A DEATH IN BERKELEY

It could just as easily be 1967 instead of 1994 on this warm summer afternoon in the heart of downtown Oakland. The steps in front of the gleaning, white Alameda County Courthouse are filled with young men and women dressed in Afro wigs, berets, and black leather jackets. Clenching fists they chant, "Free Huey! Off the Pig."

Huey, of course, is Huey Newton, who, along with Bobby Seale, founded the Black Panther Party in 1966 with a 10-point platform that included a call to armed resistance against police and who in 1967 became a radical icon while on trial for murdering an Oakland police officer. The demonstration being staged by these actors has the choreography of the original but not its passion. The real demonstrations that took place outside the courthouse during Newton's murder trial that summer 28 years ago made him a symbol of revolutionary black nationalism and launched the Black Panthers as a powerful national force that would define the Sixties.

Huey Newton died in obscurity in 1989, a pathetic crack addict killed by one of the young gang dealers who viewed him as a nuisance. But his legend lives on, having survived revelations that he was more a thug than a revolutionary. His name once again is magic among young blacks tripping with acid. It pops up frequently in rap lyrics and in the casual Afrocentrism of public education. Now it will be on big screen, in the movie directed by Mario van Peebles filming here in Oakland. (The film, called Panther, will be released in the next few weeks.) Meanwhile, by a serendipitous convergence of events, across the street from the set van Peebles has created, there is another sign of the revival of interest in the Black Panthers. The Tony Oakland Art Museum is co-hosting a panel discussion about the Panthers, featuring Elaine Brown. Brown has become something of a legend of her own—although she is a living one. A beautiful young woman who escaped gang life in Philadelphia in the early Sixties to come to California to work as a singer, she ended up as a dancer at L.A.'s Pink Pussycat and as a sometime call girl (street name "Peaches") before becoming politicized and joining the Panthers. Through shrewd intelligence and a willingness to sleep her way to the top with Panther leaders (including, most notably, Newton himself), Brown was selected by Newton to run the organization when he fled to Cuba in 1974 to escape charges of murdering Kathleen Smith, an Oakland prostitute.

The audiobackpack is packed and has the feel of a reunion. In addition to Brown, the familiar faces include former Panther chief of staff David Hilliard and his current partner, Frederica, Huey's widow. The Panther couple is the reigning keeper of the Huey Newton flame with their so-called Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, one of the sponsors of the museum's colloquy today. But Elaine Brown is the center of attention. She has been on her own comeback trail since the 1993 publication of her autobiography, A Taste of Honey, a tale filled with hot couplings between white producers and fierce black revolutionaries and chilling tales of... Continued on page 15

TENSSIAN WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY FACES CONRUDNC
SOMETHING AMISS AMONG THE MISSES

By Karen Carlisle Duban

If we build it, they will come—Preservation. In the fall, the campus of Texas Woman's University was transformed into an artistic scene, as the campus was turned into an art museum. The campus was filled with art installations and sculptures, and the students were invited to participate in various art workshops and discussions. This event was organized by the Preservation Group, a student organization that works on preserving and preserving the campus's cultural heritage. The event was held at the campus's iconic building, the Old Main, which was originally built in the 1890s and has been a symbol of the university's history and tradition. The Preservation Group has been praised for its efforts to conserve and protect the campus's history and culture, and this event was a testament to their dedication. Continued on page 15.

INSIDE

George Orwell's Secret

Affirmative Action Casualty

Gull Trouble

Heeere's Johnnie Cochran

the legend, "Preservation Nation."

Another sign announced "TWU TOWN CLEVEL LAND ESTABLISHED JANUARY 1959" with a picture of a house, a tree, and the words "Estab. Jan. 1959." The TWU Board of Regents voted, at the end of the previous semester, to allow men into all the programs offered by Texas Woman's University. They did this in full view of some 200 hostile people and the press. But the general perception afterward was that the decision was a surprise attack on the good-old-girls of TWU. This despite the fact that five of the six regents who voted to admit men were women, including the chair of the board, the woman regent who voted against admitting men, and the chairman of the undergraduate program was a man. Men have been students at TWU—which receives 51 percent of its budget from the state of Texas—since 1972, when they were allowed into the Institute of Health Sciences (formerly something like a nursing school) and the Graduate... Continued on page 15.
Crest of Freedom, Bra'

The "Maisie" truly "sailed" in his "Barry Goldwater, the Beach Boys, and Me" article (Feb.) He hit me between my blue sailor eyes and reawakened my memory back to 1968, when I caught a wave or two in the South China Sea on USS "Boxer" 22, a gunship pilot with the 2nd Air Wing in Vietnam. The battle was raging and the Ho Chi Minh trail into what we called the "LBJ expressway" and the NVA was taking full military advantage. And too much young soldier and marine—what saw themselves as Paul Muhlhase's symbolic surfer—died while flying those green birds and carrying those black sticks.

The righteous confidence in our system and ourselves died along with those young men when we gave up on them and on our destiny. Muhlhase nailed it, without ever mentioning Vietnam, when he wrote that in the mid-sixties we were "on the verge of improbable greatness" but that by the early Seventies we had become "a nucleus of losers."

At dawn one gorgeous day, I walked for the Big Nine, I drew first from a Viet Cong tracer. He bracketed me and expended a dozen rounds, some of which came close. But the big wave with my name on it was still cresting out of the reef, and I swam hard, watching the concussion rip the mum of my cool little ride, and I laughed—at this, at his AK-47, and at his totalitarian cause. He and I were in perfect opposition, I thought. He was an impotent slave and I was an invisible American. He did not fire at me, so I rode my beauty all the way into the beach. Perhaps he feared that the perimeter guards would discover his perch on the bluff, or, as I prefer to think, he just sat back in wonder at the sublime sight of me and my wave. He had no chance to think of ever seeing that last 27 years that we have each gotten the last laugh on the other. I am certain, that as I do him, I will remember that day, God Bless America, him and his ordinance while balancing on a piece of pure American Fiberglass.

In 1967, I believe that we, as a nation, are about to catch a new wave and finally come out of the American sorrow and pity. I'm still as surfer at heart: I'm not imaging at trampers any more, but I'm fighting the good fight against the dough patrol police as an official for the Individual Rights Foundation, and I am not about this time.

But, the surf is up for America in the new century. Hang cool, dude.

John R. Todd
Rochester Hills, MI

So Sorry

You didn't miss it! Being an improper use of political correctness, I have found your article to be most interesting in the past. However, I just received my latest issue of Heterodoxy, and lo and behold, there appears on this back page a photograph of a partially unclothed young woman. Now I recognize that your publication is not pornography but rather political commentary, and that your back page is always a strange paradox of some politically correct silliness. But this front page doesn't know that, and the others who may see my mail.

I live in a very small town, the type of place where "everybody knows everybody." I am also a clergyman at a local church. I do not need the people who may see my mail getting the idea that the "Holy Reverend Father" is getting some cheap pornography through the mail. (OK, I admit it: I'm not all that holy and I am scarcely "reverend." But I still don't need the undeserved reputation of buying pornography.)

The problem is not that the photograph is all offensive but that it can certainly appear to be to people not familiar with your publication—and you put it on the back cover, of all places!

I therefore have no alternative but to request that you cancel my subscription immediately.

Ron Benett
Compton, TX

Strange Justice, Indeed

Your excellent review of Strange Justice reveals the headlines and public relations strategy of Washington, D.C. journalism. Their editing out of anything complimentary to Clarence Thomas belies their journalistic integrity, and we wonder if even if we will ever have a balanced press.

David Brock has had his share of fame and celebrity from liberal reporters just because he dares to tell the truth.

As for Heterodoxy, we've been subscribing for quite some time, and we only wish that Peter Collier and David Horowitz could have more national exposure. We just read Peter's column in Angela Davis' new book at UC, Santa Cruz. I hope and Antisell is really representative of the new role models in higher education, some better examine the water that some of our college presidents have been drinking—it's polluted with leftie effluent.

Ron Spargoe
Ocean City, NJ

Fighting the Good Fight

Anyway, I admit it, thoroughly despised you guys long ago (we're the same generation). I was in the Navy in the early 60's doing my duty and, yes, I could imagine the contempt...had you for. I would like to apologize to you both, but more than that, I wish to express my appreciation for your efforts in setting the record straight. You have taken strong stands from your former days and ways, and that takes courage brother!

You have my support and you girls are in the front lines to be sure, therefore you are in my personal way. The best for both of you from one of the little guys.

Ron Bennett
Compton, TX

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REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

CAG ME WITH A BASKETBALL: The last time you were out pursuing hoop dreams, did you (a) play one-on-one with other stats, (b) just shoot around in a less numbing manner, or (c) just not at all? Yes you can just have Kenan Carpenter's death on your hands. That's the conclusion that can be drawn from the thinking of one Michael Levine, former student at a college, who has written an article called "X Things Men Can Do and Go to Help Prevent Eating Disorders." One of Levine's suggestions is as follows: "Think seriously and constantly about yourself as if you were thinking constantly about yourself."

Consider, for example, how free and independent you really are when you believe yourself to be free, and how freely you can act. Levine's argument is that there is a sense of control over one's body, which is why men often feel they need to control their eating habits. Levine suggests that men should try to think about themselves in this way, and that this will help them to control their eating habits.

