

Oral History Interview with Joe Mulloy
University of Kentucky War on Poverty World History Project
Interviewed by Dr. Thomas Kiffmeyer
November 10, 1990; Huntington, West Virginia

Mr. Mulloy was an Appalachian Volunteer who was involved in the sedition arrest and was eventually convicted of draft evasion. However, his conviction was eventually overturned.

Kiffmeyer: Johnson declares his war on poverty in 1964. This is kinda a background question. Where were you in 1964 and what were you doing?

Mulloy: I was a student at the University of Kentucky.

Kiffmeyer: How did you react to his declaration of war on poverty? You were from Lewis, correct?

Mulloy: Yes.

Kiffmeyer: Right

Mulloy: I'm not sure I was really that conscious of his declaration or the impact of that. If anything war having any influence on my motivations at that timer were President Kennedy and his inauguration speech. Very challenged American youth to do something for the country. In current with that was the civil rights movement the summer of 64', Mississippi Summer, The Freedom Summer, sit-in's, freedom rights were all going on at that time. There was a period of turmoil and change in the country. I think that was kinda of stuff I was listening to or paying attention to. I don't recall President Johnson making any announcement around the poverty program, for say.

Kiffmeyer: Why were you interested in Appalachian?

Mulloy: I was going to school at UK, as I said and a fellow by the name of Jack Ribel came and spoke at the University of Kentucky. Jack was a field representative for the AV, which was more of a student-oriented program working with the poor and underprivileged school children in the Eastern Kentucky, operated by the Council of Southern Mountain in Berea. Hack came and gave a talk on the campus of UK and showed a little film. It impressed me the work they were doing. It was something I could do on the weekend. I could connect and know what was going on in the world at this point. Sorta one thing sorta lead to another. I got involved in it in the very beginning stages of it.

Kiffmeyer: Do you recall exactly what Jack said? Can you give me some of the background of what he was driving at?

Mulloy: Well, I can't recall his exact words. I can recall he was a very persuasive speaker. Jack was a maybe a couple years older than I was. He was married, I think at that point. Very open, gregarious person. He made a good case for getting involved with things in our society and trying to be a part of the solution, instead of being a part of the problem. I don't think he used that term. The term came a few years later. Struck a cord in me at least and a number of other folks as well. They were setting up campus chapters, support groups for the Appalachian Volunteers. At that point, the main focus was working with school children. Doing some renovation with schoolhouses. Doing some recreation and then getting basketballs and things of that nature. Helping to build a schoolyard in Knott County. Go down on the weekends, Saturday morning. Spend the night somebody and come back Sunday afternoon.

Kiffmeyer: Were you involved with any of the school pick-up projects?

Mulloy: Yeah, that was the, as I recall, that was the focus of the Appalachian Volunteers at that point. There was no federal...this was a private effort. The Council of Southern Mountain had organized; this pre-dated the War on Poverty. It had been going, you know, on a small fashion for a year or more. I think there was some federal money that was prior to the Office of Economic Opportunity being established. That was the agency that administered the War on Poverty. There was some money coming into the Council, federal money. As I recall, at that time being, being told there was...it looked like a pilot-project for this and some of the other national programs. Community-action certainly.

Federal people were looking at this program very closely, what could be done.

Kiffmeyer: Is the federal reason a model to base the rest of...

Mulloy: Yeah, I don't think they initiated it. I think it was locally initiated by the Council but there was a connection with the federal people very early on. I remember being told that by Brill Noble and others that were in the leadership. We felt we were a part of something bigger than just going out there on weekends.

Kiffmeyer: After 64'?

Mulloy: Yeah, this would be the fall of 1964 is when I got involved. Beginning of the school year.

Kiffmeyer: Okay, you touch on this. What exactly were these programs?

Mulloy: We were fixing up schoolhouses.

Kiffmeyer: How so, what do you mean?

Mulloy: Putting up dry wall and weatherboard and replacing windowpanes. Painting, building recreational areas in the schoolyards and adjacent to the schools. Basketball courts. Setting up basketball goals. Assisting, essentially, I guess, assisting local school

boards school agencies. Supplying some things that everybody else in the state had but because of the employment and poverty, these counties in Eastern Kentucky didn't have.

Kiffmeyer: What were the motivations did the school pick-ups? Why was that valued as being important?

Mulloy: Well, I think probably because of the youth were the future of the area. It was certainly a way of connecting, being able to do something concrete where you could see a physical result and have an immediate impact.

Kiffmeyer: Now, this was geared for helping people help themselves.

Mulloy: You've read some of the literature, think you heard the songs. Yeah, that was the term, help people help themselves. There was a song Billy Ed Willer wrote. A song about that, that was great there.

Kiffmeyer: How did the people in the communities where you went and took these, how did they respond?

Mulloy: They were very friendly and very open and warm and on our level. There was for myself and I know for hundred of other people. There was an introduction to a culture and values and a way of life that we didn't know anything about. The whole Appalachian culture and history that was very fascinating and you felt very much welcome and involved and there wasn't any of that outsider stand-offish sort of stuff that you sometimes hear about. Course, I guess in a sense we were sanctioned and that we had some official mantle for being there. I can remember working with some Quaker projects. I think Quakers in, I believe, in Knott County that were doing essentially the same thing and maybe had been at a like of project for a number of years.

A Quaker group in Ohio supported this one person who lived there with his family and worked with the community. Loran, I think his name was I can see him. I can't think of his last name. That may have been his last name, was a real calm, centered person and was involved with water systems and fixing the road and that kind of thing.

Really his focus and the Appalachian Volunteers for us, was really the furthest out places. I mean the most remote head of the holler was a term we used to use. That was our focus, "head of the holler". There was a book that was circulated around that time of 64'-65'. I remember the council had a lot of copies of it, actually we—I handed it out to a lot of people—*Yesterday's People*, by Jack Waller. I remember very clear that we, the younger group of AV's thought that...that the book was wrong. I mean, after we had some experience and that these books had forgotten and they weren't the cause of the problems themselves and weren't to. It was just wrong, and somehow, I think the approach we were taking was different and would make a difference and didn't blame the victim.

Kiffmeyer: Detail this approach as specifically as you can.

Mulloy: Well, I don't think it was really consciously decided upon or thought out, certainly at the beginning. It was kind of a evolving thing and I think everybody was probably motivated by the desire to do good and work and to be involved in the change that was going on all over the country. You know, it was a time of doing things, a time of social activism and that was sanctioned and supported, and our President had told us to do that. President Kennedy, I think how it actually evolved was a give and take process with us.

The people we were working with, people who lived at the heads of these hollers, and a year or so later, I can remember very clearly, we started getting into issues like strip mining and other things that were much more controversial. The reason we did that is that the people we were working with, we were fixing up their schools for their kids and they were all very pleasant and hospitable. When, in the long evening hours, we'd sit around talking, we would have meetings and try to figure out what the Volunteers were going to be doing. It started being Volunteer counties. you know, that's really nice what you're doing, but do you really want to help us. We got this bulldozer coming down this mountain. That's what we need some help on right now. I felt like I was radicalized or politicized or whatever by the people that lived in the mountains themselves.

Kiffmeyer: Really!

Mulloy: Yeah, the natives.

Kiffmeyer: That's not what you read.

Mulloy: Well, I don't know what you read but that started my consciousness and I think that was the impact on the whole. It was do-good work that was what we were doing, fixing up schoolhouses, it was good it was needed but really the systems should've provided for that. there should have been some mechanism so that the infrastructure in those counties was able to do that.

We had a meeting. I think it was after the summer of 1966, and you have to remember this thing grew by leaps and bounds. It was really expletive growth, the AV's, and there were thousands of people at one point that were connected with it. I think it was after the summer project of 1966. There was a large contingency of volunteers and community people that went to Washington. Extensively, it was to lobby for additional funding for federal programs for poverty type work programs. I can remember, we visited OEO offices and Appalachian regional Commission offices, Senator Tyrd and some other, Perkins and some other Legislative folks there. We stayed at a place called the Hawthorne School, which was a, I don't know if it's still there or not in Washington, it was a private high school. I think it was so we were in a group dormitory, living type situation and the last evening we were there, we had a large community meeting and it was one of those magical moments where people got up. There was music, there was entertainment, there was people sort of summing up what they had learned from their trip to Washington and their experience there. Then, one by one, scores of Appalachian

people got up and basically, spoke bitterness about their life experience about the political structure and their relationship with the coal companies and other big industries and their power-hungriness. Essentially, it had a real profound effect on me and a number of other AV's.

