

University of Minnesota Sesquicentennial Diversity Project

Interview with Zev Aelony

Interviewed by Ann M. Pflaum

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Zev Aelony - ZA

Ann Pflaum - AP

AP: Is it Zev A-e-l-o-n-i?

ZA: A-e-l-o-n-y. It usually is spelled with an "I." My father transliterated it with a "y" so we keep that.

AP: We are writing a history of the University. Were you a university student?

ZA: In 1959 I had come to the University of Minnesota as a junior, and I was one of the organizers of the student group called Students for Integration.

AP: Along with Judy Larson Mogelson, is that right?

ZA: That's right, when Jones Davis and Marv Davidov became involved and appointed. I don't remember exactly where. When Gene Uphoff . . . Their dad I think was a prof; Rich Rose, whose father, Arnold Rose, was on the faculty, became active at one point; Ronnie Sigal, who is now I think Ronnie Segal Beaumont. She was one of the original activists. Gene Cook, it seems to me he is with 3M now, I'm not sure.

AP: What I specifically wanted to ask you about was, I read someplace that you went south and either got arrested or nearly got arrested, and Congressman Don Fraser made telephone calls to rescue you.

ZA: Actually it was more than that. I was arrested a number of times. The first thing that our group was involved in where there were arrests was the freedom rides in 1961.

AP: Where did this take place?

ZA: It went from here down to . . . The intent was to go down to New Orleans to show that people could ride the buses. We got as far as Jackson and were jailed—Jackson, Mississippi. The history of that is, there had been numerous Supreme Court rulings against segregation of interstate public transportation facilities. There had been freedom

rides called the Journey of Reconciliation in 1947, which opened some bus and train facilities in the upper South—places like Kentucky and Virginia, and so on, and southern Illinois. When there were more Supreme Court rulings, I believe it was 1960, and it just seemed like nobody was going to do anything to make it real. There was a freedom ride organized by the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE], and this time they decided to go to the heart of the South. In Alabama, one of the two buses was stopped and burned.

AP: What was the origin of the bus? Was this a bus from Minnesota or a bus from New York?

ZA: That was a bus that set out from Washington, D.C.

AP: So one of the buses was burned . . .

ZA: And the other one, the people got off in Montgomery. They were horribly beaten. There was Jim Peck, who was the only one who had been on the 1947 freedom ride. His face was just mangled. He died recently, by the way, here in Minneapolis. He wasn't originally from here, as far as I know, but he spent his last years in a nursing home here. I gather it was because the care was available. He and a Dr. Bergman from Detroit never fully recovered from their injuries. Dr. Bergman died this year, by the way. He was about ninety. He was never fully recovered, but he survived a long time and remained active. The group from here was organized in the office of Dr. David Cooperman; we called him Dan. We met in his office in I think it was called Temporary South of Mines. It was one of the temporary buildings near where the new Washington bridge is. These were old buildings that were put up as temporary buildings during World War I, I believe, and they were still temporary.

AP: Exactly. They were post-World War II. The last one was taken down in [19]87. It was funny, the students gave them nicknames. The one near the hospital was called the "pill box." The one near Murphy Hall was called "Mrs. Murphy." They were quite humorous. The one near the library was called the "booklet."

ZA: This one would have been on the river side of the road that now goes down to the Washington bridge, and there was a building—I'm not sure if it's still there—a mines building. There were two of those little buildings. Dan had an office in one of those. We announced I think in the Daily that we were going to meet. Somebody put a stink bomb in there. Fortunately those buildings were pretty loose, so it was easy to air it out.

AP: How many people ended up going south?

ZA: That group there was Ellen O'Connor, who was a nurse at the university as well as a student; Gene Uphoff, who was a student; Dave Morton; Bob Baum; Marv Davidov; and myself. There were six.

AP: And you're not quite sure what year it was?

ZA: It was 1961.

AP: What time of year—summer, winter, spring?

ZA: It was summer. Excuse me just a moment; I have to answer the door—a friend of my son's. We have four sons, and by far the youngest is still a high school student. So he's still in the house. A year or so back he was doing something for a civics class, and I began telling him about segregation and what it was like. He listened politely and then he went and asked his mother, my wife, "He was kidding, wasn't he?"

