

Transcription of Marilyn Young interview  
Transcriber: Jamerly de la Cruz  
File number:

Dennis Muëller: For Sound purposes, say your name

Marilyn: Yeah, I'm Marilyn Young and I teach at History at New York University. The level okay?

Dennis: level Okay. When did you first meet Howard?

Marilyn: I met Howard in 1958 or 59. When I went to an American Historical Association meeting either in Boston or New York. That I don't remember. And my college teacher, Carol Digler said umm You know, when you get to Boston, be sure and look up Howard Zinn. He was a student of mine. [00:00:46.05] They were the same age, or just about. Carol may have been a little bit older, but Howy was umm a returning student like a lot of people in the GI were. The first round of returning student before [00:00:59.12] women started to return. And uh he had studied at Columbia and Carol was teaching there then. And so Carol said look him up. So, I would never forget being in some anonymous hotel and looking around for him and finding him, introducing myself as a student of this guy Carol Degler. [00:01:23.08] And while he was standing there and Ros was there looking the way she always looks, just beautiful. Uh there seemed to be a constant stream of people, coming up to Howy and talking with him. This tall sort of lincolnesk figure uh surrounded by all sorts of different people whom he had been either because he taught them or because he's been in a demonstration with them like that. I guess it must have been, it was 59 [00:01:58.28]. Umm so that's when we first met, Howy, Roz, their kids were living. They had a year off leave from Spellman and Howy was taking courses in Chinese History umm at Harvard and I was a graduate student and I wasn't yet married but umm but the guy I would marry and I were fellow students and we spent a fair amount of time with Howy and Roz.

Dennis: I guess the beginnings; can we talk about the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement?

Marilyn: Then uh, Ernie and I went to Tokyo because he was looking for Roshoure, the ambassador to Japan at the time. [00:02:50.04] Howy was then in the absolute thick of their early civil rights movement and I, he wrote wonderful letters, he and Roz both did to us in uh Tokyo. So, we followed the course of the civil rights movement as it developed from Howy perspective and his participation [00:03:12.12]. And I believe he sent us a tape of a meeting um at which Bernie's Ragon, as then, and sometimes I feel like a motherless child and I am sure of it. We got it in Tokyo because they would send tapes on occasion. We got back from, we were in Tokyo '61 to '63. We got back to Boston and um became involved what was then called the Northern Friends of SNCC. And actually earlier than that, before we left to Japan, we've been involved in something called Emergency Public Integration Committee, which did a lot of Whoolwith (?) Boycotts and it was called epic because there was the guy who helped organize it in Cambridge had a, Epis was what he wanted to, a Jewish expression, Epis, umm what then, Epis? so he called it epic [00:04:18.27] and it was a lovely combination. And so we did a lot of that. I can't

remember if it was before or after the Emergency Public Integration Committee, I can't remember, it was before or after I went to Tokyo, I absolutely can't remember the dates. As a historian that's embarrassing to admit, but it was either '61 or it was '63, before or after the Tokyo Trip.

Dennis: What would he say in the letters about the civil war?

Marilyn: Question?

Dennis: What were the kind of things he would say about the Civil Rights Movement in that time in the letters?

Marilyn: The letters were full of [00:04:58.01] an intense excitement and pleasure, pleasure in the students response, his students response, the sense of community in Atlanta, um where he was teaching. The responsiveness of the people he knew, of the faculty, his friends on the faculty at Spellman, the people in the community. A kind of vividness to life um that was very marvelous to hear about. Um and also a sense of, with Howy always muted and uh muted by being able to laugh and to and to make fun of the danger. So although it was clear that there was this enormous tension and the possibility always of violence, what he conveyed was uh, I don't know, I don't want to inflate the language but a way of laughing that transformed danger um. There's a quote from Gates, Gaiety transforming all that dread and how he could do that. So that by telling a joke at just the right moment to break the tension [00:06:28.01]. You just feel better, basically.

Dennis: His sense of humor is like amazing. I find one of the funniest people...