WHAT'S UP, MOTHER? According to the New York Times, "Traditional history turns out to be less white and less male than anyone previously thought." To support this revelation, Stanley Fishkin, author of this column (and of the obviously dubious book Black Blocks: Mark Twain and African American Voices), cites the uncovering of African-American references to an essay previously overlooked in both classic novels and modern popular culture. Within the great body of classic works, Ma, a character in several African-American traditions [are] essential to understanding the work of Herman Melville. She allows to the following quote: "Isn't the black scholar who has pointed out the "Hidden American" in the classic novel?"

LUNA BEACH By Carl Moore

WAKE UP AND SMELL THE MELANIN, MR. PRESIDENT.

DOLE IS KILLING US WITH HIS MUSHINESS... ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION? LOVE IT. IT MAKES ME FEEL ALL GROOPEIMPLY INSIDE...

WHITE LIKE ME: At the University of Pennsylvania, white female students began a group called "White Women Against Racism." When black female student activist Janet Davis tried to attend a meeting, she was kicked out. The reason, according to Davis, was that the group wanted to "enter into a meaningful dialogue about race and racism, we have no personal issues to examine those issues. We believe racism is a social problem and we have a responsibility to help white women in particular to do what we can to eradicate it."

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN ACTION: The March 27 Nation's cover story on affirmative action (which "has done wonderful things") is by black liberal Roger Wilkins. Wilkins' focus is on himself, he says that after watching him as a young professor, members of the history department at George Mason University invited him to serve as an endowed chair. In recent years, affirmation history that had become available, "I went through the appropriate procedure and was invited to serve as an endowed chair."

George Mason himself, was not interested in Radosh. Administrators asked him to send everything every writer for their approval. They came to the conclusion, he says, suddenly, that Radosh got a letter with the absurd information that a scheduled interview was being canceled because he was "qualifying." Radosh was told that Radosh had been appointed to the post. He was invited to a meeting that was being held to examine the issue. The first time Radosh was told that Radosh had been appointed to the post. He was not interested in Radosh. Administrators asked him to send everything every writer for their approval. They came to the conclusion, he says, suddenly, that Radosh got a letter with the absurd information that a scheduled interview was being canceled because he was "qualifying."

STOP THE PRESSES: On February 17, DePaul University's student newspaper, the Maroon, received a distrubance at a social event sponsored by a black student group. Drawing on police reports, the story included the race and sex of those accused of starting the trouble, who happened to be black males. Claiming that such an approach "perpetuated negative stereotypes of blacks," student demonstration against the story.

TWO WORDS TO SET YOUR TEETH ON EDGE: Robert MacNamara.
Death of a bookkeeper, concluded from page 1

Violent Panther crimes.

She and other partial admissions, Brown confirmed what I and many other Panther watchers have known for many years: At the heart of this organization that continues to be admired by many blacks for its social justice advocacy and help with racial alienation and crime, created by Newton, which practiced retribution, radicalization, and murder. Yet while there is ease with some of this, Brown's book is also a self-examining, confessional truth.

I am grateful for the Panthers' defiance of the media and other political and legal attacks on their organization. The revelations Brown made to me shortly after I saw her at the Oakland Museum in an exhaustive four-hour, late-night, rambling interview, "I am a perpetrator of some of that," she told me, adopting a professional—but defiant—attitude about the crimes of the Panthers' past. But she dropped her professional guard in describing some of the events that left her reeling in her next sentence: "I was a silent perpetrator. I'm sorry about that. My only mistake was that I loved Percy at the time." She then reverted to form, denying any involvement in the Panther murder we'd been talking about.

Most of these murders found at vintage other street slang used. I refer to the way of attempting to muscle in on the taskers in Oakland or Pantry members who refused to obey Newton's "revolutionary discipline." (The FBI termed the incendiary fascist group as "in a constant state of high alert, not just a sporadic activity, but a systematic program of murder, destruction and overthrow of the government.

On Friday night the 13th of December, 1967, Betty One Parker grabbed her three-quarter length candle holder, slipped her brown shoulder bag, and took one more glance at herself in the mirror to make sure her midnight black makeup was not smudged. As she inspected herself, she probably decided that she was okay. A little better. After all, she's never had a problem attracting male attention. It just wasn't any....

The Panthers would seem to have been the only people in the world who would have been interested in this fact. For one thing, they were the only people who were interested in the Panthers. For another, they were the only people who were interested in the Panthers. For yet another, they were the only people who were interested in the Panthers.

On this Friday evening, Betty already had a buzz on. She drank more wine than she should, it being in jug-sized quantities from the Oak boxed. But where the disciples went, she stayed with them, she didn't smoke, she didn't drink, and she was quite content with her life. She was the first to arrive at the event, which was a birthday party for one of the members of the Oakland Pantry. She was the first to arrive at the event, which was a birthday party for one of the members of the Oakland Pantry. She was the first to arrive at the event, which was a birthday party for one of the members of the Oakland Pantry. She was the first to arrive at the event, which was a birthday party for one of the members of the Oakland Pantry.

It was embarrassing to see that Tommy had come over the other day and seen her drinking at 1:00 in the morning. But she didn't think so. She felt unhappy with the quality of her emotional relationships. She had little stability in her relationships since splitting with the children's father, Ray Basker, after having worked so hard to establish a family and a respectable existence. She had met her second husband, Ken Van Patter, at an AA meeting while recovering from a divorce with her first husband. She was next seen involved with a young black man named Leonard Rose for who was about Tommy's age in the late sixties; when he went to prison for theft, she visited him faithfully. He dropped her, and she made friends with her prison guards, who also remain friends. For the last year, she's been seeing a friend of Leonard Brown, a friend of the late Leonard "Big Mother." But Betty couldn't accept his relationship with another woman so that affair ended too, although she still continued to see him.

But Betty was also being disappointed in romance. The daydreaming didn't help her with her new acquaintances at all. During the previous few months she had made several subtle overtures to the Black Panther Party, and particularly, for Elaine Brown. She gushed to Tammy just how pretty and inspiring Brown was and wrote to her own mother, "She is doing me another complete turn." Betty was frustrated when Brown had befriended her, taking her to Giovanni's for pizza where the two of them had liased like a couple of old boys. Her idea was simple, "If you get caught up in the Panther's literature, you'll get caught up in the Panther's literature."

At first, the story is simple. The Panther club gave an income, but it also gave her something more that a feeling of being a part of a movement that was larger than herself. She met the most of the leftist stuff she knew in Berkeley, for the Panthers embodied Betty. Betty wrote to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing. She had written to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing. She had written to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing. She had written to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing. She had written to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing. She had written to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing. She had written to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing. She had written to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing. She had written to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing. She had written to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing. She had written to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing. She had written to her mother about her own experience in letters that continued and fell. She wrote in her diary her first impressions of the Panthers' respect toward her as a white writer and how she resolved her own suspicions. She was looking forward to the Panther's involvement in the Black Panther, a newspaper that featured this sort of thing.
Betty at 2 1/2 years old in Los Angeles

Betty at 7 in Hollywood

Betty, 18, at Occidental College

Betty, 34, as a young mother
Brown had unwittingly supplied a possible motive. "Let me tell you something about Betty. Betty wanted to know too much of everything. She started telling me about why [the Lung Post] issue was to be paid. She started asking me so many questions about stuff that was her business. She says, 'Well, I want to know what you’re going to do with your [City Council] campaign... She’s asking too many questions...” Clearly, Brown was worried that Betty would go public.

Tammie Balter at first ignored Horowitz’s suggestions that they go to the police. "He didn’t explain why or anything,” she says today in a voice that still tightens with remembered fear. "I’m just this 24-year-old kid, not really coping with any of this very well. My mother’s status at that point gave me reason to believe she just might have gone off somewhere to be by herself if something traumatic had happened.”

Besides, in the radical culture of that era, the police were not to be trusted. "This was especially true when it came to the Panthers, who had successfully co-opted the media that the police were engaging in a "genocide campaign" against them. So, instead of telling Horowitz’s advice, Balter called Paul Jacobs, the left-wing journalist and socialist critic who had cultivated the role of the conscience of the radical community. Jacobs, in turn, referred her to the Bay Area private investigator, Harold Lipset.

Bobby Seale and Huey Newton striking a militant pose in 1969.

Finally convinced, Tammie took the receiver, beamed BART, and went to the police station. It was more than a week before her mother disappeared that she finally thought there was something she knew about my mother,” spread convictions telling her information, as she told her rep. "She’s the bookkeeper for Black Panther Party.” The det were involved in Betty’s disappearance. In their talk.

Corpus Christi police told The Conversation,” he was the pitiful Nob Hill drifter nameless and he also di- gested something of a rework of specimens working for left- hand lawyers like Charles Cratty on cases involving Huey N. and other Panthers. Nobody was better connected— Lipsett.

After Tammy talked to him, Lipsett made brief queries. She took notes when he had her initial repor-

"The B: (B:Because) is that you. They know your missing. You should go to the police now. Leave your face. Go over to Berkeley to the Police Department report her missing. Now!”

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Bobby Seale and Huey Newton striking a militant pose in 1969.
times in her life. Brown snidely noted that Betty was a flare who had not come to work on one occasion because of an adverse astrological forecast. She further charac-
terized Betty as a whiner who continually complained about her work load. "Not surprisingly," said Fred, "she got her black office assistant. Betty was "high strung and getting on people's nerves."

No one had seen Brown for two days before the disappearance. During the police interview, the an-
grily voiced Betty's severance check, dated six weeks, and if the cops were too stupid to fig-
ure out that any check can be backdated, (The check, moreover, had not been cashed.)

