

Interviewee: Manfred G. Reid Sr.

Interviewer: David Cline

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DC: This is David Cline and it is June the eighth, 2006. I'm in Louisville, Kentucky and this recording is for the Southern Oral History Program's Long Civil Rights Movement project. Today I'm with Mr. Manfred Reid Sr. and if you could just introduce yourself and tell me a little bit about yourself. You could start with your date of birth, where you were born.

MR: Thank you. My name is Manfred G. Reid Sr., middle initial stands for Gordon. My date of birth is 9-3-36 and my place of birth is Lowthair or Hazard, Kentucky. We lived in Lowthair from my birth until 1944 when my parents migrated to Louisville, Kentucky resulting from my father's illness with black lungs or tuberculosis, and the illness of my mother with the same disease. My father died nine months after we relocated to Louisville and my mother died eighteen months after his death. They both were tubercular. My mother died at Waverly Hills Sanatorium and my father died at the old Louisville General Hospital in 1945.

I attended elementary school at Virginia Avenue here in Louisville, Kentucky. I guess I should go back to the first grade. I spent the first two years of my primary education at the Hazard Colored School and then upon migration to Louisville, I attended Virginia Avenue School, Madison Junior High School, and Central High School, where I graduated in 1955. Following my graduation, I attended Kentucky State College for one full term plus the summer semester and then I returned to Louisville, Kentucky, was hired by the Louisville fire

department, and married in June of 1957. I generally did labor work and I reentered college at Bellarmine College in 1961.

DC: Now were there many blacks employed by the fire department when you came in or it depended on the job?

MR: The Louisville Fire Department in 1956 was integrated and for the first time in Louisville's history, the fire department was placed under the merit system. The blacks that were in the fire department at that time were all political appointees more than being able to pass a regular test, a merit test as to their worthiness. I think I was the first to be hired under the merit system and I was the first black to be placed into a white firehouse. That was an experience.

DC: Can you tell me about that experience?

MR: Yeah, I was placed at Quad Seven, which was up on Bardstown Rd.

DC: Now what neighborhood did you live in at that time?

MR: At that time, I lived in the west end. I lived at 1029 S. Twenty-Ninth St. My tenure at the fire department lasted for one year. Being assigned at an all-white house and being the first person to have that experience both for the white firemen and for myself, it wasn't very pleasant, but the firemen had a tendency to not want to sleep in the same area that I slept in and they had a tendency, I had to demand the right to wash dishes if I could put it that way, because they didn't want me to wash dishes. The difference between, I guess, the average worker, whether he's white or black, is that they have biases that are different in practice than the bias of a person who is wealthy. So they didn't want a black person to put their hands in the dishwater or to cook their food, because most of them came from a poor area and their biases

were more emotional and reactionary than some ideal that they might have. So I stayed at Quad Seven for about two months and then I was switched to an all-black firehouse.

DC: Why were you switched, do you think? Did you request it?

MR: No. This was something that was done either within the administration or by the battalion chief. But those fireman also had their biases, because I came in as a person having attended college, I passed the test, and I was there based on my merit. Well, they were all there based on their politics and so that created sort of a rift between them and I at that time. They were all nice people as far as people go, but this was just one of the things that they had is that I wasn't part of the political mix that made them what they were, as opposed to academic achievements that made me what I was at that time. I did fairly well at Nine Central. However, for some reason, probably a consensus among battalion chiefs, I didn't pass my probation. There was never any explanation for that and if you go to my file with the City of Louisville, employee file or personnel file or human resource file at the City of Louisville, you won't find nothing in my file, good or bad. Following that, I entered into the labor force at American Standard, which was a foundry.

DC: Just before we leave the fire department, how did you react to that, the news that you didn't pass the probation period?

MR: Well, this was in 1957, so I was twenty-one and if I remember correctly, I wrote a letter, but I didn't take it beyond that, because I wasn't as well schooled on these things as I was in later days. As a matter of fact, I had been raised a certain way. The way my parents raised me was that—I'll tell you this little story. When I was a kid, I guess I was like an average child, friendly and wanted to meet everybody and when I saw a white child, I wanted to play with them, but my mother would always grab me by the ear, pull me off to the side, and

tell me, "You can't play with white children because you're going to end up being lynched." So I learned to have this, be withdrawn from contact with white children. Naturally, when I moved into an integrated environment, it affected my ability to be sociable with them, because you don't understand why people are the way they are. You don't understand why they react in the manner that they do toward you. But at the same time, that's what the reality was. But having that type of discipline, I had some understanding of what racism was and how it would affect me.

At that particular time, I just went on, because I had just gotten married. Matter of fact, I married in June of 1957 and—now let me step back for a minute. '56, '57, yeah, June of '57. I was trying to feed my little wife and she was pregnant at that time and we had a little apartment over on 29th Street. When I left the fire department, I got a job in January at American Standard and I worked there until my son was born, which was in February. I'm going to tell you the honest truth: I promised the good Lord that if I ever got laid off, he would not have to worry about me going into the foundry anymore. So I had to find some kind of way to support my family, because I had made up my mind that the foundry's not for me.

DC: That was not going to be it.

MR: Right. Then I got a job at Bellarmine College.

DC: It was just hot and dirty work?

MR: Oh man, yeah, the foundry's awesome. It is truly awesome. It's good money, but it's awfully, extremely hard work.

DC: Now did you see racial bias at work there too in terms of who got what jobs?

MR: Yeah. We got the extremely hard labor jobs. With American Standard, they had unions. Blacks were in the unions in '58 and when it comes to off-bearers, core setters,

finishers, they could get those jobs. They had four cupelas. They had one black guy running one of the cupela. A cupela is a great big iron furnace. But pouring brass and pouring iron, the sand pit, those were entry jobs. They were very, very hard jobs. I used to work eight hours and then go home and dream about the work and have to go back to work the next morning. So you're working twenty-four hours a day. (laughs)

DC: So what job did you have when you first came in?

MR: When I first came in, I was an off-bearer and then I poured iron, and pouring iron, it's really very dangerous. If the iron spills, when it hits the concrete it beads up and bounces off. When it hits that cold concrete, it bounces off. If you're standing there, those little beads hit your skin and they just burn into you. But it was quite a job, very hard work, very hard work. I was there until they had a layoff and the day they had the layoff was the day that my son was born. But I prayed, thank God, that they had a layoff. I just had to get another job. So after that, I putted around, I guess, for year or two doing horticulture. I worked for a guy that was a horticulturalist.

Then I got a job at Bellarmine College. I was a night watchman and with that, by working there for two years, I got a scholarship and I went to Bellarmine for two years. But Bellarmine didn't pay much money. I think I was making about fifty-eight dollars a week or something like that. I just simply had to have more money and with another two years of college, my perspective had broadened quite a bit, so I started pursuing other employment and I started out selling Fuller products. Then I went from Fuller products and I ran into a guy by the name of Laken Cosby and he said that he would teach me real estate. I said, "You will?" He said, "Yeah." So me and another friend of mine who also went to Bellarmine, we started going by his office every day and then of course, he told us to go and buy the book, *Questions and*

*Answers on Real Estate*, and we did. He told us that we had to study and start preparing for the salesman test.

DC: Now Laken Cosby had been working as a Realtor for some time?

MR: Yeah, he was a real estate broker, had his own business and his own office. He was black.

DC: And who was the other person that came in with you at that time?

MR: Luther Wilson. I'd say we worked for him as finders. We would go get clients that want to buy houses and bring them to the office and he taught us how to process loans and mortgages that way. Plus, we had to study for the test. So we passed the test in 1963. As a matter of fact, the day that John Kennedy got shot, I was in the test and I found out about the assassination when I came out of the test, out of the examination room, which was quite a shock, because in that type of test, the room was closed off from the world. You don't know what's going on outside. Then we worked as salesmen for about two years and we went for our broker's license and we both passed that. So we stayed with Laken until '67 and then we went out on our own and we started Reid-Wilson Realty Company.

May the eighth, 1968, we all got together and we was going somewhere and we had another friend by the name of Charles Thomas. He changed his name -- it's Charles Todd now, Rev. Charles Todd. The police had stopped him. Well, we were like business partners, so we stopped to see what was wrong with him. We walked over and we asked what was wrong and whatever it was, it was a conversation between him and the police. The one officer told us, "Niggers, get out of the street." We said, "Come on, man." So then he pushed me and so I said, "Okay cool, I'll get out of the street." So I started backing up to get out of the street and he brings out this rubber club and hits me and wow, man. At twenty-three, I just fired on him, I hit

him, but he had no reason to do that. Then after that, I guess it drew three hundred people out there in the street that night and the police officers, to their credit, with the exception of this one, they did everything they could to keep it down, which we did too. Because I mean, he was way out of line, way, way out of line.

DC: So they didn't arrest you then?

MR: Yeah, they arrested me.

DC: They did arrest you. Did they arrest all of you?

MR: No, they arrested me and Rev. Todd. I was charged with assault and battery of a police officer and disorderly conduct, and he was charged with a bank robbery, but he hadn't robbed no bank. They thought he was somebody that had robbed a bank and that's why they stopped him; they thought he was a bank robber.

DC: So you said all these people came out in the street.

MR: Yeah. Now that's point one of a racial issue. The crowd got involved. This was the same, this was like, see Martin Luther King was killed in April, the twenty-eighth. This is May the eighth, so it's just about a week after his death, about the same time of his funeral, all of that. The emotions in all American communities were at a high pitch in the black community. Everybody wanted to know, what do we do? So I guess everybody was looking for an issue or some reason by which they could express their discontent.