Marilyn: Well that's one of the great pleasures[00:06:40.16] is laughing with Howy. It's not um, the quality of it, there are a lot of people who tell jokes, tell amazing stories, but their very reluctant to laugh at other peoples jokes or their stories. And what happens with Howy is a kind of mutuality of uh humorous exchange, so that his sense of humor, which is a lovely expression, a sense of humor, and he really does have it, It's a sense for, that which is Ludacris, funny, absurd, bizarre, in the human condition itself, and laugh with you and your observation of the absurdness and the bizarre nature of the world.

Dennis: I think as an example, when he's lecturing sometimes he'll talk about, "and then I umm worked in the ship yards as a child" and then he'll say as a side to that I say that like I was doing a sociological experiment. But that ability to laugh at himself.

Marilyn: Yes, which is [00:07:52.10] crucial. And that to me is the definition of a good sense of humor that can turn it on yourself and if you can't do that then you're not really very funny.

Dennis: And then you became close during the anti-war years didn't you?..

Marilyn: Yeah, but I think [00:08:05.04] its important both historically and in terms of our personal history. That it began, for one thing it began in history with its connection through this professor. I having studied with him when I was a kid, Howy studied with him as an adult, returning veteran from WWII. So it started there in an expectation that we would like each other

because we were both knew this guy, and this teacher and respected him. [00:08:33.11]. And a very quickly established feeling that way in which we thought about history and what was important in the world, was the same or similarly, not identical but in the same arena. Then it started in Civil rights, and the, I think, I mean everyone who really thinks about it or studied it knows [00:08:58.18] but the anti-war movement, the link between the anti war movement and the civil rights, I think were the fundamental. And a fundamental in a variety of ways. One is personnel, a total carry over from people who went South from Freedom summer in '64 who have been engaged earlier in support activity for SNCC or in voter registration, or whatever, that many of these people move into when the occasion arises. There is no antiwar movement before war, but they are the connections are very clear. So its personal, its also a matter of what the issues were. The civil rights really did, in my mind a two stage way, was initially it was a response to the movement in the South and its located in the south and there's this feeling of shamefulness of this whole region of the country. I growing up in Brooklyn, the south to me was a place more foreign than anything abroad and more scary[00:10:10.17]. My sense of the south was a place where they hurt blacks and jews, thats what they did. I didnt know what else they did, that seemed to be mainly what they did. And so I was terrfired of the south, I think a little bit still am. So its a southern issue, it was a southern issue that raised to conciousness [00:10:28.14] historical fact which somehow we all learned but didnt absorb, that this was a country, that the United States was a slave country for a very long part of its history. [00:10:43.09] And it was a slave country longer than any other civilized western country and the nature of its slaver holding institutions was more brutal in many ways in slave holding else where. Okay so all of that is revealed but its located in the South. What happens and its beginning kind of unraveling grand narrative of American progressive history. The next thing that happens is that you begin to realize, it is not a southern problem, its a national problem. What makes that an issue rather opportunistic, although accurate way saying its absolutely right that people from the north travel south [00:11:31.02] to work on Civil rights. Its a national problem, its not just a southern problem. Within a relatively short time, it becomes clear that it really is a national problem. And that raises in the north, though differently organized in the institution in a different way some not so different, it is a national problem, quite literally and that narrative see now there is no good place. There is no place outside of the practice of racism. Howy, see I, problem is in term of chronology i can't remember if he was there at the time, but I got, Ernie and I got very involved in the CORE, when we were in Boston, Cambridge. You know in testing out Housing, discrimination, and all those things, umm, and I think, Howy and roz were there then. He would remember the dates better than I and if he has his FBI reports they know everything. it is absolutely the first chronical of one's day [00:12:35.02] so the connection was in the person, in history, and in the civil rights movement. And it as although I believe I would have gotten involved anyhow, was very much in conjunction with knowing Howy and Roz that we became heavily involved in activities that were going on in the Cambridge Boston area.