In any case, others contradicted Fred's claim that Betty had been killed a week before her disappearance. A later po-
lice report of an interview with Lillian Weil, for-
instance, stated that at that time the vic-
tim seemed to be very enthusiastic about her work and behaved in a manner com-
pletely inconsistent with having been fired a week prior, as is alleged by Elaine Brown. Weil said that Pan Poster also told her that the Lamp Post account was made diffi-
cult by the practice of payoff kickbacks and of excessive cash expenditures.

Fred Hiestrand, Brown's own advisor, told police he had seen Betty on December 16, three days before her disappearance, when he discussed other Pan Poster matters with her. He also told police she had seemed "enthua-
istic" about her job. In fact, as the taped conversation between Brown and David Horowitz shows, Betty had asked the occasion of the meeting with Hiestrand to seek a sympathetic ear in which to lodge her complaints about irregularities at the Lamp Post, "(Betty calls me and starts threatening me with 'Look, either you go... Do you want me to quit?... and thus she goes to Hiestrand and tells Hiestrand that she thinks what we're doing is dirty at the Lamp Post.')"

Obviously, Hiestrand, after listening to Betty, had repeated to Elaine Brown the very next day the contents of the conversation, where-
upon Elaine had become outraged that the bookkeeper was making inquests that didn't concern her.

Tammy Lipton had her own reasons to doubt Brown's story. Her mother had made plans several days after the alleged firing to give her a toy of her office. "Why would Man things into her office if she'd been fired?" she wondered. Moreover, Tammy knew her mother had refinanced a credit line on Thursday, the day before her disappearance, to fix up her apartment. She wouldn't have done this had she known she was going to be fired.

In her police interview in Gary's office, Brown also lied outright when she told police there was no connection between the Lamp Post and a Pan Poster party (Later on, in a Taste of Power, she would be more truthful: "The Lamp Post was a complete black Panther Party operation."). In fact, in the conversation Horowitz taped, Brown made it clear that she had nothing against finding Betty's duties to include the Lamp Post books.

But none of these condemnations were ever explored. Charges of misconduct with the janitor between Brown and the Berkeley Police, Authorities never again interviewed Brown on the Pan Poster homicide. Al-
though they would never admit it, Berkeley police, while they did not charge anyone, were put off by all the charges of police brutality and harassment lev-
eled at them by radicals over the years.

Lillian Weil, who believes the Panthers murdered the bookkeeper, says that Brown had a one-
side conversation with Detective Michael O'Keefe in which he told her, "Well, you know we just can't go after them..."

"I sent Collier the version of the story. When Collier, who had also known Betty at Rampart, pulled up to him with the letter to the Pan Poster connection, O'Keefe replied that it was freaky that while radicals had who had spent years examining the police in cases involving the Panthers would now urge them on when one of their own was the victim.

The suspicions of Weil, Collier, and others that the police were covered by the Panthers' political muscle and fearful of once again being made to look like pigs in the investigation seemed borne out by the abrupt resign-
ations of O'Keefe from the police force. In 1975, he had been warned by both Betty, a private message in which he expressed his sense of "duty" and his sadness that the police could not do more for her on the case, leading Tammy to believe that her mother's unsolved murder was perhaps a contrib-
uting factor in his decision to leave law enforcement.

The case today is a file number in the files of the Berkeley Police Department, the investigation eventually deemed inactive with no clear suspects.

Betty Pan Poster's murder became one of those unsolved cases that are whispered about in a sort of code by those who have gotten below the surface of the official version. A handful of people have suspicions about what happened to the Panthers' bookkeeper but kept their ideas to themselves for fear of what might happen to them. In one of their taped conversations, Brown had lightly warned David Horowitz to be careful because she didn't want him to suffer an "accident" that could be at-
tributed to her. In Berkeley, there was a radical double standard which held that whatever Betty Newton and her organization did was justified by the historical sufferings of black people.

I tried to write about the underside of the Panthers in New Times in 1977, when I was still a member in good standing of the radical community. Peter Collier and David Horowitz mentioned Betty Pan Poster's death and their suspicions of Pan Poster involvement in their book Destructive Generation. Horowitz, in particular, at-
ftempted to maintain a drumbeat of semilegnumism on behalf of Betty. He retained an obsessive interest in discover-
ing the reality behind the Panthers. Over the years, he spoke with disaffected former party members and pieced together a picture of the organization that suggested there had been, almost from the beginning, two Black Pan-
starr parties. On the one hand, there were the low-
tier Pan Poster cadres who believed in the School, the Break-
fast for Children Program, and the other far leftist as-
psects of the party program. But on the other hand, at a deeper stratum, there was the more sinister element of cul-
tural ringleaders known as The Squad, a sort of armed guard with which Newton had surrounded himself in his increas-
ingly demonstrative postures. The Squad was paid in jock-
est in Oakland. This view is borne out by my own research.

Members of The Squad were hand-picked for their street toughness and sealed off from the rank-and-file explosion in the legitimate press, which had given the Party its protective coloration.

The Squad kept out of sight when Newton and Flann and the radical ringleaders against her mother that 'Tammy Lipton, whom police arrested last in 1977 for the murder in 1977, newly told me what she'd hesitated to say to others before. 'I had to defend myself for a Panther killed my mother.'"

Tammy came to her conclusions as a direct result of the investigation she and her brother conducted into the murder. She told me that Lipton went to police in 1975, nearly a decade after the murder, Lipton had simply received a few calls in 1977 when Tammy first contacted him. But in 1985, the family had enough reason to pay him for a full inves-
tigation. Tammy said she was willing to pay them after working on the case for scrnals, 'You should have no doubt that your mother's death was Panther related. They did it. Lipton was as too poetically in her accusations, he could not guarantee her safety. (He served Newton was still alive at this point.)

Tammy didn't know how to act on Lipton's information. And so, once again, she reached out to me with her doubts and fears. But with the publication of Brown's autobiography a decade later, Lipton's original version and asked him to review with her the specifics of the case. She has not revealed this information until now.

Retaining a file in his San Francisco office on April 7, 1995, the Cincinnati detective pro-
duced one document in his own handwriting. "He flipped to this little message page... it said 'Elaine ordered it.'" The second time had just been served on her. The last line said 'talk with Olds,' meaning Sheldon Olds, Newton's first attorney when he came back to stand charges from Cuba.

Lipton's information came at the end of a line of inquiry flirtily pursued by others over the years. For some, the logical suspect in Betty's death was Squad mem-
er Robert Heath, who had been described as the "body guard" who had been the trigger man on other murders. But Florence Forbes, another member of the Squad, was according to Fred Hiestrand, "more manage-
able than Bob Heath" for Elaine and, in addition to being what Heath calls "her driver," Forbes was always with her, just as Heath had been Lipton's shadow previously. Pri-
ivate investigation had been done on the Squad, and the same manner as an aide to Lipton, reports he never met without Elaine being in Forbes' company. (In 1977, Forbes, who already had a long rap sheet, was involved in an attempt to murder in Pan Poster's power, and was dis-
abled by that New hton killed Kathleen Smith, the Oakland prostitute. In the confession of the murder gun battle, Forbes killed another named Linton Johnson, and was later convicted of second-degree murder.)

In April 1981, while awaiting trial in Boston for a murder unrelated to Betty's, heard a handwritten note to a Maine County Assistant District Attorney Tom Orloff offering to cut a deal in exchange for telling what he knew.
about the death of the acquaintance that was dosing the Panther books." He also warned, "If the contents of this letter leaks out, then my family will be murdered."

Orelff flew to see Hearst in May, but by the time he got there, Hearst had already pleaded guilty to reduced charges in the Boston matter (he served four years for manslaughter) and was no longer interested in talking about Betty Van Patter.

Hearst also toyed briefly with me when he was in prison. I telephoned him to ask if he would talk to me for my book on Huey Newton. Hearst asked if there might be money in exchange for telling what he knew. When no money was forthcoming, Hearst withdrew cooperation. "It would be bad for black people," he said, "and besides, the statute of limitations never runs out on murder."

"It was pretty obvious," says Orelff, who has recently been elected district attorney of Alameda County, "that there was Panther involvement in the murder. First of all was the motive. Betty had been making all those complaints, looking like she might go public, second, because of the contradictory statements Elaine gave, and third because of a lack of any other suspects. But it's a big leap from that to making a case. Certainly all the remarks (on the Horowitz tapes) might have strengthened the motive to Elaine's case, but that doesn't necessarily mean she did it."

Even if she did order the killing, Orelff adds, "It's unlikely any witnesses would come forward. It's like Mafia here; there's a conspiracy of silence."

David Horowitz had developed his own theory about the murder after talking with New- ton in 1962 after the fugitive returned voluntarily from his three-year exile in Cuba. According to Horowitz, Newton had been an effective fundraiser for the Panther School. Newton tried to placate him by engaging him in a long and intimate conversation. It was recorded, however, that the purpose of the meeting was to allow Newton to accuse Elaine Brown, whom he had "expelled" from the party upon returning from his Cuban exile, of Betty Van Patter's murder. Newton seemed to protest too much.

Horowitz realized with the force of an epiphany that Newton was lying and that it was he, Newton, the head of the party even while in ex- ile, who had given the go-ahead on the hit that Brown had obedi-ently carried out.

It was certainly true that when Newton did return from Cuba, Brown was out on her way out—the perfect scapegoat. Perhaps she had expected Huey to accept her back, but when he refused, it was her fantasy that she would have him back as her lover and that she would rule alongside him as Queen of the Panthers. Having witnessed Newton's unpredictable and murderous ways, she should have known better.

