



FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

"A Professional Association for Federal Law Enforcement Officers"

John Pitta

National Executive Vice President

135 Pinelawn Road, Suite 200 S.

Melville, New York 11747

(Comm. #) 516-694-8372

(Fax #) 516-249-8950

Representing Members of the:

Dept. of Agriculture — OIG — Special Agents
 US Forest Service — Special Agents
 Dept. of Commerce — Office of Export Enforce. — S A
 Office of Inspector General — Special Agents
 National Marine & Fisheries Serv. Law Enf. — S A
 Dept. of Defense
 US Army — CID — Special Agents
 Defense Investigative Service — Special Agents
 Defense Criminal Investigative Service — S A
 Naval Investigative Service — Special Agents
 US Air Force — OSI — Special Agents
 Dept. of Education — Investigation — S A
 Dept. of Energy — OIG — Special Agents
 Dept. of Health & Human Services — S A
 Dept. of Housing & Urban Devel. — Inves. — S A
 Dept. of Interior — OIG — Special Agents
 US Fish & Wildlife Service — Law Enforce. — S A
 Bureau of Indian Affairs — S A & Police
 US Park Police — Park Police Officers
 Bureau of Land Management — Special Agents & Rangers
 Dept. of Justice — US Attorneys — C I & Attorneys
 Drug Enforcement Administration — S A
 Federal Bureau of Investigation — S A
 INS — Special Agents & Border Patrol
 US Marshals Service — Marshals & Dep Marshals
 Parole & Prob. Service — Parole & Prob. Officers
 Dept. of Labor — OIG — Special Agents
 Office of Labor Racketeering — S A
 Dept. of State — Diplomatic Sec. Ser. — Special Agents
 Investigation — Special Agents
 Dept. of Trans. — Investigation — Special Agents
 US Coast Guard — Intel. Officers & S A
 Federal Aviation Admin (FAA) — Investigators
 Dept. of Treasury
 B A T F — Special Agents
 US Customs Service — Office of Enforcement — Special Agents
 Customs Investigators
 Internal Affairs — Special Agents
 Internal Revenue Service
 Criminal Investigation Division — S A
 Inspection Service — Inspectors
 US Secret Service — S A & Police
 Environmental Protection Agency
 Office of Criminal Investigations — Special Agents
 Office of Inspector General — Special Agents
 General Services Administration
 Office of Investigations — Special Agents
 National Archives — Criminal Investigators
 Nuclear Regulatory Commission — Special Agents
 US Capitol Police — Police Officers
 US Postal Service — Inspectors & Postal Police
 US Printing Office — Special Agents
 Veteran's Administration — Investigations — S A

TO:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

COMMENTS:

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET:

NATIONAL OFFICERS:

President
 VICTOR OBOYSKI, JR.
 Executive Vice-President
 JOHN PITTA
 First Vice-President
 THERESA C. MURRAY
 Treasurer
 ROGER P. TARDIE
 Corresponding Secretary
 RICHARD GALLO
 Recording Secretary
 ALLAN B. PAYNE
 General Counsel
 KATHLEEN P. MAHON
 Legislative Consultant
 JULES BERNSTEIN





FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

"A Professional Association for Federal Law Enforcement Officers"

Representing Members of the:

Dept. of Agriculture - OIG - Special Agents
US Forest Service - Special Agents
Dept. of Commerce - Office of Export Controls - S.A.
Office of Inspector General - Special Agents
National Institute of Standards & Technology - Law Ref. - S.A.
Dept. of Defense
US Army - CID - Special Agents
Defense Investigative Service - Special Agents
Defense Criminal Investigation Service - S.A.
Naval Investigative Service - Special Agents
US Air Force - OSI - Special Agents
Dept. of Education - Investigations - S.A.
Dept. of Energy - OIG - Special Agents
Dept. of Health & Human Services - S.A.
Dept. of Housing & Urban Development - S.A.
Dept. of Justice - OIG - Special Agents
US Fish & Wildlife Service - Law Enforcement - S.A.
Bureau of Indian Affairs - S.A. & Police
US Park Police - Park Police Officers
Bureau of Land Management - Special Agents & Rangers
Dept. of Justice - US Attorneys - C.I. & Associates
Drug Enforcement Administration - S.A.
Federal Bureau of Investigation - S.A.
IRS - Special Agents & Border Patrol
US Marshals Service - Marshals & Deputies
Postal & Profit Service - Postal & Profit Officers
Dept. of Labor - OIG - Special Agents
Office of Labor-Management - S.A.
Dept. of State - Diplomatic Sec. Serv. - Special Agents
Investigative - Special Agents
Dept. of Transportation - Investigation - Special Agents
US Coast Guard - (Incl. Officers & S.A.)
Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) - Investigators
Dept. of Treasury
S.A. T.F. - Special Agents
US Customs Service - Office of Enforcement - Special Agents
Customs Investigations
Internal Affairs - Special Agents
Internal Revenue Service
Criminal Investigation Division - S.A.
Inspection Service - Inspectors
US Secret Service - S.A. & Police
Environmental Protection Agency
Office of Criminal Investigations - Special Agents
Office of Inspector General - Special Agents
General Services Administration
Office of Investigations - Internal Affairs
National Archives - Criminal Investigations
National Regulatory Commission - Special Agents
US Capitol Police - Police Officers
US Postal Service - Inspectors & Postal Police
US Printing Office - Special Agents
Veterans Administration - Investigations - S.A.

NATIONAL OFFICERS:

President:
VICTOR OBOYSKI, JR.
Executive Vice-President
JOHN PITTA
First Vice-President
THERESA C. MURRAY
Treasurer
ROGER P. TARDIE
Corresponding Secretary
RICHARD GALLO
Recording Secretary
ALLAN B. PAYNE
General Counsel
KATHLEEN P. MAHON
Legislative Consultant
JULES BERNSTEIN

March 2, 1995

Ms. Meg Greenfield
Editorial Page Editor
The Washington Post
1150 15th Street
Washington, DC 20071

Dear Editor,

On March 1, 1995, one day after the first anniversary of the passage of the Brady Law, the National Rifle Association (NRA) ran a full page advertisement in the *Washington Post* smearing the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and misleading the American public.

Since the NRA could not prevent passage of the Brady Law, nor deny its success, it chose to spend \$53,566 on a propaganda campaign to destroy the agency whose primary mission it is to go after armed violent felons.

Statistical data gathered from March 1994 to January 1995 shows the Brady Law prevented handguns from being sold to 4,365 convicted felons, 945 fugitives, 97 persons under indictment, 649 illegal drug users, two juveniles and 63 persons under restraining orders for alleged stalking, harassment, or other forms of domestic threat.

Not wanting to address the success of the Brady Law, the NRA countered by attacking the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) with an advertisement filled with misstatements, erroneous conclusions, and insults directed at the courageous men and women of ATF who risk their lives daily.

The NRA's advertisement asserts that Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms looks on all gun owners by class as suspected

criminals. That untruth would not even warrant a response were it not for the fact that the gun lobby is certain its "big lie" will be fragment into political shrapnel and cause the demise of an agency they have been trying to kill since President Reagan's first election.

The truth is ATF is doing a terribly difficult job effectively and doing it with limited resources. The last thing the NRA wants is a technically sophisticated, even handed federal law enforcement agency effectively enforcing the nation's firearms laws.

On February 15, 1995, Undersecretary of the Treasury Ronald K. Noble told the House Appropriations Committee that a careful examination of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms showed that while ATF Special Agents are doing a difficult and often unpopular job, they are doing it extremely well.

Difficult is an understatement!

Most Americans have no idea that from 1979-1993, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms investigated 8,000 arsons involving 1000 deaths, and over \$5-billion in damage. Approximately 5,300 defendants were prosecuted for these arson crimes. The NRA will not tell you this.

The NRA has stated many times that gun control is not the answer, locking up armed criminals is the answer. Yet they fail to mention that ATF's Achilles Program removed some 4,809 armed criminals and narcotics traffickers from America's communities; sent felons to prison for terms totaling 28,388 years; and ended the careers of over 1,600 career criminals who, on average, committed 160 crimes per year at an average cost per crime of \$2,800.

The NRA won't dare tell the American public that ATF's National Tracing Center completed 83,362 traces of firearms used in crimes, in 1994; and its Juvenile Firearms Violence Initiative helped keep handguns out of the hands of children as well as investigate the "death merchants" who peddle firearms to our kids.

The NRA won't tell the public that the ATF's explosive experts, internationally recognized for their work in bombing and arson investigations, helped solve the World Trade Center bombing and are leading the effort to solve bombing and arson incidents at abortion clinics. Nor will they tell you that ATF Special Agents identified the assailant responsible for the recent abortion clinic shootings in Massachusetts and Virginia.

Far from being an agency run amok, ATF is a federal law enforcement agency carefully allocating finite resources to the critical investigative needs of the nation.

The NRA wants the public to believe it is a friend of law enforcement. Believe me it is not. The NRA is the organization that, in 1988, lobbied against banning "cop killer bullets" -- ammunition that rips through police officers protective vests. Today, like in 1988, the National Rifle Association cares not one iota about the lives or well being of law enforcement officers. They don't like law enforcement. And judging from the NRA's attack of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, they clearly hold law enforcement in complete disdain.

Sincerely,


John G. Cooney
National President



"A Professional Association for Federal Law Enforcement Officers"

The NRA's advertisement asserts that Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms looks on all gun owners by class as suspected

President
VICTOR ORGYSKI, JR.
 Executive Vice-President
JOHN PITTA
 First Vice-President
THELMA C. MURRAY
 Treasurer
ROOSE P. TARDIE
 Corresponding Secretary
RICHARD GILLO
 Recording Secretary
ALLAN B. PAYNE
 General Counsel
KATHLEEN P. MAHON
 Legislative Committee
JULIE BRUNSTEIN

MAR-02-1995 17:24

ATF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

202 927 8868 P.003/004

criminals. That untruth would not even warrant a response were it not for the fact that the gun lobby is certain its "big lie" will be fragment into political shrapnel and cause the demise of an agency they have been trying to kill since President Reagan's first election.

The truth is ATF is doing a terribly difficult job effectively and doing it with limited resources. The last thing the NRA wants is a technically sophisticated, even handed federal law enforcement agency effectively enforcing the nation's firearms laws.

On February 15, 1985, Undersecretary of the Treasury Renald K. Noble told the House Appropriations Committee that a careful examination of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms showed that while ATF Special Agents are doing a difficult and often unpopular job, they are doing it extremely well.

Difficult is an understatement!

Most Americans have no idea that from 1979-1993, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms investigated 9,000 arson involving 1000 deaths, and over \$5-billion in damage. Approximately 6,300 defendants were prosecuted for these arson crimes. The NRA will not tell you this.

The NRA has stated many times that gun control is not the answer, locking up armed criminals is the answer. Yet they fail to mention that ATF's Achilles Program removed some 4,808 armed criminals and narcotics traffickers from America's communities; sent felons to prison for terms totaling 25,388 years; and ended the careers of over 1,800 career criminals who, on average, committed 180 crimes per year at an average cost per crime of \$2,800.

The NRA won't dare tell the American public that ATF's National Tracing Center completed 83,382 traces of firearms used in crimes, in 1994; and its Juvenile Firearms Violence Initiative helped keep handguns out of the hands of children as well as investigate the "death merchants" who peddle firearms to our kids.

The NRA won't tell the public that the ATF's explosive experts, internationally recognized for their work in bombing and arson investigations, helped solve the World Trade Center bombing and are leading the effort to solve bombing and arson incidents at abortion clinics. Nor will they tell you that ATF Special Agents identified the assailant responsible for the recent abortion clinic shootings in Massachusetts and Virginia..

Far from being an agency run amok, ATF is a federal law enforcement agency carefully allocating finite resources to the critical investigative needs of the nation.

The NRA wants the public to believe it is a friend of law enforcement. Believe me it is not. The NRA is the organization that, in 1988, lobbied against banning "cop killer bullets" -- ammunition that rips through police officers protective vests. Today, like in 1988, the National Rifle Association cares not one iota about the lives or well being of law enforcement officers. They don't like law enforcement. And judging from the NRA's attack of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, they clearly hold law enforcement in complete disdain.

Sincerely,

Victor G. Obayaki
National President

J. ROBERT KERREY
NEBRASKA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

MEMORANDUM

March 2, 1995

To: Members of the media
From: Greg Weiner, press secretary to Sen. Bob Kerrey
Re: NRA ads

Sen. Kerrey today released the following statement on an ad campaign by the National Rifle Association against the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Kerrey is ranking Democratic member of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee with jurisdiction over the ATF budget. The NRA ran full-page newspaper ads attacking ATF in yesterday's Washington Post and today's edition of USA Today.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BOB KERREY ON NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION ADS

The NRA's big-money campaign against the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms is a thin veil for the real intention of these Washington lobbyists: eliminating responsible gun-control laws that are saving lives across this country.

ATF isn't perfect -- no law enforcement agency is -- and if they threaten civil rights, I'll be the first to use my authority as ranking member of the subcommittee that oversees their budget to put a stop to it.

But the NRA's real gripe isn't with ATF, it's with the fact that Congress and the overwhelming majority of the American people ordered ATF to enforce responsible gun laws. I am proud to join millions of fellow hunters and other Americans who believe that the Brady Law and the ban on some of the deadliest features of assault weapons are saving lives while protecting the Second Amendment rights of law-abiding citizens -- and that they should be preserved.

MAR-02-1995 12:29 FROM ATF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

TO

25040 P.02

202 827 8863: 2/ 2

PRESIDENT

CHIEF JOHN T. WHITSEL
 Chief, Police Department
 Cheyenne, Oklahoma

IMMEDIATE PAST PRESIDENT

SILVSTER DUDCHISTY, JR.
 Cheyenne Police Department
 Cheyenne, North Carolina

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

DAVID G. WALCHAK
 Concord Police Department
 Concord, New Hampshire

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

CHIEF DANIEL L. HANCOCK
 Portland Police Department
 Portland, Maine

THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

ROBERT G. MOODY
 Covington Police Department
 Covington, Georgia

FOURTH VICE PRESIDENT

CHIEF EDWARD S. MELBAUER
 St. Peter Police Department
 St. Peter, Minnesota

FIFTH VICE PRESIDENT

DIRECTOR MICHAEL D. ROBINSON
 Michigan State Police
 East Lansing, Michigan

SIXTH VICE PRESIDENT

CHIEF BRUCE D. CLASCOCK
 Plano Police Department
 Plano, Texas

INTERNATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT

CHIEF CONSTANCE
RONALD HADFIELD, CPM
 West Midlands Police
 Birmingham, England

TREASURER

ASSOCIATE COMMISSIONER
FOR ENFORCEMENT
G. H. FELDHOECHT
 U.S. Immigration and
 Naturalization Service
 Washington, DC

GENERAL CHAIRMAN

DIVISION OF STATE ASSOCIATIONS OF
CHIEFS OF POLICE
CHIEF LESLIE A. SHANDEL
 Minnesota Police Department
 Minneapolis, Minnesota

GENERAL CHAIRMAN

DIVISION OF STATE AND
PROVINCIAL POLICE
COMMISSIONER MAURICE J. HANCOCK
 California Highway Patrol
 Sacramento, California

PARLIAMENTARY

DIRECTOR C.A. BRIDGEMAN
 Rhode Bureau of State Police
 Springfield, Rhode

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE

815 NORTH WASHINGTON STREET • ALEXANDRIA, VA 22304-289 • CABLE ADDRESS: IACPOLICE
 (703) 581-6757 • 1-800-THE IACP • FAX: (703) 581-6758

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
DANIEL M. ROSENBLATT



DEPUTY EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
EUGENE E. CHIRBAKIS

March 2, 1995

Editor

Editorial Page

The Washington Post

1150 15th Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20071

To the Editor:

Speaking for all members of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, I was appalled by the outrageous advertisement carried in your newspaper yesterday urging citizens to "Tell the Clinton White House to Stay Out of Your House" and attacking the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

Law enforcement professionals know that ATF is charged with enforcing statutes that are controversial and reach the core of our fight against criminals who prey on law-abiding citizens. Those who are investigated by ATF are the very criminals who use guns and explosives to commit acts of violence. The truth behind the misperceptions generated by ads like those the Post carried yesterday is that ATF's involvement in investigations of criminal activity is conducted professionally, with all precautions taken to apprehend criminals without endangering the lives of innocent citizens, agents—even criminals.

ATF is among the most effective, efficient, and hard-hitting agencies in the federal government. Its collection programs generate more than \$14 billion annually in excise taxes and its attention to armed career criminals and drug traffickers have taken thousands of criminals off the streets of this country.

Allowing the pages of your newspaper to be bought and used by those who maliciously attempt to portray ATF agents as lawless, stormtroopers of the federal government is contemptuous. Not only do you owe an apology to the good men and women who fill the ranks at ATF, but you need to review and correct an editorial policy that allows your paper to be misused in such a scandalous fashion.

Sincerely,

John Whitsel

John T. Whitsel
 President

72ND ANNUAL

IACP CONVENTION

OCTOBER 24-29, 1995

MIAMI, FLORIDA

MAR-01-1995 21:15

ATF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

202 927 8868 P.002/003

NEWS

from

Congressman Jim Lightfoot

3rd District, Iowa

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
March 1, 1995

CONTACT:
Barbara Schlein
202-225-3806

LIGHTFOOT CRITICIZES NRA'S PORTRAYAL OF ATF AS DECEPTIVE

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Rep. Jim Ross Lightfoot (R-IA 3rd) expressed his disappointment today with a newspaper ad in the Washington Post paid for by the National Rifle Association (NRA) which portrays the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) as an out of control, rogue law enforcement organization. "The NRA's full page ad, which accuses the ATF of abusing its police authorities, is at the least deceptive," said Lightfoot.

"I am a member of the NRA. I have been for years and I am honored to have their election support. If you check my voting record, you'll see I am a staunch supporter of Second Amendment rights. Raising questions about whether ATF has overstepped its authority or used inappropriate tactics is perfectly appropriate. And as Chairman of the Treasury Appropriations Subcommittee which has jurisdiction over ATF and as a defender of the Second Amendment, I will thoroughly investigate any charges of impropriety.

"But I honestly do not understand why NRA is determined to portray ATF in a misleading light. The NRA's ad does not fit the established facts," Lightfoot continued. "The ATF is neither out of control nor do I believe it violates the Bill of Rights. And I'll continue to make sure they follow the law. The simple fact is NRA's problems with ATF predate the Clinton Administration. It is disingenuous of NRA to attempt to portray their differences with legitimate law enforcement in such a partisan light.

"In my view, the NRA is shooting at the wrong target," Lightfoot said. "ATF only enforces the laws passed by Congress. If the ATF is abolished, as proposed by the NRA and come within the current Administration, gun laws would then fall under the jurisdiction of a federal supercop. Then the Treasury Department,

page 2

under full control of an Administration political appointee, would have the ability to send all federal law enforcement after law abiding gun owners. This includes FBI, Customs, Secret Service, Federal Marshals and others."

"I would hope that those making the decisions at the NRA would shift their sights to the real culprit, flawed gun laws. I don't think playing into the hands of those who favor abolishing ATF as a means to achieve gun control and creating a federal supercop is in the best interests of NRA members, law abiding gun owners or the freedoms we enjoy in this country," Lightfoot concluded.

-30-

FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

Facsimile Transmission Record

Transmitted To: Jose CERDA

Telephone Number: _____

Transmitted By:

Name: VIC OBOYSKI
NATIONAL PRESIDENTTelephone Number: 212-385-6938 FAX 212-385-7731Date: 3/3/95This document consists of 2 pages excluding this cover sheet.

Comments:

FYI

03/03/1995 10:25 FROM

201 321 1014

TO 12123857731-01

P.01



FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

"A Professional Association for Federal Law Enforcement Officers"

Representing Members of the:

Dept. of Agriculture - OIG - Special Agents
 US Forest Service - Special Agents
 Dept. of Commerce - Office of Export Controls - SA
 Office of Inspector General - Special Agents
 National Marine & Fisheries Serv. Law Enf. - SA
 Dept. of Defense
 US Army - CID - Special Agents
 Defense Investigative Service - Special Agents
 Defense Criminal Investigative Service - SA
 Naval Investigative Service - Special Agents
 US Air Force - OSI - Special Agents
 Dept. of Education - Investigation - SA
 Dept. of Energy - OIG - Special Agents
 Dept. of Health & Human Services - SA
 Dept. of Housing & Urban Dev't - Invest. - SA
 Dept. of Justice - OIG - Special Agents
 US Fish & Wildlife Service - Law Enforcement - SA
 Bureau of Indian Affairs - SA & Police
 US Park Police - Park Police Officers
 Bureau of Land Management - Special Agents & Rangers
 Dept. of Justice - US Attorneys - OF & Attorneys
 Drug Enforcement Administration - SA
 Federal Bureau of Investigation - SA
 DHS - Special Agents & Border Patrol
 US Marshals Service - Marshals & Dep. Marshals
 Parole & Prob. Service - Parole & Prob. Officers
 Dept. of Labor - OIG - Special Agents
 Office of Labor-Management - SA
 Dept. of State - Diplomatic Sec. Serv. - Special Agents
 Investigation - Special Agents
 Dept. of Trade - Investigation - Special Agents
 US Coast Guard - Insp. Officers & SA
 Federal Aviation Admin (FAA) - Investigators
 Dept. of Treasury
 SA T F - Special Agents
 US Customs Service - Office of Enforcement - Special Agents
 Customs Investigators
 Internal Affairs - Special Agents
 Internal Revenue Service
 Criminal Investigation Division - SA
 Inspection Service - Inspectors
 US Secret Service - SA & Police
 Environmental Protection Agency
 Office of Criminal Investigations - Special Agents
 Office of Inspector General - Special Agents
 General Services Administration
 Office of Investigations - Special Agents
 National Archives - Criminal Investigators
 Nuclear Regulatory Commission - Special Agents
 US Capitol Police - Police Officers
 US Forest Service - Inspectors & Forest Police
 US Prisoning Office - Special Agents
 Veterans Administration - Investigators - SA

NATIONAL OFFICERS:

President
VICTOR OBOYSKI JR.
 Executive Vice-President
JOHN PITTA
 First Vice-President
THERESA C. MURRAY
 Treasurer
ROGER P. TARDIE
 Corresponding Secretary
RICHARD GALLO
 Recording Secretary
ALLAN B. PAYNE
 General Counsel
KATHLEEN P. MAHON
 Legislative Consultant
JULES BERNSTEIN

March 3, 1995

Editorial Page Editor

USA Today

1000 Wilson Blvd.

Arlington, VA 22229

THE NRA IS NO FRIEND OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

By Victor G. Oboyski, National President
 Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association

On March 2, 1995, two days after the first anniversary of the passage of the Brady Law, the National Rifle Association (NRA) ran its second full page advertisement, this one in *USA Today* smearing the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and misleading the American public. The first attack came in the *Washington Post*, March 1st.

Since the NRA could not prevent passage of the Brady Law, nor deny its success, it chose to spend \$63,565 in the *Post* and \$57,500 in *USA Today*, on a propaganda campaign to destroy the agency whose primary mission it is to go after armed violent felons.

Statistical data gathered from March 1994 to January 1995 shows the Brady Law prevented handguns from being sold to 4,385 convicted felons, 945 fugitives, 97 persons under indictment, 649 illegal drug users, two juveniles and 63 persons under restraining orders for alleged stalking, harassment, or other forms of domestic threat.

Not wanting to address the success of the Brady Law, the NRA countered by attacking the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) with an advertisement filled with misstatements, erroneous conclusions, and insults directed at the courageous men and women of ATF who risk their lives daily.

The NRA's advertisement asserts that Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms looks on all gun owners by class as suspected criminals. That untruth would not even warrant a response were it not for the fact that the gun lobby is certain its "big lie" will be fragment into political shrapnel and cause the demise of an agency they have been trying to kill since President Reagan's first election.

The truth is ATF is doing a terribly difficult job effectively and doing it with limited resources. The last thing the NRA wants is a technically sophisticated, even handed federal law enforcement agency effectively enforcing the nation's firearms laws.

On February 15, 1995, Undersecretary of the Treasury Ronald K. Noble told the House Appropriations Committee that a careful examination of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms showed that while ATF Special Agents are doing a difficult and often unpopular job, they are doing it extremely well.

Difficult is an understatement!

Most Americans have no idea that from 1979-1993, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms investigated 8,000 arsons involving 1000 deaths, and over \$5-billion in damage. Approximately 5,300 defendants were prosecuted for these arson crimes. The NRA will not tell you this.

The NRA has stated many times that gun control is not the answer, locking up armed criminals is the answer. Yet they fail to mention that ATF's Achilles Program removed some 4,609 armed criminals and narcotics traffickers from America's communities; sent felons to prison for terms totaling 28,388 years; and ended the careers of over 1,600 career criminals who, on average, committed 180 crimes per year at an average cost per crime of \$2,600.

The NRA won't dare tell the American public that ATF's National Tracing Center completed 83,362 traces of firearms used in crimes, in 1994; and its Juvenile Firearms Violence Initiative helped keep handguns out of the hands of children as well as investigate the "death merchants" who peddle firearms to our kids.

The NRA won't tell the public that the ATF's explosive experts, internationally recognized for their work in bombing and arson investigations, helped solve the World Trade Center bombing and are leading the effort to solve bombing and arson incidents at abortion clinics. Nor will they tell you that ATF Special Agents identified the assailant responsible for the recent abortion clinic shootings in Massachusetts and Virginia..

Far from being an agency run amok, ATF is a federal law enforcement agency carefully allocating finite resources to the critical investigative needs of the nation.

The NRA wants the public to believe it is a friend of law enforcement. Believe me it is not. The NRA is the organization that, in 1986, lobbied against banning "cop killer bullets" - ammunition that rips through police officers protective vests. Today, like in 1986, the National Rifle Association cares not one iota about the lives or well being of law enforcement officers. They don't like law enforcement. And judging from the NRA's attack of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, they clearly hold law enforcement in complete disdain.

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

OFFICE OF THE
UNDER SECRETARY FOR ENFORCEMENT
DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

Phone: (202) 622-0240

Fax: (202) 622-5040

Page 1 of 9Date: 3/2/95TO: Rahm EMANUEL
Jose CERDA

PHONE: _____

FAX: 456- 6423
456- 7028FROM: Susan Ginsburg. tel thru Treas op.
622-1260MESSAGE: Treasury cleared proposed response to
NRA ads in WP & USA Today, plus
statements issued by others to date. (Expecting
one from FOP tomorrow.) Please clear ASAP.
Thank you. Best. Susan



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

UNDER SECRETARY

March 2, 1995

Ms. Tanya K. Metaska
Executive Director
Institute for Legislative Action
National Rifle Association of America
11250 Waples Mill Road
Fairfax, VA 22030-7400

Dear Ms. Metaska:

This week, the National Rifle Association, in a full page advertisement in the *Washington Post* and *USA Today*, vilified the brave Treasury agents who serve the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF). The ad was a lie -- even the photo is of paid models and not ATF agents. It contained the kinds of cheap shots law enforcement officials used to face in the 1960s. And most of all, the ad was a sham: It's not that you don't like ATF, you just don't like the sensible crime fighting legislation that is now supported by the majority of the American people.

The advertisement alludes darkly to ATF's "threat[s] to civil liberties," "contempt for civil rights," and a "tyrannical record of misconduct and abuse of power." Allow me to provide the truth about ATF's record. Of the 10,000 search warrants served by ATF agents in the last decade, not one has led any civil court to render any adverse judgments for constitutional violations. Not one.

While the NRA spends lavishly on ads to fight ATF, ATF agents put their lives on the line to fight crime and to protect our communities and our citizens' property from armed criminals. Since 1986, the more than 6,000 armed career criminals and armed drug traffickers ATF brought to justice have been sentenced to more than 55,000 years in prison. Taking these felons off our streets has, by some estimates, prevented over 4 million crimes and saved countless lives and dollars. ATF agents make America safer.

Your true target, of course, is President Clinton's landmark firearms legislation, including the Brady Law and the Assault Weapons Ban. Your scare tactics won't work, because the great majority of Americans know that the NRA leadership stands consistently against the interests of law enforcement and thwarts the public's desire for sensible firearms laws.