I think, it was a very...it was a joint expression of what I was referring too earlier. People saying, if you really want to talk about and the theme that really came through the whole thing was strip mining. How that was ruining the land and people had no recourse...had no, couldn't stop it, couldn't do anything with the broad form deed there in Kentucky. And that caused a real introspection within the AV's themselves. There was a thing called the E Squad, Evaluation Team that followed shortly after that and it was essentially, you know, a council within the AV's to try to figure out what direction should we take. This band-aid on a cancer approach that we've been doing for a couple of years, is that what we want to continue to do, or do we want to listen to what the people were working with as telling us we should be doing. We had education. We had outside contact. We had attorneys. We had money. We had travel. We could provide some organization for some of these issues.

Kiffmeyer: This "Band-aid on the Cancer", what do you mean about that exactly?

Mulloy: Well, by painting up the schoolhouses and providing recreation and that sort of thing, you were making a difference at that point for that one child or those fifteen or twenty children there and helping out. But these was nothing established that was going to insure that schoolhouse was going to get painted again in a couple of years. Or that basketball would get replaced or when that child reached its next level of growth that there would be somebody there to help with their needs there. There were no jobs. There was no people didn't have any power over their lives, didn't have any control over what they were doing. they were...

Kiffmeyer: Did these school renovation projects have any tangible impact?

Mulloy: Oh! I'm sure they did, I think they did.

Kiffmeyer: But it was temporary?

Mulloy: I would think so, yeah. I mean, that's the way we summed it up and I think that's the way that the message we were getting from the people in the community that were sponsoring us. Not the school boards, but the folks that we were living with, and staying with. Yeah, this is great, you really helping our kids, we love this. This is real nice but bulldozers destroyed my farm. I don't know what I'm going to do or they're laying off down at the mines, or the engine been busted.

Kiffmeyer: How did the school boards react to your "band-aids"?

Mulloy: Oh! Initially, very supportive and co-operative and welcomed the assistance and there's nothing wrong with that. I'm not criticizing that. It just we were just fooling

ourselves and everybody else. That it was going to make any difference in terms of poverty and there you get back to the lofty goals of the War on Poverty and what it was attempting to do. It opened up the door for community action and grassroots politics and involvement and shut that door real quick, since all of what was happening.

Kiffmeyer: So, you switched from the “band-aid” approach.

Mulloy: Evolved!

Kiffmeyer: Evolved?

Mulloy: And this was looking back it seems like happening real quickly. It was all this was over a several years period. I can remember another term we used to use cause I actually go on recruiting trips. I was a local person. This was when I was a local person that’s great because I was a native Kentuckian. I still am a native Kentuckian but I was, I use to get sent to colleges in Ohio or sometimes in Kentucky by the AV’s to talk to other students about why they should come and volunteer and do this sorta of thing. It was great.

Kiffmeyer: And what did you say?

Mulloy: The term we use to use was to provide a meaningful experience and the emphasis in those very early days was on the student, the volunteer. That would be like 60 to 70% of the whole concept was that we’re going to provide a meaningful experience for the students.

Kiffmeyer: You mean the Students and the Volunteers?

Mulloy: No, the college students coming down. That was a big part. It was at least half of the emphasis was to make sure they had a meaningful experience, so their lives were enriched and fuller. They were more appreciative of the Appalachian culture and in the process of that they contributed to fixing up a schoolhouse or interacting with someone. There’s lots of good stories, good experiences where local people who connected with somebody from the outside. Maybe, they got to go to college, or got a job in the city or used some other kind of connection. In a lot of cases, there was a marriage. So, it wasn’t negative at all.

Kiffmeyer: Do you think or was it possible for the people in the mountains to perceive a negative attitude on the part of the people coming in?

Mulloy: Oh yeah, patronizing. Yes, sir. Yeah.

Kiffmeyer: Well, why do you think that?

Mulloy: Well, I don’t think they were stupid. I think they could tell somebody sitting in their living room. I think they could tell what that person thought of them when they sat

down at their dinner table to eat with them. Whether they were comfortable or joined in and ate with them or whether they were standoffish and we had problem of that native. I use to carry but tickets around in my pocket. We'd ship people out. It was great. People have bad attitudes, they didn't belong there. They didn't belong in that type of setting.

Kiffmeyer: What would they do to exhibit this bad attitude?

Mulloy: Volunteers?

Kiffmeyer: Yeah, the volunteer.

Mulloy: You looking for a concrete example or something?

Kiffmeyer: Yeah, something.

Mulloy: Well, maybe they wouldn't adopt to the local community mores, maybe their dress...who they hung out with...how they hung out with...stayed out late at night...did things that were scandalous.

Kiffmeyer: What would be scandalous?

Mulloy: Go for a walk at night with a local teenager boy or girl from Ohio or Pennsylvania...go out with a couple teenage boys and just maybe completely innocent but perceived in the community as more than flirtatious certainly.

Kiffmeyer: Have this come up a lot?

Mulloy: Yeah, we had a lot of problems with that, the cultural clashes there. You had to be willing to adopt to people's values. You're dealing with in a lot of cases, very religious communities. You need to be respectful of that, participate in.

Kiffmeyer: Okay. As you evolve from the "band-aid" approach as you called it, what direction did you head?

Mulloy: Well, I guess the primary issue dealt around strip mining. Certainly, that's what culminated. You learned it all in the newspaper headlines but there was a lot of other areas that there were activities around roads. I can remember people going into school boards and demanding services that other parts in the county had that they didn't have because they were Democrats and the school board was Republican and vice-versa. In some cases, local people seized control of the community action agency, got control by the Board of Directors and appointed one of their own as director and equitably distribute the programs of that. Not politically, but to everybody and in some of those cases the local politics dominated in those things. Um, it took a lot of different forms but it was basically listening to what people were saying and following their lead as they were identifying whatever issue—it was in this county or that county.

Through the process, the strip mining issue became, kept popping up everywhere. Of course, that really this right at the root of powerlessness and lack of control over your life. Somebody drives through my yard or my house with a bulldozer, there was nothing I could do about it. That literally was happening.

Kiffmeyer: You talked about some of these schools not having any services, what are these services? What do you mean by that?

Mulloy: Books, library, recreation equipment, as I was saying, bathrooms, adequate supplies, a lot of the same things that effect our schools today. Paper and pencils and that sort of thing.

Kiffmeyer: Okay. What about the issues around strip mining, roads. How did you deal with these issues? What were you trying to do?

Mulloy: We assisted in the formations of community organizations and in some cases, there were community groups that were already organized. We, at their behalf, put them in touch with other such community groups so that they were not isolated. There were groups that were organized against strip mining in this county. They were frightening. However, they could. We put them in touch with a group in the next county or individuals in the next county so that you had that eventually developed into the Appalachian group to save the land of people. I think that organized itself independently but the AV's were involved in helping that to spread. Now, we're talking AV's in Eastern Kentucky primarily. AV's in West Virginia had a different history. Although, they were involved in the strip mining issues as well as the power of the coal companies, there were a number of issues that made the experience in West Virginia different than in Eastern Kentucky.

Kiffmeyer: How so?

Mulloy: Not as isolated here. Much stronger labor movement here.

Kiffmeyer: In West Virginia?

Mulloy: Yes, MW's much stronger here. MV had been to a certain extent defeated in several important strikes in Eastern Kentucky in the late 50's and early 60's. The medical care was taken away in the early 60's. The hospitals, the MW had built were abandoned, sold off to the Methodist Church and the Appalachian Regional hospital was set up and all that. The mechanization of the 50's effected Eastern Kentucky significantly, so that the labor movement had been fractured and was quite weak and that was a big difference in West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky. Still is.

Kiffmeyer: Tell me about these Community Action Programs. How did they work? Who ran them?

Mulloy: These were the actual War on Poverty, one of the War on Poverty programs, they were designed to stimulate self-help projects and programs and activities and to develop community leaders. This was...this was straight out of obligations to do. We weren't Federal Employees or personal. We were completely federally founded. The AV's were a Community Action Program, a multi-state a committee action program. Most of them were either countywide or several countywide. They developed a lot of different kinds of programs, that had to with housing issues, water issues, as I said, some of the remnants that we have left in those, those Community Action Programs are all still here today. The very area has them. There's a Housing Rehabilitation Program that's still going as a result of all of that the Community Action Agencies would sponsor. Just the volunteers, and direct them in their work and they were the outreach workers. The Appalachian Volunteers predated the Vista program. Vista started a year or so later after the AV's. There were VISTAs' assigned to the AV's. They were two different things technically.

Kiffmeyer: The VISTAs were?

Mulloy: We were a sponsoring agency for the Vista volunteers. The Appalachian Volunteers were.

Kiffmeyer: How did these three Action Programs exactly how did they organize. You come up, you have an issue, was it just the bunch of people who were interested in this issue could contact a Community Action program and how did they?

