."

Dr. Luza has said that the OU records aren't conclusive because you have to have records from two or three different sensor locations to determine the actual location of the "events." This leads me to believe that Dr. Luza is not telling all he knows, maybe because no one has asked him. But he probably has seismographic readings from both locations and just isn't saying a word ... wisely, too, I might add, given the present conditions.

The fellow who finally gave us a copy of the Omniplex records said it was miraculous that the Omniplex had any records at all because the seismograph had not been working up until 40 minutes prior to the explosions. He also mentioned that, "It takes 20 minutes to get all the way around the drum."

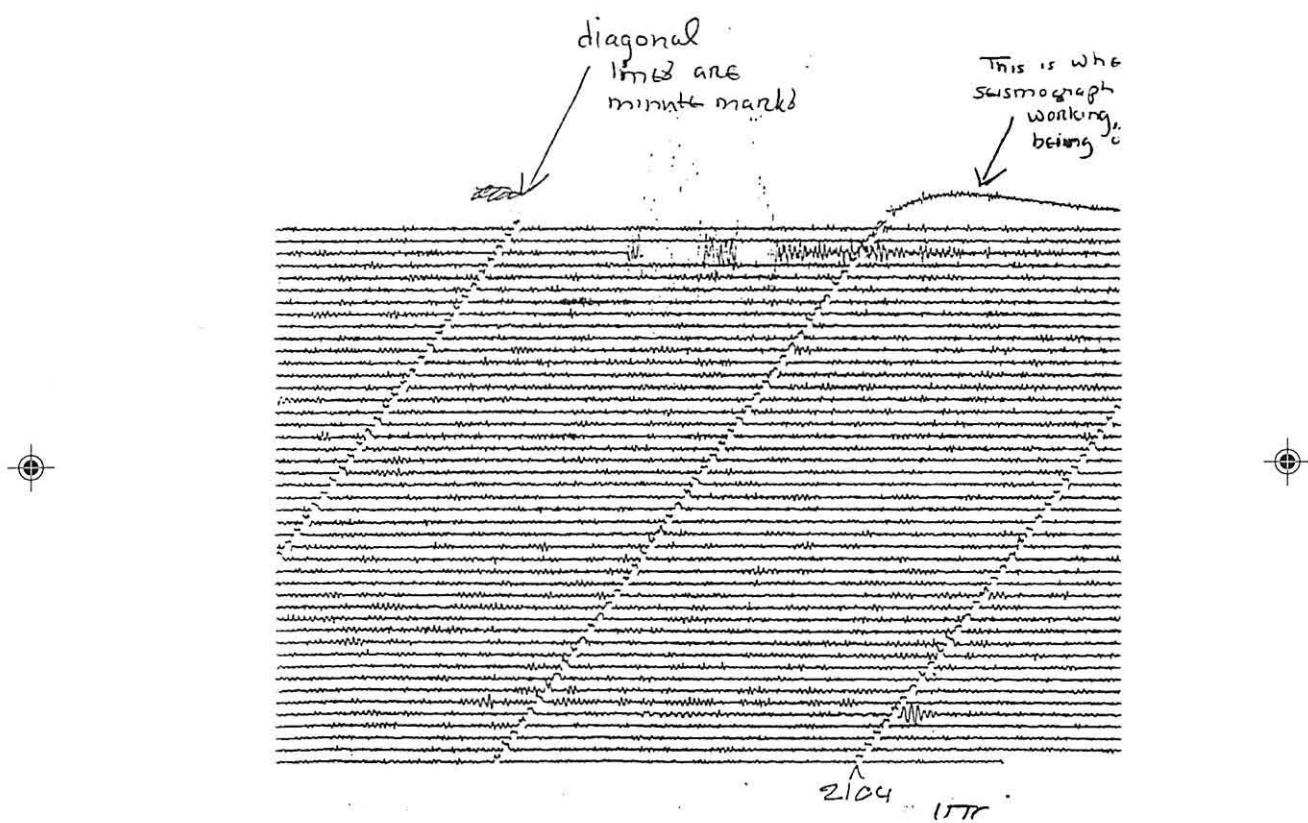
I strongly suggest taking the OU record and the Omniplex record to someone in Arizona who knows how to read seismograms and get a professional opinion about these things. If Luza is clamping up, we're not likely to get straight info from him, and the people at the Omniplex are not trained and can only give us good guesses. A good guess isn't gonna cut it.

— Michele





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Seismogram from April 19, 1995, Omniplex Museum



OKLAHOMA
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY
Charles J. Marlow, Director

May 24, 1995

INFORMATION RELEASE

On May 23 at 7:01 a.m. plus 28 seconds the Oklahoma Geological Survey's seismograph station FHO recorded an event that we interpret to be the result of the destruction of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. The appended seismogram shows the beginning of the event at 7:01:28.4. The signal is interrupted by high-frequency noise in two places. The "noise" is attributed to wind action on the antenna used to transmit the signal from the seismograph to the recorder at Searle's Energy Center on the campus of the University of Oklahoma. Note that the record contains numerous high-frequency signals, some of which are attributed to local "noise" such as vehicles and trains.

If the assumption is correct that this event is from the demolition of the federal building, then the signal was initiated at the site at 7:01 plus 19 seconds. Further analysis of data from this event is ongoing.