Some claim that Elaine was badly beaten before she disappeared from Oakland in 1978. She says, however, that she left upon seeing members of The Squad beat up her good friend and Panther colleague, Phyllis Jackson. She herself suddenly fell in the middle of the night, like so many others, submitting a formal letter of resignation months later. After laying low for months following her escape, she surfaced in Los Angeles and then got a job with Metrowood Records. Eventually she moved to France and met a wealthy white French industrialist, a film manufacturer who has taken care of her ever since. She stayed underground for years and did not emerge in Panther circles until she at- tended Newton's funeral in 1989.

Private eye David Feccherer recently told me of a conversation he had with Panther attorney Charles Garry, now dead, and Garry's assistant Paul Global, both, "They told me the Pan-thers committed the murder," Feccherer said. He denied that he learned who carried out those orders and says, "I didn't want to know."

But when Lipsett showed Tammy Baltz...
They Still Don’t Get It

Kate Coleman would just as soon not have published this piece in Harper’s. A lifelong member of the Bay Area Left, she won the story to appear in a magazine that spoke to that audience. As the publisher of the Lark, she had been up to telling the truth. She knew that if she wrote bad news about itself and its heroes, she didn’t like cover-ups by the government. She didn’t like them any better among my own.

The first piece anywhere to discuss the video of murder of the Oakland five was in the New York Times Magazine, grabbed the attention of the left, but it was three months before any significant attention was given to the story. The first serious article was a New York Times article that appeared a month later.

When she decided to do the Betty Van Patter story two years ago, she pitched it to Mother Jones, and the editors there commissioned it. She finished the story and the editors rejected it, alleging that she had not followed the rules. Publishing it would cause confusion among the readers. At that time, the editor at Mother Jones was Andrew Hochschild, who was reviewing books about the Panthers in The New Yorker, without even mentioning the murder of Betty Van Patter. And this is the fact that Betty’s daughter Tammy Baier worked for a time at Mother Jones.

Coleman went to the other bastion of movement journalism, The Village Voice, which was then under the editorship of Tariq Ali. The Voice was not interested in the story.

The beginning of what Coleman recalls as a “marvelous, frustrating journey that had I enough money, would have sent me into analysis or booze” was a poor editor of the Voice working with the story because he had not asked the right questions.

The editor Coleman was working with at the Voice decided to use the story as an indictment of the subject matter and the way the Voice had handled the story. The editor asked Coleman to send the story after another, each one making the narrative more opaque and sanitized, and less intelligible. The information from the police reports was taken out, as were the contradictions inherent in Elaine Brown’s version of what had happened. Fast-checkers began to blame the piece for all the problems, especially that of the Oakland five.

Elaine Brown, who had come close to being elected to the Oakland City Council and who had gone to the 1976 Democratic convention as a Jerry Brown delegate, she did a convincing名片 with a donut of one of the character in her talk. But the little edge so many had seen in this photo was much discussed.

Brown’s position remains that the murder of the bookkeeper was not an incident of the history of the Panthers. Her own involvement in something she can apparently live with. Brown says she stays by the back of the Black Panther Party and its “social realism.”

Tammy Baier and her brother were so raked by Elaine Brown’s triumphant book tour and self-righteousness that they (accompanied by Bill Higginson) went to court and forced the bookkeeper to make a statement.

Terror distress and fear are the same thing. Defence lawyers and the police spa.

And so, 20 years later, Betty Van Patter’s unquiet ghost continues to haunt all those involved—a testament about the times and a reproach to those who didn’t want to hear the bad news.
E
verybody calls him Johnnie. Not first name, last name, not Mr. Cochran, just Johnnie. With the exception of his native Mississippi, Johnnie is most famous housekeeper, Rosa Lopez, who affectionately refers to him as “Meeceer Johnnie.” But any way you cut it, Johnnie L. Cochran—the lead defense attorney in the O. J. Simpson case and master of the N-word—is a special kind of guy.

We all know that the Simpson trial is essentially soap opera and that as such it creates the test of familiarity with the leading players that breeds admiration as well as contempt. Still, you don’t hear commentators referring to prosecutor Marcia Clark as “Mama” or Judge Impey as “Lance.”

But Johnnie, Johnnie Cochran, is a different story. Every time the moment sets you on edge, you feel like you’ve known him your whole life. Sometimes he seems friendly to others, more like a best buddy...a guy you could sit down and tell your troubles. Everything about Cochran seems to say “trust me,” even the spelling of his first name, with its unorthodox “L” instead of the more traditional “N.”

When people talk about Cochran, it’s almost always in glowing terms. “He is that in addition to his superlative character (Michael Jackson, actor; Ted Turner, former football star Jim Brown), he’ll take cases from ‘regular folks.’” Altogether, a gentleman, a maestro describes him as a “great trial lawyer.” Terms like “brilliant” and “genius” are frequently added.”

Maybe it’s persuasive, but I can’t help but think that the common praise is a bit odd. In my very rich hours of Simpson trial watching (I admit my addiction, I’ve seen it all), I’ve seen little of anything from Cochran remotely resembling great lawyering. Cochran’s legal arguments often would not be the most compelling. He is, after all, a lawyer.

When confronted with an unanswerable question, Cochran speaks by rolling his eyes and chucking deep in his throat as if to give you a pause to think. Without even knowing how it happened, he’s on his game.

Johnnie Cochran is incomparable. That you don’t realize he is wearing a mask that he has been behind for many years, behind the masks and the masks, behind the mask that he can show to the public and be just like most people. There is a reason why he is not the kind of person who can understand people despite the facts. Not being able to see the truth, it’s impossible to think that or not Cochran has succeeded in working on them, as if to argue that he is a true genius. There’s something about him, there’s no question that he is.

Johnnie Cochran is a master of the N-word, a special kind of guy. When Clark’s skirts show too much leg (and she’s got great one), she is called a floozy. When Cochran’s hair is tipped in the wrong direction, he is called a “nigger.”

But with the exception of former prosecutor Vincent Bugliosi (who called Cochran’s cross-examination techniques “risky component”), virtually every one of the network legal experts have steered clear of saying anything even remotely negative about Cochran’s performance. Perhaps it is the man in whom Cochran had never left the man who had to set aside the facts and be more concerned with maintaining the public image.

But while Cochran’s past may seem to stretch back like the yellow brick road, there are hidden potential. According to the Los Angeles Times, in the early 80’s, Cochran served as a Tam Bradely appointee on the Los Angeles Airport Commission, a number of Bradely’s friends and supporters were awarded choice airport concessions with little or no cash investment acquired. In 1984, Rep. Julian Dixon (D-Los Angeles) hired Cochran to do $170,000 in legal work. Two months later, Cochran, from the Airport Commission chairman, voted to award a concession to run seven daily free stores to a company partly owned by Dixon’s wife.

In another case, Deputy City Attorney Theodore Heyck sided a judge to remove Cochran from a case “based upon a conflict of interest because [Airport Commissioner] Cochran is a mayoral appointee and a well known confidant of Mayor Bradley.” According to Heyck, LA City Attorney (and Cochran confidant) Hahn ordered Heyck to drop the issue. In the end, the judge was forced to drop the issue without pay. "I couldn’t believe how scared everybody was," Heyck recalled.

As Cochran’s involvement with Black Panther Geromeo Pratt, who was sentenced to life in prison for murder, shocked Bradely. Heyck states, "I was one of the political careers left over from the 60’s, a "revolutionary" allegedly framed to stop his political activity. When Pratt’s appeal came up, Cochran was working in the US Attorney’s office. Prior to the hearing, Cochran sent a telegram to the parole board recommending Pratt for parole. An
angry District Attorney John Van de Kamp quickly wrote the board stating that his office had not authorized Cochran to write such a letter. Said Grand Courtesan, a Deputy District Attorney for Maricopa County whose daughter was murdered, "It was a very stupid thing of [Cochran] to do. Yet it was not merely friendship that led Cochran to breach protocol in this matter. Virtually all of Cochran's close friends, including many who were not councilors, were sympathetic to the cause." The case of Black Panther Party member, a woman involved in the review of the case and who had never met Cochran, was the most talked about defense in the state for much of the year.

Cochran's fame stems from his work with the NAACP, especially his leadership of the group's challenge to the state's use of the death penalty. The NAACP used the case of Johnnie Cochran's client, a Black Panther Party member, to challenge the state's laws and lead to a successful overturning of the death penalty in California.

More interesting than his spot for black radicals, particularly given the fact that Cochran is representing a selective accused of white bashing, were the revelations in a January 29 Los Angeles Times Magazine article, which noted that Cochran's first wife Barbara had been estranged for years by her treatment of him. In her 1977 divorce petition, the former Mrs. Cochran stated that "During the course of our marriage (Cochran had told) there was no reason for us to separate - and we were never separated. Now, however, he is quite upset by the pain and suffering of his children." The article also noted that Cochran had been seen in the company of white women in the past.

Cochran told the Times that he was a man of many lives, that the situation had not been anything like that described by his former wife. "She was not right," he said. "She was not my wife." He added, "I was never married to her again," which he interpreted as meaning that he was no longer married to Barbara. "She was always a very close friend," he said.

Cochran was identified as having been Johnnie Cochran for the last 13 years. He is the mother of Jonathan, born in 1972, Cochran still supports and loves Barbara, he said. At the time of the interview, she was married to Jerry B. Brown, a member of the Boy Scouts of America.

