

NLWJC- Kagan

Counsel - Box 009 - Folder 006

Roundup (ATF Etc.) [4]

1 people who are fair and decent and non-discriminatory, who
2 really abide by what those badges mean. So that when they
3 exercise their authority and their power, as you have
4 discussed here today, people will accept it and understand
5 that this is being done fairly and with discrimination.

6 Some of the things that have happened are just
7 terrible, and I know that they happen only as a result of
8 the very few people. But as few as they are, they are still
9 agents of the Federal Government, people who are highly
10 educated, people who have paid the price to be law
11 enforcement officers, who know what that price is, who know
12 what these rules are, and who literally, although on their
13 own time should be able to have fun, ought to know the
14 difference between having fun and participating in
15 activities that are really detrimental to their ability to
16 carry that badge.

17 So I think you have done a lot here today to help
18 people in this country realize the high quality of
19 leadership we have in the administration over law
20 enforcement. And I want to commend each of you. I
21 appreciate it.

22 Just before we finish here, let me just say that we
23 believe that certain serious allegations about the Roundup
24 brought to us by some individuals needed to be directed to
25 the appropriate agencies, and we will continue to direct

1 matters that come to us to these inspectors. We secured the
2 agreement of these individuals on these three affidavits to
3 provide written statements that we would then give to the
4 agencies with their names. We are giving those to the
5 inspectors general.

6 These individuals, however, did not want their names
7 associated publicly with the allegations. We have not been
8 able to assess fully their credibility or verify their
9 serious allegations. So all the comments about these
10 affidavits today should take that into consideration. We do
11 not know whether they are true. And they are serious
12 allegations, and they cannot be ignored by you or us. Nor
13 have we been able to give individuals an opportunity to
14 respond to these allegations. We believe that other members
15 of the committee are entitled to be aware of the allegations
16 and, accordingly, gave them the redacted copies with the
17 understanding that they not be publicly released. We will
18 not release what would amount to anonymous allegations to
19 the public through the committee.

20 But having said that, I certainly feel good towards
21 those who have been willing to give these affidavits and put
22 their names on them for the inspectors general. So whatever
23 they are, we hope the inspectors general will follow through
24 and see if their allegations are true, because if they are,
25 what they allege is just unacceptable in our society today.

1 And I think it means all kinds of educational programs and
2 so forth for Federal law enforcement officials, even though
3 there are very few who have participated in these types of
4 things.

5 I think this has been long. I apologize to all of you
6 for taking you away from your busy activities. We know how
7 important they are. But this is important, too, and please
8 forgive us for interrupting your day. Thank you for being
9 here. We really appreciate your cooperation. We will look
10 forward to your reports in the future because this may not
11 be the last hearing on this.

12 Thanks so much.

1 The Chairman. We are ready to go to the next witnesses
2 in this matter. We still have four very interesting
3 witnesses: Larry Stewart, the assistant special agent in
4 charge of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, out
5 of Atlanta, Georgia; Curtis Cooper, The Investigative Group,
6 Inc., from Chicago, Illinois, who is a retired agent with
7 the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; Cordell Malone,
8 Jr., special agent, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms,
9 out of Chattanooga, Tennessee; and John Scott, special
10 agent, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, out of
11 Chattanooga, Tennessee.

12 I want to tell you gentlemen we are pleased that you
13 can be here. We look forward to taking your testimony, and
14 we are going to pay very close attention to it.

15 If you do not mind, I might eat a sandwich up here
16 while you are talking. Please do not consider that a matter
17 of disrespect. I am on the verge of a migraine headache,
18 and I had better eat something.

19 We will start with you first, Mr. Stewart, and then we
20 will go to Mr. Cooper, then to Mr. Malone, finally to you,
21 Mr. Scott, and we will go in that order. Thank you.

1 STATEMENTS OF A PANEL CONSISTING OF LARRY D.
2 STEWART, ASSISTANT SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE,
3 ATLANTA, GEORGIA, FIELD DIVISION, OFFICE OF
4 CENTRAL ENFORCEMENT, BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO
5 AND FIREARMS, ATLANTA, GEORGIA; CURTIS COOPER, THE
6 INVESTIGATIVE GROUP, INC., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AND
7 RETIRED AGENT, BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND
8 FIREARMS; CORDELL MALONE, JR., SPECIAL AGENT,
9 BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS,
10 CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE; AND JOHN SCOTT, SPECIAL
11 AGENT, BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS,
12 CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

13 Mr. Stewart. Good afternoon. Honorable Mr. Chairman,
14 honored members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, my name
15 is Larry Don Stewart. I am currently employed in the
16 capacity of assistant special agent in charge, Atlanta Field
17 Division, U.S. Department of the Treasury's Bureau of
18 Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. I am an African American
19 citizen currently residing in the State of Georgia.

20 I thank you and the honorable members of this committee
21 for the privilege of appearing here today to assist, to the
22 best of my ability, this committee in its inquiry of the
23 infamous Good Ol' Boy Roundup.

24 Mr. Chairman, for the record, I want this statement to
25 reflect that I am not here as a representative or

1 spokesperson for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms
2 or for any other Federal, State, or local law enforcement
3 agency or interest group.

4 I began my employment in Atlanta, Georgia, with ATF in
5 October 1978 after serving approximately 5 years as a local
6 police officer in the State of Georgia and as commissioned
7 military officer in the United States Army Military Police
8 Corps. Shortly after my employment with the ATF, I began to
9 hear my training officer and others during various times and
10 places--the office, the vehicles, and about the building--
11 talk about ongoing activities in the establishment of the
12 Good Ol' Boy Roundup by Raymond Eugene Rightmeyer.

13 About a year later, my supervisor came into the office,
14 which was an open-bay area, in Atlanta, Georgia, and
15 announced that the Good Ol' Boy Roundup invitations had come
16 in. He held in his hand what appeared to be some form of an
17 invitation. My then supervisor, Mr. Freddie Woodward, cited
18 a date in which he said all dues and a response from those
19 individuals who were planning on attending had to be
20 submitted. Mr. Woodward then said that "we" need to have a
21 good showing of agents from Georgia at that year's roundup.

22 Shortly after making this announcement, Mr. Woodward
23 went over to my then training officer, William Lee Steed,
24 and talked on a personal note with him and further discussed
25 the activities and organization and planning of the Good Ol'

1 Boy Roundup. Thereafter, in my presence, I personally
2 observe Mr. Woodward individually deliver what appeared to
3 me at that time to be invitations to every white male in the
4 office that I was assigned. I was not afforded an
5 opportunity or provided one of these invitations. Further,
6 Mr. Woodward did not discuss any of the particulars of the
7 Good Ol' Boy Roundup with me. I was the only African
8 American agent assigned to that office and one of the first
9 assigned to the Southeast Region. I assumed, Mr. Chairman,
10 that I was not one of the good ol' boys.

11 Sometime following that Good Ol' Boy Roundup, I
12 overheard some of my fellow white ATF special agent
13 coworkers discussing their "good time" at the Good Ol' Boy
14 Roundup. I remind you that this is still in the late 1970s,
15 early 1980s. They said that they drank beer and liquor
16 until they "puked." They said that they conducted cook-out
17 activities, went rafting, played cards, and "other things."

18 As an inquiring young agent at that time, I questioned
19 my training officer, Mr. Lee Steed, as to what really was
20 meant by the "other things." Mr. Steed basically said that
21 these things included a naked agent or agents who had
22 positioned themselves in trees and had done things as
23 grotesque by being naked, jumping out on women who were
24 passing by underneath the trees. He did not mention,
25 however, any race-related misbehavior.

1 While no one at that time indicated to me that racist
2 material, signs, skits, et cetera, were present at any of
3 the Good Ol' Boy Roundups, I got the distinct impression
4 from the behaviors of the white agents in my office that no
5 African Americans were present at the Good Ol' Boy Roundups
6 or had ever been invited to the Good Ol' Boy Roundups.

7 The white agents in the Atlanta, Georgia, Field Office
8 at that time talked about the Good Ol' Boy Roundup very
9 secretly, and their conversations were always guarded. The
10 Good Ol' Boy Roundup took place each year of the 6 years of
11 my initial employment with the ATF in Atlanta, Georgia. The
12 next time that I had any exposure to conversations regarding
13 the Good Ol' Boy Roundup was during my assignment to ATF
14 headquarters in Washington, D.C., during the period of
15 December 1986 to January of 1990.

16 During this period, I recall overhearing conversations
17 on two or three occasions, actually, that the former
18 Director of ATF, Steve Higgins, and then Director of Law
19 Enforcement, Phillip C. McGuire, had on separate occasions
20 themselves attended the Good Ol' Boy Roundup. Also, it was
21 said that other executive-level personnel and senior
22 officials in ATF had attended the Good Ol' Boy Roundup
23 gatherings.

24 As I recall, they even said that it was Director
25 Higgins who had on one occasion received what was described

1 to me as being the Good Ol' Boy Roundup Person of the Year.
2 I, once again, was never invited to any of the Good Ol' Boy
3 Roundups during these periods. Also, it was my impression
4 that only white attended the Good Ol' Boy Roundup, even as
5 late as 1990. This is based upon facts and information that
6 was available to me at that time and the fact that the Good
7 Ol' Boy Roundups were held in the hills of Tennessee. They
8 were held at night. They were held in an atmosphere that,
9 frankly, most African Americans associated with extremist
10 group activity or simply Klan activities.

11 It was not until later on that I heard additional
12 information about individuals who had been identified as far
13 as the Good Ol' Boy Roundup. In fact, it was in 1985 at the
14 Federal Law Enforcement Training Center in Glynco, Georgia.
15 During that period of time, I was an ATF agent assigned to
16 the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center in the capacity
17 of senior instructor/course developer. During the course of
18 this assignment, between January 1985 and July 1985, former
19 resident agent in charge of the Knoxville, Tennessee, post
20 of duty of ATF, Gene Rightmeyer, was assigned to the ATF
21 National Academy to coordinate a temporary 9-week ATF basic
22 agent class. This class, once again, was sponsored and
23 coordinated by the ATF, and it did not allow for any
24 specific or direct involvement on my behalf since I was
25 there as a part of the Federal Law Enforcement Training

1 Center staff.

2 However, several African American agents were enrolled
3 in this class whom I had earlier taught in the Treasury's
4 Criminal Investigator School. These agents included African
5 American Special Agents Dondi O. Albritton and William
6 (Bill) Stringer. At the beginning of their new agent
7 training class, these agents notified me that the
8 coordinators for their class were planning a "get-together"
9 at the student center at that facility. It was an
10 opportunity for me and them to get to know older agents, or
11 should I say agents who had finished prior agents, and
12 agents who were about to embark upon new training.

13 I met with the agents at the student center, and after
14 some mingling and basic conversation, Agents Stringer and
15 Albritton found themselves over in a corner, and we were
16 talking and kind of rehashing and reliving the old raids, if
17 you will, back during training, when Gene Rightmeyer came
18 over to us and just kind of broke into the conversation. I
19 overheard Mr. Rightmeyer say, "You were born trash, you will
20 live trash, and you will die trash."

21 I looked at the two agents who were standing there, and
22 they were very puzzled. And I was very puzzled. I
23 immediately thought this must be a continuation of some
24 earlier joke or activities that had gone on without my
25 knowledge.

1 After Gene Rightmeyer just stood there looking, he then
2 left. I questioned the two new agents as to what was that
3 all about, and Mr. Albritton, I believe it was, said to me,
4 "That is the second time that Gene Rightmeyer has made that
5 statement to me." I gave the agents the best advice that I
6 could, and that was that they needed to follow up that
7 incident with Mr. Rightmeyer. He appeared to have a
8 problem.

9 Also, I advised them very carefully and very cautiously
10 that they were in a precarious situation in that they were
11 hired in an excepted service and could be terminated.

12 On January 28, 1990, I was reassigned from the
13 Washington headquarters of ATF to the Atlanta Field Office
14 in the capacity of group supervisor. During this
15 assignment, I heard agents, I heard supervisors and managers
16 had attended the Good Ol' Boy Roundup since its inception
17 back in 1978 or 1979. And I say that because much of what I
18 have heard today was that it started in 1980. From my own
19 personal experience, I know that the Roundups started late
20 1979, maybe even 1978, in Georgia, before it actually moved
21 to Tennessee.

22 Nevertheless, on one of the occasions in 1992 after I
23 returned to Atlanta, Georgia, at a firearms qualification
24 activity, which is required of all Treasury agents, I
25 overheard a fellow ATF supervisor, Sammuell J. Lewis,

1 discussing his attendance at a recent Good Ol' Boy Roundup.
2 I heard Mr. Lewis say that something very outrageous had
3 occurred. Whatever it was, the ATF supervisor, Mr. Lewis,
4 who had attended each of these Roundups in the past, said
5 that he would not be attending another Good Ol' Boy Roundup.
6 I approached Mr. Lewis and said something to the effect, I
7 think I will attend the Good Ol' Boy Roundup next year. Mr.
8 Lewis looked at me, and he emphatically said, "You don't
9 want to do that." I asked why. He just looked down, spit
10 from his "tobacco plug," and said again, "You don't want to
11 do that."

12 Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to appear
13 before the Judiciary Committee.

A 14 [The prepared statement of Mr. Stewart follows:]

1 The Chairman. Thank you for your candid comments. We
2 appreciate having them, Mr. Stewart, and we understand.

3 Mr. Cooper, we will go to you--could I just interrupt a
4 second? I think it is important because I know you were not
5 accusing Director Higgins, but you did raise the issue. I
6 think it is important to read his letter into the record,
7 because we would have called him as a witness but we thought
8 that if he would send us a letter, that would be just as
9 well because we knew the hearing would be long as it is. He
10 is testifying on the House side today.

11 This letter is dated July 20, 1995, and this is from
12 Steve Higgins, Director of ATF (Retired). "Dear Senator
13 Hatch: I appreciate the opportunity to provide you with a
14 letter stating my involvement--actually, I should say non-
15 involvement in what the newspapers are calling a Good Ol'
16 Boys Roundup. It is my understanding that an ATF employee
17 has reported to your staff that I may have attended one or
18 more of these events in the past. Let me state as
19 positively and as forcefully as I can that that employee is
20 either mistaken or lying, although I note the employee was
21 careful enough to use the word 'may.'"

22 "I am deeply concerned that anyone would make such an
23 unsupported charge or, for that matter, believe I would
24 attend an event of the nature described in the new article"-
25 -he says "new articles," but I think he means "news

1 articles"--"and on TV. Again, so your hearing record will
2 be complete, I have never attended such a meeting, and if
3 while serving as an ATF executive I had learned of ATF
4 employees' attending racist-type events, I would have taken
5 stern measures against any employee in attendance."

6 "Again, thanks for the opportunity to comment.

7 Sincerely, Steve Higgins."

8 So I thought maybe that is important to clear the air
9 with that. I did not mean to interrupt you, Mr. Cooper, but
10 I thought it was an appropriate time to put it in, and we
11 appreciate your comments very much, Mr. Stewart.

