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Interviewer: Bayor, Ronald H.

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RONALD BAYOR: Five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten.

WARREN COCHRANE: Five of the first eight policemen, I had to set them, set the precinct up in the building because they were under such attack by the white policemen. We first started that in 1938, or '30 -- '40 -- 1938-39. Anyway, there were eight of them. I appointed four of them, and then I acted as -- as chairman of that group. They tried to incriminate them, get them drunk, and all that sort of thing, the white police.

BAYOR: They tried to discredit them?

COCHRANE: Oh, yes, yes. It was terrible. That's one of the [less crisis?] we had.

BAYOR: That was under Hartsfield, I guess?

COCHRANE: That's under Hartsfield. That was the one thing we got out of Hartsfield.

BAYOR: Why was he willing to --

COCHRANE: Only because we put on the books 15 and 18,000 voters, and that was the hardest job I ever had in my life, was to get that many people registered in Atlanta. Today, there

are a [00:01:00] hundred thousand of them, but it's a hard, almost impossible task, and it still is. Many blacks don't want to register to vote because they're afraid they're going to get involved in something, or their name is going to be on a registry. That's a big problem I've had.

BAYOR: Even now?

COCHRANE: Even now. You'd be amazed, the number of them. They might have been involved in something, had a little police record, or something, or... They just don't want to be identified. That sounds ridiculous but that still is a major problem in registration. It took us two or three years to get 10,000 registered, but Hartsfield told me -- I was director, executive director of the Voters League, that was my -- now, when I say "executive director," it meant that one, you have lay leadership, [00:02:00] and you have to have top people like [John Wesley Dobbs?] and [A.T. Walden?], and you have to do the work. If you don't do the work, nothing gets done.

BAYOR: You were the administrator, I guess?

COCHRANE: Well, I'm going to call it that, I guess. I was elected as the executive secretary with no pay, of course, but I had the facilities, I had the secretarial help that you must have, and that I had to put on a separate girl in my office to do nothing but handle community group. If the

United Way and the others found out about it, I probably would have been -- at first, I -- I had no money. We didn't raise money. But I finally got a [due date?]. [Butler Street?], where I was an independent organization, was picked out of the [00:03:00] YMCA in Atlanta, years before I came. So, it was virtually independent. And it became totally independent after I took over as the executive because we got no support from the downtown, the YMCA. Was one of only two YMCAs in the country that operated absolutely independently, and it does today. I mean, we have a token relationship and it's very good.

BAYOR: What year did you bump into them?

COCHRANE: I went to the Y in '41. They bombed Pearl Harbor was the day. I went from -- I was with -- with the Special Service group, building USOs, and I was in Virginia. I'd done enough of -- I'd been at home as the program director. I left back to [Fordham?] on [00:04:00] -- with the War Services, and I was stationed at Virginia. We couldn't get stuff built because food, material, and other stuff was very difficult in 1939-1940. So, I got the Army to technically handle it. They had to build USOs, so I did the recreational units because we were having a lot of problems at Fort... well, it's the quartermaster here at the fort in Petersburg, Virginia. And so, then they -- the

Army asked me to take over the building of all the USOs in that area, which I did, and still active as director of the Petersburg unit, which was a quartermaster unit. At the beginning [00:05:00] of the war, blacks were basically cooks, gofers, I mean -- and in other areas (inaudible). But basically, they were building the service. But that's a side point.

BAYOR: Getting back to the Voters League, I'm just curious about a few more things there. I came across a 1978 newspaper article in which you had quoted, and you said that "In the Atlanta Negro Voters League, Atlanta (inaudible)."

COCHRANE: That's correct. If it hadn't been for that, Atlanta would have been in at the top, I believe -- this is my belief -- I went -- I read thoroughly the riots in 1901 or 1898, whatever they were, and the killings that took place, and I knew. I had such -- I had [00:06:00] units all over Atlanta. I read in places. And my job in running the YMCA was to serve the youngsters of the community, and I had to set up branches which I ran, if I couldn't build, in those days. We didn't have the money. But I knew the spots that were dangerous. I could go anywhere there as I didn't even in New York, after a few years there, because they knew that I was there to try to help them. But it wasn't a

question of running the YMCA as a paid organization; I took kids, I took the pay for it, and I tried to make them pay a quarter or a dime because people -- [didn't get money?], but I didn't keep them out. And I still believe that's practical and the program of the YMCA. But anyway, that's -- I set up units all over the town, [ferry home?], Pittsburgh, which [00:07:00] became a very difficult section. And as best as I said, where we had the most -- we did have the best time. Very many people who cried at the drop of a hat, and that sort. So, after knowing it went on long before I went to Atlanta, I knew the spots to avoid and I was -- I have been afraid and I'm afraid until this day that if anything ever gets out of line in Atlanta, it'll be the worst race riot in the country. That's the worst fear I had, and I've always had it because it takes a lot to get them started, but...

BAYOR: In terms of the units you're setting up, right?

COCHRANE: That's right.

BAYOR: Units of the Y, units of the Voters League, or what?

COCHRANE: Well, we set up -- it was the Y, it went into the community, because I had to raise money. I couldn't get now -- We then set up, [00:08:00] of course, under -- in the Voters League, a special committee, and Dr. [Bako?], who died, was the first chairman of that. And I'm sorry,

there's a -- have you read some of Dr. Bako's (overlapping dialogue; inaudible) --

BAYOR: I have. I'm sorry I wasn't working on the study when he was alive.

COCHRANE: Well, he had more information than almost anyone.

Now, he was succeeded by Jesse Hill, who became chairman, and Jesse did a tremendous job. And -- You haven't seen him?

BAYOR: It was -- Yeah, then he fell off, though, (overlapping dialogue; inaudible) --

COCHRANE: Now, he's the chairman of Atlanta -- I mean, president of Atlanta --

BAYOR: Yeah, I'm going to try to get him again.

COCHRANE: But the key to this is voter registration and voters, but the problem with -- it's why they're having a terrible trouble today is, you know, about the Voter League --

BAYOR: I know.

COCHRANE: -- which is in -- they haven't been functioning too well recently. They've been under fire, of course, because you don't have no money and [00:09:00] [Marshall Field?] finally dropped it. But we're over some of those hurdles, so that the last election was a piece of cake, as I understand it.

BAYOR: Back then, did the white politicians actually seek the advice of black leaders?