Mulloy: It was a legally constituted incorporated had a charter, had money in the bank received federal grants, possible local money well run by Board of Directors and you know.

Kiffmeyer: Who was on these Boards of Directors?

Mulloy: Uh, they had one-third, one-third, and one-third. One-third community, one-third business, and there was. It was a three-legged stool. I remember that term being use, one-third of the people effected by the programs, one-third community at large, one-third business representatives, and they were to address community issues of poverty and what was causing the poverty. What could alleviate the poverty these types of things so substandard housing, border projects, remedial education programs at the schools, kinda working with the Welfare agency? Although, in some cases, it was kinda working against them. Uh, it was challenging the way some other federal kind programs were operated, state programs were operated. It was felt that they were being done by and with bias or poorly and the Community Action agencies had. They had legal authority that could hire people, so they could give local people jobs and they could help create jobs. You knock; there was economic assistance for small business...um.

Kiffmeyer: How effective was this three-legged stool?

Mulloy: Well, there were some built-in-tensions with that. I think especially when you got into some more controversial issues like strip mining and even before that when you got into some of their community issues. You're immediately questioning some decisions that have been made in the past that's helped to create things as they are today. Local politics gets involved in it. So there became some controversy. The Community Action agencies and certainly the Appalachian Volunteers and VISTAs weren't beholden to anyone locally. We were outsiders completely and weren't apart of the local power structure. Or, part of the Courthouse gangs or whatever that came to be known later on and so we weren't cutting deals, weren't backslapping. We were taking the long view. Had a what we thought at the time, purest vision. These people were poor and it's going to take this and this and this to get this corrected.

Kiffmeyer: What was this, this, and this?

Mulloy: We're not going to deal with the symptoms; we're going to deal with some of these causes and one of the causes us people don't, people can't make their own decisions. Their taxes, their jobs, their roads, the elections are crooked and corrupt. Vote is rapid to get a job. You have to be in a certain political party came right up against all of that, very quickly. When you attempt to make some actual changes in, you know the infrastructure of people's lives. I don't know if that's concrete enough for you.

I know in Mingo County, there was a fair election committee. The VISTAs and my wife was directly involved in that. On organizing, and getting people out to vote and poll watching and people were threatened with baseball bats and guns and all that stuff.

Kiffmeyer: What kind of work did the poor actually have a voice in the Community Action programs?

Mulloy: Oh! Yes, Yes, that's why it was so dangerous.

Kiffmeyer: How did the...how effective were they?

Mulloy: How effective were the programs themselves?

Kiffmeyer: The programs.

Mulloy: Or, the poor involvement in that?

Kiffmeyer: Both, actually.

Mulloy: Well, I guess in retrospect you can look at it and say well, here we are twenty-five years later and things aren't a whole lot different. Population is still declining in Eastern Kentucky. People are moving out. In the meantime, we've had a boom in the coal industry and a bust in the coal industry which is typical. It's been going on for a hundred years. That's cycle. I think on the grand scale it hasn't made that sufficient a difference. Partly because it wasn't able to continue on it's normal track. The rug pulled

out from under it. You know what happened here in 1967 and the cutbacks in the poverty program. The rest of the people and this sort of thing was happening all over the country in different fashions and different forms. Johnson was backing away from that community activism very quickly and politicians who had supported that now with horror what the possible ramifications of it were. The Vietnam War made it impossible to continue to fund.

So those programs were denuded by 70'-71'. Certainly, there was nothing left there. They weren't. It's hard to say they were a failure because they were wrong. They were never able to continue on their natural course. Now there is significant influence of the poor. The deposed in their...there was... I don't know how many times that's happened in this country. I don't think it's ever happened with government sponsorship except certainly during some of the Depression programs...during the 1930's. There was a lot of potential there. That was nipped off. New leadership, new idea and who knows what could have gone on, what could've happened.

Kiffmeyer: What about in 65', make any concrete moves assuming there were in 65'-66'?

Mulloy: Concrete moves for?

Kiffmeyer: Why was the rug pulled out from under later on, what did they do?

Mulloy: People were challenging the status quo.

Kiffmeyer: Okay.

Mulloy: Or, saying we don't want to live this way for the rest of our lives and you're the problem. You, the County judge, your corruption and your big fine house, your money, your back, your have all of that because you're participated in the system that's kept us dispossessed and poor.

Kiffmeyer: Uh-huh.

Mulloy: It was changing the local poors that by and that was inevitable. That was inevitable that would happen when you sat up a Community Action program and when you say you're going to solve poverty. You're going to have to change some of the structure that caused that poverty and we haven't done it yet.

Kiffmeyer: What about the Appalachian Group that saves the land and people? What exactly is their focus?

Mulloy: Strip mining, to stop strip mining from destroying people's homes and farms and water systems, damning rivers and contributing to floods.

Kiffmeyer: What kind of action did they take?

Mulloy: There were various groups there. It took some pretty open actions.

Kiffmeyer: How's that?

Mulloy: Oh! There were some bulldozers damaged. There was some civil disobedience. The widow Combs, you've run across here in your studies, there is still a very great photograph of her being carried off. This was 63'-64', being carried off a mountain, somewhere up there. I've got a book on this. I got a photograph of this. I'll show it to you in a minute.

Kiffmeyer: Okay.

Mulloy: Civil disobedience, you know, was the primary focus. There was some direct action. Yeah, people took out frustrations what we were about to do what I was involved with by no means. I didn't organize this group. Anything of that nature I assisted in putting the people in one county in touch with some leadership of the people in another county. That was the right thing to do, I think, to do the proper thing to do and for that, I was arrested and charged the sedition. Trying to overthrow the State of Kentucky for that only.

Kiffmeyer: We...ah...we're going to get to that later.

Mulloy: I'm sure. But that's what it was and Jink Ray in Pike County and was successful got the Governor and lots—media and everything—that was a big deal and they stopped it. They had to have a reaction to that. You know, they blamed me, they blamed this person, that person and the outsiders, so we didn't do it. Jink Ray did it.

Kiffmeyer: Were they involved with the AV's? The opposition group to save the land and people, were they directly involved with?

Mulloy: Yes..yeah.

Kiffmeyer: Did you have a role with them? Or, did you just tangential?

Mulloy: Well, tangential sounds a little bit uh, off to the side but it was more of putting people in touch with each other and supporting and encouraging.

Kiffmeyer: Okay.

Mulloy: You know, I was not holding my hand up in front of the bulldozers. I didn't see that as my role. I was willing to risk whatever cause the people themselves were risking whatever.

Kiffmeyer: Okay.

End of Side One, Tape One.

Side B, Tape One.

Mulloy: [continue from Side A: Tape 1]...Falm and Baker, they were both AV field-men in the summer of 65'. I remember in Manchester, Kentucky. Yeah, that's where Falm was from. Washing windows in our office, I was just this kid that thick with coal dust, talking to, listening to some people outside on the sidewalk. Talking to some local, they had sport coats and hats and stuff on. So, I guess they were local businessmen or something. I don't know, talking about outside agitation that messer fellow.

Kiffmeyer: So, a messer was an agitator?

Mulloy: From that county, but see in Eastern Kentucky, at that point, if you were from the next creek, or if you were from the next county, you were an outsider to a lot of them folks. If you were from the next county, if you were from Lexington, it wasn't hard to be an outsider. You could've been born and raised right next door to somebody, if you had the wrong ideas, you were an outsider. If you didn't go along with the ways things were. It's funny, I said earlier that I was a local person. I was identified and promoted by the Council Southern Mountains and the AV's as a local person. Once I got on the staff and stopped being a volunteer and got on the staff, then I became something else.

Kiffmeyer: When did you become on of the staff?

Mulloy: 66'...Quit college, went to work full-time and then, I had...I was actually told I had to think differently. I had to approach it differently. I had to, I wasn't one of the people now. I was an organizer and I had to sorta stand back, you know, and let the local people talk. Which, you know, it made a lot of sense. But it was kinda contradiction because I was a local person just a few months before. The same thing Edith Eishland told me the same thing happened to her. She was a local. You know, Edith or know of her, local leader there. Then she joined the staff of the AV's after 68', I think, and they told her the same thing.

Kiffmeyer: The AV's told her that?

Mulloy: That's what she told me.

Kiffmeyer: Who do you mean? Who are the AV's that told her that?

Mulloy: Well, I don't know which individual it was. All right now, Edith, you're on the staff. You're not to do all the talking but to get the local people to talk. We both kinda laughed about that later, about how mind-bending that was.

Kiffmeyer: Tell me about the Jink Ray incident. What precipitated all of that and what were the results, as much as you can remember?

