

# The Oklahoma City bombing's ignored connection to Richard Wayne Snell and other devout racists

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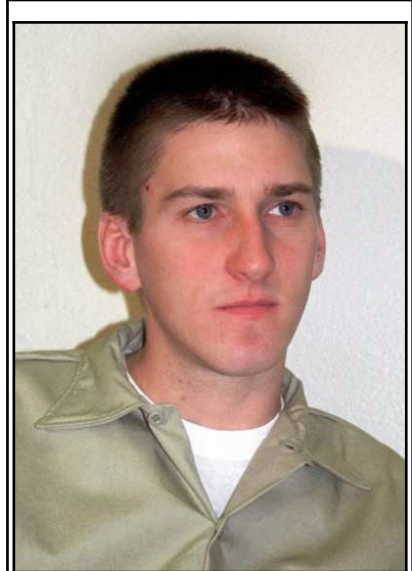
We are now living to see how far public opinion can be changed by fake news and bogus conspiracy theories. The American right wing tends to get most of the blame for this age of misinformation. This does not mean that it would be okay for the left to ignore public concerns by labeling them as conspiracy theories. "Conspiracy theory", as a phrase and concept, is just a classic instance of western chauvinism. It is not delusional to think that somebody in the west could commit a crime and get away with it. Every theory should be judged on it's own merits.

Here is an example of a serious issue in history that some have labeled a conspiracy theory – a terrorist attack that happened over 25 years ago. We do not know how many people had prior knowledge of this attack. Even if we cannot have physical proof that some of these suspects were involved, the information we have now should be enough to defeat the argument that 'there couldn't have been more because somebody would have talked'.

On April 19, 1995, a bomb explosion at the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in downtown Oklahoma City resulted in at least 168 people dead<sup>1</sup> and hundreds more injured<sup>2</sup>. The government accused two main conspirators - Gulf War veteran Timothy James McVeigh and former Army platoon guide Terry Lynn Nichols. Timothy McVeigh was allegedly helped by Nichols in assembling a bomb inside of a rental truck, and McVeigh alone was said to have parked the truck outside of the Murrah building. The blast occurred at 9:02 AM. Two of McVeigh's friends, Michael Fortier and wife Lori Fortier, were also accused of having some level of prior knowledge.



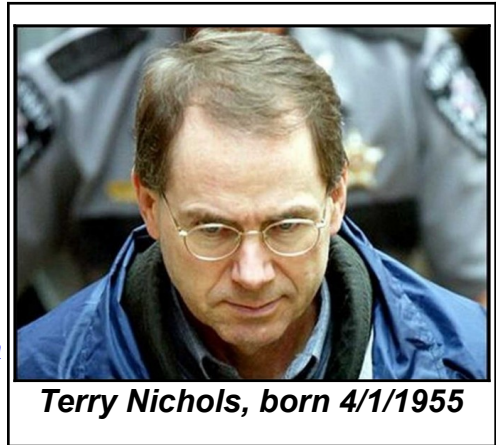
**The Murrah building**



**Timothy McVeigh,  
4/23/1968 - 6/11/2001**

Tim McVeigh was sentenced to death and received the death penalty on June 11, 2001<sup>3</sup>. Terry Nichols is spending life in prison without the possibility of parole<sup>4</sup>. Michael Fortier spent 10 years in prison, until 2006 when he was released and reportedly went into the witness protection program<sup>5</sup>. Lori Fortier was never prosecuted and also reportedly went into witness protection<sup>6</sup>.

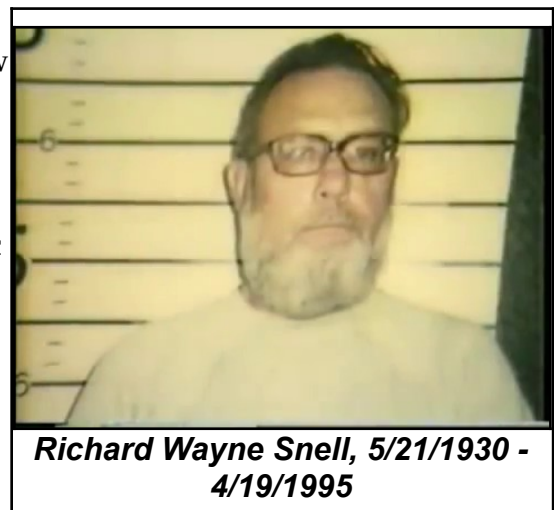
Before his execution, McVeigh would publicly confess that he was the mastermind of the attack<sup>7</sup>. McVeigh told his biographers on tape "*the bomb was primarily assembled by myself with a little assistance from another who was under duress to assist me. I was the one that primed the charges, that crimped the caps to the fuse, primed each barrel, made sure there was redundant fusing systems, and it only took three hours*", "*Is there a John Doe two? Either way I could answer, it should be scary. Because, number one, if there are other people, that means they're still out there. On the other hand, if it was just me, that in itself, isn't that pretty scary that one man could do that? That's why 'you can't handle the truth' is the perfect line, 'cause the truth is it was just me*"<sup>8</sup>. McVeigh wrote to the Buffalo News



