STUDY GUIDE

JCC: WACO STANDOFF

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	Letter fro	om the Secretary General 3		
2.	Letter fro	om the Under-Secretaries-General		
3.	Introduct	tion to Joint Crisis Committee		
4 .	4. Branch Davidians		6	
	4.1. Before the "Branch" - The History of Davidians		6	
	4.2. Branch Davidians		8	
	4.2.1.	The Roden Couple	8	
	4.2.2.	David Koresh and His Rise	11	
5.	Related C	Government Agencies	15	
	5.1. The E	Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF)	15	
	5.1.1.	What is ATF and its History	15	
	5.1.2.	ATF's Jurisdiction	16	
	5.1.3.	ATF's Reputation Before the Waco Standoff	17	
	5.2. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)		20	
	5.2.1.	What is FBI and its History	20	
	5.2.2.	FBI's Jurisdiction	22	
	5.2.3.	FBI's Reputation Before the Waco Standoff	26	
6.	The Waco Standoff		31	
	6.1. Events Leading to the Standoff		31	
	6.1.1.	Branch Davidians and Guns	31	
	6.1.2.	The ATF Raid	37	
	6.2. FBI Takeover		40	
	6.2.1.	The Events Between March 5th and April 19th	40	
	6.2.2.	The Final Assault	44	
	6.2.3.	List of Demands Made by the Branch Davidians	46	
7 .	The Aftermath		53	
8.	Bibliography		57	

1. Letter from the Secretary-General

Dear Participants,

It is I, Recep Eren Durgut, a senior student at Bogazici University Industrial Engineering Department. As the Secretary-General, I would like to welcome you all to the 6th official session of BoğaziçiMUN. For February, our academic and organizational team have been working for almost a year now. I would like to thank Deputy Secretaries-General Kaan Akkas and Kaan Oztoprak for their efforts in the journey. And a big appreciation to Oyku Efendi and Kaan Berker for their efforts and cooperation during the process.

From the point the journey of BoğaziciMUN started, it's been years of hard work and sacrifices to achieve the best conference to satisfy your demands and needs. Years of tears, generations, and conflicts have now grown up for the year 2024. By the experience we had gained from the previous versions every year, our capabilities have become the finest version of the BogaziciMUN history. Every year, you, our participants develop a better global perspective, a better understanding of politics, and a sweet and sometimes bitter taste of global interactions. The year 2024 will welcome us with new agendas for future discussions and negotiations. As the Secretary General of BoğaziçiMUN, you have my full trust and support to address these agendas. BogaziciMUN is a place where you can find love, lifelong friendships, and chosen siblings. Months of hard work are just for you to be able to experience the best and find the ones that can change your life. BoğaziciMUN has been 'Bridging the Gap' for years and with the new version of it, the gap, and the way we bridge will be different and unique.

In every story, there has always been a point where the heroes have to say goodbye. I would like to thank the heroes of the BoğaziciMUN who are retired, but their legacy and vision will always be remembered. Last but not least,

Welcome to the BoğaziciMUN'24, where we are "Bridging the Gap".

Recep Eren Durgut Secretary-General of Boğaziçi MUN 2024

2. Letter from the Under-Secretaries-General

Dear Delegates,

It is an honor to welcome you to the BoğaziçiMUN'24, a conference that brings the most established MUN clubs in Türkiye together. We hope that this conference will be the best experience you have ever had and assure you that you will leave this conference with the knowledge of everything related to MUN and good memories.

We are your Under-Secretaries-General, İpek Şen, from Boğaziçi University Department of Molecular Biology and Genetics, and Umut Işık Usluyer, from Istanbul University Department of Chinese Language and Literature. We chose the topic of the Waco Siege since we wanted to shine a light on the less covered topics in MUN conferences. Most JCCs focus on active wars. However, wars are won with logistics and negotiations. This committee, we believe, will be an amazing way to show delegates that to become the side that comes on top in a conflict, you have to think ten steps ahead.

This committee is designed to focus on active negotiation situations and we, as the Under-Secretaries-General, together with our Academic Assistant Ömer Alp Şiringöz, Crisis Team member Dağhan Aktaş and Creative Intelligence members, will work hard to make sure that BoğaziçiMUN'24 JCC will be an experience to remember with a smile on your faces.

Who is going to be the victorious side, the most powerful government agency of the United States of America, the FBI or a small scaled religious group living on their own with a unique history, the Branch Davidians? Together, their fates will be decided.

If you have any questions, do not hesitate to reach out to us via: ipek.senl@boun.edu.tr
uusluyer@ogr.iu.edu.tr

Sincerely, Under-Secretaries-General of the Joint Crisis Committee İpek Şen & Umut Işık Usluyer

3.Introduction to Joint Crisis Committee

The year is 1993. Texas sun hangs heavy over the arid plains, casting an ominous orange glow on the Branch Davidian compound near Waco. Inside, whispers of apocalyptic scripture mingle with the rhythmic chanting of hymns, punctuated by the occasional metallic clink echoing off fortified walls. This is the crucible of the Waco Siege, a 51-day standoff between fervent religious conviction and the cold steel of federal authority that continues to ignite controversy in the American conscience.

One of the forgotten parts of history, the Waco Siege, marked an important turning point for American history. You will not engage in a dry recital of data and facts throughout your arguments. There will be a visceral collision of viewpoints, with David Koresh's ferocious statements resonating alongside the calm statements of government representatives. Was the siege a brutal attack on the core principles of American liberty or a necessary means of curbing religious extremism? Did mistrust and paranoia cause communication to break down, or were there opportunities lost to cross ideological divides?

However, this committee is not going to be a morbid autopsy of a catastrophe. It will serve as a think tank and a stage that may create fresh perspectives and rewrite Waco's and maybe US's history. You will tread carefully between the lines of public safety and religious freedom, media hysteria and reasoned action, looking for signs of promise amid the ash and smoke.

Thus, delegates prepare carefully for the upcoming debates and challenges regarding inspecting aspects like the media's role, psychology behind the events, legal frameworks and possible alternatives to descale such situations.

4. Branch Davidians

4.1 Before the "Branch" - The History of Davidians

Davidians (or the Shepherd's Rod) was established by Victor T. Houteff as a small Adventist reform movement in 1929. Victor Houteff was a member of the Seventh-Day Adventist (SDA) Church, which is distinguished by its observance of Saturday, which is the seventh day in both Christian and Hebrew calendars, as the *Sabbath* day, and its focus on the second coming (advent) of Christ.

Victor Houteff was also focused on the second advent of Christ particularly. He produced hundreds of pages of biblical interpretations. He called these new interpretations *present truth*. His core idea was that the second advent could only happen if he had a pure church to receive him. And until then, Christ would delay his return, which was why all predictions of the advent came out false. During the first quarter of 1929, Houteff started to share his ideas, which were eventually collected in the book he published, in his study classes at the SDA church. Firstly the members, after the local leadership and finally the church administration came into a conflict with Houteff. He had an informal meeting with the church authorities and shortly after in November 1930, he was excommunicated and disfellowshipped by the church. Later, the church declared that his message is considered heresy.

By the summer of 1930, he already compiled his thoughts in the manuscript entitled *The Shepherd's Rod.* It was printed and became a book in November 1930. This is the reason they are being referred to as Shepherd's Rod to differentiate them from the other SDAs. In 1935, he and 47 followers moved to Mount Carmel, Texas, and opened the Mount Carmel Center, convinced that *Isaiah 11* had directed him to a site as *in the midst of the land.* In 1942, they officially changed their name to *Davidian Seventh-Day Adventists*

Houteff's death in 1955 shocked the community since they believed he was the new *Elijah* appointed to announce the new age and he was going to be the new ruler of the new kingdom of Israel. The possibility of Houteff's death had been the subject of speculation beforehand, and while some said he would die, others had taken the opposite view. Houteff himself had got involved in the debate and had at one point thrown out a challenge to his followers to prove from the Bible that he could not die (the implication being that he thought he could).

Houteff could never set the date for Christ's return. His wife Florence succeeded him after his tragic death. Florence, first sold the original Mount Carmel Center and purchased a new plot and named it New Mount Carmel Center. After, Florence announced that the day of advent was April 22, 1959. They calculated the date from the symbolic prophecy of the 1260 literal days of *Revelation 11:3–6*. Those days commenced on November 9, 1955 and would be ended on April 22, 1959. Shortly before the date, they released a press release explaining their anticipations. This included the proofs from the Bible for the prediction, how they predicted the date how there would be a war breaking in the Middle East and getting Jerusalem ready for the revelation. Some of them also expected that Victor was going to resurrect on that day and sit on his deserved throne in Israel.

About 900 followers across the United States and Canada gathered from the Adventist churches and waited for the apocalyptic events. When no sign occurred from the new age, many were devastated by disappointment. Some group members, already before the event day, were talking of a feeling of desperation and panic since they lost their hopes. The group had a long time discussing after the failure. In conclusion of the meetings, the group was split into two main groups. One stayed in Waco and eventually became the *Branch Davidians*, others, the Riverside group preserved the Houteff orthodoxy. Florence and other executive members of the group had

resigned after dissolving the Davidian Association in 1962 and sold the New Mount Carmel property in Waco.

Left: Victor and Florence Houteff Right: Old Mount Carmel Center





4.2 Branch Davidians4.2.1 The Roden Couple

After the death of Houteff, at least four persons appear to have made some claim to the leadership of the movement including Florence Houteff and Benjamin Roden, and Florence took the role. He was already not happy with the situation of the institution and he organised the group that would eventually be the Branch Davidians in 1955 near Waco, Texas. The name of the group was an allusion to the *Branch* (as it was mentioned in the Old Testament, *Zechariah 3:8; 6:12*).