What followed my arrest was other organizations and groups protesting against our arrest. By—this is May the 8th—May the 15th, let's say, there was a rally around May the 15th at 15th and Broadway—28th and Greenwood, I'm sorry, 28<sup>th</sup> and Greenwood. Somebody threw a rock or something, I don't know, but anyway, that was the riots, the riots started then. That went on for three days. They called out the National Guard. Following that—

DC: Now where were you during that period? Were you out there on the street?

MR: When I heard about the rally, I went down there and I stood at a distance and watched for a few minutes and they were just speaking, so I went home. I've never really been in a protest. I really don't believe in it. I think what precipitates conflict is attention and what I think, if you've got to fight, I don't see no sense in protesting; you've got to fight. So I've never--. And as much I'm aggressive and militant in a sense, I don't think my militancy is manifested through demonstrations. I'm a former Marine, I was in the Marine Corps. We were not taught [to protest], we were taught to fight. I basically have the same culture and values that everybody else has and your thought reactions in your daily living is based on the training and discipline you've had. Well, that's my discipline and I know with most people, they believe in protests. Well, I have to be candid with you. I do not believe in civil protest, because I think that you may open the doors for some discussions, but you don't resolve issues.

DC: So what do you prefer as your strategy?

MR: You got to fight and granted that at that time and even now, we had to fight. We're drastically unprepared to fight, especially the government. But at the same time, I don't believe that you can get it done with protests. The conflicts that people have in terms of nations or in the groups within nations, it usually comes down to open conflict so that they can have a stake at the table. Otherwise, you're pleading. It's the same slave you had a hundred years ago, because you're pleading to your master for help. I don't believe in that. I believe in acting against the issue and being effective and forcing the issue to the table, with you having some equity there by which you can re-establish some degree of order and a basis by which you can build.

But anyway, I went to the rally and I stood there for awhile and then I walked -- I lived about eight or ten blocks from there -- so then I just went on home. When the police got there, I wasn't there. I was home at that time. The issues, the riots lasted about three or four days. They called in the National Guard and eventually, it quieted down, it ran its course. What that really was, was a protest more than a fight. They called it riots when it really was just protests, it was a form of protest which extended into disorder. But in October the seventeenth of that same year, six of us were indicted for criminal conspiracy. The official indictment was "Conspiracy to Destroy Private Property." The media and the public interpretation of the indictment was conspiracy to overthrow the government. That's also what probably led to federal intervention in terms of investigations. There's a form of investigation called an "information" and you have to go through that. But anyway, we went to trial. I mean, we were indicted, arraigned. In the process, I was brought to trial for assault and battery against a police officer, which I was found guilty, but due to the public sentiment for our cause, Judge Nicholson probated the sentences and I served no time.

DC: And this became known as—

MR: The Black 6.

DC: The Black 6.

MR: Uh huh. And there were six people: myself, Ruth Bryant, Walter T. Cosby, Kulya Simms, Sam Hawkins, James Cortez. How many is that?

DC: Six.

MR: Okay, yeah. We were all indicted. Cortez was a person that was supposed to have been a substitute speaker at that rally I was talking about for Stokely Carmichael. During that rally, there was supposed to have been an airplane or something involved. I don't remember

enough to give the details to that, but the airplane was supposed to fly over our area where we were having the rally. I don't remember the full details about it, but it did create a lot of attention and a lot of reaction. But as far as me understanding what that was, I never did know and probably never will know.

Now getting back to the indictment and the arraignment, the trial was set and they had two hearings asking for a change of venue. The court in Jefferson County changed the venue to Mumfordsville, Kentucky in Hart County. When we got down there, the judge sent it back to Louisville, because he felt like that they didn't have jurisdiction and that wasn't an issue facing Hart County. So it came back to Louisville and following another hearing after that, the case was dismissed due to they didn't have probable cause, they didn't have any evidence, and there was nothing to support the conspiracy theory.

Now the cost of that to my life was loss of my broker's license, loss of my marriage, loss of my business, and loss of my character and reputation. It reduces you to homelessness and being destitute. That's what it reduces you to. You have to overcome that by just pure determination. You are determined that you're not going to let this kill you or let it destroy you. So you go about the process of rebuilding. And as far as explaining to anybody in terms of the charges, there never was a conspiracy that I knew about. As a matter of fact, we didn't know what a conspiracy was, because that had never come before anybody. Then once you found out what it was, you found that you didn't do it, but you still wanted to know what did you have to do to have a conspiracy. Once you found out what that was, you know you didn't do it. (laughs)

Of course, with public rumor and the media and all that, it makes an idea of what a person is more real in the minds of the public than what he truly is. Of course, you have to deal with scorn and rejection quite a bit as it relates to being able to survive in your community,

people having believed that--. You don't know what logic leads one to believe that a person who lives in my midst would blow themselves up. If what they were saying was true, we would have blown up where we lived, because we were supposed to have blown up or detonated all the storage tanks in the western part of Louisville. You go down on Western Parkway, you'll see some oil tanks, gasoline tanks where they store the area's fuel. That what we were supposed to blow up.

DC: That was what they alleged.

MR: One of the defendants, which was Ruth Bryant, she lived across the street from there. Now she has a master's degree, an English teacher. Her husband is a doctor. And she lived down there with four children. Now why they believed that she would—

DC: Blow up her own home.

MR: I don't know. It brings to the question: was the charge of conspiracy to destroy private property and the rumor of overthrow of the government, was that a means by which officials on some level of government decided to attack a problem rather than dealing with the truth? I strongly believe that based on research that I've done over the years. I don't see any reason why the government should have been in this, but they were, the FBI, state police, National Security Agency.

DC: By attack a problem, you mean undermine leadership in the black community?

MR: Well, investigations and undermining. A lot of us didn't make it. A lot of them are dead. A lot of them went to the penitentiary for nothing. Since you know there was no conspiracy and the whole concept of it was totally irrational and since I was dealing with intelligent people across the board, weren't none of us fools, none of us drunkards, drug

addicts, uneducated felons, there was none of that in there. We were all intelligent people and then you've got to try to figure out why conspiracy?

DC: Now were you a member of any organizations, civil rights organizations or any other?

MR: At that time?

DC: Yeah, at that time.

MR: You were traditionally a member of the NAACP, Urban League. I was a real estate broker, so you do that for business reasons and political reasons. But at that particular time, no, my whole purpose was business. Like I said, I'm not a demonstrator, so I never did participate in the civil rights protests.

DC: When you said that other people sort of showed up and joined around that protest, you mentioned Stokely Carmichael, so SNCC was involved?

MR: Yeah. Well, no, they were not.

DC: They were not, but they showed up?

MR: Well, Stokely Carmichael came from New York. They sent him down here, or at least he came. But they were invited to come to Louisville to support the effort against police brutality, that's what that was. Because at that time, the indictment didn't come down until October, so this was pre-indictment. This was protests that was going on out in the community. Like I said, the temperament, in my judgment, was based on the death of Martin Luther King. That sparked all these other things that came along. You see what I'm saying?

DC: I do, yeah.

MR: Louisville is more interstate in terms of commerce and business development now than it was then. At that particular time, the *Courier-Journal and Times*, for example, was

owned by the Bingham family, locally-owned, locally-managed, and locally-controlled, although the Bingham family's very liberal. The banking system was locally-owned, First National Bank, Liberty National Bank, the Bank of Louisville. Now the Bank of Louisville is BB&T, which is interstate; National City, which was First National; and Citizen Fidelity Bank is PNC. These were the large financial giants in Louisville at that time. Of course, now it's different, totally different. The reason I mention that was because the reaction was based on those leaders in the community that determined basically what goes on anywhere in the community.

DC: The power elites, the business elites.

MR: That's right. I think the indictment really came from that area as a means of capping the resistance that they felt like was going on in the west end of Louisville and to bring in the powers of law enforcement to relate to it. That's my analysis of what happened. Now what this does to the individual, you lose everything, you lose it all. You have to struggle to stay alive. I guess in most cases, like some of our people died from it, they just got sick and died. We had a guy that worked for us named Carl Williams and he just died. We don't know why he died. There was great stress in his life because he was involved with our group. Of course, in that period of time, you have to grow and become outspoken, because your life's on the line. So I was, I was speaking with groups then between the months of June and October when we were indicted. I became a member of the West End Community Council, which was a group that was dedicated to avoiding white flight in the west end. Although I was a broker, I still worked with them on that issue. Later on as we moved into the crisis, I became a member of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which is Carl and Anne Braden. Well, that was considered at that time to be a communist organization, but I was on SCEF's board and I

became converted to the whole idea that we have to make a substantial effort to deal with the issues that face us and speak up. So I started dealing with it.

I owned at that particular time quite a bit of real estate. I owned the twenty-four plex at Forty-Fifth and Broadway and I owned my own residence and then I owned three other pieces of real estate, single-family housing that I rented out. Then I had my regular volume of real estate sales every year. So I was living relatively middle class and I guess a niche above the average-income citizen in the neighborhood. I had a good life. During that period, I started losing things. The first thing I lost was that apartment building.

DC: Now you said you lost your brokerage license?

MR: Yes.

DC: Or is that later on?

MR: That was later on. I lost my house and then I lost the other two pieces of property. I ended up on 630 S. Twentieth Street in a shack, but that was the best I could do for my children at that time, because with these losses, the stress on my family was huge, it was awesome, which led to divorce. Now the law enforcement was involved in my marriage, which I had to deal with that personally, because there was an effort to have me incarcerated and I couldn't figure out where in the world is this coming from. When you're in the streets every day, you can pick up things. You've got friends and people that you know.

