TRANSCRIPT: WILLIE EDWARDS BLUE

Interviewee: Willie Edwards Blue

Interviewer: Max Krochmal

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START OF INTERVIEW

[Transcript begins at 00:47]

Max Krochmal: Well thank you, sir, for joining us.

Willie Blue: You're very welcome.

MK: As I said, my name is Max Krochmal and I'm with Duke University. Can you just tell us your name and birth date, and age, so we get it down right?

WB: Right. My name is Willie Blue. I was born in Tallahatchie County on April 13, 1939. Three days ago I turned seventy-one.

MK: Well happy birthday.

WB: God bless you. [Laughs]

MK: [Laughs] Okay, Tallahatchie County. You were raised there as well?

WB: Born and raised there. When Emmett Till was murdered at fourteen I was fifteen.

MK: Did that have a big effect on you?

WB: Oh, it had a tremendous effect. First, you know, people were in shock because they just couldn't believe people would murder a fourteen-year-old child. The

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second shock came when the sheriff, Clarence Strider, at the trial, stood on the courthouse square and said that no white person was going to get convicted for killing a nigger in Mississippi. He was correct.

MK: How did you hear the news?

WB: We had radio, television, and then word of mouth, back then. The grapevine was working. [Laughs]

MK: Okay. Now did you have much contact with white folks coming up?

WB: I tried not to but it was inevitable. I mean they had control of your life and they had control over your livelihood. They had control over just about everything so it was a real challenge to avoid them.

MK: Did your folks work on a farm?

WB: No, my mother was a beautician. My father was a sharecropper. When he went into the navy in World War II he got out, came back, and went back to sharecropping and he worked one year and he made eighty dollars and he said, "Before I kill somebody I'll just take this eighty dollars and move away." He went to St. Louis and got him a job on the Cadillac assembly line at Fisher Body.

MK: Oh, really?

WB: Yes. [Laughs]

MK: He joined the union there?

WB: Yes. You have to be in the union to work there.

MK: Was that a good thing or not?

WB: Then it was a good thing because if you wasn't in the union you couldn't get paid. Now it's a little different, you know. You might not get the job because of the

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union. Then when they first started off in the union business it was a great thing because black people or minority people, you had no way of getting paid.

MK: So did they come back to Mississippi or were you raised by someone else?

WB: No, my father and my mother divorced and he moved to St. Louis and I stayed in Mississippi and they had an agreement. I stayed and went to school in Mississippi one year and I went to school in St. Louis one year.

MK: Oh, wow. Were the racial dynamics different or the same? What was race like in St. Louis?

WB: The race issue was very prevalent. The only problems you would have in St. Louis is if you went out of your own neighborhood. As long as you stayed in your own neighborhood, no problem.

MK: But in Mississippi you ran into [white people] more.

WB: In Mississippi everybody controls you: What are you doing walking? Where are you going? Who do you work for? And if you don't respond favorably to them it would cause you problems.

MK: What town was your mom's work in?

WB: Charleston, a little town. It's the biggest town in Tallahatchie County.

MK: Okay.

WB: Tallahatchie County has two county seats, one on the west side, which is Sumner, and the other in Charleston, which is on the east side.

MK: Did you grow up in a religious family? Did you go to church?

WB: Yeah, my whole, everybody--. You can't be black in Mississippi and not be a Baptist at least. They had a lot of Methodists but mostly Baptists, and that was just the

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way it is. It was ingrained in you. When there's a thunderstorm you get in the corner and be quiet. God's working. When he finishes then you can go back out and play. It was just bred into you. [Laughs]

MK: Right. So what made you get involved with the Movement?

WB: When I got out of the navy in '60 it seemed like it was worse, you know, when you go away from something for four years and you come back to it, it look like it's worse.

MK: Where'd you go?

WB: I was in the navy. I was in the Pacific theater. I left California and my tour of duty was Hawaii first, Guam, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Japan. Our home port was in Japan, Yokosuka, Japan, and that was home port for eighteen months over there.

MK: And you got back in '60 or '61?

WB: Sixty. I got out in April of '60, when I turned--. I went in at seventeen. When I turned twenty-one, just before I was twenty-one, I was out. I was a veteran of the military before I was twenty-one. [Laughs]

MK: Okay. And so you came back to Mississippi and thought things were worse.