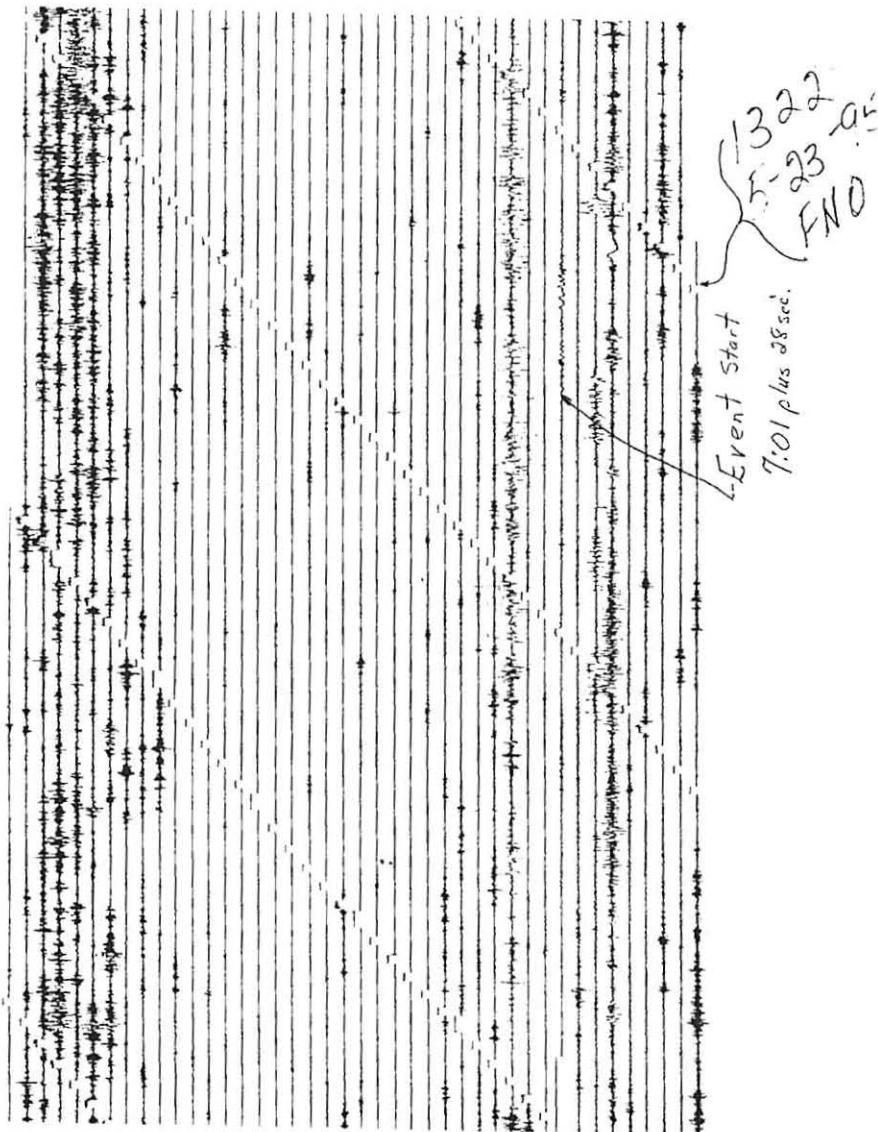
ENERGY CENTER
100 E. BOYD, ROOM N-121

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA 73019-6628

Phone: (405) 325-3831 Fax: (405) 325-7369



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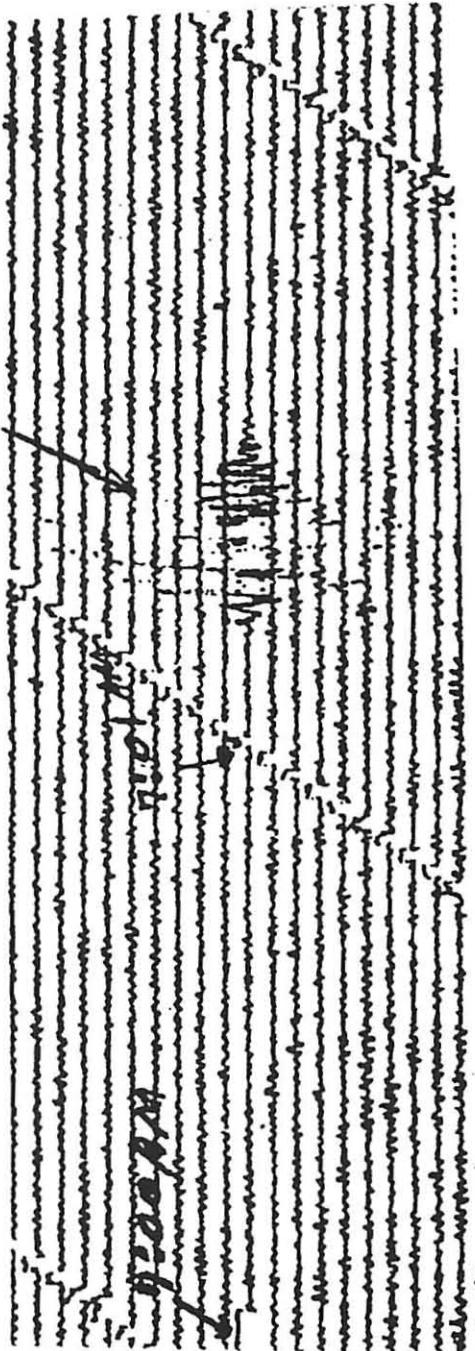