An attorney came to me one day and said, "Reid, let me see you a minute." I said, "Okay." So he said, "You know how much trouble you're in?" So I said, "Yeah, they've got me on the indictment." He said, "I ain't talking about that. I mean right now, this minute." I said, "No." He said, "There's a mental inquest warrant for your arrest." I said, "What?" I couldn't figure this is out, so I went home and talked to my wife: "You know anything about

this?" My wife said, "Well, I can't tell you." So finally when I get to the bottom of this [I found out], my wife was under pressure from law enforcement to do something about me. Now let me clarify. My wife is a wonderful person and we had a divorce over that and all that, but the pressure that she was under, I don't see how she kept her sanity. But anyway, finally she conceded, but I had to come home and get that out of her.

So when they did that, when I found out what it was, I went to the mental inquest court. "Here I am." They said, "Well, what do you want?" I said, "Don't you have a warrant for my arrest?" They said, "Well, we got it, but it hasn't been issued." I said, "What do you mean?" They said, "You got to do something." I said, "What?" He said, "You got to do something. You haven't done anything. We've got it here." What he just told me is how to keep from being arrested.

DC: Wow!

MR: So I left. Then I had to tell my wife, "Well, we can't live together no more, because you got the family involved in this," her family involved in this, and my family adding to it. I told her she had to go home. I took her home to her mother.

Of course, that led to divorce proceedings and that's difficult. That's the hardest thing that can ever happen to a person. In the proceedings, due to the fact that my wife signed something the police wanted her to sign, they gave me the children, because she lied, and they gave me whatever I had left. Of course, now I had to clean that up. My wife was purely a victim. I don't really think that was for any sense of justice. I think that just made matters worse. I had to tell my kids, "Whatever that judge says, you're going to see your mama and you're going to see her every day." I set that up with my kids.

Then I bought a little shack over on Twentieth Street and me and the kids moved there. Then I started trying to rebuild my life and that took thirty years. It took a long time. I do not want to leave the impression that my wife—as a matter of fact, her family and my family, they were psychological victims in the sense that they feared white people. Well, I didn't fear white people. That just wasn't there. I don't know for what reason, but it wasn't there. I didn't fear white people. I was angry sometimes, but I didn't fear them. So what I had to do was get the kids up for the school. My son, he had one more year to finish school, my daughter had two years, and get them up and get them on their way. By the way, I have four children. I've got two twin daughters outside the marriage. Truthfully, it should be mentioned that their birth played a role in my wife's attitude, it naturally would.

I stayed in that house on Twentieth Street for ten years, from '70 to '88. During that period of time, I tried to rehab the building, but I didn't have any money. My philosophy is that you cannot keep a person from working. You can deny him a job. You can deny him wages. But a person who really intends to keep themselves busy, you cannot stop him from working. So I went to work on my building. I started trying to gather material, whatever I could get free, and started working on the building. Well, that went on for a long time and I did re-establish support among comrades, because for awhile there, about seven years, you didn't see nobody, because everybody was in trouble, everybody's trying to stay out of the way. You didn't see anybody. But by re-establishing those contacts with people that you've been associated with in the past, it gave you a chance, somebody you can talk to, because you go a long time without anybody talking to you, because everybody's afraid of you. Here you are, you're on the indictments. You were supposed to blow up the whole city. You're dangerous.

DC: So you were really isolated for a long time?

MR: Plus, you're crazy. Yeah, you're really isolated away from the community, away from everybody.

DC: And it took time, but you were able to—

MR: Huh?

DC: It took some time, but you were able to re-establish these contacts?

MR: Oh yeah, yeah. You just got to make a commitment to rebuild your life.

DC: Now what did you live on? I mean, financially how did you get by during that period?

MR: Well, I used my talents as a paralegal. I wrote papers for people and I'd type for people and that brought in a little income. Then you have to do things that you wouldn't normally do, which increases your risk, but you got to do it anyway. For example, when a man comes down and cuts off your water, as soon as he leaves, you cut it back on. They cut off your lights. As soon as they leave, you cut your lights back on. But these are things you have to do when you're trying to get back. You have to be able to weather the elements, because a lot of times, you don't have no utilities. So you got to be able to weather the elements and sometimes it takes two or three days to get your stuff back on, get your services back connected. But my main source of income was services that I rendered for people and minority contractors would let me work for them.

DC: And you had lost all the real estate by that point?

MR: I lost everything.

DC: Everything.

MR: Yeah, lost it all. Let's see. About that time, I sold a house and I think this was in '77, '78. The man gave me five hundred dollars deposit. Brokers are required to have an

escrow account, so I placed the money where it's supposed to be placed in my escrow account. The day of the closing, I wrote a check for the money in my escrow account and it bounced and I couldn't figure out why. I told them I had to investigate and find out what happened. Well, the man filed a complaint with the Real Estate Commission. So I went to the bank and asked them for my records and my records reflected that they deducted, I think, three dollars for service charge against my escrow account. Well, the bank knew that wasn't my money and they also knew that escrow funds are public funds. And why they did that, I don't know, but that made that check bounce. That cost me my real estate license. I told the man, I said, "The money that's left in there, I'll give it back to you." So he said, "That's alright," because what happens is when a client loses the money like that, the Real Estate Board makes up the difference and the Real Estate Board filed charges against the broker. And there were no charges filed against me, none. That's the proper legal way that the Real Estate Board responds to misconduct by a broker and there wasn't any.

DC: And they didn't do that.

MR: Nothing happened. They just took my license. This is 1978.

DC: And the Real Estate Board is majority white, I would assume.

MR: It's all white.

DC: All white.

MR: Matter of fact, we couldn't be Realtors at that time. No, you couldn't be a Realtor.

DC: You couldn't be a member of the association?

MR: You could get a license and become a real estate broker, but you couldn't become a member of the Kentucky State Board of Realtors or the Louisville Board of Realtors. But that's what controlled the Kentucky Real Estate Board, were Realtors. Then I just simply had to

settle down and figure out how I was going to live. My oldest children, they were about ready to finish high school and my son went to United Electronic Institute and got his degree. My daughter had a child and then she went to become a LPN. She's gone on and got her bachelor's now, but at that time, she did that so she could get some work. Then the kids naturally went on with their life. So by 1980, I was pretty much by myself, wife gone, children gone.

DC: Did you have any connection with the twins or their mother?

MR: Well, they went to her and she was a welfare mother. They told her that she had to press charges against me or they'll cut off all her benefits. She came to me and she said, "They are after you." I said, "Yeah, I know it." She said, "They want me to turn you in." She said, "What do you want me to do?" I said, "Well, what happens if you don't?" She said, "I lose all my benefits." I said, "Well, now the first thing, since I can't support the children, you got to take care of them. Now you're doing the best you can. Whatever they want you to do, get the money and feed the babies. I'll face the white man by myself. You don't have to worry about that." Well, she did that. Now the sad thing about that was that if she had just done that, fine, but she had let the social workers allow them to impose their biases on her and she started believing what they were telling her. So after that, I didn't get to see the kids for awhile.

DC: They cut you out of the visitation?

MR: Yeah, they cut me totally out of that. Then I had to go to jail, I guess, four times about that. I stayed in jail.

DC: What were the charges?

MR: Well, most of the time I was locked up, there were no charges. I don't know how many times I've been arrested and I don't know of any—I've never been convicted of a crime. I've been brought into court and I've been held by the courts and I guess when it comes to child

support at that time, they could say that, but that's about all. I don't know of any, I've never been a felon or had felony charges. They have been brought against me, but I've never had to been convicted of none of that. Most of the times that I've been arrested, I don't know why I was arrested. The police didn't know. Sometimes the police have told me, they'd say, "Well hey man, we were told to come and get you now, okay." And I'd say, "Okay, let's go." One time, they sent a woman down there by herself, I guess after they found out that I really wasn't no problem.

DC: That's right, that's right.

MR: They just had to go get me to bring me in. You see what I'm saying?

DC: That sends a message.

MR: That went on for ten years. That went on for ten years. You know what stuck in my mind all them years is what the court officer told me when I went to turn myself in based on the mental inquest warrant: "You've got to do something. As long as you don't do nothing, you're alright." But as to why I was arrested, there are no reasons why I'm arrested. Now I've done some research on my file and when I get up there, it's in the Jefferson Circuit Court, it's about that thick. It's two or three of them about that thick.

DC: That's like four inches thick?

MR: Yeah, right, but they're mumbo jumbo, no telling what's in there. I went through it and I saw a lot of things in there that I did not understand, such as at the top of the page, they would have all the interested government agencies that were involved in the investigation and some of the initials you'll understand and some you don't, like NSA, you know what that is, FBI, you know what that is, Kentucky State Police, you know what that is. And the interchange

of information between the agencies, that's in there and there are coded forms, but you know what it is, [coughing] but as to why, you don't know why.

So then, let's see, what happened? I went to see a friend one night [coughing] and I left his house, I guess, eleven thirty, twelve o'clock, something like that. I started home and I didn't have no brakes. The car was accelerating and I couldn't stop that. I didn't have no lights and I couldn't cut it off. I managed to get, I guess, a mile away. I had to make two right turns. I managed to do that. When I got on Broadway, the speed got up to like seventy-five and I just kind of prayed a little bit and said, "I've got take these three cars," and I took three cars, swiped them, and that's how I stopped. Then the car reversed some kind of way and I slammed into a church building. It totally demolished my car.

