

CRIME BILL -- DOLLARS FOR ARIZONA, 1995 - 2000
(Revised 8/22/94)

LAW ENFORCEMENT

- * **100,000 POLICE** -- Guaranteed minimum of \$44 million -- more than 500 police officers at \$75,000 per officer.
 - ** Given Arizona's share of the population and the additional \$6.5 billion in discretionary dollars, Arizona should expect a total of about \$144 million over the next 6 years.
 - ** Of the total, up to 85% can be used to hire about 1,600 police officers. At least 15% -- \$22 million -- can be used to help pay the training, overtime and administrative costs of implementing community policing in Arizona.
- * **PRISONS & BOOT CAMPS** -- \$58 million for prison grants, including military-style boot camp prisons. An additional estimated \$58 million is possible if Arizona meets the "Truth in Sentencing" target of second-time violent offenders serving 85% of their sentences.
- * **BYRNE ENFORCEMENT GRANTS** -- \$1 billion in the Trust Fund will help continue full funding for these grants, including Arizona's \$6.4 million annual share.
- * **RURAL LAW ENFORCEMENT GRANTS** -- \$6.5 million for drug and crime enforcement in Arizona's rural areas.
- * **DISCRETIONARY GRANTS** -- Arizona's law enforcement agencies and courts may apply for:
 - ** \$1,000,000,000 -- Drug Court programs (treatment backed up by drug testing and certain punishment for non-violent offenders currently on probation.) Estimated \$15 million for Arizona -- enough for about 7,300 offenders over six years.
 - ** \$320,000,000 -- Criminal record systems (Brady Law), communications equipment, and DNA testing; and
 - ** \$200,000,000 -- Judges, prosecutors and public defenders (estimated \$3 million for Arizona).

PREVENTION PROGRAMS

- * **LOCAL PARTNERSHIP ACT** -- \$24 million in direct grants to cities and towns in Arizona. Wide discretion permits local governments to use the dollars for education, drug treatment, and jobs programs.
- * **VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT** -- \$11 million in grants for police, prosecutors and victims services; \$5 million in grants for shelters for battered women and their children; and Arizona can apply for a share of \$500 million in several discretionary programs.
- * **AFTERSCHOOL AND IN-SCHOOL "SAFE HAVENS" FOR AT-RISK CHILDREN** -- \$15 million for non-profit, community-based organizations in Arizona.
- * **DRUG TREATMENT IN PRISONS** -- \$5.6 million to treat up to an estimated 5,100 drug-addicted prisoners in Arizona prisons over the next 6 years.
- * **LOCAL CRIME PREVENTION BLOCK GRANT** -- \$5.3 million in direct grants to cities and towns for various programs, including:
 - ** **ANTI-GANG GRANTS** -- to give young people positive alternatives to gangs, such as academic and athletic after-school activities, mentoring programs and scout troops.
 - ** **MIDNIGHT SPORTS LEAGUES** -- to give at-risk youth nightly alternatives to the streets, and for the U.S. Olympic Committee to develop supervised sports and recreation programs in high-crime areas.
 - ** **BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS** -- to establish clubs in low-income housing communities, and to encourage police officers to live in those communities.
 - ** **TRIAD** -- for partnerships between senior citizens groups, police chiefs and sheriffs to combat crimes against elderly Americans.
 - ** **POLICE PARTNERSHIPS FOR CHILDREN** -- for partnerships between law enforcement and social service agencies to fight crimes against children, and for the creation of youth councils to combat crime.
 - ** **VISITATION CENTERS** -- for supervised centers for divorced or separated parents to visit their children in "safe havens" when there is a history or risk of physical or sexual abuse.

- ** YOUTH DEVELOPMENT CENTERS -- to develop more effective education, training, research, prevention, diversion, treatment and rehabilitation programs for violent juveniles, including alternatives to school suspension and juvenile court diversion.**
- ** SAFE SENIORS CORRIDORS -- to provide older Americans with enhanced protection from crime by increasing police presence and crime prevention activities by community groups.**
- ** HOPE IN YOUTH -- to create Family Outreach Teams composed of youth, parents and school-parent organizers for mentoring, community organizing and peer counseling.**

*** DISCRETIONARY GRANTS -- State agencies and non-profit organizations may apply for a share of:**

- ** MODEL INTENSIVE GRANTS -- \$626 million for intensive, comprehensive and flexible aid to areas, urban and rural, hardest hit by crime and violence.**
- ** NATIONAL COMMUNITY ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP -- \$270 million to extend lines of credit of up to \$2 million to community development corporations to provide small, low-interest loans to businesses in low-income neighborhoods.**
- ** GANG RESISTANCE EDUCATION AND TRAINING ("GREAT") -- \$45 million for school-based programs to teach children to resist peer pressure and understand the negative impact of gangs and drugs.**
- ** URBAN RECREATION AND AT-RISK YOUTH -- \$4.5 million to expand recreational facilities in high-crime areas.**

A shot in the dark against crime

DAILY NEWS
Thursday, August 18, 1994

ONE DAY LAST WEEK week the country woke up and suddenly "midnight basketball" had become a sneaky, liberal trick to subvert the real fight against crime.

"When people dial 911, they want a policeman," quipped Georgia's tough-talking Republican congressman Newt Gingrich, "They don't want a social worker."

To Gingrich and a slew of congressmen who deftly stuffed Bill Clinton in midair last week by defeating his \$33 billion crime bill, all these pork-barrel social programs have no place in this tougher, meaner war against crime.

But ask Dale Larsen about midnight basketball. He's one of the handful of

people in this country who have the facts.

Larsen is assistant director of the Department of Parks, Recreation and Li-



JUAN GONZALEZ

brary in Phoenix, a city of one million people that a few years ago had an epidemic of gang violence and drive-by shootings almost as bad as the one in Los Angeles.

Four summers ago, Phoenix started night recreation programs in its worst neighborhoods, including basketball leagues that ended at midnight. The city did it with a mere \$80,000 from the State Supreme Court. But the state grant also required the city to study how the program affected the juvenile crime rate.

"Right away we saw a significant reduction in crime calls to police in the areas where we had our programs," Larsen said. "At first, it varied from a 10 to 15% drop." As soon as summer ended and the programs closed, crime calls increased.

Then last year, with 170,000 youths

See **GONZALEZ** Page 32

GONZALEZ FROM PAGE SIX

utilizing the expanded recreation program, summer crime reports in the targeted neighborhoods plummeted 53%.

Instead of cutting back on recreation — as our city does virtually every year — Phoenix scoured around for more money and quadrupled the size of its night programs. At the same time, officials started a controversial nighttime curfew.

"If you have to go home from the centers after curfew," Larsen said, "we give you a pass so police won't pick you up."

Any curfew violators stopped by police are taken to special recreation centers that remain open until 5 a.m. There, teenagers are processed not by a cop but by recreation personnel. The teens must stay in the centers, either participating in sports or sitting around, until a parent or a relative picks them up.

Two weeks ago, the mayor of Phoenix announced a 43% drop in juvenile crime for the entire city. Now the recreation program is being expanded

into the winter.

"We estimate that it costs us about 50 cents to a dollar per young person to run these programs for the summer," Larsen said. "That's pretty cheap insurance when you think how effective it's been."

The Big Apple has had a limited midnight basketball program in some neighborhoods for years, but nobody in know-it-all New York ever thought to study its effect on crime.

The pressure has mounted on Bill Clinton to cave in to shrill conservatives and slash those programs from the crime bill.

THOSE WHO scream "pork barrel" the loudest will be the first to ask for a new prison in their district, since jail guard jobs long ago became the growth industry of conservative rural America.

Today and tomorrow, Bill Clinton will show us whether he has any courage left to stand up for the proven fact that fighting crime is not just about more cops and more jails.