Seismogram from May 23, 1995, Oklahoma Geological Survey:
Demolition of Murrah Building Remains



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DEMOLITION
5/23/95
SIGAL



Seismogram from May 23, 1995, Omniplex Museum:
Demolition of Murrah Building Remains



Transcript of Meeting with Dr. Charles Mankin*

*See biographical information in Appendix A

DATE: 05/23/95

TO: William Cooper

FROM: Michele Moore

RE: Transcript of Interview with Dr. Mankin at OUGS
Following the Implosion of the Murrah Building

S = Secretary

O = Office Worker

C = CAJI

M = Dr. Mankin with OU Geological Survey

[CAJI waits in lobby area. Secretary talks on the phone.]

S: All right.

C: Hello, again.

S: How are you?

C: I'm fine. How are you?

S: Well, great. What can I do for you today?

C: Did your seismometers pick anything up from the building falling down today?

S: They picked up something today. You probably would need to speak with Dr. Mankin.

C: Okay.

S: I'll see if anybody is in his office. It wasn't anything as, you know, as big as the explosion.

C: Right.

[She leaves; CAJI waits.]

S: Okay. It's going to be a few minutes.

C: Okay.

S: He has someone in his office, if you don't mind waiting for a few.

C: No.

S: Okay.

C: Am I one of a zillion people asking you the same thing today?

S: No, in fact, it has been rather quiet. I don't know whether or not that's ... how shall I put it ... out of respect of what happened or what, but people have been pretty quiet today.

C: Well, that's good.



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S: Yeah.

[CAJI waits.]

O: You doing okay?

C: Oh, I'm doing fine. How are you?

O: Pretty good.

C: Oh. Dr. Mankin.

M: Hi, how are you?

C: I'm fine. My name's _____.

M: Have a seat.

C: I met with Dr. Luza a couple of times previously.

M: Yeah. Uh-huh.

C: I thought I'd come by and see if your seismometers had picked up anything of the building falling down today.

M: It did indeed. We have a ... well, let me say, we have a record that we assume is the building falling down.

C: Um-hm.

M: It comes in at the right time.

C: Right.

M: It's ... it's quite different from the original one we saw, and we have some other seismometers that have been set around. USGS has been here and they've added ...

C: Oh, yeah?

M: They've added ... we've put ... USGS put two accelerometers on pretty close to the building and one a short distance away.

C: Okay.

M: They measure ground acceleration and direction and motion. And then they installed, I think, two portable seismic units to record data as well. And they're ... one of my staff members, Ray Brown, and their geologists from USGS are out at the moment retrieving the equipment and the records.

C: Right.

M: We have pulled our record and I've sent it into our cartographic graphing section to photograph. I want to get a permanent photographic record of it.

C: Right.

M: So we should have a copy of that available ... I don't know if I can get it done this afternoon, but certainly by in the morning we'll have some copies.



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C: Okay.

M: It's a ... the record looks different than what we saw before. It's got higher frequency. It's a lower amplitude and higher frequency up front. And then it goes from low, which looks much more like what one might see in a quarry blast. In a quarry blast, normally what you see in the blast is the falling of the rock because the blast itself is a fairly low charge, like they saw. We didn't see the charges, and we didn't ... the amount of explosives they used to bring the building down were small. So we didn't see ... I'm sure we didn't see that.

C: Right.

M: What we did see is the falling of the building, and its signature. I ... and again, let me, you know, you have to understand, we're interpreting this to be that because there's nothing in there, that record, that says this was a ... you know, this was the building falling, and this was the bomb blast.

C: Right.

M: It's an interpretation of what we see.

C: Right.

M: But you know, it's the only rational conclusion because the timing is precise. It came in at about seven or eight seconds. It's, you know, on the record. We'll be able to see it when we look at the photographic record and get a much more accurate arrival time. But it looks like, if you calculate it back to the origin, it's going to be in the neighborhood of six to eight seconds after the detonation ...

C: Right.

M: ...which would make sense for the time that it takes for the building to fall and generally, a building that size probably, for argument, you know, if you just looked at time, yourself, and timed it when you see the blast at normal speed, it looked like about five or six seconds. And that's about what we would anticipate, and that's about what it looks like on the arrival time.

C: Yeah.

M: And so the record itself looks very different from the last one.

C: Well, I know that's what a lot of people are curious about.

M: Sure.

C: So many people were saying that that second event that occurred on the 19th was either an echo or showing the floors falling down and pancaking on top of each other.





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M: Well, it wasn't ... it wasn't the building falling. Of that, of that I'm ... I guess I can ... I'm pretty confident of that interpretation. It's not the building.

C: Yeah.

M: What it is, I still don't know. Our problem is that there's nothing in the signature of a record that says, "This is a blast." What we get is we get ... we got a Rayleigh wave ... two Rayleigh waves that came in ten seconds apart.

C: Rayleigh waves?

M: Yeah. That's a surface wave.

C: Okay. Right.