-2-

If the NRA leadership dislikes moderate, reasonable firearms laws so be it. But leave alone the courageous agents who enforce laws duly enacted by the people's elected representatives and the President. Rather than casting about for villains, you should join the American public and a vast majority of your members in recognizing and praising the men and women who risk their lives to protect public safety.

Sincerely,

Ronald K. Noble
Under Secretary
(Enforcement)

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET**OFFICE OF THE
UNDER SECRETARY FOR ENFORCEMENT
DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY****Phone: (202) 622-0240****Fax: (202) 622-5040**Date: 3/3/95Page 1 of 3TO: Rahm Emanuel
Krista RobinsonPHONE: 456-6423FAX: 456-7028FROM: Susan GinsburgMESSAGE: Changes per Rahm's direction to
eliminate strong attack on NRA. (Cleared
by Matthews PAF not DD) Please. G.K. Thanks

Ms. Tanya K. Metaska
Executive Director
Institute for Legislative Action
National Rifle Association of America
11250 Waples Mill Road
Fairfax, Virginia 22030-7400

Dear Ms. Metaska:

This week, The National Rifle Association, in a full page advertisement in the *Washington Post* and *USA Today* vilified the brave Treasury agents who serve the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF). The ad profoundly misrepresented ATF, its agents, and its mission -- even the photo is of paid models and not ATF agents. ATF agents and all of law enforcement carrying out crime fighting legislation deserve public gratitude, not public contempt.

The advertisement alludes darkly to ATF's "threat[s] to civil liberties," "contempt for civil rights," and a "tyrannical record of misconduct and abuse of power." Allow me to provide the truth about ATF's record. Of the over 10,000 search warrants served by ATF agents in the last decade, not one has led to any civil court to render any adverse judgements for constitutional violations. Not one.

While the NRA spends lavishly on ads to fight ATF, ATF agents put their lives on the line to fight crime and to protect our communities and our citizens' property from armed criminals. Since 1986, the more than 6,000 armed career criminals and armed drug traffickers ATF brought to justice have been sentenced to more than 55,000 years in prison. Taking these felons off our streets has, by some estimates, prevented over 4 million crimes and saved countless lives and dollars. ATF agents make America safer.

Your true target, of course, is President Clinton's landmark firearms legislation, including the Brady Law and the Assault Weapons Ban. The great majority of Americans stand with law enforcement in supporting sensible firearms laws. The NRA should join them.

The NRA leadership may choose to oppose moderate, reasonable firearms laws. But it is wrong to single out for abuse the courageous agents who enforce laws championed by the President and duly enacted by the people's elected representatives. Rather than casting about for villains, the NRA

should join the American public and a vast majority of your members in recognizing and praising the men and women who risk their lives to protect public safety.

Sincerely,

Ronald K. Noble
Under Secretary
(Enforcement)

NRA UNDER FIRE

As convention opens Friday, gun advocacy group struggles with mounting criticism

COVER STORY

Group finds firm stands can backfire

But it still has clout and is 'winning elections and getting laws passed'

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

The National Rifle Association admitted a rare political misfire Wednesday.

But it's doubtful the surprise apology by executive vice president Wayne LaPierre will be enough to quell disquiet about an NRA fund-raising letter that called federal law enforcement agents "jack-

booted government thugs."

LaPierre issued the apology as the 3.5-million member gun lobby prepares to host 24,000 members at its convention in Phoenix this weekend. LaPierre's apology heeds calls for the giant gun lobby to tone down its rhetoric.

Some members were upset that former President Bush quit in disgust over the letter. Most police groups had already turned against the organization. And in the aftermath of the Oklahoma bombing, the fund-raising letter touched a sensitive nerve that had some moderate members talking about a political rebellion in Phoenix.

For days, leaders minimized the controversy, seeing it as a chance to boost membership, draw political battle lines, and make the case that an overzealous federal government is out to destroy the right to bear arms.

No one thought the moderates would do much more than gain television exposure.

But the political storm grew as old friends questioned the harsh rhetoric and loss of political finesse that had once characterized the giant lobbying group.

Older than the American Red Cross, the NRA has been for generations the voice of gun owners nationwide. It has offered gun safety classes, sponsored shooting competi-

tions, helped train police.

But in the 1970s, liberal pushes for gun control forced the NRA to shift its focus. Conservative leaders took a firm stand against any restrictions on gun ownership.

The hard-line turned the organization into as potent a political force for conservatives and Republicans as labor and senior citizen groups had been for Democrats.

And like those groups, the gun lobby leadership has remained unyielding on issues and the candidates it supports.

"In the NRA, the route to institutional power since 1977 has been by being the least compromising guy on the block," says Osha Gray Davidson, author of *Under Fire: The NRA and the Battle for Gun Control*.

Its hard line has cost it support, but the group has been expert in using defeats to fuel lobbying efforts and recruitment.

In 1993 for example, the NRA failed to block the Brady Law requiring a five-day wait to buy a handgun. And last year it saw passage of a ban on 19 assault weapons.

But the group responded with a successful campaign that sank \$3.3 million into an effort to elect gun-control opponents to Congress. The effort paid off last November: Of the 276 House candidates the NRA endorsed, 211 were elected.

In the new Republican-led House, most members now support a repeal of the hard-fought assault weapons ban.

"I feel very proud," says David Kopel, an NRA member and scholar at the Cato Institute, a libertarian Washington think-tank. "They're winning elections and getting laws passed. That's the ultimate sign of power."

As for the apology, Kopel says, "The NRA has to make decisions and if they feel that this statement will end what is a distraction from the real business of this country, which is repairing the damage done to the Second Amendment and controlling the violent behavior of rogue law enforcement, then that's a legitimate decision for them to make."

"I don't think the leadership will — and I don't think the members would want it to — back down from pressing for an examination of (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) abuses," he says.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., is pushing to meet the NRA's demand for hearings on alleged abuses by the ATF, including the 1993 raid on the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas.

The NRA found itself pushed to take a harder line, and more open to political counterattack, as urban violence and gun murders soared in the 1980s and 1990s.

The public's response has been ambiguous: Polls show most people support gun-control laws, but don't want their own access to a gun denied.

For all that, politicians know the NRA can deliver votes, and it retains considerable clout on Capitol Hill and in national politics: Saturday, Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, a GOP presidential contender aiming to shore up his conservative base, will deliver the keynote speech in Phoenix.

Beyond the LaPierre apology, moderates' complaints so far have had little impact: Members have already rejected board candidates who wanted the group to be less political.

Rep. Don Young, R-Alaska, a member of the NRA board, says, "We're going to lose some of the weak sisters but gain some of the strong stalwarts."

For every person who has called to resign since Bush's letter, the organization says, eight more have called to join for the \$35 annual fee, or to request information.

Just this week, NRA president Thomas Washington used Bush's resignation as a vehicle to explain the NRA's allegations of federal abuses.

Cuba si, Clinton no

By Pablo Medina

The Clinton administration's new policy of secret negotiations with the Cuban government is, quite simply, wrong.

It means that President Clinton is not only turning his back on all the wrongs and injustices committed against all kinds of people in all walks of life over a period of 36 years; he is also sustaining the repressive system of inequality inherent in communism since its inception.

There are those who rule by hook or by crook, and there are those who suffer the consequences of that rule. Negotiating with such rulers legitimizes them in the eyes of the people under them as well as in the eyes of the rest of the world, and it erodes the

Pablo Medina was born in Cuba and is visiting professor of English at Hunter College in New York.

principles by which a democratic society is supposed to live. It is Mr. Clinton who is bending here, not Mr. Castro.

Cubans are a people of passion and allegiance. They are also a people with a clear sense of what is right and what is wrong. The outpouring of protest in Miami and in Union City, N.J., over the past few days against the present administration's new policy towards Cuban boat people is ample proof of this. Mr. Clinton's refusal to accept into the United States people fleeing next-to-intolerable circumstances in Cuba and his duplicitous secret negotiations with the Castro regime are two very loud and sharp slaps in the face of the Cuban people. We understand that politics often needs closed doors, but we need to be told what happened behind the closed doors. What has been gained? What has been lost?

For years, Cubans have had to remind American politicians in one

way or another that all is not right inside Cuba. Many of us hoped that Mr. Clinton was different, that his administration was fully aware of the repression and the hunger in



the island and the sense of displacement and loss felt by those outside. Many of us hoped that he

was willing to do something about these problems. That much he promised. And so many of us voted for him. Now we worry that he, like others before him, has promised one thing, all the while thinking to do the opposite.

How else can one explain Mr. Clinton's ardent support of the Torricelli bill, which called for further economic sanctions against Cuba, and his about-face in the past few days, forcing those desperate boat people found in the Florida Straits to return to their hell, a hell partially created by American policy?

Hidden behind the Clinton administration's shortsighted political pragmatism there appears to be an inability or unwillingness to stand firm against oppression.

And so Cubans have once again to show politicians in Washington where their allegiances should lie: Openly on the side of freedom and pluralism, rather than surreptitiously in accommodation with one of the longest-lived and most repressive dictators of the hemisphere.

In full-page newspaper ads, he urged Bush to reconsider and detailed six incidents, calling them examples of "black-suited, masked, massively armed mobs of screaming, swearing agents invading the homes of innocents."

That kind of rhetoric has caused police groups to increase their distance.

LaPierre's attack on federal agents was the "last straw," says Choctaw, Okla., Police Chief John Whetsel, president of the 14,000-member International Association of Police Chiefs. His board cut all ties with the NRA and banned the NRA from advertising in the police chiefs' magazine.

Tuesday, the Secret Service rescinded an invitation for the NRA to participate in its annual shooting competition.

"Up until a few years ago, people might disagree with what they were doing, but at least the NRA was respected," says Dave Edmondson, who was on the board from 1986-92. "Now people are ashamed. The average member does not agree with what they're doing."

Many of the rank-and-file members are like Gregory Stafford, 47, a printer from Cambridge, Minn., who isn't happy with everything the group does, but isn't ready to quit either.

The NRA is "a little too much into the political end right now," Stafford says. But he's sticking with it because he's worried gun bans will "keep snowballing" until the right to bear arms is virtually gone.

"It's not just about guns," Stafford says, "it's all about civil liberties, the government encroaching on everything."

Says Richard Gardiner, the NRA's top lawyer from 1989-94: "There's a lot of this talk about whether the NRA is going to be seriously affected by George Bush's resignation or the current attack on it in the media. The answer is no. It's probably going to rally the members even more."

NRA Executive Issues Apology For Letter Attacking U.S. Agents

Associated Press

A National Rifle Association official apologized yesterday to law enforcement officials and others offended by a recent fund-raising letter describing some federal agents as "jack-booted thugs."

"I really feel bad about the fact that the words in that letter have been interpreted to apply to all federal law enforcement officers," NRA Executive Vice President Wayne LaPierre said in a telephone interview from Phoenix.

"If anyone thought the intention was to paint all federal law enforcement officials with the same broad brush, I'm sorry, and I apologize," LaPierre said.

LaPierre's apology comes after a

week of steadily mounting criticism of the NRA, which began May 10 when former president George Bush revealed that he had resigned from the group in protest of the letter.

LaPierre said the letter was intended to criticize only isolated actions, primarily involving the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

But at least one section of the letter offered a more general condemnation of federal law enforcement efforts.

The letter, sent to the NRA's 3.5 million members in March over LaPierre's signature, said that "in Clinton's administration, if you have a badge, you have the government's go-ahead to harass, intimidate, even murder law-abiding citizens."

Gun lobby apologizes to police

By Mimi Hall
and Gary Fields
USA TODAY

The National Rifle Association — in an about-face — apologized Wednesday for a fund-raising letter in which some federal agents were described as "jack-booted thugs."

"If anyone thought the intention was to paint all federal law enforcement officials with the same broad brush, I'm sorry," NRA executive vice president Wayne LaPierre said in a call to The Associated Press.

LaPierre, in Phoenix for the NRA's annual meeting, went on to say that the group has always been pro-law enforcement. "There are heroes out there doing their jobs every day, under impossible circumstances," he said.

The letter, to the group's 3.5 million members, said "in Clinton's administration, if you have a badge, you have the government's go-ahead to harass, intimidate, even murder law-abiding citizens."

The NRA has come under fire due to the March letter. Former president George Bush publicly resigned in protest.

Some were not appeased.

Craig Floyd, of the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund, says the apology is "a little late. I have a feeling their true colors were shown with the original statement."

Osha Gray Davidson, author of *Under Fire: The NRA and the Battle for Gun Control*, says the apology "doesn't wash ... the NRA has a long history of this kind of vitriolic abuse of law enforcement."

NRA member Rep. John Dingell, D-Mich., wrote to say the letter endangers future efforts "to protect our Second Amendment rights, and particularly damages the NRA."

Portland, Maine, Police Chief Michael Chitwood says the apology was necessary.

"People in law enforcement are no different than anybody else," he says. "What makes us bootied thugs and fascists when all we're trying to do is let the community live in peace?"

New Nigerian drug czar tries to prove honesty

By Gus Constantine
and Ben Barber
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Nigeria's new drug-policy chief said yesterday he had passed a lie-detector test administered in Washington that asked him whether he was involved in drug trafficking.

The State Department has accused the government of the west African country with involvement in the drug trade.

Narcotics shipped from Nigeria to the rest of the world has dropped by 80 percent from 1994 levels, said Adamu Mohammed, special adviser for narcotics to Nigeria's head of state, Gen. Sani Abacha.

"But we can't do it alone. We need the cooperation of the United States," said Mr. Mohammed, who holds the rank of special ambassador.

He said that all foreign officials who cooperate with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration must take polygraph tests. His was administered by a private firm run by the former chief of the FBI polygraph department.

The test included questions about whether he had any drug connections or had done anything for which he might be blackmailed.

Polygraph testing, however, failed to uncover CIA spy Aldrich Hazen Ames.

Mr. Mohammed was in Washington to touch base with officials of the DEA and other agencies. He later was interviewed by The Washington Times.

Mr. Mohammed said he voluntarily subjected himself to the polygraph to assure U.S. officials that his country is committed to eradicating the flow of drugs.

Standing in the way of full U.S.

cooperation with Nigeria is the country's decertification last year as a country that cooperates with global efforts to stem the flow of drugs.

The action is based on a State Department finding that Nigeria had not taken effective measures to interdict, arrest and prosecute drug traffickers and money launderers.

In addition to the curtailment of U.S. assistance, Nigeria is also saddled with other curbs in its relations with the United States. Commercial flights into Lagos are barred and official travel is restricted.

The State Department maintains that "Nigeria remains a focal point for West Africa drug traffic" and that it serves as a "major transiting country for Asian heroin and Latin American cocaine" flowing to the rest of the world.

In its most recent restatement of its official position last month, the department said that Nigerian efforts to crack down on the traffic "continues to focus on the couriers rather than the drug barons."

Mr. Mohammed carried with him to the United States a proposed memorandum of understanding, under which the United States and Nigeria would exchange information on drugs and develop strategies to counter the traffic.

Since independence in 1960, Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation at 92 million people and the dominant power in West Africa, has alternated between ineffective military governments and corrupt civilian administrations.

The country came close to breaking up in 1967, when the Ibo people of the south and east seceded as the state of Biafra. The secession was crushed in a three-year war that claimed about 1 million lives.

ECHOES OF THE N.R.A.

Long Before Bombing, Gun Lobby Was Lashing Out at Federal Agents

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

Long before the bombing in Oklahoma City focused attention on the bellicose rhetoric of the nation's right-wing paramilitary groups, the National Rifle Association and its supporters were employing similarly strident language to advance their view that some parts of the Federal Government are the enemies of freedom-loving patriots.

For example, a segment of "It Can Happen Here," a documentary film produced for the N.R.A., shows Representative John D. Dingell, Democrat of Michigan, saying in 1981 of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, "If I were to select a jackbooted group of fascists who are perhaps as large a danger to American society as I could pick today, I would pick A.T.F."

Mr. Dingell's comment — which has been widely cited by the N.R.A. over the years — suggests how deep the antipathy toward the Federal firearms agency runs among gun enthusiasts and why the N.R.A. has sponsored a series of inflammatory attacks on "Government thugs" in recent months in pugnacious language that often parallels that of the paramilitary groups that describe themselves as militias.

"The final war has begun," Wayne R. LaPierre Jr., the executive vice president of the N.R.A., warned in a "special report" last year in the organization's magazine, *American Rifleman*.

On April 13, less than a week before the Oklahoma City bombing, Mr. LaPierre signed a fund-raising letter asserting that President Clinton's ban on assault weapons "gives jackbooted Government thugs more power to take away our constitutional rights, break in our doors, seize our guns, destroy our property and even injure and kill us."

Tanya Metaksa, the chief lobbyist for the N.R.A., dismissed criticism that the association's rhetoric had in any way encouraged the Oklahoma City bombing or Timothy J. McVeigh, the only person charged in the explosion.

"There is no link," Mrs. Metaksa said. "This is political speech, and calling people something is not good or bad. It's just the way we do things in this country. We represent a ma-

jority of the American people who have lost faith in their Government and fear Government abuses."

In fact, public opinion polls have repeatedly shown that a large majority of Americans support gun control measures, including the Brady law, which requires background checks of people who buy guns, and the assault weapons ban that was enacted last year as part of the Clinton Administration's crime bill.

The shrillness of the rifle association's recent advertisements and fund-raising letters have caused some dissension in the organization, which claims 3.4 million members.

Dave Edmondson, a member of the N.R.A.'s board from 1986 to 1992, said the association was endangering its existence by becoming too militant.

"I think the N.R.A. is doomed as we have known it," said Mr. Edmondson, a retired engineer from Dallas. "I think these ads, which are

Strident language has some rifle association members uneasy.

going in a direction of radicalism and the militias, are embarrassing to the traditional market of the N.R.A. — Joe Gun Owner. So when the time comes for annual renewal, these people are not going to write a check, and we're going to lose people in droves."

The debate between Mr. Edmondson and the leadership of the rifle association reflects a longstanding division between the members who joined as hunters and sportsmen and more politically minded members who say they are in an almost religious battle to preserve their Second Amendment right to bear arms.

The N.R.A. was founded in 1871, just after the Civil War, by a group of former Union officers disgusted by the poor shooting skills of their soldiers. Their goal was to foster excellence in marksmanship, and that remained the organization's purpose for nearly a century, until rising

crime in the 1960's focused attention on gun violence in the nation's cities.

With the passage of the first important gun-control law in 1968, the N.R.A. transformed itself into the prototype of the modern single-issue lobby, turning out dedicated supporters at the voting booth to reward or punish candidates based solely on their voting record on gun control.

The conflict between the two wings in the N.R.A. broke into the open in 1977 at the group's annual meeting in Cincinnati, when the more traditional leaders planned to leave the organization's headquarters in Washington to set up a sportsmen's center in New Mexico and Colorado. They were routed by insurgents led by Neal Knox, the writer of a popular gun column and an advocate of an aggressive, no-compromise political approach.

Mr. Knox briefly lost power during the 1980's, members say, but his authority was reconfirmed in 1991, and he now runs the association with an iron hand, along with Mrs. Metaksa and Mr. LaPierre, the executive vice president. Technically, Mr. Knox is only second vice president, but several other leaders of the organization, including Joe Foss, a former N.R.A. president, said he retains full control, working through the group's 76-member board.

The N.R.A. will hold its annual meeting in Phoenix on May 20, and Mr. Knox is expected to strengthen his authority even more, members say.

Mr. Knox did not return repeated phone calls to his office. But in an interview with *The New York Times* two years ago, he said the purpose of laws restricting gun ownership "is the ultimate confiscation of all guns in this country; that's the real agenda of the anti-gun lobby."

In a column last December in *The Shotgun News*, Mr. Knox suggested that the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. were also part of a conspiracy to enact gun control. "Is it possible that some of those incidents could have been created for the purpose of disarming the people of the free world?" Mr. Knox wrote. "With drugs and evil intent, it's possible. Rampant paranoia on my part?"

35 cont'd

Maybe. But there have been far too many coincidences to ignore."

The N.R.A.'s suspicion of the Government has waxed and waned over the last two decades, depending on the occupant of the White House. Since President Clinton's election in 1992, the N.R.A.'s fears have risen dramatically, particularly after the Waco incident and in response to a more aggressive stance by the firearms bureau as it has tried to reduce the number of Federally licensed gun dealers and to better trace illegal firearms using computers.

Under the leadership of Mr. Knox, Mrs. Metaksa and Mr. LaPierre, the N.R.A. has staged a successful drive to increase its base, with the claimed number of members rising by about a third since 1990. Mr. Edmondson said that the drive had forced the N.R.A. to resort to increasingly belligerent rhetoric to reach a new audience and that the increase in membership had been accomplished through expensive direct mailings that had left the N.R.A. with a deficit of more than \$50 million.

But Mrs. Metaksa said that dues from new members had more than offset the mailing costs and that the only deficit stemmed from the N.R.A.'s purchase of a new headquarters building in Fairfax, Va., two years ago for \$15 million.

Asked whether the N.R.A.'s advertisements warning about "jackbooted" Federal agents were breeding public hatred of the Government and fostering anarchy, Mrs. Metaksa replied: "We are not anarchists. We are essentially pro-Government. We encourage people to register and go out and vote."

GUNS,

BIAS AND THE

EVENING NEWS

Analysts at the Media Research Center have studied how network evening news shows covered the firearms issue during the past two years. Are the American people being given fact or propaganda?

If gun owners had doubts whether the TV networks' evening news broadcasts provide balanced coverage of the gun-control issue, a study of broadcast content that led up to passage of the Brady bill provides an answer.

The study found coverage substantially tilted against firearms ownership, according to the Media Research Center (MRC) of Alexandria, Virginia. Leading the pack was NBC News, which even ballyhooed passage of the handgun-purchase legislation as the "Moment of the Week."

Press coverage of the Brady bill intrigued MRC staff members. More importantly, it prompted them to take an in-depth look at network evening news coverage of the gun control debate. Results of their research were published in the Center's *MediaWatch* newsletter.

MRC analysts reviewed "every gun control policy story" that had appeared on ABC's *World News Tonight*, the CBS *Evening News*, the NBC *Nightly News* and CNN's *World News* during a two-year time frame, from Dec. 1, 1991, to Nov. 30, 1993. News stories that focused exclusively on so-called "assault weapons" were excluded. MRC analyst Andy Gabron explained, "because of the difficulty of classifying stories and time considerations."

In all, 107 stories were examined, and MRC reports that "a clear pattern emerged, emphasizing the agendas, spokesmen, labels and academic research of gun control supporters. Overall, 62% of the stories devoted substantially more time to pro- than anti-gun control arguments: talking heads who endorsed gun control outnumbered opponents by nearly 2-to-1; in stories concerning the Brady bill, the bias against gun control opponents was even greater, a ratio of 3 to 1."

The lengths of pro- and anti-gun state-

ments in each story were timed exactly. Reports in which one side received more air time by a ratio greater than 1.5 to 1 were categorized as being either for or against gun control. Stories with a disparity of less than 1.5 to 1 were considered to be neutral.

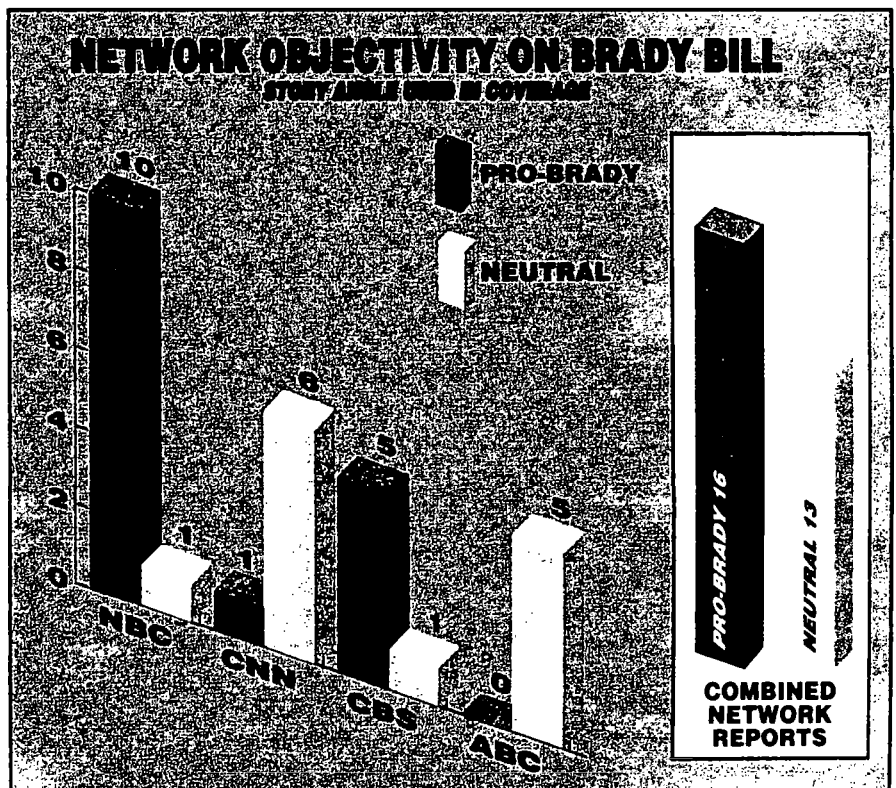
Among statements considered pro-gun control were claims that:

- gun control would reduce crime.
- violent crime occur because of guns, not because of criminals.
- those who oppose gun control efforts are partisan or obstructionist.

Labeled as arguments against gun control were claims that:

- gun control would not reduce crime.
- criminals, not guns, are the problem.
- Americans have a constitutional right to keep and bear arms.

MRC researchers examined 78 gun-control stories unrelated to the Brady bill and discovered that in two years only three stories, a mere 4%, were devoted to firearm owners' rights. Twenty-nine news reports were considered to be neutral, while 46, or 59%, were judged to contain "an aggres-



sively pro-gun control agenda."

In these 78 stories, the networks clearly gave anti-gun spokesmen greater access to the airwaves. Of the 272 "talking heads" shown, 146 advocated gun control, 26 were neutral, and 100 presented pro-gun points of view.

Once again, however, when the Brady bill was the topic, media objectivity took an extended holiday. Pro-Brady coverage dominated 69% of the stories, while the remaining reports were judged neutral. No story leaned to a pro-gun point of view. "Soundbites were just as uneven, as those favoring gun control during the Brady debate outnumbered anti-gun-control soundbites by 75 to 24, a vast 3-to-1 disparity," *MediaWatch* reports. "Brady bill supporters amounted to 69% of all the sources quoted, compared to 22% opposed and 8% who were neutral."

MRC analysts also counted the number of spokespersons who appeared on evening news shows in support of and against the Brady bill. NBC allowed only six Brady opponents to speak, but aired 34 supporters. Law-abiding gun owners fared slightly better on CNN, where gun control advocates were given a 4-to-1 advantage with 16 speakers compared to four. The Bradys and their supporters received twice as much coverage on CBS, where they outnumbered their opponents 13 to 6. At ABC the anti-gun tilt was 12 to 8.

ABC most closely approached objectivity in the story angles used in Brady coverage. MRC reports, "All five ABC stories gave both sides about equal time, although talking heads favoring gun control held a margin of 12 to 8. CNN ran six neutral sto-

ries and just one heavily pro-gun control story. Both CBS and NBC skewed their coverage and sources in favor of gun control. Five of six CBS stories favored the Brady bill. But NBC was the most egregious offender: pro-gun control themes dominated in 10 of 11 stories (91%)."

NBC News, it would appear, is still following the lead of its departed president, Michael Gartner, who championed a total handgun ban before becoming entangled in NBC's infamous rigged truck crash tests.