DATE: 5/26/95
PAGE: 7A

Arizona sheriff walking tall, but some don't like his style

By Carol J. Castaneda
USA TODAY

PHOENIX — Joe Arpaio is strolling among jail inmates in the hot desert sun, scattering gravel and kicking up dirt while being trailed by a British TV crew.

"Hey, it's the Joe Arpaio Show," shouts a prisoner.

Maricopa County inmates are used to TV crews. Dozens have come here from all over the world to see the tough-talking sheriff who sent 1,000 prisoners to live in the desert in tents, and is about to charge them \$3 to visit a nurse.

"I'm not running a hotel or a country club," Arpaio, (pronounced ar-PIE-oh) says proudly. This weekend, he's following Alabama's lead and reviving the use of chain gangs.

"I'm making them go out and work," says Arpaio, 62. "Chains are just a security to make sure they don't escape."

Arpaio's controversial programs — including a 2,300-member posse of armed citizens — have become a modern legend, giving him a national reputation that is condemned by some and applauded by others.

In a speech to the National

Rifle Association in Phoenix last weekend, GOP presidential contender Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas praised Arpaio, saying: "We are in the county of the greatest sheriff in America."

He went on to say the nation could use a man like Arpaio to run the federal prison system.

"He's a sheriff that experiments, does new and innovative things," says Bud Meeks, executive director of the National Sheriffs' Association.

Perhaps nothing stands out more in Maricopa County — where more than half of Arizona lives — than Arpaio's tent city and volunteer posse of doctors, lawyers, security guards, retirees and others.

Even Arizona Gov. Fife Sy-

mington has joined the group. "The governor thinks Arpaio is a great sheriff," says spokesman Doug Cole. "He runs one of the largest jail systems in this country in a very frugal fashion."

But some critics, like Louis Rhodes of the state American Civil Liberties Union, say Arpaio has a fairy-tale view of fighting crime.

"He's creating an armed Disneyland ... with potentially dangerous consequences," says Rhodes. "You have people who could end up shooting and killing someone."

Asked what one of his more recent posse members — a 103-year-old blind woman — could do to protect the public, Arpaio says with a steely glaze: "I'm going to put her on Van Buren Street (to crack down on) the prostitutes."

That's the kind of off-the-cuff remark typical of the 30-year law enforcement veteran who spent most of his career with the federal Drug Enforcement Administration.

Faced with a crowded jail — 1,900 over the capacity of 3,900 — Arpaio decided in 1993 to erect 42 tents in a dusty area of Phoenix because the county didn't have \$41 million to build

a new jail. Twenty-five more tents went up recently.

While there have been other unusual jail sites, such as a barge in New York that once housed prisoners, and prison tents in Texas, Arpaio's tent city is still the buzz nationwide.

"It's a lovely place if you want a taste of hell on Earth," says Michael King, 39, in jail for marijuana possession. "I've lost 13 pounds."

Summer temperatures here soar above 100 degrees, winter lows drop into the 30s, and the wind is always blowing.

"There's always dirt in your bed," says Steven Baldridge, 24, convicted of drug possession. "My eyes are gritty by the time I go to bed."

In keeping with a growing nationwide trend, Arpaio has removed many of the niceties of jail. "If you don't like the place, don't come here," he tells inmates.

He eliminated cigarettes and coffee; and when an inmate sued over the coffee, a judge threw the case out.

He swapped hot lunches for bologna sandwiches. "Some of the meat is kind of green," says inmate Robert Johnson as he sits on the concrete floor of his tent. "They got to go."

But Arpaio says the meat passes health standards, so what more do inmates want?

He saves on a barber by making inmates cut hair. And when a prisoner coughs and wants to see a nurse, Arpaio will start charging \$3 in July.

He has also put an end to violent TV shows, switching the channels to *Lassie* and *Donald Duck*. The inmates liked *Old Yeller*, Arpaio says in a dead-

pan delivery, but then "that's where they killed the dog."

The latest change in the jail? Newt Gingrich videos.

Arpaio bought the Republican House speaker's 10-part, \$150 video series so inmates

could learn about government.

Gingrich videos aside, Arpaio says he saves the county \$8 million to \$10 million a year by using volunteer posse members who work for free and pay for their own uniforms and guns.

"I don't know where he gets that number," says Tom Rawles, chairman of the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors. "I've never seen any evidence that would suggest his budgets had been \$8 to \$10 million more in the past."

In an unusual move last year, Arpaio sued and lost when county supervisors cut \$6.3 million from his budget.

He currently has \$68 million.

Reaction from Arpaio's peers has been mixed.

Dave Pettinari of the Pueblo County, Colo., Sheriff's Department says Arpaio "makes the best of a worse situation."

But he is concerned about the tent poles being turned into weapons, and the fact that six to eight officers guard the 1,000 tent inmates. In the Pueblo County jail, there are two officers per 100 inmates.

Sheriff Ken Ramsey of Kane County, Ill., who visited Arpaio's tents recently, says: "I think we should be as tough as we can. I'm fed up with a lot of mollycoddling of inmates."

Judge Laments 'Life' Terms for 3 D.C. Officers

By Toni Locy

Washington Post Staff Writer

A federal judge said yesterday that he has no choice but to impose what will amount to life sentences on three D.C. police officers who accepted \$2,000 bribes in an FBI sting, although he considers the penalty "horrific," "unfair" and "tragic."

Each of the officers, convicted in November of taking money from an undercover FBI agent to escort cocaine shipments out of the city, faces 49 to 55 years in prison without the possibility of parole.

Shaking his head repeatedly during an hour-long explanation of his decision, U.S. District Judge Thomas F. Hogan said federal sentencing guidelines require him to impose the terms on former officers John C. Harmon, 26, Troy Taylor, 26, and Dwayne Washington, 29. Sentencing is scheduled for June 21.

"The court makes these findings with reluctance and regret, because it does not believe that the sentencing range equates with the wrongness of the defendants' actions," Hogan said as the officers' relatives listened impassively. "That's a terrible consequence for a \$2,000 bribe."

Before their trial last fall, the three defendants were urged by Hogan to accept plea bargains, as did nine other officers caught in the sting, and were warned about the consequences of the sentencing guidelines if they were convicted.

Hogan, who was appointed to the bench by President Ronald Reagan, criticized the sentencing guidelines and mandatory minimum sentences, saying they limited a judge's discretion. He also questioned prosecutors' decision to add weapon charges to drug and bribery charges against the three defendants after they refused to plea-bargain, in effect doubling the prison time they faced.

During a hearing last week on legal technicalities, Hogan noted that the average sentence served for murder in the United States is only seven years. He said he had spent a week trying to justify departing from the guidelines and regretted that he could not.

"It seems to this court that the sentence it must impose on these defendants is an unfair sentence but not illegal," the judge said. "I cannot find on the record that the sentences—while in the court's opinion . . . overly harsh, overly long and tragic . . . for the defendants, the community and their families—are grossly unconstitutional."

Defense attorneys vowed to appeal. "It's an absolute death sentence," said Steven Kiersh, Washington's attorney.

Kiersh and attorneys Patrick Donahue and Stanley J. Reed, representing Taylor and Harmon, respectively, tried to convince Hogan that he could depart from the sentencing guidelines because, among other reasons, the terms would be "cruel and unusual" under the Eighth Amendment.

They also argued that the government had manipulated the potential sentence by adding two charges against the defendants for bringing

their police-issued handguns to a Dec. 14, 1993, meeting arranged by the FBI. D.C. police officers are required to carry their weapons at all times.

Hogan said he, too, was troubled by the prosecutors' decision. But he said he could not find that the government's conduct was "outrageous" and did not want to intrude on prosecutorial discretion. He said he assumed that the decision was meant "to send a message to the community, but it seems to me to be awfully harsh."