12 Mr. Cooper, we will now pay strict attention to you.

1 STATEMENT OF MR. COOPER

2 Mr. Cooper. Good afternoon. Honorable Mr. Chairman,
3 honored members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, my name
4 is Curtis Cooper. I am a recently retired special agent of
5 the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. I am an
6 African American citizen of the United States presently
7 residing in the State of Illinois.

8 I thank you and the honored members of this committee
9 for the privilege of appearing here today to assist, to the
10 best of my ability, in its inquiry into the infamous Good
11 Ol' Boy Roundup.

12 Mr. Chairman, for the record, I wish it to be noted
13 that I am not speaking for nor am I a representative of the
14 Bureau of ATF or any other Federal, State, or local agency
15 or any other interest group.

16 By way of background, I was employed continuously as a
17 special agent with the Bureau of ATF from September 8, 1969,
18 through November 30, 1994, the date of my retirement. I
19 held a variety of positions during this employment: first,
20 special agent in St. Paul, Minnesota, and Chicago, Illinois;
21 second, group supervisor, Detroit, Michigan; third,
22 operations officer and program manager in Bureau
23 headquarters, Washington, D.C.; fourth, assistant special
24 agent in charge, Nashville, Tennessee. When I retired on
25 September 30, 1994, I was the regional inspector within the

1 Office of Internal Affairs, Chicago, Illinois. I had been
2 employed in that position from January 1989 to September 30,
3 1994.

4 During my assignment to Bureau headquarters in
5 Washington, D.C., from 1980 to 1985, I became aware of the
6 Good Ol' Boy Roundup because it was common knowledge among
7 the headquarters management personnel that this event
8 occurred each year. Because there was no general
9 circulation of information concerning the Good Ol' Boy
10 Roundup such as posting of information on bulletin boards, I
11 assumed that the invitation to attend was for white agents
12 only, as at that time I was the only African American agent
13 assigned to ATF headquarters out of a total of approximately
14 50 agents who were assigned to headquarters at that time.

15 The organizer of the Good Ol' Boy Roundup, Eugene
16 Rightmeyer, was known--or he had been accused of having
17 "racist tendencies." In April 1985, I was transferred from
18 ATF Washington headquarters to the position of assistant
19 special agent in charge in Nashville, Tennessee. Prior to
20 my arrival at the new assignment in Nashville, Tennessee, I
21 was made aware by senior headquarters management personnel
22 that the supervisor of the Knoxville, Tennessee, office,
23 Raymond Eugene Rightmeyer, had stated at the time of my
24 selection to the position of assistant special agent in
25 charge that "It would be a cold day in hell before he worked

1 for a nigger."

2 In July 1985, shortly after my arrival in Nashville,
3 Tennessee, Rightmeyer presented me with a sketch depicting
4 the devil in hell with a pitchfork, wearing an overcoat.
5 Rightmeyer said something to the effect, "I guess this is a
6 cold day in hell."

7 In 1988, while I was the assistant special agent in
8 charge, I received a call from ATF Internal Affairs office
9 about Agent Rightmeyer's use of a Government envelope and a
10 letter to announce the Roundup. I went to the special agent
11 in charge of the office at that time, Mr. Watson Cummins
12 Beaty, who informed me that he had issued Rightmeyer an oral
13 admonishment for utilizing Government letterhead and
14 envelopes to promote the Good Ol' Boy Roundup. Beaty's only
15 concern, at least expressed to me, was the use of the
16 letterhead, not the racist nature of the Roundup.

17 Similar overt racism within the ATF came to my
18 attention during my tenure as regional inspector within the
19 Office of Internal Affairs. I was the supervisor for the
20 investigation of allegations of misconduct in the Midwest
21 regional area.

22 One of the investigations I supervised during my tenure
23 as regional inspector occurred in 1992. This incident
24 concerned the posting of racist paraphernalia on a bulletin
25 board in the Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, ATF office. This

1 paraphernalia depicted a State of Oklahoma "Nigger Hunting
2 License," a Confederate flag, a Ku Klux Klan card and other
3 material, as well as other racist material to include a
4 swastika. To my knowledge, the only discipline that ATF
5 imposed on the parties involved in this incident was a
6 written reprimand. I have no further knowledge as to other
7 actions that may have been taken.

8 Another incident investigated by my Chicago Internal
9 Affairs office occurred in the Chicago Field Division. This
10 incident occurred in about 1991 or 1992, and it concerned a
11 copy of a photograph of the Reverend Jesse Jackson, with a
12 caption beneath the photograph that contained very racist
13 language. With all due respect, Mr. Chairman, it read, and
14 I quote, "Jungle Bunny Mother-Fucker." To the best of my
15 knowledge, no discipline was issued in regards to this
16 matter. We conducted an investigation and forwarded our
17 report.

18 The Chairman. Did they know who did this?

19 Mr. Cooper. The photograph was found on the copying
20 machine by a black agent in the ATF office.

21 The Chairman. They do not know who did it, but it was
22 somebody there who did it?

23 Mr. Cooper. Yes, obviously, sir.

24 The Chairman. Okay. Keep going. Sorry to interrupt
25 you, but I just wanted to ask you that.

1 Mr. Cooper. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee,
2 the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, in my opinion,
3 maintains an illegal system of racial discrimination and
4 retaliation towards those African Americans who have brought
5 incidents of this nature to their attention. In my 25 years
6 with ATF, I became less competent, the more I became
7 involved in trying to have ATF address issues of racial
8 discrimination. The bottom line is that no effective means
9 exist, or at least is carried out by ATF, to solve systemic
10 and individual discrimination within this agency without
11 that individual bankrupting themselves.

12 Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to appear
13 today.

B 14 [The prepared statement of Mr. Cooper follows:]

1 The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Cooper. You have
2 presented, both of you have presented very interesting
3 testimony to this committee.

4 Let me just say so the record will be clear to those
5 who are listening, Mr. Rightmeyer was invited by this
6 committee to testify today. In fact, he agreed on the
7 telephone to testify. However, when my staff contacted him
8 to verify his arrangements and provide him with an airplane
9 ticket, Mr. Rightmeyer did not return telephone calls. My
10 staff attempted to reach Mr. Rightmeyer five times, but he
11 did not return the committee's calls. So we have made every
12 effort--not every effort we can, but plenty of effort to get
13 him to come and testify. So he has been given the
14 opportunity and has apparently not wanted to take it. We
15 wanted to be fair to him as well. But what you folks are
16 raising to me is very, very serious and very interesting to
17 me. I am not going to ignore it.

18 Mr. Malone, we are happy to have you here as well. Mr.
19 Malone, of course, is a special agent with the Bureau of
20 Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in Chattanooga now. Is that
21 right?

22 Mr. Malone. Yes, sir.

23 The Chairman. We are happy to take your testimony.

1 STATEMENT OF MR. MALONE

2 Mr. Malone. My name is Special Agent Cordell Malone,
3 Jr. This year I had the opportunity to attend the Good Ol'
4 Boy Roundup in Ocoee, Tennessee. Every year since 1987,
5 when I entered on duty as a special agent with the Bureau of
6 Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, I have been invited to this
7 event by Gene Rightmeyer, Winston T. Davidson, Courtney
8 McGrady, and John D. Scott. Winston, who I would consider a
9 good friend, told me that not many blacks have attended this
10 event. However, he told me that he wanted me to come
11 because this was not a whites-only event. A few years ago,
12 Winston told me of a story that a guy once dressed up in a
13 white sheet, giving the appearance of a Klansman. Winston
14 told me that this infuriated him and others because this
15 behavior would not be tolerated. I told Winston and the
16 others that I would attend. However, I never had the time
17 or I was always doing something and could not attend.

18 This year, John "Jack" Scott--who I call "Jack"--who I
19 consider probably one of my best friends, wanted me to
20 attend the Roundup. Jack also wanted me to play volleyball
21 and participate in some of the other events at the Roundup
22 with his team. I went to the Good Ol' Boy Roundup and
23 arrived at approximately 7:00 p.m. or 8:00 p.m. that
24 evening. I entered through the gate where I signed in and
25 was given an identification bracelet to wear. I never saw

1 any racist signs or T shirts or symbols as I entered or
2 while I was at the campsite. I did see a couple rebel
3 flags, which some black people would consider offensive, but
4 I did not. I immediately went over to Jack Scott's
5 campsite. Jack immediately started to introduce me to
6 everyone. At this time, Robert Golston of the Cleveland,
7 Tennessee, Police Department, who is also black, came over
8 to me. I personally know Robert and have worked with him in
9 the past. Robert and I exchanged casual conversation.
10 During the time that I was at the Roundup, officers from all
11 over the United States and Canada came over to greet me and
12 Officer Golston. During the time I was at the Roundup, I
13 never felt that I was not welcome or wanted there. I was
14 generally welcomed by everyone. On one occasion, Gene
15 Rightmeyer came over to me and told me he was glad I finally
16 came to the Roundup. He also told me that if I had any
17 problems or needed anything, come to him. Gene also told me
18 if anyone did anything or said anything that offended me,
19 let him know and they would be asked to leave.

20 As the night went on, Robert Golston came over to me
21 and pointed over to some guys. I noticed that Jack was over
22 there and was very agitated, and it was obvious that he was
23 having some words with these guys. I asked Robert what was
24 going on. Robert said as he passed by the group, they said
25 words to the effect of something like, There goes one of

1 those niggers. Robert said he told Jack and that is why
2 Jack was over there.

3 After a short period of time, Jack came over to Robert
4 and I and told us not to worry about coming back tomorrow to
5 participate in the games. Jack told me that he told the
6 guys if they had a problem with us, they could come over and
7 talk to us about it, but they would not. Jack told me that
8 he was sorry that this had happened. I asked Jack who were
9 those guys, and Jack told me that some were officers out of
10 Alabama. I told Jack that he did not have to apologize to
11 me because he had no control over the way someone acted or
12 felt. Jack told me that if this is the way people are going
13 to act, he will not be attending another Roundup. Shortly
14 after this event happened, Robert left. I left shortly
15 after Robert did. I estimate the time that I left was
16 somewhere around midnight. Neither Robert nor I at any time
17 was forced to leave the Roundup.

18 The next day in the office, Jack came in and said he
19 had packed all his things and left the Roundup. Jack again
20 apologized to me. I told Jack that I knew he nor any other
21 agent in the Chattanooga office would intentionally put me
22 in an environment where I was not welcome or wanted. I told
23 Jack that I never knew what had occurred until he and Robert
24 had told me because no one said anything to me that I would
25 consider racist. Jack again apologized to me and said that

1 Rightmeyer had also expressed his apologies.

2 Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to appear
3 before the committee and will be happy to answer any
4 questions concerning this matter.

C 5 [The prepared statement of Mr. Malone follows:]

1 The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Malone, and thank you for
2 your candid comments. We appreciate having them.

3 Mr. Scott, we are honored to have you here as well.
4 You are a special agent for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco
5 and Firearms in Chattanooga, Tennessee, as well. We look
6 forward to taking your testimony.

1 STATEMENT OF MR. SCOTT

2 Mr. Scott. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the
4 committee, thank you for this opportunity to discuss with
5 you my attendance at this year's Good Ol' Boy Roundup held
6 annually in Ocoee, Tennessee.

7 My name, as you have heard, is John Scott. I have been
8 a special agent with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and
9 Firearms for about 7-and-a-half years now. All that time
10 has been in the Chattanooga office. Prior to that, I was a
11 Tennessee State trooper stationed in Ashland City,
12 Tennessee, for approximately 1 year, and prior to that,
13 while I was in college, I worked as a deputy sheriff for the
14 Montgomery County, Tennessee, sheriff's office.

15 I first became aware of the Roundup in 1988, shortly
16 after my appointment with ATF. I do not remember exactly
17 who told me about it, only that they described it as pretty
18 much a 3-day "beer bash" that involved golfing, camping,
19 barbecuing, and various team activities.

20 I was unable to attend the Roundup for my first 2 or 3
21 years with ATF by the fact that I was at some of the schools
22 Mr. Stewart has described at FLETC, the schools you are
23 required to attend as a new agent. I attended my first
24 Roundup in either 1990 or 1991. I know there were some
25 difficulties with some of the dates that I have, because I

1 had wanted to attend the Roundup. I had heard it was a good
2 time, and I believe my first attendance was probably in
3 1991.

4 Of the Roundups I attended--and I have gone to a total
5 of four Roundups, as best I recall, possibly five--I have
6 never seen any racially biased signs, posters, or other
7 items at any of the Roundups I have attended. This is not
8 meant to suggest that the Roundups did not become rowdy on
9 occasions. I have seen on occasion strippers at the Roundup
10 and men and women walking around in various stages of
11 undress. Given the climate of the Roundup, with the
12 availability of alcohol, which is included as part of your
13 admission to the Roundup, it was not uncommon to see someone
14 well under the influence of alcohol.

15 During the years I attended the Roundup, I generally
16 camped in the same location with the same group of people.
17 The group I associated with was comprised primarily of
18 officers from in and around the Chattanooga and Hamilton
19 County area. At no time did I or anyone else from my camp
20 display or condone the display of racist shirts, hats, or
21 other paraphernalia as has been suggested by various news
22 agencies.

23 The Chairman. Did you see any of these racist T shirts
24 and hats and so forth?

25 Mr. Scott. The only thing that I have seen that I

1 would qualify as racist is I saw a Malcolm X hat with a red
2 circle drawn around it and an X through it. It was not for
3 sale. It was on an individual's head. And I have also seen
4 the Confederate flags hanging about camp.

5 I have always known the Roundups to be open to any law
6 enforcement officer. Whether or not mailings were actually
7 mailed to any black agents, I cannot say one way or the
8 other. But I know from my personal experience with the
9 Roundup that it has always been open to anyone who chose to
10 attend. Had that not been the case, I would not have
11 attended my first one.

12 At each Roundup I attended, I always invited Special
13 Agent Malone to come along with me. Cordell is probably my
14 closest friend at ATF as well as my partner at work. As you
15 can see, Special Agent Malone is black. I would never
16 suggest that he attend any function where he would not be
17 accorded the same courtesies that I or anyone else present
18 is accorded. Although Cordell declined to go with me
19 several times, he did choose to attend the 1995 Roundup.
20 Also in attendance that year at the Roundup, as Special
21 Agent Malone has already stated, was Robert Golston. He is
22 a black patrol officer for the Cleveland, Tennessee, Police
23 Department, where I current reside.

24 Robert came the night before Cordell did. He only
25 stayed probably a couple hours and left. The following

1 night both Robert and Cordell arrived at the Roundup, and we
2 were there for several hours without incident. At one
3 point, Robert did tell me he was walking through camp and
4 someone yelled "Nigger" at him. We made an attempt to
5 determine who that was and were not able to do so. That was
6 the only incident we had until the incident that Agent
7 Malone witnessed later that night. I was up by--the beer is
8 dispensed through a, for lack of a better description, beer
9 truck. It is a refrigerated truck that has several taps
10 running out the side. I was over by the beer truck and had
11 my back--the crowd was getting pretty thin. It was getting
12 pretty late. It was around midnight. I had my back turned
13 to a small group of people, and someone made the comment
14 that they hoped I was happy. And I turned around to look,
15 and there were four white people standing there, and they
16 said to me it looks like ATF has managed to screw something
17 else up. That was not the exact expletive used. I asked
18 them what they were talking about, and they said you all
19 mess up everything you get involved with and now you are
20 trying to screw the Roundup up for us by bringing niggers to
21 the Roundup.