Frequently stopping to break into tears, Cochran told viewers that just prior to her appearance on the show, Cochran had threatened to kill himself. The threat was confirmed by the murder of Cochran's brother, Vonn, who died in a hit-and-run accident.

Patricia coached herself to keep her emotions in check during her interview. We saw a strained, bright-haired woman with a pleasant, if somewhat charless, countenance. That face is now best known to the world as the face of a murder victim.

The most interesting thing about the appearance of Patricia Cochran was not so much what she said, but what she didn't say. Her face was lit up by the joy and happiness that were evident in her face. She smiled at the audience and said, "I'm doing fine. Can't wait to see you again." It was a simple statement, but it was enough to make us all feel better.

The murder of Patricia Cochran was a shock to the community, and it brought the case to the forefront of the media. Cochran was eventually found guilty of the murder, and he was executed by lethal injection in 1996.

The 38-year-old Cochran was the subject of much speculation in the media, and his actions were closely followed. The case was one of the most high-profile cases in recent years, and it brought the issue of capital punishment to the forefront of the public consciousness.

The case of Black Panther Party member, a woman involved in the review of the case and who had never met Cochran, was the most talked about defense in the state for much of the year.

Cochran's fame stems from his work with the NAACP, especially his leadership of the group's challenge to the state's use of the death penalty. The NAACP used the case of Johnnie Cochran's client, a Black Panther Party member, to challenge the state's laws and lead to a successful overturning of the death penalty in California.
Dancing with the Elephant

By K.L. Billingsley

Late last October, in what would become perhaps the most significant moment in female aviation history since Amelia Earhart dropped from radio contact into the Pacific, Navy Lt. Kara Hultgreen took off from San Diego’s Miramar Naval Air Station in a Grumman F-14A Tomcat. The 29-year-old Hultgreen was the first of only two women to qualify as pilots of the Navy’s premier fighter since naval policy was changed on the issue of women in combat early in 1993. Everything Hultgreen did, therefore, had the feel of symbolism. She was not only a fighter pilot but also someone who carried the banner of gender equality, whether she wanted to or not — an airborne white female equivalent of Jackie Robinson whom fate had appointed to shoulder others’ hopes and fears as she climbed into the cockpit.

On this clear fall afternoon, Hultgreen climbed to cruising altitude and then flew southwest toward the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Abraham Lincoln, which awaited her some 30 miles off shore. Setting up her approach, she swung her plane to the “abern” position (1.1) to 1.2 miles from the ship, at approximately 600 feet in elevation and with 180 degrees of turn remaining before her landing. Her air speed was approximately 550 mph as she prepared to “call the ball,” a reference to the visual glide-slope provided by a series of Focal letters on the carrier’s deck. But after three of clock, Lt. Matthew Kleinman, the Radar Intercept Officer riding behind the pilot, said, “One on three, Tomcat call, Hultgreen,” in Lt. Hultgreen swung into her final approach. “Roger ball,” replied the Landing Signal Officer (LSO) from the deck as Hultgreen made her final turn.

The starboard engine was spewing exhaust but nothing came from the port engine. Whether because of that or some other problem, Hultgreen swung wide of the centerline, critical for an accurate landing. Her F-14 then began try to get to the pilot’s left. “Wipe off,” the Landing Service Officer said with relative calm. But then he shouted, “Wipe off!” twice more with escalating urgency as the plane’s air speed dropped dangerously. At that moment, the LSO also used his electronic “pickle” to flash warning lights and sound a horn. “Help call,” he yelled into the microphone from his platform beside the deck, an area surrounded by a net into which the LSOS can dive in dangerous situations. But now the fighter was bushwacking steeply to the left and was in extremis,Beyond the point of no return. Only one option remained.

“Eject! Eject!” screamed the LSO, Radar Officer Kleinman, and everyone around him. His chute opened, and he got one swing in the air before splashing to the surface with only minor injuries. But by the time Lt. Hultgreen had pushed a fraction of a second later, the F-14A had tilted so far that it crumpled the plane directly into the water. It was not until November 12 that a salvage team discovered her body in 4,000 feet of water, still strapped into the seat that was found twisted and riddled, still率达 away from the smashed aircraft. The first female combat pilot to fly the F-14 had become the first to die.

“A complete understanding of all of the facts leading to this most unfortunate accident will never be known,” said Admiral J.R. Spence in the Navy’s official report on the accident, released on February 28. Yet despite this apparent sensationalism, the Navy tried to wave off the whole incident by blaming it on engine failure. That caused problems of women in combat to declare victory and to attack critics of the new policy such as Linda Chavez, who had written about Hultgreen’s death weeks earlier in her USA Today column. “It’s been almost two years since the Department of Defense started in二是 New World campaign to put women in combat roles, and the casualties are starting to mount.... Most of the rhetoric and military readiness are clearly strained by the Pentagon’s attempt to ignore human biology and psychology. [Under such conditions] it’s difficult to make any honest investigation into Hultgreen’s tragic death is even possible.”

These views inferred California Sen. Barbara Boxer, who said, after the Navy released its report, “I urge Chavez to withdraw the scrupulous and irresponsible charges made about women in the military.” In a similar vein, liberal columnist Ellen Goodman wrote: “So it was the engine after all. Not the pilot. Lt. Kara Hultgreen did not die on the altar of ‘political correctness’ or ‘preferential treatment’ or ‘reverse discrimination.’ She died because the F-14 Tomcat stalled as it approached the aircraft carrier.” Boxer and Goodman may have thought that had they trusted Chavez in the intrawar war among feminists over the meaning of the accident, but the basic issues still remained unresolved after the Navy report’s attempt to affirm the idea of women in combat.

It was not accurate to simply say that the Tomcat had “stalled.” Even the Navy report said that only one engine was functioning. The F-14A can fly, and land, quite well with one engine, and Lt. Hultgreen saw all the procedures for both of these functions before she went up in the cockpit. Simple engine emergencies are discussed and trained to daily in Flight briefs and simulations, and the Navy report on the accident says. Whether she was sufficiently good at handling those emergencies is another question.

The federal statements of Boxer, Goodman, and others worried that the accident would set back women’s participation in combat confirmed that they knew little about Naval aviation and had not read carefully the Navy report or the anonymous letters of other Navy fliers who saw the accident as avoidable, letters they simply dismissed as “vicious” misinformation.

The communications from Navy personnel that followed the accident were anonymous but not those who sent them were cowardly or chinatownic, or because their authors hated Hultgreen. They were anonymous because, in today’s Navy, any public expression of gender neutrality, or any complaint about double standards favoring women, can terminate the speaker’s career.

Anyhow doubtful that this is so should consider the case of Lt. Cdr. Kenneth Coldham, an officer with a superb record — ‘unbowed potential’ and ‘distinguished for command and beyond’ — said his fitness reports — who is being drummed out of the Navy for expressing his belief that women should not be subjected to the violence of combat. At the same time, he told his commanding officers of that belief, he also said he was willing to go into combat with women if so ordered. On January 29, the Navy moved to dismiss him for “substandard performance” in the “failure to demonstrate acceptable qualities of leadership required of an officer in your grade as evidenced by your refusal to support and execute the policies of the Departments of Defense and United States Navy regarding women in combat.”

Given this reality, I will guard the identities of two of my sources for this story, both F-14 pilots who are former Top Gun instructors at Miramar, each with thousands of hours in the plane. One of them is a Landing Service Officer qualified to land any aircraft in the fleet. The other is a former safety officer as well. These two officers reviewed with me the official materials, the communications sent by anonymous aviators, and the Navy’s video of the crash.

The world of Navy aviation is a small one with few secrets, and both men know key players in the incident, though neither had spoken out before this article. They agree with each other in the conclusions they draw about this tragedy. Pilot error was indeed involved, and Lt. Kara Hultgreen was given special treatment in training. These two men believe that the report also shows that the Navy has been less than truthful in this incident as well as on questions involving women in combat in general. Instead of candor, facing the conclusions that might
be drawn from this incident, these pilots believe, the Navy continues to move forward steadily with policies that could mean the needless death of our troops or civil- lians and the loss of expensive equipment, not to mention the loss of a combat engagement to our foes.

As the first exhibit in this case, these pilots point to the plane itself. At Saint James Unicom and others have had direct experience, when an F-14 Tomcat is coming from a hangar, you've definitely got a problem. In fact, say these pilots, weather F-14s can hit speeds exceeding 230 and soar to altitudes above 50,000 feet. It can track 24 different targets simultaneously and shoot down all of them at once with one burst.

Few pilots get to fly this $38-billion weapon, which also packs several tons of sophisticated air-to-ground ordnance and a M61A1 Vulcan 20mm cannon. But the Navy's Tomcat pilots who designed the F-14A, operational since 1973, did, to wit: they were an army of specialists.

"Any landing is a controlled crash," says one of the former Top Gun instructors whom I interviewed. The military's top盛 pilots from the Navy's Top Gun F-14 training program on fire control, operating procedures Standardization," he added. "Any time you see a Top Gun pilot in the air, you know he's been trained to land any F-14, even in emergency conditions.

Karen Holguin would have been familiar with all this. She was one of the few women pilots on the flight deck, helping to land a ship with one engine; she would have maneuvered a quarter of ships in missile emergency situations. She had flown the EA-6B for years, logging what the Navy called "considerable flying time.

But in landing the F-14, a plane that is far trickier to land, "The F-14 is the most difficult aircraft to land around," she told the Navy Times. "The line to land is very difficult.