Kevin A. Ohlson, a spokesman for the U.S. attorney's office, would not comment on the judge's criticism.

The three defendants were among 12 police officers who were arrested at the December meeting at a downtown hotel, part of their participation in a drug organization concocted by the FBI. In the sting, known as Operation Broken Faith, officers accepted payments of \$2,000 for escorting drug couriers—undercover FBI agents—as they drove from a house in Northwest Washington to the Capital Beltway.

Nine of the officers accepted plea bargains. Taylor, Washington and Harmon refused, and the gun charges were added. Shortly before the three men went on trial, Hogan asked prosecutors Steven Pelak and Carol Fortune to make new plea offers and urged the three defendants to accept, at a risk of no more than 10 years each in prison.

Now they will serve more time than will the ringleaders, three officers who joined the phony drug ring and then recruited fellow officers into it. Two of them have been sentenced so far, each to 20 years in prison.

Godfather of Arizona's Militiamen

■ **Personality:** The Oklahoma City bombing puts Jack Oliphant, an ex-con and survivalist, back in the limelight.

By TONY PERRY
TIMES STAFF WRITER

KINGMAN, Ariz.—Jack Maxwell Oliphant, who hates people of color, Israel, politicians of any party, informers, the Federal Reserve Board, the federal government, the court and monetary systems, and agents of the FBI, IRS, and ATF, swerves his truck on a rutted road leading to his mountain hideaway to miss a rattlesnake.

Oliphant, a survivalist and spiritual godfather of the Arizona militia movement, likes rattlesnakes.

He points out to a visitor who has ventured to his tiny compound in the desert outback 50 miles from Kingman that the slow-moving snake is a female, probably waiting to unload a litter of baby rattlesnakes judging from the bulge in its belly.

He admires rattlers because they eat rats. He will only kill them if they slither too close to the living space he shares with his wife and assorted animals, including a pit bull named Eric the Awful and a redheaded parrot named Pete, who knows several abusive phrases.

These are heady times for Oliphant, 70, a man of intense passions and odious social views, who once served time for plotting to blow up federal buildings, dams and synagogues with homemade bombs. The Oklahoma City tragedy has brought him at least a momentary reprise of the notoriety he once enjoyed as one of this tempestuous state's leading anti-government firebrands.

If nothing else, it is an eerie coincidence that accused terrorist Timothy J. McVeigh, free to roam the entire country, spent the months before the Oklahoma City bombing living in this remote part of America, not all that far from the enigmatic Oliphant.

Oliphant is, by turns, outrageous and gracious, laughing the laugh of the old codger, then saying something ominous about how easy it is to make bombs much deadlier than the one that pulverized the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. He likes to be called colonel.

"Oh, I see you've come to see the most dangerous man in America," he laughs, showing off the tiny gold post that substitutes for a front tooth. "I'm a real badass."

Twice since the Oklahoma blast, FBI agents have summoned Oliphant to question him about his provocative statements and about what, if anything, he may know of McVeigh. He has gone willingly, although he admits to playing a cat-and-mouse game with the hated feds, sometimes refusing to tell all, sometimes hinting that he knows more than he does.

"We've talked to you so many times, you should have us out to your ranch for a barbecue," cracked an FBI agent when Oliphant arrived Thursday at the National Guard Armory in Kingman to talk to an FBI agent from the domestic terrorism unit.

The federal government says Oliphant was a key member of the Arizona Patriots, the group that was supported by former television star Ty Hardin (of the Western series "Bronco"). The Arizona Patriots were a forerunner to similar local militias that are now coming under scrutiny nationwide in light of the Oklahoma City bombing and the anti-government views held by McVeigh and co-defendant Terry L. Nichols, both of whom found succor for their views while on the fringes of the Michigan Militia.

Oliphant was once one of the most vitriolic members of the "patriot movement," roaming the country preaching that Americans should be prepared to take up arms against their own government to preserve their liberty, peppering his speeches with his own apocalyptic interpretation of the Bible and the inevitability of a race war.

Then he went to federal prison in 1986 as the leader of a ragtag band of so-called Arizona Patriots who allegedly conspired to rob a Brink's truck loaded with cash from the casinos at Laughlin, Nev.

The government, after an 18-month undercover operation, claimed that Oliphant and the others planned to use the expected \$10-million booty to set up a training ground on Oliphant's remote property for recruits from the white supremacist group Identity Movement and then begin a full-scale assault on the U.S. government.

The group was caught on videotape talking about making bombs and blowing up federal buildings and other structures in California, Arizona and Utah.

Oliphant maintains that he was entrapped by an FBI agent provocateur in a government attempt to silence his political views. He said he pleaded guilty to keep the government from slapping a charge on his wife.

After nearly four years in prison, Oliphant was paroled in late 1989 and returned to his Hephzibah Ranch near what, ironically enough, is called Penitentiary Mountain. Hephzibah comes from Isaiah 61:4: "Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken; neither shall thy land any more be termed Desolate; but thou shalt be called Hephzibah ... for the Lord delighted in thee."

He and his wife, Margo, 63, survive on Social Security checks and disability payments from Oliphant's service in the Army during World War II.

In what he says has been an attempt to drive the FBI crazy, Oliphant has more or less shunned public view since his parole, made few provocative statements, and says he has taken no role in the militia movement.

But when it turned out that McVeigh lived in Kingman, and that McVeigh and Oliphant both had boxes at the Mail Room mail drop, federal eyes again were scanning for Oliphant. He was one of the first people interviewed when the FBI brought several dozen agents to Kingman.

"I'll tell you just what I told the FBI," the raspy-voiced Oliphant said in an interview. "I didn't know McVeigh, and if I had, and if I had known what he was planning, I'd have stopped him."

"The bastard has put the patriot movement back 30 years by blowing up a building with people inside. If he'd blown up a federal building at night, he'd be a hero, but not this way."

On Thursday the FBI again summoned Oliphant to its command post in Kingman

for an interview, via a note left for him at the Mail Room. Oliphant said agents were disturbed by some comments he made about being willing to start shooting rather than ever submit to another arrest, comments he does not disavow.

Advanced age and renewed scrutiny by the FBI have done nothing to convince Oliphant to muffle his opinions. He is a virtual mother lode of bigotry and bizarre theories, including this one: The government implanted a mind-controlling computer chip in McVeigh's rump that caused him, like a latter-day "Manchurian candidate," to blow up the Murrah building to discredit the patriot movement.

"Don't get me wrong," said Oliphant, who broke his back in World War II and then accidentally blew off his right arm in the

Cochran Files Class Action On Okla. Blast

In suing fertilizer maker, he
beats others to the punch.

BY KAREN DONOVAN
NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL STAFF REPORTER

MEMBERS OF the plaintiffs bar are wondering how Johnnie L. Cochran Jr., immersed in O.J. Simpson's defense, managed to file the first class action for victims of the Oklahoma blast.

The May 10 products liability suit targeted a fertilizer manufacturer for its alleged failure to neutralize the ammonium nitrate used to make the bomb. Just a week before, John P. Coale Jr., of Washington, D.C.'s Coale, Allen & Van Susteren, had told the NLJ that a team of high-powered plaintiffs' lawyers was considering a suit against the fertilizer industry. He said he had planned to send victims a "low-key letter" rather than rush to the site. [NLJ, May 15.]

How did Johnnie Cochran beat Mr. Coale—known as a master of mass-disaster tort claims—to the punch?

The answer may be found in the old adage: It's not what you know, but who you know. Says Mr. Cochran's co-counsel, John M. Merritt of Merritt & Rooney Inc., an Oklahoma City personal-injury firm of three lawyers, "I know Mr. Cochran through a mutual friend." Mr. Merritt declined to identify the friend. He said calls from potential clients started pouring into his office once news broke that the industry may have opposed efforts to render fertilizer inert. Before taking the case, Mr. Merritt called Mr. Cochran.