I remember we organized a huge benefit for SNCC that in the Boston Hockey arena that Howy (inaudible) That was our biggest financial triumph. Anyway from that, Beny and I were in Tokyo from '61 to '63 and from there we had a sense of the developing war in Vietnam. The Kennedy administration war [00:13:27.08] in Vietnam . And we wrote to Howy about that and he wrote to us about what was happening domestically at home '61 to '63. We got back in '63 and when did howy uh get kicked out of Spellman?

Dennis: At that time. The abolitionist in '64 I think he started right after he had left.

Marilyn: So then we are all in in the Boston area and early anti war, I cant remember. I know that we didnt go to washington in that very first march, but certainly the war was really present in our mind and there was a lot of talk about it. [00:14:16.11] And uh a real sense that this was going to be, that there was no sign of Kenedy disengagement and everything we read indicated a deeper and deeper involvement that was to us already clear was uh a counter revolutionary. I dont even want to say that. what was support for a repressive, a vicious tolittarian, repressive government but in the US ins sygon (idk) the kennedy administration was continuing to support at many high levels of support and money. [00:15:06.15] So there was very very strong feeling against the war, really quite early on and I think that alot of the anti war movement from the Johnson dispatching troops are just totally wrong headed, inaccurate. The link was made both conceptually and the in terms of just with people involved between the civil rights movement and the war in Vietnam in so far as both the discrimination and racism and against minorities in the united states and the repression of popular democratic movements in the united states were linked to similar efforts [00:15:53.13] abroad. So at that broad level, political level, those were linked. And then the Vietnam war as it unfolded increasingly unraveled the meta narrative of American history making it harder and harder, almost impossible really, to teach to write within its framework. And howy and uh, we were, we stayed in the Boston area until '64 or '5 and then went to Dartmith and came in very regularly to Boston and kept in touch with the Zinn's. Then moved to Michigan but never really lost touch. There was a constant, at that time people wrote letters [00:16:43.02] so a lot through um writing to each other and then some phone calls and then of course meeting at demonstrations and organizing sessions.

Dennis: It's a really unraveling in the study of history. At the time of history, what ... when I read old things of the new historians. Is that what you are talking about as the unraveling of the master narrative?

Marilyn: Yeah, sure and I think its starts really in '59. The way a whole world of developments in the 60's are basically developments of the late 50's. And the decade of the 60's i think start at '58 ot '59. Theres an early book by a guy named Flaming (idk) about the Cold War called, "Origins of the Cold War" [00:17:28.11] which says, you know this really isn't about an innocent democratic defense of America in a wicked monolithic, expanding, totalitarian, soviet empire. That's not the way it happened. Startling Linn very early writes an article that's publishing decent, and there are early reconsideration of the way in which WWII ended. Was it necessary to use nuclear to end that war? And piece after piece this sort of civic account of American history, founded in great declaration of human rights and human freedom, with an unfortunate of slavery corrected however by devastating civil war fought for the emancipation of slaves, moving on quickly to Wilson 14 points never enacted but still, and then to the glories of American history of WWII and then the defense of the free world against communism. That story could not be told anymore; the question is well what could be told [00:18:52.01]. What was the a more accurate a fuller account of American History. How would you tell the history of this country so that it did two things. It both encompass in some realistic way, what the expansion of the country accross the continent and then over seas in an overseas empire, what American capitalist expansion meant, it would do that. But it would also, present that story as all the time in conflict and contention with movements and organizations that try to slow the (unsure of word) to transform

it, reform it, over throw it on occasion, umm in other words with the, the way in which one increasingly wishes to teach and learn history was embodied [00:19:58.19] when Motawry wrote peopled history which was in account of people movement as well what people do are shaped by the environment but they are also shaped the struggles with the government that they are able to effect and so on. And that much more dynamic sense of history in which people and movements have agency and the government is not this benevolent administration operating for the good of all, but can be seen to operate for the good of some [00:20:36.02] and against the good of others. That account of American history more interesting really than the one everybody I think still gets in high school. That's what's written about in greater and greater detail in addition to focusing them in specific groups so that although there had always been a history of the south, the history of the south and its people begin to be written very differently. Um accounts of slavery change, reconstruction change, and there is a growing interest in and ability to pursue the full range of subjects in Black history and connected to that then, very much connected to that, the way in which history itself becomes subject to different ways of different subject matter and different ways of analyzing [00:21:42.24]. So there is African American history and there is women history in the way in which gender becomes in John Cots phase a useful category of analysis. Its not just oh wow we were womyn and they did things. Its see how race, class, and gender inform your understanding of America's historical movements from start to finish. So there is this vast sea change in historiography, there are backlashes, there will be backlashes for sure again, there is one going on now I think, and that's the way, that's what keeps it interesting.