In 1937, Ben and Lois got married, and the same year, Ben joined the Christian Church. It is impossible based on the evidence that has survived to assess either the process by which he was converted to the Christian faith or the extent of his previous adherence to Judaism. This is seen very clearly in the theology he was later to develop, for example, his concern for and

practice of Jewish festivals long since abandoned by mainstream Christianity (Purim and Passover were particularly important to him). The Roden couple had joined the SDA church together in 1940. They had met with the SDA through their book Bible Readings for the Home Circle (1888) which was their wedding gift. It did not take so long for their path to be crossed with the Shepherd's Rot. They had visited Mount Carmel Center a couple of times in 1943 and 1945 for short periods. It is apparent that from about 1945 onwards Roden was aware of the teachings of the Shepherd's Rod and had become convinced of their truth. In 1953 the Rodens returned to Mt. Carmel and this time stayed several months.

Their adaptation was no surprise considering Ben Roden's Jewishness and the teachings of the SDA church were compatible. Like other Davidians, Roden also shared *SDA* teachings which regard the imminent return of Christ, Sabbath observance and attention to dietary regulations. Roden also embraced Houteff's idea of a purified church. Roden particularly focused on the importance of the state of Israel. He believed that the 1967 Israeli-Arab War made possible the proclamation of the word of God from Jerusalem, thereby fulfilling the biblical prophecy of the end of the present age.

In autumn 1955 Roden sent out a letter to Davidians asking them to congregate at Mt. Carmel, a call that would have overlapped chronologically with that of Florence Houteff and her claim that they had now entered the waiting period of 1,260 days. Some of the people who began to congregate there at the time came in response not to Florence, but rather to Roden's call. This shows that even at that time he had his supporters. The struggle for leadership continued with Florence refusing to give way. In September Roden began what turned out to be a sequence of seven letters to Florence in which he put forth his claim to leadership and an outline of his theology as it had by then developed.

After Florence dissolved the *Shepherd's Rod*, the Rodens saw the opportunity to become the primer Davidian group. This was important because gaining the leadership of the remnant people of God and preparing them for the move to Israel was their ultimate duty for them. Roden had already taken possession of New Mount Carmel Center in 1962, after a long process of having the property, on February 1973 the whole land was sold to Benjamin Roden, his wife Lois Roden and their son George Roden as trustees for the General Association of Branch Davidian Seventh-day Adventists. From this point on, the center was again known as Mount Carmel Center. During the various court cases that were fought over the property he had told the story of how he was once working underneath a car and heard God's voice saying "*Brother Ben, go to Waco and lead my people*."

Roden died on 22 October 1978 in Texas. He was buried in Waco Memorial Park. Contrary to *Luke 13:33* this prophet had died outside Jerusalem. However, thanks to the efforts of his wife he was at least buried there: in 1982 his grave in Waco was opened, his body disinterred and transported to Israel, and he was reburied on the Mount of Olives. Roden was no different than Houteff as neither of them wasn't the King who would lead the faithful into the kingdom.

Ben, had died but there was already another one to take over the mantle, Lois Roden. And she had been approved by the one just deceased. Lois had a clear claim to the leadership, one major obstacle stood in the way: her son George. In 1979 George succeeded in getting a leadership election called, with his mother and himself as the two candidates. Lois won. What happened, in brief, was this. Following Lois's victory in the election and the upholding of the result in a court of law to which George appealed for a ruling, George moved out of Mount Carmel in August 1979. He continued to be a regular visitor to Mount Carmel. This struggle with her son regarding the leadership was a constant drain on Lois's energy and presumably

caused her some personal pain as well. In the summer of 1981 the young Vernon Howell, later to be known as David Koresh, arrived at Mt. Carmel and almost from the beginning was to occupy a central place in Lois's life. This opened a new page in the Branch Davidians.







Left to right: Benjamin Roden, Lois Roden, George Roden

4.2.2 David Koresh and His Rise

Vernon Wayne Howell was born in Houston, Texas on 17 August 1959. His mother was Bonnie Clark, a 14-year-old single mother. His father, Bobby Howell was 20 years old. He was a carpenter and a mechanic. His parents stayed together till Vernon was 2 years old. Bonnie married another man afterwards and Vernon's aunt took care of him most of the time. Bonnie was raised as a Seventh-Day Adventist so Vernon also attended the SDA church from when he was a child. He had an apparent hyperactivity and a learning disorder (possibly dyslexia but there was no diagnosis back then). He was bullied in school, he studied in a class with other *special* kids. He had a special ability when it came to the Bible. He had convincing interpretations and was sometimes strange. He had already memorised a great amount of the Bible when he was in high school. Accounting for his high intelligence he was different. His interpretation of the Bible was a complex web of thoughts that can only be seen through efforts in readings of text to see the connections.

Other than his intellectual skills, he was somewhat obsessed with sexual matters. His first love at 18 years old was a 16-year-old girl. Koresh later mentioned her during the siege. This ended up with a pregnancy but they were already broken up. He was never to see his child, which was the first of many. After he started attending the Tyler SDA church, he did not keep his thoughts to himself. Things reached a crisis point when he claimed to have had a vision in which he was told that God wanted him to take the pastor's daughter as his wife. The pastor was not impressed and banned Howell from seeing her, although he continued his relationship with the girl, which again resulted in two pregnancies, both of which were miscarried. In 1981, he was officially disfellowshipped by the Tyler SDA congregation.

The recently disfellowshipped Howell visited Mt. Carmel in the summer of 1981. Howell returned to Mt. Carmel several times, on each occasion staying a little longer and engaging in Bible studies. At first, he was treated as a very junior member, and he was one. He was given the lower jobs including the washing of dishes. However, Howell's undoubted skills as a handyman and mechanic were soon put to good use and it was this very practical usefulness that appears first to have led to a more enthusiastic acceptance. Certainly, his status grew over time. The fact that he had also gained a very impressive command of the scriptures must also have been a plus in the text-focused community he had now joined. Similarly, though he could not write at all well, anyone who has listened to his taped messages would find it difficult to deny that he was an impressive speaker. Howell was fairly quickly seen by Lois Roden as her natural successor and it is plain that he also had the support of others in the Branch Davidian movement from an early stage. They had made several trips to Israel together. The majority of the group accepted that he had a message and that he was indeed a prophet of God. Lois was among those who gave their support.







George Roden who had already was not over that he was not the successor of his father, his mother was. When Lois was herself now beginning to age, George's thought was that gaining the leadership was only a matter of time. Vernon Howell did not fit in well with these plans and, predictably, tension between the two was the result. Howell had legally married a 14-year-old (who was the daughter of a long-time Branch Davidian). He eventually had three children from her. But during that time, a relationship between Lois and Vernon appeared. George wasn't always on the Mt. Carmel property, he heard that Howell and his mother were sleeping in the same bed now, so he quickly returned to the centre. George couldn't finish his rising star then. Howell's influence on the community was huge. People were believing whatever he did. Howell visited Israel with his wife in 1985 and this changed some things on a bigger scale. Vernon had sightings on Mount Zion, where seven angels had visited him and explained to him secrets. From now on, he was convinced that he was the Angel mentioned in *Revelation 14:17*.

The tension between George and Howell got heated. Howell visited places such as California and Australia to share his cause. During that time George was making plans. Although there are some speculations about this event, it is thought that George challenged Vernon to resurrect a dead person to

be in power. Howell acted cleverly and sued George for corpse abuse but he didn't have any evidence. George and his followers raided Mt. Carmel with weaponry. At the end of the day, both Howell's group and George were arrested. The court asked George to cease the onslaught and finally, he lost Mt. C.armel, which can be called *Rodenville*. George's followers believed that Howell's ongoing community was no longer related to Branch Davidians, it was theirs. George was in prison for 6 months, he was eventually released in December 1988. He continued his campaigns till 18 October 1989 when he was arrested for killing Dale Adair. He stated that Dale was sent by Vernon to kill him and that's why he shot him. George was not put in prison because the reason of insanity, confined to a mental hospital. Howell had no one in front of him from now on.

Vernon's actions were getting more extreme as they were. He released a doctrine that he was the only male at Mt. Carmel permitted to have sex, and he was permitted commanded by God, to have sex with the wives of the other Branch Davidian men, not just those who were in marriages of convenience, but those who had married even before coming to Mt. Carmel. Multiple numbers of coitus between married women in the community and statutory rape was happening. He was convincing the parents for their daughters to engage in sexual activities so they get pregnant by Howell. Their ages were between 14 and 17, even some of them were under 14 which was a first-degree felony by Texas laws. On 15 May 1990, Vernon Howell filed a petition in the California State Superior Court in Pomona requesting that his name be

changed to David Koresh. This name was representing his theological ideals and persona better, as it should be.



5. Related Government Agencies

5.1 The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF)5.1.1 What is ATF and its History

ATF is an agency which is responsible for enforcing federal laws relating to alcohol, tobacco, firearms, and explosives. The ATF headquarters are in Washington, D.C. The bureau's agents are dispersed throughout the United States. The purpose of the ATF is to protect communities against violent criminals, organised crime, illegal firearm trafficking, use, and storage, bombings, arson, and terrorism, as well as illegal diversion of alcohol and tobacco products. Some of the major functions can be counted such as but not limited to tackling possible risks of:

- illegal firearms trafficking
- illegal possession and use of firearms
- illegal tobacco and alcohol trafficking
- bombs and explosives
- illegal use of fire
 and securing public safety with their actions.

The bureau's history began with a series of government tax-collection agencies and efforts in the 18th and 19th centuries. A few developments

gave rise to the antecedents of the ATF and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). The predecessor of the ATF took on increased enforcement responsibilities during and after the Prohibition era. In 1952 the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division (ATTD) of the IRS was formed. The division was renamed the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division (ATFD) of the IRS in 1968. Because its duties had become increasingly distinct from those of the IRS, the division became a bureau of the Treasury Department in 1972. New duties that the ATF was charged with in the 1970s included enforcement of wagering laws and investigation of intrastate cigarette smuggling and criminal arson.

In the 90s, major events including the Waco Standoff gave ATF more popularity and importance as it eventually became a distinct component within the Department of Justice in 2003.