"He was very excited," Mr. Merritt said of the conversation. "Here was something that could be done for the victims, but also save some future lives."

Mr. Cochran couldn't be reached.

Plaintiffs' lawyers said they were surprised at Mr. Merritt's choice. "It's a little goofy," said Mr. Coale. He also had some advice for the Los Angeles lawyer. "I don't know if Johnnie knows how expensive these things are," he said, estimating a \$1 million tab. "It's not like a criminal case, where you get paid up front."

Mr. Coale, who's involved in a tobacco class action, hasn't yet decided whether to commit to the blast litigation. But he said Mr. Merritt could use help: "He's got an awfully big case for a firm like that, even with Johnnie Cochran."

Meanwhile, Mr. Merritt said the case would not come to trial for years, presumably long after a Simpson verdict. ■

mid-1980s when he reached for a shotgun in a skirmish over a gold mine. "I love my country and have shed many a tear for it many times. It's just the government I hate, and there are 30 million Americans just like me."

Arizona proved to be fertile ground for Oliphant's incendiary views when he and Margo moved here from Florida in 1976 and began publishing the Hephzibah Newsletter. This is a state where a spirit of antagonism toward the federal government is as unforgiving as the summer sun.

"This country is like America was once: free and open," Oliphant said. "I feel safe here. If they [federal agents] ever come to get me again, they'll get me, but I'll take several of them out in the process."

A former Arizona police officer has a talk show on shortwave radio in the eastern region of the state five nights a week to spread the patriot movement alarms. Former Gov. Evan Mecham, ousted from office in scandal, is frequently a guest.

James (Bo) Gritz, the former Army officer who is building an Idaho compound for "Christian patriots," remains a popular figure here. Rumors that paramilitary groups are training secretly in remote canyons and desert hideaways are as plentiful as cactus flowers in the spring.

Only last week, two men from Snowflake, Ariz., were arrested after allegedly selling two dozen hand grenades and some booby-trap tripwires to an undercover agent from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. The two allegedly told the agent that the grenades were part of a cache being manufactured by the Arizona Patriots.

"Radical, anti-government talk is a part of Arizona, always has been," said one law enforcement official. "Oliphant is a patron saint to people who feel that way. We think he's harmless these days, but who knows?"

The Oliphants, married for 27 years, live in a tiny trailer without a telephone or most other modern conveniences, but with a family of eagles nesting high atop a nearby tree and a live-and-let-live cougar not far away. They read political tracts and keep a full collection of Louis L'Amour novels.

As an ex-felon, Oliphant is prohibited from owning a firearm. Not so his wife. "I'm not an ex-felon," said Margo, "and I know how to use a shotgun."

When Oliphant first moved to Arizona, he ran a Christian-oriented camp near Wickensburg for teen-agers with drug and behavior problems. There was a controversy over whether Oliphant was exploiting the teen-agers by putting them to work, and the camp closed.

The couple owns 320 acres north of Highway 93. A trip to the trailer is an hourlong, 20-mile trek along unmarked, gravel-strewn roads, past four gates, past wandering range cattle, up and down red-clay gullies, over several streams—a spine-jarring journey even in a four-wheel drive vehicle.

Oliphant is hard to pin down on just what he knows about the current boom in the nationwide militia movement. He said he has nothing to do anymore with the Arizona militia or the patriot movement.

"McVeigh wasn't really a part of any militia or I would have known about it," he said.

Oliphant is asked whether that statement contradicts his early insistence that he has divorced himself from his previous compatriots in the movement?

He just smiled, that gold post showing again.

THE MAKING OF A MILITIAMAN

One Recruit's Simple Formula: Guns, Guts & God

By Phil McCombs
Washington Post Staff Writer

The man in the woods is firing a pistol at a plastic milk container. *Phut. Phut. Phut.* The container staggers uphill, drunkenly, ragged with holes. The man, David S. Lavery, is a 33-year-old roofer who has started a small militia here in rural Perry County, two hours north of Washington and just a rifle shot across the river to the state capital at Harrisburg.

Clad in camouflage battle dress, Lavery pumps rounds into the milk container with his 9mm Glock. *Phut. Phut.* "I'm in my element," he confides. "You can't beat the old Glock. Cheap. Reliable. And slings lead downrange pretty good." Nearby, leaning against a rear tire of his battered pickup, is his beloved assault rifle—a \$2,500 semi-automatic Heckler and Koch that puts out a 5.56mm high-velocity military round. "I'm not into machine guns," he says. "I played with machine guns enough in the Army. They're inaccurate. What you need is something that can handle a sustained rate of fire."

Which may be required, Lavery thinks, soon.

"The Birchers never got anywhere," he says. "The Populist Party fizzled out. They can ignore almost everything, but they can't ignore you when you've got a gun in your hand."

Would he actually shoot someone?

"I've never shot anybody," he says. "But what kind of infantryman would I be if I didn't feel I could close with and destroy enemy weapons and personnel? Wouldn't you? What kind of man wouldn't?"

He's also brought along some fake-parchment copies of the Declaration of Independence and the

Constitution, and a 1961 State Department disarmament pamphlet called "Freedom From War."

This last he brandishes heatedly. "Tell me there's no conspiracy," he declares. "They're lying! Here's the proof!"

Suddenly his 5-year-old son, Patton York Lavery, leaps from the cab of the pickup where his father put him for safety.

"Dad," Patton York cries out brightly, "can I shoot that big gun?"

The great tumultuous paranoid fantasy life of the American politico-historical imagination has seldom found more fertile ground than at present, as private armies crop up across the land, fueled by nameless fears of international bankers, marauding U.N. troops, federal concentration camps, food shortages and imminent financial collapse, and by the gritty rugged individualistic self-reliant city-slicker-hating cussed streak lurking in the American soul saying, *Don't Tread on Me* or I'll blow your ass away.

We're a nation of revolutionaries, after all—or were, anyway—so how surprising is it when the woodlands yield up curious specimens like Lavery eager to take a stand against perceived threats to God, country and family? Another question entirely, of course, is the degree to which he's patriotic or merely flipped out—or some combination.

"I'm not an intellectual," Lavery concedes. "I'm a working-class guy, but I think the simple man understands things better than the, quotes, educated man. . . . It's a do-or-die situation right now. It's a \$4.7 trillion deficit, and at a bare minimum this country is in for a big drop in their standard of living. Now's the time to stand up, [or] they're going to turn us into a total police state."

He blurts this within a few minutes of meeting a reporter at the Hardee's on State Road, the main drag through this village. He's been using the restaurant as a headquarters since last fall, when he first got the militia idea while watching Mark Koernke's video, "America in Peril." Lavery began forming what is now a "core" group of about a dozen supposed guerrillas.

Lavery is a friendly, energetic man of medium build, with spiky dark hair and a brown mustache. His T-shirt and bluejeans are smudged from a repair job he's doing on a row house over in Harrisburg. He can be charming

Date: 04/24/95 Time: 13:49

Gang Violence Reaches Nation's Largest Indian Reservation

FORT DEFIANCE, Ariz. (AP) Beneath the red rock spires and ponderosa pines of the Navajo Nation, a scourge of urban America is leaving its mark in the spray-painted insignia of gangs.

Here on the nation's largest Indian reservation, young men in baggy pants and bandanas strike a discordant note amid awe-inspiring canyons and cattle grazing quietly under clear skies.

More than 200 miles from the nearest big city, gangs are being blamed for an increase in beatings, stabbings, drug trafficking and killings.

"I beat up a couple of Dragons stabbed a few," said a 19-year-old Navajo who calls himself G Money.

The young man, dressed in black with a bandana on his head, speaks unabashedly of his activities in the Insane Young Cobra Nation.