AP: It is remarkable. There was something on TV this morning that showed interviewing students in East Germany in the Karl Marx High School. They were sort of first-grade age. The interviewer said, "Can anybody tell me who Karl Marx is?" The students said, "Yes, he was the founder of our school." What I particularly wanted was, is the demonstration we're talking about in '61 the one where you got the telephone call from Don Fraser, or are we talking a different one?

ZA: There were several. In '63 I participated. At that time I was a member of CORE's Soul Force. I guess it was in a sense just a translation. The Gandhian movement in India, they called their activists "Satyagrahis." "Soul Force" was just sort of a translation of that from Hindi to English.

AP: Tell me a bit before we get into the demonstrations, what kind of a major were you, and how did you get interested in civil rights? Are you a Minnesota native or a transplant?

ZA: I finished grade school and went through high school here. I went to high school at the University at U High, which was then in Pike Hall. Actually, the first year it was in what is now called the Early Childhood Learning Center, or something like that. Then Pike Hall was built, and we moved there in '53, I guess. I went to U High.

AP: You said you entered the university as a junior, so where did you go for your first two years?

ZA: I went to the University of Chicago for two years. Then I went to Israel was in a kibbutz, Kibbutz Shoval.

AP: What does that word mean—shoval—or is that the name of the kibbutz?

ZA: It's the name of the community. Kibbutz is a kind of village there. On returning, I went and I was curious about a Christian community in Georgia, which also was communal. We were aware that the Christians originally were all communal. The early

Christians it wasn't required you believe something about anybody, but what was required was that you put all things common, as it mentions in Acts, if you are familiar with what I'm talking about.

AP: Yes, not enough.

ZA: We didn't know about Christians who actually tried to live that way other than in the monasteries. So I was curious about that. I went down to Koinonia in southwest Georgia for the summer to learn what that was about.

AP: It's a Greek word, right?

ZA: Yes. It was specifically taken from the Greek to describe what they were trying to do.

AP: Does it mean "comradeship" or "community" or something like that, or togetherness?

ZA: Yes. It was founded in 1942 by young Christians who were horrified by the contrast between what they were living and what they believed, and tried to make amends. It was a desegregated community, except they all continued to go to their previous churches. It was relatively late in the game when they began realizing that that was conflict also. I don't want to make light of the conflict that was involved and the risks. The thing that just came as a shock . . . I knew about segregation before and I had been concerned about it, and I had, I guess, with some radical black and white friends, passed out NAACP post cards, which then had a picture of Lincoln, if I remember right, asking people to send them in.

AP: This is in the south you're talking about?

ZA: This was when I was still in high school even.

AP: Here in Minnesota then?

ZA: Yes. I had been involved, in other words, with NAACP doing this kind of thing as a high school student and as a college student. But I never realized how incredibly violent the enforcement of segregation was until I was down in southwest Georgia. These people were being bombed; people were being beaten up; they disappeared. It was enough of a shock that I . . . Actually, Mulford Sibley came through to visit Koinonia.

AP: What year were you in Koinonia?

ZA: This would have been the summer of 1959. From Sibley I learned about a training session on non-violence being run by the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) down in

Miami. Before coming up to start my school year here, I went down there and I think it was about a ten-day training session, very intensive training session in non-violence. In fact, one of the people who participated in that, Patricia Stevens, one of two sisters who were there, she and her sister Priscilla, but the thing is that they . . . I met Pat again for the first time in many years. We had a CORE reunion just about a month ago, and I saw her again and her husband.

AP: Was she a Minnesotan too?

ZA: No, she was from Florida, but she was one of the people who were students at that training session. I came back up here, and when I got up here I began talking about my experiences with other students. Out of that we got together this group called Students for Integration. Our first focus was on housing discrimination, employment discrimination in Minnesota.

AP: We're talking about the fall of 1959?