It was the challenge they made it out to be. She made that statement just days before crashing as she attempted that very maneuver. At the same time, she also told this reporter she had a "particular" on her landing and was "funny," and that was why she and Caretta Lamont, the other female combat pilot, had asked the Navy to keep the men away during their training.

At which I asked, "Why do you put up with this mess?" became a case of the Tailhook scandal of September 231 in Las Vegas. That event had a brush with a witch hunt and gave anti-military types in Congress such as Pat Schroeder a powerful weapon to attack the Navy's controversial flying program on the armed forces. "There was social engineering well before Tailhook," says one of the Top Gun trainers. "That's just the way it is."

Karen Holguin's death in the F-14 crash that is now being investigated by the Naval Air RAG. The KAG commander, interestingly enough, was Tom Sobick, who had caught considerable fire over Tailhook even though, as with many other officers, it was far from clear whether he had actually done anything wrong. But officers under Sobick's command say that he felt he was "under the gun" and that pain in quite obvious.

The man was capable of putting pressure on his junior officers," says one of F-14 veterans who spoke to me.

Karen Holguin, the Naval Times reported, was said to have expressed concerns about the "hardship of putting pressure on his junior officers," says one of F-14 veterans who spoke to me.

Karen Holguin, the Naval Times reported, was said to have expressed concerns about the "hardship of putting pressure on his junior officers," says one of F-14 veterans who spoke to me.

The Miramar Top Gun trainers and Service Officer who gave background for this article boasts an impressive list of qualifications: he was a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley; a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley; an engineer in the Navy; a veteran of Operation Desert Storm; and a graduate of the Naval Academy. In fact, he's a graduate of the Naval Academy.

But you can't help wondering if his statement, "the very careful and only step one of the airplanes."

Despite charges that these critical of the Navy's flying on the accident was anti-woman, most of the naval flyers who spoke to me agreed that Holguin and felt that her death was a loss to the service.

Karen Holguin, who aspired to be an astronaut, held a master's degree in aerospace engineering from the University of Texas. As the Navy Times observed, "Holguin had been one of a group of female pilots' Humphries and active in pushing the Navy and Congress toward development of the Navy's first female fighter pilots. Her resignation was lifted she was said "it was said of like women being able to vote for the first time. It was historic. I felt proud to be part of it."" The Navy Times noted. "Holguin had a master's degree in aerospace engineering."

The analogy was a stretch. Anybody can vote, but not anybody can land on a heating deck of an aircraft carrier in a space of several hundred feet. That's what some of the Navy, all over the world day and night, 24 hours a day, pilots who can't put the aircraft down on the boat, however smooth his or her landing on dry land, is out of his or her league now. It's dangerous business, especially as the Navy warplanes' fatalities during Desert Storm indicate.

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The analogy was a stretch. Anybody can vote, but not anybody can land on a heating deck of an aircraft carrier in a space of several hundred feet. That's what some of the Navy, all over the world day and night, 24 hours a day, pilots who can't put the aircraft down on the boat, however smooth his or her landing on dry land, is out of his or her league now. It's dangerous business, especially as the Navy warplanes' fatalities during Desert Storm indicate.
in Halgreen's suit, flew to San Antonio to brief Spears on the results of the investigation and to present her with a complete copy of the 6-inch thick official report and the Navy video of the accident.

It might be noted that when the Navy released its first report on the Tailhook scandal virtually nobody believed it. The document only confirmed press suspicions that there was more to the story than the Navy was letting on. But the Halgreen report, since it had a politically correct message, elicited the opposite response. When some reporters asked for the full report, the Navy told them they would have to file a Freedom of Information Act request. Yet what was released for public consumption is enough to raise doubts, if reporters had taken the time to study it.

The report blames the crash on a mid-compression bypass valve, but it also states that "No indications of pre-impact failure were found in the Flight Control Systems, the Air Inlet Control System, Hydraulic Power Systems, Electrical Power Systems, Fuel Supply Feed System or Cockpit Throttle Command."

The report concedes that Halgreen was "relatively inexperienced in the F-14." She had logged 217 hours in the aircraft, compared to 460 hours for her radar officer, Matthew Klentish. (Klentish did not appear at the North Island press conference, and word around Miramar is that the Navy is keeping him from reporting.) "There existed a very small window of opportunity through which to recognize a deteriorating situation and to make critical Flight Control inputs," says the report. "If these critical Flight Control inputs are not performed quickly and correctly, then the aircraft will be placed in an extremis. In this accident, the window of opportunity for a successful recovery was missed."

Finally, inexperience precluded the crew from recognizing the point at which recovery was impossible and ejec- tion the only alternative." (Note the report's passive voice construction in this passage: "the window of opportunity was missed.")

Furter, there was "a delay in recognition of the extremis condition, either due to preoccupation with correcting the overloading start, or the timing of the stall warning system." In addition, "the Landing Serv- ice Officer call for walk-off was extremely timely, but subsequent pilot technique permitted Angle of Attack to increase to a point where rudder effectiveness began to reduce roll and departure from controlled flight was imminent."

The report further says that in Halgreen's trend analysis, "her inadvisability was to make large power additions on the start due to a lineup or perceived glideslope deviation which caused her to go high in the middle to go in close and make adequate corrections on the ramp to catch middle wire." So the had apparen- tly made similar lineup errors before—and the Navy knew it. (The San Diego Union-Tribune, citing Navy sources, said in early April that the Navy had rigged the tests.)

And if, as the report said, the exact cause of the accident will never be known, then attempts by the Navy to duplicate the situation in flight simulators can never more than speculative. Further, in mid-March Newsweek magazine picked up leaks of the Navy's Mis- hap Investigation Report (MIR). This report, written to exacting standards and for Navy consumption only, is sharply critical of Lt. Halgreen and even notes that the faulty bypass valve doesn't fully explain the one or more left-engine stalls Halgreen's plane suffered.

Both pilots contacted by Newsweek, and many other Navy personnel, say the Navy can salvage something from this tragic accident by using it as an opportunity to review its policy on women in combat. But that does not seem to be what they have in mind. At the February 28 press conference, a reporter asked Admiral Yockey if this accident would cause the Navy to make any change in the policy of training female pilots. "Absolutely not," Yockey responded. And in a March 19 interview with the San Diego Union-Tribune, secretary of the Navy John Dalton said he was pleased with cur- rent gender policies and argued that all but a few dis- tinguished women in the Navy were too..."But some point the finger elsewhere. "The fault is not with women," writes Lt. Ellen Hambert, "but with Navy leaders who allow subordinates to continue doing jobs for which they are not qualified. The true fault lies with senior officers who refuse, for whatever rea- sons, to offer honest feedback and criticism and to en- courage personal and professional development. They are perpetuating a terrible disservice to the poorer performers, who are allowed to continue in an atmosphere where they cannot compete safely. At the same time, they also are cheating most of the outstanding personnel—both men and women—who crave and deserve a challenge to per- form to their utmost capacity, operating in an atmosphere of excellence." The overall record cost suggests that it is not conser- vative critics such as Linda Chavez—who was, after all, right about the Navy investigation—who need to apolog- ize. Rather, it is the liberal Schroeders, Boxers, and Goodmans who promoted the double standards that excellently took a young woman's life and have made today's Navy a perilous place indeed. They might pay heed to another prophecy of the anonymous Navy officer who wrote the San Diego radio station two days after the accident, "This death of Lt. Halgreen was tragic, absolutely could have been avoided, and is waiting to happen again."

They might even say situation to the testimony of Lt. Kura Halgreen herself. "Oays like you have to make sure there's only one standard," Halgreen told Rear Ad- miral Robert Hickey last year. "If people let me chance through on a lower standard, it's my life on the line. I could get killed."

K.L. Billingsley writes regularly for Hetero- doxy.
Texas, continued from page 14.

Actually, the Texas legislature originally intended that TWU (founded in 1901 as the girls’ industrial College) be exclusively for “the white girls of the State of Texas.” In 1937 the name of the university was changed to Texas Woman’s University and reference to race was omitted. TWU is the largest “women’s” university in the nation, with more women currently representing about 8 percent of the total population of almost 10,000 students. Formerly all-black A&T went coed in 1953 and is now half female. Although men have been on campus for more than two decades, the official mission of the state-supported university is still to “provide...education...in a learning environment that empowers and affirms the full development of women.”

When the Board of Regents changed its admissions policy to allow men into all degree programs, it went out of its way to affirm TWU’s gendered reason for being, suggesting that it was embracing the change so that it could be “controlled” instead of rammed down the university’s throat. But this did not please the crowd that objected to the new policy. The students who packed the regents’ meeting delivered a petition reportedly containing the signatures of 580 students dedicated to keeping the status quo. The local chapter of NOW organized the petition drive.

Kimberly Hampton, president-elect of the Student Government Association, said, “Texas Woman’s University does not exist for the exclusion of men but for the inclusion of women.”

That evening, after the regents’ open meeting, leaders from various student organizations (including the local chapter of NOW, the NAACP, the gay and lesbian organizations, and the Hispanic student group) met at the house of Dawn Tawwater-King, president of NOW’s local chapter. They plotted strategy, formed the “TWU Resistance Society,” and passed around a hat for donations. Tawwater-King, a self-styled social activist, was formerly coordinator of the Dallas Peace Center, which organized protests against the Persian Gulf War.

The TWU resistance implemented their strategy within 24 hours. Saturday morning 100 students staged a rally against the regents and began looting the press. (One student, a Miss Amelia Brown, added a sequel, “We’re not finished yet, we’ve being told in no uncertain terms that TWU is a black university and that TWU is not for white people."