5.1.2 ATF's Jurisdiction

The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) protects communities nationwide from a variety of dangers to public safety by deploying a broad and varied net. Unlike local law enforcement, this net has national jurisdiction, which means that all 50 states, territories, and possessions are covered. This vast purview enables the ATF to address problems that cut across state lines and present significant threats. Consider the ATF as a four-pointed shield, with each point defending a weak spot. Those being:

1) Firearms

The ATF, acting as the gatekeeper of responsible gun ownership, controls the commerce in weapons by granting permits, carrying out inspections, and looking into infractions. In order to prevent the unlawful transfer of firearms over state boundaries and to guarantee uniform safety regulations across the nation, this nationwide reach is essential.

2) Explosives

The ATF plays a crucial role in safeguarding the public from hazardous or insecure storage since these explosive chemicals have the potential to be misused and endanger public safety. The ATF has authority over explosives and can impose license requirements on companies that import, produce, or distribute explosives materials. It also takes an ATF permit to ship, receive, or carry explosives. To guarantee adherence to federal explosives rules, the ATF has authority to do routine inspections of explosives licensees' and permittees' records and storage magazines.

3) Arson

The ATF's nationwide reach enables them to look into federal arson cases and offer vital guidance and support to local fire investigators when intentional fires pose a threat to communities. Regardless of the location, this cooperative effort guarantees a uniform and efficient reaction to arson.

4) Alcohol and Tobacco

The ATF has jurisdiction over the regulation of alcohol and tobacco products, including the following: investigating and prosecuting cases of illicit trafficking in alcohol and tobacco, as well as tax fraud; enforcing federal laws and regulations on alcohol and tobacco products, including taxation, import/export, and labeling; and offering technical assistance and training to state and local law enforcement regarding alcohol and tobacco laws.

5.1.3 ATF's Reputation Before the Waco Standoff

ATF, like many governmental agencies, did not have the best reputation in the eyes of the public. In the late 70s and 80s, many complaints were made towards the agency because data showed that more than half of the cases prosecuted by the ATF were about people with little to no knowledge of firearm modification laws and people with no criminal intent. The agency was thought to be focusing on "collector" items rather than actual guns used or modified with criminal intent, resulting in a drop in their reputation. However, no incident before the Waco Standoff had affected the reputation of the ATF like the Ruby Ridge incident.

The Ruby Ridge incident is a shoot-off and 11 day siege that happened between US officials (Marshals and FBI) and Randy Weaver in August of 1992. Randy Weaver, a former US Army engineer, moved to Ruby Ridge, Idaho, about 65 kilometers from the Canadian border with his family in 1983. The reason for this move is the fact that both Randy and Vicki (his wife) did not want to raise their children in a world they see as corrupt due to their religious and political beliefs. They bought the land of their cabin and visited the Amish to learn how they live without technology after the birth of their son Samuel "Sammy". Randy was later associated with Aryan Nations, a white supremacist group. He was not a member of this group; however, he attended three or four meetings of the group. In one of these meetings, Randy sold two sawed-off shotguns, sawed to a length that was considered illegal, to an undercover ATF informant and due to this interaction, ATF was now in the possession of the evidence that this already suspicious individual was actually involved in something illegal. At first, ATF wanted to use Randy as an informant for their investigation into the Aryan Nation and used the illegal firearm charges as leverage. Randy refused to be a "snitch" and turned down ATF. As a result, ATF filed the charges in July 1990. His trial was to be held on 19th February 1991, the date then changed to 20th February 1991. However, in the letter informing Randy of this change, it was written that the trial date was moved to 20th March instead of February. When this mistake was noticed, officials tried to reach out to Randy but failed. Thus, Randy Weaver failed to show up at the trial on 20th February 1991 and was

now considered a fugitive. The US Marshals Service (USMS) was tasked to arrest him. Since they knew the Weaver household was in possession of guns and thinking arresting him directly would lead to a violent situation, they decided to plan a stealth operation and started to collect data about Randy Weaver's whereabouts and lifestyle to find a gap in which he's in the most vulnerable state and wouldn't able to escape or fight back.

On the day of 21st August 1992, a team of 6 heavily armed US marshals were sent as a surveillance team to the Ruby Ridge property. One Deputy US Marshal (DUSM) threw rocks at the cabin to see the dogs on the property's reaction and one of the dogs, a yellow Labrador Retriever called Striker, was sent to investigate by Kevin Harris, a friend of the Weaver's, and Sammy Weaver and they followed Striker. Marshals were retreating and they took a defensive position when they realized that they might be found. Striker revealed the position of the Marshals and was shot as a result. This was the first casualty of the Ruby Ridge standoff.

After Striker was shot, fires were exchanged, 19 rounds fired, resulting in the death of a DUSM, DUSM Degan, and Sammy Weaver and the wounding of Kevin Harris. Randy Weaver was also shot and wounded while he was trying to get his son's body. Since government agents were killed, the FBI was called to assist the situation and the FBI sent their Hostage Rescue Team (HRT). On 22nd August 1992, an FBI sniper shot two shots meant for Randy: first hit Randy's arm and the second hit Vicki in the face with her infant daughter in her arms, killing her. This raised the losses to 3 and Vicki Weaver was the last casualty of the Ruby Ridge standoff. After 11 days of negotiations, Randy Weaver and Kevin Harris surrendered and were arrested. They were later charged with a host of crimes, including murder, conspiracy, and assault.

Not everyone was thinking the same during the Ruby Ridge incident, many agents thought that this situation was blown over out of proportion. On 24th August, FBI Deputy Assistant Director Danny Coulson wrote this memo before learning the shooting of Vicki Weaver:

"Something to Consider

- 1. Charge against Weaver is Bull S____.
- 2. No one saw Weaver do any shooting.
- 3. Vicki has no charges against her.
- 4. Weaver's defense. He ran down the hill to see what dog was barking at. Some guys in camys [camouflage] shot his dog. Started shooting at him. Killed his son. Harris did the shooting. He is in a pretty strong legal position."

Also, the Justice Department criticized the FBI for not gathering enough data and engaging in unnecessary violence without telling the Weavers to surrender and wait for their answer. As an aftermath of the incident, most of the agents involved in the Ruby Ridge Standoff were sued and prosecuted. Some were charged with either voluntary or involuntary manslaughter.

Even though the situation worsened because of the involvement of USMS and the FBI, in the eyes of the public and the government, it was the ATF who started the Ruby Ridge incident. Especially, the shooting of Striker caused an uproar in the media as it was quite unnecessary, the media called the 6 armed Marshals "the dog killing team", further worsening their reputation.

5.2 The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) 5.2.1 What is FBI and its History

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is the principal investigative agency of the federal government of the United States. It is an intelligence-driven and threat-focused national security organization with both intelligence and law enforcement responsibilities. As part of the Department of Justice, the FBI reports the results of its investigations to the attorney general of the United States and his assistants in Washington, D.C., and to the United States attorneys' offices in the country's federal judicial districts.

Although it is a federal agency, the FBI is not a national police force, and law enforcement in the United States remains the responsibility of state and local governments. The FBI has the authority and responsibility to investigate specific crimes assigned to it and to provide other law enforcement agencies with cooperative services, such as fingerprint identification, laboratory examinations, and training. The FBI also gathers, shares, and analyzes intelligence, both to support its own investigations and those of its partners and to better understand and combat the security threats facing the United States.

In 1908, the attorney general of the United States, Charles J. Bonaparte, filled the country's need for a federal investigative body by establishing the Bureau of Investigation within the Department of Justice. After 1924, with the appointment of J. Edgar Hoover as the director of the bureau. In 1932, at Hoover's direction, the bureau began issuing a national bulletin, "Fugitives Wanted by Police," to publicize its work; it became the "Ten Most Wanted Fugitives" list in 1950. Also in 1932, the bureau established a technical laboratory, now based in Quantico, Virginia, to carry out forensic analyses of handwriting, fingerprints, firearms, and other sources of information relevant to criminal investigations.

In 1964 the investigative jurisdiction of the FBI was greatly expanded by the passage of the *Civil Rights Act*, which prohibited racial and other forms of discrimination in employment, education, voting, the use of public accommodations, and other areas. The FBI redesigned its training and selection processes for special agents and other officials in the 1970s. To

guarantee that its investigations wouldn't violate Americans' constitutional rights, it also created guidelines. The agency devoted a lot of its attention to white-collar crime and international drug trafficking in the 1980s. It started implementing programmes to fight cybercrime in the 1990s with the growth of the Internet caused a sharp increase in cybercrime. Additionally, terrorism emerged as a major worry, primarily after the attack on the World Trade Center in February 1993 which raised concerns about oversea threats.

5.2.2 FBI's Jurisdiction

According to fbi.gov, the legal authorities of the FBI are given below.

"The FBI has a range of legal authorities that enable it to investigate federal crimes and threats to national security, as well as to gather intelligence and assist other law enforcement agencies.

Federal law gives the FBI authority to investigate all federal crimes not assigned exclusively to another federal agency (28, Section 533 of the U.S. Code). Title 28, U.S. Code, Section 533, authorizes the attorney general to appoint officials to detect and prosecute crimes against the United States. Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 3052, specifically authorizes special agents and officials of the FBI to make arrests, carry firearms, and serve warrants. Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 3107, empowers special agents and officials to make seizures under warrant for violation of federal statutes. The FBI's authority to investigate specific criminal violations is conferred by numerous other congressional statutes—such as the Congressional Assassination, Kidnapping, and Assault Act (Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 351). The FBI has special investigative jurisdiction to investigate violations of state law in limited circumstances, specifically felony killings of state law enforcement officers (28 U.S.C. § 540), violent crimes against interstate travelers (28 U.S.C. § 540A0), and serial killers (28 U.S.C. §540B). A request by an appropriate state official is required before the FBI has authority to investigate these matters. In addition, Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations, Section 0.85, outlines the investigative and other responsibilities of the FBI, including the collection of fingerprint cards and identification records; the training of state and local law enforcement officials at the FBI National Academy; and the operation of the National Crime Information Center and the FBI Laboratory.

The FBI has authority to investigate threats to national security pursuant to presidential executive orders, attorney general authorities, and various statutory sources. Title II of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, Public Law 108-458, 118 Stat. 3638, outlines FBI intelligence authorities, as does Executive Order 12333; 50 U.S.C. 401 et seq.; 50 U.S.C. 1801 et seq.