ZA: Yes. By February or March of 1960, students who were very loosely affiliated with CORE—they'd gotten some training in non-violence from CORE—in North Carolina started a sit-in in Woolworth's. Sit-ins had been going on since 1942, but this one somehow just struck the right chord. All of that preparation and the people who had been trained in these training sessions, and so on, it just spread around the country. We became involved then. We spread our interest both to trying to work for desegregation of housing . . . People would tell both black Afro-American students and immigrant students—foreign students—that places had already been rented. We would send people behind them—white students—and they would find out the place was still open. Then we would talk with them. Much of the time when they were faced with the lie, they would back down. We were also working with Don Fraser, who then was a state legislator trying to get fair housing and fair employment legislation passed here in Minnesota. Many people don't realize, but Minnesota has a very mixed history in regard to racism. The Dred Scott case began in St. Cloud actually. We had people who were very strongly anti-slavery and we also had people who were very racist against Indians, against Asians, and against blacks. We were working on that also in the university community. We became involved in the sit-in movement in support of the students in the south. Woolworth's and places like that, we didn't have the situation here, since long before that where you had to sit at the back of the bus or you couldn't sit at the Woolworth's counter. In fact, we picketed Woolworth's in support of the students in the south, and black employees would come out and bring us hot chocolate in the winter, this kind of thing.

AP: So now, get me to your arrest when Don Fraser made the phone calls, if you remember which particular arrest that was.

ZA: The thing is, he was very supportive. He was one of about three people in Congress who were supportive many, many times. One arrest where he was supportive was a group

from CORE and SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was asked by the widow of a man who had been shot and killed in Alabama. He was from Mississippi; he was a postman in Baltimore, and he had announced that he was setting out, he was going to spend his vacation setting out on foot as a white Mississippian to bring a letter to Governor Ross Burnett of Mississippi, calling for reconciliation. He had signs that he wore. One said, "Eat at Joe's Black and White." Another said something about reconciliation, or something like that. He realized that if he just sent a letter to Governor Burnett, he would just get a standard reply from a secretary. He thought that by publicizing this as a white Mississippian that he would help other white Mississippians to rethink what was going on. His name was Moore, and he was shot and killed.

AP: Do you remember his first name?

ZA: I believe it was Bill, but you know . . . He set off and he was shot and killed after Governor Wallace went on a statewide TV network and announced that he would not have the protection of Alabama authorities.

AP: Burnett was governor of Mississippi?

ZA: Wallace was governor of Alabama.

AP: Was the idea that he was marching between the two states?

ZA: He set out on foot from Chattanooga, Tennessee.

AP: So he had to go through both states.

ZA: Yes. There had been an enormous amount of publicity about it and he was, as I say, shot and killed. His widow asked if people from SNCC and CORE would carry the message on. Ten of us—five from SNCC and five from CORE—again set out from Chattanooga. This time when we got to the Alabama . . .

AP: Again, what year are we talking about?

ZA: This was 1962.

AP: Is this the fall or the summer?

ZA: It was April, I believe, of 1962.

AP: So you're taking on the banner of the fallen Moore, in effect, carrying the letter. You start out from Chattanooga.

ZA: We set out from Chattanooga. Then we were accompanied by a whole passel of reporters and photographers, and so on. We met with very supportive crowds sometimes, and other times we ended up getting stones and concrete block and things like that thrown at us.

AP: Were you the only Minnesotan in the group?

ZA: I was the only Minnesotan in that group. At the Alabama border, we just met a solid wall of Alabama state patrol, and they arrested us all for "walking into the state of Alabama in a manner designed to insight a breach of the peace" was the charge. We were tried about a month and a half later in Montgomery.

AP: So this gets to be about May. Were you off school?

ZA: I had graduated, and I had done a year of graduate work working towards the M.A. You had asked before what I was studying. I was studying political theory and anthropology.

AP: What year did you graduate from the U?

ZA: I graduated in 1960 while in jail in Mississippi.

AP: Was there a story on that? That must have been interesting.

ZA: It was during those freedom rides.

AP: So actually, the time of your graduation you were in jail.

ZA: Yes.

AP: And your major was anthropology and . . . ?

ZA: The major was political theory, and the minor was anthropology.

AP: Besides Cooperman, were there other professors that were helpful to you?

ZA: Mulford Sibley . . . a whole lot of them. There were a lot of people who were helpful in both those departments. But in any case, when we were being tried, Don Fraser came to witness the trial.

AP: So he came himself.

ZA: He actually physically came there.

AP: To Montgomery.

ZA: I believe it was in Montgomery. I'm trying to remember. I don't remember for sure.

AP: He was a member of the national Congress by then?

ZA: That's right. By that time he was a federal congressman, and he made a point of coming en route from someplace else to Congress. As I understand it, that essentially makes him immune from arrest. So that was very good for us because he was en route to Congress, so they couldn't arrest him.