WB: Yeah and why I got into the Movement, after I was discharged I had one year of unemployment security to draw. I was getting thirty dollars a week and these people insisted I work for three dollars a day which translates into fifteen dollars a week.

MK: Doing what job?

WB: Chopping cotton, and I refused to do it, and they said you can't stay here. You're going to have to leave if you don't adhere to the rules. A lady from the NAACP, she worked at the funeral home, she pulled me aside and she said, "I heard about some

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guys, some Freedom Riders, down in Greenwood. Things are getting rough for you and I keep hearing things. They're going to get you. You might need to go down there and see what's up with them." I went to Greenwood, I met Bob Moses, and the rest is history.

MK: Tell us a little bit of that story. What happened when you met Bob?

WB: Well I got baptized under fire. This was the early part in the spring of '63. Jimmy Travis had just got shot. He was Bob's driver. Bob couldn't drive a car when he first came to Mississippi.

MK: He was from New York. [Laughs]

WB: Right, but he didn't know nothing about driving a car. [Laughs] So Jimmy was, you know, kind of unofficial driver for Bob and the leadership so when he got shot I walked in, I was the oldest one, I was twenty-two, had a driver's license, knew my way around, they said, well okay, you're our driver. Pick up Harry Belafonte at the airport. I got ran off almost--. Harry gives me credit for saving his life. The book by Taylor Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, he devoted a whole page to that, to my introduction into the movement, on page four fifty in that book.

MK: And I think he mentioned it briefly the other day.

WB: Right. It's a good book.

MK: You went to Freedom School.

WB: That was my right of passage. Bob insisted on it. Everybody that wants to be in the Movement, how are you going to call yourself a freedom fighter and you don't even know what the Emancipation Proclamation is, or how it got to be that way? That was my right of passage, and I think we have neglected one of our most powerful tools. To me that was the most powerful influence in my life, that Freedom School. I learned

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who I was, where I come from, and how I got to be in this terrible situation. Freedom School taught me that.

MK: Who was your teacher?

WB: Bob Moses and Frank Smith, God bless both of them. [Laughs]

MK: Okay. So you'd become a driver and you had this other incident, but there's a couple years missing there. What happened in between?

WB: Well I spent a lot of time just doing my own--not really wanting to be bothered with any of it. I just wanted to be above the whole thing. All I wanted was just to be left alone. All I wanted to do was go put my application in at the post office, get me a job that I can retire with, and nobody hassle me. The Civil Rights Movement would never have known me if they hadn't kept hassling me.

MK: So they didn't give you a job?

WB: They didn't give me nothing but a hard time. [Laughs] They threw my application in the garbage while I was standing there looking. I spent an hour filling it out, crossing every T and dotting every I, and when I finished and handed it in, in the garbage. So now if this kind of thing don't happen to me the Civil Rights Movement would never have know me.

MK: So you went to Freedom School and you learned who you were.

WB: Yes.

MK: What was that? What did you learn?

WB: I learned that me and all of my generation, we are constitutional people, under the Constitution of the United States of America. We are the constitutional people, black, like me, my age, at that time in the early twenties, and the right to vote was

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absolutely essential to being a citizen. [11:06] complaining about not being born here in this country, not being a citizen, can't even vote. We're not even citizens of our own country. Very frustrating, and that's where the fight started.

MK: So you started--.

WB: I realized that, yes, nothing is going to be easy and nobody is going to give me anything. I have no inalienable right. I have to fight for everything I'm going to get. I learned that in Freedom School.

MK: You told me earlier they paid you, what, seventeen dollars?

WB: Seventeen dollars and fifty cents a week.

MK: Okay.

WB: For three years in SNCC. That was the SNCC payroll. We didn't have no money, which goes to show you a few people can do some great things with no money. It proves it. We didn't have any money but we had the moral high ground.

MK: Well you got support from people other ways.

WB: Right. We had the moral high ground because America was treating us worse than a stepchild in a family. We didn't even get to come in the house, much less be a part of the family. We wasn't even allowed in.

MK: So you started in '63. Did you start working on the freedom vote right away?

WB: No. This came in the summer project. The leadership of SNCC had decided that we were going to call students from every university in this country west of the Mississippi--east or west--that wanted to come here. Illiteracy was a huge problem in

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Mississippi. I mean they didn't want you to go to school. You don't need to go to school to pick cotton.