Dennis: In a people's history, we'll jump back a little, I want to talk about the politics of history of that questioning a whole possibility, I think I said the wrong term, of objectivity and neutrality?

Marilyn: There's a long tradition of doing this and there is Carol Becker for example, a long time ago said, "When you write history, you are writing from the present" [00:22:48.28]. There is no other way to do it, you can't write from the past about the past, you are writing it all filtered through the present. The more cautious that becomes the more cautious you are of current concerns that direct you to a particular historical subject and history should be useful, it should be possible to learn something from the past that has to do with present. [00:23:17.02] So the notion from the present history is like a big bugger boo to some historians is a very old and honorable notion and howy gives it voice in politics of history. that has become far more common place but was new when he did it and some may argue that its gone a little bit too far, not in Howy head, but in the hands of others. But he incorporates his own history, so that he writes the chapter in Politics of History that deals with his role as a bomber dear in WWII is an extraordinary powerful essay in which his personhood [00:24:00.14] his experience of being a bomber dear and his relationship to the plane he flew the weapons he released, the people he hurt, and then his return to meet them again is part of the fabric of war time and post war American history. So in that consideration, that essay, is I think a very skillful and compelling reading together or larger themes of the history of WWII and the post war period. And what happened to hi personally as a historical actor, as an individual, its a very nice essay I think as are the others. I mean each essay is differnt addresses the different themes making the general argument, which I find it difficult, I can't imagine anyone disputing the political nature of history. The question always is, whose politics? I mean you know sure, it's all political, but

whose politics. To say history is political, you are going to have to specify [00:25:10.01] what the politics are.

Dennis: I think he came from the perspective that he didn't start in the academic world and he started as you know a very poor area. Must have been some affinity, oh yeah you are from Brooklyn, I am from Brooklyn too.

Marilyn: yea, sure. That's a piece of it.

Dennis: Then he comes from a very poor beginning and carries that. Did you, How do you think that influences his work, is what I am trying to get at?

Marilyn: Well. on one note it gives him a lot of good stories to tell. Its always the advantage of a colorful childhood. Not all impoverished childhoods are colorful, Howy's was, umm no I think that anybody who has experience in their own lifetime class mobility. There is two things to do with it. America America isn't great, look where I started, look where I am. [00:26:19.16] The other is to reflect on that which has enable an upper mobility a change really in class and to hold on to, consciously, where you came from, what that meant, how it influences how you think and what you want to do and how its not a matter of your virtue. So I think all of that matters with Howy and influences the way he does history. He is himself though, you know the biggest welfare, the large program that the United States has ever launched is veteran benefits. It's a welfare program, that's what it is. And he starts in the Civil War and it continues, its getting chinsier and chinsier, but veterans WWII had in the package a quite extraordinary range of possibility, educational and so on. Howy's not unique in having used that to go to school, which they might have never gone to begin with, or to go back to school. Howy did this extraordinary thing of getting his undergraduate and graduate degree in about a minute in a half, but a lot of people spend a little bit more time [00:27:47.12] and we are able to do the by the GI Bill. The GI Bill was however also racially marked and uh people who could, you know my aunt and uncle bought in leva town on the bill and leva town sticks to community and black veterans need (inaudible) And believe probably it was this wild racial restricion as well but I dont know enough about that. So when I say the glories of the GI Bill I am going to also add immediately that these were glories that were distributed very unequally [00:28:20.00]. Howy is beneficiary of the GI Bill and that's also a part of the way, I mean that whole war time experience carries through in a sense the education against as well.