This combination of authorities gives the FBI the unique ability to address national security and criminal threats that are increasingly intertwined and to shift between the use of intelligence tools such as surveillance or recruiting sources and law enforcement tools of arrest and prosecution. Unlike many domestic intelligence agencies around the world, the FBI can shift seamlessly between intelligence collection and action. This allows the FBI to continue gathering intelligence on a subject to learn more about his or her social and financial network, and shift gears quickly to arrest him or her if harm to an innocent person appears imminent. The threat of prosecution, in turn, can be used to encourage cooperation to support further intelligence gathering."

What the FBI investigates can be given as a list as:

- Terrorism: Protecting the United States from terrorist attacks is the FBI's number one priority. The Bureau works closely with its partners to neutralize terrorist cells and operatives here in the United States, to help dismantle extremist networks worldwide, and to cut off financing and other forms of support provided to foreign terrorist organizations.
- Cyber Crime: Malicious cyber activity threatens the public's safety and the US's national and economic security. The FBI's cyber strategy is to

impose risk and consequences on cyber adversaries. Their goal is to change the behavior of criminals and nation-states who believe they can compromise U.S. networks, steal financial and intellectual property, and put critical infrastructure at risk without facing risk themselves. To do this, they use our unique mix of authorities, capabilities, and partnerships to impose consequences against their cyber adversaries.

The FBI is the lead federal agency for investigating cyber attacks and intrusions. They collect and share intelligence and engage with victims while working to unmask those committing malicious cyber activities, wherever they are.

- Counterintelligence: The FBI is the lead agency for exposing, preventing, and investigating intelligence activities in the U.S. Because much of today's spying is accomplished by data theft from computer networks, espionage is quickly becoming cyber-based.

The goals of the FBI's counterintelligence work are to:

- Protect the secrets of the U.S. Intelligence Community
- Protect the nation's critical assets, like our advanced technologies and sensitive information in the defense, intelligence, economic, financial, public health, and science and technology sectors
- Counter the activities of foreign spies
- Keep weapons of mass destruction from falling into the wrong hands
- Civil Rights: The FBI is the primary federal agency responsible for investigating possible violations of federal civil rights statutes. These laws are designed to protect the civil rights of every person within the United States—citizens and non-citizens alike.

Since its earliest days, the FBI has helped protect the civil rights of the American people, and it remains one of the Bureau's top priorities.

Using all of its investigative and intelligence capabilities, the Bureau works closely with its partners to prevent and address hate crimes, color of law violations, and Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act violations.

The FBI has also established relationships with state and local law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, non-governmental organizations, and community and minority groups. We work to improve the reporting of civil rights violations, promote the benefits of sharing information and intelligence, and develop proactive strategies for identifying and addressing trends in this field.

- Public Corruption: The FBI's top criminal investigative priority poses a fundamental threat to our national security and way of life.

It can affect how well the US borders are secured, how verdicts are handed down in courts, and how public infrastructure like roads and schools are built. It also takes a significant toll on the public's pocketbooks; it's estimated that public corruption costs the U.S. government and the public billions of tax dollars each year.

 Weapons of Mass Destruction: The FBI is the lead federal agency for responding to threats from weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The Bureau investigates and collects intelligence on WMD-related threats and incidents to prevent attacks and respond to them when they occur.

Established in 2006, the WMD Directorate (WMDD) is part of the FBI's National Security Branch. The WMDD leads the FBI's efforts to mitigate threats from chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear, or explosive weapons.

- Organized Crime: The FBI is dedicated to eliminating transnational organized crime groups that threaten the national and economic security of the United States. Using the criminal and civil provisions of the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), the FBI works with agencies in the U.S. and worldwide to target the organizations responsible for a variety of crimes.
- Violent Crime: The FBI's top priorities are national security threats, but the Bureau also continues to play a key role in combating violent crime in big cities and local communities across the United States.
 - The FBI concentrates on crime problems that pose major threats to American society. Significant violent crime incidents such as mass killings, sniper murders, and serial killings can paralyze entire communities and stretch state and local law enforcement resources to their limits.
- White-collar Crime: White-collar crimes can destroy a company, wipe out a person's life savings, cost investors billions of dollars, and erode the public's trust in institutions.

The FBI's white-collar crime program focuses on analyzing intelligence and solving complex investigations—often with a connection to organized crime activities. Their white-collar crime investigations can be regional, national, and/or international.

5.2.3 FBI's Reputation before the Waco Standoff

Just like the ATF, it is no surprise that the FBI did not have the best reputation in the eyes of the public. However, the Bureau's situation was more complex. Unlike the ATF, the FBI has more jurisdiction and is more involved in more serious cases such as domestic terrorism and espionage. The Bureau's work in some cases is undeniably good, such as catching

criminals like John Gotti, a mafioso and the boss of the Gambino crime family, and James Earl Ray, the assassin of Martin Luther King Jr. Their reputation was on the rise especially during the Cold War, an era in which Americans were super patriotic and every American victory was celebrated, no matter how small. The FBI's counter-espionage work during this era solidified the nation's trust in the agency as the nation's premier enforcement agency. Also, the FBI was seen as one of the most professional government agencies since they handled the hardest cases, usually top secret ones and they had the jurisdiction to take over investigations conducted by police departments. They were, and still are, one of the most feared, the most respected and the most elite government agencies.

Despite all of the characteristics that can be considered positive, the FBI's reputation was already plummeting before Waco. Just like the ATF, their involvement in the catastrophic Ruby Ridge incident really solidified the suspicion of the FBI abusing their power. This was already a concern with the reveal of COINTELPRO. COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program) was a series of covert and illegal projects actively conducted by the FBI aimed at surveilling, infiltrating, discrediting, and disrupting domestic American political organizations, established in 1956. With this program, the FBI was able to gather intelligence on organizations and individuals that they deemed "subversive" like the Communist Party, feminist groups, Black power movements etc - basically everyone who was not complying to the conventional American values at the time. The intelligence gathered were to be used to "protect national security, prevent violence, and maintain the existing social and political order." However, it seemed like the FBI was using the intelligence to mostly maintain the existing order by targeting the aforementioned organizations and movements and people related to them, and use the intelligence to blackmail or arrest people and in some cases, to assassinate them. One of the people they targeted was Martin Luther King Jr., one of the most prominent leaders in the civil rights movement from 1955 until his assassination in 1968. The FBI frequently investigated King. In the mid-1960s, King began to criticize the Bureau for giving insufficient attention to the use of terrorism by white supremacists. Hoover responded by publicly calling King the most "notorious liar" in the United States. In his 1991 memoir, *Washington Post* journalist Carl Rowan asserted that the FBI had sent at least one anonymous letter to King encouraging him to commit suicide. Historian Taylor Branch documents an anonymous November 1964 "suicide package" sent by the Bureau that combined a letter to the civil rights leader telling him "You are done. There is only one way out for you." with audio recordings of King's sexual indiscretions.

Apart from gathering intelligence on political figures, the FBI also maintained files on many celebrities for various reasons. They kept a file on John Lennon for his anti war activities during the Vietnam War era, Muhammad Ali because of him joining the Nation of Islam, Charlie Chaplin for his alleged connection to the Communist Party, and Elvis Presley and many others for extortion attempts against them via either the

COINTELPRO or wiretapping. According to a 1985 report by the US Congress, around 7.000 national security surveillances were installed by the Bureau, letting them access people's information without them knowing.

The program was secret until March 8, 1971, when the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI burglarized an FBI field office in Media, Pennsylvania, took

KING,

In view of your low grade, abnormal personal behavoir I will not dignify your name with either a Mr. or a Reverend or a Dr. And, your last name calls to mind only the type of king such as King Henry the VIII and his countless acts of adultery and immoral conduct lower than that of a beast.

King, look into your heart. You know you are a complete fraud and a great liability to all of us Negroes. White people in this country have enough frauds of their own but I dm sure they don't have one at this time that is any where near your equal. You are no clergyman and you know it. I repeat you are a colossal fraud and evil, vicious one at that. You could not believe in God and act as you do. Clearly you don't believe in any personal moral principles.

King, like all frauds your end is approaching. You could have been our greatest leader. You, even at an early age have turned out to be not a leader but a dissolute, abnormal moral imbecile. We will now have to depend on our older leaders like Wilkins a man of character and thank God we have others like him. But you are done. Your "honorary" degrees, your Nobel Prize (what a grim farce) and other awards will not save you. King, I repeat you are done.

No person can overcome facts, not even a fraud like yourself.

Lend your mexually psychotic ear to the enclosure. You will find yourself and in all your dirt, filth, evil and moronic talk exposed on the record for all time. I repeat - no person can argue successfully against facts. You are finished. You will find on the record for all time your filthy, dirty, evil companions, male and females giving expression with you to your hidious abnormalities. And some of them to pretend to be ministers of the Gospel. Satan could not do more. What incredible evilness. It is all there on the record, your sexual orgies. Listen to yourself you filthy, abnormal animal. You are on the record. You have been on the record - all your adulterous acts, your sexual orgies extending far into the past. This one is but a tiny sample. You will understand this. Yes, from your various evil playmates on the east coast to and others on the west coast and outside the country you are one.

The American public, the church organizations that have been helping - Prostestant, Catholic and Jews will know you for what you are - an evil, abnormal beast. So will others who have backed you. $Y_{\rm O}u$ are done.