By the following Monday morning, TWU students were already comparing their experiences with those of students at nearby Southern Illinois University. Students there had also staged a protest against the proposed admissions ban, whichのあるにはそれができない場合

But in the last few days, the TWU students have begun to feel threatened. They have been warned that if the proposed ban goes into effect they may lose their housing and other benefits. The students have also been told that if they continue to protest they will be expelled.

The TWU students say they feel betrayed by the university administration. They charge that the university administration has ignored their concerns and that the university has not listened to their voices. They say that the university has failed to address the issues that are important to them and that the university has not provided them with the resources they need to succeed.

The TWU students say that they are not interested in a compromise. They say that they will continue to resist the proposed ban and that they will continue to fight for their rights.

The TWU students say that they are not alone in their struggle. They say that they have the support of their families, their friends, and their community. They say that they are not willing to give up their fight until they have won.

The TWU students say that they are not afraid of the university’s threats. They say that they are prepared to fight for their rights. They say that they will not be silenced.

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Karen Curtis Rule is a writer living in Texas.
George Orwell’s Secret

By Stephen Schwartz

More than a decade has passed since 1984, the final year in George Orwell’s famous novel. Yet his reputation remains strong, and his ideas are more relevant than ever.

In 1984, Orwell wrote of a totalitarian society where the government controlled every aspect of life, from thought to speech. His vision of a surveillance state where citizens were monitored and their every action was recorded.

Today, we live in a world where technology has advanced, making Orwell’s fears seem even more plausible. The Internet, social media, and other forms of communication have made it easier for governments to spy on their citizens.

Orwell was a pioneer in warning about the dangers of modern technology. His warnings about the surveillance state have become more relevant than ever, as governments around the world use technology to monitor their populations.

In this essay, we will explore some of Orwell’s key ideas and how they continue to shape our world today. We will also look at the legacy of his work and how it continues to influence writing and thought.

George Orwell’s Secret

By Stephen Schwartz

"It was not guilty of any definite act, but I was guilty of 'thoughtcrime'. The fact that I had served in the P.O.U.M. militia was quite enough to get me into prison."

In reality, in light of the cited document, this comment seems to be both an exaggeration and an understatement. P.O.U.M. militia service was not enough to result in his imprisonment. The P.O.U.M. and its militia included tens of thousands of people who served on the battlefield, in local administrations, and on the borders of the rebel state until the war ended. Even the Stalins were not reckoned enough to directly confront such a force, and some of the anti-Stalinists were persecuted in Spain for such associations alone.

Furthermore, as a recent study on deepfakes and their impact on democracy shows, the influence of modern technology on political discourse is increasingly significant. The ease with which false narratives can be spread and manipulated has created a new breed of media literacy challenges.

A recent study on deepfakes and their impact on democracy shows that the technology has the potential to shape public opinion on political issues. The study found that deepfakes can be used to manipulate public sentiment and sway elections. The impact of deepfakes on young people, in particular, is particularly concerning. The study found that young people are more likely to be swayed by deepfakes and are less likely to fact-check the information they encounter.

In conclusion, George Orwell’s vision of a surveillance state remains relevant today. As technology advances, it is crucial that we consider the implications of our actions and ensure that we protect our freedoms and ideals. Orwell’s work serves as a reminder of the dangers of unchecked power and the importance of a free press.

The legacy of George Orwell continues to inspire writers, thinkers, and activists around the world. His warnings about the power of the state and the importance of独立思考 remain as relevant today as they were when he wrote them.
Deadly Illusions" by John Costello and Cleg Tugso and Special Tasks by Pavel and Antist Mr. Sudoplatov.

These accounts, based on direct access to the survivors and archives of the NKVD/KGB operations, offer the most substantial revelations yet to emerge from the ruthless Moscow Files. They show that in autumn 1939, shortly before the Spanish Civil War began, Stalin decided to furnish "aid" to the embattled republic's government. But food and weapons were sent in the company of a horde of "volunteers"—military instructors and national volunteers in public, but police agents, torturers, and killers in private.

This decision coincided with two others. Stalin had appointed a new secret police head, Nikolai Yezhov, who began organizing the first great public show trial of Bolshheviks, headed by two comrades-in-arms of Leon Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev. The execution of the 15 defendants in that trial stunned the world. At the same time, Stalin and Yezhov also formulated an extensive agenda of terror attacks in the West. Yezhov (soon replaced in the extermination purge by Beria) assigned the operational control of the Western agent to an agent famous in his own right, M.I. Shpilgrieg (who would later be replaced by Sudoplatov).

The main target in the Western incursion was Trotsky: in 1918, he was exiled to France, and he soon moved to Norway, then to Mexico, where in 1940 the Beria-Stalin secret team succeeded in killing him. There were also secondary, but important, targets on the Western death list. Among them were Trotsky's son Lev Sedov, who died under mysterious circumstances in Paris, probably as a result of poison, in 1938, the writer and politician Andrei Nenin and his friend and collaborator, the Austrian journalist, both kidnapped and killed in Berlina in 1937; a Ukrainian nationalist leader named Erhan Kosarach, blown up by a bomb in 1938 (in an act for which Sudoplatov took personal responsibility in his memoirs).

Other victims who wandered or were pulled into the path of this gang of killers included a Republican Spain, with fatal results, included an Italian anarchist, Camillo Berti; two Trotskyists, the Czech Erwin Wolf and the Pole Hans Found, and Mark Reis, the journalist son of an exiled Russian Menthovsk. In addition, the highest ranking Soviet secret agent ever to defect to the West, Ignacy Porecki-Reiss, was killed in Switzerland, while Kofofa Zanet's, a minor Trotskyist figure, and a Russian anti-Communist exile leader, General G.K. Miller, disappeared in Paris and were almost certainly murdered. The role of Beria and Sudoplatov and their executioners in several other deaths, all in the Western Hemisphere, remains to be elucidated: those of the German revolutionary and Marx biographer Olof Halu, the Italian-American photographer Tino Modotti (former lover of Edward Weston), the American Communist Jastin Stuntkof and the Italian-American labor leader Carlo Tresca.

In 1941 fell into the category of those who came under the gaze of the beast but, like Victor Serge, and a handful of others, who were able to evade its claws for one reason or another.

The extraordinary expenditure of energy and resources to liquidate such relatively obscure and mainly inept critics of Stalin demonstrates the extent of Kremlin paranoia. The elaborate preparations involved in the Western incursion included, in the Trotsky case, operations in Paris, New York, California, and Mexico. Similar intrigues included the murder of Andrei Nenin, as shown by a 1952 television documentary, Operation Nikita, produced by the Catalan television network TV3. Journalists from TV3 went to Moscow and obtained materials on the killing of Nenin from the files of the long-defunct Communist International as well as from the Russian Federal Counterintelligence Service or FSB, successor to the KGB. Indeed, the disclosures on Nenin were the sole revelation of substance yet permitted by the FSB about such operations. The TV3 team sought information on the deaths in Barcelona of Landau, Wolf, and Freund and on Nenin were shown files cover up no more.

The Catalan-language documentary, which has been shown to great applause in France and Germany and has been issued with English subtitles, is a greatly disturbing portrait of the Russian terror in Spain. Orwell is shown as a FOMA militia volunteer, but most of the film outlines the chilling measures taken to capture and kill Nenin, based on the operational reports submitted from the scene by Russian agents.

Nin, who had gone to Russia soon after the Bolshevik Revolution and returned to Spain in 1930 as a Trotskyist, with his Russian wife and two Russian-speaking daughters, excited an almost Dostoevskian mania on the part of the Soviet agents in Spain. The operation against him was handled at the highest level by top secret police and intelligence officers of Russian and Hungarian origin, assisted by a Brazilian mercenary gangman and by a team of Spanish police. They arrested Nin, interrogated and tortured him, and, after a few days, when he became clear he would not admit to false charges, brutally murdered him.

This conspiracy in the FOMA always insisted that Stalin sought, above all, a "Moscow trial" outside Russia, which would legitimize the horror of the purges and the grotesque campaign in which Trotsky and other Old Bolsheviks were whoever at Stalin's behest.

Much of what we today call political correctness originated with leftist support for these trials and lies that, to paraphrase the French surrealist and anti-Stalinist writer Andre Breton, opened a wound in Western intellectual life that has yet to be healed. While it would be an exaggeration to suggest that a slight reference to "Concuers with Moscow" in Orwell's Darnolian file meant he might have been accused to Russia as a defendant in such a trial, it is quite possible he was marked for inclusion in a similar proceeding on Spanish soil.

In the Russian trials, as described by Arthur Koestler in Darkness at Noon, the accused were compelled to plead guilty to false charges. But Nin's steadfast refusal to do so prevented a similar show trial in Spain. Although the remaining FOMA leaders were tried, they were not forced to confess and were not executed. While Nin perished in gaunt fashion, he doubtless saved the lives of his FOMA comrades and thousands of other anti-Stalinist anarchists and socialists. The courage and resourcefulness of those Spanish dissidents may also, in turn, have saved George Orwell.
Remembrance of Things Past: Making Monsters: False Memories, Psychotherapy, and Sexual Hysteria, by Richard Ofshe and Ethan Watters, Scribner, 322 pages; $23.95

The Myth of Repressed Memory: False Memories and Allegations of Sexual Abuse, by Dr. Elizabeth Loftus and Katherine Ketcham, St. Martin’s Press; 336 pages; $22.95

Reviewed by George Paul Cinercy

The recent PBS documentary, Divided Memories, raised the issue at the heart of these two books: recovered memory therapy—the greatest breakthrough in the history of psychotherapy or is it an example of politically motivated pseudo-science?