Mulloy: You need to talk to my wife. She can give you every detail. Well, Jink was a local farmer. I don't know if Jink had ever worked in the mines or not but was a farmer, trying to think of the creek, Swords Creek, right outside Pikeville. Very close to downtown Pikeville. I don't think it was Swords Creek. Marvin Swords was the name of a fellow up there. Strip mining was coming up that holler and people had been trying to fight against it for months and different people were making deals and pulling out or whatever. All though they didn't have to sell out at all, they could go right through them. If they wanted to and a couple of women had had a standoff with some boy on a bulldozer. The guy, the bulldozer operator, had turned around and tried to get away from the women. The thing turned over and killed him. There was stuff popping up in the papers and we had some volunteers out there and they were saying, "Hey! There's folks out here really think this is important." So, I met him and met some of the other community leaders and they were having community meetings among themselves and I attended that. I spoke about the Appalachian group—Save the Land of People. This organization was in Knott County or Leslie County. At that point, this was the summer of 67', there was some court issues. Some local judge ruled against the local landowners, Jink Ray.

So, there was numerous attempts that legal or otherwise non-confrontational efforts to stop it and it was really devastating. I don't know if you've ever seen strip mining. If you've ever been at somebody's house and seen the strip mining right there coming thought their property. They'd go through graveyards, turn over graves, caskets and bones. People would loose their wells. They would loose their ponds. Rocks would roll into their hours. I mean, rocks as big as this room. I mean it was, I don't know if it's still as bad as it was then. I know some changes have been made with the law but they did pretty much what they wanted in Eastern Kentucky.

So, it was very intense. Everything you worked for in your whole life was right there and its going to be destroyed by this bulldozer coming around the mountains. So, it finally came down to one morning, that an...there were rallies and songs and lots of movement and lots of support people, media and everything was there. It finally come down to one morning where there was a confrontation up on the mountain. Early in the morning, and Jink and others actually stood in front of the bulldozer and the bulldozer backed down. They didn't push it and then, later that afternoon, I thing, someone, I don't think it was Jink, it was someone whom his group there family or friends there in the community, sent the telegram to the Governor and said if he didn't come down here, there's going to be bloodshed. So, the Governor helicoptered in that afternoon and had a press conference on the road in front of Jink's house. We were in all of that and the Governor revoked the permit of the company to operate and that stopped i. That was the end of it. They, Company, went bankrupt. They never did start up strip mining again. At least, during that period, I don't know what's happened since.

It wasn't very long after that, that you know, I got arrested. The coal authorities in Pikeville got together and said, we gotta put a stop to this. I was very clearly fingered as a key organizer in it. Incorrectly, I think, by on their part. I don't think I was key in it at all. I helped in it, but I certainly wasn't key.

Kiffmeyer: This was in this was separately from the AV's, this action?

Mulloy: No. No. I was, I was.

Kiffmeyer: I mean..

Mulloy: No, No. I was a representative of the Appalachian Volunteers.

Kiffmeyer: Okay. The Appalachian Group, Save the Land and People.

Mulloy: Was a separate organization.

Kiffmeyer: But you did work with them though?

Mulloy: Right, yes, and yes.

Kiffmeyer: Okay.

Mulloy: And I wasn't the only AV. There were other AV field-men that did and that was the issue in Eastern Kentucky. Was strip mining. That the AV's as an organization had identified as the issue of choice. The issue of the year or where we should be focusing our support of efforts. So, I had the sanction of my superiors and everything to be involved in this. I wasn't off on a limb or on a tangent by myself and we were, I don't want to downgrade what we were doing but I also think that our role has certainly been exaggerated through the years. You know, I was not doing all this stuff. This was local folks I was helping. Yeah, I played an important role but I hadn't been there, someone else would've made those connections. But we put people in touch with the other counties and with lawyers and certainly, we were helped in the terms of the media and press releases and giving encouragement in the sense that this little struggle. That Jink Ray is dealing with is part of something much bigger. Talk to give him heart and faith to go forward. It was great. It was wonderful, wonderful experience. I learned an awful lot. It was a great victory. I mean, it was *People Power* and people won. It was great.

Kiffmeyer: How did, here again, I'm going back to this evolution band-aid approach, cause what I looking at is...

Mulloy: The band-aid approach and the non-threatening approach.

Kiffmeyer: And you went from there to?

Mulloy: Real community issues that made a real difference in people lives and an immediate impact on jobs and their votes and who controlled their lives. Then, become of that. It challenged the local powers of being, very clearly.

Kiffmeyer: What was the consequences of this change, this evolution? Not only among the AV's but amongst the whole region and communities?

Mulloy: I'm not sure what you're asking for. Was the AV's unified in this effort? That's what you're wanting to know?

Kiffmeyer: What I'm coddling up to is the split between the AV's and the councilors of the mountains.

Mulloy: Oh! That happened much earlier, much earlier. Well, you need to ask Milton Oakel that question. That was very early stage. That maybe in a sense, I can give you an opinion. I was involved and I was apart of it, but I wasn't in the leadership at that point. I think that happened very shortly after I quit school and went to work full-time. I think the AV's even at that stage wanted to be activist and more involved in setting its own agenda and less paternalistic. Perhaps, Council was an old organization. Had been around for a longtime. Founded by social workers. I mentioned that book earlier, *Yesterday's People* and the council promoted that book. Thought that, that some of the leadership of the council agreed with that. We thought it was ridiculous.

Kiffmeyer: Hum.

Mulloy: So, there were some philosophical differences, I think. The man that was head of the Council, the executive director at that time was a man named Pearlie Ayers, who was ailing but Pearlie was kinda father-figure. Wildly respected, well thought of, a cautious person particularly at that point in his life. Wasn't well physically. Those were probably some of the factors that contributed to that split. It wasn't strip mining. No.

Kiffmeyer: No!

Mulloy: No? Oh, no, no.

Kiffmeyer: This was an internal conflict?

Mulloy: Yeah, it was a philosophical approach and the AV's was encouraged by the Fed's to split off.

Kiffmeyer: Really.

Mulloy: The Fed's well, let me rephrase that, I don't know that the Fed's said, Hey, You need to split off, but the Fed's suddenly transferred all the money over to the AV's council.

Kiffmeyer: Hum.

Mulloy: It would not have been possible to split of and set up a separate agency without the Federal people's approach. They could have just left all the money with the council and we'd have been whistling in the wind but you need to talk to Milton.

Kiffmeyer: Okay. You don't know much about that?

Mulloy: Well...um... I know what I've told ya. I think, I personally was one of the in corporate of the Independent Appalachian Volunteers. I had to sign something one day and they were looking for some signatures. This was like in 66', very early and so, I recall our thoughts on that was, I don't know, the concrete steps but the council was acting as a fetter on the AV's. The AV's were your Turks and energetic and going to take a different approach and motivated from what I was saying with, maybe getting into more controversial things but not consciously saying, "That's what we want to do."

Kiffmeyer: Hum.

Mulloy: But there was a philosophical deference with the council.

Kiffmeyer: So, ?

Mulloy: That's any understanding, ask Milton. He can tell you. He was right there. He was a council boy. I mean, he was born and grew up and went to school in Berea and he was the father, right through the whole thing.

Kiffmeyer: I've read of letters, of reports. I can't remember individuals directly involved of AV conduct. If you will, I can't remember her...the details while parties... while parties...recruitment parting what not...Do you have any insights on that?

Mulloy: yeah, yeah. That occurred.

Kiffmeyer: Did that have any, you know, what was this?

Mulloy: Well, it was young people, boys and girls away from home, not doing anything different than college students do any place else. There wasn't anything obscene or of that nature. Of course, it didn't take much to get looked at sideways in some cases. I can remember the first people, the first time I every saw a mini-skirt. This person came down to Eastern Kentucky and what was that?!? Somebody seeing that, then saying, well that person was with the AV's. That would give rise to sensuous behavior or accusations or thoughts that they had some wild parties. I guess, but it was first young people blowing off steam. There wasn't any.

Kiffmeyer: Did the council react to that in any ways?

Mulloy: Perhaps, there might've been some of that. Enthusiasm of youth, that's what I'd put all that up to. Nothing happened that I'm ashamed of. I don't recall doing anything as a college student may be, I wouldn't have wanted my mother there. You know, I think it was, you know, first the temper of the times. Was activism questioning authority do something different look at it a different way. Why, why is this the way it is? As I said, we had John Kennedy challenging up. We had Bobby saying, "Some people look at things the way they are and say why? And I look at things the way they

could be and say, why not.” That’s what you had going on in the country. You had Martin Luther King and those were my role models. At least and for thousands of other people.

Kiffmeyer: Well, let’s go back to, um...I guess it was 67’ and the Sedition trial arrest. What precipitated all that and what was all that about?