22 We exchanged a few words, and we have, I guess, a loose
23 form of security at the Roundup, people that go around
24 checking arm bands to make sure that people that are in
25 attendance are supposed to be there or have paid to be

1 there. He came in between us and some more words were
2 exchanged. I told them that if they had a problem with
3 blacks being at the Roundup, then they were the ones that
4 needed to leave. They refused to leave, and I told them
5 that I would inform Rightmeyer of their transgression and
6 that they would most probably be escorted out of the
7 Roundup.

8 After the confrontation, I went over to the campsite
9 and told Cordell what had happened and told Robert and
10 apologized to them. I was told at that point that the four
11 individuals I had had the run-in with were relative
12 newcomers to the Roundup. Whether or not that is the case,
13 I do not know. I do not even know these individuals' names.
14 It was told to me that three of them were both current and
15 retired police officers out of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, and
16 the fourth one, who was never identified, was reported to
17 have been out of South Alabama. None of these individuals
18 were ATF employees, nor were they Federal agents in general.

19 Several days after the Roundup, I received a call from
20 Gene Rightmeyer. He expressed regret over the incident, and
21 I have subsequently talked with Gene, and he said that he
22 did, in fact, issue a refund to those individuals that had
23 had the confrontation with me. They were told to leave the
24 Roundup and were not to be invited back.

25 Lastly, I would like to address ATF's overall

1 participation in the Good Ol' Boy Roundup. To the best of
2 my knowledge, each year the Roundup attracts approximately
3 300 to 400, sometimes upwards of 400 individuals, both law
4 enforcement and civilian, from across the United States and
5 Canada. On average, maybe three or four active agents are
6 there on a given year. The years that I have attended, I
7 would say that is a fair guess of the number of attendees
8 that are active-duty agents. We have about the same number
9 of retired agents there every year. I would not
10 characterize the Roundup as an ATF-sponsored event. It is
11 sponsored, perpetuated, and supported by a wide group of
12 both law enforcement and civilian personnel.

13 I view it--well, I did in the past and pretty much as a
14 whole still do--as a chance for agents, police officers, to
15 get together, let their hair down, and share some of the
16 stories we have in common as law enforcement agents.

17 Mr. Chairman, thank you for allowing me to speak here
18 today on behalf of ATF, and I would be glad to answer any
19 questions you have.

D 20 [The prepared statement of Mr. Scott follows:]

1 The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Scott.

2 I am going to turn to Senator Thompson and have him ask
3 whatever questions are on his mind before I do. We are very
4 proud to have him on this committee. Senator Thompson?

5 Senator Thompson. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 I will be brief. I think your testimony speaks for
7 itself. I appreciate all of you being here very much. I
8 hope you realize that there are other people certainly in
9 the law enforcement community and your friends who respect
10 what you are doing and respect what you are doing today.
11 And there are people on this committee and all over the
12 country who are concerned about these things, and we intend
13 to address them.

14 I think it is another situation, as I said earlier,
15 where relatively few people can do an untold amount of
16 damage, but we do have to put it in perspective and keep our
17 law enforcement people strong and all the good people
18 connected with it and realize that there is certainly a lot
19 more good than bad and a lot more things go right than go
20 wrong.

21 Of course, I am especially concerned, as I said
22 earlier, Mr. Malone and Mr. Scott, a couple of my neighbors
23 there in Tennessee. And, Mr. Cooper, you have spent some
24 time there in Nashville. I know you all know that the
25 overwhelming majority of the people around there are just as

1 upset about some of these allegations as you are and as we
2 are. I feel sorry for them and for that beautiful region of
3 our State.

4 Mr. Scott, I get the impression from you that you are
5 painting a picture of a broad-based activity, 300 or 400
6 people at a time, when you would go and basically stay with
7 your group of people, the ones that you knew. You knew what
8 was going on around you, but you did not know what was going
9 on in other places at the Roundup, I am sure.

10 Mr. Scott. That is generally correct, sir, yes.

11 Senator Thompson. You had not heard of any terribly
12 egregious activities before you went; is that correct?

13 Mr. Scott. No, sir, that is not correct.

14 Senator Thompson. What had you heard?

15 Mr. Scott. I had heard stories that in years past,
16 prior to my attendance at the Roundup, that they had had a
17 couple of racial events. I had heard the story of the
18 Klansman appearance skit that had occurred. I had heard
19 that story.

20 Senator Thompson. Was it your feeling then and your
21 decision to go yourself that that problem had been rectified
22 and that was no longer the situation, or how did you feel
23 about that?

24 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir, that is mostly correct in that
25 upon my decision to contemplate going to the Roundup, I did

1 not view it as an overly negative event. I did have some
2 concerns in that if I was going to attend, I actually wanted
3 Special Agent Malone there. He and I spent a lot of time
4 both together at work and personally, and if I am going to
5 enjoy an event, I would like to have Agent Malone there.

6 I had heard the stories, was concerned, and called
7 Agent Rightmeyer to check it out. And he said that in the
8 past there had been racial events but he saw no problem with
9 Agent Malone coming, that black people had been there both
10 currently and in the past. And he said that they were
11 isolated incidents there, but they were dealt with handily
12 once they did occur.

13 Senator Thompson. All right. And when you did go, was
14 what he described to you consistent with what you saw once
15 you got there and attended the events?

16 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir.

17 Senator Thompson. That is, basically no real egregious
18 activities but perhaps a comment or an isolated event or two
19 on occasion? Is that what happened?

20 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir, that is correct.

21 Senator Thompson. Then you addressed the situation as
22 you found it there when the bad conduct occurred. It paints
23 a picture of some years being a lot worse than others and
24 some of the people there being a lot worse than others over
25 the years. As you know what you know now from what you have

1 personally observed and from what you have heard, is that--
2 what is your overall assessment of it? We do not want to
3 paint with too broad a brush and say everybody that ever
4 went to these things is a bad person. On the other hand, we
5 want to get to the bottom of the egregious activity that we
6 have heard about.

7 How would you generalize, in your opinion, now, the
8 whole situation?

9 Mr. Scott. Generally I would describe it as a pretty
10 footloose weekend. As I said, the diversity of people there
11 was quite great. We had officers from Canada and I would
12 guess to say most of the 50 States in the U.S. We had team
13 competition, volleyball, a beer-chugging contest, a truck-
14 pushing, tug-of-war, volleyball. It was pretty much a
15 relaxing weekend. They had the skits generally on Friday or
16 Saturday night that are titled Redneck of the Year and
17 Ugliest Good Ol' Boy contest.

18 Personally, I have viewed very few of these contests
19 for some reasons that we will go into later, if you would
20 like to. It concerns the scheduling of the events. But
21 even during those skits, I saw some acts that maybe some
22 people would consider tasteless that involved maybe some
23 drinking or things of that nature. But I never saw any
24 racial skits put on stage. I had heard the story of the one
25 skit concerning the appearance of a Klansman.

1 But, overall, I do not want to paint a picture that it
2 was a holy gathering, not by any stretch of the imagination.
3 A lot of drinking does go on, and people in various stages
4 of undress, as you have heard me state, although it is not
5 an uncommon site, I would not say that it is the status quo
6 there on a daily basis.

7 Senator Thompson. Mr. Cooper, let me ask you a couple
8 of questions. The individual in the Washington office who
9 quoted Mr. Rightmeyer to you as to who he would work for or
10 not work for, what was the position of that person?

11 Mr. Cooper. I believe he at the time was the Deputy
12 Associate Director for Law Enforcement.

13 Senator Thompson. Do you care to relate the person's
14 name, if you recall?

15 Mr. Cooper. Right. Yes, as I recall, I believe it was
16 either Daniel Hartnett, who was the Associate Director of
17 Law Enforcement, or Phillip McGuire, the Associate Director
18 of Law Enforcement. I took the position of assistant
19 special agent in charge that he formerly held in Nashville,
20 and so as best I can recall, it was one of the two, either
21 the Associate Director or Deputy Associate Director.

22 Senator Thompson. What was his purpose in relating
23 that to you, and what was his attitude toward one of his
24 people, more or less, expressing sentiments like that?

25 Mr. Cooper. Well, Mr. Thompson, at the time I had been

1 with ATF for 15, 16, 17 years, whatever, and I had just
2 about seen it all, quite frankly. I had met Rightmeyer
3 earlier also, and I pretty much know--we had attended a
4 class or two together several years prior to that, and I
5 pretty well had an idea of, as I say, where Rightmeyer was
6 coming from, quite frankly.

7 I was not shocked, in all candor. I must admit I was
8 not shocked, knowing the people that I was working with and
9 dealing with and had observed over the years. There is
10 nothing there to surprise me.

11 Senator Thompson. But what you are saying is that
12 somebody in headquarters was aware of his attitude.

13 Mr. Cooper. Well, of course, and they had been for
14 years. I mean, it was not a surprise. There was nothing
15 new about that. That, again, is the culture that existed in
16 ATF at that time, and maybe still does. I am not sure.

17 Senator Thompson. The situation that came up
18 concerning the ATF property, use of envelopes, I believe, to
19 get people to the Roundup, I believe you said that was in
20 1988.

21 Mr. Cooper. As I recall, 1987 or 1988, yes, sir.

22 Senator Thompson. And that was Mr. Rightmeyer, as I
23 understand, who used that property.

24 Mr. Cooper. Yes.

25 Senator Thompson. Do you know whether or not any

1 disciplinary action was taken at that time because of that?

2 Mr. Cooper. I believe the special agent in charge at
3 that time, Watson Cummins Beaty, related to me that he had
4 issued him an oral admonishment, I believe, of some type of
5 written notification that that was inappropriate conduct.

6 Senator Thompson. Do you know whether or not it
7 continued after that, that same conduct?

8 Mr. Cooper. No, sir, I do not. In all candor--

9 Senator Thompson. Let me--excuse me. Go ahead.

10 Mr. Cooper. Yes, basically, how this occurred on the
11 use of the envelopes and all, I was his direct supervisor,
12 and as the person responsible for the Nashville District's
13 operational matters--that is the assistant special agent in
14 charge function--quite frankly, it was gone around by the
15 system, and they went directly to Watson, who immediately
16 issued him this letter and said, okay--because Internal
17 Affairs really came after me because they thought I was
18 aware of it. I had no knowledge of it until it was all
19 over.

20 Senator Thompson. One more question, or line of
21 questions, Mr. Cooper. Director Magaw said something very
22 interesting, I thought, a while ago in response to a
23 question from Senator DeWine. It was concerning the culture
24 there. Director Magaw indicated that there was a transition
25 from ATF, more or less from out of the field busting

1 moonshiners, which is a lot of their activity in Nashville,
2 Tennessee, for example, middle Tennessee, and other parts of
3 the country. It constituted a great deal of their activity.
4 Of course, all of that died away, and they switched off into
5 other things.

6 From what I understand he was saying, these people who
7 had been used to one kind of work and one kind of life all
8 of a sudden were pushed toward something else, and maybe the
9 rules of the game had changed and they had not been made
10 aware of that as far as their exposure and training are
11 concerned.

12 You came to the ATF in 1969, and I would think that you
13 were probably in the last stages of the old kind of work,
14 perhaps, the alcohol side of things, illegal alcohol, and
15 phasing all that out and getting into these other areas.

16 Do you agree with that assessment or does that have
17 anything to do with the problem we have got here in trying
18 to get to the nature of the problem maybe why ATF of all the
19 agencies might have a little more of a problem in this area
20 than some of the other agencies? Is this related in any
21 way?

22 Mr. Cooper. No, sir, it did not affect me. When I
23 came on, first of all, I did not work that type of
24 violations or anything like that. But the standards that
25 were announced that I should follow, that was certainly way

1 outside of any bounds that I have ever known within ATF. I
2 was not allowed to conduct myself in that manner at all, and
3 I knew better. And with prior law enforcement experience
4 and the training and the knowledge of the persons who
5 supervised me when I came to ATF, I was told that that was a
6 no-no. But all throughout the years, it is not so much that
7 it was done. It was that it was known by management from
8 day one. It was just a part of the system.

9 If you complained too hard to management about this
10 taking place, you did not want to do that. You just did not
11 because you are going to end up some place you do not want
12 to be or become branded as being a malcontent. And having
13 thick skin--there were occasions when I was referred to as
14 "nigger this" or "nigger that" or whatever by management
15 people. And when I would complain about it, they said this
16 is our culture, you just have a thin skin, you really do not
17 understand, you really need to get down to the basics of
18 things, of friendship and that type of thing. But
19 certainly, the more you complained, the worse it got. So
20 you get to a point everybody knows what is going on from the
21 top to the bottom. Who are you going to complain to?

22 Senator Thompson. You are retired now.

23 Mr. Cooper. That is correct.

24 Senator Thompson. But I am sure you keep in touch. Do
25 you get the impression that anything is improving?

1 Mr. Cooper. From my vantage point, I do not see it.
2 Sorry. I have heard some lip service, but I do not see any
3 results of this.

4 There have been conversations about appointments made
5 by Director Magaw, and I know that there are no people in
6 law enforcement appointed to an Assistant Director or Deputy
7 Assistant Director position, not in law enforcement. The
8 highest-ranking African American in law enforcement is the
9 special agent in charge of the Houston office, and the first
10 person appointed to such a position was in 1986.

11 I spent 25-plus years in ATF, and a lot of the people
12 who are managing ATF now and when I retired were at one time
13 subordinate employees. They happen to be white males,
14 though.

15 Senator Thompson. Thank you very much.

16 Mr. Chairman, that is all I have.

17 The Chairman. Well, thank you, Senator Thompson.

18 Let me begin with you, Mr. Stewart. I just have a few
19 more questions. This has been an interesting panel. We
20 want to compliment you for being willing to come, being
21 willing to say what all of you have said, each of you has
22 said. And I do have a few questions.

23 Let me start with you, Mr. Stewart. Could you give us
24 your experience, maybe your educational background, whatever
25 has assisted you in your assignment as an ATF agent?

1 Mr. Stewart. Well, my academic background is inclusive
2 of a bachelor of science degree, a master of science degree.
3 I have a doctorate degree in management, and I am currently
4 pursuing a second doctorate degree in public administration.

5 The Chairman. So you are highly educated and highly
6 credentialed, as I view it, and I think that is important
7 for people to know, that you are not just here complaining,
8 that you have paid the price of getting a high education. I
9 doubt that there are many in any Federal agency that have
10 the credentials that you have from an educational standpoint
11 and perhaps others as well.

12 But you have told us about these racist activities.
13 Why don't you explain to us what you did? Did you do
14 anything at the time to bring those racist statements to the
15 attention of those in charge of ATF?