**Terry Nichols, born 4/1/1955**

"*For those die-hard conspiracy theorists who will refuse to believe this, I turn the tables and say: Show me where I needed anyone else. Financing? Logistics? Specialized tech skills? Brainpower? Strategy? . . . Show me where I needed a dark, mysterious 'Mr. X!'*"<sup>9</sup>. McVeigh said that he was motivated by his opinions on the 1993 siege of the Branch Davidians' compound near Waco, TX, and that he was inspired by *The Turner Diaries*, a 1978 novel by white supremacist William Luther Pierce<sup>10</sup>. *The Turner Diaries* includes a story about a truck bomb being used to blow up a federal building<sup>11</sup>. McVeigh openly promoted this book and gave away copies for free. McVeigh claimed that he was not racist, and that he only liked *The Turner Diaries* because it promoted gun rights, not because of its racist content. McVeigh admitted to having used the N-word in anger or when joking, but denied any rumors that he was truly racist. He pointed out that he had several army buddies who were black. Yes, McVeigh did own a "White Power" T-shirt. Yes, he got the shirt by paying 20 dollars to join the mailing list for the Ku Klux Klan. But McVeigh claimed that he never wore the shirt and that he only bought it because he thought it was unfair that blacks on his military base got away with wearing "Black Power" T-shirts. On the day of the bombing, McVeigh wore a [T-shirt](#) with a picture of Abraham Lincoln on the front above the words "*SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS*" - 'thus always to tyrants' - the same phrase yelled by John Wilkes Booth after shooting Lincoln. On the back was a picture of a bleeding tree with the Thomas Jefferson quote "*The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants*"<sup>12</sup>. Did Tim McVeigh think President Lincoln was a tyrant, or was that meant to be ironic too?

Concerned citizens and victims remained suspicious that others were involved. One proposed suspect was a death row inmate named Richard Wayne Snell. Snell allegedly predicted that something dramatic would happen on or around the date he was to be executed - April 19, 1995 - the same day as the bombing. April 19th was first declared "Patriots' Day" in 1894 by Massachusetts Governor Frederic T. Greenhalge, to commemorate the beginning of the Revolutionary and Civil wars<sup>13</sup>. On April 19, 1775, there was the battle of Lexington and Concord and the battle of Menotomy. On April 19, 1861, there was the Baltimore riot. April 19, 1943 began the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, one day before the 54th birthday of Adolf Hitler. The date would become even more known to the far-right - On April 19, 1992, the authorities began spying on the Weaver family in Ruby Ridge, Idaho - which eventually led to a standoff resulting in the deaths of Mrs. Vicki Weaver, her son Sam Weaver, and their pet dog. On



**Richard Wayne Snell, 5/21/1930 - 4/19/1995**

April 19, 1993 the Waco siege came to its fiery end. Tim McVeigh allegedly used a fake ID with the birthdate marked "April 19, 1972"<sup>14</sup>. And, according to Mary Snell, wife of Richard Snell, "*April 19 is the first day of a weeklong sacrificial preparation for the GRAND CLIMAX ceremony celebrated by those who follow the Luciferian religion*"<sup>15</sup>.

Richard Wayne Snell was born May 21, 1930. By the 1980's Snell was associated with a far-right group who called themselves *The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord* – or "CSA" for short. Founded by one James Ellison, the CSA operated out of a compound near the border of Missouri and Arkansas. According to the FBI, the compound consisted of 90-120 "men, women, and children". It was there that they stockpiled weapons, trained for survival, and preached "Christian Identity" – a movement claiming that white people are the superior race chosen by God<sup>16</sup>. Between April the 19th and the 22nd of 1985, a standoff ensued with law enforcement over accusations of illegal weapons - another example of a memorable April 19th. The siege ended with a peaceful surrender from Ellison and the other CSA members<sup>17</sup>. The CSA compound still existed shortly after the siege<sup>18</sup>, but it eventually dissolved. Ellison was found guilty of racketeering and weapons violations. He was released from prison in 1991 after less than six years. In 1993, he went back to prison for violating parole until being released again in June 1994<sup>19</sup>.



**James Ellison, born 1941**

On July 30, 1984, Richard Wayne Snell allegedly shot and killed black Arkansas State Trooper Louis Bryant before engaging in a shootout with the Oklahoma police less than an hour later. Snell was apprehended and also later charged for the November 3, 1983 killing of pawn shop owner Bill Stumpp<sup>20</sup>. Snell was convicted of murder for both and sentenced to death<sup>21</sup>. Ellison claimed that Snell was motivated by his false belief that Stumpp was Jewish<sup>22</sup>.

**There was allegedly a plot in 1983, involving Snell and people in the CSA, to attack a federal building in Oklahoma City with explosives.** This was claimed by James Ellison when being interviewed by FBI agent Jack Knox<sup>23</sup> and Federal prosecutor Steven Snyder<sup>24</sup>, and when he testified at the 1988 Fort Smith sedition trial against fourteen white supremacists including Snell<sup>25</sup>. Ellison stated "*Wayne Snell had made a trip to Oklahoma City, and Wayne came back and told me about different buildings that he had seen and wanted to know if I would look at them with him sometime and asked me to design a rocket launcher that could be used to destroy these buildings from a distance. Fortified, or heavy large buildings*"<sup>26</sup>, "*I was asked to design something that could be placed in a trailer or van so it could be driven up to a given spot, parked there, and a time-detonating device could be triggered so the driver would have time to clear the area*"<sup>27</sup>, "*On one of the trips when I was with Wayne*", "*...he took me to some of the buildings and asked me to go in the building and check the building out. This kind of thing*". Ellison also told prosecutor Snyder that he took inspiration from *The Turner Diaries*<sup>28</sup>.