AP: But meanwhile, you and these other people had been in jail for at least a month.

ZA: Yes.

AP: Were you mistreated or beaten?

ZA: Actually, things were somewhat mixed. We were arrested at the border. They first put us in the jail in Fort Payne. It was a county that, as I understand it, had seceded from the Confederacy when Alabama seceded from the Union. The police officials initially put us in segregated cells. Then when they realized because I was very tan at the time and dark haired and one of the legally black fellows was very light skinned, we managed to get in the same cell. They realized that they weren't sure who was who anyway, and they just said, "If you want to, you can all be in the same cell." So they put us in one large cell block. They were quite apologetic about the whole thing. They said, "This is Wallace's doing. We didn't want to arrest you. We don't want to hold you. We can't release you, but we're going into court demanding that we not be required to hold you." So that was the first place we were held. We were there a few days—I don't remember just how long. Then we were moved to another county where basically the same things happened, except that there we were just there, if I remember, overnight. Wallace and Colonel Lingo [Albert J. Lingo], who had just given himself the title of Colonel but he was the head of the state patrol Wallace had just appointed, and he took the title of Colonel, they were getting very frustrated because even like these sheriffs, and so on, within the white community there were a lot of people who were very, very segregationist and outspoken, but they were finding that there were a lot of cracks in that, that a lot of people weren't entirely happy. One of the ten of us was the son of Wallace's minister.

AP: That must have been amazing.

ZA: Sam Shirah. His father asked Wallace, "George, how can you say the things you're saying and still call yourself a Christian?" Wallace said, "You know, there are some things you've got to do to get elected." He said, "I lost one election by being out-segged; it's not going to happen again." The minister told people who asked him about it, about

his relations with Wallace. The immediate effect of that was a great deal of anger. Anyway, we were put in the death row at the state prison called . . .

AP: Called what?

ZA: Let me back off on that because I don't remember the name accurately. But we were put in the old death row there. It was a terrible place. We were pretty much isolated. We'd see other death row prisoners who were facing death, and you could see the anger and desperation. There were people who knew that in most cases, some of them obviously hadn't done what they were accused of, but most of them I think knew they had done something wrong, but they also knew that ninety-nine percent of the people who do what they did, whatever it was, weren't in their desperate situation. So there was an animosity there, including an animosity that was racist, including an animosity that simply stemmed from a fury at people who were locked up among them, so to speak, but who knew they were going to get out in a week, or a month, or a year or whatever.

AP: The gist of it was that Fraser came to visit you, or did he come to your trial?

ZA: The trial. It was kind of a strange affair. Witnesses normally aren't supposed to be allowed to be in to hear other witnesses. That's one way they try to determine truth. Yet Colonel Lingo was there both as a witness, and he was sitting with the sheriff at the prosecutor's table. I mentioned this to Don in more recent years, and he doesn't remember it; he may not have seen it, but from where I was seeing, I could see that the judge acquitted one of the fellows on the grounds that he was apparently arrested before he entered Alabama. Then he acquitted a second for the same reason. After he acquitted the first one, from where I was sitting I could see that Colonel Lingo pulled out a pistol, a revolver. He was just staring hard at the judge, and when he acquitted the second one, he kind of flicked out the revolver part, the chambers, presumably so that the judge could see that there were bullets in it, I suppose. Then he flicked it back, and the judge didn't acquit anybody else.

AP: What kind of sentences did you get?

ZA: You know, it seems to me that we were sentenced to like forty-five days in jail or something like that. I don't remember precisely.

AP: Was that more days than you had already spent, or did the time you had spent count?

ZA: We didn't get to that point because at that point we posted bail. I'm not sure, I think that one eventually was thrown out. We had a very courageous black lawyer, a man named Gray, who represented us. It was a time when to be a lawyer and do those things you were taking your life in your hands, especially if you lived there and weren't going to leave. After that I went to Georgia, and I was arrested both in Georgia and Florida, but

Don Fraser was involved again in the Georgia incident where a number of us . . . There was a voting rights movement. We were in the county where Jimmy Carter was and where Koinonia was. Carter was then the state representative. It was very violent.

AP: Are we a little later, another summer?

ZA: This is later in the summer of '63. There was a very active voting rights movement.

AP: Do you remember the name of the county?