Dennis: You mention the GI Bill, they had some restrictions to women and that slightly different way of looking, I couldn't help but think of Columbus as the people's history? Is it Morrissey, that says Columbus biographer, but how its a different way of looking at it. You can look at Columbus the navigator and oh yes, there was some atrocities and some bad things and then you can talk about, yeah he was a navigator and I guess that's good but probably someone else would have done that as well but its more important to look at how Columbus treated the arrowwackz as they came.

Marilyn: Well yeah, what Howy does, well any of us that I think just write good history sit down and think of it as new history or revisions history but that's the real history that the other guys do and we do revision history. So I think is good history, that's what Howy said about radical

history, the good history that's the point is to look for and be able to express, to do the research that enables you to certain degree of confidence, not a whole lot, ever, [00:30:01.04] I don't think you can be, I'm very modest in the claims I make for certainty about the past but to do so in the complicated way as possible which I think Howy does and in as many angles. And being alert to the different angles there are and not relaxing into an angle that is inherited from the past but instead being able to turn around to walk around in the subjects than just seeing it all over.

Dennis: In the Vietnam war, two things, I want to get to 1971 in may that you are there with Howard, but I want to get there more about how the anti-war movement has developed. Howard talks about, I remember when he went to Boston Coms in 1965, there is about 100 people and I heard them say there is ten people here..

Marilyn: Well it grew because the war went on and on and on and on. [00:31:12.27] And sometimes people talk about the anti war movement and its great but as if its some kind of autonomous being or people would say, people pro and anti the anti-war movement. The anti war movement responded the war and that the war movement grew in response to a war that depend and got more and more rotes or brutal, where one felt literally that one was living in a nation of a criminal government. A government that was literally criminal. Thats how I felt and what I think people now forget, including people in the entire war movement uh as they change as people do is the rage. I mean one would wake up in the morning in a state of rage [00:31:59.00] There's no other way to think about it. The people who got and their motivators were various, but if you, for some reason the rage was such that you could actually move you into something like whetherment later whether people book as they became politically correct. Anyhow, so that is to say that the anti war movement grew and grew and grew is to say that the war grew and grew and grew [00:32:32.08]. And there was a clean tangiment that was responsive to what the govt was doing. What howy was doing was a variety of things that I think was really important. For one thing, he had begun to be able to command national media or public media so that he could, when forest wrote his thing about civil disobedience we have to be very polite and accept our punishment. And Howy was able to write back and they get attention for his argument against Fortest. The logical withdraw gets published and widely distributed and that's 66. Howy is offering a ... because the argument is we don't know how to get out. Howy was offering a way out, [00:33:26.06] as early as 66 in a book that received spread circulation. So Howy had, and i think he was publishing things on the globe and then of course I think he was teaching network of public speeches and demonstration and there too the link to the south and the civil rights movement really matters. Two things about the anti war movement that is consistently forgotten, one is that snake was among the earliest group to protest the war and make statements to draft resistance. Earlier than anybody. So the very people who were protesting in the south, register voters in the south, were as the war, i think as early as '64 were publishing an argument against the Vietnam war. The second of course if GI'S and that this was the first war with possible exception of um [00:34:38.21] of the Philippines. The repression of the insurrection of the Philippines but this is sworem which soldiers active on duty protested the war in which they were engage. So the anti-war movement within the military, which is often given parenthetic standing and the students get first billing is just inaccurate. Anyhow, Howys involved with all of that. and we meet, well when we were coming in to Boston we regularly on visits, we would stay with the Zinn's and the talk was of course constant about the war. In 68 i got put on, i was asked to join a delegation that went to Paris in September to meet with the Vietnamese, and our escort,