The defense attacked Ellison's credibility, pointing out that he called himself "King James of the Ozarks" and claimed to have received messages from God. As one juror pointed out, Ellison stood to gain a lower prison sentence in exchange for his statements. All charges were dropped at the 1988 trial<sup>29</sup>.



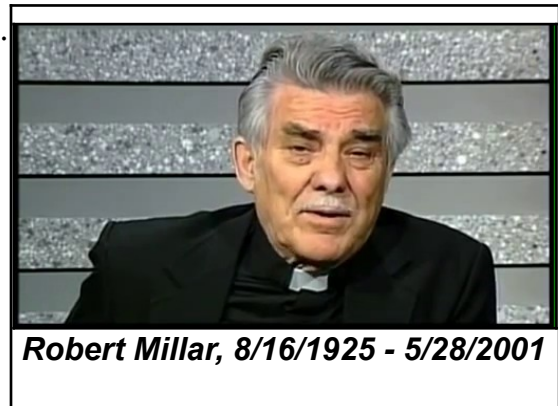
Ellison spoke to journalist J.D. Cash, as printed in a March 24, 1996 article from the McCurtain Sunday Gazette: "*Ellison denied he and Snell intended to bomb the building*"<sup>30</sup>. But, when Ellison appeared in a 2001 documentary, he said "*What he actually asked me to do was, he asked me to manufacture a rocket launcher so he could position this rocket launcher and set it off with a timer and do damage on the front of the building at night*"<sup>31</sup>.

Mrs. Mary Snell said the 1983 plot was all Ellison's idea - "*Ellison was the granddaddy of everything that went on*", "*He was the mastermind*"<sup>32</sup>. Ellison, according to Steven Snyder, once said that Mrs. Snell was "*more ruthless and mean than her husband*"<sup>33</sup>.

**When former CSA member Kerry Noble came out as a reformed anti-extremist, he publicly admitted to being aware of the 1983 plot. Noble said he remembered that Snell specifically chose the Afred P. Murrah building as a potential target**<sup>34</sup>, and that they abandoned the project after a rocket launcher malfunctioned in the hands of a fellow member, which they interpreted as a sign from God<sup>35</sup>. Noble said the person holding the rocket launcher was Kent Yates, also later charged with numerous weapons violations<sup>36</sup>.

Jack Knox commented "*Blowing up a federal building...was not a novel idea*"... "*It was floating around out there*"<sup>37</sup>. Steven Snyder, noting the similarities between the 1983 plot and the 1995 bombing, said that he felt there must have been at least one conspirator still at large<sup>38</sup>.

Another visitor of the CSA was radical preacher Robert G. Millar, who founded his own compound in the 1970's called *Elohim City*, located in Adair County, Oklahoma<sup>39</sup>. *Elohim City* reportedly had about 70-100 residents as of 1995-1997<sup>40</sup> and still exists as of the 2010's<sup>41</sup>. At one point, about one-third of the residents were family members of Millar<sup>42</sup>, and all of the residents called him "grandpa". Also living there were some former residents of the CSA<sup>43</sup> and family members of Richard Wayne Snell<sup>44</sup>. Millar would become Snell's "spiritual advisor" and visit him prison before his execution.



After James Ellison finished his parole on April 21, 1995, he moved to *Elohim City*<sup>45</sup> and married the granddaughter of Robert Millar<sup>46</sup>. Millar said he doubted whether Ellison actively plotted to attack the Murrah building, but still acknowledged "*he was asked to design the type of weapons or rockets that could destroy a building. I don't think he ever did it*"<sup>47</sup>. From Robert Millar's appearance on *The Fifth Estate* from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)<sup>48</sup>:

WOOD: [...] Millar insisted we not speak to Ellison.

(to Mr. Millar) Mr. Ellison, who was here and does not want to be filmed, plotted with Mr. Snell in 1983 to blow up the Murrah Building. Do you know that to be true?

MILLAR: No, I don't know that to be true.

WOOD: You never knew that?

MILLAR: I don't think it is true. Now, I know about this story....

WOOD: Mr. Ellison admitted it under oath.

MILLAR: I don't think your statement, Patricia, is accurate.

WOOD: And what is the inaccuracy then?

MILLAR: He didn't say they plotted to blow up a building. They discussed possible methodologies - sort of makes me think of a bunch of men gathered around having beer and saying, Hey, this is how you can rob a bank.

After the Oklahoma City bombing, Robert Millar granted many interviews and denied being involved in the attack<sup>49</sup> - "*I don't think terrorism or blowing up buildings accomplishes anything. It's counter-productive*"<sup>50</sup>, "*If I knew something like that was taking place then or today, I'd do everything I could do to prevent it and, if necessary, call in government agents to help stop it*"<sup>51</sup>. Millar told The Guardian his own theory of what really happened<sup>52</sup>:

Reverend Millar is a conspiracy theorist, but he doesn't believe the conspiracy theory that he and his community were behind the Oklahoma City bombing. He thinks the bomb was planted by the government itself, a New World Order plot to turn the world against survivalists and implement gun-control legislation, much like Hitler's burning of the Reichstag.

"I think," he told me, "it was an operation by the Zionists who have infiltrated our government agencies to disparage people like us. To give us a black eye."