Mulloy: Well, it was on one level. It was an attempt from the local coal operators and the local politicians to get rid of the AV’s. to paint us red and destroy the funding and make everybody afraid to have anything to do with it. Oh! Well, thank you.

Kiffmeyer: Thank you.

Mulloy: Okay. That was on the Eastern Kentucky level. On a broader level, subsequent even to and the FBI files and all have shown it was probably a bigger attempt. People like J. Edgar Hoover and John McCullum, a Senator from Arkansas and others, to destroy the Poverty program nation-wide. To undercut and blemish the civil rights movement and the Anti-War movement. They saw a revolution happening in the country. These folks did. There were direct contacts between the FBI and the prosecutors in Eastern Kentucky well before the arrest. I went, Karen and I went and visited the local FBI office at one point in the spring of 67’. There was a FBI man stationed there in Pikeville, a Federal Court there and told him we were having. We were getting bomb threats there in our house of a night. People calling us up and calling us “nigger lovers” and this, that and another and they were going to kill us and they were going to bomb us. We went in and asked for protection. You know, what can be done about this and it was very unsettling. He said, “Well, I can’t do anything till something happens,” and kinda grinned. It made us all very nervous.

Kiffmeyer: Why did they pick you?

Mulloy: Why did they pick me?

Kiffmeyer: Yeah. Why would they, why would, I’m out.

Mulloy: I was the head of the AV’s in Pike County. I was the so-so, I was the field man. I was the leadership of that organization. I was also the person that was on the scene with that situation with Jink Ray.

Kiffmeyer: Jink Ray?

Mulloy: I was supporting him. I had dinner at his house many times and ah...spoke at their meetings and put them in touch with these other folks. Gave them encouragement. So, gave them, you know, we gotta kill them.

Kiffmeyer: Was there any special reason why it was Pike County or was it just because of the way things evolved with Jink Ray or could this have happened in Bell County?

Mulloy: Well, I was told later by Harry Caudill that—No, it wouldn't have or it couldn't have happened and Harry said and Tom Gish echoed the same thing. They would have advised setting up shop in Pike County for the AV's. Pike County historically was the headquarters for the Independent Coal Operatives Association and was very powerful politically and apparently the people in Pike County acted differently than the power structures. People in some of these other counties. They were much more maverick and much more sure of themselves. More apt to go out on a limb like what Tom Ratliff did and do something wild.

Kiffmeyer: Because they had all the power?

Mulloy: Because they were rich. They had money and they had more control and their county in proportion was more prosperous than most of the other counties in Eastern Kentucky and that's where the big boys were based. I didn't know that until somebody told me that. The year before I'd lived in Harlan County. You know, there was no conscience reason why we did this in Pike County. I could've lived in Virginia just as easily. In fact, I did. I was married in Virginia. We'd just had moved there that very year. We weren't trying to go toe-to-toe with the big boys or anything of that nature.

Kiffmeyer: Stroke of luck or bad luck I guess.

Mulloy: Well, you know, it was just there was activity going on there and we had good local people that we were working with. Easterlings and other folks. It made sense. So, why Pike, Pike county and not someplace else. That's probably why. Talk to Harry Caudill or Tom Gish, they could tell you quite a bit about, about some of that history but that all came later. Haring all of that. Buy I do know, I did hear I think Adam Traylor has some FBI files that documents this. He's got boxes and boxes of stuff from FBI that they tried to get other counties to engage in simultaneous raids through out Eastern Kentucky that night that they raided my house. To raid AV's offices and various places and couldn't get anybody else to go along with them.

Kiffmeyer: Well, tell me about the raid. What did they do?

Mulloy: My wife and I had been out to the movies. We saw *The Killer Bees* in Pikeville and got home about 11 or something like that, 11:30 p.m. I don't know and shortly after we got home, we got a phone call from a friend of ours that said the Sheriff plus the attorneys had arrested the McSurelys and they're looking for you. So, she came out. She came out to our house. Suzanne Crow and we were standing on our back porch. This was like midnight. Like 12:30 a.m. standing on our back porch trying to figure out what sedition meant. We were trying to remember that from our high school history and civics and whatever. I can remember thinking that's the stupidest thing in the world you can charge somebody with a crime. You know, you can charge'em with blowing up a bulldozer or something you set them up or something that or you kill'em. You just shoot'em and hush'em or something. You don't arrest someone for sedition. That would be the stupidest thing for the authorities to do and it was only few minutes after I said

that, these lights came up the driveway. Several cars and we were in our nightclothes. I had a pair of pants on and was bare-footed and I don't think I had a shirt on and heard this clump come up the stairs. You know, some of them walking up the steps onto the porch and we had a wooden porch and I had a gun there in the house and I had no ideal what this was. Was this somebody coming to kill us and this deputy he said. He was a deputy. He said, "Open Up! You're under arrest." Da, da, da and I had the gun in my hand and I had it pointed down toward the floor and he was a glass-door.

He was on the other side and I had him shine his light on his badge to prove that he was a policeman and he was making a big deal over I had a gun. He kept shouting back and forth to the door, "Drop the gun" and I said, "Prove it, show me who you are first." I don't want to get killed. Black Panthers were being murdered and Malcolm X and other people being shot and King had been. King hadn't been killed yet. At any rate, he did, do I sat the gun down. Okay, then they all came in. The Sheriff and everybody and they made a big deal over I had a gun and I think I was later charged with brandishing a weapon. You didn't have to have a permit at that time in Eastern Kentucky. It was just a little peashooter, a 32 caliber and thank goodness. I did set it down or they'd killed us all. That's what it would've come down to. SO, they came in. I was handcuffed behind my back and the Sheriff read off the charges. I remember laughing and Perry Justice. I said, "You can't be serious Perry." I said, "You think that's going to go anywhere." He was very stiff and formal and well, it's not my decision to make, you know. "I'm here to carry out the law and you're under arrest and you're going to jail."

So, they went through they whole house. They went through all our files. I had my office in the house. They plucked through all that. Went through a lot of personal stuff. Seem like they were interested in. We had a lot of books and I remember them going through the bookshelf and picking out books that they wanted and I still have some of these books here. *Berkley Student Revolt*, *Great Russian Short Stories* which I'd had at a class at U.K. Poems by Mao Se Tung which I had bought several months before at a bookstore downtown in Pikeville. *Catch 22* by Joseph Heller maybe one or two others. I mean nothing real to make anybody nervous that you'd come in their house and selectively go through their books but certainly books that are readily available to anybody. This was like evidence and I think they took some of AV files a box and of course, the books they didn't take were a couple of bids and some books by Barry Goldwater and some true believer books by Eric Hoffer. Books that were maybe a little bit more of a conservative nature politically. Somehow just skipped right over those. Got these hot titles, I don't think they really knew what they were pick'in. I think, there was several of them were doing it. Anything that looked Russian, foreign or whatever or radical so that was the evidence and we, us and the McSurely's were supposedly conspiring to bring Red Guard into Pike County to take over militarily Eastern Kentucky to over through the government.

Ludicrous, the effect that they wanted with that was to put us away in jail for twenty years and they also wanted to have a chilling effect on the movement what was going on and it did have that effect. Although the charges were thrown out very quickly, it got no support. The newspapers all made fun of it. The *Courier Journal* had a wonderful time

with it. It did set something in motion that eventually water down the programs pretty much in Eastern Kentucky. The dye was kinda cast something was going to happen if it hadn't been the sedition arrest and myself. It may have been something else at some other point or it may have just been a cutting off funds. Lack of proportional funds. I don't anyway feel that what happened to me or that I did, killed the Poverty program. I think events were moving towards their, inevitable conclusion. It was a blip. It was a significant house for a hour or two. All these strange men, you know, very un-nerving, very difficult. I can remember riding in the car and in the back seat, handcuffed, two deputies in front and they were talking about a busload of blacks coming down. Of course, they were using a different term, rumored to become down and they were all ready. They had their guns ready, They were going to meet'em at the border at Pike County and what did I know about that and they were going to take care of King.

All this Civil rights stuff was all mixed in with all of this. People in the power structure were very much threatened were very much afraid during that period and I spent the night in jail. I think, I don't know if I slept, I think I did maybe a couple hours. I remember waking up the next morning and you feel a little bit numb when something like that happens. I didn't feel guilty of anything I felt confident that I would be encouraged and things would be okay. I guess they are here I am, I lived through all of it. I remember singing a gospel song out loud that morning, "I'll Fly Away". Edith Eshaling came to visit me. I think she came in the afternoon. She was personal friends with the jailer, Kelsey Frin. I think his name was Kelsey. May have been a lawyer. She knew the jailer at any rate. She admonished him, shook her finger at him, made sure I got extra food and not to feed me that old, nasty bologna and kinda stuff. Everybody knew everybody, that's why.