King, there is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is. You have just 3½ days in which to do (this exact number has been selected for a specific reason, it has definite practical significant. You are done. There is but one way out for you, You better take it before your filthy, abnormal fraudalant self is bared to the nation.

several dossiers, and exposed the program by passing this material to news agencies. The boxing match known as the Fight of the Century between Muhammad Ali and Joe Frazier in March 1971 provided cover for the activist group to successfully pull off the burglary. Many news organizations initially refused to immediately publish the information, with the notable exception of *The Washington Post*. After affirming the reliability of the documents, it published them on the front page (in defiance of the Attorney General's request), prompting other organizations to follow suit. The documents and the investigations showed that under Hoover's direction the FBI had invested a growing part of its budget and staff for political, rather than enforcement, purposes. Within the year, Director J. Edgar Hoover declared that the centralized COINTELPRO was over, and that all future counterintelligence operations would be handled case by case. However, it is documented that between 1972 and 1974, the FBI planted over 500 bugs without a warrant and opened over 2,000 pieces of personal mail and continued to use COINTELPRO-esque techniques to gather intelligence. The reveal of COINTELPRO had a catastrophic effect on the Bureau's reputation as people felt they were being watched by an illegal surveillance system and were angry, rightfully so.

John Edgar Hoover was the Director of the FBI between the years 1924 and 1972 until his death. His time as the Director was filled with scandals and he can be considered as the most controversial Director of the FBI. His long run, 48 years, caused the Congress to pass a legislation that limited the tenure of future FBI directors to ten years. One of the first controversies during his tenure is the catching of a bootlegger during the Prohibition era via phone tapping. At the time, this action was ruled to be not violating the Fourth Amendment (The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to

be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.) but after Prohibition's repeal, Congress passed the Communications Act of 1934, which outlawed non-consensual phone tapping, but did allow bugging. In the 1939 case Nardone v. United States, the court ruled that due to the 1934 law, evidence the FBI obtained by phone tapping was inadmissible in court. After Katz v. United States (1967), Congress passed the Omnibus Crime Control Act, allowing public authorities to tap telephones during investigations, as long as they obtained warrants beforehand. However, the illegal tapping continued.

In the 1930's, the FBI spied on and gathered intelligence on Puerto Rican independence leader Pedro Albizu Campos and his Nationalist political party. From the 1950s to the 1980s, the governments of many Latin American and Caribbean countries, including Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Mexico and others were infiltrated by the FBI. These operations began in World War II as 700 agents were assigned to monitor Nazi activity, but soon expanded to monitoring communist activity in places like Ecuador. These operations were all covert but were released to the public under the Freedom of Information Act in the 80s.

The 1960s were a chaotic era for the USA. The Cold War and civil rights movements were taking a toll on everyone. The assassination of two very important political figures, John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., made the era even more chaotic. In King's case, it is a known fact that the FBI was not content with him, sending the aforementioned "suicide package" and trying to blackmail him. Thus, after King's assassination in 1968, there were many who speculated that James Earl Ray, the gunman who shot King, was a scapegoat used by the government and the FBI. A similar conspiracy theory had also become popular after Kennedy's assassination in 1963, many people thought Lee Harvey Oswald was a

scapegoat hired by the CIA and the FBI helped the CIA cover it up. Needless to say, the Bureau becoming a part of these conspiracy theories caused their reputation to plummet.

In one particularly controversial 1965 incident, white civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo was murdered by Ku Klux Klansmen, who gave chase and fired shots into her car after noticing that her passenger was a young black man; one of the Klansmen was Gary Thomas Rowe, an acknowledged FBI informant. The FBI spread rumors that Liuzzo was a member of the Communist Party and a heroin addict and had abandoned her children to have sexual relationships with African Americans involved in the civil rights movement. FBI records show that J. Edgar Hoover personally communicated these insinuations to President Johnson. All these considered, especially towards the end of his tenure, Hoover lost popularity and was criticized heavily.

After his death, the well-meaning successors of Hoover worked hard to improve the Bureau's reputation. However, some of their attempts were unsuccessful as more and more controversies happened such as the Watergate Scandal and the Ruby Ridge incident. Before Waco, the public's trust in the FBI had weavered for years and their overall reputation was mixed.

6.The Waco Standoff

6.1 Events Leading to the Standoff

6.1.1 Branch Davidians and Guns

It is a known fact that the Branch Davidians were interested in guns, especially after Koresh's ascent to leadership - even his rise to the top could be associated with guns with him and his armed followers shooting George Roden. The Second Amendment of the US Constitution is "A well regulated

Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.", meaning that every US citizen has the right to own firearms under normal circumstances. Not every state has the same laws when it comes to firearms, some are stricter and some are more tolerant. Still, the Second Amendment stands and Koresh was aware of his right to bear arms. In one interview (the said interview starts at 1:05), when he's asked if he had any guns in Mount Carmel, he responded "Yes, we have some. It makes nobody's business whether we have a gun or not at this place. Guns are the right of Americans to have."

One of the main reasons guns are heavily associated with the Branch Davidians is the fact that they frequented gun shows in Texas; they bought and sold guns and ammunition during these shows. Branch Davidians were allowed to work outside of the Waco compound and some people worked as gun dealers. It is speculated that amongst all of the money flowing into the Branch Davidians' vault, money earned from dealing guns has the highest percentage. It is also thought that the reason why they were this keen on stockpiling guns is their religious beliefs of fighting Babylon as God's army. According to Heather Jones, a woman who was born and raised in Mount Carmel and the niece of Koresh, she and her brother were taught how to use guns at a young age. Many Branch Davidians knew how to use guns and effectively used them during the ATF raid.

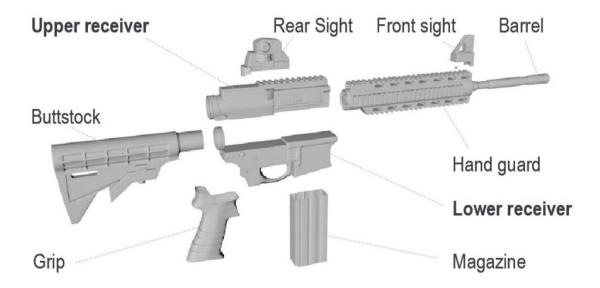
The state of Texas has always been one of the states with more tolerant gun laws and the state with the most guns per capita, leading to the gun industry and shows becoming popular. Gun shows are events dedicated to the display and sale of firearms and firearm related accessories. It is estimated that around 5.000 gun shows happen in the US annually. These shows' regulation is a complicated matter though. As a federal regulation, ATF regulates some aspects of the shows - mainly Federal Firearms License

(FFL) owners, which has different types for dealing, importing and manufacturing. However, there is a loophole that many buyers with criminal intent exploit called by many names, mainly the Brady Bill Loophole and the Gun Show Loophole. It is also called the private sale exemption. Normally, to buy a gun in Texas, you must produce proof of Texas residency and complete the federal form pledging that they are not convicted felons, illegal immigrants, mentally incompetent or otherwise banned from buying firearms. The US federal law states that any person may sell a firearm to a federally unlicensed resident of the state where they reside, as long as they do not know or have reasonable cause to believe that the person is prohibited from receiving or possessing firearms. Thus, in a private sale like buying guns from a private dealer in a gun show, the seller technically does not have to perform a background check and with this loophole, many felons can acquire guns. In the year 2024, even though many states are trying to solve this loophole issue with new laws and regulations, it still is a big issue and many people who cannot buy guns legally can acquire firearms through private sales. Since ATF is the federal regulator of these shows, they release guidelines like this. (If the resolution is making the writings unreadable, you can access the PDF from Important Notice to Dealers and Other Participants at Gun Shows (ATF I 5300.23A)



Paul Fatta, a Branch Davidian with an FFL, as a hobby built guns and explosives as a hobby and like many people who did the same thing, he sold the guns he built. He mainly sold them in gun shows; however, he also sold his guns to gun shops as well. The downfall of the Branch Davidians timeline can be started from this business.

Building guns is not as complicated as it sounds. Legally, the part of the gun that is considered a gun is the receiver. You can buy a receiver and build your gun however you want with other accessories. The receiver is the part that is serialized and registered to you. You can buy an AR-15 receiver and can build your gun to look like an AK-47, even though it looks like an AK-47 your gun will be registered as an AR-15 because of the receiver.

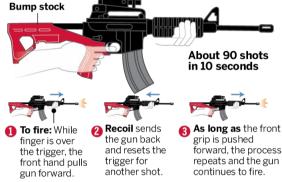


Also, you can buy an already built gun and modify it. However, not all modifications are legal. The laws vary from state to state and year by year. For our agenda item, only one of them is relevant and that converting semi-automatic weapons to fully automatic, also known as a machine gun. This modification is a one, just simple with accessories you can alter the receiver and convert a semi-automatic to a fullv automatic, which is more



Modified weapon

The bump stock replaces the standard stock and grip. When the gun is fired, the bump remains stationary, while the rest of the gun is allowed to slide back and forth. This movement allows the gun to reset and fire without the shooter having to lift a finger.



Source: Tribune News Service, Los Angeles Times BAY AREA NEWS GROUP

dangerous. Fully automatic guns are harder to buy since there are more regulations surrounding them and in some states, they are completely illegal to own, sell or manufacture. In 1993, in the state of Texas, it was completely legal to own a machine gun after paying an extra \$200 tax and the tax was also be paid after modifying a semi-automatic to a machine gun as a part of the process of registering it.

Paul Fatta's business was done in a very legal way with everything being registered in the proper way. Local gun shops in the area at the time, when asked by the ATF, told the authorities that he was very careful about his FFL and tried to continue his business without causing any trouble. Building and selling firearms and explosives meant that Fatta had a stockpile of accessories, receivers and decoy hand grenades - the last being a very popular item in gun shows. To get new parts for his stockpile, Fatta used mail. US citizens may not buy assembled firearms or their frames by mail, but all other parts are available by mail. In one of these deliveries, the UPS

delivery guy noticed that the box was filled with training grenades and "black powder" which was probably gunpowder as the Branch Davidians built their own ammunition. He notified the local sheriff and ATF was notified. ATF contacted the local sheriff and David Koresh under the suspicion of illegal activity. Koresh and the sheriff invited the ATF to look at the compound to show them that there was no illegal activity going around, just gun hobbyists building rifles in a very legal way. ATF refused and decided to go undercover to investigate. This was heavily criticized by the public and members of the government and governmental branches as if they accepted and searched the compound, the raid and the standoff would not happen and neither agents nor members of the Branch Davidians would not have to die.