But, the New York Post did report in 2001 that, according to an unnamed informant, pictures of McVeigh are displayed throughout the property. The informant said "*McVeigh is a hero inside Elohim City. They look upon him 'as a martyr to their cause'*"<sup>53</sup>.

To the public, Millar tried his best to downplay the hateful and violent aspects of what he preached<sup>54</sup>. As Millar pointed out, Jesus himself also ministered to outcasts<sup>55</sup>.

It is a fact that Timothy McVeigh had some knowledge of Elohim City, the only question is how much. The following points are acknowledged by the U.S. government:

-McVeigh made contact with at least one full member of Elohim City - Andreas Strassmeir AKA "Andy the German". McVeigh reportedly met Strassmeir at a gun show in 1993<sup>56</sup>. Strassmeir has repeatedly denied having advanced knowledge of the bombing, to both government investigators and private researchers<sup>57</sup>. Strassmeir described McVeigh as little more than a stranger, indicating that he barely remembered seeing McVeigh at the gun show, if he remembered him at all<sup>58</sup>.

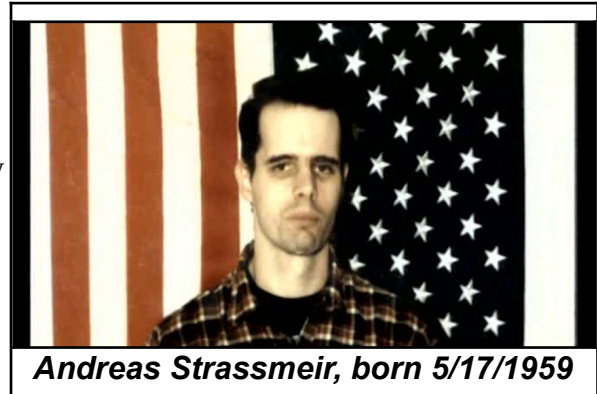


-On October 12, 1993, McVeigh was issued a traffic citation while driving in Crawford County, Arkansas<sup>59</sup>, about 20 miles away from Elohim City<sup>60</sup>. Jon Ronson of The Guardian wrote "*After all I'd heard about Elohim City, I felt a little intimidated as I drove up into the Ozark mountains towards the community. I turned left at the covered bridge, the very spot where Timothy McVeigh had received a*

*speeding ticket on October 12, 1993. McVeigh has always denied visiting Elohim City, but I couldn't imagine where else he could have been heading, out here in the middle of the dusty nothingness*"<sup>61</sup>.

-On September 12, 1994, McVeigh stayed at the El Siesta Motel in Vian, Oklahoma<sup>62</sup>, about a 40 mile drive away from Elohim City.

-McVeigh allegedly used a prepaid phone card under the alias "Daryl Bridges"<sup>63</sup>. [Records show](#) that on April 5, 1995, a payphone was used to call a number from Elohim City. This was just before a call was made to a Ryder truck rental agency<sup>64</sup>. Joan Millar, daughter-in-law of Robert Millar, stated that she remembered being the one to answer the phone. Joan Millar claimed the following: There was a male voice whose given name she could not recall, the caller said that they knew somebody from Elohim City who had a "broad foreign accent", she replied that they must be looking for Andreas Strassmeir, and then the caller indicated that they might want to visit Elohim City in the future<sup>65</sup>. There may also be evidence of a second phone call to made Elohim City on April 17th, one apparently not made using the "Daryl Bridges" card<sup>66</sup>. Strassmeir denied getting the caller's message<sup>67</sup> and denied knowing why McVeigh would try to call him<sup>68</sup>. Strassmeir acknowledged how bizarre this story was - *"I don't know why he called, you know. Never talked to him. All I can do is speculate, there are certain options. I don't think he wanted to recruit anybody. You wouldn't recruit somebody you have never- you never met, except a ten minute conversation to say 'by the way, I'm gonna bomb a federal building, you want to join in?' or what. I mean, you don't do that, right?"*<sup>69</sup>.



McVeigh, as explained in his authorized biography *American Terrorist*, *"insisted that the entire Elohim City conspiracy theory was a red herring, a waste of his team's time and money. He swore that he had never met Snell or Howe; he admitted that he'd met Strassmeir once, at a gun show, and that he'd attempted to call Strassmeir at Elohim two weeks before the bombing, in search of a potential post-bombing hideout. He never wavered from his contention that neither Strassmeir nor anyone else at Elohim had anything to do with the bombing"*<sup>70</sup>. According to Dan Herbeck, co-author of *American Terrorist*, McVeigh said *"he never met Richard Wayne Snell, really knew very little about his case, and he's also told us that he never visited Elohim City, where Richard Wayne Snell was buried. To him, he just describes it all as being a coincidence"*<sup>71</sup>. But, according to an unnamed source cited by journalists J.D. Cash and Jeff Holladay of the *McCurtain Gazette*, Michael Fortier *"told the FBI that McVeigh spoke often about the scheduled execution of former southeastern Oklahoma resident Richard Wayne Snell"*<sup>72</sup>. By 2005, Terry Nichols publicly confessed to having a role in the bombing plot<sup>73</sup>. When interviewed by U.S. Representative Dana Rohrabacher, Nichols said that McVeigh would frequently talk about Elohim City and its residents including Strassmeir, and that in October of 1993 he and McVeigh drove very close to the property<sup>74</sup>.