COCHRANE: Oh, after we got Allen on, he's been -- at least one of them who knows that, just for 10 or 20 years, came down to the YMCA. That's where we had all the meetings. And if they didn't get the endorsement, after we got 10 and then 12, and 13, and 14 registered, we voted in a bloc, there's no question about that. When we put out the -- just two days before the election, we put out a slip and all the ministers who had endorsed other candidates, I'm sorry to say, a lot of black ministers in town were for sale, and they could get money. We didn't have any money, but we did make them finally pay afterwards. [00:10:00] And I had to go into debt many times to get this distributed. It was a very... fine way we did it. We hired the best distributing agency in Atlanta, we put these -- we put it in every meal box, here. Two days before the election. And without it, without question, for over 10 years, I never had no one that was defeated. They were all white in those days, until we finally got the place to run Leroy Johnson and Dr. [Clement?] as chairman of the board -- I mean, member of the board of education, those were the first two -- but we were very careful, the executive committee of the Voters League, to be sure that we knew what we were doing and we

didn't just go off and do it like people -- we did -- we weren't strong enough, in those days. And the first one was Dr. Clement, which we [00:11:00] endorsed and saw that he got elected. But Clement wasn't a cooperative person in the community. He was -- He told me to my face that his job was running the university and he couldn't -- to bring himself to do other things. And even though my wife was working again at the time, he and I had a terrible argument because I told him I thought the university should be a part of the community, too. But Atlanta University, in those days, did absolutely nothing to work in the community. There was only one college that did; that was Morris Brown. Finally -- now they give Benny Mays a lot of credit, but Benny was a fine person, was a member of my board and everything else, but he was out of town so much, he had -- he was raising money the whole time. And so, until he really retired, Benny was an active [00:12:00] participant, but he had the reputation that he was the essence of integrity and a personal friend of mine, but I understood what he was up against. He had to finance Morris -- Morehouse College.

BAYOR: What did the financial (inaudible)?

COCHRANE: From wherever we could get it, but mainly, we went into debt until the election. It cost over \$2,000 to put

those things out, and it cost (inaudible), wasn't much, I mean, but... After we endorsed a candidate, then we required him to pay a proportionate share, but we didn't do that -- and then we put that in the hands of Mr. [Yates?], all the Yates and [Milton Dedd?]'s company, and a Republican. I'm a Democrat --

BAYOR: I talked to him, Mr. Milton --

COCHRANE: Milton isn't worth a damn. Milton had nothing to do with it. Well, no, it was Yates.

BAYOR: He was gone, then.

COCHRANE: Yates is dead, but where's Yates? [00:13:00] Besides, Milton, he's a Republican. I'm -- I told you, I'm a Democrat.

BAYOR: [I was told Calhoun also is?] --

COCHRANE: Oh! [Danny Calhoun?]'s a Republican. You went to see him in his office at the Y?

BAYOR: Right, and then --

COCHRANE: You probably yesterday or something...

BAYOR: Did he -- I was curious how much power the black leadership had during that period. Could they actually just say yes and no on candidates that the whites presented, or was it -- could they insist on a certain candidate?

COCHRANE: Well, we had the main job in the early days, was to sit the candidates among the whites.

BAYOR: Because of the more racist --

COCHRANE: In order to try to keep what we'd call the rednecks out. We had -- We didn't have power enough to elect a black. The first one, as I told you, was -- and that was a big victory, when we could put a man on the board of education. [00:14:00] Now, that's a minor job, but there's a big -- then, the next one was Leroy Johnson, to the Senate, those were the first two. And then, Q.V. Williamson, even though he was a Republican. Now, I was supposed to be nonpartisan, as your groups be (inaudible). And I was very explicit about that -- I would not -- with whoever was the best candidate we got, Q.V. was at the time, the one who could be elected. And Mr. Walden was -- become quite -- chairman and [John Weston Dobbs?]. And John Weston Dobbs is far more partisan than Mr. Walden, but Mr. Walden would go along with the committee. John, by -- always -- I mean, it's so obvious that he's a Republican. Only the --

BAYOR: Did the warring come together?

COCHRANE: Oh, yes, [00:15:00] we had fights and everything.

They took their coats off, so you could... (laughter)

When we got together, we stayed there all night sometimes.

They never went [back on it?]. When we put that ticket out, it was the down the lines. And the public got to know that this -- there was no buying or selling of anything, that this was a consensus of representative blacks. So, that's my -- my point of view. That it has to be honest, it has to be -- you can have all kinds of disagreements, but when you come together, regardless of what happened -- and for 10 or 15 years, we voted solidly and got every one, practically. I don't think we lost any.

BAYOR: Two things related to this: first of all, what was promised to the black community by (inaudible)?

COCHRANE: We didn't make extravagant promises. One was, and that's why I got this case [00:16:00] for you, to help with black policemen. Took us two terms to get him to do that, but he made a -- I don't like Hartsfield, he was a segregationist to the first one, but I could depend on what he said. When he said, "When you can show me 10,000 votes, I'll do -- I'll put some policemen on the street." And he went down the line, like I said, worst fight we had in the council in Atlanta. All white, but Hartsfield stood up for that and we got eight black policemen. I appointed four of them. There wasn't any question of examinations or anything, four of them living in my building. And I picked the four best people that -- they were doing all kinds of

things, but they needed -- so, we got eight. And then we had the problem, I had to move them, the precinct, into the basement of the Y in order to keep them from being contaminated. They tried to make them -- they were drunk and [00:17:00] all kinds of things. And I was chairman of the group, [Denny King?], what did he call them, Denny King? Was the vice chairman of that committee. And we stood by them. They did everything to frame them, and they did -- the first two years was terrible.

BAYOR: This is the other police, the white police?

COCHRANE: Oh, yeah. Except we got them to appoint a white sergeant, I've forgotten his name. I'd like to think of his name. But when we got him, he went down the line with us. And if something was brewing, all kinds of underhanded things, how to get them involved fights and all that sort of thing. The first two years was torture, but we did have this committee, when a black policeman was involved.

[00:18:00] Ninety percent was pure [picketing?] by the white police.

BAYOR: (inaudible).

COCHRANE: Pardon?

BAYOR: What was the committee you just mentioned?

COCHRANE: Well, there's a committee that I -- came in my -- I was chairman. I think Denny was associate chairman. We

had two or three other people on it -- I had all this in the file, but they destroyed those files and I never published it. I don't remember, but it was about a five-point, or five-member committee that met, and Chief [Jenkins?], I have to give Herbert Jenkins a lot of credit, took him a long time to get -- come down the line, but when he did, he was absolutely honest and fair. That's all I can say. We had some cases, of course, where they were at fault, and we went along with it and we discovered they were.