He said he's never killed anyone but claims to have come close once and he's willing to try again.

"I'll shoot any Dragon," he said during a break from a family volleyball game recently, black eyes steely in his roly-poly face.

The Dragons are a rival group in Fort Defiance, about seven miles north of the tribal capital of Window Rock in northeastern Arizona. Their spray-painted trademarks compete with those of the Cobras on concrete bridges, red cliff faces and the abandoned shell of a house within yards of G Money's ramshackle home.

Navajo police said gang activity among the reservation's 160,000 residents has escalated far beyond vandalism since the problem surfaced five years ago with a rash of beatings in middle school bathrooms.

"It wasn't really fights, it was just initiation rites in the bathrooms," Capt. Francis Bradley said.

Next came colors, which identify members with their gangs, graffiti and beatings.

Police suspect six murders in the Window Rock area last year were gang-related and they have seen the beginnings of turf wars, drive-by shootings, drug trafficking and retaliatory killings.

A 14-year-old boy who committed suicide last year apparently did so because he was being pressured to join a gang, said Bill Smith, principal of Window Rock High School in Fort Defiance.

The violence contradicts the traditions of the Navajo, who long ago were warriors before turning to the peaceful pursuits of sheepherding, silversmithing and weaving learned from their Pueblo neighbors.

The gang culture now threatens to overshadow the family loyalty prized by traditional Navajo, Smith said.

"More and more families are being affected by the fighting," Smith said. "It's really amazing when you talk to a kid and they say, 'Yeah, it's my cousin and I beat up on him and I feel bad about it,' but they do."

Young people on the reservation, like those elsewhere, often join gangs out of a need for group identity. Navajo officials view the trend as tragedy in a tribe with a proud cultural identity of its own.

"They're searching for where they belong," said tribal President Albert Hale Jr. "They don't realize they also belong to the Navajo Nation."

The pressure to straddle two worlds the Navajo and the American pop culture imported through TV and tourism leaves teen-agers vulnerable.

PROFILE

Arizona Sheriff Sticks to His Guns

Lawman makes a name for himself by attacking Brady law and backing militia groups. His words find favor at home.

By LEO W. BANKS
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

SAFFORD, Ariz.—Richard Mack, the sheriff of Graham County, Ariz., spent his lunch hour one day last week at a Mexican restaurant in this tiny town, trying to eat while a parade of friends stopped to shake hands and say hello. Everyone called him Richie.

Later that night, Mack was on CNN explaining to a nationwide television audience his views on citizen militias, the federal government and the bombing in Oklahoma City.

The contrast couldn't have been more stark. In one setting, Mack is an easygoing rural sheriff in the Andy Taylor mold; in another, he's a constitutional zealot worried that "the Clinton regime" will create a police state that usurps America's freedom. "Are we talking about establishing a Gestapo in America?" asked Mack.

In an interview in his Safford office, he called the Internal Revenue Service a "terrorist threat" to Americans and strongly denounced the federal raid that ended in a deadly fire at the Branch Davidian cult compound near Waco, Tex., two years ago.

Most of all, he said, he fears Washington politicians will exploit what happened in Oklahoma City to grant the government more power over citizens.

"Waco and Oklahoma have scared me to death, and I mourn for the babies and others killed in both places," said Mack, whose father was an FBI agent. "But what scares me even more is that we will become so emotional that we'll search for a quick fix that destroys the freedoms our Founding Fathers fought for."

It's not the first time the top

cop in this remote eastern Arizona farming county has found himself in the national spotlight. Last year, he became the first law officer to sue to overturn the Brady gun-control law.

And he won a partial victory when a federal judge ruled last June that Congress had exceeded its authority under the 10th Amendment and couldn't require police and sheriff's departments to perform background checks on gun buyers.

Since then, he has done 150 radio interviews, appeared on the "Donahue" TV talk show, received more than 4,000 letters and autographed hundreds of T-shirts depicting a Minuteman and the words, "What part of infringed don't you understand?"

Mack, a 42-year-old father of five, devout Mormon and author of a book titled "From My Cold Dead Fingers: Why America Needs Guns," is not an easy man to characterize.

As a senior at Safford High School in 1971, he was named male drama student of the year and athlete of the year for his football heroics.

He is adamant that citizens have the right to bear arms, but he didn't own his first gun until 1988, the year he was elected sheriff of Graham County.

Mack also is a talented singer who played Capt. von Trapp in a local theater production of "The Sound of Music." One Arizona newspaper called him a renaissance redneck.

"I guess I'm not the typical pot-bellied, cigar-smoking redneck sheriff," said Mack, whose first job in law enforcement was as a parking meter reader in Provo, Utah. But the same man who describes firing assault weapons as a "hoot" also says he believes that federal agents might be following him.

Two months after the Brady lawsuit, Mack says he and his family were in Mesa, Ariz., shopping for school supplies when he noticed a man who kept turning up near them. Four hours later, the same man practically bumped into the Macks in a mall

on the opposite end of Maricopa County. He said the man looked at him sheepishly and took off.

Mack believes it was a tail. He says a lot of strange things have happened to him since the suit.

He also says he's received a credible report that his phone was tapped. Although he's convinced the federal government is "absolutely capable" of exacting revenge in that manner, he never bothered to investigate.

To some, Mack's comments place him in the paranoid extreme, a world inhabited by government conspirators and U.N. soldiers come to disarm Americans. But to a growing number of Westerners whose distrust of government has a long pedigree, he's the sheriff on a white horse.

"He's a hero in the West because he was the first to stand up against the Brady Bill," says Guy Baier, an executive with People for the West, a group that advocates multiple uses of public land.

"If you want to find a Western sheriff who stands for law-and-order and my rights, it's him. He's a Gary Cooper-type, a real solid character."

Mack's concern now is that those who would limit the freedom to own a gun are using the Oklahoma bombing to advance an agenda of gun control. He calls that "despicable," saying the two are unrelated.

But Dennis Henigan, general counsel for Handgun Control Inc. in Washington, says militia groups rose to prominence because of gun-control laws, such as the recently enacted ban on some assault weapons.

"They believe they need to match the government's firepower," Henigan said.

Citizens rising against a tyrannical government is how the country was founded, said Mack, who believes that it is wrong to demonize all citizen militias. "Paul Revere was part of a militia," he pointed out.

In his own county, he has formed a citizen posse that can respond, armed, at his call to help capture criminals and aid in nat-



DATE: 5.2.95
PAGE: 3A

MEGAN'S LAW: Only 910 of New Jersey's estimated 4,000 released sex offenders have refused to comply with Megan's Law, according to court papers filed ahead of today's state Supreme Court hearing on the legality of the measure. The law, which requires sex offenders to register with local authorities, is named for Megan Kanka, 7, who was raped and slain. A released sex offender is charged.

ural disasters. But Mack said he might have to summon his posse in a fight taking place between two federal agencies and Graham County supervisors.

For eight months the county has been trying to get the go-ahead from the Army Corps of Engineers to reopen the flood-damaged Solomon Bridge over the Gila River. The work has been delayed by the Fish & Wildlife Service, which is concerned about the endangered razorback sucker.

Frustrated Graham County supervisors voted to go ahead with the repairs, in clear violation of federal law. The six-day work project began April 21, and federal officials have thus far made no effort to stop it.

"I would use the posse and every officer in my department if they tried to arrest county officials," Mack said. He believes such resistance would be comparable to civil rights heroine Rosa Parks' refusal 40 years ago to obey the law and move to the back of a city bus in Montgomery, Ala.

Graham County Manager Joe Carter says he hopes the dispute doesn't boil over, but he's confident Mack will back him if it does. "We know we can count on Richie."