I don't know how long I was unconscious, but when I woke up, I said, "Wait a minute. I'm not dead." Then I started checking myself out, you know, I'm alright. I moved my shoulders, they were alright. I moved my extremities, they were alright. I looked over there across the street and there was the police. Of course, you know what I was going there: here I go again. So I struggled my way out of the car. The police pulled up there where I'm at. They said, "Are you hurt?" I said, "Well, I don't know, officer. I probably need to go to the hospital." By that time, I was standing up. He looked at me and said, "You're going to jail." I went to jail that night. I got out about five o'clock in the morning. There were never any charges. Nobody ever contacted me about them automobiles. I destroyed three automobiles, completely demolished them. The damage I did to that church, nobody ever contacted me about that.

DC: Really?

MR: That's right. No lawsuits, no charges, no nothing. It's not in my record in the courthouse. That's why I'm saying there was extensive involvement and see this went on for

years. This just didn't last for a few months. This went on for years. What you have to do is make sure that you don't lose your perspective in life and lose it. You always have to think the second time as to why this is happening to you. I called my son and he came over and we went to see my car. He said, "I really don't see how you lived through that," because it was totaled. It was completely totaled. What I don't remember, I remember crawling out of the car, but I don't remember how. I don't remember whether I forced a door open or I crawled through a window. I don't remember how I got out of the car at that time. But this is why I know that the involvement extended more than a normal law enforcement investigation. There was probably some form of involvement which went beyond the capacity of the Louisville police department.

After that, I really got better. So I sat down and I wrote "a plea for reconsideration" and filed it in the US District Court. I got a hearing under Federal Judge Allan. Of course, I filed it pro se, because I didn't have any money. He was nice enough to give me a hearing. He didn't have the hearing in the court. He took me in his chambers and we sat down and talked. He said he had fully read my filing and he told me that, "You got a problem. It's real. No, you're not imagining this. But you need lawyers. I don't know how you're going to get no lawyers, but you need a lawyer to help you deal with this." Well you know, the greatest satisfaction there is to confirm that this is not your imagination.

DC: Right.

MR: This is real.

DC: You start to feel like you're going crazy.

MR: Because it's hard to believe that somebody, the government or somebody, is that deeply involved to try to destroy you. I accepted that and I went out and tried to begin to figure out how I would fight this. I went to all of my sources that during the court proceedings on the

conspiracy trial, we had a whole battery of lawyers. We had Kunstler. We had a highly-renowned and respected retired judge here now, but not at that time; he was a lawyer, Ben Shobe. We had Dan Taylor, Neville Tucker, Judge Anderson -- Charlie Anderson -- and we had a battery of lawyers. But now when this happened to me, all of the money that they received as fees during that period of time, I didn't have it. So I had to appeal to them for *pro bono* services. Well, they wanted money, so obviously, I didn't get it there.

I eventually spent my time reviewing and studying my documents and trying to figure out what the hell really happened. Most of the analysis led me to the conclusion that I'm explaining now, that there was more involved in this than just the local police. There was federal involvement, because all of my federal records, they would blot out most of the information, all of the information as a matter of fact, especially the identification of persons. There were some documents where they had blotted the name, but you could read what was said. You know that if you got the NSA and the FBI and the state police in it, this is way above me.

Then I went to a banker friend of mine, what's his name, Sam Cline. He owned the Bank of Louisville. I talked to Sam and I did this on purpose, because I knew Sam would tell me. I said, "I want to borrow five thousand dollars." He said, "Right." He said, "Manfred, I can give you five thousand dollars, but I can't loan you five thousand dollars." I said, "Why?" "It's because your name is on the exchange." I said, "What is an exchange?" He said, "Well, there's a system of information exchanged between bankers," and he said, "The center's in Chicago." He said, "But anybody's who's under federal investigation, the banks can't loan you no money." I said, "Is that right?" He said, "Yeah." So he reached in his pocket and he gave me a thousand dollars. He said, "I hope this helps, but I can't loan you the money." So back I go.

DC: So that confirmed that you were under federal investigation, which you didn't have any proof of.

MR: Yeah, it's an information.

DC: Up to that point, there had been no proof of that or charges.

MR: No, I didn't know what it was. For about maybe seven years, I didn't know what it was. I used my instincts to stay alive, being able to spot the police before they spot me, move out of the way, stay away from people. The way it was, if I associated with people who were fearful either of me or of the law, they're going to call the law; secretly, they're going to call the law and I'm going to get up and go. So I just had to leave people alone, everybody. So here I go back to try to figure out what an information is. An information is an investigation by the government. It doesn't necessarily mean that you are to be arrested or charged. It is for the government to investigate for whatever they can find on you.

Now in my study of law about this, I learned about restoration and it's based under the legal theory or principle of reconsideration. So that's why my appeal to the court was titled, "a plea for reconsideration," because you have that remedy through the courts. I requested Judge Allen to do whatever he could in the private chambers. After that, all of that pressure lifted and I haven't been arrested since. That's true. I haven't been arrested since. So that further confirmed to me, without any official sanctioning by the government, that the government was involved in this in a big way.

DC: I was going to say with that pressure gradually lifted, were you able to sort of resume your life?

MR: Well, this is in 1988. By this time, the City of Louisville comes in and says, "We're going to tear down your house," which sounds bad and it was bad to me.

DC: This is on 20th Street?

MR: Yeah.

DC: The house you'd been working on for ten years.

MR: Yeah. So here I go to court with my little papers and I'm going to file *pro se* and so forth.

DC: Now why did they want to demolish the house?

MR: It was uninhabitable by code standards. You know, because they'd cut off all the water, cut off the electricity, you don't have it. And I'm going to work on the building anyway. I'm determined to keep working on that building. My real rational objective was whatever you do, stay busy. Whatever anybody thinks about what you're doing, stay busy. Don't become no idle mind, because that's where your fears multiply, your suspicions multiply. You become paralyzed with that. You can't become paralyzed with your condition. You got to get up and do something about the condition and move on with your life. So I knew not to become idle in my mind, in my thinking, or begin to ponder over or have self-pity for what happened. What you got to do is get up and go to work. But it reached a point where the city said, "No, no longer. This building is not going to be rebuilt. We're going to tear it down."

Now this is where remedy fits in. Somebody called me and I'm trying to think how they called me, because I didn't have a telephone. But anyway, somebody called me and told me, he says, "Is your name Manfred Reid?" "Yeah." He said, "Look, you're outdoors." I said, "Yeah, I am." So they said, "Well look, go to this address," and it was the Legal Arts Building at Seventh and Market. I went over there. I asked them, I said, "I got this message." They said, "Well, are you Manfred Reid?" "Yeah." "Okay, we got an apartment for you." That's when I moved into public housing. I had started doing contracting work putting in sidewalks and roofs,

whatever. For the next year or two, that's what I did, did pretty good and got contracting business.

But anyway, there was a little lady around there in public housing. I live in Beecher Terrace. She came to me and she said, "What in the world's wrong with you?" So I said, "What?" I didn't know. "Aren't you Manfred Reid?" I said, "Yeah, I'm Manfred Reid." "We want you to come to a meeting." She said, "You done moved up here with us and you don't say nothing to nobody." I said, "Okay, I'll come to the meeting." That's how I got involved with the Housing Authority. The work that we did and so forth, they wanted me to be a commissioner. When the Housing Authority made it known that they wanted a resident to be a commissioner, they recommended me. I used to carry food to older people and work with Kentucky Harvest and Elder Care and getting people food. I did that for awhile and I helped to run the council at that time. This is when the "upward bound era" began after that. It's been those years now.

Let's get back to Park Duvalle. Southwick and Cotter Homes was in fact Park Duvalle. From 1958 to 1965, my wife and children lived in Southwick. When I got into real estate, I was on the Cotter Homes Resident Council -- Neighborhood Council it was.

DC: As a Realtor, even though you didn't live in that neighborhood yourself at that time?

MR: I lived adjacent to it.

DC: Adjacent to it?

MR: Well, no. I bought a house. I went into real estate while I was in Southwick. Matter of fact, that's where I was licensed from. When I started selling real estate, I could afford to buy a house.

DC: Okay, so you moved out of Southwick?

MR: Yeah, and I bought a house on 32nd Street. That house was bought in 1965. God, we had some good times in that house. Me and the kids, my wife, we had never lived on that level before. So with me being upper-income, I could take them on vacations. We traveled every summer. We were always going somewhere. But anyway, you had two complexes there. You had Cotter Homes, which was on the east side of 35th Street and Southwick was on the west side. I lived at 3618 Stratton, Building 18, in Southwick and we stayed there until I bought this house in 1965.

During this period, which when you go all the way back to the 60s, you're not dealing with the national interests and the civil rights movement, because everybody at that time, *Brown v. Board of Education* was passed in '54 and from then on up to the 60s, things were relatively calm. What was really going on around here was called urban renewal when they tore down Walnut Street, which is now Muhammad Ali [Boulevard], but they tore that down and everybody was resettling from what that was. In the meantime, around 1958, around 1953, Dwight Eisenhower signed a bill making it possible to expand public housing to include housing opportunities for minorities. Of course, that's the results of Cotter Homes and they find out that—let's see. By 1956, they wanted to build more housing, so they built Southwick. You're moving in the 60s toward the assassination of John Kennedy and Malcolm X and then Martin Luther King and then Bobby.

Pretty much what happens in Louisville, Kentucky, the temperament was based on the national movement. I think this led more up to those conflicts that included me at that time. I guess you could say that you were a victim of both circumstance, place, and time. You know what I mean? But by being a religious person, you feel like, "God, why'd you put me in this

kind of position?" But when you look at where I am today, he may have had a reason. I couldn't say that for real, but he may have had a reason for me, because I've never understood why all that happened to me. There was no reason for it to happen. As a matter of fact, I've always had a pleasant, smiling personality. I got along with everybody. I never had no problems with nobody. In spite of the fact that my basic value system was one of aggressiveness and standing for your rights and fighting when you had to fight, I never had to fight. I just never found a reason.