MediaWatch notes also that NBC White House correspondent Andrea Mitchell suggested in two stories that if the Brady waiting period had been in effect, would-be presidential assassin "John Hinckley might have flunked that test." A little journalist digging would have shown Mitchell that a police background check was run on

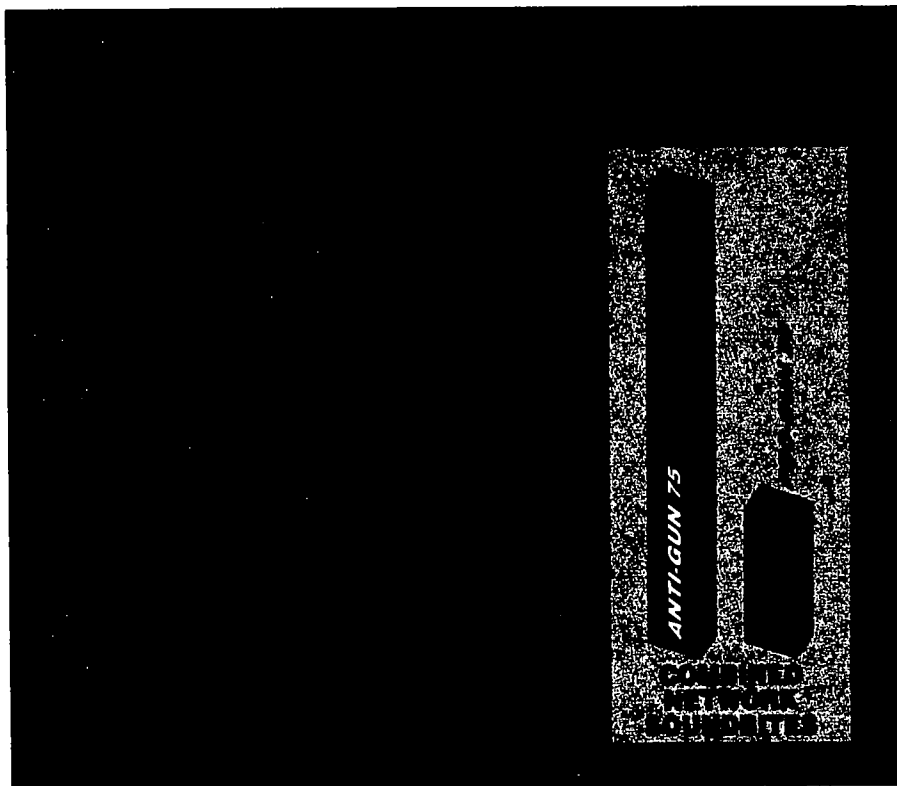
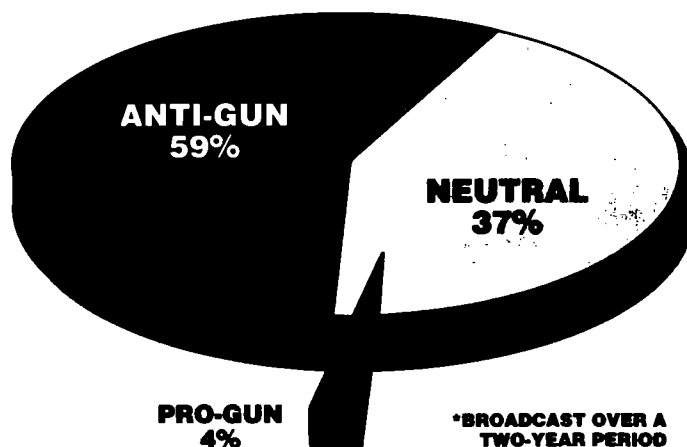
Hinckley four days before he purchased the revolver he used to shoot President Reagan and Jim Brady. The check showed he had no felony convictions in any jurisdiction. Neither had Hinckley any public record of mental illness. Furthermore, since Hinckley purchased two handguns at the same time, the transaction by law was reported to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

In this era of soundbite television journalism, labels are used to define debate, a fact not lost on MRC analysts. As an example, *MediaWatch* points to CBS reporter James Hattori's April 3, 1992, story in which he described doctors who call for gun bans as having a "clinical, apolitical view."

MRC's study of network news gun policy coverage turned up 16 labels for gun-control proponents. The term "gun-control advocates" appeared 14 times. On the other hand, "gun-rights advocate" and "gun advocate" were each used once. Network reporters mentioned the "gun lobby" 17 times, but they used the label "gun-control lobby" only twice. "Two labels which often appeared together were 'fear' and 'NRA,'" *MediaWatch* notes.

The research done by the staff at the Media Research Center confirms what most gun owners already knew all too well—when it comes to the national media reporting the gun issue, objectivity is lost as emotion replaces fact. When watching the evening network news, viewers might heed the words of economist and political commentator Thomas Sowell, who reminds us that, "The art of political propaganda consists of hyping the emotions while suppressing the brain."

NETWORK GUN CONTROL REPORTS*



HOW TO GET MEDIA WATCH



Gov. Ann Richards, D-TX



George "Buddy" Darden, D-GA



Richard Lehman, D-CA



Herbert Klein, D-NJ



Eric Fingerhut, D-OH



Maria Cantwell, D-WA



Karan English, D-AZ



Don Johnson, D-CA



Dan Glickman, D-KS



George Hochbrueckner, D-NY



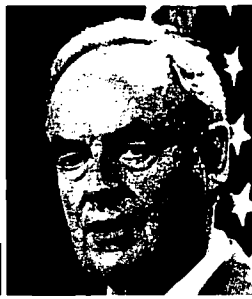
Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, D-PA



Jim Sasser, D-TN



Dan Hamburg, D-CA



Harris Wofford, D-PA

**THESE ANTI-GUN
POLITICIANS RAPED
YOUR RIGHTS.**

**BUT ON
NOVEMBER 8,
YOU DID THE
UNTHINKABLE...**



H. Martin Lancaster, D-NC



Thomas S. Foley, D-WA



Mike Synar, D-OK



Dan Rostenkowski, D-IL



David Price, D-NC



Jay Inslee, D-WA



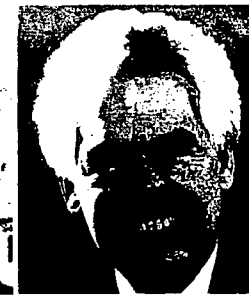
Lynn Schenk, D-CA



Jill Long, D-IN



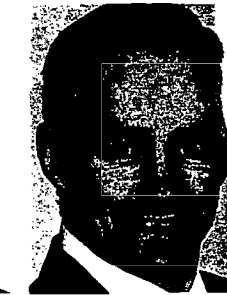
James Bilbray, D-NV



David Mann, D-OH



Karen Shepherd, D-UT



Mike Kreidler, D-WA



Peter Hoagland, D-NE



Frank McCloskey, D-IN



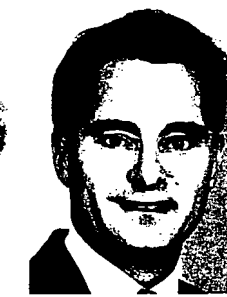
Dick Swett, D-NH



Dave McCurdy, D-OK



Leslie Byrne, D-VA



Peter Barca, D-WI



Gov. Ann Richards, D-TX



George "Buddy" Darden, D-GA



Richard Lehman, D-CA



Herbert Klein, D-NJ



Eric Fingerhut, D-OH



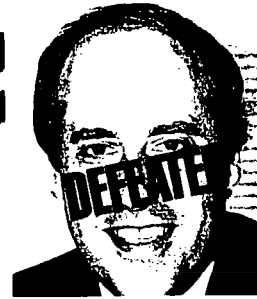
Maria Cantwell, D-WA



Karan English, D-AZ



Don Johnson, D-GA



Dan Glickman, D-KS



George Hochbrueckner, D-NY



Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, D-PA



Jim Sasser, D-TN



Dan Hamburg, D-CA



Harris Wofford, D-PA

YOU MADE THEM
PAY



H. Martin Lancaster, D-NC



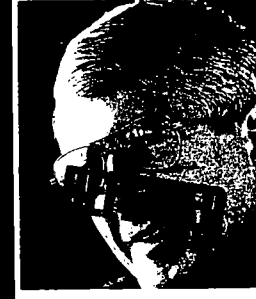
Thomas S. Foley, D-WA



Mike Synar, D-OK



Dan Rostenkowski, D-IL



David Price, D-NC



Jay Inslee, D-WA



Lynn Schenk, D-CA



Jill Long, D-IN



James Bilbray, D-NV



David Mann, D-OH



Karen Shepherd, D-UT



Mike Kreidler, D-WA



Peter Hoagland, D-NE



Frank McCloskey, D-IN



Dick Swett, D-NH



Dave McCurdy, D-OK



Leslie Byrne, D-VA



Peter Barca, D-WI

"NRA Grassroots Equals Victory"

On the day following the November 1993 elections, Wayne LaPierre held a press conference in Washington, D.C., to promise anti-gun politicians that NRA's successes in the off-year 1993 elections would be multiplied in 1994. "Get tough on criminals, or get out," Wayne warned politicians, "or we'll take you by storm in 1994." **And he was right!**



BY

MARION P. HAMMER,

NRA FIRST

VICE PRESIDENT

Five days after the 1994 elections (11/13/94), anti-gun activist Michael Beard of the National Coalition To Ban Handguns (now called the Coalition To Stop Handgun Violence) whined to the *Washington Post*, "The elections hit us like a tornado. We don't want it to level the things we've worked for, like the Brady Bill and the ban on assault weapons. It's put us on the defensive."

At the NRA Annual Meeting in Minneapolis last May, Tanya Metaksa was angry when she gave her inaugural address as the new executive director of the NRA Institute for Legislative Action. She was angry because we had just lost the "assault weapons" ban on the House Floor by a vote of 214-216. She was angry because arrogant politicians had abandoned the Second Amendment and freedom. She warned anti-gun politicians "it's our freedom that matters and it's our freedom you've stolen — we want it back and we will take it back!" **And she was right!**

Politicians and pundits claimed NRA's clout was waning. Turncoat Congressman Mike Synar (D-OK) had even gloated that it was O.K. to vote against NRA, claiming the NRA was a paper tiger and couldn't hurt politicians

who voted to infringe on their rights. But after Mr. Synar's defeat in his primary election by NRA member Virgil Cooper, a 71-year-old retired school principal who had never before run for political office, politicians received a different message. *U.S. News & World Report* declared, "NRA opposition hurts" (10/3/94).

The NRA was on the march and putting together the biggest, strongest grassroots effort we have ever had. With grassroots networks in almost every congressional district in the nation — focusing not only on congressional elections but on state elections as well — our members were energized and fired up with the 1994 General Elections in their sights.

A county Republican chairwoman in California told a local reporter that she had never seen such a high turnout of quality campaign volunteers, "Particularly the guys from the NRA. They were here day and night, anytime we needed anything." (*The Reporter*, Vacaville, CA, 11/10/94).

In the wake of NRA's massive election success across America, stunned anti-gun politicians and news reporters spoke out:

"The National Rifle Association ... rebounded

with a vengeance Tuesday" (Nov. 8) reported Hearst News Service in the *Portland Oregonian* (11/10/94).

"As candidates who backed gun control legislation fell one by one across the nation Tuesday night, the National Rifle Association re-emerged as a high caliber political force that politicians cross at their own peril," reported *The Hill*, a Washington, D.C., political publication, on 11/10/94.

And on 11/11/94, the *Washington Post* reported, "After suffering big defeats in Congress this year on handgun control and a ban on certain assault weapons, the National Rifle Association made good on its promise not to get mad but to get even."

Shift Of Power In The States.

While most of the media attention has focused on congressional elections, NRA's successes on the state level have been equally noteworthy. Our grassroots networks were structured to channel our effort to the local state elections as well as federal races. And what a difference our state and local effort made!

Of the 50 governor's seats, 29 were held by Democrats, 19 by Republicans and 2 by Independents prior to the elections. Only 36 of those seats were up for grabs this election. NRA endorsed candidates in 25 gubernatorial races, winning 20 and losing just 5. The balance of power shifted to 30 Republican governors, 19 Democrats, and 1 Independent. It's important to note that 8 of the 9 most populous states — states important to the 1996 presidential

election — now have Republican governors.

The fight for control of state House and Senate chambers raged in the 46 states which held legislative elections this year. The NRA endorsed 2,533 pro-Second Amendment candidates out of the 6,155 races. We won in 1,894 of those races. And, again, the balance of power shifted dramatically. According to the National Conference of State Legislators, Democrats controlled 64 chambers prior to the elections, while Republicans controlled 31 (3 chambers were evenly split between the two parties). On November 8, Republicans took control of 20 more chambers, bringing the new totals to 51 for the Republicans and 47 for the Democrats.

And before the elections, Republicans held total control (governor and both houses) in 4 states while Democrats had control of 16. Now, Republicans control 14 states and the Democrats control only 8 states.

Tuesday, November 8 was a great day for the NRA and a great day for America, but gun owners are still not safe. While we have just seen the U.S. Senate and House change hands mid-term — stranding Bill Clinton in the White House without control of the Congress — and the balance of power shift in many states, our work is far from over.

Let me remind you that while the Republicans took control of the U.S. Senate and House, NRA is not a Republican organization. We are a Second Amendment organization.

In fact, we helped hundreds of pro-gun Democrats across the nation buck the Republican tide and win their elections. Don't forget that the pro-gun Democrats defied the president and hung with us during our recent battles. It was those so-called "MODERATE" Republicans who abandoned the Second Amendment and helped Bill Clinton win the votes on the "assault weapons" ban and the Crime Bill — and they are still there.

One might equate our status to that of landing on the beach and establishing a beach head in preparation for taking the hill. We have just won some great battles. But the war is far from over.

Freedom Doesn't Come Cheap.

The price must be paid in dollars, time, effort, energy, dedication and commitment of the NRA staff, the NRA officers, the NRA Board, and a growing grassroots network.

Thanks to thousands upon thousands of grassroots leaders, activists and volunteers all across the nation, the NRA is back. But we still have our legislative effort with the new Congress looming ahead and we're already looking down the road to the 1996 elections.

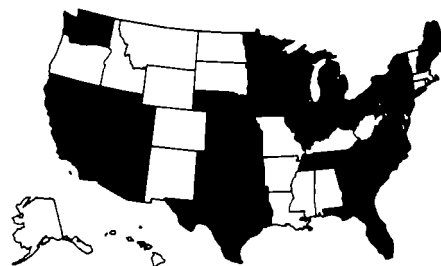
We rarely have agreed with anything said by retiring anti-gun Congressman Bill Hughes (D-NJ), but in the *Richmond Times Dispatch* (8/15/94) he declared, "Their [NRA's] grassroots effort is the best. They are alive and well."

And he was right! ☸

The Final Score: Gun Owners By A Landslide

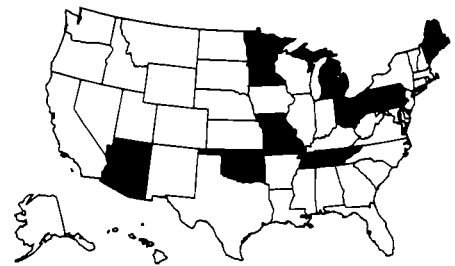
In the most under-reported story of the '94 elections, NRA made gains in over half the states in the country. NRA picked up support in 28 states, while slightly losing support in only one!

U.S. HOUSE ELECTIONS



■ More Friendly Gun Rating

U.S. SENATE ELECTIONS



■ Less Friendly Gun Rating

□ No Change

Thanks To You, Grassroots Moved

On Election Day '94, you and 3.5 million other gun owners united to forever change the face of our nation. Take a look:

- Of the 276 U.S. Senate and House candidates NRA endorsed, **you elected 221 of them.**
- Of the 45 NRA-backed Democrats, **you re-elected 41.**
- Of the 435 candidates elected to the U.S House, **224 of them are A-rated by the NRA.**
- You ousted Washington Congressman Tom Foley, the **first U.S. Speaker of the House to be unseated in 138 years.**
- In over 10,000 federal, state and local races, **you elected 82% of the NRA-supported candidates.**
- You **increased support for gun owners in 28 states** (turn the page to see a complete results map).

But our fight is far from over. Gun owners still face two more years of history's most anti-gun president and anti-gun agenda. So now's a great time to renew or upgrade your NRA membership.

I want to thank all of you who manned the phone banks, knocked on the doors, put up the signs, licked the envelopes, passed out the leaflets, slapped on the bumper stickers and drove to the polls.

And I thank you on behalf of the real beneficiaries of your victory. Not you, not me, not NRA...but our children and generations to come.



ILA
EXECUTIVE
DIRECTOR
TANYA
METAKSA

Mountains.



**YOU VOTED OUT
32 ANTI-GUN POLITICIANS.
THAT LEAVES
165 ANTI-GUN CONGRESSMEN,
35 ANTI-GUN SENATORS,
AND 1
ANTI-GUN BILL.**

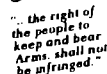


While gun owners won a battle, **the real war rages on.** The new lawmakers we've sent to Washington **still face an anti-gun Administration** with an anti-gun agenda. You can be sure they'll put the heat on these new congressmen. Help keep them loyal to our constitutional rights.

Call and renew or upgrade your NRA membership now.

**CALL 1-800-396-4NRA TO RENEW OR UPGRADE
YOUR NRA MEMBERSHIP NOW.**

Contributions, payments and dues paid to the NRA are not deductible as charitable contributions for federal income tax purposes.



**Citizens Committee for the
Right to Keep and Bear Arms**
2000 N.E. Tenth Place • Bellevue, WA 98008

Citizens Committee for the
Right to Keep and Bear Arms
Liberty Park • 12500 N.E. Tenth Place • Bellevue, WA 98005 • (206)454-4911

Alan M. Gottlieb
Chairman
Paul M. Williams
Executive Director

Dear Gun Rights Supporter:

Dear Gun Rights Supporters:

Now more than ever, America's gun owners must band together, or risk losing our rights forever. The Second Amendment is the teeth of the Bill of Rights - the guarantee that the citizens of our great nation will always have control of our own destiny. Our founding fathers knew that freedom depends upon the ability of the individual to protect himself and his property, and upon the ability of the citizenry as a whole to protect itself from enemies internal and external. Restrictions upon our Second Amendment rights endanger all of the freedoms created by those rights.

Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms

The Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms is dedicated to protecting your firearms rights. Our role is to educate legislators, the media, and the public. Our programs are designed to help all Americans come to understand the importance of the Second Amendment and its role in keeping Americans free.

In order to be effective, we need your support. The media tells us that firearms rights have become unpopular. They say Americans want gun control. We must prove them wrong! The more members we have, the easier it is for us to expose the lies of the gun grabbers. Your fifteen dollar donation allows us to start working for you.

Please sign up to become a member of the Citizens Committee now! The gun grabbers are as strong as they have ever been, and I fear that if America's gun owners do not work together now, we may all suffer a terrible loss.

Let's work together and preserve our freedoms!

Sincerely yours,

Sincerely yours,

Paul M. Williams
Executive Director

HOW YOU CAN HELP

A Five Step Blueprint For Success

1. Join CCRKBA.

As a non-profit organization, the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms depends on membership by people like you to sustain our programs. **YOU** are the Citizens of the Citizens Committee.

2. Sign up your friends.

Strength in numbers is the key to power. Therefore, it is vitally important that our ranks continue to grow. We need all of our members to spread the word about the importance of joining the fight for our rights.

3. Be a "watchdog."

The Citizens Committee operates at full effectiveness when we all work together. A watchdog scans local papers and news broadcasts for any information dealing with firearms. Then call on us, so that a hard-hitting action program can be instituted.

4. Know your local government.

Call your representatives and ask about their feelings on gun control. Keep track of proposals in your state legislature. Never allow them to believe that they can slip something by without a full hearing of the issue.

5. Stop suffering, DO SOMETHING.

Take an active role as a citizen lobbyist. We can help you make your voice stronger and more effective. Your efforts to work with legislators and officials will protect the freedoms that so many have died to defend.



Citizens
Committee
for the
Right to
Keep and
Bear Arms
& YOU





Working To Protect Our Heritage Of Freedom

Grass Roots Lobbying

The effectiveness of the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms comes from the day-to-day efforts of its staff in coordinating grass-roots lobbying around the country. The Committee has been successful in defeating anti-gun legislation at the local, state and federal levels of government because we work tirelessly on your behalf. Much of the CCRKBA staff's time is spent informing members of ways in which they can actively participate in the fight to retain our firearm rights.

Pro-Gun Education Activities

CCRKBA staff travel year-round throughout the country promoting our rights as gun owners. They appear at seminars and conferences, at schools and gun shows, and on television and radio programs to get the pro-gun message out to the community. We have published a great deal of pro-gun literature as well as several important reports about the Constitution to assist us in this effort. This information is available to you, to help you be a leader in the gun rights movement.

Right To Bear Arms Political Victory Fund

The key to passage of pro-gun legislation is having pro-gun legislators elected to office. The Right to Bear Arms Political Victory Fund is a legally distinct political action committee which provides a vehicle for our members to promote pro-gun politicians.

The Gun Rights Policy Conference

Every year the Citizens Committee co-sponsors the most important event in the gun rights community. The Gun Rights Policy Conference brings together all of the key gun rights activists from across the United States. Attendees renew friendships, establish networks and participate in seminars intended to further the effectiveness of the entire pro-gun community. Taking place in a different part of the country each year, the GRPC is a pace-setting event that provides an excellent forum where national strategies and agendas can be formulated.

National Lobbying

Our Washington, D.C. staff works tirelessly on behalf of CCRKBA members and supporters. CCRKBA has supported or initiated many important pieces of legislation including the Firearms Owners Protection Act, the Second Amendment Affirmation Act, and the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986.

Media Services

For over two decades CCRKBA's educational pro-gun messages have been airing across the country. Our video and audio presentation can be targeted at specific areas of extreme anti-gun activity in order to more quickly alert our members and supporters. Our programming has been aired in more than 300 cities. We have been seen on numerous cable systems including The Nashville Network, CNN, PBS, NPR, USA, and ESPN.

JOIN TODAY

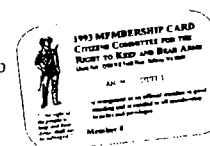
Start enjoying membership advantages
NOW!



Every month you will receive **POINT BLANK**, the CCRKBA's interesting and informative newsletter. We will keep you informed about changes in the law that effect your rights to keep and bear arms, as well as what you can do to be a part of the process.



Membership
card



ACTION ALERTS, which keep you informed about urgent action you can take to save your firearms rights.



Assistance in stopping any local attempts to curtail your right to own and use firearms.



Access to the Committee's **SPEAKERS BUREAU**, composed of outstanding Americans who are experts on the gun rights issue.



The latest and best pro-gun books and bumper stickers, films, buttons, protest placards, hats and other items.



Periodic membership surveys and polls that aid the CCRKBA's staff in determining policy.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
PHONE () _____

☐ \$15 Annual ☐ \$50 Five Year ☐ \$150 Life ☐ \$1,000 Patron

YES! I will stand with the Citizens Committee to retain and protect the rights I value.
Please enroll me as follows:

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR THE RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS
Liberty Park, 12500 N.E. 10th Place, Bellevue, WA 98005 206-454-4911



POINT BLANK



BRITISH POLICE CHIEF HONORS JOHN M. SNYDER OF CCRKBA



Chief Burlin presented "bobby" helmet to John Snyder.

**STRAIGHT TALK
ABOUT WHAT YOU
CAN DO TO
PRESERVE YOUR
RIGHT TO KEEP AND
BEAR ARMS**

**January 1995
Volume XXV, No. 1**

**CITIZENS
COMMITTEE
FOR THE RIGHT
TO KEEP AND
BEAR ARMS**

(a non-profit corporation)

**National Headquarters:
12500 N.E. Tenth Place
Bellevue, Washington 98005**

**Capitol Hill Office:
600 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E. #205
Washington, D.C. 20003**

Chief Inspector John Burlin of the Derbyshire Constabulary in England recently presented a genuine British bobby police helmet to John Michael Snyder, CCRKBA Public Affairs Director, during a ceremony in Crystal City, Virginia.

Snyder is National Vice President for Public Relations of both the American Federation of Police and the National Association of Chiefs of Police.

He also is Chairman of the international, interdenominational St. Gabriel Possenti Society, Inc., named for the Italian seminarian who, in 1859, rescued the village of Isola from a band of 20 terrorists with a striking, one-shot lizard-slaying demonstration of handgun marksmanship. Possenti died in 1862 and was canonized in 1920 by Pope Benedict XV. The Society promotes study and exposition of the theological, philosophical and historical bases for the doctrine of legitimate self-defense.

Snyder and Chief Burlin were featured speakers during an international conference October 19-20, 1994 in Crystal City of the Plain English Campaign, headquartered in Stockport, England.

The Campaign seeks elimination of gobbledegook from English language usage. Burlin spoke on "The Thin Blue Line and the Thick Red Tape." Snyder spoke on "Streamlining Anti-Crime Legislation." He referred to a 1994 Association survey of Law Enforcement Officers in the United States indicating over 90 percent of American Chiefs of Police and Sheriffs believe any law-abiding citizen should be able to purchase a rifle, shotgun or handgun of his or her choice for self-defense.

HURRAH FOR LOCAL CHIEF, SAYS SNYDER OF CCRKBA

"Hip! Hip! Hooray! for Chief Gene Byrd of Isleton in Sacramento County, California," says John Michael Snyder, CCRKBA Public Affairs Director.

Here's why.

People from all over Sacramento County arrive quietly and stand patiently in line to speak a few words with Byrd, the politically outspoken Chief of Isleton's two-person police department.

These men and women from all over Sacramento County chafe at the bureaucratic roadblocks that prevent them from carrying guns whenever and wherever they please. Now Chief Byrd is their "savior," reports Michael Taylor of the *SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE*.

Byrd is handing out the hottest commodity around - that elusive piece of paper known as the concealed carry weapons permit.

"it's a pleasure to meet somebody who's pro-gun," retired plumber Jack West says, his hand outstretched to Byrd, who is grinning like a candidate on his way to a landslide victory.

"I'm mainly pro-rights," the Chief demurs, with a smile.

"Exactly!" West cries.

The jubilation is in response to the Chief's apparently unprecedented decision to give concealed carry weapons permits to any Sacramento County adult with a clean criminal record.

Isleton's Chief has 215 concealed weapons permits on file, more than one-third of the entire complement of permits issued by the much larger Sacramento County Sheriff's Office. Because his policy has received widespread publicity recently, Byrd has found himself processing thousands of new requests.

California state law allows people to have guns in their homes or businesses, but a concealed weapons permit allows ordinary citizens the freedom to carry a loaded firearm anywhere in California, except for high security areas such as courtrooms and airports. Carrying a concealed weapon without a permit may be either a misdemeanor or a felony, depending on the person's criminal history.

Under an informal agreement, the police chiefs in Sacramento County's incorporated cities, with the exception of Byrd, give permits only to residents of their cities. The police chief in Sacramento has turned over his city's permit process to Sheriff Glen Craig.

Most police chiefs and sheriffs in urban areas, and Sacramento is no exception, tend to be parsimonious when it comes to handing out weapons permits, assuming that the fewer the guns the safer it is. When word got out that Byrd was not burdened with that assumption, the rush was on.

In the last two weeks of November, 1994, Byrd said, he had more than 2,000 inquiries, most of them from people who said they wanted to apply for the permits, which he says will cost "between \$100 and \$150. We haven't set a cost yet."

Byrd is so swamped that he has set up a waiting list and simply takes names and numbers, saying he will get to the paperwork later.

In the City of Sacramento, though, Sheriff Craig is hopping mad.

"It may be technically legal," Craig said, "but it's irresponsible for him to do this. It makes a mockery of a system for an official in a town of less than 900 residents to issue permits to people from all over the county, people he's never going to see again and for whom he has no responsibility."

Craig said his department, with responsibility for about one million county residents, has issued 629 permits, of which 144 are held by reserve law enforcement officers.

Elsewhere in the county, Folsom Police Chief Hal Barker, whose city has a population of 39,850, has issued 14 permits, and in Galt, there are fewer than 40 permits sprinkled among the town's 13,900 residents. Statewide, there are 33,696 concealed weapons permits, or about one permit for every 1,000 residents, according to the California Department of Justice.

Byrd said he is careful in granting permits. Abiding by state law, he requires applicants to be fingerprinted,

undergo a computer background check by the state Department of Justice, take a 16-hour gun safety course and have clean criminal record.

But Craig worries that running applicants' names through the computer is too cursory.