M: We saw the two surface waves that came in ten seconds apart.

C: Yeah.

M: And we have interpreted it—and it's important to note that we have INTERPRETED the first one to be the bomb blast, and it's consistent with the time. And ... and it is in part by process of elimination that says we look at everything else and we don't see anything that could have caused it. Because if it had been an earthquake ... if it had been an earthquake, then an earthquake has to be ... is a deep-seated event, and it should have been picked up by some of our other seismometers in the state. And it wasn't. The only two seismometers that recorded those two events was this one and the one at the Omniplex.

C: Right. Yeah, I was at the Omniplex a few days after I was here.

M: Uh-huh.

C: And fortunately found somebody that had made a copy of it before all the originals disappeared.

M: Huh? Well, that's ...

C: Were there any comments or conclusions that you could reach comparing what the Omniplex recorded and what you had recorded here on the 19th?

M: Oh, not really because I didn't spend that much time looking at the Omniplex record. I looked at them. One of my ... one of my staff members who is a theoretical seismologist, who got his Ph.D. at M.I.T. in theoretical seismology, is very good at this sort of thing. Now, he's looked at those records, and some of his colleagues at other institutions. These records are being examined by some colleagues at Cal Tech and some at the University of Texas and other places. So a lot of people are looking at these records to ... so that we're not by ourselves in this process. And we're not ... our interest is to learn what we can from this,



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because one of the things we look at is we can interpret the first event—and it is an interpretation—and we can relate that, and we feel pretty comfortable relating that to the bomb blast. We don't have any easy thing to relate the second one to because I wasn't there, and you know, there have been various accounts of whether there was one or two blasts, or what there was. We had originally heard there were two. That was what came over the radio.

C: Right.

M: And so when we heard there were two and we saw these two events, the logical conclusion is to say, well, the first one looks about right for the time, and so apparently the second one relates to the second blast. Well, then ... then none of the eyewitness accounts, at least that I've heard, and all I know is what I read in the newspapers or hear on television or listen, you know ... and I had heard no one say that they heard a second blast. This friend of mine was up there, and in fact, happened to be within ... fortunately, he was to the south or he wouldn't be here today. But he was about two blocks away to the south and when the blast went, and he said it moved his van. He was stopped at a stoplight and he said it picked up his van and moved it. It was kind of a startling event. But he's a very capable guy and he said he has no recollection of the second event, the second blast. And I ... I guess I have to accept the fact that while I can't explain the second event, it's hard for me to imagine that with all the people that were there that they would not have heard a second blast ten seconds later. You know. Now, if it were three seconds or something, I'd say, well, maybe that's possible in the confusion, but ten seconds is a long time.

C: I spoke with a number of people in the area. Many of the people that were closest to the building, a lot of them didn't hear a thing.

M: Yeah.

C: All they knew is one minute they're on one side of the room and a second later, they're on the other side.

M: Oh, yeah. If you're too close in the first place, the blast ... I am really surprised, considering the magnitude of that blast, that more people didn't suffer severe hearing damage from that. That was a hell of a blast!

C: Well, I spoke to one guy that worked at Fred Jones Ford who was standing in front of a window when it blew right in his face. And of course, they were, I believe, about five blocks to the south.

M: Yeah.



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- C: And he said his ears rang all day long.
- M: Well, I'm sure. Absolutely.
- C: And one of his drivers out in the parking lot was outside when it happened, and he was almost deaf for two or three days.
- M: Yeah. I'm not surprised. I'm really not surprised, because that would be a ... you know, I'm really surprised of the people that got out of that building, that more of them haven't had exploded ear drums, ear drums destroyed.
- C: I know.
- M: Because the air pressure, the instant pressure was so huge that it would be like suddenly finding yourself at 100 feet underwater with no—you know, instantly, with no protection.
- C: The other things that I have found out were from people that were anywhere from ten to twenty blocks away. And there were a number of people that heard two blasts ...
- M: Did they?
- C: ... that were that far away.
- M: Uh-huh.
- C: The people that were closest to it either didn't hear anything, or they heard one thing and then, you know. Your body just panics after that.
- M: I can't ... I can't either confirm or deny because I wasn't there, and all I can tell you is that there were two events. They look very similar. We've tried ... we've done every analysis we can think of. We know it's not the air blast. There's no question about that. The time is dead wrong.
- C: Right.
- M: Sound travels at, well, let's say 1100 feet per second. And it's, you know, a third the speed of what [indiscernible] the earth, so we calculate the distance from the center to our seismometer. If it were the air blast that affected the seismometer, which it didn't this far south, but even if it had, it should have come in at about 30 seconds late. And so it can't be the air blast. We know that. I mean, everybody is agreed to that. We cannot ... while we can't rule out a refraction, everybody that has looked at the signal has said that would really be strange because there's absolutely no loss of energy. I mean, the same amplitude.
- C: Right.
- M: So if you get a refraction, a refracted wave, you're going to get loss of energy.