BAYOR: So, the committee was made up of just black leaders?

COCHRANE: All [blacks?], yes. [00:19:00]

BAYOR: And you were there to --

COCHRANE: I was the (inaudible).

BAYOR: Make sure the black people were treated well?

COCHRANE: That's good. Now, you see, all this takes time and effort, and lay people, lawyers, people doing other things, they're so damn busy doing their job that they forget. I mean, the first time we got Leroy Johnson on the district attorney's office was due to a fight we had when Negroes split. That's one reason for the Negro Voters League because Republicans went off in one direction and Democrats in another, and the essence of the league was that, well, the Democratic Party was building up. It still was fairly

small. Republicans had a hangover, and John Wesley Dobbs used Maynard's father-in-law, I mean, he was pretty powerful, [00:20:00] he was kind -- and [laymen?], well, we couldn't get anything through the Republicans. They had no real power; Democrats had the power. So, in that light, they split down the middle and somebody else got in. I don't remember who it was at the time. But anyway, that was what caused the joining together, and we had a very strong constitution. We could make and handle all of the disagreements we wanted, but when we came together, finally, and there were real battles because -- so that we kept politics out of the question, we -- and the only thing we could do was, in those days, because we had less than 6-7,000 voters, took two or three years to get rid of the county unit system, I mean, so we could -- folks could [learn?] anything. And then, when we got that in '41, then we went to work on this [00:21:00] and there was a political battle, Republicans vs. -- and there were a lot of blacks still very Republican. This is the poor, Franklin Roosevelt, and all that. But we set the pattern and the thing that gives me more pleasure than anything else is the feeling that we had the community with us 100%, every election went down the line, and I was starting to think that all that goes on here now, now, these were all

whites we had to go with in those days, until we started with Clement, as I say, and then Leroy Johnson, and that was a political appointment, pure and simple. In those days, Leroy was teaching school and he would -- North Caroline School, and went, took a [loan?]. We had to put him on the district attorney's desk, [00:22:00] and that was his first foray into -- we had some questions about Leroy, even in those days, about... You know, of course, Leroy is a good politician.

BAYOR: What year was it then, that Leroy (overlapping dialogue; inaudible) --

COCHRANE: That was 1940-- '49 or '51.

BAYOR: Was right into the police?

COCHRANE: Yeah, yeah.

BAYOR: Why did the league eventually split later on? I guess that's early '60s, I guess.

COCHRANE: In the early '60s, [S.E. Hill?] was partly responsible for it. They got the place like they always do. It's one reason I left Atlanta in the '50s. I mean, everybody -- there wasn't many -- is that I took the job in the North. But I got so disgruntled at the way they began to tear it up, and there was infighting and all that sort of thing, and (inaudible). This is the one thing that you have to understand, in dealing with racial politics or racial need:

[00:23:00] people are jealous of one another. I had a deal with [Scott?], I didn't have to worry about the federal Constitution because they never cared in the Negro Leagues in those days at all. Never mentioned anything. But the world did, but they never mentioned my name. I had to have complete anonymity because the minute you start trying to exercise authority or become prominent, they start shooting at you. And the only reason I was able to, really, really persevere was because I had an assistant, that I always operated behind the scene. I wasn't interested in one thing, in any notoriety or publicity. But they all were, everybody was. I suppose it's normal (inaudible) up to a point, but it's worse in the black community. And the minute -- [00:24:00] and then they had all the black preachers to continue, and I'm sorry, but a lot of them are susceptible to money. That's the one thing, if I had to put my finger on one thing the Negro Voters League, and I can give you time and date almost for this because I had to exercise tremendous power to keep them, whatever money we got in, out of their hands, even with some of the leaders. Not that it was -- But just charging for things that were, I thought, were not worthy of paying. Since we had so little money, you understand. But we had one man, he was a Republican, that's [C.R. Yates?], and people ought to be

eternally proud of Mr. Yates: he handled all the money. I never touched a dime of it. But I -- [00:25:00] as the director and so forth, secondary -- I had access to it all and got it all because he didn't -- Dr. Yates was as honest as the day is long. A lot of things happened to make that group [impressive?]. The minute you start finagling with money and that sort of thing, or if there's a suspicion that you are, you see? There's a lot of it.

BAYOR: But you were able to stay together, at least until the '60s.

COCHRANE: I always -- I left in '63-'64, (inaudible). [John Bowden?] came to town and I had him --

BAYOR: What was his name?

COCHRANE: [Boone?]. Jesse Hill got ants in his pants, and three or four of them decided they weren't moving fast enough. So, they had the eyesight, on two or three, they were reorganized three times before it all broke up and broke up the Voters League, too. They wanted to go faster, [00:26:00] just...

BAYOR: Disagreements about --

COCHRANE: Candidates and everything else.

BAYOR: (overlapping dialogue; inaudible).

COCHRANE: They thought we weren't going quite fast enough, not fast, we wanted -- but we didn't have the power, in those

days. This had to be a very calculated type of thing, and you had to know where you were coming from. We didn't have enough registered voters yet.

BAYOR: Was there a concern about the -- we'll say resentment about you, the Voters League, controlling who runs for office?

COCHRANE: That didn't seem to come up much. I didn't get too much criticism. I got some for being too direct because I'm very forceful when you meet. And I don't always use the most conciliatory approach. But I refuse to be a party to anything and I [00:27:00] never exposed anything, but I knew a lot of things that were happening that were not kosher, and I wasn't going to be a party. And it's a political game -- everybody plays, I suppose, but I'm not saying I'm the same or anything, but I refuse to be a party to anything... I'm relatively poor to date because I never made any money, I wasn't being paid at the Y or anything else, but as God as my judge today, I never took a dime and never let anybody that I know involved take a dime from anything. Or not take a dime, you know, steal it, but the various ways, when money starts coming in, you can use it and may be perfectly legitimate, but you know damn well it's being used --

BAYOR: In [like, varying?] ways.

COCHRANE: Yeah, liberated, that's...

BAYOR: So, would you say that Jesse Hill left it and --

COCHRANE: Jesse wasn't at -- No. Jesse just wanted power,

[00:28:00] but he was one of those --

BAYOR: He was one of those just content with the union?

COCHRANE: Yeah, was going too slow.

BAYOR: How about [the other parties?]? (inaudible)

COCHRANE: They came on the scene. They were rabble-rousers.

They still are -- Are they still operating? I don't know.

No, I mean, that was one of the ones, but...

BAYOR: I think just the world was (inaudible).