To be really honest with you, the way I looked at white people was that they were over there and I'm over here. They don't bother me. Once I got into real estate and various principles of equality, what they called fair housing or open housing at that time, in terms of encouraging home ownership in the west end, I was part of that movement, but that's selling houses, that's really business. I didn't have the attitude of being anti-white or anti-government. It just wasn't there. Now over a period of let's say twenty-four months, you go from being a normal, upright citizen to being a criminal and a fanatic. That transition has a tremendous impact on your personality. I'm trying to put the mindset with the temperment in Southwick and Cotter Homes at that time, because there was deteriorating social disorders that were going on that time.

DC: Within the public housing?

MR: Within public housing, yes. Open peddling of drugs, hard drugs, on the street. The mothers are out protesting against the drug pushers. The police are picking up homicide victims all the time. This was the temperment at that time. At that time, we had problems, we didn't have ambulance service. You either had to get them to the hospital in your automobile or you had to try to persuade the police to take a person to the hospital. There was a protest led by

residents at that time to provide services for people who got sick in an emergency. The protests against the drugs brought about a residents' attempt to block off the streets, but residents can't decide that. So that was a conflict. I was basically at that time on the outside looking in. I wasn't a part of none of that. Even by being on the neighborhood council down there, I wasn't a part of that. I voted on it and so forth, but I wasn't actually involved in the protests or none of that. It was just when those things had happened that as a responsible citizen, I had like I had to deal with it, see.

When the riots occurred, the protests against the inequities in Southwick and Cotter Homes was already started, big protests. Sometimes I wonder how in the world did I get involved in all this, because I really wasn't part of it. From this day to this day, I'm proud that I was. I'm proud that the stand that I made, that I made it. The cost was very high, it was very, very high. I don't particularly hold it against the government. I looked up the reason for an information. The causes that were stated in the *Encyclopedia of Law* was that if there are allegations made against you of such a nature that it's going to cause mayhem, uncontrolled violence, criminal activity, social disruption, that it's the duty of the federal government to investigate.

Now the limitations on the government is that they cannot take information from just anyone. It has to be someone who is so close to you that it almost amounts to probable cause. Then they can do this. That's what happened to me. Now where this came from within the community, I don't know. Whether it came from these traditional rulers that I was talking about or whether it came from family, you don't know where it comes from, but this is what actually happened. But if the federal government does not know, if they hear of allegations that a person

is dangerous toward the welfare of any community, the general welfare of the public, the government has a responsibility to intervene and determine if this is true or not true.

Further down in there, in the final paragraphs of that part of American judicial prudence, it states that a person who was persecuted by the government can file for restoration or the government can restore on their own. That's pretty much what happened is the latter. I never did go back and ask after I filed that plea for reconsideration. I never went back, because I couldn't afford it. But all of a sudden, my life just transformed and they have done everything they can to provide opportunity for me now as opposed to then. Some of the things that I told you that I experienced, it falls in line with an information. What I decided to do basically was commit myself to a change and we have pretty much done that.

DC: In what ways have you?

MR: Well, public housing.

DC: By working in this issue.

MR: Yeah, it's totally different. I'm the first resident ever to be a commissioner.

DC: So you've been on the commission for how long, you've been a commissioner—

MR: Since '99.

DC: And you're currently chair.

MR: The chairman.

DC: And have been chair since?

MR: 2000.

DC: Oh, so it's a long time. What have been personally your main goals as chair or even before that? What did you really want to accomplish?

MR: We've accomplished a great deal of it and that's to change the perception of public housing as we know it. We had to make a transformation because of the centralization of poverty as they call it. All poor people are looped together in one neighborhood. That's damaging. Diversifying residents makes it possible for them to interexchange with other people and impact their social development. I think that's working out very well. We have a Section 3 program that I initiated here. We guarantee thirty percent minority participation in all procurement contracts and that's worked out very well. Resident participation in policy—

DC: I'm sorry to interrupt, but that's a place where then housing and jobs, those two issues really cross?

MR: They cross, yeah.

DC: So you're able to not only help people get affordable safe housing, but able to create minority jobs?

MR: That's right and job opportunities. For example, the builder of Liberty Green is a black builder. We didn't have to bring somebody from out of town or a white company. We had a builder here that had gone through the Title 5 program, which was where the government trained minorities and they gave them a million dollars a year for five years. He was one of those and he successfully went through that twice, so he was a well-qualified person and that opened the doors for him. And opening up the board meetings so residents could speak their issues before the board, I instituted that. Most of these things that we've done have been as a result of our executive director. He's very open. We've worked very well with the man on all matters.

I do believe that we have the core solution for some of the core problems. It just takes time for those things to quiet down, but we're moving along very, very well in all of our

programs. Tutoring programs, we've re-established our tutoring programs. We gave out 1.58 million dollars in scholarships last year to residents to go to get their education. We have a family self-sufficiency program and residents have an opportunity to save a dollar, we give them a dollar. Most of them, all of them end up with a down payment on a house. So these things that have been instituted in the last six, seven years since I've been chairman is what's beginning to turn housing around. Our staff is more than cooperative; they're committed.

DC: It's interesting, because it seems like once upon a time, public housing was a transition place. People were on their way up and out. Then it became a place where people languished.

MR: Well, it's fluctuating economics that causes that. We take the brunt of economic declines, so when you go into the decline, a person of lower income becomes stuck there, because they can't have increased incomes to be able to make up the difference to buy a house. So you end up with two generations living in public housing at the same time. We're getting ready to go through a down-cline now. For the last hundred years, the US government has controlled world oil prices and the shipping lanes. Well, that's gone. We'll never have that back again. How long is it going to take to make a transition to industry-based fuel? You could always use gasoline both commercially and in industry. I don't think you can take cellular ethanol and run a ship. You know what I mean? So we've got five military fleets. Each fleet has fifteen ships, plus all the motor vehicular and air transport. Whatever it's going to take to create the infrastructure to have a fuel-based system that accommodates industry, the military, and the consumer public, that's a long time to include investment dollars, building the systems of distributions, putting a price cap on it so that it can be commercially viable. How much time are we talking about? How many people will have to be unemployed until we reach some goal

of stable growth out of another fuel system? I don't think we know that. I don't think the government knows that yet.

DC: So you see us going into a real period of decline?

MR: Huh?

DC: You see us going into a—

MR: A serious—

DC: Economic decline.

MR: Yeah. We don't control world oil prices anymore and we're going to lose this war, so whatever rights we had, we're going to lose that. Those are economic losses.

DC: And who's going to bear the brunt of this?

MR: The people who always have. It's the labor force. This may be, when it comes to conservative economic systems, open market systems, let me put it this way, Freidrich von Hayek's economic philosophy as opposed to John Maynard Keynes. That structure is set up not to provide any benefits to the poor, to the working class. What they're really saying is the working class gets whatever industry gives you, your wages and whatever else they want to give you, but they don't have to do anything for you. You don't have any labor rights through unions and work action. So given that, and right now, they've reduced our unions to practically being totally ineffective in terms of securing the rights of the worker. They're outsourcing jobs based on their economic growth to corporate entities. The change in social benefits by the government such as social security and health care benefits, if you figure if they eliminate Medicaid and Medicare, how much the government's going to save out of that and they don't return any benefits back to the poor and all that money goes to industry. Let's just assume that

the spirit of industry is of goodwill and they're going to do all that, how many years will it take? You see what I'm saying?

DC: Yeah.

MR: So right now, the Housing Authority has to prepare how to relate to those problems as it affects our residents. We know they're going to be here for awhile.

DC: Does that mean adding even more public housing or continually improving what exists?

MR: Here's the thing about the future of public housing. As federal investments decrease, we have to find ways to sustain quality housing whatever the situation is. So we have to go to the private market for dollars, have some form of capital development and maybe it's bond issues. We have bonding capacity, we can do that. But public housing has to take a much more active role—

[break in conversation]

MR: Public housing has to take up the slack in terms of housing production to include stimulating private builders to get involved to which we will make that possible for them. They want to have a place in that market, because they want to have the economic base. They're basically not going to loan the money if they can't sell the house. Then, rural housing in Kentucky is awesome, worst in the world. We need to export our expertise in the rural areas, producing employment, producing the housing and economic growth.

The whole housing industry, well, the housing index supports the consumer index. A great deal of America's growth in coming years will be based on what housing does. At that time, there won't be public housing. It might be public housing from the standpoint of the city's investment in housing, but it won't be federal public housing. So since we have to go to the

private market, we can even just eliminate government housing altogether. Making that transition is important for us.

DC: So you think that as far as Louisville is concerned, that Park Duvalle and Liberty Green may be some of the last federally-funded public housing? These are Hope VI projects, right?

MR: These are Hope VI projects. I don't really expect it to end that quickly. I don't think Congress is going to let that happen. But I don't believe that due to the transition we're going to have to make as a result of the war, really I'm talking about oil, but the war, the transition we're going to have to make is going to take Congress some time to rewrite the laws that were changed, the federal laws have been changed, re-establish benefits for people, and in some kind of way, adjust the OMB and adjust the national economy and the dollar on the world market so that you can have livable wages in the United States. That's a demand requirement that every citizen should make.