I was arraigned the next morning and first time then again. I saw Karen. I was led in the courtroom. There was a large, a hundreds, a hundred fifty people, angry crowd, hang'em, shoot'em, kill'em. It was really shaky and the judge sat our bond five grand, ten grand or something. I don't know. It was an orchestrated crowd that was there. It was all supporters of the strip mine group or the tower structure group. Wanted to get a look at the communist. The Red guards, then I got out Karen able to arrange bail. By that afternoon, I got out on bail and we went home and there was a little teenage boy. A neighbor that lived right down the road. He came up and he said, "Joe, Joe. You gotta watch out. They're looking for you." I said, well, I forget what his name was, "They already found me. I was put out on bail." At that point, our telephone had been disconnected. We got home and went to call somebody to call my mom or something I don't know and phone line was dead.

So, we had an appointment with our lawyer, Dan Jack Combs, in Pikeville. So, we came back into town and we were telling Dan Jack that way and he got on the telephone. He knew the...I don't know, what day of the week this was, somehow, I think it was a Saturday. I don't know if it was or not, he called the phone. "Come down," and he said he knew the guy, said, "What the Hell is going on here. This is my client." He was great. I don't know if you know him or if you've had a chance to talk to him. You need

to. He's a judge now, a Supreme Court judge, I think. Dan Jack Combs...Circuit Court Judge.

Kiffmeyer: Yeah, I think...Yeah.

Mulloy: Great character. He was out attorney. He gave hell to this guy at the phone company and this guy sort of meekly acknowledged that they had disconnected my phone and the only reason they had was. They didn't think I'd be needing it. No kidding. So, Dan told'em if you don't want to lose your job and a lot of money get that phone connected back up today, So, we got back home the phone man was fixing the phone back up again. It just gives. You those kinds of feelings, everybody is working together.

Kiffmeyer: So, then what happened?

Mulloy: Well, what happened. I don't know. Well, there were some preliminary hearings and we had been arraigned that's what it was the next mornings. It was an arraignment and held over for the Grand Jury. So, we engaged Dan Jack as our attorney. The McSurely's counselor throughout the Southern Conference Educational Fund made contact with William Kuntsler. So, William Kuntsler joined the case with Dan Jack and we began working together and we went into Federal Court in Lexington for an injunction to stop the proceedings in Pike County on the bases that the sedition law was unconstitutional. That you could not be seditious against one state. Seditious against the whole country. The state sedition laws had been ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court ten years earlier. So, they went into Federal Court to stop that. So, then there were some arguments and hearings had to be held in Lexington and it was great. Judge Combs, Moneyham, Gordon, Bert Combs, so we had Ratliff. All the prosecutors all had the guys were there. We were all there high power lawyers, judges. All there were going on at all different levels.

On one sense, you had this wonderful constitution argument and William Kuntsler standing up saying there's more coal than communism to this case. The *New York Times* reporting on it. You had myself and the McSurely's getting up on the witness stand and testifying. I can remember, I can't remember any other question I was asked but this one I know I was on the stand for a while. What I think the Federal Court to do was to issue an injunction to stop any proceedings and we were trying to convince the Federal Court that we would be armed if things went there normal course. One way of doing it was to allow us to have a trial, get convicted, get sent to jail. Then appeal that on up to the Federal system. Then, what Kuntsler was attempting to get the court to be convinced of was that would cause irreparable harm to us and everybody else concerned. Sound logical right?

Kiffmeyer: Uh-huh.

Mulloy: And for the court to intervene and strike this thing down. So, I was testifying and course, my lawyer gets to ask me questions and then the other prosecutor people get to ask questions. I think in this case, it was the State Attorney General office was doing the prosecuting but had...wasn't Thomas Ratliff was with him at the table. There was

another lawyer from Pike County was assisting and of course, the man from the State Attorney General's office had gone to high school with my brother, older brother. Was sort of a family friend of theirs. It was kinda unusual, wasn't a close fiend but knew him. I can't think of his name, Margolas or something like that. At any case, you had that sort of level going on and there's my mom and everybody out in the audience. SO, the other guy gets up and he says, "Joe, isn't it true that you had a mustache?" I was clean- at this point and made this bid deal out of the fact that I had a mustache. Somehow by that, by definition, convicted me. I did a good thing. I said, "Yes, that is true. It looked just like that man over there standing against the wall". It was a Marshall, Federal Court Marshall had a mustache and the judges all laughed. You gotta change your tape?

Kiffmeyer: Yeah.

End of Side B, Tape One.

Side A, Tape Two.

Kiffmeyer: All right.

Mulloy: During those same hearings in Lexington, Edith was called to the stand. course, they knew each other. They were both Republicans. He was a Republican and Edith was a Republican. She was a Republican committee woman and everything, very active Republican Party all her life, so they knew each other. So Edith's on the stand and she's testifying. You know that I'm a good guy. She's never heard me say anything bad, and how McSurely is a decent man. No, she never saw any guns, never saw any Red Chinese, all this kinda stuff and also talking about some of the atmosphere and how changed everything is in Pikeville and Ratliff is calling her Edith. Its kinda demeaning to her, calling her by her first name and she was great, shot right back at him, called him Thomas in the courtroom. He was just, couldn't handle it. She handled herself very well. In anywise, the Court did issue an injunction that stopped proceedings. Thomas had to promise no to go to indictments. This was to give Judge Combs and his colleagues time to study the issue, so a couple of weeks went by and Thomas went ahead and had us indicted and indicted Carl M. Braden.

At the same time, he violated a court order and was actually trying to broaden it and remember, he was running for Lt. Governor at this point, this was in the summer, August and the election was in November. He was a Republican Candidate with Louie Nunn, for Lt. Governor. In Kentucky, you vote for them separately. I guess you do that everywhere but he wanted to be Lt. Governor. This was part of his campaign. He was getting his space in the news and everything so that convinced the Court in Lexington to act very quickly, so they saw they weren't going to get cooperation from Pike County authorities. So they ruled the law unconstitutional. Within a few days after that, all charges were dismissed and dropped and we were set free and blah, blah, blah.

Well in the meantime, Ratliff had been in cahoots with the, as I said earlier, with the FBI and Senate Investigation Committee that was looking at the Poverty War and Revolutionaries and everything around the country. All of our papers and stuff had been sent to Washington, well no, I told that wrong. They took a truckload of stuff from McSurely's house. I'll have to say at least half of that truckload was copies of one issues of a newspaper dealing with the Civil Rights Movement. So really they only had a half of a truckload of original material. They had a whole big pile of stuff, it was Vietnam Summer, Freedom Summer. It was Vietnam Summer I think, summer of 67_. They took several thousand copies of a newsletter around then that helped fill up the truck.

Anyhow, all our papers filled up one whole jail cell, in the Pike County jail. Then it became a question of getting these our papers and stuff back. Margaret's diary there really wasn't anything really personal of my stuff in there. You know there were AV documents in there that we should have back. I'm not sure the timing, Dan Jack could maybe tell you, I'm sure could tell you. At some point between the Senate Investigation

Committee was allowed access to those documents and came in and Xeroxed and photographed or whatever and this was in violation of the Court Order. The Court had ordered Judge Combs had ordered all that stuff sealed, no one to have access to it. Their access to it, during that time period, was the basis then for the subpoenas from the Senate, what was the name of the committee?

Kiffmeyer: I don't know , I know what you are talking about.

Mulloy: The subcommittee on Internal Investigations...it was on American Activities...cant think of it right off the bat. So they subpoenaed the McSurelys documents, they didn't subpoena mine. They subpoenaed McSurelys and then that started the whole local process for them and in terms of basically tied up ten, twelve years of their lives. Contempt of Congress and etc. The argument was that these things were seized illegally and basically what it was names...names and addresses of people was what they were wanting. It wasn't anything really incriminating, that we're going to do this, we're going to break the law or something they wanted contacts out of that stuff. What they did in my case and why I think I wasn't subpoenaed to go before the court, was the day after the sedition charge was thrown out, I was drafted by Local Board #38, Louisville, same one with Muhammad Ali. A seduction order was issued for me to report for induction and I interrupted that. As if they weren't able to get me out of the way one way, so, they would do it another way and I had been hoping for almost a year on going dialogue with my draft board about my status and attempting to get that changed was unable to. Was it timing and very good timing wasn't it, the day after, literally the day after. The day it all appeared in the newspaper, Tuesday, were cleared on a Thursday and it in the Friday morning's paper and Friday afternoon they issued the induction notice. So that started me on a draft situation, want to hear about that?

Kiffmeyer: Yes, you're going.

Mulloy: I'm rambling.

Kiffmeyer: No, it's great.