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- C: Would that be like an echo coming off of a building or something like that?
- M: Yeah. Yeah. And you'll lose, you know, you'll lose a part of the energy in the process.
- C: Right.
- M: See, if you have a perfect mirror, a surface mirror—you shine a beam of light on it and you get the reflection back, you measure the lumens, you'll get a loss of energy because even the most perfect one you can create still loses energy because there's ... it's ... there's an absorption of energy at that interface. And that's the reason things go "pop," because part of that energy goes into that.
- C: Right.
- M: And so this incoherent scattering means that you lose some energy. And so when you reflect something, it's going to be less intense than the original thing. It's a basic law of physics. And so, those same principles hold true for seismic waves. So when you reflect a seismic wave, it is going to lose intensity—reflected or refracted. Either principle.
- C: Right.
- M: And so the fact that the two are of equal intensity suggests either ... you know, that makes it difficult. Secondly, the arrival time is wrong for a refracted wave because there's nothing ... you're going to have to take it off the mantle or something like that, or you're going to have to take it off of basement rocks or something. The problem with the shallow section of the earth's crust between here and Oklahoma City is that we've got a pile of rather discontinuous sandstone and shale, a big delta, called the Garber delta. That's what we get our water out of.
- C: Right. There's a big aquifer right under here.
- M: That's right. That's right. That's where we get our water, and it's a big delta, and the delta consists of channels of sand that go from east to west, and they're irregularly scattered through this pile of material. And there aren't coherent layers from which you could get a reflection ...
- C: Right.
- M: ...until you get some depth. And if you try to calculate the travel time down and back up, the time is wrong. So you'd have to get it really deep to get a ten-second layer because the arrival time, if you figure travel time, if you do the distance ... let's say something is 10,000 feet, the arrival time just quits.





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C: And then it still wouldn't be the same intensity.

M: And It wouldn't be the same intensity.

C: Right.

M: So we've ruled out reflections, refractions, the air blast, and the thing I can't rule out is that there could have been fortuitously an earthquake somewhere. You see, the problem we have when you try to calculate this thing ...

C: Here. Have some paper.

M: [Dr. Mankin begins to make a drawing of what he is describing] ... is that what we have is we have a seismometer located right here. And we get a record from it and it says that we've picked up an event at some point in time. And all we can say is that if we know the travel time of a surface wave, which we do pretty well, all we can tell you, in fact, is that somewhere out here on that circle there was an event occurred that caused that signal to arrive at this station at this time. We can calculate the travel time back to its origin.

Now, that's all we can tell you. Well, that's not very much with one station. And normally, if it were an earthquake, we would say, well, that's all we can tell you. Now, what happened is, then we looked at all ... you know, if it's an earthquake, however, it's deep-seated, these Rayleigh waves travel some distance. And so we thought, well, we'll check all of our other seismometers around the state and see.

And normally what we would have, we'd have another seismometer over here and have a travel time, and we'd pick up something that looks like that, and so we'd say, well, it's either here or here. And then if you have a third one over here somewhere, and it picks up here, then you say, well, that's the origin of it. But it generally takes three seismometers, simple single orientation or single full seismometers to get a determination like that. Now, what we can do with the fancier units now we have over at the observatory, these broad-band, three-component digital units, is that we can get a phase contrast on their travel time between the three components and we can get an azimuth and we can, you know, it's not precise, but it's pretty close. So we can ... would generally with two seismometers like that, you can get a pretty good fix on an earthquake.

But what we did in this instance, in the absence of ... These didn't pick up anything, so we said, well, it's a local phenomenon. And since it's a local phenomenon, a surface wave, it was a fairly small one. It wasn't going to travel very far. You see, what would happen the way this occurs ... Let's assume this is an earthquake,



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and it's, say, estimate it at, say, maybe ten miles down or something. What you do is you get energy coming in a cone out from that. And so this thing would come out and we'd pick up a surface wave and this would pick up a surface wave, and this would pick up a surface wave, and so on, on its depth, because the energy would come up, hit the surface, and then go out like this.

C: Right.

M: Okay. So that's why you pick up—from an earthquake—you pick up surface waves some distance away. But here, this particular event, all we did, we knew the building was blasted. We knew where it was. We had the seismometer. We got this record. We said, okay. If it were this building, then this first event would have occurred at 9:02-plus-four seconds. And if you look at the signal, it looks very much like a quarry blast, very much like some of the information you expect. So our interpretation of this event, absent this other information, is that that was the building being blown up. And so that's how we arrived at this ... And this is an interpretation.

Now, that was confirmed in an indirect way by the Omniplex sitting up here. It picked up two events. Unfortunately, their clock was malfunctioning, so we couldn't get an absolute number, but we saw the two events, and we saw the two events here, and we said, this was closer. It should have higher amplitude. It did. There should be two events if we're recording the same thing. It had two events and we had two events. We said, these two ... and looking at that information and looking at this information, we tend to corroborate our interpretation that there were two explosions ...

[Tape ran out.]





Statement by Dr. Raymon L. Brown, May 9, 1995

Seismograms Possibly Associated with the OKC Explosion
by Raymon L. Brown
Oklahoma Geological Survey
Tuesday, May 9, 1995

Two instruments near the explosion in Oklahoma City (OKC)
recorded signals which appear to be related to the blast.

Station FNO—near Norman, Oklahoma—SE of Blast

The station near Norman, Oklahoma received three signals after 9:02 a.m. which could have possibly been associated with the blast. The first of these signals has a high-frequency character very much like traffic noise that is frequently observed on these instruments. This event could potentially be related to the direct P-wave arrival from the event, but the relative amplitude compared to the later arriving Rayleigh (or Lg) waves makes this interpretation unlikely. The second two events have a low-frequency character very much like the signals associated with quarry blasts around the state.