"This is quite troubling to me," Craig said. "I'm not sure everyone with a clean criminal record has the judgment, common sense and mental stability to carry a concealed weapon. The people to whom he's giving permits could be a suspect in one of our violence cases. So Byrd can run all the criminal history checks he wants to, and these people are not going to show up on the computer. And (with a permit) they can carry a weapon in a bar, in a car, in a church - you name it."

So scores of county residents, such as Mike DeMello, have flocked to Isleton.

DeMello, 44, who lives near Elk Grove, said that when he tried to get a permit from Craig's department, "they sent me a letter saying that if I need protection, I should give them a call. With their response time to get out to my home, by the time they get there, it's all over. They're just there to pick up the pieces."

On the streets of Isleton, reports the *CHRONICLE*'s Taylor, Byrd's gun permit policy has met with more enthusiasm than dismay.

At Isleton Elementary School, however, Principal Brenda Golubski thinks it is a bad policy. "I don't like having guns around," she says. "If you have a gun, you have to be prepared to use it, and if you're not, it will be taken away by the criminal and used on you. I hear the argument that it's a good idea for women to carry guns. It's not a good idea. Women are not trained that way, culturally. Women tend to nurture people."

Yet, City Council member Cecil Tomlin said "I don't know how we can restrict him."

That is why Sheriff Craig is so upset.

"This is a bigger issue than just something between Chief Byrd and me," Craig said. "It has stateside implications. Today, Isleton. Tomorrow, wherever."

CCRKBA LAUDS D.C. EDITORIAL

Although newspaper editorials on gun control and the right to keep and bear arms often take the "wrong" side of the issue from the point of view of the law-abiding gun owner, one which obviously was on the "right" side of the issue appeared last month in THE WASHINGTON TIMES, published in Washington, D. C.

Headlined "Victims against crime," the December 11, 1994 editorial pointed out that "people use guns to defend themselves all the time," and opined that "Americans cannot afford to leave self-defense to someone else."

The editorial was so completely on target that CCRKBA's Director of Public Affairs, John Michael Snyder, is asking POINT BLANK readers to write the Editor-in-Chief of THE WASHINGTON TIMES, Wesley Pruden, to commend the paper for the piece. The TIMES' address is 3600 New York Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C. 20002.

The editorial, "Victims against crime," is so pointedly accurate on so many points that we're quoting from it here for the benefit of POINT BLANK readers. The "Richmond" mentioned in the editorial is Richmond, Virginia and the "Henrico County" is adjacent to Richmond.

"I keep .38-revolvers," began the editorial, "all the same model, all around the perimeter of the store. So no matter where I am in the store, I can reach a gun. I'm not going to put myself at these people's mercy." So says West End Richmond jewelry store owner Gary Baker.

"Mr. Baker knew he better prepare for the worst when two men wearing ski masks entered his business last Friday night around 10 p.m. So he grabbed one of the .38s, he said, and waited to see what the unlikely customers would do. When one of them hopped up on a four-and-a-half-foot display case and the other began blasting away with a sawed-off shotgun, Mr. Baker, his brother and a store employee returned fire, some with 12-gauge pump shotguns, ultimately killing both suspects.

"When it was all over, police discovered that the deceased were career crimi-

nals wanted in connection with a string of crimes throughout the Southeast. One was a suspect in three bank robberies and a jewelry store heist going back to May of this year. The other had a record of robbery and burglary stretching back to the 1970s. Mr. Baker suffered a shotgun wound to the hand in the process of bringing those careers to an end.

"The investigation is now in the hands of Henrico County police. Based on their findings, Henrico County Commonwealth's Attorney Toby Vick will decide whether or not to file charges in the case. In the meantime, fellow merchants and others have inundated the jewelers with flowers and poinsettias, which, said Mr. Baker, 'have made us feel better.'

"It's welcome news that Mr. Baker and company apparently were able to defend themselves in dangerous circumstances, but in this crime-ridden age people have to defend themselves all the time. Perhaps the most interesting thing about this case to date is what didn't happen. First, police were unable to do the job for them. Given the existing demands on them and given that they cannot even guarantee the security of police buildings - as when a gunman killed three law enforcement agents in Washington recently - it is unreasonable to expect them to guarantee the safety of jewelry stores and private homes. Americans cannot afford to leave self-defense to someone else.

"Second, the national news media were nowhere to be found. Had some innocent lost his life, as in the case of the Japanese student who knocked on the wrong door in Louisiana, there would have been an absolute media feeding frenzy complete with guest appearances by Handgun Controlmeister Sarah Brady on network newscasts. Op-ed columns would have brimmed over with indignation.

"But the fact that some small businessman may have protected life and limb with a gun is not news. Somehow it's not a story. This kind of skewed coverage gives Americans skewed notions of the value of gun ownership. It

makes gun control seem like a plausible means to crime control.

"The fact is that people use guns to defend themselves all the time. According to a study that Texas A&M economist Morgan Reynolds prepared for the National Center for Policy Analysis in Dallas, Americans use guns for self-protection about one million times a year just either by brandishing the weapon or by firing a warning shot in 98 percent of the cases. Or look at the matter another way: A criminal is three times more likely to be killed by his victim than by the police, says Mr. Reynolds.

"That's something for would-be criminals to think about when they enter Gary Baker's jewelry store. It's also something to think about for people who would take his self-defense away."

CITIZEN ACT

Displaying a pro-gun message on your point across as well as let our opponents.

The Citizens Committee has a wide fund raising, and we always are on the used.

Therefore, we are going to hold a b who are interested to submit their favor A selected panel will determine the v and will receive a prize of Citizens Com

The following rules apply to the con

1. All entries must be submitted by
2. Only one entry per person.
3. The winning message will become the Right to Keep and Bear Arms.

Please send your entries to:

Sticker Contest
c/o CCRKBA
Liberty Park
12500 N. E. 10th Place
Bellevue, Washington 98005.

CCRKBA LAUDS CALIFORNIA PRO-GUN CITIZEN ACTION

"I think I have a right to protect myself and my three year old daughter," said Jeanne Richardson of Stockton, California last November.

Across the country, in Washington, D. C., John Michael Snyder, CCRKBA Public Affairs Director, said "we couldn't agree more. Furthermore, we applaud steps she and other Californians are taking to secure for themselves and other law-abiding citizens the ability to obtain permits to carry concealed firearms.

"For far too long, certain local governments in California and elsewhere seem to have been doing anything and everything they can to prevent citizens from obtaining these permits.

"In doing so, they in effect are denying law-abiding citizens the right to protect themselves and their loved ones from

criminal assault, even murder, and thus are denying them, at least by implication, their very right to life itself. This practice has got to stop!"

Jeanne Richardson said she wanted to get a gun permit to protect herself from a man who attacked her in September at her apartment complex in front of her three year old daughter.

Richardson said she was not even allowed to apply for a permit.

"I was told (by police) I would not be getting an application at that time. I did not have any time to get my character or morals checked," she said. "I think I have a right to protect myself and my three year old daughter from this person."

Richardson found herself in the middle of a controversy over Stockton's gun permit policy as pro-gun spokesmen pressed the city authorities to liberalize the issuance of permits to carry concealed firearms.

Councilman Nick Rust proposed that the police chief be required to issue a permit to anyone who legally possesses a firearm, who meets minimum requirements for "good cause" and who passes a class on gun safety.

On November 21, 1994, the City Council rejected the Rust proposal by a six-to-one vote.

Shortly before that vote, gun rights spokesmen said that if the Rust proposal was rejected, as expected, they would file a lawsuit similar to one pro-gun activists pursued in Los Angeles, which forced that city to begin issuing gun permits for the first time in a decade.

The Second Amendment Foundation said its lawyers were "authorized to proceed with similar litigation against the City of Stockton regarding its policy of not issuing permits to carry concealed weapons."

The Foundation statement, issued by Foundation Founder Alan M. Gottlieb, who also is Chairman of CCRKBA, was read at a Stockton press conference by Dale Thurston, a Stockton real estate broker who is President of the pro-gun Citizens for a Better Stockton.

City officials say Rust's proposal goes against the dictates of State law, which gives local sheriffs and police chiefs sole authority over concealed carry firearms permits.

In Stockton, Police Chief Edward Chavez has issued only a handgun of new permits in the past year, and the city currently has 207 active gun permits, according to THE RECORD of San Joaquin County.

The 207 is too few as far as pro-gun spokesmen are concerned.

Thurston said the city needs a clear, uniform policy that would spell out who qualifies for a gun permit and who does not.

He said the lawsuit would be filed on behalf of Jeanne Richardson.

Stockton officials defended the current policy, and questioned whether the threatened lawsuit had any legal basis.

Deputy Police Chief Kenneth Wilson said he was not familiar with Richardson's case. He also said the Police Department fairly evaluates every request for a permit.

"We take these things on a case-by-case basis," he said. "There is no uniformity. No two people have the same situation."

Officials in Los Angeles said they adopted new guidelines on concealed carry weapon permits as a result of the lawsuit.

However, those rules are stringent and similar to ones used for several years by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, which has about 400 active permits, Assistant City Attorney Byron Boeckman said.

So far, the Los Angeles police have issued 19 permits, said Boeckman.

Stockton's city attorney, R. Thomas Harris, said that unlike Los Angeles, Stockton never has had a policy of not issuing any permits. "That to me sounds like a different set of circumstances," he added.

Oregon passed a law similar to the Stockton proposal in 1990. It was preceded by a law in Florida in 1987. Arizona and Alaska have passed similar laws in the past year.

N PROJECT

hicle is one of the best ways to get our hat we are alive and well as a movement. of bumper stickers, which are used for ut for possible new phrases that can be

sticker contest. We would like all those as.

g message and the winner will be notified clothing, publications and accessories.

n 1, 1995.

property of the Citizens Committee for

VOORHEES OF EL PASO THE CCRKBA DESIGNEE

Glen I. Voorhees of El Paso, Texas is the designated recipient of the CCRKBA Gun Rights Defender of the Month Award for January.

In nominating Voorhees for the Award, John Michael Snyder, CCRKBA Public Affairs Director, noted that "for years, Glen has been in the forefront of the battle to preserve the right of individual, law-abiding American citizens to keep and bear arms. In both Texas and the Nation, he has been and is an articulate, indefatigable promoter of the intellectual theory and practical application of this cherished right.

"In a number of the Leadership Training Conferences sponsored by CCRKBA and the Second Amendment Foundation, Glen has delivered incisive analyses of the fallacies underlying arguments advanced against preservation of the right to keep and bear arms and in favor of more and more restrictive firearms legislation.

"He is a genuine asset to the national pro-gun movement and is certainly most worthy of the distinction and gratitude represented by this Award."

Glen is Western Field Editor of GUN WEEK and has been a pro-gun freelance writer for about 15 years.

Glen states that "public attention recently has been focused on the abuses of handguns. I don't deny that some abuses exist. I do deny that the magnitude of those abuses warrants the restriction of my use of a handgun.

"Since the days of the Old West, modern technology has advanced to the point that the pistol is not only useful in defense but it now routinely is used in many other activities. Few of these activities are ever publicized but millions of Americans participate.

"The handgun still is an efficient tool of the outdoorsman and the working man. On camping trips it can provide protection for the camp as well as entertainment for the family. It helps teach coordination, marksmanship and discipline to our youth. It is a known fact that those who are trained properly are safe and capable of responsible use of handguns.

"Many hunters today are turning to the handgun as their means of putting game on their tables. Modern technology has made it possible to bring down game at ranges once thought of as the realm of the rifle.

"Millions of Americans are involved in competitive shooting or recreational target shooting of an unstructured nature. The dedication that these people show in practicing for competitive shoots has its rewards. The biggest reward someday may prove to be the defense of our country. The marksman of today is just as important to our security as the minuteman was at Concord.

"I'm speaking as a concerned private citizen because the tendency of many of the uninformed public is to look at the handgun as a thing of the past. It is as important today as it was in the winning of the west.

"How hazardous is the ownership of handguns in the United States? Certainly not to the proportion that the news media would lead us to believe. The National Safety Council points out that we have a greater chance of choking to death on our food at our favorite steak house or being killed in a household accident than we have being killed by the use of a handgun. Ladders and spilled milk are more hazardous to our health than the private ownership of firearms.

"We handgun owners have proved we are safe and responsible members of society. Forty million handguns are owned in this country and yet only one tenth of one percent are used in criminal acts. Ninety nine and 99 hundredths percent of our handguns are never used to commit a violent crime."

Glen has served on the Board of Directors of Hawkeye Publishing, Western Recreation News and the El Paso County Sheriff's Posse. He currently is on the NRA Board, having been twice elected to that body.

Glen has twice been elected to the NRA Executive Committee. He's a Member of NRA Golden Eagle, the Texas State Rifle Association, and the National Muzzle Loading Rifle Association.

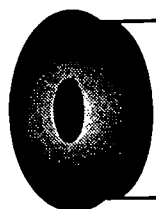
He is Past President and Legislative Chairman of the El Paso Coalition of Sportsmen, Past Vice President of the Texas Sportsmen and Gun Owner's Association, Past Director and Vestry of St. Clement's Episcopal Church, and Sergeant at Arms of the U.S. Horse Cavalry.

Glen started shooting in pistol competition in 1962 and in muzzle loading competition in 1963. In 1977 he won two third places in the National Handgun Metallic Silhouette Matches. Since 1962, he has won numerous local and regional matches in the different categories.

Born August 15, 1939 in San Diego, California, Glen and his wife, the former Harriet (Mikey) Watson, are the parents of three children, Helen Elizabeth, Deborah Sue, and Glen III.

Glen's wife Mikey informs POINT BLANK that "about 1970, the El Paso Historical Society was asking for help in relocating an old Ranger station in the area. It seems they had 'lost it.' Because Glen loves old buildings and history he was always poking around when he had free time. When they described what they knew of the building, Glen was able to locate it immediately for them. The bullet holes were still in the door and the graves could be found in brush in the front yard.

"We have the cabin in the Gila Wilderness. Glen loves to explore every chance he gets and he has found some really interesting things. He also has read everything he can get his hands on about the area. One day he came up over a ridge and found the remnants of a cabin with a wagon wheel out front. Upon further examination, he realized that this was the cabin where a family of four were massacred by the Apaches. The story goes that they were warned of a raid and loaded up the wagon at the front door. They all got into the wagon and were hit by the Apaches. They were killed, the wagon was looted and destroyed and the cabin was pulled down. The cabin had been a very small, two story structure with gun ports all around. All the signs were there. Even the wagon, spread out in pieces, seems to be all there."



QUICK SHOTS

William Niskanen, Chairman of the Cato Institute, a Washington-based think tank, has called for repeal of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, including a ban on semiautomatic firearms.

In a Cato Policy Analysis of CRIME, POLICE, AND ROOT CAUSES, Niskanen states the ban of semiautomatic firearms is purely symbolic and also may be unconstitutional. The banned firearms are not different functionally from hundreds of still-legal firearms, the aggregate of which is used in about one percent of crimes involving a gun. No one contends that this ban will reduce the crime rate. The ban is hotly contested, primarily because its supporters hope and its critics fear that it will serve as precedent for a broader ban of semiautomatic firearms.



A New York Congressman faces a court appearance this month after security guards detected a loaded handgun in his baggage as he passed through the metal detectors at Washington's National Airport en route home.

The lawyer for Rep. Maurice Hinchey said the Congressman regretted the incident and had forgotten that the loaded .32-caliber handgun was in his carry-on bag. He was issued a summons by police.

Attorney David Lenefsky said his client has a legal license to carry the gun in New York. He said the Congressman grabbed the bag containing the gun as he drove to Washington late last fall for a lame duck session of the 103rd Congress.

Rep. Hinchey decided to fly home, one day after the House of Representatives passed the GATT trade agreement, but forgot the gun was in the bag when he went through the airport metal detectors, Lenefsky said.



In Maryland, Vincent DeMarco, Executive Director of Marylanders Against Handgun Abuse, announced that more than half of Maryland state lawmakers are committed to voting for a strong anti-gun law to be introduced this month.

The DeMarco plan would require a state license to buy a handgun and handgun ammunition, and make people who illegally sell guns liable for civil damages for injuries caused by use of the weapon; limit the number of handguns Marylanders can own or buy in one year; prohibit firearms possession by minors, people convicted of child or spousal abuse, people guilty of violent misdemeanors such as battery and anyone who has been subject to a civil protection order; ban the sale of certain semiautomatic rifles; ban the sale of magazines that can hold more than 10 rounds; and ban some ammunition considered especially dangerous.



Commenting on the anti-gun legislative plan of Marylanders Against Handgun Abuse, John R. Zuback of New Carrollton, Maryland, writing in THE WASHINGTON TIMES, stated "the proposed plan is just about the equivalent of what the people of New York are forced to endure to legally buy and/or own a gun. It takes roughly six months, a lawyer familiar with the intricacies of the system and \$1,000 to get a gun license. And we all know how safe the folks in the Big Apple are, don't we?"

"How long would it take to register the two million gun owners in the State? You would, of course, be required to register every gun you owned. Or would it be more like attempting to get a permit to carry? Only people in the highest political circles can get these. Common citizens need not apply."

"Boy, are we going to have a fight in Annapolis this year! They want to take away something that's a right and make it a government-bestowed privilege."



"Laws like the Brady Bill and the Americans With Disabilities Act were prime catalysts for the electoral revolution of 1994," wrote Llewellyn Rockwell, Jr., President of the Ludwig von Mises Institute in Auburn, Alabama, in THE WASHINGTON TIMES. "The first severely limits the right of self-protection, and the second gives dopers the right to a lifetime job plus benefits."



When THE NEW YORK TIMES early last month ran a column by Bob Herbert severely critical of the firearms industry's inclusion of women in its advertising strategies, Peggy Tartaro, Executive Editor of WOMEN & GUNS Magazine and a CCRKBA Gun Rights Defender of the Month Awardee, fired off a letter to the TIMES' Editor, stating that "the underlying premise of the outrage of Mr. Herbert (who has apparently swallowed whole the Violence Policy Center's 'research' on the topic) is that women, and women alone, are incapable of sorting out advertising claims. A premise which in itself is outrageous for its sexism."

"Were this not so insulting, it would be laughable - unsuspecting women dragged against their wills into gun shops on the basis of advertising claims which, almost exclusively, can be found only in firearms publications."

"Once again, meaningful debate over crime is papered over by those who should know better. Stoning the messenger may make some feel better briefly, but it does nothing to address the issue."

"Regardless of the sophistication of the advertising, you cannot sell something for which there is no perceived need. The dangers with which most women feel uncomfortably familiar these days need to be addressed with more than paternalistic rhetoric."

New Book “Ammo” for Gunowners

A gun owner without this book is like a gun without bullets: powerless. Updated for the 1990's, *The Rights of Gun Owners*, by Alan Gottlieb, gives gun owners the power of knowledge about gun laws, their rights, and their enemies. It is the ammunition a gun owner needs to understand today's complicated gun laws.

The Rights of Gun Owners details the arguments for and against gun control, gives a history of the Second Amendment, explains a gun owner's rights and responsibilities, and, most importantly, tells a gun owner

the gun laws of every state in the union, all written in his readable prose. Gottlieb, Chairman of the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, simplifies the laws regarding firearms ownership so anyone can understand them.

Called an "indispensable handbook for gun owners" by the Atlanta Constitution-Journal, the "definitive book on the subject" by the Seattle Times, and "a bible of the pro-gun movement" by the New Yorker, *The Rights of Gun Owners* is now available from Merril Press.

To order by VISA or MASTERCARD,
just call 206-454-7009 or send a check or
money order for \$9.95 to Merril Press, P.O.
Box 1682-PB, Bellevue, WA 98009.

And while you're at it, you can also get two other books by Alan Gottlieb from Merril Press. The Gun Grabbers (*who they are, how they operate and how they get their money*) just \$14.95 and The Gun Rights Fact Book (*everything you need to know*) for \$7.95. Get all 3 for only \$25.00. Please add \$1.50 per book for shipping and handling. Thank you.

Women & Guns

STRIKES A NERVE

SPECIAL TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION

Women & Guns is the only magazine dedicated to the issues concerning self-defense for females. Each issue covers product reviews, legal aspects, special equipment, etc. Send for your subscription to **Women & Guns, P.O. Box 488-PB, Station C, Buffalo, NY 14209.**

**5 ISSUES FOR ONLY
\$10 - SAVE 33%**

☐ Please start my 5-issue trial subscription for \$10.

☐ I'd rather save more. Start a one-year subscription (12 issues) for \$24.00.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** ____ **Zip** _____

☐ Check ☐ Cash ☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard

Card Number Expiration Date

Signature _____
REQUIRED ONLY FOR CREDIT CARD ORDER

WHAT YOU DON'T KNOW *CAN* HURT YOU!

Lack of information can be dangerous to you and your gun rights.

If you didn't know that Brady II has been introduced or that 10,000% tax has been proposed on ammunition, you haven't been reading *Gun Week*. The general media has not given an accurate description of these measures, nor have they made it clear that the votes they reported were only steps in a long process.

Whether it's the federal scene, or states and cities there is no way to get the information as fast as reading *Gun Week*.

And legislative and legal news is not all you get. *Gun Week* has been leading the pack on industry news--the metallurgical problems with the M-9 pistol, the FBI's struggles to adopt a new semi-automatic, the buyouts and new products in the field.

Gun Week is the only weekly news source for concerned gunowners who need to know what's happening. If you want to do something about your gun and hunting rights, you have to be informed, and there's no better way than by reading *Gun Week*--"the newspaper of the gun lobby."

For only 64 cents a week--about the cost of a cup of coffee or soft drink--you get all the news every week. News that can keep you free.

**MAIL YOUR
ORDER TODAY!**

GUN WEEK · P.O. Box 488 · PB · Station C · Buffalo, NY 14209

☐ **25-Issues (1/2 year) \$18 - (\$22 foreign)**

SAVE ☐ **50 issues (1 Year) \$32 - (\$40 foreign)**

MORE! ☐ **100 Issues (2Years) \$56 - (\$72 foreign)**

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Method of payment: ☐ Check ☐ Cash ☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard

[illegible]

Card Number

Expiration Date

Signature _____

REQUIRED ONLY FOR CREDIT CARD ORDER

GUN WEEK is published weekly, except Memorial Day week and Christmas Week, by the Second Amendment Foundation. Allow 6 weeks for new subscriptions. Renewals attach mailing label.

On February 14, Valentine's Day, Richard Allen Davis goes on trial in California for the kidnapping and murder of 12-year-old Polly Klaas. The child's abduction in October 1993 was every parent's worst nightmare: Polly was seized from the bedroom of her home in Petaluma as her mother slept in a room nearby. When the search ended two months later, after Davis led police to Polly's makeshift grave, many of us felt overwhelmed by sadness, as if we had known Polly ourselves.

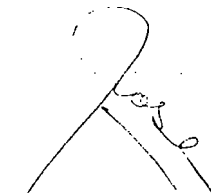
As the day of justice approaches, the rage of Marc Klaas, Polly's father, continues to grow. "I hope the son of a bitch gets the death penalty," says Marc vehemently. It is a fury that has propelled him into a very public fight, as he says, "to make the world a safer place for children."

Yet Polly's mother, Eve Nichol, the one person who might be expected to be angriest and most vengeful, is far from it. "Davis is no longer a person to me. He is where he should be—removed from society. My focus now is to protect children and to prevent violence against children so that they don't become perpetrators later on," Eve says. Bolstered by an outpouring of love from her community and renewed family relationships, she works behind the scenes to honor her daughter's memory and has learned to live with her grief.

Polly's parents, in their own separate ways, have found the strength to go on.

THE NIGHTMARE BEGAN WITH A SLUMBER PARTY. ON October 1, 1993, as Polly and two friends were playing a board game, a bearded man suddenly appeared in the bedroom doorway. He tied up Polly's friends, threatening to slit their throats if they screamed, and carried Polly away. The girls quickly freed themselves and woke Eve, who'd been asleep in her bedroom with her younger daughter, Annie, 6. Eve dialed 911 and then telephoned Allan Nichol, Annie's father and Eve's second husband, from whom she'd been separated since June 1992. He came over immediately.

Within hours, the local police department, the FBI, and many of the town's 45,000 residents began the most


The murder of Polly Klaas horrified a nation.

Now, as her accused killer goes to trial, Polly's mother, Eve Nichol, breaks her silence to tell about the outpouring of love that helped soothe her grief.

by Susan Sheehan

exhaustive search in recent history for a kidnapper. The Polly Klaas Search Center, later to be renamed the Polly Klaas Foundation, was quickly established. Within days, Polly's bright brown eyes and wide smile were shining out from "missing" posters around the country.

During the following weeks, many strangers gathered to help Eve. On October 2, Cappi Osmundson, 34, coordinator of the Petaluma Mother's Club, saw posters of Polly at the supermarket. She called the search center and asked what her club, with its membership of 180 mothers, could do. A woman phoned back and explained that Eve felt overwhelmed by her efforts to cooperate with officials, talk to reporters, and keep life normal for Annie. Osmundson called



After appearing on *A Current Affair*, *Good Morning America*, and the *Today* show to appeal for the safe return of her kidnapped daughter, Polly, inset, Eve now chooses to work behind the scenes to keep Polly's memory alive.

Polly

"some of the club's most sensitive mothers," who then headed over to Eve's house.

"One day I came home, walked into my bathroom, and there was a woman scrubbing my toilet," Eve recalls, smiling at the memory. For the next few months the mothers came in shifts, they picked up Annie from school, cooked, and cleaned. Someone was always on hand to answer the phone, which gave Eve some much-needed security. "When I had to go out, I knew if Polly called she would always be able to reach someone," Eve says.

Eve tried to be as strong for Annie as she could. Terrified of sleeping alone, the little girl rigged up a web of bells and ropes to ward off intruders. Two dogs joined the household to make Annie feel more secure. Still, she kept asking her mother if she would live to be a grown-up, a question that worried Eve.

Throughout October and November, Eve, an attractive, articulate woman of 45 with naturally golden brown hair and lively dark brown eyes, appeared on local and national television shows, sometimes alone, sometimes with Marc Klaas, from whom she'd been divorced since Polly was 2½. "Eve is a private person. Going on TV was very difficult for her," says Osmundson. "But she knew what she had to do, and she did it."

Petaluma continued to rally unlike any community had before. There were a multitude of fund-raising activities to raise money for the search. The actress Winona Ryder, who had gone to the same school as Polly, pledged a \$200,000 reward. Supermarkets sent boxes of groceries. A washer and drier mysteriously appeared in Eve's utility room. "There's this outpouring of love I've never experienced, and it's carrying me through," Eve tearfully told Connie Chung.

As the weeks dragged on without any sign of Polly, Eve continued to find unexpected support. Allan moved back in and never left. Allan's first wife, Kate, with whom Eve had never gotten along, came over and offered her help. A support group she joined after her separation from Allan, which disbanded over the summer, reunited. "It helped to be in the middle of a circle of nurturing women whose hearts seemed as broken as mine," says Eve.

The search for the kidnapper came to an end on November 30, when Davis, a career criminal who had been out on parole following a previous kidnapping, was tracked down at his sister's home. Four days later he led officers to Polly's body in a wooded area some 50 miles north of Petaluma.

Shortly after the nationally televised memorial service, Eve, Allan, and Annie moved to a smaller, self-contained community in Napa Valley, California. "I'll always be grateful to the people of Petaluma, but I needed a change," Eve says.

Settling into her new home, Eve was determined to go on with her life. She sent Annie to two courses in self-reliance and safety. She meditated and practiced yoga. She answered some of the hundreds of letters that poured in. As a board member, she attended meetings at the Polly Klaas Foundation, which had dedicated itself to locating missing children and improving child-safety laws. And she found comfort in her family as she never had before. Her older stepchildren took time off from college to



Polly's father, Marc, continues a high-profile crusade for tougher child-protection laws, and is planning a national conference on crime with President Clinton.

lend support. "The loss of Polly put the problems of a blended family in perspective," Eve says simply. Other family members rallied as well. "My only uncle, whom I rarely saw, is back in my life, and so are a cousin and his wife," she says. "I'm an only child and they make me feel I now have brothers and sisters. They have children, and Annie is always excited when she visits the cousins."