Richard Wayne Snell, 64 on death row, authored a newsletter called *The Seekers* where he told of how he considered himself a prisoner of war. His wife Mary suggested writing letters to Arkansas Governor James Guy Tucker requesting a stay of execution and a full pardon<sup>75</sup>. Snell's case was covered in a newsletter called *Taking Aim*, published by the Malitia of Montana<sup>76</sup>. The Arkansas clemency board, according to one member, received "*conservatively, 1,500 to 2,000 letters*", "*They sent more mail than we've ever received on any inmate*". Fourteen supporters of Snell spoke at a clemency hearing, including one who warned of God's wrath if the execution went through<sup>77</sup>. The execution date of April 19th was reportedly set by Governor Tucker himself<sup>78</sup>.



Robert Millar tried personally driving to Tucker's office in Little Rock to warn him against choosing April 19th to execute Snell - "*I thought, to some patriotic Americans, that date would be considered controversial*"<sup>79</sup>. "*Now, I guarantee you Richard Wayne Snell didn't set the date. Right-wing people didn't set the date. Government agents arranged April the nineteenth, it's sort of like in-your-face*", "*Patriotic Americans celebrate that day, and on that day you have Waco, the execution of Snell, and- just looks like as if there was an in-your-face attempt to provoke*"<sup>80</sup>, "*Among patriotic people, April the nineteenth has to do with the American revolution, it's a very famous and precious day in the hearts of patriots*", "*Richard Wayne Snell never chose the date of his execution, obviously. The government chose that date and I was afraid it might cause civil disturbance to have an execution on that date, it's sort of like an 'in-your-face'*"<sup>81</sup>.

In late March, Millar reportedly told the Muskogee Phoenix newspaper that "*At least a dozen or more group leaders had said to anticipate a national tragedy*" and warned the possibility of violent demonstrations on April the 19th<sup>82</sup>. Stranger still is this report from the *McCurtain Gazette*<sup>83</sup>:

To some investigators, witnesses and victims of the Oklahoma City bombing, there seems mounting evidence that the white separatist compound has yet to give up all its secrets. And they would like authorities to step up their probe of the compound.

The *Gazette* has learned that just weeks before the bombing, the Rev. Robert Millar, founder of Elohim City, sought out a meeting with FBI officials in Muskogee. He warned them, "Something very bad is about to happen to the federal government, and white supremacists may get the blame for it."

No other details of the meeting are available, but it raises tantalizing new questions about foreknowledge of the pending bombing attack.

There was apparently no follow-up to this information. Millar did admit to occasionally providing some information about Elohim City to the FBI<sup>84</sup>, he said, to prevent the possibility of something like Waco from happening<sup>85</sup>. But, the Bureau had some doubt over how honest or serious Millar was being to them<sup>86</sup>.

On April 17, 1995, Snell was transported via National Guard helicopter to the Cummins prison unit, where the execution chamber was located. As reported in the *New York Times*, "*While insisting they had taken no extraordinary precautions against possible efforts to interfere with the execution, the police were visible at the Cummins Unit of the Arkansas prison system*"<sup>87</sup>. The state of Arkansas had never transferred a prisoner in such a manner<sup>88</sup>.

Snell was frequently visited by Robert Millar<sup>89</sup>. Prison Official Alan Ables said that Millar was visiting with Snell "*every day, many hours a day for his last days on this planet*"<sup>90</sup>.

**Here's where the threats start to sound a little more specific.** In July of 1995, Alan Ables was quoted as saying of Snell "*He said there was going to be a huge bombing, and not much more than that*", "*He didn't give any impression that it would be a domestic bombing or something overseas. Just that there would be some confusion as to who did it and the United States was going to blame someone in the Mideast*", "*He commented at least once (in his last week) that he wished he wasn't leaving; he'd like to stick around a few more weeks because he wanted to watch what was going to happen*"<sup>91</sup>. In May of 1996, Ables appeared in the Denver Post<sup>92</sup>:

**A former high-ranking Arkansas prison official told The Denver Post that during the four days before Snell's execution, Snell repeatedly predicted that there would be a bombing or an explosion the day of his death.**

The official, Alan Ables, said he was so concerned that he took extraordinary personal precautions the day of the execution. "Based on what I was hearing from the management team and ... briefings, I was concerned enough" to take the precautions, said Ables, a retired Navy officer who was legislative assistant to the director of the Arkansas Department of Corrections.

Ables said that Snell's execution date had been set and publicized well in advance, but it was not until two weeks before the execution that Arkansas officials realized that it was scheduled on a date revered by America's extreme right wing.

[...]

**Ables said that on four to five occasions during the four days before his execution, Snell mentioned that "there was going to be a bomb, there was going to be an explosion" the day of his execution and somebody in the Mideast would be blamed.**

Those comments, plus other information Arkansas officials received, caused Ables to take precautions.

"I took some precautions personally because of what ... I perceived as some really strange possibilities here," said Ables, who survived the Beirut bombing.

[...]

When he heard news of the Oklahoma City explosion, Ables said he immediately suspected people with links to Snell.

"Snell ... was the kind of guy who did a lot of writing for a lot of these militia groups," Ables said. "He was well-connected. He was in the network."

On October 22, 1996, Ables appeared on *The Fifth Estate*<sup>93</sup>:

(to Mr. Ables) If you're on death row, are you allowed to send mail out to whomever you choose?

ALAN ABLES (Arkansas prison official associated with Snell case): Absolutely.