The New York Times

DATE: 5-2-95

PAGE: A1

Opium Finding Its Silk Road In the Chaos of Central Asia

By MICHAEL SPECTER

OSH, Kyrgyzstan — Compared with the mysterious bazaars that brought wealth to this Central Asian region more than 2,000 years ago, when exotic spices and precious bales of silk were ferried on the backs of camels, the market here seems pretty tame.

Old men sell sugar from the trunks of rusted cars. Women gather bread in the folds of their skirts, and the smells of grilled lamb fill the air. But something else is going on here in southern Kyrgyzstan these days, something communicated mostly in quick nods and furtive glances.

Osh is rapidly becoming the best place in the world to buy opium, the hub of a newly resurgent Silk Road, perhaps history's most famous highway. The route that wound for 5,000 miles from China across vast steppes, through the mountains of Afghanistan to the open ports of the Mediterranean has now reopened for a compelling reason: Despite halting efforts to interrupt the traffic, the route now carries an ever-growing caravan of drugs through the damaged, lawless and often ungovernable countries of Central Asia.

Propelled by the dissolution of the

traffic, only incentives to start. And the confusion and poverty in this part of the world is so great that I don't see any way anything is going to improve soon."

The tide of drugs sweeping across these struggling new countries presents major problems not just for them, but also for the European countries that have become the destination for the opium grown here. And as bad as the drug problem has become, the political troubles they cause are worse.

Central Asia is a fragile region, politically weak but strategically important. As corruption and ethnic violence take hold, larger neighbors — especially China, Russia, Turkey and Iran — have become increasingly nervous.

Indeed, the opium pouring out of Afghanistan has not only affected this region, but has also worried politicians in the world's largest heroin-consuming nation, the United States.

At the same time, crackdowns elsewhere have only added to the region's drug problems. Pakistan and Iran have recently started to get tough on poppy growers and heroin manufacturers, thereby diverting the river of opium, and turning Central Asia into an even more essential transit point for the thousands of tons that are produced each year.

On the new international drug highway, all roads seem to lead from Osh. Fewer than 300 miles from the Afghan border, and less than a day's drive from each of five other Central Asian countries, the city has become the bustling dispatch point for routes that spin north toward Russia, east to Asia and west to Europe, through the legendary city of Samarkand, where money was once measured in ounces of silk, not in tons of opium.

The economics of this mostly Muslim part of the world are stark. The average monthly salary for a working man in Kyrgyzstan is about \$35, half what a boy of 10 can earn in a few hours guiding a horse laden with drugs through a mountain pass.

Raw opium has quickly become a bread-basket commodity in this rural land of 4.5 million people: farmers can swap 20 pounds of flour for a rich chunk of the drug the size of a jumbo chocolate bar. It can also be bartered for peanuts, canned goods, cooking oil, lamb or cognac.

"I have replaced every one of my officers," said Bakerdin Subunbekov, chief of the Osh police, which must fight the flood of drugs and corruption in a city of 500,000 with

three Russian-made jeeps, a few guns and one walkie-talkie.

"I picked the new men myself," he said. "They were trained in secret. They are 29 good honest men, but they earn \$45 a month. They have families. You can figure out the rest."

A pound of pure opium gum — available to anyone who shows an interest — costs less than \$400 in the Osh market, much less for shoppers willing to buy in bulk. The same amount costs three times as much in the Kyrgyz capital, Bishkek, which may help explain why it is sold openly there by senior members of the police force.

The price nearly doubles again when those drugs arrive in Samarkand, hundreds of miles away in Uzbekistan. By the time the opium reaches its main destination in Moscow, where it is often refined into heroin, the opium costs at least \$5,000 a pound.

"One look at a map and you can see it all," said Henry Lee Clarke, the American Ambassador to Uzbekistan, which has the toughest drug laws in Central Asia. "This problem is beginning to get out of control. Those drugs are mostly grown in Afghanistan. But they just can't get where they are going unless they come through here."

The Economics

Drug Business Is 'What Works'

The business of drugs goes against every economic trend in the region. World opium production has doubled in the few years since the Soviet Union collapsed, according to the United Nations-sponsored International Narcotics Control Board in Vienna. In 1993 a record eight tons of heroin was seized in Europe. The 1994 figures, while not yet final, may be twice that, according to the United Nations.

And while most of the increased production took place in Afghanistan and Pakistan, this is where drug

Highway of Drugs

A special report.

Soviet Union in 1991, economic and political chaos, civil war, borders that cannot be controlled and the aggressive anarchy of Afghanistan — which many narcotics experts now estimate is quickly becoming the biggest grower of opium in the world — this rugged, often unassailable region has become the ultimate drug runners' dream come true.

"What is happening in these countries is a nightmare," said Victoria Goh, deputy director of the United Nations Drug Control Program's regional office in nearby Tashkent, Uzbekistan.

"There are hundreds of little mountain passes and roads that cannot be guarded," she said. "There are almost no effective borders. There are no incentives to stop the

20

cont'd



USA TODAY

DATE: 5-9-25

PAGE: 3-A

Kingman, Ariz., feels boxed in

✓ All these feds' put citizens in siege mentality

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

KINGMAN, Ariz. — Any stranger who comes through the door of Exotic Tattoo gets the same hard look from owner Lonnie Duncan — and it doesn't say "Can I help you?"

Ever since authorities began searching here for Oklahoma City bombing suspect John Doe No. 2, tan and muscular with a serpent-like tattoo on his arm, Duncan has had regular visits from a growing force of more than 150 federal agents.

Like many others who have been questioned in this desert town of 13,500, Duncan says he has had enough. "People are scared," he says. "No one is completely clean ... and you have all these feds."

Kingman became a focal point for investigators when they learned that Timothy McVeigh, the only person arrested in the bombing, lived here just months before the April 19 attack.

One theory being explored by law enforcement officials is that the bombing was planned here, and that John Doe No. 2 could be hiding in the network of survivalist, patriot groups and militia camps scattered across the area.

There are unconfirmed reports that Doe might be a Kingman high school graduate. And, there continue to be Doe sightings in the area.

But as more federal agents arrive asking even more questions, an air of anger and resentment is building. And some residents think a siege mentality is being created.

"There is a powder keg here," says Don Nickey, a retired electrical parts salesman. "The longer they stay, the worse it's going to get."

Says Kingman Police Lt. Dean Brice: "People like to think of this as a quiet town. But I'm sure people would like to see all this over with soon. Everyone is getting tired of it."

In a city that has many gun-toting individualists, some police officers say they're even nervous about making routine calls in some areas.

Federal agents, who refuse to talk about the investigation, have taken over the National Guard armory and hired a private company to build a fence around it for privacy.

The presence of an armored personnel carrier in the compound heightens the angst, as do the nightly rumors of FBI raids.

"This has brought out all the tension," says Linda Horn, a casino security officer who lives in nearby Golden Valley. She says area residents are upset "because the government is invading all parts of their life."

Making matters worse, Horn and others say, is the pattern investigators use: Sending one team to ask questions, then another, then one or two more.

"Don't you think it's a little overkill?" asks Rocky Vogel, a customer at the Kingman Club bar and package store. "It's like when you see 15 county workers filling one small hole."

Federal agents routinely visit the club, but are quickly shooed away by owner June Schultz.

"None of the suspects were drinkers here," she says. "They didn't have the money."

As for Duncan, he doesn't re-

member giving a tattoo to anyone who the FBI says could be John Doe No. 2.

But he does remember McVeigh. "We'd always laugh at him, watching him walking in front of the store talking to himself. We used to call him Rambo."

As the third week of the bombing probe comes to a close, some here fear the heavy federal presence will be a magnet for anti-government militia types who live in the surrounding hills.

"Lots of people are afraid a bomb is going to go off here," says Robin Inman, 23, who works at Mr. D's Route 66 Diner. "People are now thinking when they drop off their child

to day care ... 'Will something happen?'" says Inman, who has a 18-month old daughter named Kayla.