COCHRANE: I mean, yeah, they... You got Jesse -- we didn't

have, in those days, but you could get in just as many

blacks as -- [Phillip Forward?], is that his name?

BAYOR: [Phil Farrow?]?

COCHRANE: Farrow, yeah. (overlapping dialogue; inaudible) He's

not as vicious as he is, but even Jesse Jackson and all

these -- isn't accepted in this community [of blacks?].

There's a terrible suspicion about Jesse Jackson. Now,

personally, [00:29:00] I had reserved judgment, but I just

don't think -- well, I don't know what to think of Jesse.

[Linus?] said he's reading, mostly, talking to people. But

I suppose you never get people there, absolutely always,

but especially -- and screening in with my -- is generally,

and I know the feeling among blacks, but Jesse Jackson is a prima donna, that he's -- what do you call it? There's nothing sincere about him. You can get a feeling about people, you know? And I'm [not exactly?] on the council of Atlanta today, but I wouldn't support him, even though they're black. And it -- what's the question of black, in any course? I don't think this town or any town should be racist to that extent. Now, people accuse me because I'm a (inaudible), [00:30:00] I had a [darker contingent?], and I always will. My first (inaudible), that was the biggest job I had. Not here, but when I went to teach at Fort [Garland?], and I was director with Garland for five years. And so, I had to overcome that, but the only way I did it was by working with people, and the same thing I had here in Atlanta, was the first town they came to -- when I first came to Atlanta, The Y was a very small institution operating on less than \$50,000 a year. And... the minister of the congregational church was acting, but they didn't have money enough for a director, he was acting. And the biggest fight I had was to prove that I was not, you know, even though [00:31:00] I'm a certainly -- what the South Africans call "colored," and that frankly reminds -- I know exactly what I am. My people are from Charleston, Indiana, very prominent in my -- part of my background is very

prominent to the [survivors?]. I spent all my life doing nothing but proving -- but trying to prove to myself and the black that I was, [totally, racially?] one of them. And I had to start with the blacks because Atlanta was full of racism among blacks. I wouldn't accept invitations to so-called mixed groups, and so forth. The Y was run by mixed society, got all of that out, I went overboard, then totaled it. And if I got any credence, I suppose, it was in that area [00:32:00] because I got -- I wasn't discriminative against mixed people, but that's something that people don't talk about much, but it's a very important factor.

BAYOR: What sort of mixed groups do you mean?

COCHRANE: I'm talking about black so-called -- if you had one tenth of one percent, you're black in Georgia, and it isn't like South Africa. And in the early days, just like in my hometown -- not my hometown because I was born in New York, but most of my brothers and my mother and father were all born in Charleston. They wouldn't let certain blacks in certain churches, and these were black, colored churches, but they were just run on the texture of your skin. You never knew that.

BAYOR: I never heard that.

COCHRANE: You've got to study it, then, because it's a very important --

BAYOR: I heard there was sort of a gradation in terms of [skin tone?].

COCHRANE: Oh, yes.

BAYOR: I guess... [00:33:00] I always thought that the lighter-skinned blacks were the ones who were against the higher levels of the society. No?

COCHRANE: Well, I mean they are because they are accepted. One of the biggest -- I was accepted everywhere in Atlanta after they knew I wasn't a communist. That's the first thing they do, would be sure I wasn't a communist, and then after they discovered that, I raised more money in Atlanta and almost -- I raised more money in the YMCA than in any black executive in the YMCA, raised millions here in Atlanta to build all these buildings they have.

BAYOR: You mean in the black community, or --

COCHRANE: No. Money was white. Blacks don't have any money -- they still don't. They don't have much and they don't give when they have it. I'm sorry, but that's... But I was able to do both. You have to walk a tightrope when you're doing this type of thing. [Walter Reitwhite?] used to write a couple of books about this, if you're [00:34:00] interested, but it's a hard row to hoe, when you're -- and

mine was complete devotion to the cause of equality regardless of this crap about my [wife?], it happens to look almost like I do. She's probably Jewish, in fact. But her father was a Jew.

BAYOR: (inaudible)

COCHRANE: But we both committed to equality -- that's all. I mean... Hell, we -- however anything else, and when we -- I was advised at college, my own college, University of State of New York, before I graduated, to what they call pass, to forget that I have any Negro blood in me. That, to me, was direct [00:35:00] indignity in which I refused, and that's why I didn't have to come South, but I did. I have brothers -- I had brothers, and [of these and others?], all was going in the other direction. So, this has been a personal fight in the community.

BAYOR: The white neighborhoods?

COCHRANE: Yes. I was -- after he was bishop of the Episcopal Church, he's my brother, my oldest brother, brought him up as totally white. Now, he's bishop of the Episcopal Church. They -- I know it because I talked with the bishop of the diocese before he was accepted as a minister, as a preacher in the area. So, it's no -- he's not requiring under false colors, but I'm saying it's nice to know that they've arrived at that place, but there's only been two

black men that have been bishop before all the
Episcopalians -- I'm an Episcopalian and grew up with the
church. In fact, the Episcopal Church where -- found my
coming South. [00:36:00] I couldn't get a job teaching in
the North.

BAYOR: You think that you were better able to get jobs in
white communities because you looked white?

COCHRANE: No. I was able to attend meetings and not have them
embarrass... Mr. Yates is not -- Mr. Yates was also, so we
-- when they started [calm approaches?] and they wanted to
invite somebody, they'd invite, well, to join the committee
-- I got into areas where others couldn't get in, in those
days. And then when I formed the Hungry Club and others, I
was able to get them to come, finally, but in --

BAYOR: (inaudible)

COCHRANE: Forty-eight.

BAYOR: So, the white developers were just using it for the
land?

COCHRANE: Not at that point, no. They didn't come till about
['30?].

BAYOR: A few other things in terms of [quotes?], I'm curious
why you supported Massell against Jackson in '73?

(inaudible)

COCHRANE: [00:37:00] Who told you that?

BAYOR: I just took a look in the history.