I believe we're going to have this period of decline and an adjustment of the economy, a reapplication of resources, the establishment of new resources to keep the economy going in terms of fuel. I don't believe that can be done in three or four years. I think it's going to take twelve, fourteen, fifteen years. I think it can be done, but it's going to take time to do it. Changing the attitude of investors from this conservation open market system, which in France, the demonstrations pretty much changed the French government's mind, and the British government sort of made a change before it got there. When the people started demonstrating, they went on and said, "No, we're not to take your benefits away from you." So turning around what was set by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, turning that around and getting back to

planned economics, what you can't get them to see is that a open market system is planned economics.

DC: Right, sure.

MR: So we got to get back to providing for the American people. I think we're dealing with some years in being able to complete that transition and that cycle. Thomas Friedman is still out here and he's influential, but I think that based on what we've experienced, he may lose his influence. I don't think he did a very good job in Chile. He went and rewrote the Chilean economy. Have you read about that?

DC: No.

MR: And I don't think he did a very good job in Argentina. What came out of it, you had Augusto Pinochet that came up under Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher and created an open market government down there and they killed everybody. Then you had the prime minister of Argentina, his wife was the movie *Evita*, both of those regimes came under that market system that Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher was promoting and they failed. They've been struggling with the Chilean economy since then.

DC: We're really starting to see a revolution in that area now.

MR: That's right. That's what's happening. I don't think the United States's going to let it go that far. I think they'll go back to planned economics before it gets that far. You see what I'm saying?

DC: Yeah, I think you're right.

MR: One of the reasons is that the American public is educated enough. See, years ago we actually didn't know what was going on, but with your media efficiency, you can pretty much know what's going on around the world anytime and the American people are not going

to like to drift all the way down to where they say, "Hey brother, do you have a dime?" I don't think that's going to go that far. But that's pretty much where we're at. It takes commitment by the city of Louisville and the Housing, and they've made that commitment to transform both social values in this community and attitudes and economic opportunity; that's here.

DC: Where are you living now?

MR: I live in Beecher Terrace.

DC: Okay, you're still there.

MR: I'm still in public housing, yeah. I don't even want them to think I'm going to leave; I really don't. If I'm doing a good job, I should stay here throughout my tenure and I should be a part of the substantive change that affects their lives. So far, we're doing alright.

DC: What condition is Beecher Terrace in these days?

MR: Well, Beecher Terrace is a traditional project. It's been here since 1941. Let me show you something. See those pictures up there?

DC: I've actually driven around. Yeah, I've walked around Beecher Terrace.

MR: Alright. I'll pretty much be there until my tenure's up anyway. Then I might move, but Beecher Terrace is in proximity to the downtown. All of my business involves business down here, so I really don't see any need to go anywhere. I mean, it's a modern three-room apartment, one-bedroom apartment, which is all I need as a single person. I have my office there and do my work there. It's probably just as convenient as if I owned a five-hundred-thousand-dollar condominium right downtown. So I don't really see any reason to leave. There's something about communicating with your constituent base. You don't ever abandon them. I believe that the changes that have been made in public housing in the last six years

were made easier because of the way that we have set up our board and our administration and the way we run things.

DC: Can you tell me a little bit about Park Duvalle and that whole project and what you think of how it turned out?

MR: The development of Park Duvalle was started by Ms. Cook, Ms. Honer, Margaret Harris, Georgia Eugene. These were all mothers down there and they got tired of the crime. This is about 199—it was in the 80s. The executive director of public housing, can't think of his name, I'll think of it in a minute, under Mary Jaribs and our existing mayor, he was mayor in his first term. The plans for Park Duvalle came up during his term.

DC: Oh, so that long ago in the mid-80s?

MR: Yeah, that's right. That's when they started talking about it. Between then and about 1997, they built a complex at Sixteenth and Chestnut. That provided the insight and experience into going into massive housing development. Now let me step back a little bit.  
[break in conversation]

DC: So 1997 at Sixteenth and Chestnut, they had gotten some experience developing—

MR: Well, what I want to do is go back to part of the interest in housing, because in 1977, a group called me and they wanted to start a housing program in the Russell neighborhood and we did. It was called the Russell Neighborhood Revitalization and Development Corporation.

DC: And that was when?

MR: 1977. We had a board and we operated out of Fifth Street Baptist Church. We had it really going. We had the community organized, had meetings, and all of that, had an executive director and so forth. As a matter of fact, I was the executive director. So I hired an

executive director and we felt like and still do that we have to develop these high-level skills in our own neighborhood and apply them toward the management and development of neighborhood housing. We had a federal grant and I sent, because my interpretation of the ruling was that you would do this, that neighborhood people could train and develop their own people, I assigned a staff member [Sterling Neal] to go to law school and he selected Indiana University. I assigned for him to go, to include the money, but I did not get the consent of the city of Louisville and that brought total chaos. That's the beginning of housing development and neighborhoods throughout Louisville is what we started back then. The city began to see the need.

DC: Interesting, so it really did come from the grassroots.

MR: Sure, it came from the grassroots, definitely, no question about it. Jerry knows that. Everybody else knows it. We started actually to do it and we got so far down the road and it was just simply cut off. Now it got done. I mean, we're in the process of actually rebuilding Louisville now, it's coming along fine. But it took that input from residents to make those demands and so forth. Rev. Hodges was a part of it.

DC: But you said it was cut off. Can you tell me about that, the resistance that you met back then and then what changed?

MR: Well, I went back under investigation by the federal government. (laughs)

DC: Okay, right.

MR: They broke up the corporation we had. The city cut off the money. Jobs had to be eliminated and so forth, so that was the end of that.

DC: Sterling Neal was part of that?

MR: Yeah. We had to disband, but Sterling stayed in school and got his law degree. He went back to social work, but he is a lawyer, he's still a lawyer. I had to go back to doing the best I could. But we did have a fine corporation at that time. We had very, very strong community participation and resident participation in the community at meetings and so forth. What came out of that was a strong commitment by the city of Louisville for housing. The church that was a partner in building this building across the street, Blatton House, Fifth Street Baptist Church, that's where we had, because Rev. Hodges was an alderman at that time. He was the president of the Board of Aldermen and his church was at Nineteenth and Jefferson and we would meet and have discussions and plannings and so forth at his church. As we look for the past twenty years, there's been a definite transition in Louisville, Kentucky by government itself and by the residents about housing. We have a lot of social problems we have to deal with, because we have to transform existing attitudes to be compatible with diversity, mixed-living, and that's going to take some time. That's why we invested so much money into human resources, providing scholarships and home ownership opportunities and employment.

DC: The Villages of Park Duvalle, that revitalization, what lessons were learned from going through that?

MR: From going through that?

DC: Yeah.

MR: How to do it.

DC: Because now with Liberty Green, now you can apply some of this.

MR: Right, we learned how to do it and that's the most valuable experience in the world is learning how to take a portion of the population, provide them with their basic housing needs and a healthy environment at a livable cost. The problems that it bring us is social compatibility

across the board in the city and in spite of social changes, people are not used to living together. We have to change that. That's why we have hearings and meetings and so forth all the time is that we have to get it over to the white community that you can't reject people based on who they are. We have to get it over to the black community, you can't go out there and impose what you want to do and what time you want to do it on somebody. You are going to have to work with folks, get along with these people. You're moving into their neighborhood. You want to become a part of the neighborhood. You don't want to come out here and actually not be a party to all of the benefits that it takes to live in this neighborhood.

This is the result of our social tradition. This is not the result of, you can't blame a child who's raised in the South for being a racist. You've got to look back at his heritage and then you provide an opportunity to a social transition. Most black people are protest-oriented and that's reflected in their attitude and we have to change that, the fact that you don't have to offend people just because you had a hard time in life. Come on. (laughs) You've got to clean this up. This is what our job in housing is, is to create an environment, in addition to providing the building, to create a healthy environment that's affordable for all families in need of housing services. We're dedicated to that.

Now Park Duvalle was our first experiment and it was a blooming success in spite of perceived errors. There were errors, but they were not substantive errors. The miscount of relocated residents, which were perceived to have been lost, in other words we don't know where they went, it was said there had been four hundred of them. The second investigation said there was forty-three and the final review said there was four.

DC: Oh really?

MR: Yeah.

DC: I didn't know that story.

MR: Yeah, four people, four families that we really don't know what happened to them and we know they were under criminal investigation for drugs, but they didn't tell us where they were going. So what we did is, matching that study of those three assessments, reviews, gave us a picture of how to prevent this from happening at Liberty Green. Tim came up with the idea of one-on-one housing.

DC: Of what?

MR: One-on-one, that if we tear down a house, we put that back plus one. So there's the house that originally you tore it down, but you got that one, plus the other one.

DC: And that's the plan for Liberty Green in terms of distribution?

MR: Yeah, and that is catching on and it's been nationally as the way to go about it.

*[Note: According to Tim Barry, Director of Public Housing, this is actually just a one-for-one swap, not a two-for-one as described here.]*

DC: How about this problem, which is you go into an area that has serious troubles, say a housing project that has a lot of drugs, and you rehab that or demolish it and rebuild something new, and those people who are dealing drugs simply relocate to another neighborhood and that neighborhood falls apart? How do you deal with that kind of a situation, which is a complaint that I've heard about Louisville?

MR: Well, here's one of the problems that we have. You can't identify the drug pusher in a mass of drug pushers. You got thirty drug pushers. Some of them are peddling for the drug pusher, but they're all out there. You don't know who they are. The law says you cannot stop this person, you cannot arrest this person without probable cause. So here you got thirty, forty-five of them outside. Where are you going to start? Once you get into relocation and

dispersement, you break up that collection of gangs and he's out there by himself. A lot of the drug busts now is based on the fact that when they carry on the same activity where we moved them to, that they carry it on in public housing, and they get busted.