Mulloy: Well, let's back up a little bit and talk about the Vietnam War draft and all of that where I was coming from in all of that. My family was in the military. My brother was in the military. I had no thoughts for or against the war in Vietnam really one way or another until I got involved in Eastern Kentucky and began sort putting two and two together. Again this was another revelation or radicalization of my thinking and seeing that the same people or institutions that were responsible for the poverty in Eastern Kentucky or someplace else in the country, were also the ones benefiting from the war in Vietnam in particular. I wasn't that familiar with the other wars and I can remember thinking, well World War II was justified but certainly the Vietnam War didn't seem to be justified to me.

Raised as a Catholic, a very strong Catholic family, Irish working class in the west end of

Louisville, remember being taught as a child about just wars and unjust wars and had an obligation to resist unjust wars. Really wasn't emphasized in the Catholic religion like it is with the Quakers, Mennonites or Pacifist Church of the Brothers or other Pacifist Churches that were Quakers first time. I never knew what they were, talk to em, learn something about their philosophy and their concept of conflict resolution and you know, it made criticized the war in Vietnam, so I am coming from it, from a couple different places, not from a classical church-based conscientious objector. But from a couple different directions. One of them being my social or political experiences in Eastern Kentucky and skepticism about the political war based on that, another coming from my relatively recent association, least since 1965 with peacemakers, Quakers, there are other ways of solving conflicts other than going to war and fighting.

I was also influenced by Thomas Burton, who was Father Lewis, was a Trappert Monk in Kissimmee. Growing up in Louisville, had been to Kissimmee often on retreats as a teenager, young adult, had read a lot of his writings...had read the *Seven Story Mountain* several times and many of his other works as well...got a lot of his books over there of his. If you've ever read *Seven Story Mountain*, where He's on a search for meaning in his life, social activism and eventually chose contemplation in a monastery but then was very active with this monastic role, I don't know how much you know about Elmer, if you're from Cincinnati, you may. Well, whatever. At any rate, I'd attempted to, I had had an occupation deferment to work in the poverty program, they were good for like a year or two years, so I used up that time.

So then there's a question of what I'm going to do. I applied for conscientious objective status with my board and it kept getting bounce around, moved around and prior to my being arrested...well prior to that, I had had interviews with my board, had written, attempted to get that status or get a hearing on that status. You know there were appeal processes and what not, that was all denied. Then when I was arrested they issued that order for my induction, I think that particular one because there was some other charge pending. That one squashed.

Then they issued another one after that, I went before them and asked, tried to say what about this C.O. business. You gone hear me on this one and they said, "No!" They wouldn't entertain an application from me which effectively denied me the opportunity to present my case to them, for them to hear it and then deny it, and allow me any appeals there were within the selection service system which you could go up to Kentucky. At the Kentucky level was as high as you could go.

So I resisted the draft and an order was issued in April to report in April and I did not step forward. I went to the induction center. Everybody else stepped forward and I stayed in one spot, it was great! God, what a day! It was a wild day. I was pretty nervous about the whole thing and the General, the Sergeants, all those people that were there. It was funny, cause I had to go through all this physical business, they'd strip you down and check you all over and everything. I can remember this one Sergeant coming down the hallway and there was a group of us standing there, and he was saying, "Have you seen him? Have you seen him? Have you seen Mulloy yet?" and because it had been in all of

the newspapers and he was talking to me and I said, "Well, I'm Mulloy". This look that he got on his face, ...ugh..., I want to get away.

So anyhow that went on and years later when my brother, my younger brother had to have a physical. He works for the government; he has to have a physical. He went to the same induction center and had this really nice discussion with him like twelve years later about me and I was doing these days, the war in Vietnam and da, da, da. It was interesting. So where do you want me to go now? We're rambling.

Kiffmeyer: That's great.

Mulloy: I'm sorry.

Kiffmeyer: No! This is what we're orientating to work. Just to get you to talk.

Mulloy: I resisted the draft. Okay and then I had a trial I had to go to jail. Course the trial was pretty open and shut. We admitted I resisted the draft, my defense was the war was wrong, it was an unjust war. I was a conscientious objector I was denied the opportunity, I would be willing' to do alternative service whenever, but I wasn't trying to go the Vietnam. Judy Gordon was a Federal Judge, he was one of the judges that was on the Sedition Panel, so he knew all about me or knows what else he thought he knew that was right and not right. He knew my name at least, he sat on the Sedition Panel and he had a son who was an officer in Vietnam at that very time during the trial. I think he talked about that in my sentencing, the trial was pretty cut and dry. A couple of days unanimous the jury was out in twenty minutes. I expected to be convicted. He sentenced me to jail, five years, ten thousand dollars fine, and I had to go into the county jail in Louisville for six weeks or more, while my bond as a condition to getting out on appeal, which my lawyer, Robert Allen Settler, who was a professor at University of Kentucky School of Law, was my lawyer on the draft case. Bob had come forward during the Sedition case and filed the _____ and for the American Civil Union on our behalf during our Sedition Trial and so I told Bob at that point, I think I'm going to have some trouble with my draft board and he volunteered to help me.

So he was my lawyer, he was excellent. We got... spent six weeks in jail, the federal jail in Louisville. That was quite an experience, the old Jefferson County jail. Really enjoyed it in a way. We played a lot of poker, lost about twenty pounds, met some interesting people,...found out the people in jail aren't really much different than the people outside walking around. I was on the Federal walk, a little bit higher class prisoner. Perhaps all federal crimes--credit cards, jewel theft, bank robbery and interstate stuff--so maybe we were a cut above. I don't know. It was fascinating.

There was another draft resistor named Don Pratt. He was from Lexington, had resisted the draft about the same time and was also in jail and I remember have a lot of discussions, of course with jailers and other prisoners about the war. It was a very controversial subject. Of course, 1968, the TET Offensive had just occurred and Walter Kronkite had declared the war lost and all this business, I remember one fellow who had

robbed a jewelry store. Big fellow. Heavy big white boy and in a jail setting. The prisoners sort of run things, kinda assume authority...kinda, and he had assumed the authority on that walk there were people he didn't bother everybody else. He sort got what he wanted and he was setting outside my cell one day, our cells then like a walk way. We couldn't see anything, we were up high and couldn't see outside at all. Could see a little patch of sky down at the end of the hall, and we were not allowed outside at all, cause we were Federal prisoners.

So he was setting outside my cell one day running his mouth about cowards and you ought to be patriots and fight for your country and that sort of thing. And I am in there, I'm thinking, "Well, Hell! I got deal with this. He's a lot bigger than me and the Lord knows what he's got or what his buddies got here. If I have to take this it's going to be really bad," so I got up and went out. I got think about it for a few minutes, thinking what I'm going to say. I challenged him, "I heard you running your mouth, if its me your talking about, let's get it on right here! Whatever you want!" Kinda took him, don't think I doubled my fist up, kinda planted my feet I guess. It was great! It was just like in the books, he just backed down. It was wonderful! He said, "Oh, I wasn't talking about you. I was talking about them other guys. Oh no, you're okay." So then we had this big discussion. All these guys gathered around and talked about the war, who was profiting from it. They knew about the sedition case. We talked about that...really opened up, it was really a good thing after that. I had no problems with anybody, I had earned my stripes or respect or something. Yeah, that was good...that was a good moment. He was an interesting guy.

Kiffmeyer: What happened with the AVs with all of this?

Mulloy: Well, the AVs. Well, kinda awkward, there after I got arrested, put the AVs in a tight spot. The agency was highlighted and a lot of people were second guessing my activities and second guessing the direction the AVs were going. You know, you had a lot of money involved, careers and jobs and reputations were at stake, a lot of pressure from Washington. I'm certain, politicians were calling for me to be fired. To their credit, I was not fired.

During the Sedition Case, in fact, the organization rallied behind me very strongly put up money for my bond to get out of jail. Got good support throughout that period, when it got dicey, was when I got arrested for. When the draft thing was looming, when it became clear that I was going to be facing that. Basically that was another way of silencing me or I was getting my Irish up at that point. And that was going to make it much more uncomfortable then for AVs. For another round of this and this was like, I remember it being said to me, "Well, Joe, your choosing to do this, it's not like their coming at midnight to arrest you. You can't. You don't have any trouble. Your choosing to resist this draft, and that's going to look bad for the whole organization and to everybody think we really are a bunch of unpatriotic whatever." I remember thinking I'm not choosing to do this at all, I didn't choose to get drafted. They're the one who issued the notice the next day. They're the ones who denied me any kind of hearing or any of this business. I was pretty strong willed, I think on that issue, there was a big

meeting in.