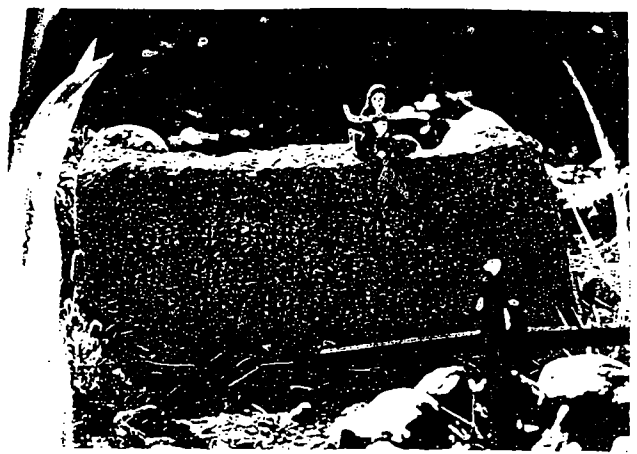
Allan, an architect, was doing well enough that Eve did not have to return to her job as manager of a children's clothing mail-order company. Instead, she threw herself into various community projects. Today Eve works with a group that plans to open the Rising Star Playhouse, a children's performing arts program in the newly named Polly Hannah Klaas Performing Arts Center in Petaluma; music and drama were among Polly's greatest joys. She has also joined the board of Lifeworks Children's Ranch, a nonprofit organization dedicated to helping abused children. On the ranch the children grow plants, care for farm animals, and learn to interact positively with others. "I got into this because I believe that kids who are well nurtured don't grow up to be violent grown-ups like Richard Allen Davis." She says that sadly, without a trace of bitterness.

"I think the media wants Eve to show more expressiveness. Eve's friends are very pleased with how she's expressing herself. We admire the way she is," says Laura Coulter, 39, one of Eve's close friends. "Marc is our outlet for anger. Eve has her own hurt."

Eve Nichol has little contact with Marc. "We both have a lot of things to work out," is all Eve will say. She is aware of a heart-breaking gulf that separates them. "He went from being a daddy to not being a daddy," Eve says. "I had Annie."

Terrified of sleeping alone, Polly's sister, Annie, rigged up a web of bells and ropes to ward off intruders.

UNTIL THAT TERRIBLE DAY IN OCTOBER, Marc Klaas had been the manager of a Hertz car rental franchise in San Francisco. After Polly was "taken"—a verb both Marc and Eve favor to soften her death—he felt he had little left to live for except keeping her memory alive, primarily by dedicating himself to fight for tougher child protection laws and to search for missing children. His weeks are a



Eve comforts her younger daughter, Annie, left, at a memorial service for her sister. A makeshift shrine marks the place where Polly's body was found.

whirlwind of speeches, TV appearances, radio programs, and lobbying trips to Washington. When President Clinton signed the federal crime bill in September 1994, which toughened penalties for violent criminals, Marc Klaas stood by his side.

"And then I went back to my hotel and cried," Marc says. "I'd helped get the legislation passed and I thought I'd have this great feeling of accomplishment, but I didn't. Polly was still dead."

Marc admits that in many ways he is running from his own feelings and demons. "By keeping active, I feel strong," he said recently as he sat with his wife, Violet, in the living room of their condominium in Sausalito, California. A tall, handsome, gaunt man of 45, Marc has grappled with numerous troubles this past year, including the death of a brother from alcoholism, and financial difficulties. Violet's administrative job at a real estate agency is the couple's only source of steady income, though Marc receives fees for occasional reports on missing children for the TV show *American Journal*. "I believe I'll find my way back to earning a livable income," Marc says. He and Violet want to have children.

MARC SAYS THAT ASSISTING IN SEARCHES FOR missing children has proved therapeutic. Grieving parents often contact him, as do law officials and citizen's groups seeking advice. He is always willing—almost too eager—to help. Early one recent Sunday morning, the father of a teenage girl who'd disappeared phoned him, crying. Marc spent a long time consoling the man. "I'm doing things that would make Polly proud of me," he says. "She pushes my resolve and energy."

Marc was recently voted on the board of the Polly Klaas Foundation. He has founded the Marc Klaas Foundation, for which he is busy seeking corporate sponsorship. "I'm more fast-track than the other ten members of the first foundation's board," he says. "They're probably glad to see me go. They may well think I'm too emotional, volatile, and unstable." He's helped launch neighborhood watch programs throughout the San Francisco Bay area, teaching communities how to work with law-enforcement agencies to implement various child-safety plans.

Marc is growing anxious about the upcoming trial. "I dread what's going to come out, especially hearing what Davis has to say about the last hours of Polly's life," he says. On the one occasion Marc saw Davis in person, at the preliminary hearing last spring, he had a horrible time. "That baby-killer stared me down," says Marc.

Each day I am comforted by the constant reminders of her almost everywhere I turn. Not just photographs and keepsakes, but a sense of lightness and peace even on days when each breath brings grief and longing.

Eve Nichol wrote these words for a local newspaper on the one-year anniversary of Polly's abduction. As much as she seems to have found a measure of serenity that has eluded Marc Klaas, she acknowledges periods of overwhelming sadness. "I went to the thirteenth birthday party of one of Polly's friends. And it hit me that Polly would be forever twelve."

"When we're together there are quiet moments when I'll look at her and know, 'Don't talk to her now,'" says Laura Coulter. "I know she wakes up at nights and can't sleep well."

In many ways Eve has come a long way, but she has a long road ahead of her. She still cannot discuss Polly's tragedy with close friends. "I never talk about it with her," says Laura. "We talk about Polly back when—this is Polly's blanket, how much she liked to roller-skate—but nothing about what happened." Like Marc, Eve has filled her home with memorabilia of Polly: Polly in photographs, Polly's drawings, Polly's belongings.

Eve is now writing a book about her journey from despair to compassion and hope. "I never knew there was so much goodness in the world until I came face-to-face with the kind of evil that struck us," she says. "The spirit of a remarkable child sparked the reunification of a family and a community. I want to reach out to others in similar situations and try to relieve their suffering, to encourage people to leave this world a little better than it was when they found it."

Th/12/20
Sarah
1 hr.

—

NRA: GUN LOBBY CLAIMS CREDIT FOR WINNING MARGINS

The 11/94 issue of THE O'LEARY REPORT, a newsletter by GOP consultant Brad O'Leary, lists the following House and Senate races wherein the "perceived NRA membership" more than accounted for the margin of victory. The "perceived NRA membership" figure was computed from Harris poll questions. All winning candidates listed were endorsed by the NRA.

SENATE:

	WINNER	MARGIN	PERCEIVED NRA	WINNING MARGIN
AZ	Jon Kyl (R)	54%	396,992	150,649
ME	Olympia Snowe (R)	60	132,331	119,306
MI	Spencer Abraham (R)	52	979,248	278,949
MN	Rod Grams (R)	49	449,925	88,072
MO	John Ashcroft (R)	60	555,789	424,379
OK	Jim Inhofe (R)	55	317,594	149,902
PA	Rick Santorum (R)	49	1,296,842	90,486
TN-A	Bill Frist (R)	56	529,323	212,932
TN-B	Fred Thompson (R)	61	529,323	319,085
WY	Craig Thomas (R)	59	52,932	38,508

HOUSE:

AZ 01	Matt Salmon (R)	56%	67,886	28,852
AZ 04	John Shadegg (R)	60	68,680	43,906
AZ 06	J.D. Hayworth (R)	54	62,725	24,643
AR 04	Jay Dickey (R)^	52	59,072	6,089
CA 01	Frank Riggs (R)	53	59,840	12,577
CA 19	George Radanovich (R)	57	56,691	28,733
CA 22	Andrea Seastrand (R)+	49	62,989	969
CA 44	Sonny Bono (R)	56	59,840	27,594
CA 49	Brian Bilbray (R)	49	69,288	4,714
FL 01	Joe Scarborough (R)	61	60,025	38,949
FL 15	Dave Weldon (R)	54	62,884	16,510
FL 16	Mark Foley (R)	58	62,884	34,088
GA 07	Bob Barr (R)	52	62,619	5,320
GA 09	Nathan Deal (D)^	58	63,307	21,415
GA 10	Charlie Norwood (R)	66	63,307	48,319
IL 18	Ray LaHood (R)	60	60,872	41,506
IN 02	David MacIntosh (R)	54	59,390	15,351
IN 08	John Hostettler (R)	52	59,972	8,416
IA 04	Greg Ganske (R)	53	58,226	13,009
IA 05	Tom Latham (R)	61	57,352	40,383
KS 02	Sam Brownback (R)	66	66,695	64,659
KS 04	Todd Tiahrt (R)	53	65,372	12,304
MD 02	Robert Ehrlich (R)	63	66,695	48,832
MA 06	Peter Torkildsen (R)^	51	66,165	7,454
MI 08	Dick Chrysler (R)	52	61,693	14,280
MN 01	Gil Gutknecht (R)	55	55,791	22,094
MN 07	Collin Peterson (D)^	51	55,341	5,372
MS 01	Roger Wicker (R)	63	54,256	33,665
MO 09	Harold Volkmer (D)^	51	61,137	11,518
NE 02	Jon Christensen (R)	51	52,403	1,819
NV 01	Jon Ensign (R)	48	66,695	1,436
NH 02	Charles Bass (R)	51	52,827	8,821
NJ 02	Frank LoBiondo (R)	65	64,366	45,819
NJ 08	Bill Martini (R)	50	66,060	2,007
NY 01	Michael Forbes (R)	53	62,672	11,416
NY 04	Daniel Frisa (R)	50	64,630	22,077
NC 02	David Funderburk (R)	56	60,025	17,558

NC 03	Walter Jones, Jr. (R)	53	58,596	7,244
NC 09	Sue Myrick (R)	65	60,025	37,057
OH 01	Steve Chabot (R)	56	59,178	20,188
OH 18	Bob Ney (R)	53	59,178	12,699
OH 19	Steven LaTourette (R)	48	61,454	10,230
OK 04	J.C. Watts (R)	52	52,403	13,014
PA 13	Jon Fox (R)	49	62,248	8,258
PA 21	Philip English (R)	49	60,952	4,550
SC 03	Lindsey Graham (R)	60	62,989	30,215
TN 03	Zach Wamp (R)	52	59,284	10,744
TN 04	Van Hilleary (R)	56	58,755	20,528
VA 11	Tom Davis (R)	52	59,549	10,893
WA 01	Rick White (R)	51	55,817	1,964
WA 02	Jack Metcalf (R)	54	55,314	13,470
WA 04	Doc Hastings (R)	52	52,800	7,145
WA 05	George Nethercutt (R)	51	55,817	2,174
WA 09	Randy Tate (R)	51	55,314	2,792
WI 01	Mark Neumann (R)	50	55,314	1,398
	^ incumbent			
	+ winner not determined			

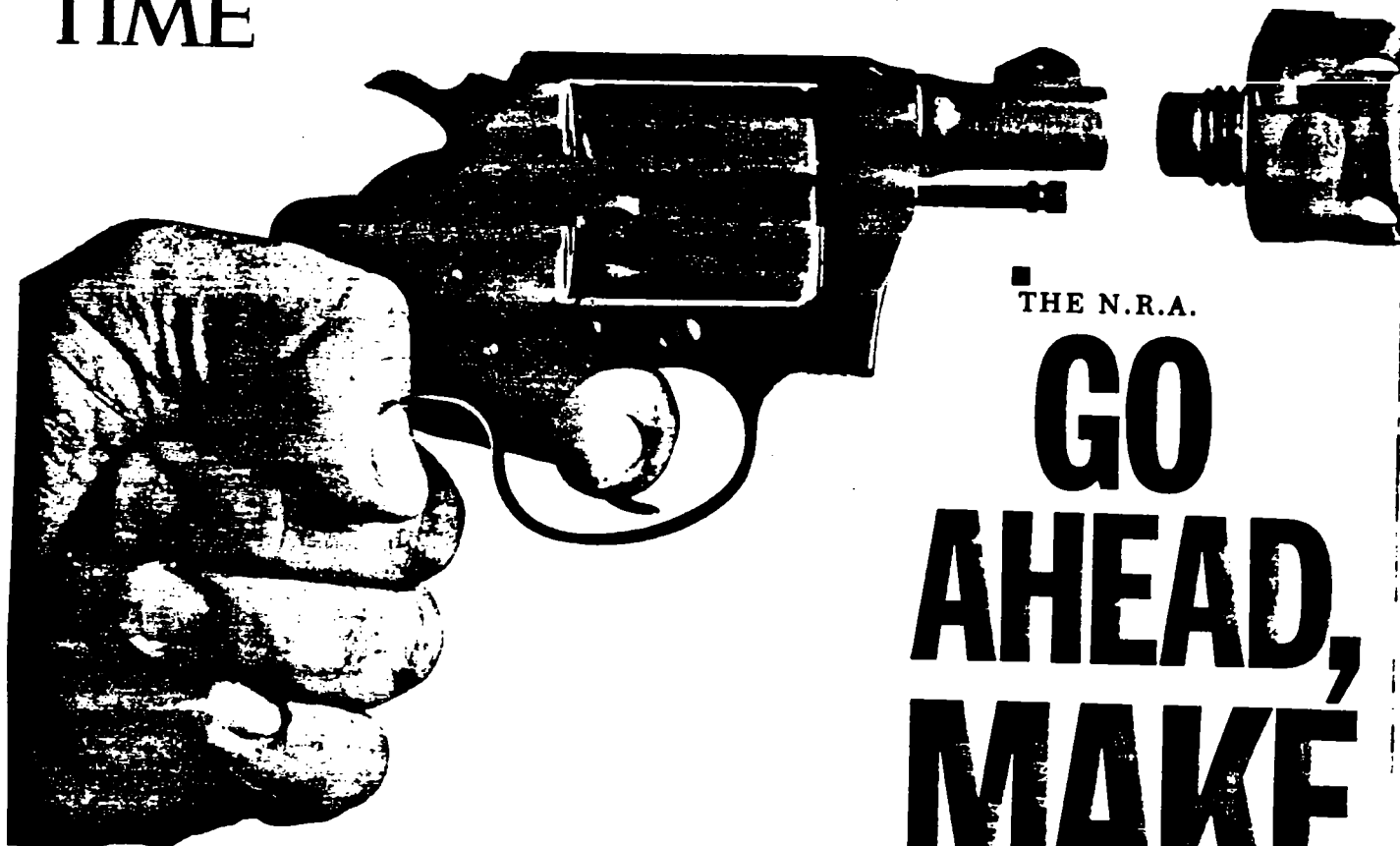
(c) The American Political Network, Inc.

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

DATE: 5/29/95
PAGE: 18

TIME



THE N.R.A.

GO AHEAD, MAKE OUR DAY

By JILL SMOLOWE

RAY GUZMAN IS JUST THE SORT OF person you'd trust with a gun. Three years ago, after buying a weekend home in the Endless Mountains of Pennsylvania, Guzman decided to take up hunting. But before he bought his 12-gauge Remington shotgun, he enrolled in a National Rifle Association safety course. "I didn't want to be a hypocrite as a firearm owner who doesn't practice firearm safety," he said. But now Guzman, 41, a sign-shop owner, is thinking of quitting the organization. While he supports the N.R.A.'s education programs, he is disturbed that in the midst of public anxiety about antigovernment violence, the N.R.A. is plowing ahead with its campaign to repeal the federal ban on assault weapons. And he takes issue with the N.R.A. fundraising letter that called federal officials "jackbooted government thugs," the language that prompted former President Bush to quit the N.R.A. "George Bush has really opened my eyes," says Guzman. "The N.R.A. is too much to the right."

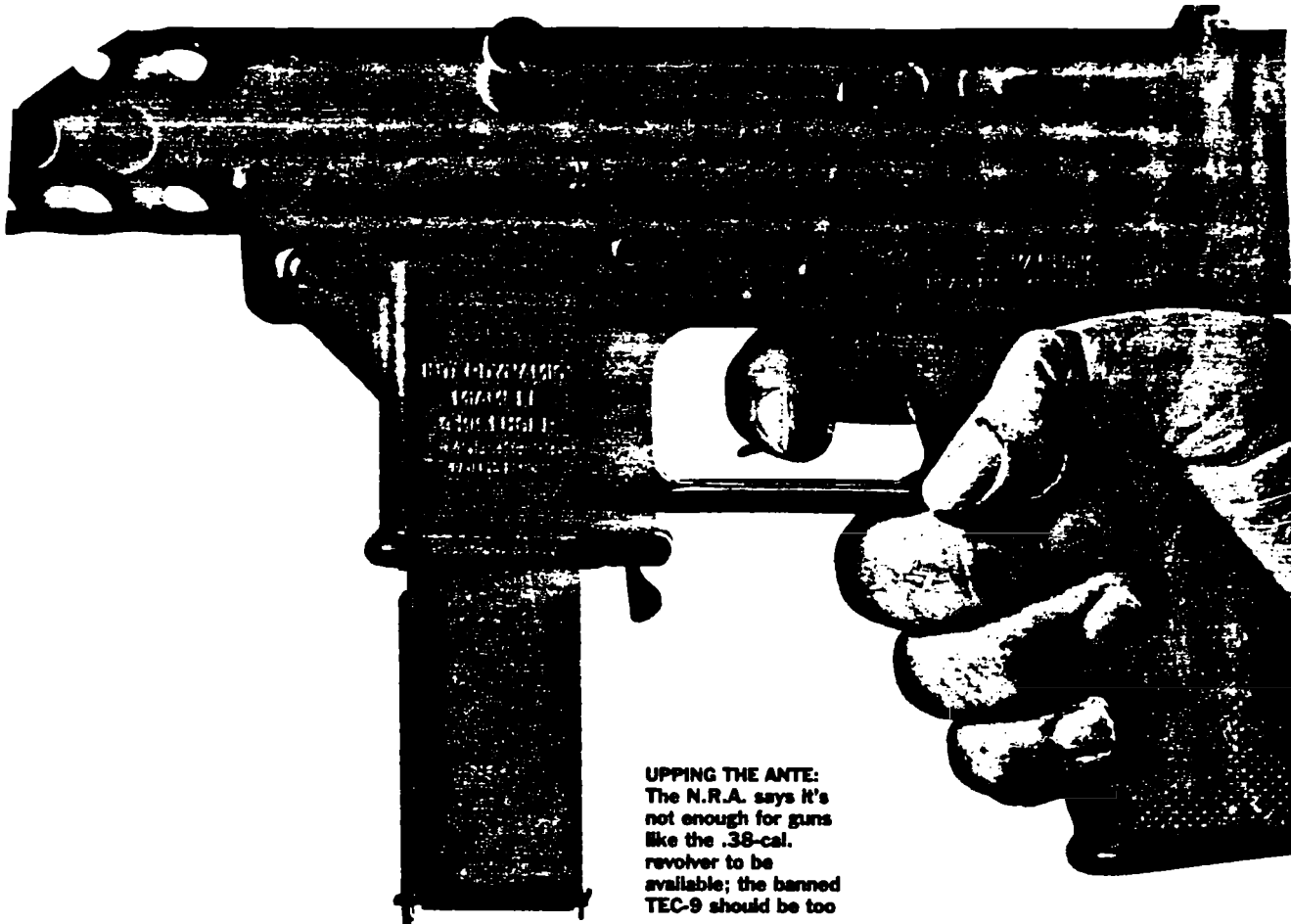
David Dunklee, on the other hand,

feels a renewed pride in the N.R.A. now that its focus has shifted from sporting issues to a zealous defense of gun ownership. Like many N.R.A. members, he fears that the citizenry's right to bear arms has been sorely challenged by such incidents as the 1993 federal raid on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, and the 1992 stand-off between Randy Weaver and federal agents at Ruby Ridge in Idaho. "There should be more investigation. The government needs to explain itself more fully," says Dunklee, a range instructor in Phoenix, Arizona. He has been an N.R.A. member since 1989, but only recently felt passionate enough to pay \$500 for a lifetime membership. "If you can't protect yourself and the police can't either," he says, "then you're in trouble."

On the surface, the N.R.A. would appear to be the one in trouble, with its house divided, its behavior widely condemned, its membership perceived as kooky, its legislative agenda upended by such defeats as the Brady Bill and the assault-weapons ban. But in fact the N.R.A. is making a powerful comeback, as a more militant organization. While it has increasingly alienated a majority of America's gun owners, not to

The N.R.A. suffers a public backlash for its extremism, but that is precisely the source of its newfound strength

cont.



UPPING THE ANTE:
The N.R.A. says it's not enough for guns like the .38-cal. revolver to be available; the banned TEC-9 should be too

mention the public at large, the N.R.A. has attracted a more radical following that is willing to give money and work vigorously toward the organization's goals.

Armed with an increasingly combative message that posits a tyrannical government as its main adversary, the 124-year-old organization is at peak power. Annual revenues for 1994 stood at \$148 million, up 16% over the prior year, and membership has surged to a record 3.5 million members. "That's twice as many as the Christian Coalition," boasts Arizona sheriff Richard Mack. At the same time, the N.R.A. has developed a grassroots network of political activists that, at a time of low voter turnout, is inspiring a new level of fear on Capitol Hill. "We have a political system that rewards intensity," says Thomas Mann of the Brookings Institution. "The only way you overcome that is to match their intensity with an intensity among those on the other side, and in the gun debate that has not happened."

The N.R.A.'s enhanced clout is largely the work of a militant elite within the N.R.A.'s 76-member board, most notably second vice president Neal Knox and chief lobbyist Tanya Metaksa, who cheerfully helps those who have trouble spelling her

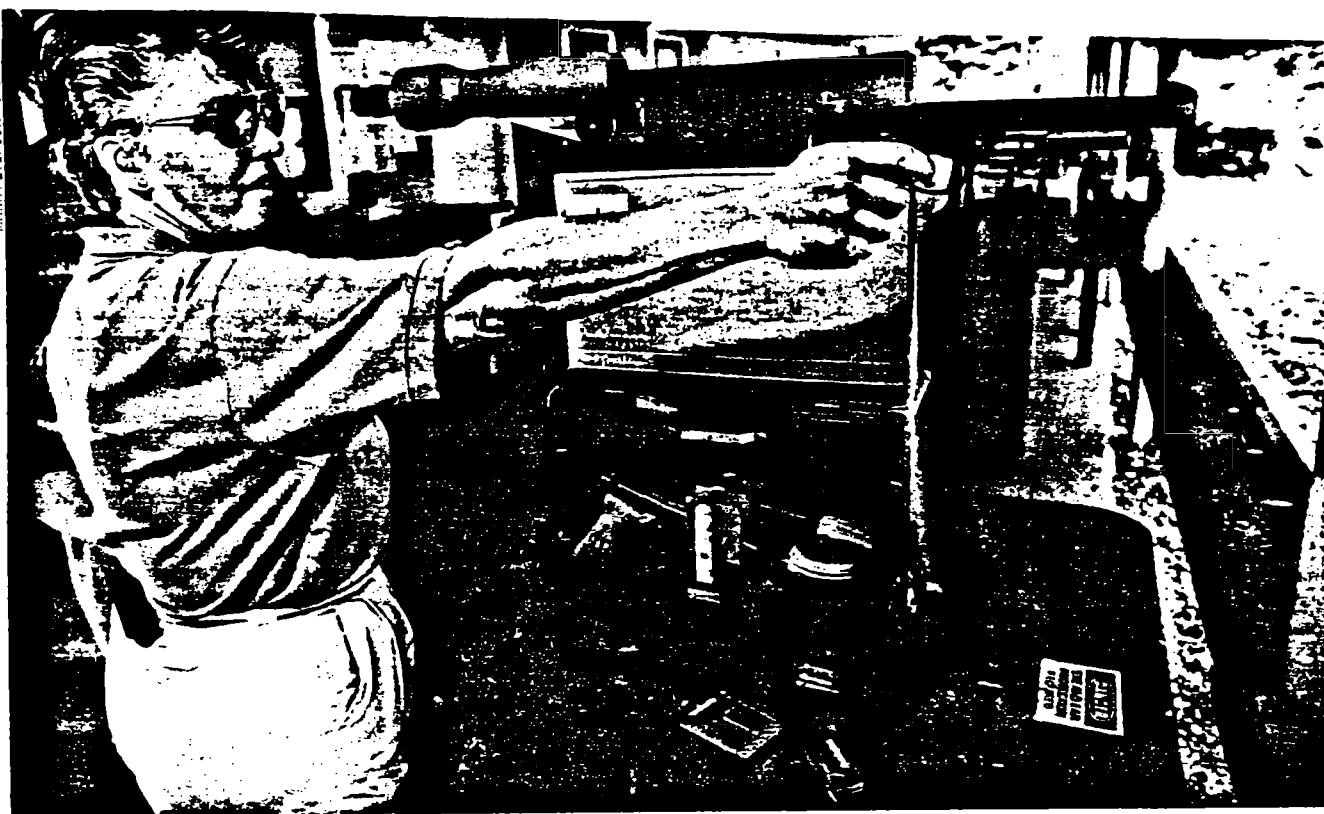
name: "It's 'ak' as in AK-47, and 'sa' as in semiautomatic." To foment a crisis atmosphere, this new breed of leaders has pushed the N.R.A. toward extreme, uncompromising positions, such as its defense of cop-killer bullets and denunciation of efforts to mark explosives for ready identification. As inflexible in their interpretation of the Second Amendment as Christian Fundamentalists are in their reading of the Bible, the militants trumpet each political and legislative setback as a potentially lethal assault on the right to bear arms.

It has proved a winning strategy. The largest membership surges followed two legislative defeats: the 1993 Brady Bill, which imposed a five-day waiting period on the purchase of handguns, and the 1994 ban on 19 categories of assault weapons. "The N.R.A. has been predicting imminent doom and practically the elimination of weapons for years," says Robert Spitzer, author of *The Politics of Gun Control*. "Now there was a real threat that provided a galvanizing force for opposition, and that helped pump up their membership."

The tough-as-bullets strategy was in evidence again last week in Phoenix, where 20,000 of the faithful converged for the

N.R.A.'s annual convention and gun show. This time the N.R.A. was under siege for strident rhetoric that seemed grossly insensitive in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing. While Bush's resignation prompted N.R.A. executive vice president Wayne LaPierre to issue a qualified apology for his inflammatory language in the March fund-raising letter, the N.R.A. was largely unabashed. Knox dismissed Bush's action as "a petty political payback because we didn't endorse him in 1992." Among the rank and file, the reaction was downright glee and a scramble for Bush's membership number. "My phones have been ringing off the wall," gloated field representative H. Dean Hall. "The best was the gal who said, 'I don't even own a gun, but I want to take George Bush's place.'"

Members openly scoffed at two blistering statements from President Clinton last week, one of which demanded that the N.R.A. "put the money where their mouth is" and contribute the "ill-gotten gains" from the fund-raising letter, estimated at \$1 million, to a police benevolent fund. In a Saturday session of its convention, N.R.A. president Tom Washington ridiculed Clinton, drawing laughs with the comment: "If



POLES APART: Fans call militant N.R.A. superlobbyist Tanya Metaksa the "first lady of freedom," while moderate members like Dave Rich

you know me at all, you know how deeply hurt and even offended I am that Bill Clinton may not like us very much." Still, the N.R.A. was feeling Clinton's heat. LaPierre defensively pounded the message that "we do not do battle with bullets; we fight with ballots." And he warned, "The eyes of history are upon us. Be worthy of the scrutiny."

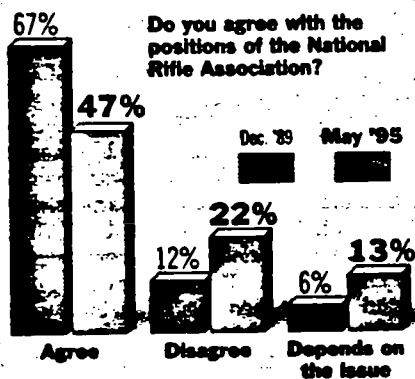
In the N.R.A.'s new realm of conspiracy theories, attacks like Clinton's serve only to

spur growth. "Bill Clinton is the best recruiting tool we've got," says Ronald Phillips, chief of the N.R.A.'s Colorado unit. If a state of siege is good for the N.R.A., things only got better last week. The Secret Service barred the N.R.A. from participating in its annual shooting competition, and the International Association of Chiefs of Police decided to ban N.R.A. ads from its monthly magazine, *Police Chief*. "We are

outraged at the N.R.A.'s repeated, slanderous rhetoric against federal agents," says John Whetsel, the group's president. "Such attacks cannot help but suggest that the N.R.A. leadership is anti-law enforcement."