Outside the diner, the trains run regularly. And most people have friendly smiles and helpful attitudes.

But people still remember the time in the 1980s when the Hell's Angels motorcycle gang announced they were coming to Kingman. Hostlers on their hips, Kingman residents lined Route 66 to send a message: Keep on trucking.

"What happened with the Hell's Angels, that's what going to happen again," says Nickey. "I don't want to see a lot of people shot, but I don't want to see my family and home taken."

USA TODAY

DATE: 5-9-95PAGE: 3-A

New lawyer for McVeigh

By Debbie Howlett
USA TODAY

OKLAHOMA CITY — A federal judge Monday removed two local defense lawyers from the Timothy McVeigh case and appointed an Enid, Okla., lawyer to defend the only suspect charged so far in the April 19 bombing of the federal building here.

McVeigh met Stephen Jones at the Federal Corrections Center in El Reno late in the day. They will meet with lawyers John Coyle and Susan Otto today to complete the handoff.

Jones said he didn't seek the job from Chief District Judge David Russell, but added, "I will do my duty."

Coyle and Otto said they wanted out because their work would be affected because they knew some of the 167 people killed and 400 hurt in the blast at the Alfred P. Murrah building.

McVeigh has been charged with committing terrorist acts, a federal offense that can carry the death penalty — which Attorney General Janet Reno has vowed to pursue.

Jones, 54, was the unsuccessful 1990 Republican U.S. Senate candidate.

Jones said he took the case because McVeigh deserves competent counsel.

"No greater insult could be visited upon the victims of this bombing than to proceed in a lynch-mob or feeding frenzy atmosphere."

Meanwhile, authorities:

► Refused comment on an NBC report that a 22-second videotape shows McVeigh in the Ryder truck near the federal building.

► Denied a *Dallas Morning News* report that an Arizona license plate was found within a mile of the blast site, blown off the car McVeigh was driving when he was arrested less than 90 minutes after the bombing.

► Rejected a *Newsweek* report that authorities are considering that Terry Nichols, a friend of McVeigh's being held as a material witness, might actually be the second suspect known only as John Doe 2.

'A Town Where Gun-Toting Individualists Can Blend Right In

By JOHN KIFNER

KINGMAN, Ariz., April 30 — Lovingly restored Chevys and Thunderbirds from the 50's and 60's cruised old Route 66 here today in an annual celebration of the romance of the open road that temporarily slowed the hunt for suspects in the Oklahoma bombing by evicting all the F.B.I. agents from their rooms in the Quality Inn.

"We threw them out," said Dorothy Brown, the motel's desk clerk, who like most people here remains unawed by government. Checking her lists, she reported that she had told 27 special agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to leave and had informed 22 others that there was no room.

"They did come and flash their badges, but heck, they're no better than anybody else," Ms. Brown said. "We've been booked up for this weekend since March a year ago."

Ms. Brown was expressing a common attitude in this crossroads high-desert town of gun-toting individualists, where intersecting highways and old Army buddies from Fort Riley, Kan., attracted Timothy J. McVeigh, the only person arrested so far in the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City.

A glance at a map of the interstate highway network shows that this seemingly isolated, rustic town is actually a transportation hub, particularly for someone like Mr. McVeigh who seems to have done most of his traveling in battered old cars.

Interstate 40 runs east-west through here, directly to Oklahoma City, among other places. Interstate 135 runs north from Oklahoma City

toward Fort Riley. The highway access has made Kingman a base for 13 major trucking companies along with several large warehouses. According to the state Transportation Department, about 10,000 vehicles a day travel through the crossroads of Interstate 40 and United States Highway 83 at the center of town, where Lieut. Edward Beale of the Navy opened the first road in 1857, using camels to get through the desert.

And it is a place where a man wearing old Army fatigues, loving firearms and hating the Government would blend in like a long-haired radical might have faded into Berke-

The military surplus store: Archie's Bunker.

ley, Calif., in the 1960's. It is likely, for example, that Mr. McVeigh's haberdashery was Archie's Bunker, a military surplus store that stocks jackets with the slanted chest pockets of the Vietnam era for veterans renewing their wardrobes. But the owners, George and Valerie Hilton, have told F.B.I. agents that so many men come through they would have no way to remember Mr. McVeigh.

"A lot of people come out here to get away from the Government, own land and do their own thing," said Bill Ekstrom, the Mohave County Attorney, describing one of the most rapidly growing areas in this booming state, a place where small bands of paramilitary citizen militias are believed to be holed up in camps in the surrounding mountains and desert.

Kingman, where Mr. McVeigh had been regularly picking up his mail at a private postal service for the last two years, was also home to Mike Fortier, one of his closest friends from Charlie Company of the 16th Infantry Regiment at Fort Riley. Terry Nichols, another buddy from the same company, lived just a short drive away in Las Vegas, Nev. Mr. Nichols, along with his brother James, is being held on bomb-making charges in Michigan; the authorities think both brothers may be involved in the Oklahoma bombing.

The F.B.I. has been concentrating much of its investigation of the Oklahoma bombing here in the last few days, moving from desks in the local sheriff's office to a new headquarters in a National Guard armory. They have rented heavy four-wheel-drive vehicles in apparent anticipation of searches in the rugged mountains nearby.

Agents have been back again at the Canyon West trailer park, where Mr. McVeigh once lived, looking for other possible suspects, and local residents who have been questioned say they are asking, among other

things, about Kingman high school graduates and a white Datsun truck.

In the parking lot of Carl's Jr. drive-in, across Beale Street from the armory, the stakeouts of reporters, photographers and television satellite trucks were joined by a few people from the yearly Route 66 Fun Run, like Rudy Sjobakken, a Las Vegas silversmith who used to repair antiques for Liberace.

The event, which attracts about

650 restored cars, marks the time when Route 66, which in Kingman is named Andy Devine Avenue for the town's most famous native son, was the road through much of the country and inspired the picaresque television series and Bobby Troup song "(Get Your Kicks on) Route 66."

"Kingman has grown faster than any part of Arizona," said Mr. Ekstrom, the prosecutor for a county of 13,000 square miles — big enough, he said to swallow New Hampshire — and a population of about 15,000 in the city and 16,000 in the countryside.

The boom has been fueled largely by new gambling casinos along the Colorado River, 25 miles west, in Laughlin, Nev., and an influx of Californians sick of earthquakes and other natural disasters, urban crime and, particularly, taxes. These developments bring, Mr. Ekstrom said,

"a wide diversity of individuals and a very great tolerance of different life styles."

"There's a lot of gun ownership," he added.

The feeling of tolerance, he went on, allows him to remain friends with Walter (Mac) McCarty, a 72-year-old retired Marine First Sergeant, who spends much of his time picketing Mr. Ekstrom's offices because county employees make him remove his pistol when he comes in to pay taxes. Mr. McCarty also teaches a gun-handling course that was attended by Mr. McVeigh, although Mr. McCarty said that the suspect already seemed to know quite a bit about the subject.

Another prominent local resident is Jack M. Oliphant, who as a leader of the Arizona Patriots, a forerunner of the militia movement, was con-

cont'd.

victed and jailed in 1987 for conspiracy to rob an armored car in Laughlin.

The Patriots, the authorities said, planned to use the money to finance a 320-acre paramilitary training camp near Kingman, from which they would overthrow the Government by, among other things, blowing up Arizona dams, power plants, Internal Revenue Service offices, synagogues and abortion clinics.

Ariz. militia: 'Government had it coming'

By Robert Davis
USA TODAY

KINGMAN, Ariz. — As federal agents searching for the Oklahoma City bombers converge on this desert city, they face a small group of angry militia members and sympathizers who think the only mistake made on April 19 was the timing of the 9:02 a.m. blast.