16 Mr. Stewart. Well, let me say first, Mr. Chairman,
17 that since the early 1980s, I have been on the front line
18 with identifying racist, unacceptable behavior in ATF, and
19 at every opportunity that I have had, I have brought these
20 complaints to management. It is no secret that I am
21 currently a named plaintiff in a civil class action lawsuit
22 against the agency.

23 In that regard, the agency has tried to send a message
24 to me through its Office of Internal Affairs, through
25 unlawful retaliation, as to not to complain. However, I

1 have not let that stop me.

2 The incident at Glynco, Georgia, with Mr. Dondi
3 Albritton, I advised him that he should follow up with that
4 with his chain of command, at which time he did by reporting
5 it to his special agent in charge.

6 The racist activities and the so-called efforts to even
7 the playing field within ATF and making ATF a model equal
8 opportunity employer, I have brought those complaints to
9 every entity of management within the ATF organizational
10 structure. I have surfaced complaints of discrimination to
11 the Treasury IG. I have surfaced complaints of
12 discrimination to the ATF Office of Internal Affairs, as
13 well as to the Regional Complaint Center, which is under the
14 Department of the Treasury.

15 The Chairman. What measures, if any, were taken by
16 management with regard to some of the complaints that you
17 made?

18 Mr. Stewart. Management always took the position that
19 Larry Stewart is a troublemaker, he is one who is
20 dissatisfied, he is a malcontent. Very little attention was
21 given.

22 We tried for 12 years to resolve the issues in the
23 class action complaint internally with ATF. We got a lot of
24 promises. We were told to wait, things would get better.
25 And during this period it transcended political parties; it

1 transcended administrations. It went on for a long period
2 of time, us trying to work within the system.

3 The Chairman. But you are saying things did not get
4 better and they really did not do much about it.

5 Mr. Stewart. They did not do anything about it, and
6 finally, in 1989, after, frankly, we could not take it any
7 longer, we went to the courts for relief. And during that
8 time, even after the lawsuit was filed, we constantly
9 questioned and requested of Director Magaw and Under
10 Secretary Noble to meet with us, for us to sit down as men
11 of professionalism and try to resolve the complaints.

12 As we were told, the Justice Department precluded or
13 prevented them from addressing those issues, and it is only
14 this morning that I heard Mr. Noble say in a public forum
15 that he would be willing to sit down and mediate this matter
16 with us.

17 The Chairman. Well, I hope you can do that, and I hope
18 you take him up on that offer, and I would like to hear what
19 does happen there, because I think it is far better for you
20 to get it resolved, if you can, amicably--if not amicably,
21 at least resolved with the agency. But I am not trying to
22 put you on the spot with this next question, but I think it
23 is important that I ask it. You previously testified that
24 you were the ASAC in Atlanta, Georgia, ASAC meaning?

25 Mr. Stewart. Assistant special agent in charge.

1 The Chairman. So you were the number two person in
2 Atlanta, Georgia, which was a very important position. And
3 it is an important position with a substantial amount of
4 responsibility. From what I see, you are clearly well-
5 credentialed with both your law enforcement and your
6 educational experiences. However, you testified that ATF is
7 run under a good ol' boy system.

8 I would like you to explain to us how you as an African
9 American, having obtained this very prestigious position in
10 one of the most important cities in America and one of the
11 most important stations in America, how you attained this if
12 there is that pervasive racist attitude throughout the ATF.

13 Mr. Stewart. Mr. Chairman, it was a very long fight
14 and almost emotional destruction. I am behind my colleagues
15 and peers. After bringing the litigation against ATF and
16 suffering the retaliation, I would not granted the
17 promotions on par with others of like assignment. I applied
18 for over 100 positions within ATF before I--

19 The Chairman. Before you got this one?

20 Mr. Stewart. I am sorry?

21 The Chairman. Before you got this one?

22 Mr. Stewart. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman. Before I was
23 promoted to this position, I applied for over 100 positions
24 and was denied each time on the basis of being unqualified.
25 I consistently requested and asked, What does one have to do

1 to be qualified? With my academic background, 17 years of
2 experience, a long time in service in the United States Army
3 Reserves, I do not know and still do not know what it means
4 to be qualified in this agency.

5 The Chairman. Well, that is interesting to me.

6 Mr. Cooper, let me just clarify, you are retired from
7 ATF?

8 Mr. Cooper. Yes, sir.

9 The Chairman. And you are currently with The
10 Investigative Group, Inc., in Chicago. Am I right about
11 that?

12 Mr. Cooper. That is correct.

13 The Chairman. How would you describe the atmosphere at
14 ATF for your reception at ATF by other agents as an African
15 American? What was your reception? How were you treated?

16 Mr. Cooper. When I came on the job in 1969, after
17 about 2 weeks on the job we were in the squad bay in the
18 Federal building there in our office in St. Paul, and an
19 agent, a white agent, was sitting in front of me talking on
20 the phone. And I overheard him talking to this person, and
21 he says, I am sorry, I cannot talk to you right now; you
22 see, we have got this new nigger in the office, and he is
23 sitting behind me, I will talk to you later.

24 That is within the first 30 days I was on the job with
25 ATF.

1 The Chairman. And has it been your experience that
2 that type of language and that type of disdain and treatment
3 has followed you throughout your career?

4 Mr. Cooper. Very common, sir. Very common.

5 The Chairman. It is common?

6 Mr. Cooper. Yes, it is.

7 The Chairman. When you found out about the Roundup,
8 did you make any efforts to inform the higher-ups at ATF
9 about such activities?

10 Mr. Cooper. Well, sir, when I found out about it,
11 being a staff person in headquarters--

12 The Chairman. That was back in March of 1984 when you
13 first found out about it?

14 Mr. Cooper. Well, it was in my early tenure. When I
15 went to headquarters in Washington here in 1980, it was
16 during that first 2 or 3 years on staff there that people
17 talked about it.

18 The Chairman. Right.

19 Mr. Cooper. It was well known. It was very common
20 knowledge throughout--the people that I dealt with at
21 headquarters.

22 The Chairman. When you found out about it, did you
23 talk about it and tell them about it, the leaders there?

24 Mr. Cooper. Well, to my knowledge, the leaders were
25 aware of it. I mean, everyone--

1 The Chairman. You felt they were aware of it?

2 Mr. Cooper. Right. I was on the staff at the time of
3 the Associate Director, and people would discuss it openly.
4 It was no secret. It was just that they never posted
5 anything on the wall.

6 You know, being an African American, you learn how the
7 system works. If they do not post something on a sign in an
8 environment like that, if they do not freely discuss it with
9 you and invite you to it, there is probably a reason for it,
10 and that probably is that they do not want you to come. But
11 during that time, I have never been invited to the Good Ol'
12 Boy Roundup. Even as Mr. Rightmeyer's supervisor, I was
13 never invited, although I knew about it.

14 The Chairman. In other words, you were his supervisor,
15 and never once did he or anybody else around him or anybody
16 else period invite you to this Good Ol' Boys Roundup?

17 Mr. Cooper. That is correct, sir. I was never invited
18 at any time to this Roundup.

19 The Chairman. Mr. Malone, you are currently an ATF
20 agent in Chattanooga, Tennessee?

21 Mr. Malone. Yes, sir.

22 The Chairman. And is it fair to say that the Good Ol'
23 Boy Roundup event is common knowledge in your office?

24 Mr. Malone. Yes, sir.

25 The Chairman. So everybody knows about it?

1 Mr. Malone. Yes, sir.

2 The Chairman. You knew about it?

3 Mr. Malone. Yes, sir.

4 The Chairman. Jack knew about it?

5 Mr. Malone. Yes, sir.

6 The Chairman. Okay. If African Americans are not
7 particularly excluded, then why was it you never received an
8 invitation to this, a written invitation?

9 Mr. Malone. Sir, I do not recall any of the agents in
10 the office receiving any written invitations.

11 The Chairman. Did you ever get a written invitation,
12 Mr. Scott?

13 Mr. Scott. Yes, Senator, but only after I had attended
14 my first one. I think how Mr. Rightmeyer develops his list
15 of people to send invitations to is that once you attend the
16 Roundup, your name is placed on a list as having been there,
17 you provide them an address, and they mail you an
18 application the subsequent year.

19 The Chairman. Do either of you know of any time--now,
20 this is an important question because I have been led to
21 believe one way. Do either of you know of any time or any
22 person of African American descent who was invited,
23 expressly invited, to the Good Ol' Boys Roundup, except
24 maybe Mr. Malone invited by you?

25 Mr. Malone. I recall one other, I think it was a

1 Hamilton County deputy.

2 The Chairman. He was a what?

3 Mr. Malone. He was a Hamilton County Sheriff
4 Department deputy, and he went.

5 The Chairman. He was an African American?

6 Mr. Malone. Yes, sir.

7 The Chairman. Was he invited through a formal written
8 invitation?

9 Mr. Malone. I do not know if it was written or oral.
10 I just knew that he was invited.

11 The Chairman. That he was one who did go, but you do
12 not know whether he was invited to go?

13 Mr. Malone. I do not know how he was invited, but he
14 did go.

15 The Chairman. Okay. Well, I have to say that I am
16 very concerned about all this. As I recall, you went to a
17 gathering of good ol' boys where there were virtually no
18 African Americans present; you knew of one other who might
19 have been present?

20 Mr. Malone. Yes, sir.

21 The Chairman. Mr. Golston who you referred to, who is
22 he?

23 Mr. Malone. Robert Golston, he is an officer with the
24 Cleveland Police Department there in Tennessee.

25 The Chairman. But he was referred to as a "nigger" the

1 first night there; is that right? Is that what you said?
2 Or did you say that?

3 Mr. Scott. That was me, Senator. Yes, that is
4 correct.

5 The Chairman. That was the way they referred to him?

6 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir.

7 The Chairman. He was the only other African American
8 either of you saw there, or did you see others?

9 Mr. Scott. He is the only other black officer I saw
10 there. Someone said there was an officer from Athens,
11 Tennessee, Police Department there earlier in the week, but
12 I did not see him.

13 The Chairman. Well, your friend, Mr. Malone, Mr.
14 Golston, was harassed by several other individuals because
15 he brought you, an African American, to the Good Ol' Boy
16 Roundup, to this retreat, after which you left the Roundup
17 and never returned. Didn't you consider that racist
18 conduct?

19 Mr. Malone. Well, first of all, it was not Mr. Golston
20 that brought me there. It was--

21 The Chairman. It was Jack.

22 Mr. Malone. Jack, and he was the one that was harassed
23 about bringing me to the Roundup.

24 The Chairman. Well, he was harassed because you were
25 an African American; is that right?

1 Mr. Malone. Yes, sir.

2 The Chairman. Didn't you consider that racist?

3 Mr. Malone. On their part, yes.

4 The Chairman. Do you know what the REX meeting is?

5 Mr. Malone. REX? No, sir.

6 The Chairman. Do you know what the M.O.B. meeting is?

7 Mr. Malone. No, sir.

8 The Chairman. Do you know, Mr. Scott?

9 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir, I am familiar with the term
10 M.O.B.

11 The Chairman. What is the REX meeting, then?

12 Mr. Scott. The REX, I have no idea.

13 The Chairman. How about M.O.B.?

14 Mr. Scott. M.O.B. is the members of the board and has
15 also been termed Mean Old Bastards.

16 The Chairman. I see. Mr. Scott, do you know how one
17 becomes an officer or director of the Good Ol' Boy, Inc.?

18 Mr. Scott. No, sir, I do not. I only know that the
19 individuals who become a member of the board, they have to
20 win an award at the Roundup based on the Redneck of the Year
21 contest or the Ugliest Good Ol' Boy. Once they win that
22 title, then they are included as a member of the board for
23 the Good Ol' Boy Roundup.

24 The Chairman. I see. Unless you win one of those
25 titles, you cannot be a member of the board?

1 Mr. Scott. That is the best of my knowledge, yes, sir.

2 The Chairman. Are these Roundups exclusively for law
3 enforcement officers, or are there other people invited?

4 Mr. Scott. There are civilians there as well.

5 The Chairman. I see. As I understand it, then, the
6 Roundup draws people from all over the country.

7 Mr. Scott. And Canada as well, yes, sir.

8 The Chairman. And Canada as well. So there is a wide
9 variety of people there; right?

10 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir.

11 The Chairman. Let me go back for a second. How does
12 one become the Redneck of the Year?

13 Mr. Scott. It is based on a voting system that is also
14 voted on by the members of the board based on a skit
15 performance.

16 The Chairman. What kind of a skit do you have to put
17 on? Do you have to make one up or what?

18 Mr. Scott. It is pretty much an impromptu thing, yes,
19 sir.

20 The Chairman. Are they racist skits?

21 Mr. Scott. I have never seen a racist skit. It has
22 gotten to the point--it is a pretty heavy competition. The
23 Redneck of the Year is just one of the contests, as well as
24 Ugliest Good Ol' Boy. Whoever compiles the most points
25 receives a plaque.

1 The Chairman. But you have not seen a skit that was
2 racist or had racial overtones?

3 Mr. Scott. No, I have not personally.

4 The Chairman. Okay, but you say they were pretty
5 raunchy, some of them?

6 Mr. Scott. Occasionally, yes, sir, they did.

7 The Chairman. I might add that if we had Mr.
8 Rightmeyer's list, it would have told us a lot, the list of
9 people who attend this thing. It would have told us a lot,
10 but he destroyed the list one day after I announced this
11 hearing. At least that is the information that we have.
12 According to my staff, he told my staff that. One day after
13 I announced we were going to have a hearing, he destroyed
14 the list.

15 Now, I had heard that one reason he did is because he
16 did not want anybody to be hurt by it. We do not have any
17 desire to hurt anybody, but we do have a desire to get to
18 the bottom of it and stop any kind of inappropriate
19 activity, certainly among Federal employees and, frankly, I
20 think State and local leaders ought to do something about
21 it, too.

22 Senator Thompson. Mr. Chairman, I might comment on
23 that. Governor Sundquist has got his own investigation
24 going on.

— 25 The Chairman. That is what I understand. The Governor

1 is not going to sit back and not look at this. Like I say,
2 there is a disparity of evidence here, so we are not going
3 to draw definitive conclusions right now. We have got to
4 follow this through, too, and we are going to count on these
5 inspectors general to do a good job on it.

6 Let me just go through a couple of things. Who is the
7 Emperor for Life that they describe in the invitation
8 material?

9 Mr. Scott. The best I can tell you is his name is--I
10 think his last name is Thompson. His nickname at the
11 Roundup is Billy Bob. I am almost certain he is a retired
12 police officer out of Birmingham or one of the suburbs
13 around Birmingham.

14 The Chairman. Did you see when you were there--you say
15 you never saw a racist skit there?

16 Mr. Scott. No, sir, I did not.

17 The Chairman. Did you observe any activities you would
18 term racist at any of these events that you attended?

19 Mr. Scott. Other than the ones that happened this
20 year, I did not see any open acts of--I never saw the
21 hunting license that has been depicted.