MK: Right.

WB: So my experience in school was devastating. All the books that we got came from the white school after they had--. The backs were off them, pages were missing, and all marked up like that. This is what we had to learn from and, you know, it's demoralizing. I didn't know it but all of that stuff had built up in me and when they said we don't care about you being a military veteran and that you're getting unemployment. If you're going to stay in this, this is the system that you have to live by here. Well it pissed me off. For the first time I got pissed. [Laughs]

MK: Well what was the first thing you did for SNCC?

WB: Pick up Harry Belafonte at the airport. [Laughs]

MK: Right away, huh?

WB: I got--.

MK: And what happened afterwards? You got chased out of there?

WB: No. The Greenwood Movement, after that, we--.

MK: No, I mean with Mr. Belafonte. What happened with him?

WB: Well it was a bump and run. They were in the front car and I was bringing up the rear and the Klan was just slamming into the back of the car, back and forth, so we played bump and run for a couple of miles and then they broke it off, just like--. [Snaps fingers] They started and broke off, just like that. I was happy. [Laughs] Nobody got hurt.

MK: Right. It is a trial by fire.

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WB: Yeah. And after that--.

MK: So you went to Greenwood.

WB: I stayed in Greenwood. That was in Greenwood.

MK: Okay.

WB: That was in Greenwood. That's where it happened. I stayed there and then we changed logistically. We decided it would be better if we were in the state capital. We could function better from the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party, which eventually turned into COFO [Council of Federated Organizations], which is where we are now. But it started off SNCC and CORE [Congress of Racial Equality], Bob Moses and Dave Dennis. Dave Dennis headed CORE, Bob, SNCC. It was in the same office. You couldn't tell one from the other. That's where MFDP came from; that's where COHO came from.

MK: So did you go to the Jackson office or did you stay in Greenwood?

WB: Yes, I went to the Jackson office and I left--. When Head Start--. People really didn't give much credence--. I think that's how we got it in action because nobody was really paying much attention. We had two things going, Head Start and voter registration. The focus was more on voter registration which took the focus off of Head Start, which is why I think it was so easy to get it, and when people saw what it was they were amazed, but nobody had really paid it any attention, kind of like we're just going to stick this in here just for--and nobody really paid it any attention. But now for the first time in the history of Mississippi black children can go to school with a full stomach and they have teachers that will teach them not according to the rules of the state of how

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you've got to pass this test but each child get to learn on their own level. I think it's the best thing that ever happened to Mississippi outside the Voting Rights Act.

MK: So when the Freedom Summer Project happened were you supervising field staff or what were you doing?

WB: No, I had a lot of trouble with white people at that time. I was getting arrested just for stepping off the curb. Bob saw an opportunity. We didn't have a SNCC photographer that was a grassroots native of Mississippi and he sent me to New York for film training in motion pictures, documentary stuff, and I went to New York, Calpenny Films, and that's where I studied under Pete Smollett and some other people. I came back home--I came back to Mississippi--the day that they discovered the bodies. That's when I left New York coming back, and the Summer Project was over but I had done something meaningful. At least they had a photographer.

MK: Right. So did you take that skill on the road then?

WB: Yes. Back then, a thirty-five millimeter movie camera you'd get three minutes on a roll of film and you got to take it out and keep it in the dark, and--

MK: Right. [Laughs]

WB: --change the film, and each roll of film I think back then was nine dollars and change. In '63 that was a lot of money.

MK: That's half your week's salary.

WB: Yes.

MK: Right. [Laughs]

WB: [Laughs] So the money, money all was designated for that, something always happens, something prioritized, this is more important. We had to do it that way.

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In the end Sam Block--. Well in the end all of those cameras were stolen that people had given me in New York.

MK: Was that that moment when Sam had to flee the office?

WB: Well I don't want to talk about Sam. This is about me.

MK: I guess give me--.

WB: [Laughs]

MK: All right, that's fine. So when did you leave Greenwood?

WB: I forget the day but we left Greenwood--. Everybody left Greenwood and went to Jackson. I guess that was, yeah, the fall, the winter, coming up on winter in late '63 going into '64.

MK: Okay. Did you have--I'm sure you did--but what kinds of experiences did you have with white terrorism in the time you were there?