Omniplex Museum—NE of Blast

The Omniplex museum has a seismometer on display which records at reduced gain from that used at the Norman station (to reduce the noise from the city). Admittedly, having a seismometer in a noisy environment may not sound like a good idea, but the instrument was placed there so that the general public could see seismic wave trains recorded from large earthquakes.

Two strong seismic signals arrived at the instrument at about the time the operator of the seismometer felt the blast. This is fortunate, since the clock for this instrument was out of sync because of a power failure. However, the recorded signal and the relative timing appear to be in good shape.

In spite of the reduced gain at the Omniplex, the signal amplitude was large enough to cause the loss of the high-amplitude portions of the signal. The heat-sensitive pens were moving so fast that the details of the signal were lost during the highest levels of ground movement. The two large events on the Omniplex recording are represented by the white portions of the record where the signal trace disappears because of the pen movement. The total signal duration at the Omniplex Museum is approximately one minute.

Initial Interpretation

Determining the location and origin time of an event, i.e. a source for seismic signals, requires at least four recording stations. The two stations



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mentioned above do not allow a unique assignment of the seismic signals to the blast. However, the signals are recorded at about the time of the blast. Thus, even though the exact origin time of the OKC disaster is uncertain at the level of accuracy required for seismic studies, these seismic signals can best be explained as being related to the explosion or explosions responsible for the blast.

Interpretation of Two Signals

Each of the seismograms has two distinct signals. The simplest explanation of the two signals is the occurrence of two events at the site. Other possible explanations include:

1. The second event represents the collapse of the building.
2. Dispersion acted to cause the Rayleigh wave to split into a low-frequency early phase and a later-arriving Airy phase.
3. Air wave.
4. Air-coupled Rayleigh wave.
 - (1) The collapse of the building is not likely to cause a shorter duration pulse (observed on the seismogram at the Omniplex) than the direct signal from the explosion.
 - (2) The difference in frequency between the two signals observed at the station near Norman is not large enough. Dispersion is not the likely explanation of the two signals observed near Norman.
 - (3) The air wave (a direct wave traveling through the air) is a possible explanation for the second event at the Omniplex. However, it is difficult to describe the second event at the Norman station as an air wave because the speed of travel would far exceed the speed of sound in air (1100 feet/second). Admittedly, the velocity of the air wave must be supersonic for a certain distance away from the explosion. This possibility should be considered in future studies of the blast. Based upon the information at hand, it is unlikely the air wave travels at a velocity much different than the speed of sound in air.
 - (4) The air-coupled Rayleigh wave is a seismic wave excited in the earth by a large explosion above the surface of the earth. The resultant Rayleigh waves then travel through the earth and appear to have been created by the explosion. These waves travel at the speed of Rayleigh waves (because they are Rayleigh waves) but their arrival time depends upon the nature and distribution of the air waves associated with the explosion. Most of us felt accounts of the explosion were to the north, east, and west of the blast. Few, if any, reports of the blast being felt to the south were





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recorded. The destruction of the city away from the explosion was also predominantly to the north, east, and west, too. Thus, the air wave associated with the blast probably had a south-to-north propagation. This means that the air-coupled Rayleigh waves generated from the air wave would be propagating to the north. Thus, the second signal at the Norman site is not a likely air-coupled Rayleigh wave.

Admittedly, the study of the signals requires more thought. However, at this point in time, the simplest explanation of the seismic signals recorded at the two stations is the occurrence of two events. The Omniplex signal is a nearfield measurement in which many different seismic phases (separate signals) are likely to be arriving. The onset of the large events recorded in the nearfield at the Omniplex are not likely to be representative of the difference in arrival times of the Rayleigh waves observed at the station in Norman. The differences in the relative timing of the two events observed at the Omniplex (approx. 16 secs between events) and the two signals recorded at Norman (approx. 12 secs) can simply be an artifact of the number of waveforms arriving. Since the Norman station is thought to have simple surface waves (Rayleigh waves), the difference in time of approximately 12 seconds is the best estimate of the time difference between the two events. The time between the two large events recorded at the Omniplex is probably complicated by the arrival of many different phases and the relative timing is difficult under these circumstances.

In summary, the two seismic signals observed can be explained by a number of different wave phenomena and/or secondary events. The simplest explanation at this time appears to be the occurrence of two events.



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OKLAHOMA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

ENERGY CENTER BLDG., ROOM N-131-100 EAST BOYD STREET • NORMAN, OKLAHOMA 73019 • (405)-
325-3031 • FAX: (405)-325-7069

June 27, 1995

State Representative Charles Key
Oklahoma

Dear Representative Key:

Collapse of the building is not a likely explanation for the high intensity of ground movement recorded during the Oklahoma City explosion. The signals recorded during the demolition of 3/4 of the Federal building clearly indicated a lower energy level of ground movement than that recorded during the destructive blast which involved the collapse of roughly 1/4 of the building. It appears that prolonged explosive energy is the likely explanation for the duration of the signals observed.