While preparing for the raid, ATF gave several reasons for their raid. Some of them were related to child abuse, which was out of their jurisdiction as they mostly regulated the federal side of firearms. The other reasons were related to illegal firearm activity but one stood out from the others. In the past, some neighbors of the Branch Davidians filed a noise complaint, saying that they heard fully automatic rifle noises. This was followed up by the local sheriff and he visited the compound to investigate. The reason for the noise was determined to not be from an automatic rifle but from a semi-automatic rifle's trigger being pulled quickly and repeatedly. The investigation was concluded and no charges were issued. However, ATF wrote in their report as if this complaint was never followed up.

Despite all this, there is serious evidence that Branch Davidians owned illegal machine guns. After the incident, while searching the ruins of the compound, illegally converted machine guns were found. Also, even though it was not illegal, the cult was thought to have at least one .50 caliber semi-automatic rifle, which was used to shoot down Japanese airplanes in WW2

and has the capability of piercing some armored personnel carriers. They also owned military-style assault weapons like AR-15, as well as AK-47 assault rifles. They were not lacking in the ammunition part as well, one agent testified that he saw "literally millions of rounds of ammunition".

6.1.2 The ATF Raid

On the early lights of the Sunday, 28th February of 1993, ATF began its operation to execute the warrant that they obtained via using the affidavit alleged that the Branch Davidians violated the federal law.

The initial plan of the ATF was to use the element of surprise and catch Branch Davidians before mobilizing their firepower that can be used in order to protect themselves from the incoming ATF raid and that may result in many unwanted casualties from both sides. However, any kind of advantage of surprise was lost due to one simple mistake of a reporter. A KWTX-TV reporter who was tipped off about the incoming raid was lost. Trying to reach the compound to document the raid, they asked for directions from the U.S. Postal Service mail carrier. What they didn't know was that they coincidentally asked for directions from the brother-in-law of David Koresh. Upon acquiring the news of a raid aiming the Mount Carmel, David Koresh's brother-in-law rushed to Mount Carmel in order to warn Branch Davidians about the raid. On reaching there, Koresh's brother-in-law told everyone that a raid that was loud and violent was about to happen and everyone at Mount Carmel started to panic. According to accounts from Branch Davidian survivors, Koresh urged some of his male followers to arm themselves and take up defensive positions, telling the women and children to hide in their rooms. Koresh then told them that he will speak to the agents and what would happen next would depend on the agents' intentions. At first, Koresh tried to talk with a Branch Davidian named and told him to talk with ATF to stop the raid. Unknown to the Branch Davidians at the time, Robert Rodriguez was an undercover ATF agent that was placed in Mount Carmel in order to report what was going on there. However, Koresh managed to figure out what his real role was. Understanding that

his cover was blown up, Rodriguez somehow excused himself and slipped

from Mount Carmel. When later asked what the situation was like inside

Mount Carmel while he was leaving, Rodriguez replied "They were praying".

Although knowing their element of surprise was blown, ATF commander-

in-charge of the raid ordered his team that the operation will go ahead as

planned. ATF crew arrived at Mount Carmel at 09.45 AM, using civilian

vehicles with ATF personnel inside equipped with SWAT-style tactical gear

and started to surround Mount Carmel. Koresh, seeing them, comes out

with his arms up and yells at them to stop and there were women and

children in there. While yelling at each other continues back and forth, a

shot was heard. In first reports coming from the ATF, ATF claimed that the

first shot came from Mount Carmel by the Branch Davidians. However, later

reports show that the first shots came from the ATF with two possible

options:

1) An ATF Agent shot first after they saw a Branch Davidian

holding their gun in a window

2) ATF's "Dog Team" -which was sent to kill dogs- shot first

During the initial gunfight, Koresh was wounded from his hand and

stomach and was brought inside of the

compound. During the shootout, Branch Davidian named Wayne

Martin called local authorities in order to stop ATF from shooting at

the compound, while still claiming that they were shot first. The call

went by:

911 Operator: Hello?

38

Wayne Martin: There are 75 men around our building and they're shooting at us at Mount Carmel.

911 Operator: Mount Carmel?

Wayne Martin: Yeah, tell them there are women and children in here

and to call them off.

gunfires

911 Operator: I hear gunfires, who is this?

Wayne Martin: It's Wayne!

911 Operator: Wayne, tell me what's happening Wayne.

Wayne Martin: We got women and children in danger!

gunfires

911 Operator: Wayne?

Wayne Martin: I'm under fire... Tell them to call it off!

911 Operator: What?

Wayne Martin: Tell them to pull back. I have right to defend myself.

They started firing first!

It was around this time of the call when the first ATF agent was shot while trying to get behind the compound and National Guard's helicopters began to make low flying in order to draw attention from the man on the ground. After this, ATF agents begin putting ladders in front of the compound in order to access to the upper floors, which Robert Rodriguez reported were Branch Davidian's were hiding the majority of their guns at. Trying to get into the upper floors, ATF agents encountered heavy fires from the inside of Mount Carmel. During this, ATF claimed that I agent was shot and killed and in retaliation ATF killed I Branch Davidian. The fighting started to dry out as

ATF began to run out of ammo. However occasional fighting still continued for 2 hours until ATF ran out of ammo. Afterwards, Branch Davidians said that they could grab their wounded and dead. In the end both sides suffered from casualties. ATF suffered 4 KIA and 16 wounded. Meanwhile, Branch Davidians suffered 5 KIA and several more injured (including Koresh himself). Though, Davidians would suffer 1 more casualty when they tried to bury their dead ones in the cemetery and ATF shot one of the men claiming to be shooting at them first, this claim was never proven.

In the end of the day, Branch Davidians managed to hold out ATF's raid, even though in the process they had casualties and wounded even Koresh himself, and ATF suffered a defeat against them. After the acceptance of defeat and the refusal of surrender by the Davidians, ATF established a perimeter around the compound, thus marking the beginning of the siege. Also to mention, this event managed to get attention of the media and many journalists and news agencies stormed to the area to report the current events.

6.2 FBI Takeover

6.2.1 The Events Between March 1st and April 19th

After the raid's failure and the beginning of the siege, ATF established contact with David Koresh and others in the compound in order to negotiate with them. However, the command of the operation was soon delivered to the FBI regarding the casualties suffered by the ATF during the raid. The situation was taken over by the Hostage Rescue Team of the FBI, which also was the same team that took over the Ruby Ridge (criticized heavily at that time).

Right after the raid, David Koresh started to make contacts with the local news agencies and papers and gave them interviews regarding the raid. In his interviews, he made sure to point out that they were attacked first and as an American, he had the duty to defend himself against the tyranny.

Despite his little time to contact the outside world, Koresh managed to make a splash and made many believe the actions of Davidians were to defend themselves. In response to this, the FBI cut his line and made a new line that allowed Davidians to only contact the FBI.

During his conversations with negotiators, Koresh talked about his family, bible, asking about the negotiator's life, etc. During their conversations, the FBI couldn't manage to understand the mentality of the Davidians and they presumed that they were like the other crazy religious cults that either in the end would end up dead or surrender to authorities. However, Davidians weren't both of them. They were to hold until their war with Babylon. So, the stalemate continued for several days and both sides waited for the opposition to make their next move. Though eventually, Koresh on the phone line said that he has a message that he wants people of America to listen and made a request to the FBI that this message was to publish this news in the national radio and once it was done that he would come out. The FBI accepted and released his message in the national media, however, Koresh didn't come out as he promised. He said that God told him to not come out yet. To this point, some could point that Branch Davidians were only defending themselves and trying to spread their word to the world and the FBI was only making things difficult by sending tanks and equipment around the compound.

Despite all of this, the FBI managed to secure a deal between them and Branch Davidians to release 19 children outside ranging from five months to 12 years old. Children were interviewed in order to find out about the Child Abuse. Long before the confrontation, the kids were allegedly subjected to physical and sexual abuse. These allegations were later used as the justification of the usage of tear gas against the Branch Davidians.

Other than that, the FBI dispatched a video camera to the Branch Davidians during the siege. Koresh presented his "wives" and children to the FBI negotiators in the <u>videotape</u> produced by his supporters. Among them were

a number of adolescents who claimed to be Koresh's biological fathers. In the video, a number of Branch Davidians made remarks. The Branch Davidians provided the FBI the footage on Monday, March 8, day nine, to demonstrate that there were no captives there and that everyone was remaining inside of their own free choice. Koresh also left a note in this video. The negotiators' log revealed that after seeing the tape, there was apprehension that releasing it to the public might cause people to sympathize with Koresh and the Branch Davidians. Videos also showed the 19 previously freed youngsters as well as the 23 children who were still within the compound, together with child care workers outside ready to see them. Koresh asked for additional time during the siege, purportedly so he could finish the religious documents he required to turn himself in. His discussions, full of biblical allusions, put the government negotiators at odds, who handled the situation as a hostage scenario. Within the negotiation teams, Koresh's statements were referred to as "Bible babble."

As time went, two factions developed inside the FBI. One supporting the continuation of the negotiations and the other part supporting the forcing the Branch Davidians out. To give out an example, the FBI used many tactics to make Branch Davidians suffer from sleep deprivation. From using bright spotlights to using the sounds of jet planes, rabbits being slaughtered and dolphins. They even went ahead and brought tanks to the site and used them to crash some Davidian's cars. When asked about this later, the FBI would deny any kind of psychological warfare tactics.