Tenny cannon(idk) gave a speech in the senate that looped towards and negotiated into the war and it was our explicit task to meet with the Vietnamese [00:35:54.13] and to get from them some language that would seem to be responsive that we can then present to the media, if not an offer at least an indication that peace was possible and if only the united states would stop bombing and begin the process of negotiation. This was September '68. So that was an extraordinary trip, it was such a mix of things and it was howy and Doug Dabb (idk) [00:36:34.06] and um George Caham from Cornell and Jonathan Morsey, I think that was pretty much it. And we met with the Vietnamese for a week. We became quite engaged with them by them [00:37:02.08] where we would meet with them was on the outskirts and working class suburbs but we would go back to a hotel on the left bank. Stay up and just walk and it was exhilarating to be walking in Paris in the fall and all the time we were there because we were to do something about the war. It was a tough, it was filled with contradictions, great pleasure which we all, and its one of the things about howy. The way he can take pleasure, pleasure is a positive value, osters are positive thing in the world, pleasure matters, all kinds of pleasure. Sentual, everything, food wine. [00:37:58.14] So we would get, I remember, I don't know who said it, it may have been me, one of us said to the Vietnamese, so how do you like your time in Paris? And they said, all we want to do is go home. We are here because they are dying over there.

Dennis: You mention verterans

Marilyn: Yes and the umm, the demonstration in 1971 which was organized by Vietnamese veterans against the war, that was among one of the most powerful demonstrations that has been done in this country [00:38:45.07]. in which veterans literally threw their medals back at the govt which had awarded those medals to them. The incaptment and the veterans action were in as I remember late April, April 25th, around in there. And betty Davis I believe, an insurance sales man, a spiritualist of some kind then organized, Davises model for May day 1971 was stop the war or we will stop the government. [00:39:24.03] The kind of escalation in claim, rhetorical claim. I was then and had been since '68 living in Michigan with my family and my friend z Gampson and I, who also taught at Michigan decided that we absolutely had to join the may demonstration. We were kind of worried about it because his advance billing would dangerous that it was very unlikely that there would not be violence however peacefully we try to remain because of the provocation by the police and so on[00:40:04.29]. So we uh, sudden ... we flew to Washington from Detroit made it more less scary, was that everybody has been advised to be a finity group. You should act with your group, never lose sight of your group[00:40:28.13]. Your group will save you. I wrote Howy saying, you going and if you're going, because he and me, could we please be your fin group. And we all stayed at ... house and I for some reason had a room to ourselves but the place was stacked with people who were going to the demonstration from indoor I remember we can see, I believe, idk if I made this up, washington monument and the little red light that's the airport warning thing and neither of us could sleep. We were scared, we had young children we were not violent people. We were really frightened. Z who had a wonderful yoga adapt, stood on her head for a good part of the night as I remember and in any case to calm herself and calm me. I think I was more scared than she was so I shouldn't assign fear to Z, she is probably fearless. We were to walk into the capital district on not Rye, because the idea was we could stop traffic so you shouldn't take a cab to go and stop traffic [00:41:37.14] but at 6am were there about how Z and I, at that point, I think we were going to meet the rest of