COCHRANE: Well, it was part of my philosophy. I went to Maynard and told him I didn't think he was ready. I was -- We were very satisfied with Massell, a Jewish person, and Maynard, a black person [who was light-skinned?], and I thought we had a good -- and I thought Maynard ought to wait, not -- I have nothing personally against Maynard, but I thought he should wait. Now, I was -- I knew Maynard and I knew his family. I had worked with his father on the memo circulation. He died, but his father came here from Texas, and he was minister, [farm?] minister in Dallas, [00:38:00] at least -- and I forget where he's -- and he was the son-in-law of John Wesley Dobbs. And I've taken Reverend Jackson home two or three times, when he went off -- (inaudible) mentally very... And I tried to tell his father, who was very... was trying to go too fast. Dobbs was trying to push his father; you don't push yourself in Atlanta, you have to earn your way. And part of his trouble, mentally, was -- many had trouble building a house (inaudible) and all that thing, how you get license or rebuild it, make it two-family, or something. Anyway, he had a lot of problems. He was a minister, very important Baptist church over there, Friendship Baptist Church. And [00:39:00] now, I knew, Maynard grew up in war. Maynard

was a very smart boy, but he was very aggressive and very, very, well, sometimes he was obnoxious. And I mean -- And he was getting in -- he was being pushed, of course, by Dobbs. The fact that they were Republicans at that time, then, and a picture -- I've known him 37 years. And I thought we had a good mixture: Maynard and Massell, to prove that it wasn't just black, that we didn't want just -- Massell had done a fairly good job and he was being shot up in many directions because of his brother and so forth. So, I went to Maynard and I told him that I was going to support Massell. And [00:40:00] if Massell hadn't done the things to me, then, and I was [vested in him?] personally... And so, I did. We lost, we -- and I was blackballed, and then I know that I was black-- by Maynard. But even to this day, I have questions about Maynard. I thought he went too fast, now, damn it. You can make whatever you want of that. It isn't a question of whether I was pro-white or pro-black; things take time and you have to get the best people you can get, they must be like [Caesar's?] wife or brother or coach, that was my philosophy. And I just didn't think Maynard had that -- he did nothing but create dissention during the whole administration time, to -- I thought that was wrong, you understand? Simply because he was political.

BAYOR: In which things? Like, the minority contracting?

COCHRANE: Yes, yeah. He went [00:41:00] all-out. Now, that was necessary up to a point, but there's a way to do it that you don't get involved and people criticize (inaudible), but [Andy?] is a good politician and a good person, fundamentally. He's honest and he makes mistakes and maybe he's a little lazy, I don't know...

BAYOR: (inaudible)

COCHRANE: But we were just breaking in. You don't take it by storm, do you understand that? You have to prove that you can mesh into the situation. You may have to take some defeats, temporary, but you always stand on virtue and integrity. You don't try to just bombast... Maynard was too bombastic.

BAYOR: I guess he came into conflict with the white business community.

COCHRANE: Yes, he did. And maybe you have to have some of that, [00:42:00] but if this is a failure or a weakness on my part, I'm sorry, but I haven't changed any one way or the other. And it isn't because I've got some white blood in me, either. I think I've proved that I can --

BAYOR: I can understand your point.

COCHRANE: Well, this is something very difficult for people to understand because I got a lot of criticism for it.

BAYOR: Well, I guess to a lot of people, there's just a big black breakthrough...

COCHRANE: I just didn't think -- I told him at the time that everything would be in his favor if he would go through one other term with it. Because that was an ideal situation, a Jewish mayor and a black vice-mayor. And Massell had done a good job with -- he was criticized because of his brother's mat--

BAYOR: (overlapping dialogue; inaudible)

COCHRANE: Nightclubs, and so forth. But [00:43:00] well, I mean, that's my point of view about that.

BAYOR: How about a little earlier, in '69, apparently, Massell's quote about the *Atlanta Inquirer*, what it would take, some black people's support to run [Curver?] or [Wayfellow?]. I was curious why that makes response in the black community. Do you remember that at all?

COCHRANE: I remember. [Tate?]'s from Fort Valley, he's from Fort Valley, (inaudible), elected there. Tate became Senator. Tate was another man that I never could really go all-out for. [Rodney Cooke?], I didn't have too much (inaudible), but I didn't have too much influence because I didn't [00:44:00] support Tate. I think we did -- what year was that?

BAYOR: Sixty-nine.

COCHRANE: No, I had left, then. I was out of the state.

BAYOR: I was just, you know, curious to see such a split in the black community, white, I mean, Cooke was one some supporting, Tate was another one, Massell was another one, so you had a real three-way --

COCHRANE: Tate never sold himself totally to the black community. He was -- He wasn't (inaudible). There was several things about him I don't like. We had supporters, Cooke, you know, [he ends up with support?]. But the -- You see, this question comes up in terms of a white versus a black -- to hell with that. Whoever's the best man, whoever can do the job, and whoever can stand, withstand the (inaudible).

BAYOR: (overlapping dialogue; inaudible).

COCHRANE: It's going to take [00:45:00] a hell of a lot of time to get that point over. Well, I mean, because it's just as racist for blacks to vote blindly black as it is for whites to vote for rednecks and others because they're white. (laughter) We've got to get rid of that. That's not the most popular view, when you're --

BAYOR: It's a long time coming, anyways.

COCHRANE: Well, we've got to make a beginning on it. I mean, we've got to let race fade into the background, even though

we have to begin on that basis. I'm sorry, but I mean, I -

-

BAYOR: No, I understand, you know, but you know, it's been a long time since, you know, Jews would tend to vote for Jews, Irish would tend vote for Irish names, and so on, and it's a very common thing.

COCHRANE: This is the worst thing that can happen in America.

BAYOR: Oh, really?

COCHRANE: You're going to polarize the country, and I'm afraid that's what's beginning to happen. I mean, America isn't that type of country, and some people even endorse it. I don't know if we're ever [00:46:00] going to be able to get rid of it.

BAYOR: I know how you feel on that. I was also wondering whether there was -- you feel there was sort of a condition of black-white cooperation in Atlanta.

COCHRANE: A tradition?

BAYOR: Yeah.

COCHRANE: No.

BAYOR: No?

COCHRANE: You had to force it to begin. Excuse me. The beginnings would crystallize, and I think -- but that is a very slow process.

BAYOR: But you don't feel that the whites in Atlanta were more willing to sit down with blacks than they had (inaudible) --

COCHRANE: Only when they had -- Only because they almost got [culled around that?]. And it has to start that way, I guess.

BAYOR: How about earlier, when blacks had to patrol the bond voters?