DC: But now they're busted where they weren't before?

MR: Sure, they get busted. We don't tell anybody this, but drugs is really going down and most of the people doing, pushing drugs now are outside of public housing. The homicides are taking place in the streets rather than the public housing. The change is coming along. We have to be firm about this. It's not a question of race. It has nothing to do with race. It has to do with the illegal proliferation of a controlled substance that poisons the minds of everybody's child. You don't have a right to do that. Even if we have to purge you through violence, we don't have to put up with that. I'm strongly one-sided about that. The Housing Authority has followed that policy and I'm the one that recommended these things. We don't have a right or a reason to cause an illness against somebody else's child for my profitable gain.

I hear stories about what the white man did and, "Hey man, I don't have nothing to do with that." He didn't do this; you did it. That's the way I look at it. Whatever the reason for the ability to proliferate, which I think the Nicaraguan drug cartels, former FBI director Deutsch, who went to Los Angeles and said that the government wasn't infiltrating drugs in here, which was a lie, when Ollie North and Ronald Reagan admitted that it's true, you know what I mean, we don't have to let that happen around here and we're not. See, a militant is not a racist. I'm just as much a militant against them as I am against the racists. The application of the proper force to change it, there should be no restraint on that. It has to be changed.

DC: Did you identify drugs as a social evil early on? I know that Sterling Neil did, but as early as in the 70s?

MR: Oh yeah. We were definitely concerned and tried to stop it. .

DC: Were you involved with that at all?

MR: No, on the peripheries of it. They were all my friends, they were all friends, but in selling real estate, I just didn't have the time. I was more involved in business and the growth of my real estate company at that time. But once I became involved, I began to see a much broader picture of it in terms of need for involvement and what the real problem was. Since I was a street person, I had a clear understanding of what they're talking about from the street level, because you're in the street all in the time when you sell the houses. You deal with all kinds of people.

DC: What happened to Luther Wilson after all of your troubles began?

MR: We don't know. He's one of those that died. Actually, he didn't die; he disappeared. We haven't seen him for forty years.

DC: Really?

MR: Uh huh.

DC: Oh boy.

MR: And we don't know what happened to him or where he's at, none of that. I talked to him, I was the last person to talk to him when he left Louisville. I asked him not to go, "Don't do this." He felt like he could do better in Washington, DC than he could here. Since then, nobody's heard from him, his wife, kids, nobody. His son is pastor of Oakland Baptist Church now. He had another son that was all-American quarterback at Vanderbilt University.

DC: Which church, I'm sorry, Oakland Baptist Church?

MR: Oakland Baptist Church. It's a pretty nice size church too, a big church. His mother is still living. She's a wonderful person and she's remarried again. We're all still

friends, but we don't know what happened to him. Of course, he's not the only one. There were a lot of them that died and a lot of them went to the penitentiary. As the result of that type of activity by the government, you don't see them for years and as time goes by, you begin to run into people and they tell you what happened. You're usually in the position where you can't help nobody, because you're struggling through it yourself. So during these times, all the people that we lost, we don't have all the facts. Nobody's ever taken the time to go back and do the research and find out what happened to them. I used to own a factory. I didn't tell you about Novotex. We owned Novotex Industries here in Louisville.

DC: What was it called?

MR: Novotex. We made polyester fiber and during the time of the indictment, we were operating Novotex, which we had a polyester fiber processing plant and we had a wholesale distribution of greeting cards and we had the remnants of a whiskey barrel furniture company. We had about thirty-five employees and Walter Cosby, who was one of the indictees, myself, Luther Wilson, and Charles Thomas, the guy that was on Broadway, we all bought Novotex. We operated Novotex from about January of 1969 to about October. That's when the FBI took our money and the Internal Revenue Service told us to collect all the money, all of our accounts payables, and they would help us solve the tax problem, because we bought the business under a tax lien; and so we did. We put men on airplanes, two of them, Luther Wilson and Charles Thomas. They went all over the country and collected our money. They were supposed to bring the money to our office, but when they got to Standerford Field, the FBI took them to the bank at Fourth and Broadway, which sent us a bill to pay and took our money. So that closed down Novotex. There was no reason to do that, absolutely no reason to do that.

DC: Do you think, and this may seem like an overly obvious question, but that you all were targeted because you were successful black businessmen?

MR: In Louisville, Kentucky, we did talk to quite a few of the ruling class, if you put it that way. Haybrun, the family that owns the Haybrun Building, he said well, he didn't believe that we were doing this and he said that—based on that conversation that we had, we sent him to somewhere, because he said he'd never seen a black typist. So when we met with him again, he told me he was surprised. He didn't even know that we had that ability. I think that was the general opinion of that class of people. Plus I think this: markets are owned and they are established for the purpose of job opportunities for certain classes as seen by the developer.

What we really did, we invaded into a market that the business community for whatever reasons, racism is probably a part of it, I'm pretty sure that's part of it, but greed is probably the driving source. Sometimes I think greed drives racism. The reason why is that if a black person, subcontractor, gets a contract with a white contractor and he does all his work, he gets ready to get paid, the day before he finishes up, the white man comes in to call him "nigger". He gets mad, blows off his steam, and walks off the job. He just lost all his money. The reason that man did that was not based on racism. He used racism to satisfy his greed. I think to a great extent, that's what happened to us.

The garment industry was controlled by people out of North Carolina and most of the fiber industry was owned on the east coast. Now we got our resin from Rohm and Haas and we got our raw fiber from E.I. DuPont on consignment. When the garment industry heard about us, they made it known both to the Internal Revenue Service and to the banks in Louisville that they didn't want us in the business. I don't believe that's necessarily race. I think that's job control of the industry. We invaded that territory. Now locally, I believe that just local job

interests and control of bank deposits, I think that was the reason. It may look like racism. We may respond as if it's racism. But what it really is is invasion of restricted markets and greed.

DC: It's capitalism.

MR: Right, that's right, that's what it was. As I've grown older, we live in America and that's the character of America. You got to get back out there, get in the fight, and change it. That's really where I'm at right now. You got to work toward change. My career has led me into many areas and in most cases, I think racism has been utilized more so than it's been looked upon as the cause of a problem; I think it's been used. We can see the difference between the Great Society being used as a political instrument for Lyndon Johnson, other than to really feed the poor. You see what I'm saying? That's what I'm talking about. We have to look at it realistically and not develop a sense of permanent lifetime resentment against something that's not real anyway.

This community is moving toward a solution. We're talking about the right kind of issues, we're pulling people together, and so forth. I think one of the reasons why the city's interested in me as being a board member for the Housing Authority was to initiate this change, because most people in the community probably wouldn't even believe. As a matter of fact, they tell me that now. When they find out this is a thirty, forty million dollar annual operating organization, they don't even believe that I could be head of it. But this has created a mind change in most people and it's made a difference in the way people think in regards to Louisville Public Housing Authority.

We used to have protests against the Housing Authority by the residents. We don't have that no more. I won't put up with it. The impact or the effect of those changes have made people want to come back out and try new things and have opportunities that they thought was

gone. We have quite a few young architects, developers, and contractors. It's coming along very well. Now we got two of them, one did Steven Foster School and the other one is doing a Catholic Church that closed down. He's turning all that into housing. So we did have quite a bit of growth of minorities here. Now I think the difference as it relates to Detroit and Chicago is that here we took the time to select those individuals that can make it. It can act as a model for the rest of the community in the future in terms of how to make it out here.

We do have to work on attitudes of people across the board, black, white, everybody. People don't know how to live together. They just simply were never taught that. They were taught how not to live together. We have to change that. What we're setting up here and the social programs we're setting up here, that's going to bring about that change. Now this guy here, he is probably one of the finest persons.

DC: The director, you mean?

MR: Yeah, and I selected him. He's lived up to everything we wanted. He's really open, objective. He understands the resident issues and when we got a problem, he relates to those problems. That's a blessing, that's a long-time blessing. Our staff is thoroughly integrated. From the executive all the way down to the janitor, a thoroughly integrated staff. Our board fully participates in all the decisions. We got full disclosure and transparency in everything we do. It works very well. We have people who have talents to be able to carry out the mission of the Housing Authority and we're blessed in that sense. But Park Duvalle is the results of this.

Andrea Mitchell, that was the preceding executive director. She didn't have that temperament and Park Duvalle was started on her tenure, but it was finished up under me and Tim. But she didn't have that commitment like that and things went awire. It was in pretty bad shape when Tim got here, but we've cleared all that up now. Any resident that wants to speak

to our board, all they got to do is call the executive secretary; she'll put them on the agenda. Any neighborhood person that wants to talk to our board, because I had a minister that called last month and he wanted to speak to the board, I told him call the executive secretary, but he didn't come for his own reasons, but he certainly had the opportunity to come and speak to our board.

DC: There's a Park Duvalle neighborhood association, is that right?

MR: Yeah.

DC: Have you had any dealings with them?

MR: Well, I'm down there about everyday.

DC: I'm talking to Sherman Biddix tomorrow, who's the president.

MR: You're talking about the Villages of Park Duvalle?

DC: Yeah, the Villages of Park Duvalle.

MR: I'm with Ujima. Now yeah, we know them and work with them and all that.

There's a rift right now. There's the Villages of Park Duvalle and then you got the rest of the neighborhood.

[break in conversation]

MR: Where were we?