ZA: Sumter County. It was a county that was half black, probably had a small black majority. It's a little hard to know. There was a great deal of concern on the part of officials. Things are often more complex when they get in the history books. The sheriff there was somebody who was elected as a reformer—Fred Chappell—and relatively he was. In any case, he was somebody who had been elected as a reformer, been a deputy before and yet in a county where the average income even for whites was I think something like \$2,500—it was very, very low even for those times—he had a big brick, air-conditioned house, fairly large land holdings, had income in the \$60,000 range in terms of reportable income. Clearly there is a problem, that is, the officials were in a position in which from their point of view they were trying to straighten things out to make things more honest, and on the other hand, because they had partaken in activities that were traditional in the area, they risked not only losing their wealth and their position but possibly being prosecuted and going to jail if they lost elections, if they lost their electoral majority. The response to our voting rights drive was extreme. Hundreds of people were rounded up and put in kind of a camp outside of town, of the city of Americus. Four of us were selected out for the death penalty, and there were a couple of others—very young kids, teenagers—who were sometimes in that category.

AP: Were you yourself in the death penalty group?

ZA: Yes.

AP: How did you know that? They just fingered you and said . . .

ZA: We were formally charged. Don Fraser was instrumental in letting my folks know that Morris Abrams, who was the U.S. representative for human rights at the time to the U.N., had been sent down. He was kind of a southern moderate. There was a need to have a good story. This was during the Kennedy administration. Are you a student?

AP: No, I'm an administrator.

ZA: So, if you're old enough to remember . . .

AP: Absolutely.

ZA: Some historians are still arguing whether he really won the election or not. It was narrow and it was based on a coalition between Dixiecrats in the south and northern liberals. So it was a very touchy kind of political situation. Bobby Kennedy realized that if they took action, they could lose the next election. He got . . .[end of side 1]

AP: And he realized that his brother was caught between the Dixiecrats and . . .

ZA: . . . problem because they had to have some kind of story. There was a great deal of publicity going on in Europe, Asia and Africa about this case. Part of that was stirred up by some reporters . . . I was known as somebody who had some ability to talk to people on both sides. So a Baptist minister had suggested to these reporters that I could take them around and they could talk to people on both sides. They were from England and from Sweden. They were shocked by what they saw.

AP: You were a prisoner but you were allowed to take . . .

ZA: No, this was before the arrest. I had taken these reporters around, and I had taken them to see the mayor and some people associated with the local college, and other people in the white community—a white businessman, and people in the black community. When they came back a few days later and asked about me and found that I was facing a death penalty, they began writing stories in their papers in Europe about it, and also it went on a German TV program because reporters from that program, in a crowd they had asked if anybody spoke German and nobody did. They said, "Does anybody know a few words of German?" I said, "I got some high school German." They said, "We'll interview you, and if you have questions about language, just hold your thumb up and we'll stop at that time"—they still used movie cameras for TV news—"We'll stop the camera and you can ask a question, but just don't move, and then we'll start again from that point." So we did the interview that way. That German TV station was Mainz Fernsehen, Channel 2 in Mainz, Germany. They also began publicizing it. There were some votes in the U.N. where they needed the votes in particular of some African states which were asking questions about what was going on. The African states then, remember, were very new. The intent was try to show them that this was being taken care of. So they sent Morris Abrams down. Initially he did what was expected. He went and he talked to the officials, but then he was shown I think a fourteen-year-old girl, the girl who I mentioned who was sometimes facing the death penalty charge. He was told that she would be, but it was never formally made as I understand in her case. She was being held in basically a tiny closet with no toilet or anything. There was no bed; she couldn't stretch out to sleep. She had to sort of curl around the hole that was the sewer. Abrams said that as he drove back to catch his plane in Atlanta, he kept thinking about his own daughter, and he wrote a very different report than what was expected. He said he went in and gave it to Kennedy. Kennedy was happy to see him, to get the report and get this thing over with, and then he started looking at the report and wasn't interested anymore. He told him he'd contact him if he had any questions.

AP: This is Bobby Kennedy, I assume.