WOOD: Is it monitored? Is it read by anybody?

ABLES: No, no. We don't censor the mail at all.

WOOD: Is it possible, in your view, that a conspiracy could have been plotted through the mail between Mr. Snell and someone else?

ABLES: Oh, I think so.

[...]

**Prison official Alan Ables: A few days before the execution I began to hear things from the director, the wardens, just talk in the office, that strange things were going on, Snell was talking strangely, he was, you know, making statements that were a little scary catastrophic events, things were going to happen. This date, April 19th, was going to be something that the governor would regret perhaps.**

[...]

WOOD: What kind of precautions did you take?

ABLES: I moved my wife, I moved her aboard of a federal installation to spend the day and possibly the next night, if she need be, because I didn't feel safe with her being home.

WOOD: You were that worried.

ABLES: Oh, absolutely.

In 2003, Ables told the Associated Press "*Some of the corrections officers heard (Snell) in a visitors' room talking with people, saying there would be a large explosion or event of some type. He said the immediate reaction would be to blame it on Middle Eastern types. This was prior*"<sup>94</sup>.

**According prison logs, on April 18th Snell told a guard "*In the next ten days, there will be hell to pay*"**<sup>95</sup>.

**Some time on early April 19th, Snell reportedly told a guard that Governor Tucker had picked a bad day for his execution**<sup>96</sup>.

The FBI's Jack Knox told the Denver Post that he believed it was possible for Snell to have participated in the Oklahoma City Bombing while in prison - "*I think there was liaison or a definite communication to the people who were in the movement and Snell*"<sup>97</sup>.

According to at least one report, Snell allegedly talked about this bombing idea with Robert Millar<sup>98</sup>.

**The logs say that, about three hours after the explosion in Oklahoma City, Snell told a guard "*today is a very significant day for various reasons*". Then, the logs read "*Snell laying on bunk watching TV News Special on the situation in Oklahoma*"... "*smiling and chuckling*"**<sup>99</sup>.

Millar, however, said that Snell was "appalled" in reaction to news of the bombing<sup>100</sup> - "*He was as*

*appalled, I think, as I was, at that terrible destruction", "He said, 'Well we know who was responsible for the cremation of 81 people at Waco, but we don't know who was responsible for this. ' "101, "He had heard about it, seen it on TV before I arrived. He was as appalled as I was". When asked about the report that Snell was "smiling and chuckling", Millar said "I can only respond to what his attitude to me was the last three hours of his life"102. As reported in the Kansas City Star103:*

"I spent the last three hours of his life with him, and then I was there for the execution as a witness, by request," Millar said. "It could've been hard, but Richard Snell wasn't wringing his hands; he wasn't terrified." Millar said Snell brought up the Oklahoma City bombing when he arrived.

"He thought it was awful," Millar said.

Could the bombing have been in retaliation for Snell's execution?

"That's a possibility," Millar said, "but I don't think so.

There's a possibility, though, of it being a response to the government continuously using that (April 19) date." During Snell's final hours, Millar said, the two talked politics and theological issues.

From *The Fifth Estate*<sup>104</sup>:

The Snell death-watch log notes that at 12:20 p.m., the day Snell was to die by lethal injection, the prisoner requested the TV be turned on. It records that what he watched was coverage of the Oklahoma City bombing. At 12:30, the log notes, Richard Wayne Snell smiled and chuckled. Robert Millar was with Snell later during his final hours.

MILLAR: He had the same kind of feelings of empathy for the occupants of that building that I had.

WOOD: Which was what on his part?

MILLAR: Well, what a terrible thing to have innocent men, women and children killed.

WOOD: Did he say that to you?

MILLAR: Yes, indeed.

WOOD: When?

MILLAR: On the day of his execution.

WOOD: He did.

MILLAR: He's the one that raised the subject. He said, You heard about the bombing?

WOOD: He told you he was upset, thought it was terrible.

MILLAR: Yes.

WOOD: It's interesting. We have the death-watch log, minute by minute...

MILLAR: Yes.

WOOD: ...which does record his reaction upon seeing the Oklahoma bombing on television in his cell. "News 4 special on the situation in Oklahoma. Inmate Snell watching newscast, smiling and chuckling", says the death-watch log.

MILLAR: Now, that could be, but....

WOOD: Why would he laugh at the Oklahoma bombing?

MILLAR: I can't answer that.

WOOD: And it doesn't bother you to know now that he did chuckle when he saw it on TV? That doesn't in any way change your view of the man?

MILLAR: That's the way that guard recorded it. I have limited respect for some of those guards.

WOOD: So he's wrong.

MILLAR: He may be.

WOOD: But he may be right.

MILLAR: He may be.

Besides the prison logs and the word of Alan Ables, there is no more public digital information about what Snell was talking about on those days, or who heard him say it. These "guards" and others in the prison would have been interviewed by investigators, yet the public still has not seen their names or transcripts.