"It's too bad innocent lives were lost, but the government had it coming," says Ernest Just, 55, a member of the anti-government Patriots group.

"At least they (the bombers) went out and tried to do something, even if it was wrong. They'll probably get hung, but at least they did something."

A flood of tips about suspect John Doe No. 2, including reports he graduated from Kingman High School, has focused a national manhunt on this city of 12,722 and surrounding mountains and canyons.

Some area residents, many of whom settled in this harsh environment to escape a government they despise, say they recognize the FBI sketch as a friend of ex-resident Timothy McVeigh — the only person arrested in the bombing.

But searching the shacks and mobile homes scattered in the canyons of the Hualapai Mountains is like looking under rocks for rattlesnakes. And when federal officials show up, many here coil to strike.

When self-proclaimed white supremacist and Patriot member Jack Oliphant heard the FBI wanted to talk, he climbed into his four-wheel-drive truck, lit a cigar and rumbled 14 miles toward the highway that leads into town.

He found two agents at the service station where both he and McVeigh have their mail delivered, and where John Doe has been seen picking up mail.

"I walked in and said, 'I could smell you from a mile away,'" Oliphant says with a laugh. "It's because you're a fed."

He was shown pictures of two men, one bearded, and asked if he knew McVeigh or the man sketched out as John Doe. Oliphant said he didn't know either of them.

Back behind his four gates and the "No Trespassing" signs, the man the FBI called a leader of the Arizona Patriot militia feels a certain victory in the encounter. "They had to ask me if they could come up and visit me," he says.

Back in 1986, it was the government that scored a victory when Oliphant and other Patriots were accused of trying to hijack an armored car to finance militia training.

Court papers show the FBI also taped one Patriot member reportedly planning to blow up a government building.

Now, the hills where Patriots practiced, and McVeigh visited, are considered too dangerous to venture alone. "It's not a place I would want to go," says Hualapai Mountain Park Ranger George Toten.

Go beyond one set of closed gates and signs warning people to stay out, and you'll find Lenis May, 43, sitting in the sun in an old recliner.

The self-described hippie says he has found drugs, guns, ammunition, black powder and even a deserted helicopter at the deserted militia site.

He wants to sell some of the

ammunition to support himself. His price: \$75 for 1,000 rounds of .45-caliber bullets.

"I can sell some of this ammo and make a few hundred bucks and everything is good. I got a bag of pot, a few hundred bucks and a full tank of gas."

Walter "Mac" McCarty, 72, a

former Marine drill instructor and long-time activist here, says the Patriots dissolved quickly in the blistering hot summer and frigid winters — not to mention the government scrutiny. "This is a good place to hide," says McCarty. "But it doesn't last long."

McCarty, who has been a member of several radical groups including the Ku Klux Klan, taught McVeigh and Michael Fortier, who worked with McVeigh at a local True Value store, how to shoot just a few months ago.

But "Tim already knew how to shoot," McCarty says. "I got the feeling he was checking me

out, trying to determine what my views were."

In the aftershock of the bombing McCarty, like others here and elsewhere, worries about a crackdown on militia meetings. He says they are mostly social gatherings.

"These guys out here get out in the boonies and they sit on the back of a pickup truck and talk about the country going to hell. They drink some beer and smoke a joint and when the hangover is gone the next day, they forget all about it."

He blames those who heard McVeigh's threats that "something big" was going to happen, for not stopping him. Oliphant,

who accidentally blew his right arm off with a shotgun during a 1977 fight over the right to pan for gold, agrees.

"There's a lunatic fringe in every group," he says. "It's the Wild West here, but it's not as wild as it used to be."

During his four years in prison, Oliphant reflected on his mistakes and now considers himself more savvy, if not more polite.

After verbally sparring with the FBI, he told agents they may check the five trailers he occupies anytime they want to. Over the weekend, there were only goats, horses, pit bulls and nesting eagles visible there.

But he doesn't try to hide his strong hate of the government.

In prison, he wrote a 70-page manuscript called *To Alter or Abolish Government*. In it, he says an "all-out, do or die, to the last man civil war" is the only way patriots can "throw off one status of citizenship while retaining the territory in which they reside."

Sipping a Budweiser under endless stars near his Penitentiary Mountain home, Oliphant says the Oklahoma bombing set his group back 30 years in its attempt to get people to pay attention to perceived government abuses.

Oliphant and his wife, Margo, were friends of Richard Snell, an Arkansas white supremacist who was executed the night before the Oklahoma City blast. They've traded letters with Randy Weaver, the survivalist who was in a gunfight and standoff with federal agents in Idaho in 1992.

And they say the Michigan militia sent Margo money while Jack served his sentence.

"If it weren't for those great people, I don't think I would have made it," she says.

McVeigh, who attended Michigan militia meetings, "did a stupid thing," says Oliphant. "He should have done it at night when he wouldn't hurt the children. He would have been a hero then. Instead, he's a madman. He is a madman."

NRA Official Defends Terms Used in Letter

Associated Press

The National Rifle Association's top official yesterday defended the language his organization has used in describing federal agents, saying references to "jack-booted government thugs" were accurate.

"Those words are not far—in fact, they are a pretty close description of what's happening in the real world," NRA Executive Vice President Wayne LaPierre said on NBC's "Meet the Press."

The NRA's criticism of federal agents in a fund-raising letter has been cited as an example of the kind of rhetoric that creates a climate for violent acts such as the Oklahoma City terrorist attack. LaPierre insisted that's not the case.

"That's like saying the weather report in Florida on the hurricane caused the damage, rather than the hurricane," he said.

But Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), appearing on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley," said the NRA "needs to get a little image repair job." Dole criticized an NRA computer bulletin board on which bomb-making instructions have appeared, saying there are already "enough people out there who know how to make bombs."

Attorney General Janet Reno, also on "Meet the Press," demanded that critics of law enforcement officials be specific in their charges. "I think the most damaging thing that we can do in the country is to talk in generalities or in picturesque terms," she said.

On the same program, Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) said he guessed that two people would resign from the NRA for every one who joins as the result of the anti-government rhetoric.

But LaPierre denied there was any dissension in the 3.5-million-member group over the stridency of its positions. The Washington Post reported Saturday that there is a division in the NRA between the old guard interested primarily in conservation and firearms education and hard-

liners who are concentrating on defeating gun control legislation.

LaPierre said there is no dispute in the leadership on the need to investigate alleged abuses by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and to protect gun ownership.

The six-page NRA letter signed by LaPierre and sent out last month singles out lawmakers who are pressing for gun control legislation and says: "It doesn't matter to them that the semi-auto ban gives jack-booted government thugs more power to take away our constitutional rights, break in our doors, seize our guns, destroy our property, and even injure or kill us."

It goes on: "Not too long ago, it was unthinkable for federal agents wearing Nazi bucket helmets and black storm trooper uniforms to attack law-abiding citizens."

The NRA is demanding congressional hearings into what LaPierre said was "a major trend toward abuses" by federal agents of constitutional guarantees against unreasonable searches and seizures.

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) said the Senate Judiciary Committee he heads has no plans to open hearings on the 1993 siege of the Branch Davidian religious cult near Waco, Tex., an event that galvanized antagonism in some groups against federal law enforcement officers. But Hatch told NBC he will closely monitor hearings scheduled in the House.

"I think everybody has some tendency to be upset about what happened there, and it may be that we're going to have to do more about investigating it," he said.

Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) said on CBS's "Face the Nation" there should be hearings on Waco but said hearings also should be held on the increasing acts of violence against federal officials.

LaPierre said the NRA agrees with Dole and House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) that Republican efforts to overturn the ban on assault weapons should be set aside for the time being in light of the Oklahoma City tragedy. Dole said he had no intention to take up the assault weapon issue soon.