Indeed the N.R.A. has drifted far from the center of the group it purports to represent. In a TIME/CNN poll of 600 gun owners last week, 68% disapproved of the harsh language used in the March fund-

WHAT GUN OWNERS THINK: A SPECIAL TIME/CNN POLL



Do you approve of the NRA calling federal agents "jack-booted thugs"?

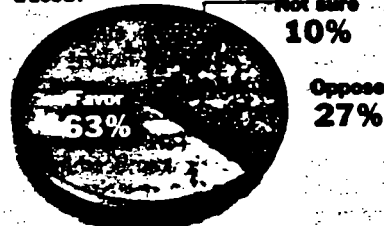
Approve	12%
Disapprove	68%

From a telephone poll of 600 adult American gun owners taken for TIME/CNN on May 17-18 by Renaissance Partners Inc. Sampling error is ±4%. "Not sure" omitted.

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of:

	favorable	unfavorable
The FBI	73%	9%
The NRA	60%	24%
The ATF	54%	21%
Militia groups	11%	65%

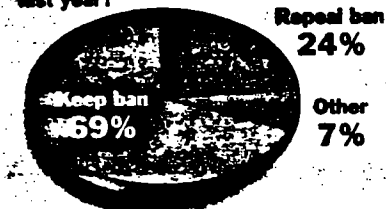
Do you favor adding materials to fertilizers and other items used in explosives to make them more easily traced?



Do you favor or oppose stricter gun-control laws?

	Dec. '89	May '95
Favor	51%	49%
Oppose	38%	43%

Do you think Congress should repeal the ban on assault rifles which passed last year?



Do you feel the Federal Government is trying to take away your right to own a gun?

Yes	44%
No	48%



quit, finding the N.R.A.'s agenda too radical

raising letter. Only 47% said they support N.R.A. positions in general, down sharply from 67% in a similar TIME/CNN poll in 1989. Only 24% of gun owners in the current poll support the N.R.A.'s No. 1 legislative agenda, a repeal of the 1994 assault-weapons ban. The N.R.A.'s other pet project, a campaign for congressional hearings on the alleged abuses by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms during the

Waco raid, also garnered little sympathy. Fifty-two percent of gun owners felt the invasion of the Branch Davidian compound was justified; just 27% thought the Davidians should have been left alone.

Despite such wan support among gun owners, the N.R.A. may well get its way on both counts—just not as soon as its leaders had hoped. While Knox predicted last week that the assault-weapons ban will be altered by Congress this year, the greater likelihood is that both chambers, mindful of public skittishness following the Oklahoma City blast, will postpone any vote until next year. That delay, however, may work to the N.R.A.'s advantage by giving the group more time to muster votes.

As for an investigation of alleged ATF abuses, two House subcommittees have agreed to hold a joint hearing by early summer. A G.O.P. House staff member says the decision was motivated by an outpouring of letters from citizens angered by the events in Waco. New York Democrat Charles Schumer, who has unsuccessfully tried instead to steer the House Judiciary Committee toward hearings on citizens' militias, counters, "If there were no N.R.A., there'd be no [Waco] hearings." Meanwhile, in the Senate, the Judiciary Committee has put off a Waco hearing, but the N.R.A. has allies championing its cause. "I think it's important to hold hearings," says Max Baucus, a Montana Democrat. "Let people say what they think. It's cathartic. Someone might learn something."

As the N.R.A. moves farther from the center, its political gravity only becomes stronger. At a time when the group has "lost some element of respectability in po-

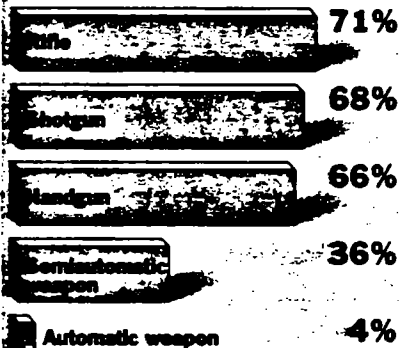
lite company," as analyst Mann puts it, presidential candidate Phil Gramm was on hand at the Phoenix convention last week to deliver the keynote address. Such clout has ensured that no piece of gun-control legislation will be passed by the current Congress. Then there is the eagerness of legislators like Baucus, who crossed the N.R.A. when he voted for the assault-weapons ban and now wants to make amends. Given the uncompromising brand of politics played by the N.R.A., Baucus knows he will face an upward battle in 1996 to secure a fourth term. Says author Spitzer: "The N.R.A. can make life so unpleasant that key public figures will yield to them because fighting them is more of a hassle than it's worth."

C LINTON'S ASSESSMENT OF THE N.R.A.'s influence is even more dire. After the Democratic blood-bath in the '94 elections, he told the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, "The N.R.A. is the reason the Republicans control the House." In that election, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, the N.R.A.'s political-action committee funneled nearly \$1.9 million directly into campaign coffers and poured another \$1.5 million of N.R.A. money into commercials, direct mailings and phone banks. The upshot: an estimated 32 incumbent House supporters of gun control lost their seats. The N.R.A.'s outlays not only represented a trebling of its political expenditures since 1990 but also showed a pronounced rightward tilt. Whereas in 1990 Democrats benefited from 39% of the N.R.A. pie, by '94 their share was down to 18%.

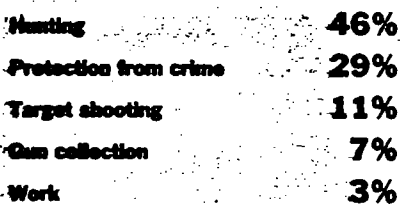
Is it important for citizens to own guns to keep the government from becoming too powerful and intrusive?

Yes 22%
No 72%

Percentage of gun owners polled who own any of the following:



What is the main reason you own a gun?

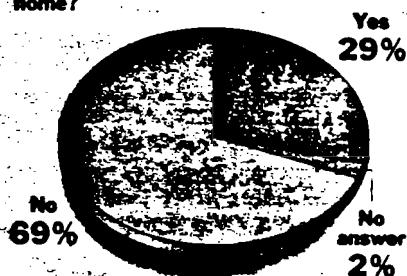


Do you ever carry your handgun with you?

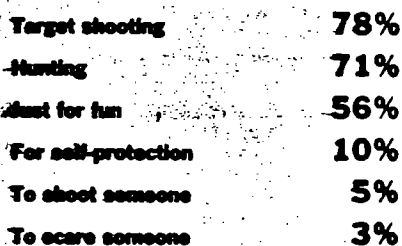


*Asked of handgun owners

Do you have any loaded guns in your home?



When have you fired your gun?



In its campaign work, the N.R.A. has become expert at brutal opposition tactics. Oklahoma Democrat Mike Synar was bumped from his House seat in the primary by what he calls a "stealth campaign," which did indeed mirror the stealth tactics of the religious right. The N.R.A. not only sent several operatives into the Congressman's Muskogee district to make sure opponents' campaigns were professionally run but also, Synar charges, trained and dispatched supporters to

"stalk" him and interrupt his public meetings with rude questions. "Their idea was to keep the turnout low, then make sure their vote got out." In the end, he says, among the 21% voter turnout, perhaps half were N.R.A. sympathizers.

Conversely, the N.R.A.'s attempt to salvage the imperiled seat of Texas Democrat Jack Brooks, a veteran N.R.A. supporter, met with defeat—ironically, at the hands of its grass-roots membership. Brooks, as chairman of the House Judiciary Commit-

tee, was perceived by N.R.A. leaders as a valuable gatekeeper for key legislation. But when Brooks voted for Clinton's crime bill, which included the assault-weapons ban, local N.R.A. members demanded that the endorsement be withdrawn. The N.R.A. dispatched no less a figure than Metaksa to argue Brooks' cause. But the local citizenry refused to fall into line, instead electing N.R.A. sympathizer Steve Stockman, who supports the militia movement as well. The N.R.A. leadership now cites the Brooks-Stockman episode to counter criticisms that the N.R.A. is a top-down organization whose actions are dictated from its new \$15 million headquarters in Fairfax, Virginia. "When you have 3.5 million members," contends president Washington, "you have people of every persuasion."

Still, there is a sense that the N.R.A. is being propelled rightward by a tiny élite. Critics charge that this cadre has seized power by capitalizing on the N.R.A.'s poor internal voter turnout. Though some 33% of members are eligible to vote, just 7% cast ballots. N.R.A. leaders went to great lengths last week in Phoenix to deny any serious rupture within the board. And despite speculation that hard-liners Knox and Metaksa might try to wrest control of the board from the somewhat more moderate helmsmanship of Washington and LaPierre, no putsch transpired. "The N.R.A. plays politi-

Why the Second Amendment Is a Loser in Court

THE SECOND AMENDMENT IS LIKE A RORSCHACH test: observers tend to examine it and discover whatever they already believe about gun control. Gun-rights groups like the N.R.A. are Second Amendment absolutists who believe that the 27-word passage bestows an inviolable right to own and carry guns. Gun-control advocates, on the other hand, tend to view the amendment as a dusty historical relic. For almost everyone else, the wording of the amendment is puzzling: "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed." Which part of the amendment is binding: the antiquated language about militias, or the broad language about the right to bear arms?

While that question produces hot debate in the public arena, gun-rights advocates know better than to wield the Second Amendment in court. No federal gun-control law has ever been struck down on Second Amendment grounds. "The Second Amendment's preamble makes it

clear," explains Harvard law professor Laurence Tribe, "that it is not designed to create an individual right to bear arms outside of the context of a state-run militia." As a consequence, Congress has been free to limit gun ownership and sales.

Most law professors give the amendment the same limited reading. But there is a dissenting minority. In a widely noted article in the *Yale Law Journal* in 1989, Professor Sanford Levinson of the University of Texas, who describes himself as "a card-carrying A.C.L.U. member who doesn't own a gun," argued that the Second Amendment limits the government's authority to regulate the private possession of arms. Says Levinson: "Liberal academics view the Second Amendment as an embarrassment, like the drunken uncle who shows up at the family reunion. They would never be so cavalier about an amendment they like." The N.R.A. was so delighted by Levinson's unexpected article that the group reprinted thousands of copies, which prompted a wave of fan mail for the professor.

—By Andrea Sachs



Militiamen mustering for action during the Revolution

cal games hard, inside and outside, but we are like a big family," says Knox. "Woe be unto you if you say something bad about our mama. We circle the wagons."

The circling was also tight among the N.R.A. members who felt enough devotion to lay down good money to attend the five-day conference in Phoenix. While many members allowed that the N.R.A. leadership's rhetoric was over the top, many also strongly perceive a government campaign to strip them of the ability to defend themselves. "That final loss of all weapons is a real fear for a lot of us," says Phillips of the Colorado N.R.A. "We've heard federal people talk about the disarming of America, and we'll take them at their word." They firmly adhere to the slippery-slope argument as well. With that disarming, they fear, all freedoms will be lost. "Guns are the clearly identifiable issue," says Bill Hiort, a lifetime member from Sycamore, Illinois. "But they're just one example of the intrusion of government into all aspects of life."

ACROSS THE U.S., FAR FROM THE convention's fervor, many N.R.A. members seem to shrug off the group's excesses as tactics that are excusable given the importance of the mission. "The N.R.A., whatever its faults, is still the best thing gun owners have," says Scott Carter, a 20-year member who manages a gun shop in Warrenton, Virginia. "Their past efforts and their future efforts to keep firearms in the hands of law-abiding citizens will do more to save this country than anything else." As for those members who feel that the N.R.A. has abandoned the interests of target shooters and hunters, says Hefner Appling, a longtime N.R.A. member in Texas, "That's just what the N.R.A.'s enemies like to say."

Such talk leaves little space for people like Dave Richards, 37, of Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, a target shooter who joined the N.R.A. to support the rights of sportsmen. Two years ago, Richards quit after concluding that the N.R.A. had become "more about lobbying for extremes than the mainstream people who just want to go hunting." A large number of those mainstream folks are now ex-members. Currently, four of every 10 members drop out when it comes time to renew their \$35 annual membership. "All the smaller voices like mine," says hunter Ray Guzman, "aren't being heard." Speaking with a louder, shriller voice clearly works within the N.R.A. The question is whether America's other citizens, including responsible gun owners, will make themselves heard as well.

—Reported by Jeffrey H. Birnbaum and Nina Burleigh/Washington, S.C. Gwynne/Austin, Elaine Shannon and Richard Woodbury/Phoenix and David Seidman/New York

THE POLITICAL INTEREST

Michael Kramer

That Was No Apology

Sorry, hell. Feeling the heat last week, the N.R.A. backed off its phenomenally successful recent fund-raising letter, the one blasting federal cops as "jackbooted government thugs ... who, in Clinton's Administration ... have the government's go-ahead to harass, intimidate, even murder law-abiding citizens."

"If anyone thought [our] intention was to paint all federal law-enforcement officials with the same broad brush, I'm sorry," said Wayne LaPierre, the N.R.A.'s executive vice president.

Hear LaPierre carefully. He didn't say "Sorry about all that." He said "Sorry about some of that." Left standing as the N.R.A.'s chief enemy, which the association continues to demonize in its insatiable quest for new members and more money, is the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. "That was no apology," says Dewey Stokes, national president of the Fraternal Order of Police. "LaPierre can't get off the hook by saying, 'Oops, I was really only talking about ATF. Law enforcement is a family, and when you attack one member, you attack us all.'"

The N.R.A. could care less what Stokes or anyone else thinks. Browse through its venomous mailings and you quickly realize why it's sometimes easier to defend free speech when no one hears it. The N.R.A. is about power. It gets it by whipping its members to a frenzy of anti-government paranoia. It holds their attention and picks their wallets by flaunting its control over politicians who crave its approval or fear its wrath or just want its campaign money. And it very clearly won't relinquish even an iota of its influence without a fight.

Which is exactly what Bill Clinton is eager to provoke. Clinton welcomed the N.R.A.'s faux mea culpa last Friday, but only as fodder. It gave him the opportunity to suggest that the N.R.A. donate to the families of cops killed in the line of duty the nearly \$1 million that its offensive letter has already raised. That kind of talk will be heard often as the 1996 presidential season matures. Bashing the N.R.A. helps distinguish Clinton from his Republican rivals.

As Bob Dole proved last week. With his myopic focus on New Hampshire's gun-loving Republican voters (the primary's only nine months away), Dole had originally brushed aside the N.R.A. letter. They need "a little image-repair job," he said. So Dole's embrace of the N.R.A.'s "apology" as "the right thing" to have done is hardly surprising. "We're where the N.R.A. itself is right now," concedes a Dole adviser. "The sooner this mess is off the radar screen, the sooner they can go back to raising money and we can get on with running for President."

As most politicians have run for cover, it's worth noting an unlikely profile in courage. Few think of New York Senator Al D'Amato as a voice of reason ("including me," he says), but D'Amato stood up to G. Gordon Liddy after the nut-case talk-show host advised that people "defending their homes" aim their bullets at cops' heads because "they wear protective vests." Liddy was scheduled to address the National Republican Senatorial Committee on May 1, but D'Amato chairs the group and disinvited him. "He can say whatever he wants—the First Amendment and all that," says D'Amato. "But we don't have to let him address us. Liddy's kind of hot talk has gone way too far. The responsible thing is to refrain from anything that can be interpreted as endorsing that kind of garbage." Well, good for D'Amato. These days, calm good sense is welcome from any quarter.



The N.R.A.'s LaPierre isn't taking it all back

'We're Not Running Now'

Guns: A defiant NRA gives Clinton an opportunity



JAMES KUBILE—JB PICTURES

Steady aim: At the NRA convention the talk was of guns, liberties—and no retreat

APOLOGIES WEREN'T IN ORDER AT THE National Rifle Association's annual meeting in Arizona. Instead, some 20,000 NRA members jammed the Phoenix Civic Center last week for a display of make-my-day toughness. The hardware was suitably exotic: Red Army sniper rifles, Warsaw Pact binoculars, night-vision goggles, Heckler & Koch "semiautos." The world view was apocalyptic. "We are heading toward a dictatorial type of government," said Dennis Kayer, a Phoenix video producer who packs a Glock pistol on trips to the supermarket. Speeches from the podium were unrepentant. "We've never run from a fight before," said first vice president Marion Hammer, "and we're not running now."

There is a fight. Before the Oklahoma City bombing, the group's fiery antigovernment rhetoric and strong-arm tactics were feared by Democrats and admired by Republicans—dozens of whom got to Congress with the NRA's help. But now the NRA's image seems less impressive and more ominous. Demonizing federal law-enforcement agents is hardly fashionable. The ban on "assault" weapons—despised by the NRA—is more popular than ever. These days the NRA is making its GOP allies nervous and giving a Democratic president

a rare chance to stand as a credible champion of law and order.

The NRA is under full-scale attack in Washington. After George Bush cleared the ground by quitting the NRA, President Clinton landed. Speaking to families of slain policemen, he decried as enemies of the "American Way" those who "run down" law enforcement. Privately, some Republicans urged the NRA to disown its now infamous fund-raising letter, which called U.S. agents "jackbooted thugs" in "Nazi bucket helmets." Such alarmism had long since become obnoxious to another prominent NRA member: retired Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf. The gulf-war hero disclosed to NEWSWEEK last week that he had quit the NRA a few years ago. They are "very inflexible and almost radical," he said. "They appeal to a fringe element of gun owners."

Though the NRA boasted that the letter had increased its record-high membership, the NRA caved—sort of. The fund-raising letter referred only to Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms busts, said executive vice president Wayne LaPierre. But if any-

one expects more white flags, they weren't in Phoenix. "If [federal agents] act like thugs," LaPierre told cheering members, "we're going to call them thugs." Other lobbies are bigger or richer, but none matches the NRA's combination of size, technology and laser-sharp zeal. The NRA has something others don't: members with messianic fervor fighting what they view as a battle to save the essence of liberty.

In fact, the NRA has been controlled by hard-liners since 1977—and has become more radical since the passage of the Brady waiting-period bill in 1993 and the assault-weapons ban last year. In the last two years many of the NRA's publications have used much the same imagery and rhetoric as the now repudiated solicitation. One ad in the NRA's *American Rifleman* is typical. It uses a picture of Nazi storm troopers to depict the effect of an FBI gun proposal.

The GOP now is caught in the kind of riptides that have beset Democrats for years. Republicans usually love playing to the NRA crowd, and with good reason: the group gave more than \$1 million to congressional campaigns in 1994, is the best-organized grass-roots force in the party and has given heavily to most of the 1996 presidential candidates. Sen. Phil Gramm, who has received \$350,000 worth of help from the NRA, was the keynote speaker in Phoenix. But the perils of seeming to be in thrall to the NRA is causing others to keep their distance. Front runner Bob Dole promises

a Senate vote on the assault-weapons ban, but turned down an invitation to speak in Phoenix. He was quick to express relief at the NRA's apology—but took a swipe in the process. "They should not have used some of that language in the first place," he said.

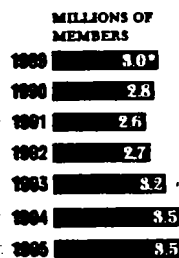
Wedge issue: Meanwhile, the Clinton White House is happily using the NRA as a "wedge" to divide the GOP coalition: pitting pro-gun rural men against suburban women, for example. ("The assault-weapons issue just kills us with women," said a GOP consultant.) Wearing his most serious face, the president called on the NRA to donate the

proceeds from its notorious letter to the families of slain police officers. The Clintonites think the boss now has a chance to prove he really is the man he claims to be: a Bubba with a conscience. Though Clinton was once an NRA member, supporting gun control is a matter of principle with him, said longtime adviser Frank Greer. If it makes Republicans feel the heat, so much the better.

HOWARD FINEMAN with
MICHAEL ISIKOFF in Phoenix

Rebound

Despite a tough political climate, NRA membership is back up.



*FIGURES BOUNDED.
SOURCE: AP RESEARCH

A Rare Visit with the Rebel of Ruby Ridge

By EDWARD BARNES GRAND JUNCTION

HE IS THE PATRON SAINT OF MILITANT GUN OWNERS, a living martyr whose infamous 1992 shoot-out with federal agents helped ignite "a seething backlash in the country," as the N.R.A. puts it. But as Randy Weaver looked out his window in a rural Iowa town last week, watching children play on the freshly mowed grass of a park across the street, he sounded more like a struggling single parent than an antigovernment desperado. The children on the lawn reminded him of Samuel, his 14-year-old son, who was shot and killed by federal agents. "He loved the outdoors," Weaver told a TIME reporter. "When we skinned deer, he would sharpen a knife as I cut into the hide. He did everything well. And my wife was so good with the kids..." Then he abruptly stopped. Tears filled both eyes. "I'm not as good a father as she was a mother."

During the shoot-out at the family's cabin on Ruby Ridge in Idaho, Weaver's wife was killed by a federal sniper's bullet as she stood in a doorway holding her baby daughter. Weaver was accused of murder in the death of a federal agent in the shoot-out but was convicted of only two counts related to his failure to appear in court on an earlier weapons charge, for which he served a 16-month sentence.

Yet the Randy Weaver who answers the doorbell of the two-story house with the flaking brown paint and squeaky front door on a corner lot in Grand Junction, Iowa (pop. 880), is dwarfed by his own legend. He is about 5 ft. 7 in. with neatly styled salt-and-pepper hair. He wears a pressed pair of jeans, black T shirt and clean white socks. "I can't wait till all this blows over, and I can go back to the mountains again," he says as he ushers a TIME reporter into his living room, furnished with two couches and an exercise machine. He spends \$250 a month on rent, getting by, according to a friend, on the Social Security survivor's benefits paid because his wife died.

From a brown corduroy recliner, Weaver can keep an eye on his two youngest daughters, Elisheba, 3, and Rachel, 13, who often play in the park across the street. His oldest daughter, Sara, 19, who works as a waitress, has rented a house up the street. On some days, Weaver sits and sips coffee from a mug emblazoned with the German flag. When visitors drop by, he mixes White Russians in the kitchen. Outside on the small lawn, a jumble of bicycles lies scattered across the sidewalk. A battered white gas guzzler hunkers in the driveway. He says he is not working. Not doing much. Just waiting.

Weaver is waiting as his 87-year-old father fights a battle with cancer. He is waiting for his \$170 million lawsuit to be heard against the government, in which he alleges the wrongful death of his wife and son. He is waiting to find out if he is

to testify at congressional hearings on his case. He is waiting for the end of the probation that locks him in the southern counties of Iowa, his family's original home, until Dec. 17. He is waiting as Gerry Spence, the flamboyant Wyoming attorney who won Weaver's acquittal on murder charges, finishes the book that will explain what happened on Ruby Ridge and take the government to task.

The presence of Weaver, an avowed white separatist, has divided the town ever since he moved back two years ago so he could have help rearing his children. He came here, he says, because he had relatives nearby. But not everyone trusts his motives. A woman walking down Main Street says she is terrified by him. She has read all about Weaver and wonders if there are other reasons he has come to her town.

"Is it to spread hate?" she asks. "Will there be trouble here?" At Gene's, a local bar where Weaver often hangs out, he is remembered for "his foul mouth" and the time he had friends from Idaho visit, a waitress recalls. "It was all hate. We are Catholics, and we know about local prejudice. We don't take to it. With him that is all that comes out."

Since Weaver's release from jail, he has not talked publicly about his case. In the local bars, admirers who have seen the videotapes and heard fiery speeches about Ruby Ridge often approach him. They want to hear about the siege and how he beat the government in court. But Weaver simply walks away. He does this partly out of suspicion but also because "I'm one of those guys who talks, but it isn't until the next day that I realize what I should have

said," he explains. Weaver is clearly uncomfortable with his role as hero. His mail is still filled with gifts from supporters. Two weeks ago, he got two handmade quilts and pillowcases from a woman he had never met. His daughter Sara found them on the couch and said she could use them. "Then you have to write the thank-you note," he told her.

Sometimes supporters show up unexpectedly. Like Ben, who arrived in an old pickup last week and knocked on the door. Ben had met Weaver once in Idaho and told him he would see him again. On a whim Ben decided it was time to keep his promise. So Ben, his granddaughter and their dog drove 30 hours straight just to sit in the same room with Weaver. They visited for dinner and then turned around and drove home. Weaver was a gracious host but shared little besides hospitality.

"I'm not a joiner," Weaver confides. "I don't belong to the militia or any other group. I have my own take on things. Hell, I'm really not even a Christian. But I get calls all the time from the militia and other groups to come talk. I can't now. But if I do, I think I would only last a few speeches. They would find out I don't really agree with them either."



He is not working, not playing hero—just waiting

Date: 05/17/95 Time: 08:57

NRA Lobbyist Strikes Back at Clinton on Assault-Weapons Ban

WASHINGTON (AP) Lashing back at President Clinton, the National Rifle Association's chief lobbyist says his statements in support of continuing the ban on assault-style weapons are "ludicrous and indefensible."

"The ban is masking an abysmal record of this administration in failing to prosecute federal weapons violations," lobbyist Tanya Metaksa said at a National Press Club debate on Tuesday.

But gun-control advocate Sarah Brady countered that "gun laws do work" and the ban "will reduce the firepower of criminals and save lives."

The exchange came amid a heightened focus on the NRA, one of Washington's most powerful lobbies, and its sometimes aggressive anti-government rhetoric, in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing.

Former President Bush recently resigned his NRA membership to protest a fund-raising letter that referred to federal law enforcement agents as "jack-booted government thugs" and accused the Clinton administration of giving federal police the go-ahead to "murder law-abiding citizens."

Clinton attacked the gun lobby on Monday, saying it had maligned federal agents in the letter and lauding Bush's decision to resign.

On Tuesday, the Secret Service, which is in charge of protecting the president, decided to drop the NRA from its annual shooting competition in Beltsville, Md., for law enforcement officers.

"Due to the public announcement made by the NRA, their invitation to attend our annual pistol match ... has been rescinded," Dave Adams, a Secret Service spokesman, told The Washington Post.

Metaksa said Clinton's statement that the September 1994 ban on assault-style weapons has been effective was "in my opinion, ludicrous and indefensible."

She maintained that prosecutions of federal weapons violations have declined 23 percent in the past two years. "That's the only way this gun ban is effective: It camouflages a lack of performance," she said.

White House spokeswoman Ginny Terzano, asked about Metaksa's remarks, said, "It's sad that the chief lobbyist of this organization is trying to wage a war of words when ... the president has met with law enforcement officers from across the country, who overwhelmingly want to see the weapons ban held. ... The president does not want to see it repealed and will do everything he can to make sure that more people don't get killed from these weapons."

Justice Department spokesman Bert Brandenburg said Metaksa's criticism was "off-base."

"We don't have hard numbers yet, but our year-old anti-violent crime initiative has ... emphasized fighting violent crime by parceling out weapons cases in the most efficient way possible," Brandenburg said. Cases handled by state or local prosecutors would not be reported as federal prosecutions.

Condemning the Oklahoma City federal building bombing, Metaksa said such terrorist acts had "absolutely no justification." But she said the government should not wield "a broad brush of blame."

"The NRA believes in government. We work in the governmental process," she said. "The NRA has always been pro-police."

She debated Brady, who started campaigning for gun-control laws after her husband, James, then President Reagan's press secretary,

was permanently injured in the March 1981 assassination attempt on Reagan.

``Our opponents insist that gun laws don't work. But gun laws do work,'' Brady said. ``Given a chance to work, the assault-weapon ban will reduce the firepower of criminals and save lives.''

Metaksa, who describes herself as ``a mother, a grandmother and a competitive shooter,'' commands a \$19 million lobbying war chest. She was introduced at the debate as being ``in the aggressive camp'' of the NRA, which begins its annual meeting later this week in Phoenix amid news reports of a rift over its strategy.