Snell's last words went something like this: "*Well, I had a lot to say, but you have me at an inconvenience. My mind is blurred, but I'm going to say a couple of words. Governor Tucker, look over your shoulder, justice is on the way*"<sup>105</sup> or "*justice is coming*"<sup>106</sup>, "*I wouldn't trade places with you or any of your political cronies*". Then, some sources quote Snell as saying "*Hell has victory, I am at peace*"<sup>107</sup> or "*hell has victories*"<sup>108</sup>. Another source quoted Snell as saying "*Hail the victory*"<sup>109</sup>. A 4/22/1995 letter from Mrs. Mary Snell relays the words as "*Hail HIS victory*"<sup>110</sup>. The he/him pronouns refer to God, like how Mary would sometimes end her letters with "*In HIS service*"<sup>111</sup>. Robert Millar, who witnessed the execution, insisted that the correct words were "*Hail his victory*". Millar also said that Richard simply meant that he would not want to be in Governor Tucker's shoes on judgment day<sup>112</sup>. From the Kansas City Star<sup>113</sup>:

[...] Millar doesn't believe Snell's comments were threatening.

"We have a saying that you'll find among Christian Identity people, which is 'Hail His Victory.' We believe communism isn't going to win and one-world global economy is not going to be dominant. We feel that God is going to be the final winner. And that's what he meant by that. His last words were 'Hail His Victory. ' "

Jeff Rosenzweig, Richard's death-row attorney, said that he did not believe his client had advanced knowledge of the bombing, and that "*Snell tended to talk in apocalyptic terms and certainly, frankly, I wouldn't doubt if Snell said something bad is going to happen*"<sup>114</sup>. According to Rosenzweig, after having spoken to Snell before the execution, "*He said it wouldn't be anybody he knew*", "*He said they were too professional to go around bombing children*"<sup>115</sup>. But if prison official Ables' reporting is correct, then we cannot just call what Snell said "speaking in apocalyptic terms" - Ables claimed that Snell was heard talking about a "bombing" or an "explosion", and that middle-eastern terrorists would be suspected of whatever was going to happen – which was indeed the case in the early investigation of OKC.

Mary Snell denied any foreknowledge on her husband's part and said that he would have deplored such an attack. She said that the alleged comment about there being "hell to pay" was referring to the imminent collapse of the U.S. economy - "*He was always saying things like that*"<sup>116</sup>. According to Brandon M. Stickney's 1996 book *All-American Monster*, Mrs. Snell said that she "*had no reason to believe her husband's supporters had anything to do with the explosion*"<sup>117</sup>. She also denied involvement to the FBI<sup>118</sup>.

Jack Knox said that he received a flurry of phone calls from ex-CSA members certain that the OKC bombing "*had to be connected with Snell*"<sup>119</sup>.

Bill Buford, former Resident Agent in Charge of the ATF, said of Snell "*I have no solid information*", "*but the pieces fit together too neatly for him not to have known*"<sup>120</sup>.

**Then there is the connection to Louis Beam**, who was demonstrating outside of the Branch Dividans' compound in 1993 at around the same time McVeigh was. The following information was reported in the 2013 book *Oklahoma City: What the Investigation Missed--and Why It Still Matters* by Andrew Gumbel and Roger Charles<sup>121</sup>:

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

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

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

[...]

The FBI never talked to Beam after the bombing, and conducted only one relatively perfunctory interview with Mary Snell. But they had plenty of information indicating that Beam knew about the bombing before it happened. A career criminal named Roy Byrd told the bureau from an Arizona prison



about a phone conversation he had with Beam in the summer of 1994, in which Beam said that “something big” would happen in Oklahoma City, Denver, or Dallas on the anniversary of Waco. When Byrd asked what it was, Beam replied that it would be similar to the plot of a notorious underground novel, in which a band of white supremacists drives a truck loaded with ammonium nitrate and fuel oil into the basement of FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., and blows up the building. Byrd did not mention the novel by name, but he was clearly referring to *The Turner Diaries*, a cult book on the fringe of the gun-show circuit, written by one of America’s leading neo-Nazis, William Pierce. *The Turner Diaries* was Tim McVeigh’s favorite book.

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

From the sources section:

### **Links between Snell, Beam, and others, etc.:**

Jack Knox interview (Gumbel), May 10, 2010; Bruce Campbell interview (Gumbel), October 21, 2009; Cheri Seymour interview (Gumbel), July 22, 2009; confidential informant reporting Beam meeting Mary Snell in April 1995, contained in January 29, 1996, FBI insert, file no. E 7453; Mary Snell, interviewed by the FBI on August 12, 1995, FD-302, file no. 9384, said her husband had no advance knowledge of the bombing; FBI interview with Roy L. Byrd, Florence, Arizona, January 25, 1996, FD-302, file no. 13856; Bill Buford interview (Gumbel), May 11, 2010; Mary Snell letter to Michigan militia, quoted in Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*, p. 5.

Andrew Gumbel also reported this information in *The Guardian*<sup>122</sup>.

Snell was pronounced dead at 9:16 pm. His body was claimed by Robert Millar and transported to Elohim City<sup>123</sup>. Followers of Christian Identity often predict that a new savior will be resurrected three days after their death – and Richard Snell's body was reportedly kept an open casket for three days prior to burial<sup>124</sup>. When Millar was asked on *The Fifth Estate* “*Why would you bury such a man on this property?*”, he replied “*We don't think that any of us are too good to accept the remains of any person, criminal or otherwise*”<sup>125</sup>. That sounds like a far cry from having him be a contender for the messiah. Proudly displayed inside of a communal room at Elohim City was the same banner used at Snell’s funeral<sup>126</sup>. The headstone reads “*Rev. Richard Wayne Snell, May 21, 1930 - Apr. 19, 1995, Patriot*”. When visited by *The Guardian* reporter Jon Ronson, Millar said “*I think he's rightly called a patriot*”<sup>127</sup>. From Ronson's article<sup>128</sup>:



“It was a lethal injection,” said Reverend Millar. “I was there. He said, ‘I am ready to go.’ He died in full confidence of his hereafter. The idea that he was all excited about a bombing in Oklahoma City never passed between us.”