WB: Oh, man, it was so common, I mean it would get to a place where you don't even, you know.

MK: Can you remember a particular incident that struck you?

WB: Yeah. During that Summer Project where Aaron Henry and [Dr. Ed] came from Tupelo and was running for mayor--. See Ross Barnett told--. He had got on the TV, on the news, and said, "Ah, it's these outside agitators that's causing trouble. [Our negroes,] they're just singing and they're happy." And from that came the mock election to prove that we really do want to vote. My assignment was in Batesville. I had--. They put us in different districts. It was so few of us. Frank Smith was in charge of that district and he was in Holly Springs at Rust College but I was in Batesville, and had a mass meeting--we had mass meetings, you know, called people in and try and talk them

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into getting registered--and that night the church was just packed with people. I think Jim [20:58] was supposed to come and people were anxious, just waiting, and somebody said, “Hey, something’s going on outside,” and I went outside. The pastor of the church, about ninety years old, they had put him in the car. There was five white guys put him in the back seat of the car, and when I got there I just opened the door and told him to get out. The guy that was driving the car told me, he said, “My name is Mr. Sullivan and these are my six brothers,” and stuck it right at--. What saved my life it’s hard for me to tell. I don’t tell this story often. When the people in the church saw that, panic, fled; everybody just fled, and Mr. Sullivan and his six brothers they just gave me a smile, put his gun away and left. He had won; didn’t have to shoot me. My own people had fled. That saved my life. So it’s not something I talk about a lot. Them kind of incidents I just prefer not to talk about. This is the first time I’ve told this on camera.

MK: Well thank you for sharing it. What do you think were some of the more pivotal events, the most important things that happened in your SNCC years?

WB: The Voting Rights Act. Mission accomplished.

MK: [Laughs] Mm hmm.

WB: Not like George Bush. [Laughs]

MK: Right, like we were just talking in here.

WB: Yeah. To me that was mission accomplished, and to SNCC. After that SNCC disbanded. Mission accomplished. We had accomplished what we set out to do on that particular front. Wasn’t a need for SNCC anymore, or so we thought. [Laughs]

MK: [Laughs] Okay, so what was left over? What did you not--? What did you forget about?

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WB: We forgot about what got us where we are, the very basic Constitution, what is the Emancipation Proclamation. Even unto this day our people don't understand the significance of the Emancipation Proclamation. We are constitutional people. We are the only people on the planet that's constitutional people. The constitution made us, okay. We don't know that. Most of our people don't know that. Most of America don't know that, and that's my mission is to make especially our young people know who they are. I don't think they can know who they are if they don't know what the Emancipation Proclamation is and how it got to be that way.

MK: So is it fair to say you think we got the right to vote but didn't use it?

WB: We got the right to vote and we used it. We got more elected officials in the state of Mississippi than any other state.

MK: Right.

WB: But we have forgotten why, why we're like we are, and Freedom School taught me that. [24:17]

MK: So we don't act like free citizens?

WB: [Hey], now, see? And Belafonte hit on it over there. We got the hip hop--. Out of this generation of hip hoppers the most powerful movement is Spanish hip hoppers, Mexican, Japanese, Australian, everybody's hip hopping, but only us degenerate our women, call them "hos", because the establishment found out the same thing that the rappers knew, that there's a goldmine in this rap, and the lyrics started to change and now women started to be deni-, you know, and dope, and blibbety blabbety, and that's where it is now. That's our mission, is to change that. We have to; because they do it because they don't know who they are, simple as that. They need to go to Freedom School. That

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one powerful weapon that we had from the beginning, we have neglected it. We have just let it go and consequently our young people don't know who they are, simple as that. The simplest strategies turn out to be the best in terms of a movement and the people moving, Head Start and the Voting Rights Act, and people still--. They got that and they forgot about why did we need a Voting Rights Act in the first place.

MK: So tell me more about Head Start. Where did it come from in Mississippi?

WB: Bob Moses.

MK: How did that happen?

WB: He's a genius. [Laughs]

MK: [Laughs]

WB: He looked at the Mississippi school system and he said, "No wonder our kids are dropping out by the thousands every year and not interested." They're sitting up in there hungry. They're sitting up in there looking at books that has no covers, the backs are off of them, and they're hungry. He emphasized the most important thing about Head Start: These kids get a hot meal. Now they're ready to learn. He's a genius. Nobody'd ever thought of that, such a simple thing turned into be the most important thing. We got to get--. Head Start is up, running, doing well. Freedom School, people like to talk about it as something that used to be, something that put me over, that made me understand who I was, but what about these kids that are being born every day? How are they going to know who they are?