COCHRANE: Well, everybody was only doing what was in his personal interest. I mean, I -- I don't think anybody does anything, and in many ways, [00:47:00] it's getting worse and worse because people today are only interested in what's in their own personal interest. And this business, even black, are getting the point where whatever's involved, getting money, they become part of -- to get them through. This is dangerous. This is very dangerous. It's not building a sound society when you go that route, it seems to me. I'm very -- I've read a lot of history, I mean, and I'm not a historian, fundamentally. But as I've grown old, I read history, probably the source of it. And I know that change takes time, but constructive, sound change has to take time. You can't force it. Now, that doesn't mean I'm a gradualist [00:48:00] because I'm not: when it's necessary and you have the opportunity to force

an issue, if you're right, then I think you should do it. But... A few years, there's nothing in (inaudible) begin to change a little, but I don't think I've changed my fundamental principles. I don't think so. I was impatient, a little more impatient, when I was younger. But I always was cautious, and I was looking for what I thought was right. That sounds corny, but... I am an Episcopalian, but I am also a religionist. [00:49:00] I'm a very strong believer in the teachings of Jesus, and I -- I'll tell you one thing I know, is his life and history, and I knew what he was up against. And I tried to run the Y that way, I tried to run the schools that I was director of, not by preaching -- I don't preach -- but by precepting. You [don't understand?]. Now, that may sound corny to you, today in this world, and the [trade?] business and everybody after everybody else, but I never made a lot of money and I could have. I've been offered money many times that I've turned down, as God is my [guide?]. I often say to myself, I've never taken a penny when I could have -- I probably could have been pretty affluent, but somehow, I always was able to pay my bills and accumulate [00:50:00] a little. So, I have no regrets about yesterday.

BAYOR: Do you think there's any -- that there's a reason that [Bradley?] became the successor to the Civil Rights Movement?

COCHRANE: No, I think it was a match, well... Because Atlanta had demonstrated that by a process of working together, it could work out differences without conflict.

BAYOR: There was some sense, of course --

COCHRANE: Well, even when the thing was at its height, we had all kinds of meetings, with [Riches?] and others, and we finally had to make some concessions and they would march and so forth, but they wouldn't fall down in front of the cars, they wouldn't impede traffic. And then, I, personally, went to the sheriff's office with the police [00:51:00] commissioner. The sheriff was the man what -- and they would arrest them when they had to. They would not put them in cells. They would hold them, and I posted a bond. I posted at least security for \$100,000, and Q.V. Williamson was another one, for example. I had this type of relationship with the sheriff's office, so they wouldn't put them in jail, they would hold them, and then I would sign the bond, and so forth. But it was that approach, rather than this stuff they had in Montgomery and in Alabama, maybe it was necessary there because we didn't have the type of people there. But these people in the

(inaudible) in Atlanta had been taught by me, and the main thing was we -- this is the one thing, we worked against the early years, before there's any -- that's all [00:52:00] we could do, and it was a very good thing to keep out of office as little as possible, up until [least amount?], the rednecks.

BAYOR: (inaudible)

COCHRANE: That's the one thing we were able to do here, and that was a big thing, and it has led to understanding. We work with what we call the eighth ward, people in that there -- which is (inaudible) and me. Now, if you can deal with people of some principle, of... And (inaudible)...

BAYOR: So, there were actually some cases where you would actually say no to -- because you're a white candidate?

COCHRANE: Oh, many.

BAYOR: You didn't want one to... So, there was some sense of cooperation?

COCHRANE: Oh, yeah.

BAYOR: That's what I mean about this long tradition of working together between the --

COCHRANE: Yeah, well, that's what started it. That's -- Up until then...

BAYOR: So, in other words, I guess this city was sort of -- almost (inaudible) --

COCHRANE: I'd say you're right, [00:53:00] you're right.

BAYOR: Do you think --

COCHRANE: Now, in the beginning, we didn't want [King here?], or
-- they didn't want --

BAYOR: Why?

COCHRANE: We thought he would tear it up, or after what happened
in Montgomery, and there was some -- not a whole lot, but
he wasn't welcomed with opened hands when he came here.
And we thought that we were making progress, slow but sure,
and now, personally -- and I worked very close with Martin
Luther -- I opened the Y, I always had places here,
dormitory spaces, I had a special appointment for feeding
ministers, or (inaudible) food. I was very careful in
screening them, but Martin Luther came to me -- Martin
Luther grew up in the Y, incidentally, so I was very close
with. He was chairman of the party, Episcopal [00:54:00]
community, he made me make some changes in the early days
[with members?]. (inaudible) So, I -- Martin Luther and I
were very, very good friends. I didn't have as good a
relationship with his father, so-called Daddy King, and he
was one -- he tried to make me stop dance and take out pool
tables and all that. And I had to get by him when I
finished [paying?] it. He was -- Off the record, his daddy
was very limited. [I think that's a good way to say it?].

But he tried to care for a lot of -- simply by taking a negative point of view. [00:55:00] And he was a member of the [Connoisseur?] executive committee. And every time we saw him coming, we had to invite him, and he would always find something that was -- that he could object to.

BAYOR: This would be [Butler?]?

COCHRANE: This is the Voters League.

BAYOR: Voters League, OK.

COCHRANE: No, I would never put him on the board -- I wouldn't have him on the board because I was going to have dances for young people, I was going to have pool tables, was going to regulate it.

BAYOR: So, what was his problem, as president, who would you have to ask about that?

COCHRANE: You know, funnily, I don't think he thought that far. His own son never got along with his father, in spite of what you heard. But his -- I set up a special -- I had what they called a special advantage, (inaudible) Thursday nights. Big bands, people came from all over, all six or eight [00:56:00], plenty of youth. (inaudible) I'd always reported one deputy sheriff. But I ran that for years and Martin Luther King, meanwhile, he was a student, and asked me if I would -- could set up something for him, for history, up at Ebenezer. So, my dance was on Thursday

night -- Friday night. I said, "The only night I've got is Thursday night," and he said, "I don't want my daddy to know it." I said OK, "You get the list." And just from Ebenezer. And so, for over a year, I had a night with him alone. I don't know where the (inaudible) ever knew about that night, never came up, but it was a nice, small affair.

[00:57:00] And in many conferences with Martin Luther, Jr., he would intimate to me that his father was so restrictive that he couldn't do anything. But he finally did come here, after he finished what he thought was his work in Montgomery, and then he had a lot of people coming in, white and black. He had no money, so I was able to place -- I always had (inaudible). So, I worked very closely with him, but at the same time, the Voters League had discussed this many times, and they were so afraid that after all the trouble in Montgomery -- and I had gone to Montgomery several times to work with the Y there because it was a very difficult situation, would you let the NAACP meet [00:58:00] in the building in Montgomery, and since I had been considered as sort of a troubleshooter among YMCAs, I went there, to North Carolina and other places, the national council had asked me to do this. And so, I knew the situation in Montgomery very well. But anyway, when it was decided that he was going to sort of act as

associate pastor, that was just to give him a title, I mean, give him -- he preached there, sometime, worked out of Atlanta. But the Voters League would never overtly... voted against it, against working with him. There was very little cooperation --

BAYOR: With him?