“Why is he buried at Elohim City?” I asked.

“He requested it,” said Reverend Millar, a little sharply. “He asked me to be his spiritual adviser. I

visited him regularly in the years between the trial and the execution."

"April 19," I said.

"Very significant," he said. "I had talked to the lieutenant governor of Arkansas and I suggested that it was a poor day to choose. I thought it would contribute to civic unrest." He paused, and softly added, "The government can be more interested in demonstrating their control than they are in the interests of the nation that they represent."

Millar passed away on May 28, 2001<sup>129</sup>. Millar's former attorney, Kirk Lyons, said that he doubted his client was involved in the bombing, and that Millar's "fiery rhetoric" was more intended to unite his members than to incite violence - "*He was trying to keep his followers together*"<sup>130</sup>.

People are often quick to say "there couldn't have been a massive conspiracy", but what if there were only a small number of extra people with advanced knowledge? A lot of these suspects are anti-government survivalists, or at least very private individuals. It would take a lot of extra work to investigate them, let alone prosecute them. Investigators don't have infinite resources at their disposal. Also, cover-ups aren't always done by the same people involved in the original crime. How many times has authority figure bent the rules because they simply didn't feel like doing their job correctly? And how many times has evidence been planted against a suspect they truly believed to be guilty?

Over 25 years later, the government has published next to nothing on the Oklahoma City bombing. An average person trying to learn about the case must turn to material published by private entities. Compare this to how the government handled the JFK assassination - in 1964, the Warren Commission published 26 volumes on their investigation, and in 1979 the House Select Committee on Assassinations published 12 more volumes on JFK. After all of that, both the Commission and the Committee were criticized for their lack of attention to detail. With OKC, all we have are talking heads calmly reassuring us that no stone was left unturned.

Some important figures did express their doubts. Former FBI bombing investigator Ricardo Ojeda said in a 2001 affidavit "*Although there are many good FBI agents, there are also FBI agents, including some who worked on the Oklahoma City bombing case, who were willing to subvert the truth in order to protect fellow agents*"<sup>131</sup>. Dan Defenbaugh, retired chief of the Bureau's investigation, said in 2003 "*If the evidence is still there, then it should be checked out*", "*If I were still in the bureau, the investigation would be reopened*"<sup>132</sup>. Danny Coulson, former investigation commander, told the Associated Press that he believed Elohim City was not investigated thoroughly enough - "*I think you have too many coincidences here that raise questions about whether other people are involved*", "*The close associations with Elohim City and the earlier plan to do the same Murrah building all suggest the complicity of other people*"<sup>133</sup>. "*There are some unanswered questions here. A lot of things happened that were inappropriate*", "*I think it needs to be reopened, but I don't think it should be reopened by the FBI. It needs to be a special investigator, a lawyer, totally independent. He needs to have subpoena power and the ability to use a grand jury*"<sup>134</sup>. Coulson told the BBC "*We have victims here and we have victims' families and we don't even know the answers*"<sup>135</sup>, "*The answer is frankly for a federal grand jury. Appoint somebody, give them grand jury authority and go in and find out what happened. People in mainstream America, especially the families of the victims want to know 'did we get them all?', and we need to answer some questions for those people*"<sup>136</sup>. Dan Vogel, former FBI spokesman from Oklahoma City, said "*I always felt that there would be additional indictments, but there never have been. The citizens of the United States deserve the truth, and I don't think they received it*", "*It's something very sinister. There needs to be a full and complete independent*

[\*investigation of the Oklahoma City bombing case and how it was handled by the government\*<sup>137</sup>](#).

Over 10,000 signatures were gathered on a petition for a new Grand Jury to examine evidence of a wider conspiracy. The petition was started in 1995 by Glenn Wilburn, grandfather to two of the deceased child victims, and Charles Key, Oklahoma state representative. A Grand Jury was formed in 1997, but concluded that there was not enough evidence to indict other suspects<sup>138</sup>. Also in 1997, over 300 bombing victims were listed as plaintiffs in a lawsuit alleging prior knowledge by people within the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms<sup>139</sup>. Nothing became of that case. Charles Key, representing those left unsatisfied, helped form a nonprofit group called the *Oklahoma Bombing Investigation Committee* (OKBIC). Using donations and their own money, the committee gathered information, hired private investigators, talked to witnesses, and detailed their findings in a one-volume report released in 2001.

[Here is an ebook version of \*The Final Report on the Bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building\* by Charles Key and the Oklahoma Bombing Investigation Committee \(661 MB pdf\)](#)

More recommended reading -

[\*Oklahoma City: What the Investigation Missed--and Why It Still Matters\* by Andrew Gumbel and Roger Charles, 2013](#)

*Aberration in the Heartland of the Real: The Secret Lives of Timothy McVeigh* by Wendy S. Painting, 2016

[Richard Booth's articles on libertarianinstitute.org](#)

Recommended viewing -

[\*The Secret Rulers of the World, episode 3, April 19th: The Oklahoma Bomb, 2001\*](#)

[\*Terror From Within: The Untold Story Behind the Oklahoma City Bombing, 2002\*](#)

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