MK: So you said you're working on that?

WB: Before I leave this world I want to see a Freedom School, at least one in every city in this country, and it should be in every school but I know the establishment is

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not going to pay for that one. That's just too many people free, [Laughs] and they don't want you to be free no more than they do me, but they pit you against me, pit us against each other. I'm saying poor whites and poor blacks. I don't know that you're poor.

MK: [Laughs] Yeah, I'm working my way [27:54].

WB: [Laughs] But that's what they do, they pit us together against each other and they go off with the money and we stay poor and our kids don't know who they are and how they got to be like that and their kids are off to Duke, off to the mainstream America, good life, and our kids are saying, "How come we can't get there?" Because they can't see who they are and how they got where they are. I think Freedom School is the key. That's what I believe, and before I leave this world I'm going to be fighting for that. [Laughs]

MK: Well just real quick before we're done, let's go back to--. You said you had trouble dealing with whites in that period. What was your impression of race relations within the Movement, within SNCC?

WB: I was amazed that so many black people were so intelligent and had so much education. It made me feel--.

MK: You mean so many white people?

WB: No, black guys, like Bob Moses.

MK: Okay.

WB: But whites too, came too, but, you know, education was denied for a purpose, so you can't--. As strong as an elephant is if he don't know how strong he is you can keep on making him jump through the hoop because he don't know how strong he really is. [Laughs]

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MK: But how did blacks and whites get along within SNCC, from what you could tell?

WB: It was--. What happened in SNCC during the Summer Project it was just a lot of people came and most of them were white. It came to the point at a meeting that how are we going to deal with this problem, because we were being put up in the black community. The black community was sympathetic to us. We could come in; we could sit down at the table and eat. White people who have had their foot on your neck all your life, you say, hey, why are you bringing them with you? [Laughs] So it got to be a little testy and things started to happen and somebody, me one, said, well hey, it's enough [room]. It's time white kids go into the white community. Tell them we don't want to marry your daughter. We just want to vote. We don't want to come to dinner. We just want to vote. From that, I think, we worked it out, and we still cool. [Laughs] Our white friends, we love them, because we could not have done what we done without them, but you could see where our problems was coming from on that, so.

MK: What were your impressions of the people you were trying to organize, the people you were trying to get to go register? What, in your mind, I mean you're from there, what--?

WB: The fear, see, I know people who's just talking about joining the NAACP, just having an NAACP where our kids can learn citizenship and the responsibilities of being a citizen. I know one of my friends--one of my classmates--his father's house was burned down. He was ran out of town, had to move to Chicago, and he would have been destitute if it hadn't been for Mose Allison's father in Tallahatchie County who gave him a fair price for his land. He moved to Chicago and bought an apartment building and his

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family's there now. I got a home in Chicago with him because of that. They were trying to get their crops out of the field. Blacks were forbidden to help them. I helped them. I was the only one, high school kid, that went down there and pulled corn, helped them get it all in the barn. I have a home with them any time I go to Chicago. [Laughs]

MK: So you said that SNCC kind of died after the Voting Rights Act.

WB: No, not dead, just went doing other things.

MK: What kinds of other things?

WB: Well, social issues, political issues, all over the place. It's always a fight.

MK: So what did you start working on after that?

WB: I went to Chicago, to the Chicago Area Friends of SNCC, and I worked with Al Raby and for an organization called the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations. I was liaison between the civil rights groups and the community groups, and it was pretty much the same thing: Who are you? Where is your power? The power is in the vote, really. The south side of Chicago back at that time, it was not any different from Mississippi. The only difference was you could get paid in Chicago. You can't over there in Mayor Daley's neighborhood, but as long as you stay in your own neighborhood they don't care if you're a millionaire. Just stay over there if you're a millionaire. You can't come in our neighborhood. That was the difference, whereas Mississippi everybody in the same neighborhood. White and black lived next door to each other. But I needed--. If I had a car at all it had to be an old car. It can't be newer than your car. I can't dress better than you; I can't ride in a car better than your car; that kind of oppression. It was terrible. Couldn't even go fishing, go hunting. My father wasn't allowed to shoot a deer; that's for white people. I want to go fishing, I can't catch