During the initial gunfight with ATF, 2 of the 3 water tanks of the compound were damaged by the gun shots. So, compound relied on the rain water and stockpiled military MREs. Also, eventually, their electric was cut off by FBI. Bringing a lot of stress over the compound. To add another layer of stress, 11 people left the compound. Those who left the compound was immediately arrested, one being charged with conspiracy of murder. Although they left, their kids choose to remain inside the compound. This was debated that what influenced them was they had seen that the previous children that

were released upon the agreement was separated from their parents upon reaching the outside. The children's decision to stay inside the compound highly disturbed FBI and led them to increase their pressure on the siege. During the siege, many cult experts warned the government and FBI about the consequences of it. They argued that such cults who practice doomsday could defend themselves until their last drop of blood. However, FBI didn't back down from their stance. Eventually, for Koresh, it became increasingly difficult to negotiate with FBI agents. Koresh like mentioned above believed that his father in the heavens still wanted him to stay inside the compound. From April the 5th and 13th, Koresh refused to talk with the negotiators. FBI's patience was running thin that they even started to think about killing Koresh via using snipers. In 14th of April, Koresh sent a letter to his lawyer that goes by:

"I want the people of this generation to be saved. I am working night and day to complete my final work of writing out these Seals. I thank my Father. He has finally granted me the chance to do this. It will bring New Light and hope to many and they will not have to deal with me the person. I will demand the first manuscript of the Seals be given to you. Many scholars and religious leaders will wish to have copies for examination. I will keep a copy with me. As soon as I can see that people like Jim Tabor and Phil Arnold have a copy I will come out and then you can do your thing with this beast"

Right after this letter, Koresh cut his ties with the outside world and promised that he would come out once he finishes the interpretation of the seven seals of the Book of Revelation. Upon the letter, the FBI voiced their disagreement with the letter. While some believed that it is an important breakthrough, many of them ridiculed the letter. The FBI then consulted psychologist Murray Miron in order to understand Koresh's mental state. After his examination, he wrote a report that Koresh exhibited "All the hallmarks of rampant, morbidly virulent paranoia" thus concluding "I do not believe there is in these writings any better, or at least certain, hope for an early end to the siege."

6.2.2 The Final Assault

Following reports of worsening circumstances and child abuse within the facility, newly appointed U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno authorized the FBI Hostage Rescue Team's plans to launch an attack. Reno presented President Clinton with the FBI's case. President Clinton proposed similar measures against the Branch Davidians, recalling the April 19, 1985, The Covenant, The Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) siege in Arkansas. In response, Reno said that the FBI Hostage Rescue Team was fed up with waiting, that the standoff was costing them a million dollars a week, that the Branch Davidians were more likely to hold out than the CSA, and that mass suicide and child sex abuse were almost certain. "In the end, I told her that if she thought it was the right thing to do, she could go ahead," Clinton said afterwards.

On April the 19th of 1993, agents made their final contact with the Branch Davidians and told them that they would begin their tank activity and advised people in the compound to take cover. The Davidians didn't say anything to this and threw the phone and phone line outside of the compound. The authority took this as a go sign. After this response, several CEVs started to ram some parts of the building and pump tear gas into the compound in order to bring out the Branch Davidians. However, instead of coming out, Branch Davidians, since they didn't had gas masks that fit children according to the reports, locked women and children to a bunker located inside the compound to prevent them from inhaling and getting affected by the tear gas. Meanwhile some of the men wore gas masks and started to shoot at the CEVs that were pumping the gas. During this, some of the cult leaders approach the phone that they threw outside and bring it back inside. Also, some men were waving the white flags from the windows of the compound and a banner that said "We want our phone fixed". FBI announced that if they wanted to surrender all they had to was to step outside of the compound. During all this, the listening devices of the FBI

inside the compound's wall, managed to capture some conversations between the Davidians. The conversations mostly captured praying people and pouring something inside the compound. The conversations would go by:

06:00

- 1) "Everybody wake up, let's start to pray."
- 2) "Pablo have you poured it yet?"
- 3) "Huh?"
- 4) "Have you poured it yet..."
- 5) "In the Hallway..."
- 6) "Things are poured, right?"

06:10

- 1) "Don't pour it all out, we might need some later..."
- 2) "Throw the tear gas back out."
- 3) "It is time for people to come out." (FBI negotiator Byron Sage recorded saying outside of the compound)
- 4) "What?"
- 5) "No way..."

06:12

- 1) "They are gonna kill us"
- 2) "They don't want to kill us"

At around noon, a huge fire broke out inside of the compound and engulfed the whole compound and in the following hours, the compound was totally leveled. After this, an ATF flag was pulled up to the flagpole in front of the compound to remark their "victory". Only 9 people were able to survive the fire. 76 people, including the women and children which was trapped in the shelter and Koresh himself, had died during the fire. After their autopsies, it was found that most of them died from a combination of suffocation and cyanide effect of tear gas when burned. Also, it was reported that during the fire FBI didn't allow fire trucks from arriving at the scene in the regards of the firefighters "safety from the violent Branch Davidians". Throughout the years, many claims were made regarding the reason for the fire. Some options were:

- 1) According to the listening devices, Branch Davidians poured flammable content all over the compound and light the compound themselves
- 2) Listening devices captured Branch Davidians while they were making Molotov cocktails, thus only rational explanation is that FBI's usage of pyrotechnic military grade equipment and these equipment was the real cause of fire

6.2.3 List of Demands Made by the Branch Davidians

16:45.

1 2/28/93 - (14:29)

Granted 2/28/93, 16:15 and

First demand: that KRLD broadcast a message that ATF is holding their fire and will not attack further.

2 2/28/93 - (18:10)

Granted 2/28/93, 19:38.

Play the recorded message of KORESH on KRLD and kids will be released two by two.

3 3/02/93 - (02:34)

Granted 3/02/93, 13:32

- SCOTT SONOBE: Play KORESH'S tape on national T.V. and we will come out.
- 4 3/02/93 (04:55)

Granted 3/02/93, 13:32

- RITA RIDDLE: Play tape during prime time and the remaining women and children will exit.
- 5 3/03/93 (09:47)

Granted 3/04/93, 15:20.

- KORESH wants a 1501 telephone cord.
- 6 3/03/93 (13:31)

Granted 3/03/93, 14:48.

- Allow KORESH to give a bible study and MARK JONES will come out.
- 7 3/03/93 (17:27)

Granted 3/04/93, 15:38

- STEVE SCHNEIDER: Wants dead, smelly dog removed.
- 8 3/04/93 (23:29)

Granted 3/05/93, 12:59.

KORESH: Requests suture kit for hand.

9 3/05/93 - (7:43) Milk demand granted 3/08/93. 15:50. Kids with relatives KORESH wants to see kids on video 3/09/93 15:50. with relatives and 6 gallons of milk. Granted 3/08/93, 11:04. 1 3/05/93 - (17:53) 0 STEVE SCHNEIDER: Wants PETER GENT's body removed. 1 3/06/93 - (8:43) Denied STEVE requests a media line or they will not come out. 1 3/06/93 - (9:02) Denied KATHY SCHROEDER wants Bradleys off property. 1 3/06/93 - (9:11) Denied 3 KATHY wants a line to media. Granted 3/08/93, 11:04. 3/06/93 - (12:01) 1 KORESH wants GENT'S body removed. 3/06/93 - (16:35) Denied 5 KORESH wants to talk to UCA and

MELISSA

then

MORRISON.

he'll

release

1 3/06/93 - (17:25) Milk demand granted 3/08/93. 6 body buried 3/8/93, 11:04. STEVE SCHNEIDER: Demands that Bradley's and body be removed and six gallons of milk delivered. Denied 1 3/06/93 - (22:43) 7 Repeated demand for additional phone line. 1 3/07/93 - (12:51) On 3/07/93, 14:50 C.P. attempts to "show" DAVID the 3rd Seal; 8 KORESH: You show me the 3rd Seal at 15:52 DAVID says that we and I'll release the kids. have failed and refuses to release anyone. 3/07/93 - (15:50) Denied 1 9 DAVID: You show me the 7 Seals and everyone will come out. 2 3/09/93 - (09:24) Granted 3/09/93, 10:25. 0 KORESH: "Turn the power on or I will not communicate."

2 3/11/93 - (22:19)

1

KATHY SCHROEDER: Demands "a

couple of gallons of milk" to be delivered to the compound.

C.P. delivers six gallons of milk on 3/12/93 at 14:58.

2 3/11/93 - (22:19)

Granted 3/19/93, 11:49.

- KATHY SCHROEDER demands copies
 of Newsweek and Time magazines
- of Newsweek and Time magazines containing-articles of DAVIDIANS.

2 3/12/93 - (09:33)

Granted 3/12/93 17:21.

- KATHY SCHROEDER: Demands that
 she be allowed to call back into the compound after she leaves.
- 2 3/12/93 (10:30)
- STEVE SCHNEIDER: Demands that radio station KGBS AM 1090 be contacted and told to refute negative statements broadcast by the station against the DAVIDIANS.

Granted 3/12/93, radio station contacted, they advised that they would broadcast a message on 3/13/93.

2 3/12/93 - (11:46)

Denied

- STEVE SCHNEIDER: Demands a copy
 of the transcript from the Phil Donahue show that had KIRI JEWELL as a guest.
- 2 3/12/93 (11:50)

Granted 3/28/93, 18:00.

6 STEVE SCHNEIDER: Demands that
• attorneys and/or the media be allowed to contact the DAVIDIANS.

2 3/12/93 - (11:53)

Denied

- STEVE SCHNEIDER: Through DAVID,
 demands that radio personality
 ENGLEMANN (phonetic), be made the
 DAVIDIANS' press representative.
- 2 3/16/93 (1508)

Granted 3/19/93, 11:49.

- STEVE SCHNEIDER: Demands a copy
 of the search warrant that ATF initially intended to serve on 2/28/93 along with other documentation.
- 2 3/16/93 (19:36)

Denied

- STEVE SCHNEIDER requests that PHIL
 ARNOLD, Ph. D or other religious scholars discuss the book of Revelations with KORESH.
- 3 3/23/93 (15:40) STEVE SCHNEIDER: Denied
- Demands that compound membersbe allowed to speak to releasedLIVINGSTON FAGAN.
- 3 3/26/93 (15:40) RACHEL KORESH: Denied
- Requests to see the video of LIVINGSTON FAGAN's CNN interview.
- 3 3/27/93 (14:23) STEVE SCHNEIDER: Denied
- 2 Requests that a neutral negotiator be
- introduced.