COCHRANE: We're talking about '57 [00:59:00] or '58. And the fear was, which wasn't overtly expressed, was that we didn't want to tear the ladder up. Daddy King himself was -- went on the record about it, and we found it -- and this was after Martin Luther got killed. And now, you will refer to this, but I didn't have much of an opinion on M.L. King, Sr., I didn't. But I thought he was sort of stupid. And you'd have to -- all this Daddy King, and so forth -- but you had to tolerate a lot of things here, and that's what we did, just tolerate it because he was an objectionist all the time, trying to find something. Sometimes it was absolutely ridiculous, [01:00:00] after we worked on something for a long time, then he'd come up, all of a sudden, with some idea that was totally without merit. And we had to go through it in all -- not that we catered to him because we didn't.

BAYOR: With Martin Jr., work with the Voters League at all?

COCHRANE: No.

BAYOR: Did he get involved in politics?

COCHRANE: No, never got involved.

BAYOR: Do you feel at all that he was influenced by growing up in Atlanta, that he did have a fairly decent relationship to the white community here?

COCHRANE: Who, Martin Luther?

BAYOR: Junior.

COCHRANE: No, he had no relationship.

BAYOR: I mean, did Martin Jr., he did grow up -- you know, growing up in Atlanta --

COCHRANE: He grew up in Atlanta, at Morehouse.

BAYOR: OK. Growing up --

COCHRANE: And the Y, and there was almost no social contact, if that's what you mean.

BAYOR: No, no, I meant that he grew up in a city where there was less violence [01:01:00] and more --

COCHRANE: Less violence, oh, yeah. That influenced him tremendously.

BAYOR: (overlapping dialogue; inaudible)

COCHRANE: Oh, yeah, yeah.

BAYOR: In what sense do you think that might have --

COCHRANE: Well, I mean, I knew what happened at the Y, when we had controversial situation. He was always a peacemaker. When one of the race came up -- privileges and so forth,

his whole attitude was one of -- then, of course, he had been reading [Dunn?] and very vociferously... He was a strong disciple. We discussed that many times. So, he got -- that's where he got that.

BAYOR: I guess I was just wondering if he was brought up in Birmingham, rather than Atlanta.

COCHRANE: Oh, no, no, his early days, if there were psychologists who are all, you know, your attitudes and convictions are formed long before (inaudible). I mean...

BAYOR: Well, I don't think that -- let's say, had he grown up in a city where there was a lot of (inaudible), City of Atlanta was less?

COCHRANE: No, [01:02:00] when he was projected into that situation, it was vicious in Montgomery. He just rebelled against everything. Because he was not and never accede to any case of people use the same tactics.

BAYOR: So, I guess Gandhi was the main influence?

COCHRANE: Gandhi was the main influence.

BAYOR: Rather than what was happening here, in this city?

COCHRANE: It certainly was, rather than that or his father. I know from personal experience, he and his father didn't get along nearly as well as [his mother?], I've heard that before.

BAYOR: Well, I guess I was just curious, growing up in a city where there were contacts between whites and blacks, it was sort of on the political level that maybe in a sense, he grew up in a more nonviolent racial situation.

BAYOR: He wasn't active in any -- anything while he was here, [01:03:00] either at the Y or as a boy growing up because he didn't have that type of thing. Or in the adult situation. Morehouse wasn't very active in community, actually, it never was. You know the thing, or the student body.

BAYOR: What was the role of the universities in the [suburban?] community?

COCHRANE: (inaudible), it was a standoffish thing. They were afraid. And they finally -- Morehouse led them, actually. I had a meeting with the trustees, including (inaudible) meeting. But that was something that grew over a long period of time. It was a long time coming. That happened in North Carolina, in sit-ins and other -- even before it happened here.

BAYOR: So, the students really pulled the [01:04:00] school in?

COCHRANE: That's right, there was that...

BAYOR: How about your relationship with Ivan Allen? Was he pretty decent?

COCHRANE: One of the best. One of the best.

BAYOR: I've spoken to him, too.

COCHRANE: He came to New York and offered me a job here, a top job, which I refused. And when he left, we had a very long conversation, but I told him I had just reached a point where I had given my whole life to Atlanta and I was -- when you [broke the bowl?], where the Voters League got really sabotaged. I just couldn't take it.

BAYOR: You think he was operating out of honest dealings with the black community, or just --

COCHRANE: Always, no, Ivan Allen, I can tell you, he went up to support the civil rights -- forming the Civil Rights Commission in Washington and the vote for -- when his job almost was on (inaudible).

BAYOR: (inaudible)

COCHRANE: That's right, that never -- Ivan Allen was one of the finest persons [01:05:00] we ever had. The only mistake he made was putting the barricades up on [Peyton Road?], do you know about that? That alone was crazy.

BAYOR: Yeah, he's still embarrassed.

COCHRANE: Even I urged him not to do it, put himself on the line. I said we weren't ready for it at that time, but he voted for it. I mean --

BAYOR: Voted against '64 -- against the black side?

COCHRANE: Yes, sir. That writing -- Route 4 YMCA, we lived there, and he'd come down anytime anything came up. We had the best relationship with anybody, we had with Ivan Allen. He was a gentleman, and he -- this is what I kept saying all the time, he'd been a person of some culture and refinement, and Hartsfield was a segregationist of the first order. Grew up very poor, and all that. Too bad, his money is involved, but if you don't have the back fund, you paying -- you're paying to express it, [01:06:00] (inaudible). That's right, that's what we're up against, what we used to call "rednecks." And rednecks ran this town for a long time. And to get them out and to get the best class of people, to have a better class of people, you can work with.

BAYOR: I guess both Massell and Allen probably got a lot of opposition from the redneck community about what they were doing.

COCHRANE: Well, but it was the Negro vote every time. It was solid. By that time, it was in the 20, 25, and 30,000. So, as that vote's solid, you could get in. It wasn't enough to elect a black yet, but we still --

BAYOR: Not by the '60s? That only --

COCHRANE: No, it wasn't -- we didn't have enough time.

BAYOR: Not for mayor, but --

COCHRANE: All this started after the -- when they started moving up, you know, and up the [01:07:00] anti-segregation, you know?

BAYOR: You know, the whites would... There is, I guess, by the '60s, with [Gray Hamilton?] and [Julian Barnes?] being elected, as you know, there was more (inaudible).