22 The Chairman. So you were there this year?

23 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir, I was.

24 The Chairman. Did you see any T shirts that were
25 racist in nature?

1 Mr. Scott. No, I did not.

2 The Chairman. Have you ever seen a T shirt with the
3 rebel flag that read "You wear your X, I will wear mine"
4 exhibited at the Roundup?

5 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir, I did.

6 The Chairman. You did see that. So that is something-
7 -did you see many of them or just one?

8 Mr. Scott. I saw one individual wearing that shirt.
9 It was not posted for sale anywhere that I recall.

10 The Chairman. Do you consider that a racist T shirt?

11 Mr. Scott. Depending on your inflection, yes, sir, it
12 could be.

13 The Chairman. Well, isn't it fair to say that an
14 African American could and probably would find a T shirt
15 that mocks Malcolm X highly inflammatory and racist?

16 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir, they could.

17 The Chairman. Did you see any racist signs there?

18 Mr. Scott. No, sir. In reference to the checkpoint
19 sign that was posted at the entrance to the campsite, I
20 talked with Gene Rightmeyer about that sign after the story
21 broke, and I asked him about the sign because I had been
22 there on years in the past, and he said that the sign did
23 appear in 1990, that it was tacked up on the tree by an
24 individual attendee of the Roundup. Mr. Rightmeyer was
25 informed of the sign and immediately had it removed. And I

1 believe he told me that the individual responsible for
2 putting it up was also removed.

3 The Chairman. Okay. So there was no sign like that
4 there this year or any of the years that you attended?

5 Mr. Scott. No, sir, and I have personally never seen
6 the sign.

7 The Chairman. And you did not either, Mr. Malone?

8 Mr. Malone. No, sir.

9 The Chairman. I have to say that I think both of you
10 testifying here today, I commend both of you. Your
11 precisely working together and being closest of friends, I
12 think that is the image and the relationship that we want to
13 see fostered in this country, where we work together, love
14 each other, care for each other, protect each other in law
15 enforcement and do what we can to really do the job. So I
16 want to commend both of you for the feelings you have for
17 each other, for the work that you do together, and for the
18 way you see to be protective of each other as friends. So I
19 commend you both.

20 Mr. Malone. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 Mr. Scott. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 The Chairman. On the other hand, did you ever hear of
23 any--let me just go back to my line of questioning. Did you
24 ever hear of any racist activities that went on at these
25 gatherings that you attended?

1 Mr. Scott. Other than the robed activity? No, sir,
2 that was the only prior story I had heard.

3 The Chairman. And you did see the Ku Klux Klan
4 activity at one time?

5 Mr. Scott. No, sir. I had heard the story prior to
6 attending, but I did not see it.

7 The Chairman. You never saw that. Did you see any
8 other robed activity?

9 Mr. Scott. No, sir, I did not.

10 The Chairman. Okay. And the racist language that you
11 heard?

12 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir, I have heard ethnic jokes at the
13 Roundup as well as other locations.

14 The Chairman. Did you hear a lot of racist language at
15 each one of these events that you attended, or was it just
16 isolated--

17 Mr. Scott. Isolated incidents, sir.

18 The Chairman. Did it alarm you or concern you?

19 Mr. Scott. It is not something I approve of. People
20 are going to have their attitudes, and it was my feeling
21 that any time you get 400 people together, chances are
22 pretty fair, regardless of the occupations of those
23 individuals, that you will have a racist present.

24 The Chairman. Now, Mr. Malone was not invited. You
25 just took him as your guest; right?

1 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir, that is correct.

2 The Chairman. Did anybody give him a rough time as you
3 came into the camp, or was it only later, the incident that
4 you described?

5 Mr. Scott. I was not present when he came into the
6 camp. I can let him speak to that.

7 The Chairman. But when he saw you, from the time he
8 saw you on?

9 Mr. Scott. No hassles whatsoever.

10 The Chairman. Is it your position today that the Good
11 Ol' Boys Roundup is not a racist event, despite the fact
12 that there were racial epithets hurled at the only two
13 African Americans you ever brought, that were ever brought
14 there to one of the Roundups?

15 Mr. Scott. I would characterize it as an official part
16 of the Roundup racism was not promoted and in all my
17 experience that was not propagated to be part of the
18 Roundup. It became apparent to me that after Agent Malone
19 and Officer Golston got there, there were a collection of
20 people that were racist, and that is why we did choose to
21 leave.

22 The Chairman. Mr. Scott, you stated that you called
23 Mr. Rightmeyer and you asked him if you could bring Mr.
24 Malone.

25 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir.

1 The Chairman. If this was not a racist event, why did
2 you feel that you needed to ask Mr. Rightmeyer to bring
3 Cordell Malone with you?

4 Mr. Scott. Based on the fact that I had heard that
5 racist language did occur at the Roundup, and based on the
6 fact that I had heard the Klansman story that had been there
7 in years past. I was concerned that he may be offended if
8 he came, and I wanted to get the story up front before I
9 went.

10 The Chairman. You say you never saw racist signs and
11 so on except perhaps for one hat or cap.

12 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir.

13 The Chairman. But when a group of white participants
14 tell you that you screwed up the Roundup by bringing "a
15 nigger," does that suggest anything to you about the
16 atmosphere there or how others perceived the Roundup?

17 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir. It states to the fact of how
18 they perceive the Roundup in their individual opinions. I
19 viewed that as an isolated incident.

20 The Chairman. And just to be clear, you and Mr. Malone
21 and one other black participant, you did leave after this
22 confrontation?

23 Mr. Scott. Yes, sir. They left that night. I left at
24 approximately 6 o'clock the next morning.

25 The Chairman. Okay. Well, unless Senator Thompson has

1 any further questions--

2 Senator Thompson. Nothing further, Mr. Chairman.

3 The Chairman. Thank you, Senator Thompson.

4 I want to thank each of you for being here today. We
5 think it is important that, regardless of what the truth is
6 about this, law enforcement people, whether they be Federal,
7 State, or local, ought to be above racism and above many
8 other things that are wrong. People who wear the badge have
9 got to be people that we can have some element of trust in.
10 In fact, we have to have trust in them. And I believe that
11 the vast majority of all law enforcement officers are good
12 people who want to do what is right and who sacrifice and
13 work hard and risk their lives under many circumstances and
14 deserve our commendation.

15 But to the extent that we have problems like these, we
16 ought to root them out and get rid of them, because we are
17 all Americans. We are all individuals. Each of us has our
18 pluses and our minuses. Each of us has a way to go as far
19 as being perfect. And, hopefully, all of us can strive for
20 that perfection that all of us would like to have.

21 But in law enforcement, we look up to you people, and
22 the American people have to look up to you. Now we have in
23 this country an attitude that is growing, primarily out of
24 Waco and Ruby Ridge, but there are other incidents, and this
25 is one of them, that there are some who dishonor us all and

1 who make us all look bad from time to time. And everybody
2 makes mistakes, but in this particular case I am concerned
3 that there are a lot more than mistakes.

4 Now, we have had diverging points of view here, and I
5 respect you two for coming and telling it the way you saw
6 it. And I respect you two for the experiences that you have
7 had, the educational attainment you have had, the service
8 you have given to your country, to our country, and we
9 appreciate you coming here. We know that it is not easy for
10 you to do this, and we also know that there will be some
11 people who will probably be mad at you for doing it. But
12 this is what makes this country great, that we are willing
13 to stand up and try and right the wrongs that do exist from
14 time to time. So I commend you.

15 I also commend our law enforcement people who were here
16 today. I have absolute faith that they will root out these
17 difficulties and re-educate our few agents in the Federal
18 Government who need re-education and make it clear to
19 everybody else that we have standards that are very high in
20 Federal law enforcement. And I think to the extent that we
21 can get that done, you folks will have played a very
22 important role.

23 So we are grateful that you are here; we are grateful
24 that you have taken the time. With that, we will leave the
25 value judgments and the other judgments up to the people as

1 they read about it and see it in the media and the press and
2 elsewhere.

3 With that, we will recess this committee until further
4 notice. Thank you.

5 [Whereupon, at 3:25 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

50,000 Officials Questioned on Picnic

By STEPHEN LABATON

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30 — In an unusual mass questioning, Federal investigators are surveying more than 50,000 law-enforcement officers to find out who attended a country picnic in the East Tennessee mountains that may have included racist and anti-Semitic activities.

The questioning of virtually all Federal law-enforcement officers by supervisors from the Treasury and Justice Departments has raised protests from civil liberties groups and unions of Government employees. They say political and Congressional pressure have prompted a blunderbuss investigation that is trampling the officers' constitutional rights of privacy and freedom of association.

The annual weekend gathering, "The Good Ol' Boys Roundup," is being investigated after reports that the affair was a rowdy gathering of rednecks that featured the sale of "nigger hunting licenses" and T-shirts emblazoned with the face of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. behind a target.

Earlier this month, the Inspector General of the Treasury, Valerie Lau, and the Treasury Under Secretary, Ronald K. Noble, directed supervisors at the four law-enforcement agencies that Mr. Noble oversees to ask all officers whether they were invited or ever attended any Good Ol' Boys roundup events, or whether they knew anyone who had. The four agencies are the Secret Service, Customs Service, Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms, and the Internal Revenue Service.

The Treasury supervisors are required to forward to Washington a list of the names of all officers who either attended the gathering, and to identify others who were reported to have attended or who refused to answer questions about it. The memorandum says that employees who ask about the consequences of refusing to reply should be told that cannot be determined. The department identified more than 100 officials at the roundup.

In recent months, senior officials in the Justice Department have told supervisors at all United States Attorney's offices and all field offices of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to ask all officers

if they had attended the roundup. Employees have also been questioned at the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Marshals Service and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Carl Stern, the chief spokesman for the Justice Department, said investigators had already identified 33 officials from the department, including at least 6 F.B.I. officials, who were at the event.

The roundup is an annual three-day event for law-enforcement officers and Federal agents in Tennessee that has been held for more than 10 years. More than 300 people attended this year's event.

The organizer of the event is Gene Rightmyer, a retired agent

A survey likened to 1950's witch hunts.

of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, a Treasury agency. He has strongly denied the reports and claimed they are part of a setup by a paramilitary group that is hostile to the firearms agency.

Criticism of the investigation comes as new questions have begun to emerge about whether the incident was as racist as originally reported. A videotape purporting to show a huge banner warning, "Nigger check point," is being examined to determine whether it is a hoax. Federal investigators have so far declined to confirm the authenticity of the tape, and initial interviews with some participants disputed that there were any significant racist incidents at the gathering.

The most damning accounts of the roundup, including the videotape, were given to the National Rifle Association by a former Fort Lauderdale, Fla., police officer after he was prevented by the event's organizer from distributing campaign literature and expressing "white power" sentiments at the gathering.

Ira Glasser, the executive director of the American Civil Liberties

Union, likened the survey to the excesses and blacklists of the 1950's.

"This is quite simply a loyalty investigation," Mr. Glasser said. "People are being put on a list for failing to answer questions that require them to name names."

Paraphrasing the infamous question of the Communist witch hunts of 40 years ago, Mr. Glasser said, "In effect, the Government is asking 'Are you now or have you ever been a participant at the roundup, or do you know anyone who has?'"

The political storm over the gathering prompted Treasury and Justice officials to begin an investigation of what occurred. The event was sharply criticized by President Clinton and by Republicans and Democrats at a recent hearing of the Senate Judiciary Committee, even though the investigators had reached no conclusions about the affair.

Officials from the few unions that represent officers who have been questioned said today that they had complained about the sweeping nature of the inquiry.

"There have been many complaints by our members about this dragnet approach," said Robert Tobias, president of the National Treasury Employees Union, which represents about 5,000 customs inspectors, in addition to 150,000 other Government employees from agencies not under review. "We've advised our folks to respond to the questions. But if harm comes to anyone as a result, we will be going to the courts."

Ms. Lau, who is overseeing the investigation, was out of Washington today and could not be reached for comment. Mr. Noble, asked about the criticism, said the questions were intended to identify possible witnesses to the gathering and that it was sensitive to possible civil liberties issues.

But the memorandum sent by Mr. Noble and Ms. Lau to the enforcement bureaus of Treasury does not say that the questions are intended only to find witnesses. Mr. Noble said that no officers were compelled to reply to the questions and that it would be up to Ms. Lau to determine whether there would be any action taken against an officer who declined to respond.

Growth Revised Upward, but It Was Still Weak

By KENNETH N. GILPIN

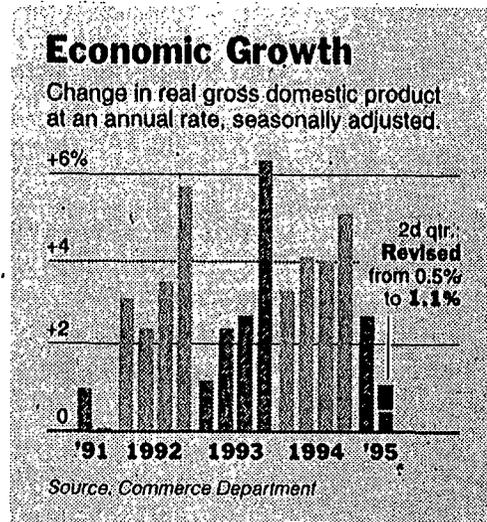
The economy grew at a somewhat faster clip in the second quarter than originally estimated, the Government said yesterday, but the rate of expansion was still the weakest in nearly four years.

For the April-June period, the Commerce Department said gross domestic product, which measures all goods and services, grew at an annual rate of 1.1 percent on an inflation-adjusted basis, more than double the rate of a half of 1 percent reported a month ago, when a preliminary estimate of second quarter growth was released.

The slightly faster rate of growth was largely a result of upward revisions in consumer spending and a rise in farm inventory investment. But the change did little to alter opinions among private analysts about the economy's prospects for the balance of the year.

"The entire revision was in two categories, consumption and farm inventories, which alone was responsible for about 40 percent of the overall increase in gross domestic product," said Donald J. Fine, chief market analyst at Chase Securities Inc. "But being on a trading floor in New York, I can't get excited about farm inventories."

After slowing sharply during the first six months from an unsustainably rapid pace in the second half of 1994, most analysts still expect the economy to rebound to the rate of growth of 2 to 2.5 percent that is favored by the Federal Reserve. In the first three months of the year, the economy grew at a 2.7 percent



The New York Times

annual rate, down from the more than 4 percent average rate of growth recorded for the last six months of 1994.

"On the margin, the economy wasn't as weak as we thought in the second quarter, and this bodes better for the second half," said Paul Mastroddi, a managing director at J. P. Morgan Inc.

The revised report contained "more good news than bad news," said Donald Rataczak, director of the economic forecasting project at Georgia State University. "Capital spending is still strong, exports are still good and there are no inflationary concerns."

Worries about inflation were the primary force behind the seven increases in short-term interest rates engineered by the Federal Reserve over a 12-month period beginning Feb. 4, 1994.