- 3 3/28/93 (15:58) DAVID KORESH: Granted:3/28/93
- Requests 6 gallons of milk be sent into
- the compound.
- 3 3/28/93 (16:06) STEVE SCHNEIDER: Denied
- 4 Requests antibiotics for DAVID
- . KORESH.
- 3 4/12/93-(19:29) STEVE SCHNEIDER: Denied
- 5 Requests a copy of a book about
- "KORESHIANS" that he heard about from negotiators.
- 3 4/14/93-(14:00) STEVE SCHNEIDER: Granted 4/18/93
- 6 Requests a typewriter and/or
- typewriter ribbon be sent into compound.
- 3 4/16/93-(15:00) JUDY SCHNEIDER: Granted 4/18/93
- 7 Requests that a Sharp word processor,
- ribbon cassettes, a print wheel, lift-off tape, battery typewriter, ribbon cartridge, 12 size D batteries and a battery operated lamp.
- 3 4/17/93-(15:23,15:29) DAVID KORESH: Granted 4/18/93
- 8 Requests typewriter and ribbons.

.

- 3 4/17/93-(15:36) STEVE SCHNEIDER: Granted 4/18/93
- 9 Requests typewriter batteries.

.

- 4 4/17/93-(15:44) JUDY SCHNEIDER: Denied
- O Requests IBM laptop computer.

.

- 4 4/17/93-(15:45) STEVE SCHNEIDER: Granted 4/18/93
- Demands a typewriter ribbon in
- return they will send out the first seal as written by KORESH.

7. The Aftermath

At the end, 76 Branch Davidians died in the fire, including David Koresh himself, 25 children and 2 pregnant women. A number of the deceased had been fatally shot, including Koresh. While some of the wounds appeared to be self-inflicted, others did not. The total death toll of the Waco siege is 82 Branch Davidians and 4 ATF agents. 9 people managed to escape and survive, bringing the survivor count to 44, 25 of them being children. 12 of the adult survivors were charged with conspiracy to, and aiding and abetting in, the murder of federal officers, and had unlawfully possessed and used various firearms. After a jury trial lasting nearly two months, the jury acquitted four of the Branch Davidians on all charges. Additionally, the jury acquitted all of the Branch Davidians on the murder-related charges but convicted five of them on lesser charges, including aiding and abetting the voluntary manslaughter of federal agents. Eight Branch Davidians were convicted on firearms charges. Some notable convictions are:

 Kevin A. Whitecliff – convicted of voluntary manslaughter and using a firearm during a crime.

- Jaime Castillo convicted of voluntary manslaughter and using a firearm during a crime.
- Paul Gordon Fatta convicted of conspiracy to possess machine guns and aiding Branch Davidian leader David Koresh in possessing machine guns.
- Renos Lenny Avraam (British national) convicted of voluntary manslaughter and using a firearm during a crime.
- Graeme Leonard Craddock (Australian national) convicted of possessing a grenade and using or possessing a firearm during a crime.
- Brad Eugene Branch convicted of voluntary manslaughter and using a firearm during a crime.
- Livingstone Fagan (British national) convicted of voluntary manslaughter and using a firearm during a crime.
- Ruth Riddle (Canadian national) convicted of using or carrying a weapon during a crime.
- Kathryn Schroeder sentenced to three years after pleading guilty to a reduced charge of forcibly resisting arrest.

Some of the non-American survivors, such as Livingstone Fagan, were deported. After the convictions, a legal battle started between the survivors and the government. 6 of the convicted members appealed and civil suits against the government, some federal officials, the former governor of Texas Ann Richards, and members of the Texas Army National Guard were filed. While these did not lead to anywhere significant, they gave a lot of publicity to the survivors. Many of the survivors from Waco spoke about their experiences in the compound, how their lives were before and after the siege. David Thibodeau is one of the survivors who dedicated his life to the memory of the siege, appearing in documentaries and giving interviews whenever he can. Joining the Branch Davidians as an adult, his recollections about the cult and the siege are quite valuable to fully understand the

incident as a whole. It is also important to note the mental health of the survivors. Heather Jones, one of the survivors who left the compound during negotiation, stated that She still suffers from severe PTSD and remains angry about the coverup she believes happened. "I still live in fear to this day," she says. "They will never tell the truth about what they did to us and all the horrible things they did to my family." About the trauma they have gone through, Thibodeau said "The trauma stays with you on a cellular level and that's a very hard way to live your life."

The ATF and the FBI were heavily criticized because of the way they acted during the siege. The majority thinks that both agencies overreacted and abused their power to get a "victory" and these criticisms do not only come from the media or the public, but from some federal officials as well. Former FBI agent Mike German stated that he thinks the siege brought up the best and the worst of the FBI, and it pointed a light to the deep-seated management problems at the FBI. After Waco, the FBI's negotiation policies underwent some changes and the importance of direct negotiations was highlighted. The focus is more on negotiations today and before going into action, negotiators' insights and warnings are far more valued compared to during Waco. Gary Noesner, a negotiator, thinks that the siege would have ended in a different way, he believes if the opinions of the negotiators were more valued, they would have been able to get everyone out of Mount Carmel. Thus, the siege would have a lot less casualties. Another way the FBI was criticized was the fact that federal officials were cleared of any wrongdoings. The media and the public were at least expecting minor charges against the federal officials with high ranking managerial positions in Waco. No one was charged on the government's side.

One of the most tragic outcomes of the Waco is the Oklahoma City Bombing. The Oklahoma City bombing was a domestic terrorist truck bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, United States, on April 19, 1995, the second anniversary of the end to the Waco siege. The bombing was the deadliest act of terrorism in U.S. history prior to the September 11 attacks in 2001, and remains the deadliest act of domestic terrorism in U.S. history. The bombing occurred at 9:02 a.m. and killed 168 people, injured 680, and destroyed more than one-third of the building, which had to be demolished. The blast destroyed or damaged 324 other buildings within a 16-block radius, shattered glass in 258 buildings, and destroyed 86 cars, causing an estimated \$652 million worth of damage. The perpetrators were Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, two white supremacists and anti-government extremists. The date of the attack is not a coincidence, the Waco incident was one of the biggest reasons for their motive. A search warrant causing such a catastrophe by the government's mishandling angered the perpetrators, mainly McVeigh. In March 1993, McVeigh visited the Waco site during the standoff, and again after the siege ended. The moment he saw the ATF flag being raised on the site at the conclusion of the siege enraged him. He later decided to bomb a federal building as a response to the raids and to protest what he believed to be US government efforts to restrict rights of private citizens, in particular those under the Second Amendment. Thus, with his accomplice Nichols, he committed the deadliest act of domestic terrorism in U.S. history.

Today, the site where the Mount Carmel Center sat is occupied by a church built directly atop where the cult building used to be. It is still used by the remaining Branch Davidians as a place of worship and memorial. A memorial plaque for the four ATF agents killed in the shootout is on the grounds as is the barbed wire the authorities used to prevent the cult members from escaping.

8. Bibliography

ATF, "Who We Are | Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives." https://www.atf.gov/about/who-we-are.

ATF, "What We Do | Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives." https://www.atf.gov/about/what-we-do.

ATF, "Remembering Waco | Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives."

https://www.atf.gov/our-history/remembering-waco.

Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Federal Bureau of Investigation." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 23, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Federal-Bureau-of-Investigation.

Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Ruby Ridge". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 17 Oct. 2023, https://www.britannica.com/event/Ruby-Ridge.

Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Waco siege". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 23 Jan. 2024, https://www.britannica.com/event/Waco-siege.

"Davidians." <u>New Catholic Encyclopedia</u>. . *Encyclopedia.com.* December 11, 2023. https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/davidians

"EllenWhite.Org Website - A Prophecy That Mr. Houtiff Tolled," n.d. https://ellenwhite.org/correspondence/187572#document.

FBI History. trac.syr.edu/tracfbi/atwork/current/fbiHistory.html

Federal Bureau of Investigation. "A Brief History," April 19, 2021. https://www.fbi.gov/history/brief-history. Federal Bureau of Investigation. "What Is the FBI?," October 6, 2022. https://www.fbi.gov/about/faqs/what-is-the-fbi

Gavin Newsham. "A Look Back at Waco — 30 Years After the Siege." *New York Post*, 18 Mar. 2023, nypost.com/2023/03/18/30-years-after-the-siege-at-waco.

History - Federal Bureau of Investigation. irp.fas.org/agency/doj/fbi/fbi_hist.htm..

Important Notice to Dealers and Other Participants at Gun Shows (ATF I 5300.23A) | Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. www.atf.gov/firearms/docs/guide/important-notice-dealers-and-other-participants-gun-shows-atf-i-530023a.

Melton, J. Gordon. "Branch Davidian." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, November 17, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Branch-Davidian.

Monroe, Rachel. "What Really Happened at Waco." *The New Yorker*, 12 Apr. 2023, <a href="www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-the-southwest/what-really-happened-at-waco." www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-the-southwest/what-really-happened-at-waco.

Newport, Kenneth G. C. "The Branch Davidians of Waco: The History and Beliefs of an Apocalyptic Sect." *Oxford*. 2006.

New York Times. "Cult Had Illegal Arms, Expert Says." *The New York Times*, 15 Jan. 1994, www.nytimes.com/1994/01/15/us/cult-had-illegal-arms-expert-says.html.

Paulson, L. Dailey. "Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 14, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Bureau-of-Alcohol-Tobacco-Firearms-and-Explosives.

"Shepherd's Rod," n.d. https://www.sdadefend.com/WolvesinFleeces/Rods%201.htm.

Thomas, Pierre. "TEXAS GUNS: ASK AND YOU SHALL RECEIVE." Washington Post,

9 Mar. 1993,

www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1993/03/09/texas-guns-askand-you-shall-receive/e198b976-471d-4cc4-83e8-1a24358da47e.

"What We Investigate." *Federal Bureau of Investigation*, 14 Oct. 2023, www.fbi.gov/investigate.

"Where Is the FBI's Authority Written Down?" *Federal Bureau of Investigation*, 6 Oct. 2022, www.fbi.gov/about/faqs/where-is-the-fbis-authority-written-down.