ZA: Yes. So Abrams went to some kind of a cocktail party or something, and he was letting anybody who would listen know what he thought about it. Don Fraser heard him talking and called my folks and said, "Look, this is one of the top lawyers in the country. He gets more for a day in court than most people in a year's work. A lawyer can't offer to represent someone for free, but I think if you called him and explained that you don't have that kind of money but that you need a good defense, you'll get it." That's why my four sons are here. We had defense from a very excellent local lawyer who took an enormous amount of risk—a man named C.B. King. His sister-in-law was beaten up so that she lost a child.

AP: After he took the case on?

ZA: I don't remember. He was taking a number of civil rights cases. In any case, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund also was assisting us. This Morris Abrams came up with the strategy that ended up working of taking the case into federal court under a 1891 law that allows taking a case directly into federal court if you can prove a deliberate conspiracy and constraint of justice by specific local officials. I was told it had last been used anyway in 1891. The law might have dated a couple of years earlier. I've forgotten exactly now. A federal court was convened—a special court, a three-judge court—and the solicitor there, Steve Pace, Jr., bragged about that he [unclear], but he was upholding segregation this way. He bragged in a radio program which was taped and which Morris' private detectives were able to get a hold of the tape, and he bragged about it in writing, and they were able to get a copy of the letter he had written saying that. He had written these things apparently because he was running for his daddy's seat in Congress. He was kind of interesting because he later lost the election, and the next day he had a broadside out on the street saying that legitimately he had really won because he had won the majority of the white male vote. He had exact numbers of white men, white women, black men, black women. You might wonder now, in a secret ballot how could he know that? In violation of federal law, because it was a federal election, the voters had to line up behind four boxes to put their ballots in. So the ballots went in separate boxes—black men, black women, white men, white women. By the way, for the whites there were standard metal clad ballot boxes like we used to use with the little thing on top to guide the ballot into the slot, and the black boxes were just cardboard cartons.

AP: Easy to lose some.

ZA: In this case, his opponent wanted all those black votes counted, so in this case they probably got them counted. This was a primary election, by the way. At that time in southwest Georgia it didn't matter. Whoever won the Democratic primary was the winner.

AP: Did you go to Peach County, Georgia, the year the students went down, the Minnesota group went down to register voters?

ZA: No. I was in Sumter County, Lee County, Albany, and then I was down in Florida.

AP: What did you do after the civil rights era? Did you become a lawyer?

ZA: I'm a manufacturer's representative and have been for about twenty-five years. I did many things in between, including some teaching in political theory and political science and American government. For the past twenty-five years I've been involved in the electronics industry. My wife and I have a small manufacturer's representatives for representing companies that make electronic security equipment. As one who still is not violent, we represent nothing that is lethal. We represent people who make cameras, locks, access controlled equipment, that kind of thing.

AP: That's very interesting. Now looking back on your university experience, did you feel you got a good education or superior education? What was your reaction on it?

ZA: Superior. I'm trying to remember who it was . . . somebody spoke of getting an Ivy League education in the early 1800s and said that he was charged fees for everything at Princeton except the most valuable thing which was contact with his fellow students. I think that he had a point, but I learned an enormous amount both from the research facilities that were available, from the faculty and from fellow students, and from people generally in the university community. So I was very much influenced both as a U High student and as a university student. I did eventually get a master's in the same two subjects at the university, and spent a year working towards a doctorate later, but never completed that. Just too much distraction with several kids in the house and also a feeling that I had to do something more remunerative because they kept wanting to eat every day.

AP: This has been a very interesting and very helpful interview. I usually end these with two things: one, is there anything I didn't ask you that you would like to say?

ZA: Just that I was at this CORE reunion recently and found that there were a number of others there who share my concern about the current state of the country and what seemed to many of us a kind of . . . What was going on then is incomprehensible, for instance, to my young son. But there's a racism both in the political and business world and culture that it seems to me is sneaking its way back in, which I think is a great concern, and also the tendency towards distortion of history as a way of establishing excuses to become violent and do terrorist things.

AP: That's a very sobering thought. What I would like to do is send you a permission form because for human subjects research, if you're willing, I will have a transcriber transcribe our discussion. Then it would go into the University Archives so that people that are interested in the period would then be able to go back and look at the interview.

ZA: There is quite a bit in the Minnesota Daily about it also—a few things I wrote, but a lot of things were written about it. I heard about most of those things, but I also remember having read quite a bit at the time.

AP: I appreciate your time, and thank you very much.

ZA: Thank you.

AP: Good. Take care.

[end of interview]