In Making Monsters: False Memories, Psychotherapy, and Sexual Hysteria, Richard Ofshe and Ethan Watters systematically dissect the recovered memory movement’s ideas and practices in an all-out attack that will make the most ardent believer wince. The book is a fiery indictment of recovered memory therapy as the most destructive movement in the history of psychotherapy.

A core belief of the recovered memory movement, the authors point out, is that sexual abuse is psychologically more damaging “than physical abuse, or the effects of poverty, or the death of a parent, or even surviving experiences like the Holocaust.” Sexual abuse is so horrible that a child’s consciousness can only cope with it by repressing it—or as Ofshe and Watters were told by Elizer Bass, co-author with Laura Davis of the recovery movement’s Bible, The Courage to Heal, which has sold three quarters of a million copies. Years later adults can recover these long-buried memories of childhood abuse. With the therapist’s assistance, the patient can experience the physical symptoms of having been violated all over again, “with all the appropriate emotion, fear, and psychological pain that would be appropriate to the actual event.”

How exactly this return to an unencumbered traumatic experience helps people is a question recovered memory therapists have not addressed. Dr. James Gilmore of the University of California at Berkeley stated in a letter to Richard Ofshe that it is “as if children are being subjected to a form of torture.”

Watters supply sufficient evidence to indicate that such practices are harmful. This is especially true if the recovered memories are of events that never happened. Often memories of abuse are coerced with manipulations of suggestibility such as hypnosis, mind-reading techniques, and using techniques such as “sweat or watching Oprah, Sassy, Gerard or Donahue, one could easily conclude that most American adults spend their free waking hours concocting new ways to make children believe that unacceptable acts happened to them. It would be difficult to provide support for any army of sexual abuse survivors. Big guns like recovery guru John Bradshaw and feminist opinion-makers Cheri Stiiemer and Ascent Dowdick have endorsed recovered memory therapy. Celebrities like Roseanne Barr and Suzanne Somers have touted their own abuse experiences as if they were true. In the media, questions are asked about how recovered memories and the “recovery” movement can help other women who have been, or may be, victims of abuse.

In recovered memory therapy the healing process requires confronting the perpetrators—or “perps,” as they are known in abuse industry jargon—with their crimes. With the help of hypnosis, a continuous stream of verbal and nonverbal cues is provided to the abuse survivor to suggest that the abuse actually did take place. This can cause a false memory to stay in a person’s mind. Some of the problems that accompany this type of therapy are that it is often not the best way to help a person who is recovering from an abusive situation. Another problem is that it can be very difficult to stop the process once it has begun.

The Myth of Repressed Memory presents riveting analyses of the Franklin trial, highlighting the inadmissible evidence George Franklin had against him. Franklin was convicted of murdering a young girl and sentenced to life in prison. The only evidence: Eileen’s suddenly recovered memories in mid-life of having witnessed the murder 25 years earlier. Loftus’ expert testimony and arguments that memories are not always reliable causes countered by the prosecution’s own expert, Lenore Terry, a passionate believer in the validity of repressed memories. Their scenario—that Elizabeth Franklin-Litaker’s recovered memories were not credible because she had a psychiatric diagnosis—was then the day, Franklin was convicted and is serving a life sentence, and Eileen Franklin-Litaker’s testimony has been upheld. The Franklin trial remains a high profile case of the week.

Both Making Monsters and The Myth of Repressed Memory present riveting analyses of the Franklin trial, highlighting the inadmissible evidence George Franklin had against him. Franklin was convicted of murdering a young girl and sentenced to life in prison. The only evidence: Eileen’s suddenly recovered memories in mid-life of having witnessed the murder 25 years earlier. Loftus’ expert testimony and arguments that memories are not always reliable causes countered by the prosecution’s own expert, Lenore Terry, a passionate believer in the validity of repressed memories. Their scenario—that Elizabeth Franklin-Litaker’s recovered memories were not credible because she had a psychiatric diagnosis—was then the day, Franklin was convicted and is serving a life sentence, and Eileen Franklin-Litaker’s testimony has been upheld. The Franklin trial remains a high profile case of the week.

This writer was present at a May 1993 American Psychiatric Association panel on Adult Memories of Childhood Trauma, when Loftus was attacked in exactly this vein by Judith Herman of Harvard. Herman is the author of a book, Trauma and Recovery, that claims the denial of abuse and the focusing of mental energies on other areas of life can lead to a denial of the effects of childhood trauma. Herman argued that the credibility of the story told by the author is her subjective experience of the world. When she finalizes the book, Loftus encourages several episodes of being the target of repressed memory advocates. On one occasion she sits next to a recovered memory therapist on a flight. When the woman discovers her identity, she ends up telling the entire plane the story of her own abuse. Loftus also has received repeated threats, and was self-exposed all the violence done by advocates of recovered memory is more painful and long-lasting.

George Paul Cinercy is an independent filmmaker and writer currently producing a documentary about a repressed memory case in Pennsylvania.
Activists Close Airport, Protest Slaying of Gulls
By Judith Schumann Weizner

Hundreds of members of an organization calling itself Birds of a Feather shut down New York Municipal Airport yesterday to dramatize their demand for an end to what they term "a reign of terror" against the gulls that live in the marshes by the airport. Laurie Snow, president of the group, says the blockade will continue as long as it takes to get the Port Authority, which operates the airport, to cease its campaign to rid the airport of gulls.

Thousands of gulls live in the marshes near the runways and have become anathema to air traffic because they can be sucked into the planes' engines during takeoff. Stopgap maneuvers to kill large numbers of gulls before dawn Friday were prevented from doing so when BOA members insisted on the runways, forcing the officer to hold his fire and deserting the gulls, which foiled the runway security in the ensuing chaos.

While airport police made scores of arrests, the activists quickly packed their bags. Most took over the runway for the maintenance crew could finish cleaning the tarmac.

The gulls have long been an annoyance to airport personnel, but within the last year they have become a serious problem, having been implicated in at least two, perhaps three, crashes and numerous abortive takeoffs.

Following the first failed takeoff caused by gulls having been sucked into the engine intakes the Port Authority ordered a massive gull hunt, but that of a feather got a temporary injunction from Judge Harvey Vogelstein to prevent the stragglers. While awaiting a permanent decision, the Port Authority was permitted to place scarecrows along the runways at intervals, but the gulls became accustomed to the scarecrows and began pecking at them instead, using the materials for nest-building.

While the Port Authority and Birds of a Feather were wrangling in court, Pan Am flight 4123 crashed on takeoff, killing 60 people. Relatives of the victims then filed a class-action suit charging the Port Authority with negligence in allowing the presence of a known hazard on the runways. The PA settled out of court for $300 million.

Meanwhile, Judge Vogelstein extended the injunction forbidding the towing of gulls pending the outcome of an environmental impact study.

The study was hardly underway when a cargo plane loaded with down pillows lost power on takeoff, failed to clear the end of the runway, and crashed into the marsh. The smoke from the resulting grease-alarm fire closed the airport for 18 hours. Interviewed in his hospital bed, the gull said it almost seemed to him that the gulls had thrown themselves at the engine, rather than being sucked in.

Asked to comment on the pilot's observations, Ms. Snow said she was not surprised, and quoted a memorandum by Dr. Ron Stirling that appeared in local support of the possibility that the gulls could have been responsible for the plane's crash.

The Port Authority then postponed the court action permission to rig canopies with black charges set to go off at random intervals during the day and night in an attempt to entice the birds into finding another home. Permission was granted. However, residence of the surrounding area, whose services have been frustrated for years by the noise of low-flying jets, sought an injunction against the canopies. Before arguments could be heard, the pilot of an Air East commuter flight suffered a heart attack when one of the canopies fired a double salvos as he was taking off and his takeoff had to be aborted.

The canopies were removed and speakers were set up to blast rock music during flight hours. This discouraged the gulls, but allowed large crowds of young people who refused to leave the area even after police explained to them that constant exposure to jet engines could cause significant hearing loss. When two teenage siblings were brushed by a commuter plane as it landed, their parents sued, charging that the airport had become a hangout where the Port Authority was guilty of maintaining an attractive nuisance. Since the teens had suffered only a few broken bones, the Port Authority got off with a $12 million settlement.

The speakers were removed, and the gulls returned with high-powered rifles equipped with laser scopes and slammers.

Yet despite stringent anti-miss voltage, the press learned of the shootings, and following an article in The New York Times, hundreds of members of Birds of a Feather descended on the airport, running into the line of fire, seizing the gardens, and bringing air traffic to a standstill. Judge Vogelstein immediately charged the Port Authority with contempt for destroying the injunction and sentenced its chairman to 30 days in jail.

In an interview on the same day, the investigators of squawking gulls killed about their feet, Ms. Snow told reporters that the BOA's claims to initiate a special action on behalf of the gulls to enforce their right to the peaceful enjoyment of their habitat. Since, in order to bring a class action the party named in the suit must be a member of the class in whose behalf the suit is brought, Ms. Snow is taking steps to change her legal status to the marsh on the north shore of the airport.

The suit, which will challenge use of public territory, is expected to take years to resolve and will probably go all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States. Ms. Snow said she would be willing to drop the suit if the Port Authority agrees to move the airport to another location.

Judith Schumann Weizner's last article was in the February issue.