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a crappie where [34:25]--. Back then they called them white perch. It was a game fish. It can't be bought in a store; you have to catch it. Couldn't catch them; once they saw me they'd take them. That's how bad it was, a fish, [Laughs] you know, but that's how bad it was. So there's always work to be done, and I say that because the strong is always going to take it back to the weak. That's why Jesus came on the planet, that was his mission, because the priests all eating good and fat and God's babies down here starving. Pissed him off, real bad. [Laughs]

MK: So did you stay in Chicago for awhile or did you go back to Mississippi?

WB: Yeah, I stayed in Chicago twenty-four years, but I was back and forth all the time, back and forth to Mississippi.

MK: Do you have a place in Mississippi now too?

WB: Yeah, I live there. I'm a student at Jackson State. I spent a lot of time out on the corner begging people to go back to school. Why are you standing out here drinking wine when they're paying you to go to school? They don't believe me. They don't believe you can get paid to go to school. And I said, "I'm going to show you," so I applied for the grant, I got the money, and I'm in class.

MK: What are you studying?

WB: Journalism. I want to tell this whole story my way.

MK: Had you ever been to school before, to college?

WB: I went to Tupelo but that was during the Civil Rights Movement. That was during the work-study project. That's another one of Bob's [Laughs] to get people in school, work-study. That was the introduction to almost a free college education. We'll mow the yard, we'll wash the windows, whatever, just let us stay here. It worked for a

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lot of people. I was too busy, twenty-three years old in '63. I had a '53 Mercury and I was twenty-three going on twenty-four. Shit, man, women never looked so good. [Laughs]

MK: [Laughs] You've got better things to do.

WB: Right. [Laughs]

MK: One other question I was going to ask you was how did you sustain yourself? Maybe that's really--.

WB: Seventeen fifty a week. I don't want to talk about--.

MK: What about spiritually?

WB: Let me tell you something. I will tell you this. Before 1965 along with the Voting Rights Act came legalized liquor. Before that bootleg whiskey was the number one cash crop in Mississippi, so if you knew how to--. You could make a living if you knew how [37:26]. You just could not do it openly and if you made some money don't buy a new car, drive a six-year-old car, and you could survive. They'd let you live. Buy a new car you're going to jail because you're saying, hey, I'm bucking the system and I'm succeeding. Off your ass go to jail, right quick. [Laughs]

MK: Okay, well how about [37:54] spiritual [37:55]? How did you keep going spiritually?

WB: Well--.

MK: Or how did you convince yourself to keep fighting?

WB: Well it wasn't a matter of convincing myself. It's always another fight, and they're going to bring it to me. They're going to bring it to us, like they're doing now. The Voting Rights Act, they're trying to repeal it, so they keep bringing the fight to us.

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They keep bringing it back so the fight continues. [Laughs] They're not going to just leave us alone. They ain't going to do that, so we got to keep going.

MK: So what do you think is the most important legacy? Everyone's here reminiscing. What's the big legacy or big lessons of the Civil Rights Movement?

WB: Well if I haven't said it, I think the Civil Rights Movement saved my life. I was not going to cooperate and the day [38:55] I thought I was going to die and everybody else said get out of town was the day the plantation owner said, hey, you know better than any other nigger around here. You're going to do what they do or else you--. And I told him I got no cotton, I got no land, I got no grass, I got no fucking [home]. Get the fuck away from me. I had to leave before dark. [Laughs] So, you know, the fight comes to me. I don't have to pick no fight. [Laughs]

MK: Okay. Well do you have anything else you want to add?

WB: No. If you're happy with the interview--.

MK: I mean I could talk to you all day, but [39:37]--

WB: All day, I could too, but--

MK: --got things to do.

WB: --we, yeah.

MK: [Laughs]

WB: [39:40]

MK: Okay. Well let's stop this. Thank you so much.

WB: You're welcome.

MK: And before you go I've just got to get you to fill out a form or two because of my lawyers.

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WB: Okay.

MK: And I guess I should stop this. I don't know if I ever started that. Yeah, I did. Someone did.

END OF INTERVIEW

Transcriber: Deborah Mitchum

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