Brady, daughter of an FBI agent, was once director of administration for the Republican National Committee. Growing up, she has said, she viewed the NRA as a ``motherhood, apple pie, patriotic group.'' Now, she said, ``our opponents resort to hysteria.''

APNP-05-17-95 0859EDT

NRA Says Controversial Letter A Fund-Raising Boon

WASHINGTON (AP) Criticism and apologies aside, the National Rifle Association says the fund-raising letter that prompted former President Bush to resign his membership is bringing in a huge amount of money.

Though declining to release specific dollar figures, NRA officials contend the letter has already drawn more than 900,000 responses most of them positive making it one of the group's most successful ever.

"This is going to do very, very well, and will raise well over a million dollars," said Wayne LaPierre, executive vice president of the NRA. "There is a very real concern out there about the issues we raised in that letter."

Those concerns primarily over threats the group contends citizens face from government agents have been overshadowed by the letter's graphic language, which included references to law enforcement officials as "jack-booted thugs."

On Wednesday, after a week of growing criticism that began when Bush announced he had resigned in protest over the letter's tone, the NRA apologized for any offense, particularly to law enforcement officials.

"I really feel bad about the fact that the words in that letter have been interpreted to apply to all federal law enforcement officers," NRA Executive Vice President Wayne LaPierre said. "If anyone thought the intention was to paint all federal law enforcement officials with the same broad brush, I'm sorry, and I apologize."

That statement drew cautious approval Thursday from the White House, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and Attorney General Janet Reno.

White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry, who said he heard the NRA "was doing some backtracking," said the best form of apology would be for the organization to support the anti-terrorism legislation President Clinton introduced after the Oklahoma City bombing.

"That would be a very apt testimonial to the law enforcement officials that the NRA has maligned and would be a good tribute to those law enforcement officials who died," McCurry said.

"I trust that the level of communication now will go forward in a thoughtful and respectful way," Reno told her weekly news conference when asked about the apology. But later, discussing the group's previous allegations of abuse by federal officers, she said, "They like to call names rather than to pursue matters in a thoughtful and constructive way."

Dole, a longtime NRA member, said on the Senate floor, "The NRA has done the right thing. They should not have used some of that language in the first place."

If the NRA's fund-raising claims hold up, the take from the controversial letter could be more than double the amount of money the group had previously received this year.

According to Federal Election Commission records, the NRA received \$423,205 in donations from January through March. In 1994, contributions totaled \$6.7 million, FEC records show.

While LaPierre said the NRA never reveals exact fund-raising totals, he did confirm that the letter went to nearly all of the group's 3.5 million members.

If the NRA did generate close to 900,000 contributions and letters of support, it would mean a success rate of at least 35

percent a figure that political fund-raisers said would be extremely impressive.

``This is an extraordinary response, in the general sense of fund raising, where you're doing very well if you get 10 percent,'' said Robert Kaplan, a direct-mail fund-raiser from Los Angeles. ``Even if you're mailing to members of your organization, on an emotional issue, which drives up your return, you might hit 30 percent one in 20 times.''

Kaplan, who has raised money for liberal and non-profit causes for the past 10 years, said the NRA mailing had all the ingredients needed for success.

``They are working with a good donor base and had a hot-button issue,'' Kaplan said. ``Direct-mail fund raising does best when you can work with the element of fear.''

APNP-05-18-95 1635EDT

Date: 03/04/95 Time: 12:34

Treasury Blasts NRA Ads Criticizing Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and

WASHINGTON (AP) The Treasury Department accused the National Rifle Association on Saturday of unfairly vilifying government agents in an effort to undermine laws that restrict sales of assault weapons and handguns.

Treasury Undersecretary Ronald Noble sent a letter to the NRA criticizing full-page newspaper ads it ran last week that said the department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms ``deserves public contempt.''

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

Noble, in a letter to the NRA's Tanya Metaksa, said the ad ``profoundly misrepresented ATF, its agents, and its mission.''

He said none of the 10,000 ATF search warrants executed in the past decade had resulted in a judgment of constitutional violations.

Noble said the NRA's ``true target'' was legislation enacted over the past two years to ban assault weapons and require a waiting period on handgun purchases.

``The NRA leadership may choose to oppose moderate, reasonable firearms laws,''

Noble wrote. ``But it is wrong to single out for abuse the courageous agents who enforce laws championed by the president and duly enacted by the people's elected representatives.

There was no answer to phone calls to Metaksa's home on Saturday.

APNP-03-04-95 1237EST

Date: 05/23/95 Time: 17:16

NRA Goes On Offensive Again With 'Town Meeting' Campaign

WASHINGTON (AP) The National Rifle Association is warning members of an impending ``police state'' as it urges them to attend town meetings with lawmakers to denounce President Clinton's policies and help repeal a ban on assault-style firearms.

A gun-control advocate, in response, called the organization's leaders ``fear mongers'' and ``extremists.''

The letter to members, which urges them also to give money, comes as the NRA is embroiled in controversy over an earlier fund-raising letter that called federal law enforcement officers ``jack-booted government thugs.''

NRA chief lobbyist Tanya Metaksa writes in the new letter: ``Before Bill Clinton pushes legislation that takes away from our freedoms and creates a police state, we've urged that members of Congress hold town meetings in their home districts to hear what you have to say, first.''

The letter criticizes federal law enforcement agents, specifically the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

``In the wake of the horrible tragedy in Oklahoma City, our opponents now want to expand their attacks on us to include our First Amendment rights, too,''' Metaksa wrote. ``The right to keep and bear arms, the right to free speech and the right to free association are all on the chopping block.''

Sending postcards to congressmen about town meetings, the letter says, will help to bring a repeal of last year's ban on assault-style weapons, ``to crack down on intimidation and harassment by Clinton's agents, (and) to retake constitutional freedoms lost in the last two years.''

Rep. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., a chief author of that ban, said the letter shows the NRA is using ``the same kind of inflammatory language.''

``Once again, even after Oklahoma City, the NRA is pushing visions of Nazi Germany and jack-booted thugs,''' Schumer told a news conference. ``The leadership of NRA are fear mongers of the worst kind. They are extremists and the American people should reject them.''

The new campaign follows a tumultuous few weeks for the 3.5 million-member NRA, one of Washington's most powerful organizations.

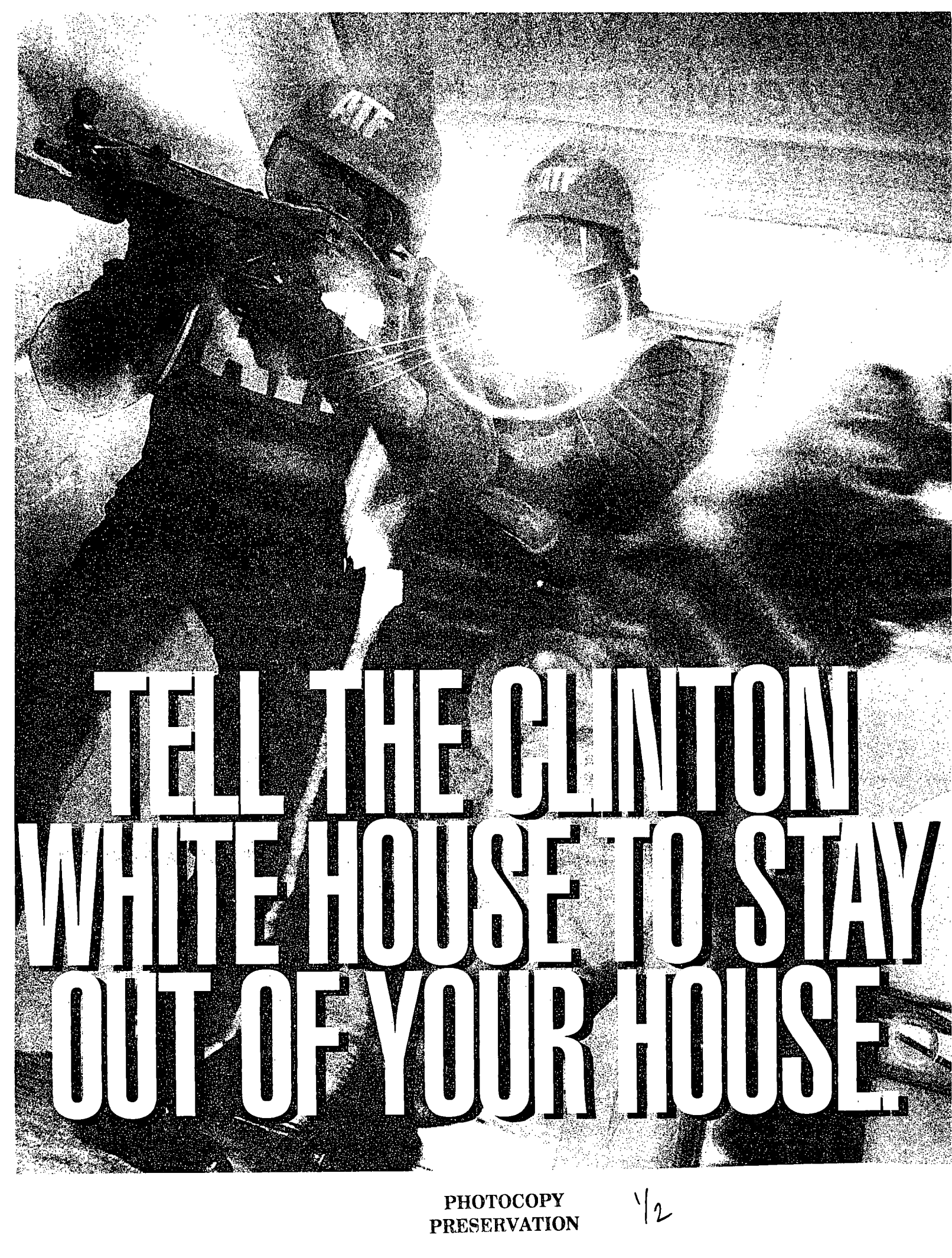
Last Friday, as the NRA gathered at its annual convention in Phoenix, Clinton challenged it to give up more than \$1 million reaped from the earlier fund-raising letter.

The anti-government rhetoric in that missive, sent several months ago, moved former President Bush to resign his NRA life membership in protest early this month.

NRA Executive Vice President Wayne LaPierre issued a qualified apology last week, saying he hadn't meant to tar all federal officers. But a few days later, before a cheering crowd at the Phoenix meeting, LaPierre taunted Clinton, warning him that the NRA will help ``clean your clock'' in next year's presidential election.

NRA spokesmen didn't immediately return telephone calls Tuesday seeking comment on the new letter.

APNP-05-23-95 1718EDT



**TELL THE CLINTON
WHITE HOUSE TO STAY
OUT OF YOUR HOUSE.**

2/2

A6 WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1995

THE WASHINGTON POST

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

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

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

force against innocents. Worse yet, there's good reason to fear that broad new powers under the Clinton Crime Bill could lead ATF to intensify its reign of storm-trooper tactics.

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

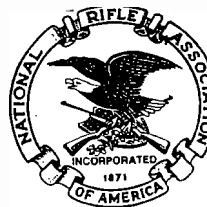
No freedom-loving person can condone a bureaucracy whose mission is to make gun ownership by

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

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

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

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



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

©1995 NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Bush quits NRA, cites 'thug' talk

Ex-president defends agents

HOUSTON (UPI) — Former President George Bush resigned from the National Rifle Association in protest over remarks an NRA official made after the Oklahoma City bombing, according to a letter released yesterday.

"I was outraged when, even in the wake of the Oklahoma City tragedy, Mr. Wayne La Pierre, executive vice president of the NRA, defended his attack on federal agents as 'jackbooted thugs,'" Mr. Bush said in the May 3 letter.

In the letter addressed to NRA President Thomas Washington, the former president said Mr. Washington had not repudiated Mr. La Pierre's "unwarranted attack."

"Therefore I resign as a life member of the NRA, said resignation to be effective upon your receipt of this letter. Please remove my name from your membership list," Mr. Bush wrote.

Mr. Washington wrote back to Mr. Bush: "Surely, a private exchange between us might persuade you to at least reserve a final opinion until all the facts are examined."

"Such a course of action, I believe, would have better served the country than what will now become a public disagreement that can only lead to more polarization in these troubled times," Mr. Washington wrote.

Mr. Bush said he has been a gun owner and avid hunter for many years, and has agreed over the years with most of the NRA's positions, but was deeply offended by Mr. La Pierre's comments.

Mr. Bush noted that Al Whicher, who served on his Secret Service detail as vice president and president, was killed in the Oklahoma City attack.

"He was no Nazi. He was a kind man, a loving parent, a man dedicated to serve his country — and serve it well he did," Mr. Bush said.

President Redrafts Ban On Guns Near Schools

By John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton yesterday sent Congress legislation that would allow the reinstatement of a law banning guns in and around schools that was struck down as unconstitutional last month by the Supreme Court.

Following through on a promise Clinton made days after the April 26 decision, the White House said Justice Department lawyers have drafted language that they think will satisfy the court's objections.

In a 5 to 4 decision, the court struck down a 1990 law banning guns within 1,000 feet of schools because the federal government had not established how such a prohibition fell under its jurisdiction to regulate interstate commerce.

Under the administration's proposed language, prosecutors could not convict accused offenders without first proving that the firearm had crossed state lines or that "the possession of such firearm otherwise affects interstate or foreign commerce."

"I am committed to doing everything in my power to make schools places where young people can be se-

cure, where they can learn, and where parents can be confident that discipline is enforced," Clinton, who was traveling in Russia yesterday, said in a statement released by the White House. "We are prepared to work immediately with the Congress to enact this legislation. I urge the prompt and favorable consideration of this legislative proposal by the Congress."

The fight over a federal gun ban is at least partly symbolic because more than 40 states have similar laws on the books. But White House officials said federal prosecuting power would still be useful in many cases.

Last month's decision attracted wide notice because for decades justices have taken a broad interpretation of federal power to regulate under the Constitution's interstate commerce clause.

Assistant Attorney General Walter E. Dellinger, who heads the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel, predicted that the new language can survive a constitutional challenge. And, because most handguns come from Connecticut and cross state lines, the new law "will not be a difficult burden for prosecutors," he said.

An Angry Bush Ends His Ties To Rifle Group

By SAM HOWE VERHOVEK

HOUSTON, May 10 — Former President George Bush has resigned from the National Rifle Association, expressing outrage over a recent fund-raising letter in which a top N.R.A. official described some Federal law-enforcement agents as "jackbooted Government thugs."

"Your broadside against Federal agents deeply offends my own sense of decency and honor, and it offends my concept of service to country," Mr. Bush wrote in a letter to Thomas Washington, president of the N.R.A. and made public by his office here today.

The rifle association defended the descriptions used in the solicitation, which was made public a few days after the April 19 bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City. The six-page N.R.A. letter said that some Federal agents wear "Nazi bucket helmets and black storm trooper uniforms," and "harass, intimidate, even murder law-abiding citizens."

Among other targets, the letter referred to the role of agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in a February 1993 raid of the Branch Davidian sect near Waco, Tex. Four Federal agents and six sect members died in the gunfight there.

In his letter, Mr. Bush referred to an A.T.F. agent from Houston, Steve Willis, who died in the gunfight. "I can assure you that this honorable man, killed by weird cultists, was no Nazi," the former President wrote.

But Wayne LaPierre, executive vice president of the N.R.A. and the author of the solicitation, said all of his comments in the letter were war-

ranted.

"The American public needs to know the truth about B.A.T.F. abuses," he said in a statement made public this evening. "We will meet our critics in Congressional hearings, and I am confident that when all the testimony is in our words and actions will be completely vindicated."

The former President also said he was especially incensed that "even in the wake of the Oklahoma City tragedy," the N.R.A. had refused to disavow the language of the solicitation. The truck bomb that blew up outside the Federal Building in Oklahoma City killed 166 people, including Al Whicher, a Secret Service agent who helped guard Mr. Bush when he was Vice President and when he became President. In his letter, Mr. Bush described Mr.

Whicher as "a kind man, a loving parent, a man dedicated to serving his country."

With its 3.5 million members and vigorous lobbying presence in Washington, the rifle association has been assiduously courted by several candidates for the 1996 Republican Presidential nomination, who have pledged support for a prime N.R.A. goal of overturning a Federal ban on assault weapons passed last summer.

Nelson Warfield, a spokesman for the campaign of Bob Dole, the Senate majority leader who last week called for Congressional hearings into the Government's conduct at Waco, said, "While Senator Dole respects President Bush very much, he has no plans to drop his membership in the N.R.A."

The former President's letter represents the continuation of a feud between him and the rifle association, which endorsed him in 1988 but declined to do so when he ran for reelection in 1992. At the time, the group denounced Mr. Bush for favoring a ban on the import of some semiautomatic weapons and, it believed, for failing to vigorously oppose what later became the Brady law, a five-day waiting period for the purchase of many handguns.

Despite the group's refusal to endorse him, Mr. Bush had remained a member until now, and said in his letter today that he continued to support many of the group's objectives, "particularly your educational and

training efforts, and your fundamental stance in favor of owning guns."

Jim McGrath, a spokesman in the Houston office of Mr. Bush, said the former President believes that "the letter speaks for itself." He said Mr. Bush, who was traveling out of state and unavailable for comment, "knows his sentiments are shared by many of the members in the N.R.A.; he's spoken with others who share that sentiment."

In his response to Mr. Bush, the N.R.A. president, Mr. Washington, said he was "surprised and sad-

dened" that the former President had resigned from the organization. "I can understand and sympathize with the deeply emotional consequences you are enduring as a result of losing a close friend in the Oklahoma City tragedy," he said.

Nonetheless, Mr. Washington added: "I'm sorry that you have chosen to unequivocally condemn N.R.A.'s words without first seeking an explanation. Surely, a private exchange between us might persuade you to at least reserve a final opinion until all the facts are examined."

But gun-control advocates praised Mr. Bush's action.

"When George Bush, who's clearly anti-gun control, thinks the N.R.A. is too extreme, then you know something's the matter with that organization," said Representative Charles E. Schumer, a Brooklyn Democrat. "George Bush's action, maybe, will knock some sense into them."

Bush Resigns Membership in NRA in Protest

■ **Lobbyists:** Ex-President says he is 'outraged' by group's fund-raising letter labeling federal agents as 'jack-booted thugs.'

By ROBERT SHOGAN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

WASHINGTON—Former President George Bush has quit the National Rifle Assn. to protest a fund-raising letter sent out by the organization that labeled federal agents as "jack-booted thugs" and could roil the waters of the Republican presidential race.

Bush described himself as "outraged" by the organization's failure to repudiate the letter, which points up the NRA's vulnerability in the wake of the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building. In a letter to NRA President Thomas Washington dated May 3 and made available by his office in Houston, the former GOP chief executive added: "To attack Secret Service Agents or ATF [Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms] people or any government law enforcement people as 'wearing Nazi bucket helmets and black storm trooper uniforms' wanting to 'attack law-abiding citizens' is a vicious slander on good people."

Bush was particularly irate because Wayne LaPierre, the NRA's chief lobbyist, defended the attack contained in the letter even after the Oklahoma City bombing. Asked if his language was excessive in view of the tragedy, LaPierre said: "That's like saying the weather report in Florida on the hurricane caused the damage rather than the hurricane."

In response to Bush's protest, the NRA released a letter from its president, Washington, to Bush, urging the former President to reconsider his resignation. The letter claimed that the gist of the NRA's attacks would be supported by further inquiry and complained that Bush had not sought a private explanation before making his resignation letter public. "Such a course of action, I believe, would have better served the country than what now will become a public disagreement that can only lead to more polarization in these troubled times," the NRA said.

Indeed, Bush's letter is likely to serve as a rallying point for opponents of NRA

Indeed, Bush's letter is likely to serve as a rallying point for opponents of NRA efforts to repeal last year's ban on 19 types of semiautomatic weapons and could help supporters of the ban in the contest for the GOP presidential nomination.

efforts to repeal last year's ban on 19 types of semiautomatic weapons and could help supporters of the ban in the contest for the GOP presidential nomination.

Until the Oklahoma City explosion, momentum seemed to be going the NRA's way, with Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.), the GOP presidential front-runner, pledging to make repeal of the assault-weapons ban a top legislative priority. Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, regarded as Dole's strongest rival for the Republican nomination, will address the NRA's national convention this weekend in Phoenix.

But the explosion that wrecked the Oklahoma City federal building and has claimed 167 lives put the NRA on the defensive because of evidence linking the blast to people who believe that the federal government is an enemy. The harsh criticism of federal law enforcement agencies by the NRA and its supporters was viewed by some as an incitement to violence. Dole has appeared to retreat from his initially expressed urgency in repealing the assault-weapons ban, which was part of the anti-crime legislation enacted by Congress last year. And some analysts said they believe that the changed climate now offers a political advantage to two other Republican presidential candidates, Indiana Sen. Richard G. Lugar, who voted for the ban when it passed the Senate in November, 1993, and California Gov. Pete Wilson, who has supported the measure along with a similar California statute enacted under his predecessor, Gov. George Deukmejian.

In his letter to the NRA, Bush pointed out that Al Whicher, who served on his Secret Service detail when he was in the White House, was killed in Oklahoma City. "He was no Nazi," Bush wrote. "He was a kind man, a loving parent, a man dedicated to serving his country."

Bush also recalled that he had attended the wake for ATF Agent Steve Willis, who was slain in the Feb. 23, 1993, shootout with members of the Branch Davidian cult near Waco, Tex. "I can assure you that this honorable man, killed by weird cultists, was no Nazi," Bush wrote.

For his part, Washington wrote Bush that the "NRA never intended for its words to offend your sense of decency and honor or your concept of service to country."

He added: "I firmly believe that after a thorough congressional examination of BATF, you will agree that our words have been more truth than slander. I believe you will judge, too, much of what BATF had done to be inexcusable and deserving of your personal repudiation."

Bush Resigns From NRA, Citing 'Broadside' on Agents *Gun Group's Letter Called a 'Vicious Slander'*

By John Mintz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Former president George Bush, a gun enthusiast and decades-long member of the National Rifle Association, has resigned from the group because of its statements that agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms are "jackbooted thugs" who harass gun owners.

"Your broadside against federal agents deeply offends my own sense of decency and honor, and it offends my concept of service to country," Bush wrote to NRA president Thomas L. Washington in a May 3 letter that

was released yesterday. "It indirectly slurs a wide array of government law enforcement officials, who are out there, day and night, laying their lives on the line for all of us."

Bush said NRA executive vice president Wayne LaPierre's description of federal agents as "wearing Nazi bucket helmets and black storm trooper uniforms" [and] wanting to 'attack law-abiding citizens' is a vicious slander on good people." LaPierre used the description in a fund-raising letter sent to the NRA's 3.5 million members early this year, and he defended it in the wake of the April 19 bombing

of the federal building in Oklahoma City.

The NRA was long a significant supporter of Bush's political campaigns. As an elected official, Bush frequently supported the organization's aims, including its opposition to the ban on assault weapons that Congress passed last year. In his letter, Bush said he was "a gun owner and an avid hunter" who over the years had "agreed with most of NRA's objectives, particularly your educational and training efforts, and your fundamental stance in favor of owning guns."

But his resignation letter was more personal than political.

"Al Whicher, who served on my [Secret Service] detail when I was vice president and president, was killed in Oklahoma City," Bush wrote.

"He was no Nazi. He was a kind man, a loving parent, a man dedicated to serving his country—and serve it well he did.

"In 1993, I attended the wake for ATF agent Steve Willis, another dedicated officer who did his duty. I can assure you that this honorable man, killed by weird cultists, was no Nazi." Willis was one of four federal agents killed in the initial February 1993 raid on the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Tex.

"John Magaw, who used to head the [Secret Service] and now heads ATF, is one of the most principled, decent men I have ever known," Bush wrote. "He would be the last to condone the kind of illegal behavior your ugly letter charges. The same is true for the FBI's able Director Louis Freeh. I appointed Mr. Freeh to the federal bench. His integrity and honor are beyond question."

The letter concluded, "You have not repudiated Mr. LaPierre's unwarranted attack. Therefore, I resign as a life member of NRA, said resignation to be effective upon your receipt of this letter. Please remove my name from your membership list. Sincerely, George Bush."

Last night the NRA's president, Washington, sent Bush a five-page letter in reply, asking him to withdraw his resignation until Congress investigates a number of cases of what the NRA contends is ATF abuse. "Our words have been more truth than slander," Washington wrote.

"I'm sorry that you have chosen to unequivocally condemn NRA's words without first seeking an explanation," Washington wrote. Recalling that the Reagan-Bush administration placed some restraints on ATF after NRA criticism in the early 1980s, Washington asked, "Have you forgotten, President Bush, your previous passion for justice and fairness for all law-abiding citizens?"

ATF officials were exuberant about Bush's statement. "All ATF personnel, from the director on down, are very appreciative of President Bush's

statement of support for all law enforcement," said agency spokesman Jack Killorin. He added that neither director Magaw nor anyone else in the agency lobbied Bush to take the action.

Bush spokesman Jim McGrath confirmed that no one persuaded Bush to write the letter. "You can tell from the tone of the letter that it's something he felt very strongly about," McGrath said. Bush was traveling in Florida and was not reachable for further comment, McGrath added.

While Bush's letter focused on NRA rhetoric in a single fund-raising solicitation, similar rhetoric has been in most of its literature since about 1991, when a hard-line faction took over the association.

The NRA routinely criticizes ATF as "armed terrorists" bent on using "Gestapo" tactics and "harassing, intimidating and hurting honest citizens."

The Washington Post

Foster, the Senate and Character

DATE: 5-11-95
PAGE: A-2

MARY McGRORY

Improbable as it seems, the Senate may be about to finish a story with a happy ending for Bill Clinton and a clear moral, which is, character counts.

Henry W. Foster Jr. brought his nomination to be surgeon general back from the grave with a bravura appearance before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. He also disentangled it from the clasp of two GOP presidential rivals, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and super-conservative Phil Gramm. They had prepared a one-two punch. Dole was going to block its path to the Senate floor. On the off chance it got there, Gramm promised to talk it to death.

The Democrats, for once, are united behind the president. They applaud him for hanging in with Foster when it was raining cats and dogs, and they find Foster a most engaging candidate for the post that was stormily vacated by Joycelyn Elders, another born-poor southern doctor. Elders was an outspoken advocate of condoms for sexually active teenagers, and her views on masturbation were terminal. Foster, baby-faced and benign, had been deeply instructed by his White House minders to use the word abstinence as often as possible.

It is no longer the fashion, except in antiabortion circles, to bash Foster, and predictions of his victory abound. Naturally, Republicans would prefer that abortion not be debated at this time—they show the chasm in the party on the issue—but there is now strong sentiment that Foster deserves a turn on the floor. His angelic countenance, his simplicity and good will disarmed his inquisitors, at least most of them.

Among those who would plainly like to see the whole affair swept out to sea is GOP Whip Trent Lott of Mississippi, who has begun to speak of the surgeon general's post as a nothing job, which should not detain a busy Senate. He has made a whip count, but will not reveal it. He doesn't trust it, he says, with "people jumping around like bullfrogs." He paid grudging tribute to Foster. "He handled himself well last week."

Former Senate whip Alan Simpson of Wyoming is keen on Foster and looking forward to voting for him. Sen. Ted Stevens of Alaska barks "probably" when asked if he is a yes. Even Sen. Dan Coats of Indiana, who quizzed the baby doctor most insistently and still is not satisfied with Foster's answers about when he knew about the infamous Tuskegee experiments on black syphilis patients, thinks he is "a kind individual—he impressed me by his

lifetime of service to the underserved and the poor."

Dole has begun the long trip back from the end of the limb that he sought out when Foster looked like an easy kill. He reasoned that Foster, who bragged about delivering 10,000 babies but took three tries to get the right number of abortions he had performed, had been so damaged by his White House handlers that he offered a new occasion for humiliating Bill Clinton, the at-the-time "irrelevant" president.

White House communications director Mark Gearan, who, with staff secretary John Podesta, took over the heavy-duty briefing when the nominee appeared to be sinking in a morass of contradictory statements, says, "The burden of proof has shifted. It's gone from a question of his veracity to the Senate's need to justify why they can't confirm a doctor with a lifetime of experience, who admitted his mistakes."

Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala thinks that the nomination has now become a "fairness" issue: How can Republicans refuse him a vote? Gearan and Podesta had to warn the doctor about Washington pitfalls, the sound bite, the stakeout and the pouncing press.

The committee vote may come within a week or two. Chairman Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Dole's Kansas colleague, will not predict the outcome. Like Coats, she was not entirely satisfied with Foster's answers about Tuskegee. Even if he did not know before 1972, she thinks he should, as president of the local medical society, have taken more drastic action to help the victims—"he should have done more once he knew." She also found him "fuzzy" about parental notification when minors seek abortions.

She thought the nomination process was "terrible." She blames the sleepless young men at the White House who "should know what they are getting, should know what is likely to come up and how to handle it."

Dole is playing it cool. He told "Meet the Press" he wanted to meet with Foster before making any further decisions, which colleagues took to mean he was taking back a bad idea. All he said, turning to Kassebaum at a chairmen's meeting last Tuesday, was "when is that vote coming up, Nancy?" She told him in a week or two. His one consolation may be that if he takes lumps, so does Gramm. The Texas senator is going to filibuster, no matter what other senators think. He could be a lonesome cowboy.

NRA, Backers Have Focused Ire on ATF

Gun Group's Ad Charges 'Rogue Agency' With Misconduct, Abuse and 'Contempt for Civil Rights'

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

Readers of the National Rifle Association's electronic bulletin boards can learn how to make a bomb out of a baby food jar, read about a conspiracy to disarm all citizens by the year 2000 and vent their anger at the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

"For friendship, I doth yearn, while the ATF, they doth burn," wrote a subscriber to the NRA's GUN-TALK in mid-April. "Happiness is a BATF agent sitting on a punji stick," wrote another. "If the Republicans will not disband the ATF or demand the head of [Attorney General Janet] Reno, it might be time for armed conflict over the desecration of the Bill of Rights," wrote a third. "We'll have to see how it pans out."

Eight days after this was written a car bomb destroyed Oklahoma City's Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. ATF was one of 15 federal agencies with offices inside it. None of ATF's 15 Oklahoma City employees died in the blast. Investigators have not indicated which, if any, agency was the bombers' target, and ATF refuses to make statements on the incident. What is clear, however, is that the far right hates ATF as it hates no other federal law enforcement agency.

"The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms has not only lost public trust, but deserves public contempt," said the text of a full-page NRA newspaper ad printed in March below pictures of helmeted ATF agents in combat dress. The ad, which appeared in The Washington Post and other major newspapers, described "a tyrannical record of misconduct and abuse" and a "contempt for civil rights" in what it condemned as "a rogue agency."

"Everywhere I go, people come up to me with a horror story about the ATF," NRA executive vice president Wayne LaPierre said in an interview. "What we find is a drift toward entrapment-type cases and harassment of innocent people." The NRA does not single out ATF, LaPierre added, "they single themselves out."

The ATF was condemned by the far right during the siege of the Branch Davidian religious complex in Waco,

Tex. Four of its agents were killed by gunfire in a Feb. 28, 1993, assault. Nearly two months later in a federal attack, the compound burned to the ground, killing 85 men, women and children.

A subsequent Treasury Department review of ATF's handling of the affair sharply rebuked the agency for poor planning, inaccurate intelligence and lies by senior agency officials. Six senior administrators, including ATF Director Stephen E. Higgins, lost their jobs. Investigators have said Timothy James McVeigh, arrested in the Oklahoma City bombing, was deeply angered by the Waco affair, and others remain angry. "No Janet, the Waco case is not closed," wrote NRA board member Jeff Cooper in his "commentaries" publication. "We have just passed judgment on their defenders, but it now remains to bring their attackers to justice."

The far right was already incensed by the August 1992 assault on white supremacist Randy Weaver and his family in a plywood cabin in the Idaho Woods. Weaver's wife, Vicki, and 14-year-old son, Sammy, were killed by federal agents. A U.S. marshal also died. A federal jury eventually acquitted Weaver of murder, although he was convicted of federal gun violations.

LaPierre described these incidents in Chapter 19 of his book "Guns, Crime and Freedom" under the title "BATF abuses." In fact, however, although ATF initiated both the Weaver and Branch Davidian incidents, the FBI took charge of both investigations, ordering the final assault in Waco. ATF had nothing to do with the Weaver shootings.

Still, LaPierre said he regards the harassment and entrapment of innocent Americans on gun charges as an enduring signature of the ATF: "If you look at abuses across the board, the FBI doesn't do that type of garbage on a day-to-day basis."

But former senator Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), a longtime student of firearms legislation, noted the FBI does not have primary responsibility to enforce gun laws. "I don't think there's any question that the NRA is using the ATF as a whipping boy," he said. "ATF is charged with gun legislation and that's where NRA is from."

DeConcini, once the NRA's "man of the year," ran afoul of the group by supporting a ban on some assault weapons. He agreed with LaPierre that ATF had a habit of "overzealous" harassment of legitimate gun dealers, but said the agency had "cleaned up its act" during the 1980s. The NRA has condemned the Oklahoma City bombing, and LaPierre said, "The last thing NRA wants is a fight with ATF." Still, NRA ads and solicitations use inflammatory language about federal law enforcement in general and the ATF in particular.

"If you have a badge, you have the government's go-ahead to harass, intimidate, even murder law-abiding citizens," said a recent NRA solicitation letter signed by LaPierre. "Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge . . . Waco and the Branch Davidians. . . . Not too long ago, it was unthinkable for federal

agents wearing Nazi bucket helmets and black storm trooper uniforms to attack law-abiding citizens. Not today."

The solicitation calls for lifting the assault weapons ban to even the odds in the struggle between ordinary citizens and "jack-booted government thugs [who have] more power to take away our constitutional rights, break in our doors, seize our guns, destroy our property, and even injure or kill us." The NRA's electronic bulletin boards regularly feature conversations advocating gun violence and exchanges of

information about things like "Babyfood Bombs": "These simple, powerful bombs are not very well known even though all the materials can be easily obtained by anyone (including minors)," wrote "Warmaster" on "Bullet N Board." "These things are so . . . powerful that they can DESTROY a car."

LaPierre said the NRA was going to reexamine the bulletin boards and "take another look at trying to police" the traffic, but "every bulletin board has those problems—how do you keep the one-in-a-million crazy off of it?"

Lott of Mississippi said the Senate GOP's crime bill, which seeks to repeal much of the federal spending for crime prevention approved last year, will not seek a repeal of the assault-weapons ban.

"I don't think that should be the emphasis of our crime package," Mr. Lott said. "It totally destroys the emphasis we should have in our crime package."

The Republican crime bill is expected to reach the Senate floor in three to four weeks.

Mr. Lott said the crime-bill debate should focus on expanding police powers to search property and reducing federal appeals from death row. These provisions were priorities in previous Republican

crime bills.

He acknowledged that private militias' ardent opposition to gun control makes the political atmosphere particularly hostile to any attempt to repeal the assault-weapons ban. "I think you have to recognize reality," Mr. Lott said.

He also lashed out at commentators who have accused Republicans of fomenting anti-government sentiments that emboldened the Oklahoma City terrorists.

"I just think it's not right," Mr.

Lott said. "I think many times the federal government is our enemy. Maybe we should get an evaluation of what it's doing. It's the cost, it's the intrusion. The federal government is infringing on people's lives."

Mr. Bart said the bombing will not deter the House from holding hearings "within the next couple of months" into the conduct of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in the 1993 raid on the Branch Davidians.

ANTI-TERRORISM PROPOSALS

On Feb. 10, President Clinton asked Congress to pass his anti-terrorism proposals, which included:

- Making international terrorism committed in the United States a federal crime.
- Outlawing all fund-raising in the United States in support of international terrorist activities overseas.
- Establishing clear federal jurisdiction in the case of international terrorism in the United States.
- Making it easier for the federal government to arrest people planning a terrorist attack overseas.
- Implementing an international treaty requiring that when plastic explosives are manufactured, a chemical must be added that makes them detectable.

The House is considering legislation that would:

- Place new restrictions on the granting of U.S. visas to aliens linked to terrorist activities.
- Remove restrictions on a database that helps identify aliens with ties to terrorists seeking admission to the United States.
- Repeal the 1990 law that forbids consular officials from denying visas based solely on an alien's membership in a known terrorist organization.
- Establish expedited deportation proceedings against aliens living in the United States and engaged in terrorist activities.
- Further restrict the use, purchase, sale and transfer of nuclear materials, plastic explosives and toxic gases.
- Encourage broader disclosure by consumer reporting agencies to the FBI for counterintelligence and counterterrorism investigations.
- Give the FBI greater access to hotel/motel records for the purpose of identifying subjects of terrorism investigations.
- Enhance the ability of the FBI to monitor domestic organizations that have known terrorist leanings.

The Senate also is considering legislation that would:

- Expand authority for issuing wiretaps to encompass alien-smuggling offenses.
- Authorize the interception of communications in limited terrorism cases, including the wrecking of trains, providing material support to terrorists and engaging in terrorist acts at airports.
- Extend U.S. criminal jurisdiction over certain terrorism crimes committed overseas.
- Require the Federal Aviation Administration to notify the Justice Department when it discovers large sums of cash and/or drugs during an inspection.
- Permit the attorney general to extradite people who are not U.S. citizens, nationals or permanent residents to countries with which the United States does not have an extradition treaty.
- Increase penalties for a series of federal crimes.

All the plans suggest the need for additional FBI funding to carry out anti-terrorism activities.

Sources: House Judiciary Committee, Senate Judiciary Committee, the White House.

The Washington Times

Gun Lobbyists' Fierce Campaign Seems To Falter Amid Backlash Over Bombing

By JOHN J. FIALKA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—A high-pressure, emotion-laden campaign by gun lobbyists to remove the ban on assault weapons may be derailed amid the political backlash here over the bombing in Oklahoma City.

The campaign, which featured advertisements and newsletters suggesting that agents of the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), the FBI and even the United Nations were about to attack citizens' homes was in full swing when a fertilizer bomb blew the front off the federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 79 people. The White House says as many as 200 people may have died.

Democrats in Congress yesterday called on Republicans to postpone the measure as they and others asserted that the ads may have helped create the climate of paranoia that encourages militia groups and others to hate the federal government.

Referring to the National Rifle Association, Dennis A. Henigan, general counsel of Handgun Control Inc., said, "I think they have some serious soul-searching to do" about one ad, which the NRA sponsored in daily newspapers, showing a menacing, heavily armed BATF squad about to mount an assault. The agency, the ad states, "deserves public contempt."

Impact of Incendiary Rhetoric

"Obviously the NRA has nothing to do with that bombing and probably nothing to do with militia groups, but what is objectionable is the incendiary rhetoric that is being parroted by these militia groups," asserted Mr. Henigan. He said the rhetoric was intended by the NRA to make gun enthusiasts believe that they needed heavier weapons to repeal an attack by government forces.

Assault rifles fire bullets more rapidly and at a higher velocity than hunting rifles and one of the NRA's critics, Sen. Dianne Feinstein, (D., Calif.), said yesterday that the removal of the ban, imposed by Congress in 1994, would "send the wrong message to the wrong people at the wrong time." She and Rep. Charles Schumer, (D., N.Y.), called for Republican leaders to delay consideration of the measure, with Rep. Schumer writing to Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole and House Speaker Newt Gingrich.

"Knowing of your penchant for publicity, I reviewed [the letter] in that spirit," Mr. Dole shot back in his own letter to Mr. Schumer. Mr. Dole went on to note that "so-called assault weapons" hadn't been implicated in the bombing, and called for enactment of antiterrorism legislation instead of "overheated rhetoric about gun control."

An aide to Mr. Dole later predicted that the Senate would vote on an amendment to

repeal the assault-weapon ban when it considers crime legislation sometime this spring.

Switching to a New Agenda

Tanya Metaksa, chief lobbyist for the NRA, called the criticism of its ads "preposterous." She added, "Ads have nothing to do with the Oklahoma bombing."

But Larry Pratt, executive director of the Gun Owners of America Inc., conceded that "this will probably put things on hold for a while." He said the group will have to divert its attention to fighting President Clinton's new proposal for laws against domestic terrorism, which he said could lead to no-warning searches and other infringements of the Fourth Amendment. His group's newsletter, he added, was merely reflecting the fears of its members

when it raised such possibilities as whether United Nations troops could "come crashing through your door" looking for guns.

The bombing came as the two gun lobbies had used the antigovernment campaign to reach their highest memberships in history. NRA has reached 3.5 million members. Membership in the Gun Owners group, according to Mr. Pratt, has reached 125,000, a jump of 25% in two years. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, both groups poured \$1.8 million into campaigns for the last Congress. The NRA asserts that 80% of the members it supported won.

Jim Naureckas, who monitors radio broadcasts for Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting, a New York City-based non-profit group, says talk-show hosts readily pick up the NRA spin. "I just think the NRA has gotten a lot more extreme recently. It's not just a question of sportsmen's rights, but a question of a conspiracy to take away our freedom . . . The need to protect gun ownership is a lot more dire if you plan to use these weapons against the federal government."

The latest NRA ad, which ran just before the bombing, cited reports of "ATF abuse that range from intimidation and harassment to confiscation or destruction of property, entrapment, fabrication of criminal charges, even deadly assault."

Federal Agency Is Target

Noah Chandler, a research assistant at the Center for Democratic Renewal, an Atlanta-based civil rights organization that regularly monitors activities of the Klan and other racist groups, said he recorded a telephone message used by a group called the "Voice of Aryan Freedom" in Oakhurst, Okla., shortly before the blast.

Referring to the BATF, it said, "let's hope they finally go down for the count. After all, they still have to pay for those 86 men, women and children that they killed

at Waco, Texas."

A recent shift by the FBI to back gun-control legislation was quickly translated by an NRA membership ad into "the first step toward our Founding Fathers' worst fear, a federal police force disarming the law-abiding populace."

Just how much, if any, of this recruitment-oriented rhetoric may have influenced Timothy McVeigh, the government's main suspect in the bombing case, remains unknown. According to the FBI, Mr. McVeigh was angered by the Waco incident and was an avid target shooter and gun collector. A spokesman for the BATF said that all 15 of its employees in the federal building escaped death because they were located on a top floor, away from the main force of the blast. Four, however, were wounded by flying debris.

The NRA, which has condemned the bombing, issued a statement yesterday saying that it has been cooperating with the BATF, giving it information of a mysterious message faxed to Rep. Steve Stockman, (R., Texas). The fax was sent to his office about the time of the bombing and said, in part, "bomb threat received last week" and had the word "Oklahoma" underlined. Rep. Stockman said his staff had immediately given the message to the FBI.

Rep. Stockman also disclosed yesterday that he sent a warning to Attorney General Janet Reno last month of reports that "several federal agencies" were about to mount a "paramilitary style attack" against citizen militia groups. The Justice Department had no immediate comment.

Anti-Government Book Called 'Blueprint for Revolution'

■ **Publications:** 'The Turner Diaries' circulates among right-wing groups. It depicts a bombing strikingly similar to the Oklahoma City atrocity.

By JACK NELSON
TIMES WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF

WASHINGTON—A virulently racist book that fosters hatred of the federal government and depicts a car bombing of FBI headquarters using ammonium nitrate fertilizer—the type of explosive used in the Oklahoma City attack—has circulated among some of the nation's most extreme right-wing groups for almost two decades.

The bombing portrayed in "The Turner Diaries" bears a striking resemblance to what happened in Oklahoma City, according to some experts who study hate groups. For example, in the book—which the FBI has called "a blueprint for revolution"—the bombing takes place at 9:15 a.m., almost precisely the time of day of the Oklahoma City explosion.

In at least one other case, an armed robbery staged by a white supremacist in Seattle a decade ago, FBI officials said they believed the perpetrator had copied some aspects of his crime from the "Turner Diaries" plot.

In that case, Robert J. Mathews was charged in a \$500,000 armed robbery and counterfeiting scheme that officials said was aimed at financing efforts to

overthrow the government. In a formal complaint in the Seattle case, FBI agent Norman D. Stephenson said that Mathews had founded the hate group White American Bastion and had closely followed the plot of "The Turner Diaries."

After wounding an FBI agent while escaping from a hotel in Portland, Ore., Mathews burned to death after a 34-hour standoff with FBI agents. The agents accidentally ignited the house Mathews was in with illumination flares.

A specialist in studying hate groups, who declined to be identified, said that a member of one of the groups gave him a copy of the book about two months ago "as something I should read if I wanted to understand the far-right extremists."

"I read it last February; it left me depressed," the specialist said. "It's written as a novel, but it isn't a novel."

The book is intended to create "paranoia and fear" in America, says another expert, Danny Welch, an investigator for Klanwatch of Montgomery, Ala., which monitors hate groups. "The Turner Diaries" has circulated among groups connected with heavily armed separatists who have fought gun battles in recent years with federal agents in several states, including Washington in 1984 and Idaho in 1992.

Many of the organizations have tried to recruit members from the military.

The book's author and publisher, William L. Pierce, is the leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, an extremist group that government officials allege advocates violence and crime. It carries the imprint of National Vanguard Books of Hillsboro, W. Va.

Pierce, 61, who moved to Hillsboro about 10 years ago after spending 18 years with the National Alliance in Washington, has produced hundreds of racist, anti-Semitic books, audiocassettes and videos. He uses the pen name "Andrew Macdonald."

A former assistant professor of physics at Oregon State University, Pierce was a graduate student at Cal Tech and once worked at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena.

Contacted by phone at his home in Hillsboro, Pierce said that "The Turner Diaries" is in its seventh printing and has sold 200,000 copies. But, he added, "I've not got the faintest idea whether people arrested or others who might have been involved in the Oklahoma City bombing have even heard of the book."

He contended that the book's plot is "irrelevant" to the bombing but added that "the general philosophy that motivated the protagonist" in the book is "my philosophy."

"The Turner Diaries" targets for hate and violence not only government officials but blacks, Jews, journalists, immigrants, liberals, gun-control advocates and anyone who supports the federal government. On its back cover, under the heading "What Will You Do When They Come for Your Guns," the book declares that the FBI has labeled it "the bible of the racist right . . . if the government had the power to ban books, this one would be at the top of its list."

The plot of the book describes how well-armed "patriots" of the "Organization" use sabotage and assassination in a winning fight against the "System"

(government).

At one point, the book's narrator, a rank-and-file member of the "Organization," warns of settling a score with the Washington Post and declares, "One day we will have a truly free American press in this country, but a lot of editors' throats will have to be cut first."

Much of the more virulent passages are aimed at Jews, with echoes of Nazi Germany. "Patriots" were ordered to execute anyone who harbored Jews. And Jews "were shoved into hastily formed columns and started on their no-return march to the canyon in the foothills north of the city."

When Pierce first settled on 345 acres in the tiny town of Hillsboro in the Allegheny Mountains, he announced he would create a community to "train a new generation to pick up the torch and become warriors for our cause."

A Hillsboro resident, who declined to be identified, said that "everybody around here was pretty freaked out at first, but things calmed down because there hasn't been a lot of action, just publishing some stuff and a radio program."

In addition to his publications, Pierce produces a 30-minute radio program, "American Dissident Voices," an anti-government diatribe calling for "true patriots" to take over.

The program plays on about 15 mostly small radio stations. It also played for six months on Wheeling's WWVA, a 50,000-watt station, but a station official said, "After we heard their message, we didn't renew the contract, we didn't need that kind of stuff."

Spurred by GOP Victories, NRA Begins Ambitious Attack on Gun-Control Laws

By JOE DAVIDSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Feeling the flame of recent Republican victories, the National Rifle Association has opened a broad offensive to repeal or restrict both federal and state gun-control laws.

NRA officials and their opponents agree that 1995 is witnessing the most widespread, coordinated attack on gun-control measures in a decade.

"Clearly, the battle lines have been drawn," Sarah Brady, chairwoman of Handgun Control Inc., said at the recent announcement of a "Campaign to Protect Sane Gun Laws." "We are here today to say that we are fighting back."

But the gun-control lobby is on the defensive. After two critical victories last year — passage of the Brady Bill's five-day waiting period and background check for handgun purchasers, and approval of a ban on semi-automatic assault weapons — gun-control supporters now struggle to keep what they've won.

The NRA's ambitious agenda includes repeal of the assault-weapons ban. The House likely will approve a repeal measure, and it stands a decent chance in the Senate. President Clinton, however, has vowed to veto any such legislation.

"This is a major turning point in the fight against armed predators," NRA lobbyist Tanya Metaksa said after a House hearing where people told how they used semi-automatics for protection.

The Brady law isn't in much danger, because instant computer checks — which the NRA favors — will eventually supersede the waiting-period background checks anyway.

While the NRA is making a big push in Congress, it's on the state level where the association is defining the terms of play. In at least 19 states, according to Handgun Control, anti-gun-control forces are attacking gun laws, particularly focusing on efforts to allow the carrying of concealed weapons and state pre-emption of local gun laws.

"I'm optimistic that we're going to have a good number of states that will pass the right to carry [guns]," Mrs. Metaksa said in a telephone interview. "The overriding theme seems to be self-defense, the right of people to defend themselves, both in their homes and in the streets."

Even those who favor gun control concede the NRA is heavily favored to win a good share of the statehouse battles. Vastly outspent on the national level, the gun-control lobby is far weaker in state

capitals. "There's essentially nothing to stop them [the NRA], except in a few states," conceded Kristen Rand, a Violence Policy Center lobbyist in Washington.

In one measure of power, campaign spending, gun-rights advocates tower far above their opponents. Since 1989, gun-control advocates, mostly Handgun Control, spent \$236,230 to support members of Congress, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. During that same period, the gun-lobby, led by the NRA's \$4 million, spent a total of \$4.3 million. That's 18 times more than their rivals.

Every gun shop is an NRA campaign headquarters, complains Mike Beard, president of the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence. The gun-control lobby is outspent, out-organized and, after the November elections, has a losing image, he added.

"We'll show up with five or six professionals at these state hearings, and they'll show up with 500 angry people," he said. "It makes a difference."

President Clinton didn't help matters during his State of the Union address when he said, inaccurately Mr. Beard insists, that support of gun control cost several members of Congress their seats. That strengthens the NRA image as a powerful political force not to be crossed and further

sinks gun-control advocates into a defensive posture.

"It makes fund raising more difficult," Mr. Beard said. "It makes access to elected officials and people who want to be elected officials more difficult. A lot of people don't want to hear from you, period. . . . The people in the middle where these battles occur are less likely to want to talk to you now, if they think it's going to affect their chances for re-election."

The Detained

Two Brothers, Many Theories

The chain of events began on March 19 when, American officials say, Claude Douge, an interpreter for the United States Army, told them of a plot, involving two brothers, Patrick and Eddy Moise, to assassinate Mrs. Durocher Bertin and produced Uzi assault rifles he said they had been given.

The Moise brothers were arrested along with two other men in a gray Isuzu Trooper registered to the Interior Ministry, carrying General Beaubrun's phone number; a business card of Gen. Joseph Cherubin,

President Aristide's military adviser who is Mr. Beaubrun's patron, and a list of eight anti-Aristide lawyers, including Mrs. Durocher Bertin, American investigators said.

Mr. Douge and his wife, both being held as suspects in the plot, told investigators they understood Patrick Moise was being "tested" by the Interior Ministry and could be rewarded with a post as an intelligence department head and leader of a "popular movement." Investigators said one of those arrested, Michelet Nicholas, said he saw the Interior Minister give Mr. Moise the keys to the Isuzu.

The Moise brothers, along with the others, are ostensibly members of a far-left, pro-Libyan anti-American group called the United Militant Front. But Major Toussaint and other Haitian officials said that in fact they were violent gangsters who acted in the past as provocateurs on behalf of the military.

They pointed out that the brothers walked away without punishment from an occupation of the Canadian Embassy in 1992, at a time when Aristide backers were being shot and left in the street.

The Minister

A Military Man And His Temper

General Beaubrun is said to owe his appointment as Interior Minister, which used to control the army but is now largely vestigial, primarily to his military academy classmate, General Cherubin. A hot-tempered gambler, he had run afoul of one of the powerful coup leaders, Col. Michel François, people knowledgeable about the military said, when he tried to finish a fight he had gotten into with a man at El Rancho Casino by ordering the man released from the Pétionville jail, controlled by Colonel François, into his own custody.

Pushed out of his command, he was thus regarded as relatively unconnected to corruption. After Mr.

Aristide was returned to power last fall, General Beaubrun became one of the five colonels who vetted the army and police force to see who could stay on. He has produced lists of security threats, many of whom seem to have crossed him in the past, including the former Pétionville commander, Maj. Patrick Bastien, whom he has sent to jail.

Last December, when soldiers were protesting for back pay, General Beaubrun opened fire through his office door, killing two of his own bodyguards.

"He was very nasty, unnecessarily so," Raymond W. Kelly, the former New York City Police Commissioner, who tried to mediate the dispute, recalled of the Minister's demeanor.

Six days before Mrs. Durocher Bertin was killed, Maj. Gen. George Fisher of the United States Army wrote to Justice Minister Jean-Joseph Exumé, informing him of the suspected plot, the arrests and the reported involvement of the Interior Minister. Mr. Exumé says he warned Mrs. Durocher Bertin and offered protection, but she declined.

An attractive woman, so energetic and vivacious she often seemed to eclipse her husband, John, a tall, handsome pilot, Mrs. Durocher Bertin did not seem particularly worried, Mr. Exumé recalled in an interview. Indeed, she dropped by his office on Friday, March 24, with papers to register her new opposition political party.

In the couple's massive stone house in the hills high above the city, John Bertin recalled it differently. "I, as head of the family, was not notified," he said stiffly, and added that a phone call from the Justice Minister to his wife told her only not to worry and did not warn of the plot.

Nevertheless, he said, he was sufficiently worried in general to plan to take the family to the Dominican Republic on Tuesday, March 28, the day his wife was killed.

He said he also fretted that his wife was driving with Mr. Baillergeau, an old friend and sometime colleague since their days at flight school near Miami, whom she was

representing in a dispute over damages to his plane by American soldiers at the airport. He feared that Mr. Baillergeau was not always alert, he said, and he kept calling on the radio and rushing through errands to try to catch up with them.

The Husband

At the Scene, Apparent Calm

Eddy Pierre, a Bronx-raised Vietnam veteran, was standing in front of his mother's house on Avenue Martin Luther King, about 3:45 that

afternoon when he noticed a white taxi with several rifle-carrying men in it parked jutting into the street. A white Subaru headed toward the airport suddenly spun around, turning back toward town, but was cut off by the red jeep and men who piled out shooting. At that point, Mr. Pierre dived for cover.

"The daylight aspect of this was most brazen," said Mr. Kelly, whose international police monitors had turned over control of the area to the United Nations at noon. "It was so skillfully planned."

Mr. Bertin recalled that he was one of the first people to arrive on the scene. As a huge crowd gathered, many were struck by his apparent calm under the circumstances. The initial United Nations police report, a person who has seen it said, noted that one of the first things he did was to reach in the back of the car, saying he was looking for a radio or cellular phone.

The difficulty for the F.B.I. is that the ballistic and forensic tests will

show, essentially, that a lot of bullets were pumped into the car and its passengers. But solving such crimes, experienced officers say, usually depends on criminal informants and canvassing of the neighborhood.

"Technically, these guys are the best in the world; they can tell you if a shooter is left-handed," said an official involved in the case. "But unless we find somebody who says, 'I saw the killers, they are these people,' we won't get to the bottom of it."

The killings have left the country fearful. In the Presidential Palace the mood is grim, and a close aide to President Aristide said: "The very killers operating under the dictatorship are back at it. Why? They stand to gain both politically and materially if they are able to destabilize the country."

In well-to-do Pétionville, hundreds of people lined up outside St. Pierre's Church for the funeral last week and

the heavy four-wheel-drive cars favored by the wealthy blocked the streets. There were three former heads of state in the flower-filled church, along with a host of members of the old Parliament, military officers and lawyers in black robes.

The Haitian national anthem rang out and two Roman Catholic bishops, Louis Kebreau and Joseph Lafontant, officiated at the Mass, declaring that Mrs. Durocher Bertin had been "crucified like Christ."