The absence of inflationary pressures was prominently mentioned when the Fed reversed its previous course in early July, pushing short-term rates down by a quarter of a percentage point.

Yesterday's report provides further evidence that inflation remains in check.

"The economy looks like it is headed to a 2 percent to 3 percent growth path," said Allen Sinai, chief global economist at Lehman Brothers, "and that is exactly where the Fed wants it."

As measured by the gross domestic product deflator, the prices of goods and services rose 1.6 percent during the second quarter, slightly higher than the 1.3 percent rate reported in July, but less than the 2.2 percent rate recorded in the first quarter.

The fixed-weight price index for domestic purchases, which in contrast to the deflator does not reflect the changing composition of output, rose at a 2.8 percent rate, up slightly from the 2.7 percent rate of increase that was originally reported.

The Commerce Department will make its final revision to its second-quarter G.D.P. report at the end of September.

The department also said that using a new method of calculating growth that it is phasing in this year, G.D.P. expanded five-tenths of 1 percent in the second quarter, and did not decline by two-tenths of 1 percent, as first reported. The new method will formally replace the older system at the end of 1995 and is designed to measure price changes more accurately.

Analysts cited improving home sale numbers, which should lead to increased

Continued on Page D17

Continued From First Business Page

sales of consumer durable items, strong capital spending and a likely improvement in the nation's trade accounts as reasons they expect growth to pick up.

Mr. Rataczak, who projected that the economy was growing at a 2 percent annual rate in the third quarter, said that despite sluggish auto and back-to-school sales, consumers almost certainly are spending more money this quarter than

they did in the previous three months.

"We know they are spending more, if not on autos, then on utilities, because of the heat, which affects anyone from the Mississippi Valley to the East," he said.

Increased spending on utilities could well cut further into the personal savings rate, which fell significantly in the second quarter from the first.

Yesterday, the Commerce Department said the personal savings rate in the second quarter was 4 percent,

not 4.1 percent, as originally reported. In the first quarter, the savings rate was 5.1 percent.

"The heat will boost service consumption in July and August," Mr. Fine said, "but I don't know if consumer spending will remain strong."

We do know the third and fourth quarters will be better than the second. Growth in the second half should be characterized as moderate, not strong. And it will not engender increased inflationary pressures."

THE NATION

Galileo probe detects a puzzle near Jupiter, where the dust's flying

By Paul Hoversten
USA TODAY

The robot probe Galileo is getting what amounts to a dust bath en route to Jupiter, with 39 million miles to go.

Due to arrive at the giant planet Dec. 7, after a six-year trip, the \$1.4 billion Galileo now is plunging through the thickest interplanetary dust storm ever found.

Scientists say the dust particles might be from a volcano on Jupiter's moon Io, from two faint rings circling the planet, or from Comet Shoemaker-Levy, which crashed into Jupiter last summer.

"We won't know until we get to Jupiter and get inside the Jovian system," says Carol Polansky, team chief at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif. "It's tremendously exciting."

Galileo first began encountering dust from Jupiter in June 1994. It has run into several dust storms since December, each a few days long.

But the latest storm has lasted a month. It's the heaviest, with up to 20,000 dust particles per day. Spacecraft normally would encounter one dust particle every three days or so.

“
This makes you re-
think everything be-
cause we didn't
expect to see any-
thing like it.”
”
— Carol Polansky, NASA
Jet Propulsion Laboratory

Jupiter's powerful magnetic field is flinging the dust outward, at speeds ranging from 25 to 125 miles per second.

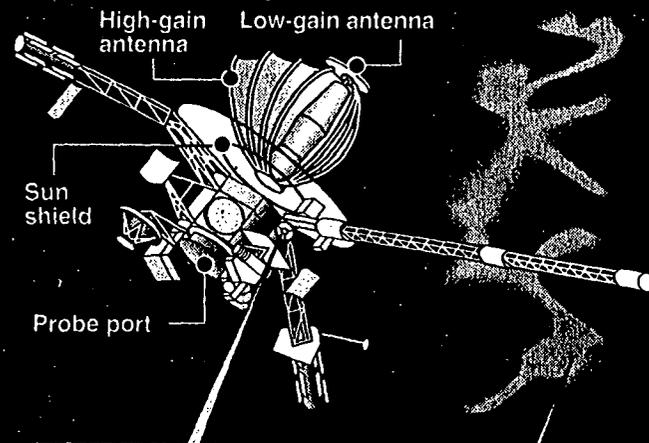
Scientists say it's hard to tell when the storm might end. Particle counts sometimes drop to 100 a day and then jump up to several thousand.

Jupiter is the first planet to have measurable dust storms, first found in 1992 by the U.S.-European spacecraft Ulysses, now orbiting the sun.

The particles pose no danger to Galileo. It carries a dust detector and measures the plasma generated when the dust hits specialized sensors. Because each particle is vaporized, "there's no such thing as clogging" the detector with too

Galileo monitors dust storm

The Galileo spacecraft, on its way to Jupiter, is collecting data from the thickest interplanetary dust storm ever found. The data is being transmitted back to Earth.



Dust detector
Similar in size to a large kitchen colander, it counts particles that hit its gold-plated sensor area and records their energy. The data allows scientists to estimate the size and speed of the dust.

The dust
Similar in size to particles found in cigarette smoke. Moving through space at between 90,000 and 450,000 mph.

Source: NASA

By Marty Baumann and Nick Galifianakis, USA TODAY

much dust, says Polansky.

Meanwhile, scientists say they are confident a new glitch, a just-discovered stuck-open small valve in the Galileo's propulsion system, poses no threat to the mission.

Galileo is programmed for a 22-month, 11-orbit survey of Ju-

pter and its moons. A smaller atmospheric probe, which the spacecraft released July 13, will parachute through the Jovian clouds and relay data to be sent to Earth.

When it arrives at Jupiter, Galileo will be 560 million miles from Earth.

Racist 'roundup' inquiry called intrusive, chilling

By Robert Davis
USA TODAY

A union representing federal law enforcement agents says the government is using a dragnet approach to probe reports of racial acts at annual "Good Ol' Boys Roundups" in southeastern Tennessee.

Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin has asked that 50,000 federal agents say by Friday whether they have ever been to such a roundup.

So far, 33 employees in Justice Department agencies have said they went to at least one roundup over the years.

About 300 people attend the annual cookout and campout, meant to promote cooperative relationships between police.

Top federal officials, including President Clinton, have promised a thorough investigation into reports that the gathering has included several racist activities.

The investigation began after a 90-second videotape of one roundup surfaced in July.

The tape shows the sale of T-shirts showing the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. in gun-sight cross hairs, and a racist banner stretched across an entry point.

Federal investigators are still trying to determine if the



By Denis Paquin, AP

RUBIN: Treasury chief probing agents' roundup attendance.

video is legitimate.

"There's a potential constitutional problem, in the sense employees have a right to associate on their off-duty hours with whoever they want to associate with," says Elaine Kaplan, of the National Treasury Employees Union.

The union represents some Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms inspectors and Customs agents.

But Treasury officials say thousands of agents have responded without any official complaints being registered.

The Justice Department is

conducting its own investigation. It has queried employees at the FBI, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the U.S. Marshals Service, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Bureau of Prisons and the U.S. attorneys' offices.

The man who circulated the tape has refused to provide the Justice Department, conducting its own probe, with the original for examination.

"It appears that the stories were initiated by the right wing militia groups and the National Rifle Association and individuals who have an ax to grind on federal officials," Kaplan says.

The Treasury Inspector general's memo to enforcement bureaus requires agents to be questioned by a supervisor who will ask if they've ever been invited to, or attended, a roundup. Names of people who were invited to a roundup are to be sent back to Washington.

"I think people want to cooperate," Kaplan says. "Nobody is taking the position that people should be doing the kinds of things that were reported."

"But some people think if they can ask questions about this gathering, maybe the next party I go to, where some racial remarks are made, maybe I'll have to explain myself."

IN WASHINGTON

'Renewed' president heads to Hawaii today

President Clinton, ending a two-week Wyoming vacation he says will send him home with "renewed energy and enthusiasm," flies to Hawaii today for a weekend of commemorative activities marking the 50th anniversary of V-J Day. Clinton spent his last day in the Jackson Hole area with a morning and evening round of golf and a hiking outing with daughter Chelsea. The family bid a formal goodbye to their summer vacation home Tuesday night at a party for members of the news media and residents who played a role in the presidential visit.

Clinton waxed eloquent about the beauties of the Rocky Mountains region, where his environmental policies have met with controversy. "One of the things that amuses me and . . . disturbs me at the same time is the constant drumbeat of assertion out here that I, of all people, try to make war on the West," he said. "If I've tried, I've done a poor job of it. You all seem to be doing pretty well these days." —*Bill Nichols*

REYNOLDS ON TV: Rep. Mel Reynolds, D-Ill., convicted of having sex with a minor, plans to appear Friday night on CNN's *Larry King Live*. He was convicted Aug. 22 on charges of sexual misconduct, child pornography and obstruction of justice.

PEROT'S MEDICARE VIEWS: Texas billionaire Ross Perot traveled to Congress Wednesday to tackle



By Doug Mills, AP

WRAPPING UP VACATION: President Clinton waves to a crowd in downtown Jackson, Wyo., Wednesday.

the thorny issue of Medicare reform, offering a host of country metaphors but few specifics for overhauling the massive insurance system for the elderly. During a Senate Finance Committee hearing, Perot told lawmakers to gather the best experts to develop proposals for changing Medicare, and cautioned that Congress needs to "test pilot" any changes to ensure they work. Republicans have proposed reducing Medicare spending by \$270 billion over seven years.

CLINTON AGENDA: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will visit the high, cold plateaus of Mongolia in September after her trip to Beijing for the U.N. conference on women, aides said Wednesday. She will visit the Asian nation sandwiched between Russia and China on Sept. 7. She will stay overnight in Ulan Bator, the capital, before returning to Washington.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

18,000 women open conference in China

Under a huge blimp flying the slogan "Equality, Development, Peace, Friendship," organizers of the Non-Governmental Organization Forum, the largest women's conference ever, vowed Wednesday in Beijing to fight for empowerment and equality. "After 30 years of working in the women's movement, it's a fulfillment," said Martha Lewis of the United States. "I do think we're beginning a new century, and things are going to be different." About 18,000 women from around the world will discuss domestic violence, jobs and education, and try to influence the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women, which starts Monday.

CANADIAN TRIAL: The judge in Canada's sensational Paul Bernardo double-murder trial urged jurors not to let the gruesome nature of the crimes distort their judgment of evidence, Bernardo is accused of murdering Leslie Mahaffy, 14, and Kristen French, 15, after hours of sexual torture. Much of the crime was videotaped. "You are the sole judges in this case," Justice Patrick LeSage told the eight-man, four-woman jury. "Nothing is a fact unless you find it to be so." The jury is expected to start deliberating today after listening to 14 weeks of testimony.

POISONED PRINCE? Doctors said Wednesday they suspect a 60-year-old Thai prince who died this week was poisoned, and suspicion has focused on his

25-year-old wife and her lover, a 19-year-old vendor. Prince Thitphan Ukol died Tuesday in Bangkok hospital after nine days in a coma, but the prince's suspicious relatives requested an autopsy. The street vendor, Uthet Chupwa, has been held on charges of illegal entry into the palace.

COLOMBIA POLITICS: Colombia President Ernesto Samper reportedly endorsed a \$12,000 check to his campaign, but never reported the contribution, the newspaper *El Tiempo* reported Wednesday. The accusation threatens to draw the president further into a scandal involving millions of dollars.

Opposition politicians have accused Samper of winning the 1994 elections by violating campaign laws and have called for his resignation since a former top aide accused him of complicity in soliciting at least \$6.1 million from the Cali drug cartel. Samper's campaign manager has been arrested for illegal enrichment and falsifying documents, and his campaign treasurer is in prison for obtaining drug money.

ALSO . . . GEORGIAN LEADER Eduard Shevardnadze told a rally he will run for president of the country in November. He narrowly escaped death in a car bomb attack Tuesday. . . . **FOUR MEN** pleaded innocent Wednesday to charges they stole Edvard Munch's painting *The Scream* last year. The painting of a waif-like figure screaming on a bridge, valued at \$70 million, was stolen from the National Art Museum in Oslo, Norway, in 1994. It was recovered three months later. . . . **A GUATEMALAN** gun salesman committed suicide by hurling himself into a pit of jaguars in Guatemala City's zoo after accidentally shooting a customer to death, a zoo official said.

Censorship on the rise in schools

By Lawrence Hardy
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Censorship opponents lost half their battles last year in public schools — their worst showing ever recorded, says People for the American Way.

In its 13th annual report, out Wednesday, the anti-censorship group says 338 attempts were made to censor books, plays, newspapers and other material during the 1994-95 school year — down from 375. But successful censorship rose from 42% in 1993-94, led by complaints by religious groups, and increasingly teachers and school officials.

"Public education in America is under a sustained political attack that is unprecedented in our history," says PAW legal director Elliot Minchberg.

Most complaints concerned sexual content, followed by language called profane and the portrayal of religion. *Of Mice and Men*, by John Steinbeck, continues as a target, with objections centering on language, a complaint also leveled at Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*. And, for the first time, a complaint was made about a CD-ROM.

The conservative Family Research Council says People for the American Way is rejecting parental input in public schools. "It's not censorship," says spokeswoman Kristi Hamrick. "It's democracy."

TELEVISION

NEWS, PROGRAMMING AND PERSONALITIES

INSIDE TV

Donaldson gets exclusive interview with Weaver

ABC's Sam Donaldson spent Monday with Randy Weaver in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, the first time Weaver has returned to the scene of a deadly 11-day standoff with federal agents. The result: an exclusive interview Wednesday on *PrimeTime Live*, the day the U.S. Senate has scheduled hearings on the 1992 siege.

Donaldson also talks to the FBI sniper who shot and killed Weaver's wife, Vicki. (Weaver's son was also killed; recently, the federal government paid Weaver \$3 million to settle any legal claims.) Donaldson also interviews one of Weaver's friends, Kevin Harris, who shot a federal deputy marshal, which sparked the standoff.

GDP growth raises odds of rate cut

By Donna Rosato
USA TODAY

The economy grew at a 1.1% annual rate the second quarter, more than twice the original estimate, the Commerce Department said Wednesday.

Last month, Commerce estimated growth at a 0.5% pace. But consumer spending was stronger than first thought.

Even though GDP growth was still the slowest since fourth-quarter 1991, the Federal Reserve will cut short-term interest rates again this year to boost the economy.

The dollar rallied sharply Wednesday in part because of the news. It rose near a seven-month high against the Japanese yen, to 99.01 yen from 98.05 yen Tuesday.

Second-quarter GDP was also positive, measured by an alternative method Commerce plans to emphasize later this year. Under that measure, which uses a different inflation adjustment, the economy grew at a 0.5% annual rate. Many economists predicted that gauge would be negative.