Sincerely,

Raymon L. Brown
Geophysicist

cc: Dr. Charles J. Mankin, Director

Letter from Dr. Raymon L. Brown, June 27, 1995

June 29, 1995

Dear Representative Ray,

Attached seismograms from the Omniplex and station FNO near Norman are for both the demolition and the OKC explosion. Note that on the day of the blast, the Omniplex record was saturated, i.e. the instrument went off scale (the white area), for a period of ten seconds.

~~Compare this to the signals from the demolition and collapse of the building.~~ \Rightarrow

Letter from Dr. Raymond L. Brown, June 29, 1995, page 1



None of the signals received during the demolition approached the intensity or magnitude of those received during the 1KC blast. ②

The second signal at the Omniplex can potentially be interpreted to be an air blast signal. However, given the present uncertainty of the clock at the Omniplex, even this can be challenged.

Regardless of any subsequent explanation of all the seismic signals in terms of a "single event",

Letter from Dr. Raymon L. Brown, June 29, 1995, page 2

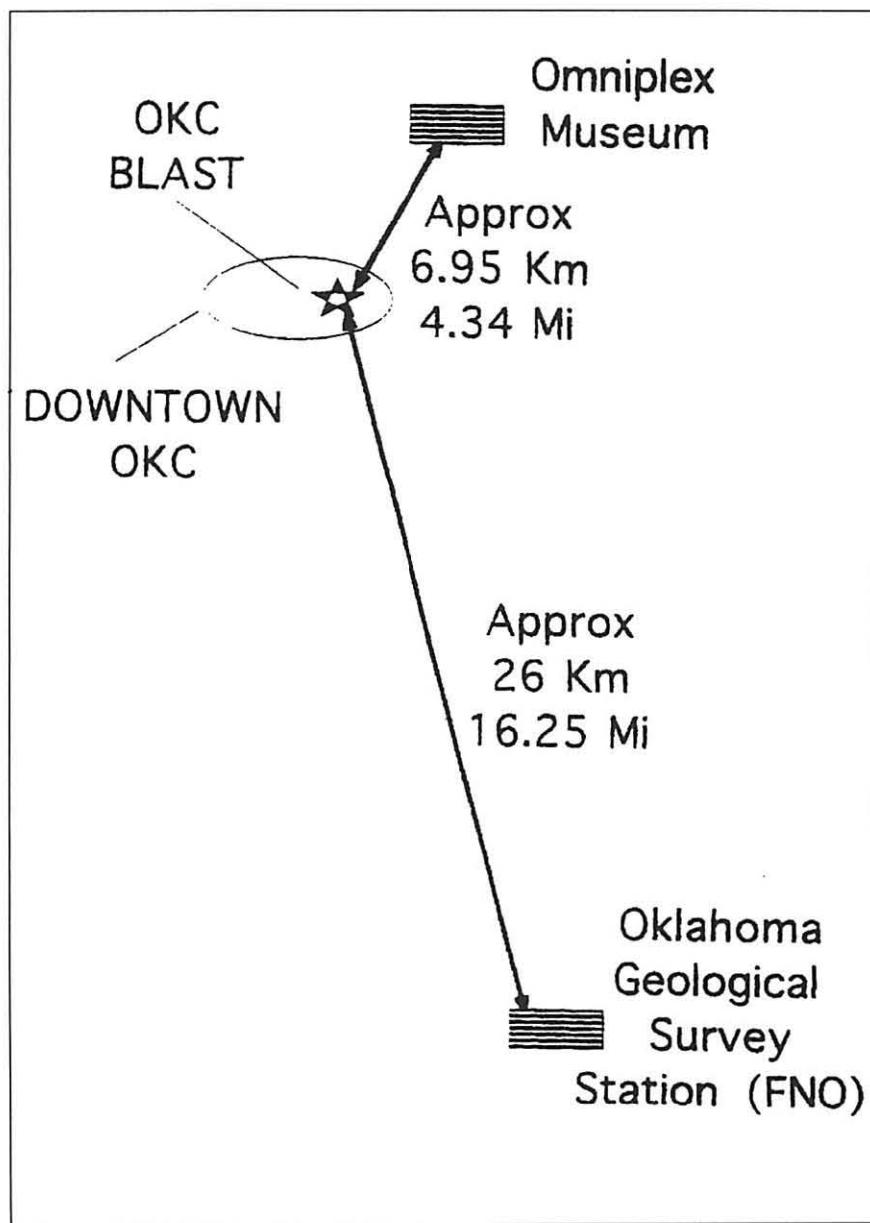


The possibility for multiple (3) explosions has to be considered given the long duration (10 sec) of the first strong motion recorded at the Omniplex.

A single explosion is an unlikely explanation for 10 seconds of high intensity ground motion at the Omniplex.