our group or maybe they were with us but that spirit was one, was Chompsky part of our group, or did I just add him in there. I am not sure. So it was Howy. Numb (idk), biologists from Harvard, Z and me, were we just five. i am not sure. Any how, we were walking in and a car filled with African Americans going to work stopped and offered us a lift which we accepted and they said we cant join you but we would if we could. So this was like a big lift, the people had spoken and given us their support. It was lovely [00:42:46.09] So we get down there and our plan was that, as I remember spaces said, people who don't want to engage in heavy duty disobedience should follow me too and we are going to walk to the pentagon. We got cut off from him almost instantly, the place was a city under occupation and there were, and the smell of tear gas was already in the air. The police were in these space aged things with, you know, it was before Darth Vader, yeah but that's what they looked like, they were terrifying. We got cut off and was like so what should we do, why don't we try to block traffic, that's what we are there for. And the traffic was one the big road that's if you face, I don't know Washington at all. Anyway there is a big street [00:43:40.17] by the Washington monument and the idea was that we would move out into the traffic and sit down. So we start into the street Elsburch leading and I don't think i knew then that he had been a marine or in the arm forces. Then gets out in the middle of the street and he raised his arm like this just like you see in the movies, charge! And all the guys run into the street and Z and I start and the cop pushes us back. There we are now separated from our finity group and a little but worried, the tear gas is getting heavier and heavier, so we would go up to one of these guys in the mask and one of us says, "Could we please just cross the street, we wont sit down, could we please just cross the street. The people are with us are there. Just like that two ladies pleading with a cop and the cop in this gas mask, and a tear gas launcher says, in a voice like a frog. We cant understand him, and then he just says go to the corner and cross the light. And so there we are, for the biggest civil disobedience in American history and Z and I walk to the corner, wait for the light to change, cross and rejoin. A very nonherioc moment I should say, and we rejoined this group. And then we were not sure where to go. We just started to walk sort of looking for something [00:45:23.22] organized that we could participate in. We are crossing the street in one point and there is a cop directing traffic and howy says to the park something friendly like uh, "Its hard you have an extra shift. " some friendly gesture and the cop turns around and mazes him in the eyes without pause. Just turns from what he is doing and sprays him directly in the eyes from very close range. And that was awful. That was really awful. For some period after than, Howard really couldn't see at all. And then I have very fragmented memory. At one point we went into a .. to get, idk somebody needed something to get a cup of coffee. And we brought with us into the drug store the smell of tear gas. People looked around at us, it was also, there was also amusing things going on. It was also, keep walking, it the street and sitting down. His wife would walk beside him, not sit down but carry his jacket, pull the guy back to the collar. She would walk by his side, and then the guy would get up and she would walk follow him with the jacket, the cop will pull them back and they just did that. Watch him for sure. We passed many groups, rather dispute acts of civil disobedience [00:47:11.23]. Cop racing around motor scooters, gunning for people. Z and I left later that evening, both of us has families with young kids and needing to get back. Howy stayed and he was arrested the next day as I am sure he's related to you. Sometime later, this entire story was recall or reprinted somewhere and there was a photograph, because there is a photograph of all of us sitting around. It names each of the men and it says and to unidentified women from Michigan. So I hereby identify as Zelda Gapson.

Dennis: Releasing of something (its really hard to hear)

Marilyn: The Vietnamese administration. nobody else. its important to not get mixed up about that.

Dennis: okay I should rephrase that the pop breaks the bag and then administration of public opinion of the united states ...

Marilyn: One of the interesting things that's to for all future possibility of demonstrations is that the Nixon administration was terrified of us. We didn't know that. They would harvest festivals every October and every spring we would drive this incredibly long drive to demonstrate in Washington for years. And my students and my friends, why are we doing this again. Its useless, helpless [00:49:04.03]. And all the time, we now know because of memoirs published and so on that they are running scared. They are really frightened of us and what we stand for [00:49:19.03] this was very important ot learn later. Never ever try to underestimate the force of demonstration and public resistance to government policy. That was a comoding, I wouldn't even say it was comoding because a lot of people was like that's it, no more demonstration, that's not true. But it was the largest to that day, the most illegal arrest, the highest of punitive damages later, and it was um for the Nix administration. Nix was already after all pursuing negotiations in Paris, but it certainly had a major impact on his policy but he was really moving along towards what he hoped would be a, what he called, peace honor, is a negotiated settlement that would win the united states what ever it had gone to war for. That he was unable to achieve. but i think what really did nix name was the wordy gade(idk). Anyhow, thats a whole other subject.

Dennis: Final Question; anecdote of him watching tv - college 21 - watched the veterans throw the medal. Coolest thing he's ever seen. Veterans played a really important part.

Marilyn: They played a hugely important part and Howy played, I didn't go to that, but howy was important in the, what's called the winter soldier which was a move by veterans themselves, oddly in weird defense of Cali after we lie. The presence of the Winter Soldier investigation was that it wasn't Cali. It was the whole structure of, it all went up to the president. These were the war criminals [00:51:53.25] so the Winter Soldier Investigation was designed by veterans themselves to talk about what they had seen and what they had done. It then led to dalumn (?) holding hearing in Washington of a similar range of testimony and made light itself and then went to soldier committees. All of that revealed, it didn't reveal because it was clear all along but umm concentrated public knowledge of what was going on in Vietnam, in a really important way so that its inescapable what the united states was perpetrating [00:52:49.02].