Questions Raised on Report Of Agents at Racist Outing

Informer Was Someone With Ax to Grind

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

For several weeks last month, the news media carried reports of a rowdy, racist event, an annual redneck campout in the hills of Tennessee where Federal agents got drunk, made obscene jokes about blacks and hung a banner warning, "Nigger check point."

It was the first mention most people had ever heard of the Good Ol' Boys Roundup, an annual three-day campout for law-enforcement officers and Federal agents, but the reports were disturbing enough to prompt hearings by the Senate Judiciary Committee, and an investiga-

tion by the Justice Department and expressions of alarm by President Clinton. But now, it turns out, the most damning accounts of the "Good Ol' Boys Roundup" — including a 90-second videotape showing the banner and tales of agents selling "nigger-hunting licenses" — were made to the National Rifle Association by a former Fort Lauderdale police officer after he was prevented by the Roundups' organizer from distributing David Duke campaign literature and from expressing "white power" sentiments at the gatherings.

The tape — now considered widely suspect — and stories were, in turn, apparently fed to a Washington newspaper by an official of the rifle association, which has characterized agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms as "jack-booted thugs."

The source of the videotape and

stories was identified as Richard Hayward, a former Fort Lauderdale, Fla., police officer by Justice Department officials, by a former president of the rifle association and by the organizer of the Roundups. Through the years, Hayward has supported David Duke, the one-time head of the Ku Klux Klan who campaigned unsuccessfully for the United States Senate, Governor of Louisiana and the 1992 Republican Presidential nomination.

The Roundups' organizer, Gene Rightmyer, a former A.T.F. agent, said he had had several run-ins with Mr. Hayward in recent years over Mr. Hayward's attempts to display "white power" insignias and distribute campaign literature for Mr. Duke at the Roundups.

Mr. Hayward has since had a falling-out with the rifle association, which he characterized in a recent interview as "totally unethical, a bunch of liars."

On the other hand, Mr. Hayward insists that his videotape is genuine and his stories are true, although Justice Department investigators and civil rights leaders have said they have doubts about both.

Mr. Hayward said that last spring he offered the rifle association his allegations of racism at the Roundups — coincidentally at the very time that the rifle association was undertaking a new membership drive with mailings that once again attacked A.T.F. agents.

In return, Mr. Hayward said, the rifle association was to provide him with a prepaid plane ticket from Birmingham, Ala., to Phoenix to meet with officials of the association shortly before the its annual convention there last May, a free hotel room and cab fare and a security fence for his home.

By Mr. Hayward's account, an official of the rifle association turned the videotape and allegation over to The Washington Times, which published an article about the Roundup, focusing on allegations of racism.



Southern Poverty Law Center

The Justice Department has identified Richard Hayward, right, as the source of material about a racist event where Federal agents got drunk. Mr. Hayward had been prevented by the events' organizers from distributing campaign material of David Duke,

center, the former Ku Klux Klan leader who campaigned for the 1992 Republican Presidential nomination. Mr. Crawford's wife, Mary, is also in the photograph from a publication by the National Association for the Advancement of White People.

An accusation of racism from a man who wanted to preach white power.

tion by the Justice Department and expressions of alarm by President Clinton.

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The source of the videotape and

The N.R.A. relied on an ex-police officer who now says the group is lying.

that monitors white supremacist and paramilitary groups, said that he, too, believed that the sign "was a setup."

Mr. Hayward denied those suspicions. "I had absolutely nothing to do with the sign," he said in a telephone interview.

While Mr. Hayward readily acknowledged his support for Mr. Duke — he headed the Michigan chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, held a fund-raising dinner for Mr. Duke and distributed bumper stickers and hats at Roundups — he insisted that there was nothing racist about Mr. Duke.

"All the issues he was discussing were called racist," Mr. Hayward said, alluding to Mr. Duke's campaigns for United States Senator, Governor of Louisiana and the 1992 Republican Presidential nomination. But these days, Mr. Hayward said, two of Mr. Duke's key proposals — ending welfare and affirmative action — are part of mainstream political agendas.

Mr. Rightmyer, who has come under criticism for organizing the Roundups, said that in 1991 and 1993 he had denied Mr. Hayward permission to campaign for Mr. Duke during the annual three-day outdoor get-togethers for Federal agents and other law enforcement officers.

"Duke is a Klansman, and I have no use for Klansman," Mr. Rightmyer said he had told Mr. Hayward.

When Mr. Hayward tried to enter the 1993 Roundup in a car covered with "white power" stickers, Mr. Rightmyer said, he told him that the car was not welcome. Mr. Hayward parked the vehicle outside the campgrounds but "expressed anger that no one in there likes him," Mr. Rightmyer said. He added that soon after the confrontation, Mr. Hayward left the gathering and later stopped payment on the check he had written to cover the costs of food, beer and admission.

Then this spring, Mr. Hayward said, he decided to call N.R.A. headquarters to offer accounts of racist events at the Roundups. Bill Powers, a spokesman at the N.R.A.'s headquarters, said in a telephone interview he had directed Mr. Hayward to call Steve Twist, a lawyer and former prosecutor in Phoenix who had served as head of the rifle association's Crime Strike division, which advocates tougher anti-crime laws.

ment on any of Mr. Hayward's statements. Mr. Corbin confirmed that the meeting took place and that the N.R.A. had paid for Mr. Hayward's plane ticket and hotel.

The initial plan, Mr. Hayward said, was that he would tell his story about racism at the Roundups to the N.R.A. convention from behind a black screen.

Mr. Corbin said in an interview that he was "disgusted" by Mr. Hayward's account of Federal agents selling "nigger-hunting licenses" and T-shirts emblazoned with anti-black slogans at the gatherings. But after he meet with "a bunch of (of) people at the N.R.A.," Mr. Corbin said, the rifle association decided "not to do anything" with Mr. Hayward's account.

Mr. Powers, the N.R.A. spokesman, said that the decision was made because, after senior officer and board members of the rifle association viewed the videotape they believed "there was something no quite right" about it.

Nevertheless, Mr. Hayward said that before he left, Mr. Corbin and Mr. Twist indicated that the N.R.A. would contact "someone in the media" to publicize his story. Later, Mr. Hayward said, Mr. Twist telephoned him to say that he should expect a call from Jerry Seper, a reporter for The Washington Times. Mr. Seper called soon after Mr. Hayward said on July 11 Mr. Seper broke the story about racism at the "Good Ol' Boys Roundup."

Mr. Seper said in an interview that he first learned about the Roundup from a lawyer and former prosecutor in Phoenix, whose identity he declined to reveal because, he said his source had requested anonymity. Both Mr. Twist and Mr. Corbin are lawyers and former prosecutors in Phoenix.

In a statement Wesley Pruden, the editor in chief of The Washington Times, said: "We stand behind our story in all particulars. In putting together stories, we talk to a lot of people, like all good newspapers. This includes, when appropriate members of the N.R.A., the A.C.L.U. the A.T.F., or whoever else my have information."

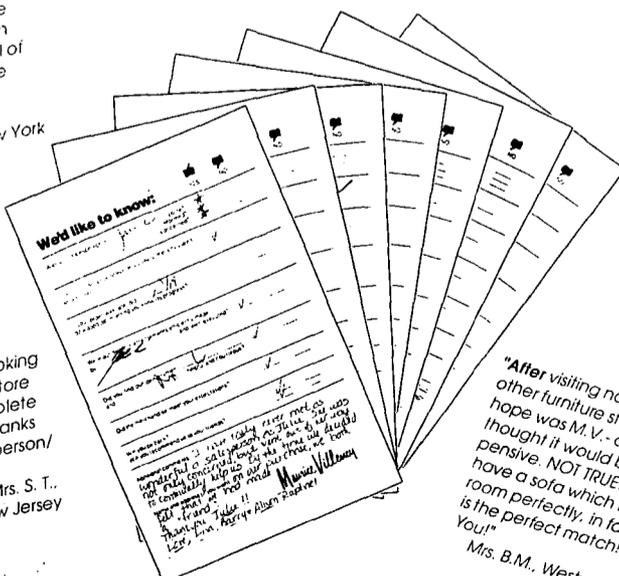
Earlier this month, the inspector general of the Justice Department issued a subpoena for Mr. Hayward's videotape of the 1990 gathering, as part of his investigation of the incidents. Mr. Hayward provided a copy, but he said he had given the original to the Gadsden Minutemen, an Alabama paramilitary group with which he has close ties.

He said he would not turn the original version over to Federal investigators because it contained a long personal segment about his family.

Mike Kemp, a spokesman for the paramilitary group, said that the Justice Department had threatened him and Mr. Hayward with jail for

Fan Mail

"There is no other store or decorator who can compare to the level of concern and service shown by Maurice Villyency!
A.M., Pomona, New York



"After looking and looking all over town, your store did it all. Three complete rooms furnished. Thanks in part to our salesperson/designer."
Mr. & Mrs. S. T. Cranbury, New Jersey

"After visiting no less than 10 other furniture stores, my last hope was M.V. - although I thought it would be too expensive. NOT TRUE! We now have a sofa which fits the room perfectly, in fabric that is the perfect match! Thank You!"
Mrs. B.M., Westwood, N.J.

Every customer at Maurice Villyency is asked to fill out this card telling us how you did.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

THE NATION

Tape of 'Roundup' questioned

Probe suggests racist segment was altered

By Robert Davis
USA TODAY

An investigation into reported racist behavior by federal agents at an annual police social gathering has cast doubt on the authenticity of the videotape that spawned the probe.

Investigators suspect that a 90-second tape that included pictures of a banner reading "Nigger checkpoint" may have been made during a 1988 gathering and later altered.

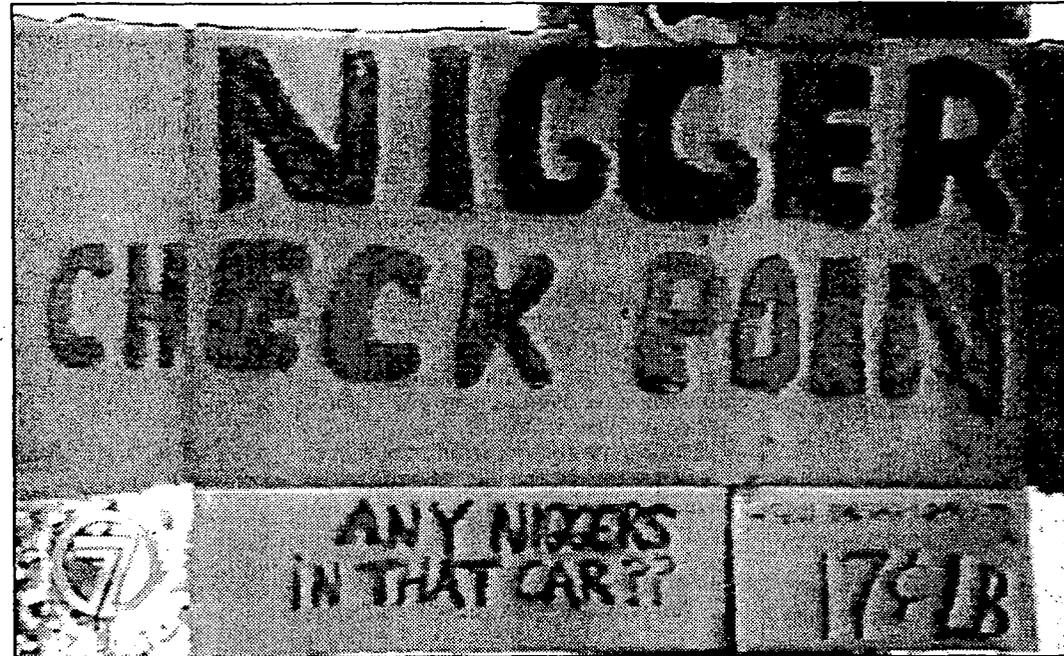
Richard Hayward, who made the tape, has yet to provide the Justice Department with the original.

Officials say the inquiry into the Good Ol' Boys Roundup, a three-day outing near Ocoee, Tenn., will continue.

"This will make them look at the tape more carefully" says Susan McCarron, a spokeswoman for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

A final report from the Inspector General's Office is expected within 90 days.

A former ATF agent coordinates the roundup, which draws current and former ATF



AP via WJLA-TV

THE SIGN: Investigators are checking the authenticity of videotape that was purportedly taken at the Good Ol' Boys Roundup, a Tennessee gathering of federal law enforcement authorities.

agents and other law enforcement officers from the USA and Canada. The event is meant to promote friendship and cooperation among police.

But reports in July of racist acts at the event resulted in stern warnings from President Clinton, congressional hearings and investigations by agencies whose employees attended.

But officials now say the tape may have been altered by

Hayward, a former Fort Lauderdale, Fla., police officer who was denied entry to the event in 1991 and 1993.

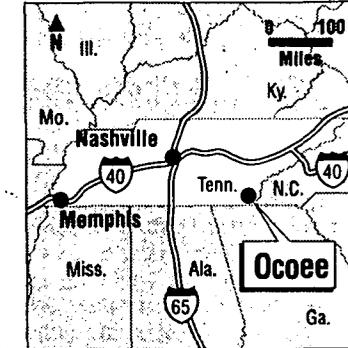
Organizers have refused to let Hayward display campaign materials for David Duke, a former Ku Klux Klan leader and ex-Louisiana legislator.

Hayward took his tape to the National Rifle Association after the organization launched its now-famous ad campaign

criticizing ATF agents as "jack-booted thugs."

NRA spokesman Bill Powers said that after officials met with Hayward in Phoenix, they decided not to do anything with the tape "because they had a funny feeling about it."

In a story Sunday in *The New York Times*, Hayward said the NRA gave the tape to *The Washington Times*, which won't identify its source for a



USA TODAY

copy of the tape. Hayward could not be reached for comment Sunday. The NRA said it did not release the tape.

Some have suggested Hayward hung the banner himself. He has denied that and insisted the tape is genuine. Organizers of the roundup acknowledge there have been racist acts over the years but said they have tried to stop them.

The controversy has hurt the image of federal agents still stinging from criticism over their official actions during deadly standoffs in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and near Waco, Texas. The Idaho standoff, in which three people were killed, is the subject of congressional hearings next month.

Federal officials say all agents are held accountable for their decisions on the job as well as for their off-duty behavior.

News this week could boost rates

By Donna Rosato
and Mark Memmott
USA TODAY

A bond market rally that's driven interest rates to a five-week low could be derailed by solid economic news this week.

But in the longer term, market analysts say, bond prices could resume their rally, pushing interest rates lower, if the economy grows slowly enough to allow the Federal Reserve to cut short-term interest rates.

"The direction of the bond market and interest rates hinges on the next move by the Fed," says Tad Rivelle, portfolio manager at Hotchkis and Wiley. The Fed cut short-term rates for the first time in nearly three years on July 6 to stimulate the economy after growth stalled in the spring. The Fed meets again Sept. 26.

Friday, the yield on 30-year Treasury bonds fell to 6.70% — lowest since mid-July — from 6.81% Thursday. Helping bolster the bond rally:

► A report that July orders for durable goods slumped a sharper-than-expected 1.7%.