- Raymon L. Brown

Letter from Dr. Raymon L. Brown, June 29, 1995, page 3



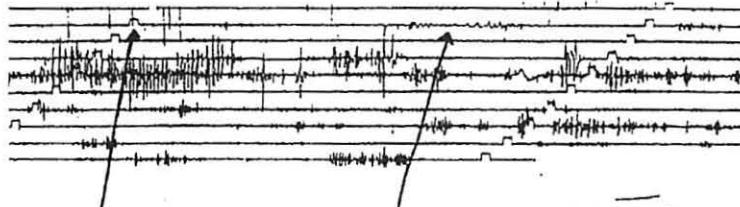
Letter from Dr. Raymond L. Brown, June 29, 1995, page 4



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NORMAN STATION
FNO

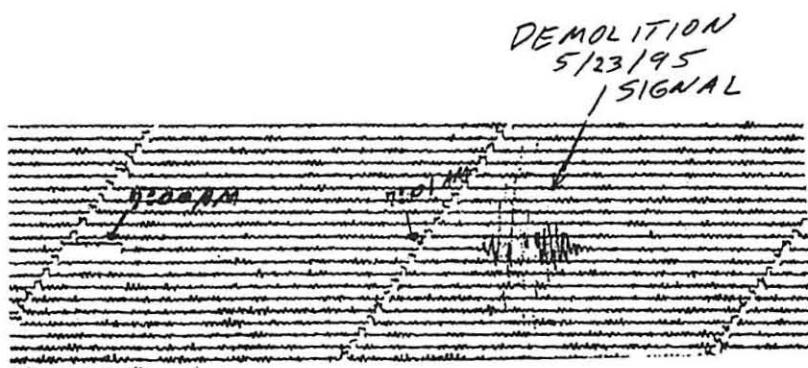
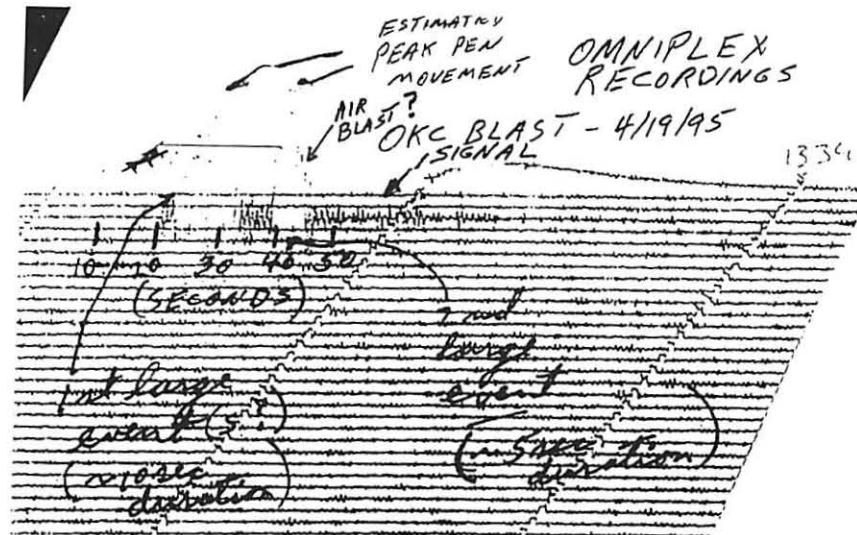
MINUTE MARKS OKC BLAST
SIGNALS 4/19/95



5-13
5-23
FNO
5-27
5-28

5

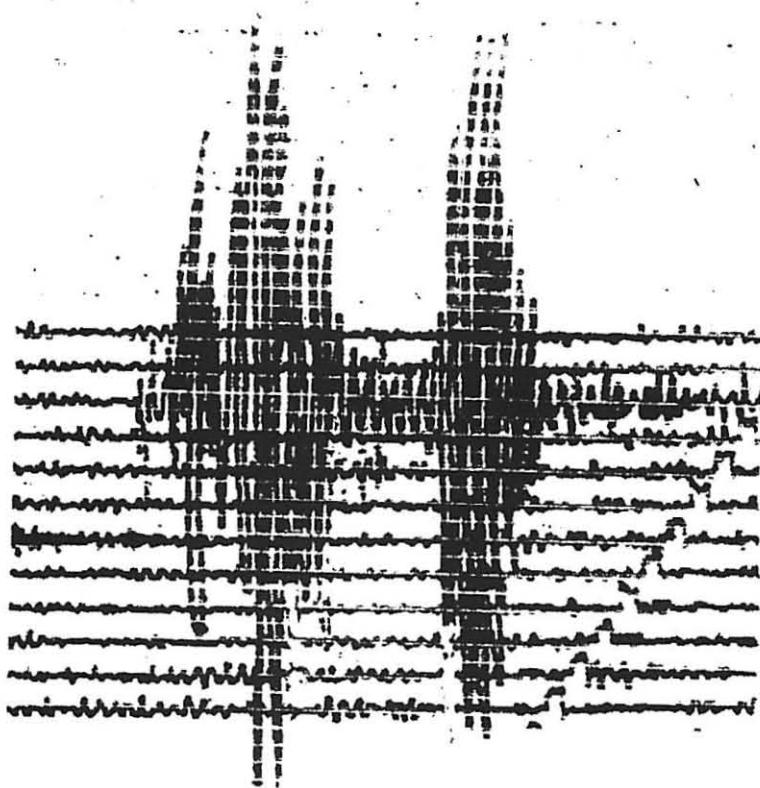
Comparative Seismograms—April 19 and May 23, 1995, Oklahoma
Geological Survey



Comparative Seismograms—April 19 and May 23, 1995,
Omniplex Museum



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**Rough Sketch of
Omniplex Museum Recording
OKC Explosion**

**Dr. Raymon L. Brown, Rough Sketch of
Omniplex Museum Recording, OKC Explosion**