COCHRANE: That was in the middle '60s. I left in '65 -- maybe I shouldn't have left. (inaudible) Well, it was a -- I never needed money, that's number one. Got double salary. I said money, the universe was throwing it to me, but by that time, I found I needed an improvement in my financial situation. And it was -- but that was another challenge. I went up there and they thought one of the main reasons that people they had had been standing right and left was they had up to their neck, every YMCA has to offer (inaudible), [01:08:00] and they were in debt, which I had to pay off. And I mean, it was real steep on us, and [I got it moved to the Y?]. It was open house, or... It's a job I shouldn't have taken at my age because it was -- I saw that putting on the sum financial basis you have for four years, ought to have paid for it, for the heart attack. I used to have to get up in the middle of the night. They were stealing money on the desk -- it's a very big operation, \$1 million a year.

BAYOR: With the Y?

COCHRANE: Hundred-and-thirty-fifth Street and Seventh Avenue.

BAYOR: I volunteered with a CCNY.

COCHRANE: Oh, you're in --

BAYOR: College, so --

COCHRANE: CCNY, I know what (overlapping dialogue; inaudible).

Oh, you're a graduate of CCNY?

BAYOR: Yeah.

COCHRANE: One of the best schools in the country. It's rough
and it's tough and -- are you Jewish?

BAYOR: Yes.

COCHRANE: Good, it's 80% Jewish.

BAYOR: It was; [01:09:00] I don't know whether it is now,
but...

COCHRANE: Well, I know CCNY. I was appointed by President
Truman and spent 40 years in Washington as racial relations
director for the Housing Administration. That was back in
the '50s. And I had been very active, when I was first in
Harlem, I was there from '30 to '35, right after I came out
of school, and before the war. And I had -- and worked
with a committee, the first committee, and they accused
this man of -- as being a communist. What do you call it,
the... He was a professor there. And I had meetings and
so forth because I knew him, and I can't remember his name,

but it was the first big case. [01:10:00] And I was a program director for Harlem at that time because when I went back as director, that was the second time. And I didn't know that they were -- and whether there was something (inaudible) -- I never saw a copy of [The *Daily World*?]. I might have seen a copy at the time at the time that I was in there. It wasn't -- Truman appointed me. McCarthy and the others were there after. I was -- after I'd been there six months as director, I was brought up on charges -- not brought up, but I mean, I was asked to explain. They told me I had to write a [counsel note?]; I said, "I don't need any counsel, I've never been a member of the Communist Party, I -- we know who they are, they're making the bomb." But I did support this group and let them meet. And then, it was during the thing in...

[01:11:00] [Spain?], that group. But I was always -- two groups were finally designated as communist-inspired group. When I was program director and I let groups meet there, and I didn't sit in too much, but they -- I attended many of the -- sat in on some. Anyway, they brought this thing up, and they asked me if I had counsel. I said, "No, I don't need counsel, here." And it went through about an hour and so forth, but they gave me an absolutely clean

bill of health. And I was just -- my goodness, allowing people to meet, and... (inaudible) --

BAYOR: I guess they thought communists part of those organizations.

COCHRANE: Communist part-- yeah, one of them was.

BAYOR: It was a committee against the war on fascism.

COCHRANE: Yeah, I -- that group met there, yeah, and there -- but there was another professor [01:12:00] at City College. It's a very famous case. We won out, by the way. You know, a lot of teachers were brought up in affiliation from -- this was a very famous case. I think -- it's that man's name, a professor at City College. And I did know him, and I thought he was being persecuted like a lot of other people.

BAYOR: I guess City had a bad reputation for, like, the politics of this, of (overlapping dialogue; inaudible) --

COCHRANE: It was all left, just politics, yes, but this was during McCarthy reign. But (inaudible), in other words, I was simply acting as program director and people were meeting there. And I never, never did even approach the -- one of the communist folks. But that what the -- when I came here, [01:13:00] many years later, first thing they did -- probably they didn't happen (inaudible) -- and two or three other foundations. I raised over \$10 million in

Atlanta. But the first thing they did was do a deep background check on me, when they found I wasn't a communist, or wasn't affiliated, they had all this information, too. Then I began to get money, and that --

BAYOR: Did you ever come into contact with the [Woodruff?], over --

COCHRANE: Oh, many, yeah. I knew Mr. Woodruff very well.

BAYOR: Did you ever get any sense that he was as influential as people say, in terms of --

COCHRANE: He's a very private man.

BAYOR: -- in terms of civil rights, then?

COCHRANE: He never did -- he never took any stand on the --

BAYOR: Because I always heard that he was the -- he was a man behind (inaudible), pushing him.

COCHRANE: He was -- Bob Woodruff did anything that was in the interest of his business or Coca-Cola. But when you got to know him, as I did, but I talked with him maybe three or four times, [01:14:00] and I did a subterfuge to get in to see him, the first time. His secretary was a friend of a friend of mine, and the first time, he said to me, how did I get an appointment? I said, "Well, I talk over this with the Lord," and so I said, "I decided I could talk to you about it." (inaudible) Anyway, he gave me a \$500,000 to build the West Side, he gave me \$500,000 to build the camp,

so I got \$1 million and several other foundations. And it's a very difficult [job?] because you had to work in an atmosphere that was very difficult. You had to be absolutely sure that they didn't think you were radical. I know what a radical is because I say what I think, nobody else but me -- I -- any misinterpretation [01:15:00] of where I stand on anything. But it worked out pretty well. I had to do the same thing when I was stuck in the office, executives, I had to clean house, first. I had to sit on a lot of people, they're all blacks, but I didn't [strongly purchase?] at all.

BAYOR: So, you were back there, let's say, in the '67
(overlapping dialogue; inaudible) --

COCHRANE: I went back in '65, [with the flare-up?]. It was in '65 and stayed there till '69. I had to turn the whole thing on. I had the pride and the executive [pressure?], members of the board, I had an awful list.

BAYOR: It seems like you were under a lot of stress during that time.

COCHRANE: And I got a heart attack. But it had to be done. The chips had to fall where they fall. Now, nobody went to jail. They could have gone to jail because they [made out like zebras?], they -- but I [01:16:00] worked it out so that they retired, two or three of them, and took their

retirement for a certain number of years for the
reimbursement, so nobody -- I mean, not -- I believe in
compassion and understanding, but strict, honest
(inaudible)... Well, I don't know whether that helped in
your --

BAYOR: Oh, it really -- No, it's good to get these memories
down.

END OF AUDIO FILE