► Germany's central bank cut a key interest rate Thursday. Lower German rates take pressure off the Fed to keep

U.S. rates higher to make the dollar more attractive.

► The Philadelphia Fed said Friday that economists it surveyed are more optimistic that inflation would remain benign for the next 15 months.

"There is no indication the economy is ready to take off, and, clearly, inflation isn't a problem. We're in a classically bullish case for bonds," says David Bostian, economist at Herzog, Heine & Geduld.

But this week's economic news could put a damper on the bond rally if the data show strong economic growth. Forecasts, based on consultants MMS International's survey of 34 top economists:

► Tuesday, The Conference Board is expected to say consumer confidence remained high in August — a good sign for consumer spending.

► Thursday, the Commerce Department is expected to report that July consumer spending rose a modest 0.3%.

► Friday, the Labor Department is expected to report that August unemployment remained at 5.7% and businesses added 165,000 jobs — up sharply from July's 55,000 gain.

USA TODAY • MONDAY, AUGUST 28, 1995

Airlines replace blades suspected in Ga. plane crash

By Paul Hoversten
USA TODAY

Commuter airlines this weekend replaced at least 19 propeller blades on Embraer 120 aircraft, the type of plane that crashed last week in Georgia, killing five.

Most of the replaced blades had been repaired previously because of cracks and put back into service without re-inspection. There was no evidence any were in danger of failing.

The Federal Aviation Administration also ordered inspections in the next 10 days of 350 repaired blades on commuter aircraft other than the Brazilian-made Embraer 120.

No flight delays were attributed to the weekend propeller-blade replacements, ordered on the advice of the National Transportation Safety Board.

The FAA today plans to broaden its inspection of the Hamilton Standard model 14RF and 14SF blades to include 7,000 more that have never shown signs of cracking.

"It's important to continue an aggressive inspection program," says Linda Daschle, FAA deputy administrator. "It could be a hassle, but we think it is worth the time spent."

The NTSB says last week's crash of an Atlantic Southeast Airlines Embraer 120 near Carrollton, Ga., was probably due to a cracked propeller blade that



By Andrew Innerarity, AP

CRASH DEBRIS: An engine from the Atlantic Southeast Embraer 120 that crashed near Carrollton, Ga.

had failed inspection a year earlier. The blade snapped off in midflight.

An NTSB investigation may take nine to 12 months.

The blades, made by Hamilton Standard in Windsor Locks, Conn., are about 5 feet long, and each weighs about 350 pounds. A typical commuter aircraft has eight to 12 blades.

An ultrasonic inspection, using high-frequency pulses that echo through metal, takes about four hours per blade and can be done while the blade is mounted.

About 15,000 propeller blades of the Embraer type are in use worldwide on about 1,875 airplanes, including 4,900 blades in the USA on more than 600 planes.

They are used on a variety of commuter planes, including the DeHavilland DASH-8, ATR-42, ATR-72, ATP, Saab 340B, CASA CN235 and Canadair CL-215T.

ATF Agents Participated in 'Roundup'

Director Confirms Reports of Whites-Only Gathering, Announces Inquiry

By Barbara Vobejda
and Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writers

The director of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) said yesterday that more than a dozen active and retired agents had attended or helped organize a whites-only gathering, known as the "Good Ol' Boys Roundup," held annually in Tennessee.

"I was appalled this was being held and law enforcement officers . . . were attending events like this," ATF Director John W. Magaw told reporters yesterday. He said he had ordered an ATF investigation into the allegations about three weeks ago, and added that "you're going to see this investigation expand a great deal in the next few days."

House Majority Leader Richard K. Arney (R-Tex.) has also called for a congressional investigation.

While reports of the gathering have been circulating for several days, Magaw's comments yesterday were the first to confirm that ATF agents had attended and, to some extent, helped organize the event through agency offices.

But Magaw and other federal officials have underscored that the event, held near Ocoee, Tenn., in May, this year drew about 300 law enforcement officers from around the country, and relatively few were ATF agents.

"We had six active members there this year and somewhere between 10 and 15 retired persons," Magaw said. The question of whether other feder-

al agents had attended would be examined by investigators, he said.

The Washington Times this week quoted unnamed law enforcement officers describing the gathering as one where T-shirts bearing racial slurs were on sale, racially tinged skits were performed and "nigger hunting licenses" were available. A videotape of the event aired on Washington's WJLA-TV (Channel 7) this week also showed racial epithets on display.

The inquiry into ATF agents' participation in the event comes at a turbulent time for the bureau, whose actions at the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Tex., in 1993 will be scrutinized in congressional hearings scheduled for next week. The agency is also being sued by 15 black agents on charges of discrimination. About 200 of the ATF's 2,000 agents are black.

These black agents, said attorney David J. Shaffer, who is representing the plaintiffs in the lawsuit, "enter at a lower grade, get paid less . . . get fewer promotions and more discipline."

The Tennessee gathering, he said, "confirms . . . there's an atmosphere of hostility at ATF."

Vanessa McLemore, one of the plaintiffs and head of the African American Agents of ATF, said she had heard about the "Good Ol' Boys Roundup" for many years. "I knew it had some degree of racial overtones," she said. "I did not realize how extreme it was until recently."

The roundup, according to Magaw and others, has been an annual event for at least 15 years. It began as a

family gathering of river rafting and sports, Magaw said yesterday on ABC's "Good Morning America." But over time, he explained, it became more "racist in nature."

For some of those years, Magaw said, the event was organized by a former ATF agent, Gene Rightmyer, out of the agency's field offices. Rightmyer, who retired in 1994, was stationed at offices in Tennessee and Greenville, S.C. At some point, the mail system at the Greenville office was used to organize the event.

Rightmyer could not be reached for comment.

Although agents may have attended the gathering on their own time, Magaw said, it could still jeopardize their standing as credible law enforcement officers.

"If I, a white agent, attended an event like that, and I went the next week exerting and using my ATF authority and had to arrest you as a black man, I would hope that attorney would discredit me pretty quick," he said.

Magaw said he learned of the allegations through the Internet, a computer network, and ordered an internal investigation. WJLA-TV reported that the videotape it aired of the event had been made and supplied to them by a member of an Alabama militia identified as Jeffrey Randall.

Militia organizations around the country have been critical of the ATF since the agency was involved in the fatal shootout with Branch Davidian members.

Most Corporate Leaders Support Disabilities Act

Poll Reveals Little Increase in Actual Hiring

By Jay Mathews
Washington Post Staff Writer

A national poll has found a large majority of business leaders are rejecting the notion that the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) has hurt their enterprises and are embracing the 1990 act as sound government policy.

The poll by Louis Harris & Associates Inc. indicates, however, that very little progress has been made in adding more people with disabilities to the workplace. It also found 12 percent of senior executives thought the ADA ought to be weakened or repealed.

Justin Dart Jr., a former chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities, said the survey results showed that negative publicity about the ADA was coming from only "a few people in Washington, think tanks and ideologues."

ADA critics have said its rules forcing businesses to make themselves accessible to disabled customers and more supportive of disabled employees would cut deeply into profits and adversely affect jobs of both able-bodied and disabled people.

But the poll, commissioned by the National Organization on Disability, found that 48 percent of corporate leaders increased costs "a little" as the result of ADA and 32 percent experienced "no change at all." The poll said 7 percent of executives reported costs going up "a lot."

The survey was based on interviews in April with 200 executives with the title of senior vice president or higher and 204 equal opportunity managers, each representing a different company.

Twenty-seven percent said the average cost of employing a person with a

disability was greater than employing a person without a disability. The median cost of accommodating each disabled employee, according to figures from some of the executives, was \$223.

Despite criticism of the ADA among some business-oriented legislators, there has been no concerted effort to repeal or weaken the act. Alan Reich, president of the National Organization on Disability, an advocate for the nation's 49 million disabled people, said some members of Congress had called the ADA one of the unfunded federal mandates that have burdened local communities. "I found it very gratifying to have this confirmation that the corporate community thinks we are on the right track with ADA," Reich said.

Jerry Jasinowski, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, with 13,500 member companies, said the ADA had "opened many doors for the disabled community and increased understanding among employers and fellow workers." Barbara Bode, vice president of the 250,000-member Council of Better Business Bureaus Inc., said small businesses had learned that complying with the ADA "benefits businesses, consumers and the economy."

The poll seemed to confirm other studies indicating little increase in the hiring of disabled people since ADA was passed. A 1986 Harris poll found 62 percent of companies had hired people with disabilities in the three years previous to the survey. Asked the same question in April, the proportion went up slightly, to 64 percent.

"That shows we are dealing with the residue of thousands of years of discrimination and of making work inaccessible to people with disabilities," Dart said.

Reich and Dart said they were encouraged by company efforts to reach more disabled employees and applicants.

The proportion of executives who said they had made accommodations for the disabled increased from 51 percent in 1986 to 81 percent this year. The proportion of corporate employers with policies and programs for hiring people with disabilities increased from 46 percent to 56 percent.

THE WASHINGTON POST
FRIDAY, JULY 14, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/14/95

Leon / Briskin

↳ We really need
to stay w/ this -
must discuss early
in the week.

to see BC
need help on
this (7)

7/16
Leon / Briskin
↳ we really
need to know w/ them
↳ ~~to~~ meet
@ dinner early in the week
PK

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
-1/12/95

Round up HEARINGS

- LAW ENF - A PUBLIC TRUST

- description of roundups

- Clinton quote

- DOT inves. / code of conduct

- DOT inves (120 days) (tri-partite)

- #s of FBI in attendance - know of racist activists??
(on- and off-duty conduct)

- history → event (Mayaw)

ATF figures

isolated racist incidents

- DEA stds of conduct - also III

- #s of DEA agents

- MSP B process - also 68, 85, 105, 108, 113

- Other knowledge (ie. know of activists)

5, 115, 6

- know how long ago (depos etc)

11, 115, 140 (1980!), 146

- affidavits re other crime acts (93-94)
rapes etc.

- training programs (88) - lots alone a day

Grasby: Rubin Ridge, Roundup - part of pattern of mistakes
& misconduct (DRE - let them play this card. HA!)
Rumpson - collapse ATF (bad marks) at this point??

→ to expect...
low ent cert to done
w/ ent confidence
+ trust of Amer pub.

- heart + soul of
whether p. have
reason to trust low
ent (more than
w + PR)

Abraham - have to put an end to saying law enforcement is wrong, rather than people who are endangering others.

NRA trying to kill ATF for decades

Some militias stalk ATF agents - Mike Mil mbrs who have been found w/ names + addresses of ATF agents, as well as addresses of their children's schools.

186 agents of ATF or predecessor orgs killed in duty, more than any law enforcement agency.
(revenueurs)

* 1979 - responding to NRA pressure that it was planning a nat. gun registry, Congress cut ATF's budget + forbade it to computerize its records.

Bar still stands - forces ATF clerks to search warehouses of paper records to keep track of guns used in crimes

Move in 1980 to a bldg - transfer funds to Secret Service + FBI. Then ags had top-notch comp systs - NRA officials soon realized they preferred a weakened ATF
Dropped demand

NRA leaked info re Rendell to embarrass ATF
Ala. paramil gp provided NRA w/ info

ATF Roundup (Rogue law ent)

Get hearing transcript.

Extent of problem?

Solutions? Make part of FBI? (Sec. Secret Service proposal!)

~~Ask Clerk's
Senate hearing on
militia (lost mo?
"50 ap box")~~

~~Transcript of hearing?
All starts from far away
Anti-de law league testimony
Horn Jud substitute on crime
testimony May 3 hearing on
dimes h & terrorism~~

Jan Piercy
World Bank

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FAX TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

TO: William J. Clinton
 President of the United States
 The White House

FAX NUMBER: 202-456-2461

FROM: Tom Dillard

DATE: July 20, 1995

SUBJECT: Gene Rightmyer -- "Good Old Boy Roundup"

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET) 3

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JUL 20 '95 01:29PM RITCHIE,FELS,DILLARD #6155244623

P.2/3

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July 20, 1995

VIA FACSIMILE 202-456-2461

William J. Clinton
 President of the United States
 The White House
 Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

This firm represents Gene Rightmyer, the founder and organizer of what has been called the "Good Old Boy Roundup." Over the past several weeks, Mr. Rightmyer has been castigated in both the print and electronic media, and some public figures have gone so far as to brand him and the event itself as racist.

As a citizen of this country, Mr. Rightmyer seeks your help in preserving his rights to fairness and due process. As our duly elected head of this nation, you know just how important it is that each one of this nation's citizens be accorded its privileges and protections. For these reasons, I seek your help in assuring that Mr. Rightmyer is not prejudged in this matter.

Gene Rightmyer is a retired law enforcement officer, having served five years as a policeman in Tampa, Florida, before beginning a twenty-six year career with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. During his tenure with ATF, he worked undercover on many occasions, risking his life to infiltrate various criminal organizations. He investigated cases involving bombings, murders for hire, illegal firearms, racketeering, and other types of criminal activity. Prior to entering law enforcement, he served his country for four years in the Marine Corps.

These allegations, and the conclusions which have been hastily reached by various individuals, have been personally devastating to Mr. Rightmyer. He is not a racist, and during the sixteen-year history of the "roundup," he has never condoned, authorized, or promoted any type of racist conduct. Such conduct was never in any way officially sanctioned by anyone associated with the organization of the "roundup." Obviously, with an average of over three hundred people in attendance, it would have

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
Page 2
July 20, 1995

been impossible for Mr. Rightmyer to police the thoughts, speech, and actions of everyone in attendance.

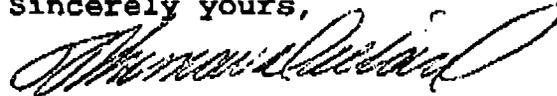
Over the sixteen-year history of this event, Mr. Rightmyer is aware of perhaps three or four isolated instances of racist conduct by a very small number of attendees. On each occasion, he voiced his displeasure with the offending conduct and took steps to ensure that it was not repeated. These instances certainly did not represent the actions or the attitudes of the rest of the group in attendance.

To assume that those in attendance were part of some racist gathering is not only unfair, it is untrue. Ninety-nine percent of those attending were there for camaraderie with friends and associates. No restriction was ever placed on the race or sex of the invitees or their guests. You are welcome to look at the literature associated with this event and to discuss this matter with Mr. Rightmyer. I also suggest that you closely inspect the motives behind those groups that seek to brand this gathering, the ATF, and law enforcement in general as racist.

As Gene has told me on several occasions, anyone in law enforcement who is a racist is also a fool. In this day and age of joint operations between state, federal, and local agencies, an officer never knows who he or she will be depending upon to cover them in potentially dangerous situations. Any officer who harbors prejudice, be it race or sex based, may very well cause his or her own demise.

President Clinton, Gene Rightmyer has honorably served his country in the armed forces and in law enforcement for the past thirty-five years. He now seeks your understanding and support. Please help him receive the fairness and due process to which he is entitled.

Sincerely yours,



W. THOMAS DILLARD

WTD:srw