DC: The rift between the Villages residents and the other—

MR: That's right. This is a normal reaction of people. You've got economic class levels and whenever you have this, you're going to have some difficulty. They're not serious problems, but you're dealing with former residents that moved back. You're dealing with new residents that moved in. The way we selected, they're compatible. Now they have developed an attitude about the rest of them. So now we got to deal with that, but now that's coming along

well, because we had a festival this past weekend and had about thirty thousand people there and we made sure that there was no clash between those economic classes.

DC: This was basically the reunion of the old Cotter and Lang Home residents?

MR: That's right. We didn't have no problem with the residents this time. We have never had police security to help us patrol the areas, but it's been carried out very well. You might have some outsiders come in and cause some trouble, but that's incidental. This is a part of the experiment toward successful social living. We are going to have those problems. That don't mean that the social programs have failed. It means that we are running into the normal problems that we would have when we carry on such redevelopment as we have done. The resettlement of people into new areas will actually bring about conflict with the traditionalists. They want things to remain as they are. That's normal. We just have to relate to that over the years.

But the social progress in Park Duvalle is unbelievable. Ujima, Neighborhood Place, the Villages of Park Duvalle, and all of their basic social input, it's unbelievable how that's working. We have completely eliminated crime. Crime is not a problem; it's zip. We're truly blessed with that. I don't see anything coming out of that, but a successful model toward restructuring social values in neighborhoods and interrelations between neighbors. We do have the responsibility, if we're going to have flexible economic growth, we do have the responsibility to create an atmosphere where it's tranquil and provides a healthy environment for children; we've got to do that.

DC: Now is job training a program that you'd like to see woven into this mission?

MR: We have job training programs. For example, we've got the Youth Bill. Youth Bill provides training for young people who are in trouble in the school and they want to enter the

job market and eliminate whatever negatives they have. We go get them and train them and send them to college or put them—all of them have been hired, all of the ones we've trained have been hired. We've got our Section 3 program in terms of guaranteed participation in procurement contracts. Then we've got our Family Self-Sufficiency program, which requires them to have employment to be in the program. You're reshaping values. Our tutoring programs includes our students and we got tutoring programs at almost all of our sites.

DC: And do you see that, I mean I think you've already answered this, but then you see those beneficial effects as spilling out into the larger community?

MR: Oh yeah, yeah. We are transforming attitudes. It's nice to be able to build a good building, but unless you change the values of the people who are going to live in that building, you're going to have another slum in twenty years. So the investment that we make in social changes is going to save us deteriorating dollars for the next two decades. We need that and that's coming about. We don't have no doubt. Part of the violence that we experience is, some of them just love public housing. They've been doing that all along. You see what I'm saying? They were just in the mix and you couldn't tell who do it. Now he's out there by himself and he runs into problems because he can't get away with what he did at that time, which raises the question: is there ever a justification for a purge? If so, when? When do you decide to take your community back and make it whole? We have to conclude that there are some residents that don't have no business withlaw-abiding citizens and it's our job to make sure we have a safe and clean environment based on the law; we're obligated to have that. So we have no choice but to eliminate those that refuse to be in compliance with the law and we're going to do that; I don't care who it is.

DC: So by having that employment requirement, etcetera, that's the way—

MR: Right, now we don't know how to relate to the infiltration of drugs, which in my mind, is equivalent to the Nicaraguan drug cartels. We don't make no drugs. We don't grow them. We don't have investments in foreign fields. You've got business investors in the United States that have investments in poppy seed fields both in Asia and South America. You can find out who they are. Now there is a time where we'll have to be combatant in regards to this. It's not here yet, but we're going to have to do that in time, because the government is not doing enough on the borders to eliminate the infiltration of massive quantities of drugs into this country and it's affecting our children. We can't let that continue on in perpetuity like that. We know that. See, families tell us about cocaine inducement in order to get them to work in the cotton fields and on the docks in New Orleans in loading cotton and so forth on them ships. That ain't nothing new. But in an urban environment and without no controls on it, no medicine controls and nothing on it, you have to eliminate it and it's our responsibility to do that. We're not talking about mild forms of petty drug addiction. We're talking about stuff to change kids and kill them, cause them to be murderers. Seriously, we got to go about the businesses of making these changes.

The experiences that I had where the government was trying to persecute me gave me an insight as to what the government can do. My recovery is what they can do. You see what I'm saying? If the opportunity is there for us to make substantive changes, let's make the changes and don't worry about the past. You know what I mean? That's where I place all of my time now is toward these substantive changes. I'll be seventy years old on my next birthday. It's important that we lay this groundwork now. We need to lay it now. It's an opportunity and a blessing to be able to do it through a position like I have with the Housing Authority and have the commitment of the mayor and the confidence of the mayor. I've been appointed by two

mayors. I was first appointed by Armstrong and then I was appointed by Jerry Abramson. It's a blessing to have this opportunity to do this and to be able to, if you may, impose those changes with my support.

It's good for black people to understand that everybody ain't about sponsoring drugs or pushing drugs or supporting you because you because you think you got some kind of claim against the Housing Authority. We have to work on that, because people really do feel that way. They had been taught coming out of the Great Society program that they do what they want to, can't nobody tell them nothing, and as a matter of fact, the government owes me a living. Well, that's not right. It's not going to work and we have to change that mindset. Since you're dealing with forty years of this mindset, that's two generations. We got to come up with creative programs in which we put people on the right track; we got to do that. American values haven't changed and they're not going to change and they'll be here the next fifty years. People just got to learn them and obey them and abide by them and that's regardless of race. I think that it's through institutions like housing authorities where the government has an opportunity by which it can use rules and regulations rather than persuasion to generate change and that's what our job is, that's what our job is.

The remaking and rebuilding of Park Duvalle served as a model and the remaking of Liberty Green is the manifestation of the dream that Park Duvalle had become; that's true, that's it. I think we've done a great job, I really do. I'm proud to be a part of this and I see the difference in our community. There are loose ends, the drugs is one of them, that we've got to tie up. We can't do this with force. We have to use rules and regulations and persuasion. We call hearings all the time. We sit down and we talk to people. This wasn't true when I first

moved into public housing. We provide full services. Our residents don't have to cut the grass. They don't have to change no light bulbs.

DC: Makes a huge difference, right.

MR: So we got two things: we provide full services, which looks like we're taking care of you, which we're not. You see what I'm saying? The next thing is you got an obligation to improve your life and that's the way we're going about this. This is not based on race. I have a problem with ninety-seven percent of the population of Beecher Terrace is all black. We can certainly bring diversity in areas where there's lower income. There are lower-income whites that want to live in Beecher Terrace and we need to do this. It's a part of balancing out the social element so that we can have viable exchanges and they learn to live together.

DC: What is Park Duvalle like, the new Villages of Park Duvalle, like racially?

MR: It's got a nice mix. I don't know the percentages. I've got them at home, but I don't remember the figures right now, but it's well-mixed. As a matter of fact, there have been some complaints that they want to keep it like it is. They don't want it to go back either way. I've been down to most of their meetings and I've seen quite a few people there that were not black. I strongly recommend that they promote that and keep it up. That's an area that's got all the positives to it. It's got within the environment, they're surrounded by bus lines, shopping areas, schools; it's pretty much all there.

I believe that over the next ten to fifteen years, we'll go into housing replacement, because the existing housing stock has to be replaced. The experience in the Russell neighborhood and Park Duvalle provide the opportunity for us to begin to replace those housing units that are no longer viable, are obsolete, it's not healthy to live in them. Then there's a market that we have to serve and that's the disabled and the elderly market and we

need accessible living facilities for people. The other thing is the social development of children. We are starting the Housing Authority Girls and Boys Choir. We've already got it set up.

DC: Really? Oh, that's fabulous.

MR: Tim's approved it.

DC: Oh, that's great.

MR: Yeah, we're going to have a Housing Authority choir. Ask Tim about it when you talk to him. We're bringing in Boy Scouts and those things that provide an opportunity. We tell a mother that she's got the obligation to raise the child and to impose discipline in his life and they won't know, "What are we going to do? Ain't nothing down here." Rightly, we should provide activities, sponsor activities where the children and parents can participate and have an impact.

DC: Of a full community.

MR: That's right. That's going to have impact on their lives. The Boy Scouts of America, we got them involved.

DC: That's great.

MR: And we've got troops just about at all of our sites now. All of this has happened in the last five years.

DC: Oh, just recently?

MR: Yeah.

DC: That's terrific.

MR: So when you look at the whole transition within a period of two generations coming from this depth of violence and riots to where we are today, you see progress. The

really twisted and sick person is to get up here and you don't see the progress. You know what I mean? We have moved in that direction and we have to convince other minds of these changes and we have to invite them in to participate. We also started an environmental restoration program and we got the support of the Housing Authority on that, because we want a green city and the mayor wants a green city. We have to organize kids and parents to participate in gardening and stuff like that.

DC: So that will be part of the new programs?

MR: Yes, right. Now what I really hope that comes out of this interview is that you can see the history of Louisville in all of its agony, but you can see its transformation in all of its goodness. I think this: those of that went through the suffering carried the brunt for the whole community. Our survival is a window to them. We don't have to be in opposition to the government to make progress. We don't have to be in continuous protests. We got to be able to know that the door's open and there's a place for you at the table. You see what I'm saying? And that's really the whole crux of it. That's when people generate changes based on their own concept of what's good and bad. But we have to pull people into this in that way and in that manner. You have to learn how to sit down here and use Robert's rules of order and carry on a meeting. You see what I'm saying? But at the same time, we got to be able to understand the journey that it takes for them to get here.

DC: Absolutely.

MR: Okay, it's been my pleasure.

DC: Thank you very much.

MR: Okay, alright.

DC: Thank you.

**END OF INTERVIEW**

Transcribed by Emily Baran. July 2006