I was working with a priest in Louisville, Jim Gorman. I remember he and I were going to chain ourselves to the Cathedral and claim sanctuary or something and that really caused a ripple of concern among the leaders of us. You know that would be another big public action, we weren't going to do that, but I guess we thought it. I remember saying that to somebody that we were thinking about that it was just speculations. We didn't do that wasn't necessary there was enough publicity as it was. Milton decided to fire me, Milton Oakell, that this was untenable and they had a big meeting at Jenny Wiley State Park. There was about forty or fifty people there and was all AV staff from eastern Kentucky. None of the AV folks were there. The question was he wanted a vote of confidence to fire me for.

Geez, I don't know what the reason was. The reason was that I was going to resist the draft and I guess that was the reason. I don't know if he had some technical reason prein subordination or something, I don't know. Various people tried to reason with me, "Why don't you resign and da-da-da?" My feeling and position was this was part and partial to the Sedition arrest, the same battle with the same people just a different venue. And we should fight this and the Vietnam war is not an issue with the people in the meeting and you only going to cause...make life hard on everybody if we raise that. And of course, people all a saying that all had their deferments or had already done some alternative services or whatever. So they were saying the same thing that the council had said to the AVs four or five years ago. That's not an issue with the people.

How do we know that it is not an issue of the people, the draft and the volunteers from eastern Kentucky and West Virginia. Well, above the national average, it was an issue of the people. People did question whether we should be there or not. People in eastern Kentucky...well I wasn't listening to of that. I forced it. I said, "I'm not going to resign." They were asking me to resign. I said I wasn't going to resign, so they had a big meeting, where all this was talked out. I was there. People got up and spoke and I spoke and they had a vote. The vote was twenty to fire me and nineteen to keep me. Milt took that overwhelming, mandate and fired me on the spot.

Kiffmeyer: That was it?

Mulloy: That was it for the AVs.

Kiffmeyer: What did you do from there?

Mulloy: Well, I think we moved to Louisville, for I was dealing with , spending my time dealing with this draft business and it was untenable for me as a organizer, community organizer in Eastern Kentucky. I was really, I was all in the newspaper again, and it did make it awkward for people to talk to me, there were people that didn't want to talk to me, they didn't want me to come and see them. Maybe they supported what I was doing or liked me or whatever but it was tough times, you know.

So we moved to Louisville and I went to work for the Southern Conference Education Fund. I worked on Anti-War activities while my case was being appealed. It took a couple of years and we won. I think it was in 1970 in the Supreme Court, I won by a unanimous decision, overturning my conviction. They said that the draft board, it was one of the, it was a landmark case, It's written up in the legal text books. It's one of several cases, it was the only case to that point, to that time that dealt with day to day operations of the draft board. If you go to the law library in Ky. and look up the case, it'll be in the books. They issued, there were three decisions on one day in that session they did that dealt with the draft, one expanded broadly the definition of conscientious objector and one was mine that dealt with internal operations of the Selective Service System which they never did, there was a board always telling what they wanted without scrutiny of anybody, and there was another one, I forget right off the top and you know, I met some people later, it was kinda neat, who had things hanging with the draft board waiting on the decision of my case and when my case was decided in my favor, they were off the hook with their draft boards. There were no legal actions taken against them.

So it did have a national impact, then of course a couple of years later, the draft was abolished. This was very unpopular, so that was kinda neat. I felt very vindicated by that, of course. The same draft board as Mohammed Ali, you know they tried to cram it down his throat too and lost his case. That board lost two significant cases in the Supreme Court, Local Board # 37, I think that's what it is. It covered the west end of Louisville.

Kiffmeyer: Tell me about Alan McSurely, he came into student AVs at one point.

Mulloy: He was hired as a staff person for the AVs as a Director of Training. Al had been a friend of Mike Lyons, who was a A.V. field person in Washington, worked in Poverty Programs up there and Al was hired. Came in and functioned at that a little bad, really didn't get off the top, off the ground to much with that. Al had Civil Rights experience and connections, his wife Margaret had been a member of the SNCC. Worked in the deep south, they knew Stokely Carmichael and had correspondence and this sort of stuff and Al's approach to thing was, I meant after he was hired, was very direct and consultation, on a intellectual plain, he was not the community organizer, I don't think Al ever did organize, at least not in Eastern Kentucky. In communities, what he did and what I did and what other people did were quite different, but he saw his task, I think as challenging some of the assumptions the AVs had and maybe tying in some of what we were doing or what we'd learned, or some of the lessons we'd learned to some broader national issues.

Kiffmeyer: Did you read the new political union?

Mulloy: I don't think so. The Blue paper? I was always spitting out stuff, I didn't read all that stuff. I know it became a source of quite controversy and I think that's what got him fired from the AVs. Gary Pickle was a AV Staff person and objected strongly to it and I think there was some others, I mean, I really didn't have an opinion on the merits of the paper, I remember feeling' like this was, it seemed like he was getting a raw deal.

You know people moving very quickly to move on this person, I didn't have any particular sympathy for Al. You know, I wasn't close to him at that point or anything of that nature. It seemed like it happened real quick and didn't seem to make any sense to me. Why you'd up and fire somebody over some ideals that's written on a piece of paper about his analysis of the state of the country in 1967. But he came from a more radical perspective and he challenged some liberal precepts and they were very critical of Bobby Kennedy and some others and I think maybe critical of Kr. King in some respects in that paper, stepped on some liberal toes, you know, some principals he got in the AVs. Yeah that conspired.

Kiffmeyer: Did he have much influence on you? You were arrested together, your names were listed together.

Mulloy: Yes, that was Ratlifts artifice of trying to tie the AVs in with this person that had done things on a national level and had connections with SCAF, which was this radical organization, allegedly in Kentucky. That's all it was.

Kiffmeyer: Did you have a close relationship or not?

Mulloy: Friends.

Kiffmeyer: O.K.

Mulloy: I mean we became friends, we became much closer friends after we got arrested certainly. No, Al was not involved in any of the strip mining none. I mean, he wrote about it, he talked about it, had conversations with me and other people about it, in terms of playing a significant role in that. Al's more of a thinker and writer, I don't mean that negatively at all, but that was always one of the ironies. For the ?Wrap up proceeded that way, ? Wrap-up must have thought Al was the master manipulator pulling all the shots, the strings, but that wasn't the case at all. We had our projects and things and agenda and the things we were doing.

Al, they were just trying to get started, just trying to get established and get a base and get to know some people, get to meet some people, had a false start with the AVs. Gotten that had a job, then bingo, got kicked out right away. We had, we conducted ,and this is probably a mistake in retrospect, we did a training in the summer of '67 for our volunteers in Pike County. We did that training there. Thirty to forty people there and the McSurelys were there, we wanted a place that was rural and quite and private, but close so we could get folks in we didn't want to buy in a hotel or anything of that nature so we contracted with the McSurelys, to use the house they were renting. They were renting essentially a small estate, a nice piece of property in Shelby Creek. Big old house, level grounds, sat on top of a well very close to Pikeville, and during the course of that one week, four day training, we had various people come our there and give presentations to the volunteers we had. I know we had the Department of Welfare out there and I know we had some other human service type folks there, we had some people from the Community Action in Pikeville there.

So, I'm sure it appeared to the Powers to be, that the McSurelys were running things, of closely involved in things having this training at their house and they actually were not at the house at that time they left, and we had the use of the grounds, it had five, six, seven bedrooms, big, big place. People would sleep on sleeping bags on the porch and that was probably a tactical error, it gave a false impression I think, false impression.

Kiffmeyer: It sucked me in too, it sucked me into this impression without talking to you, things I read, that's the way it did look.

Mulloy: No, that was the irony of it. I wasn't there long enough to anything.

Kiffmeyer: Well, how long was he in Pikeville?

Mulloy: He hadn't been there more than a couple of months, I don't think.

Kiffmeyer: Did they stay long after the Sedition Trial?

Mulloy: Oh yeah! They stayed there several years.

Kiffmeyer: Did they.

Mulloy: Yeah, their house was bombed there, they stayed there in Pikeville much longer than I did. I got the hell out of there. Well, nobody would rent to me. They cut off my phones, just basic needs. I didn't have a job, got fired. So...So... he was not running things at all and The Bradens, I'd never net them until they got indicted. You know just this big smear like they took this big wide red paint brush, paint the whole thing as a Communist front, whole big conspiracy. Ludicrous.

Kiffmeyer: What about the Green Amendment?

Mulloy: The Green Amendment?

Kiffmeyer: That was passed through Congress by a Senator from Oregon, who, Edith Green, I think her name was, set up the provision that money coming from the O.E.L. had to be funneled through the proper state channels, where as before you could get it.

Mulloy: Was that not a reaction to????

Kiffmeyer: You tell me.

Mulloy: Eastern Kentucky. I think it came after that, that rings a bell.

Kiffmeyer: What happened with that?

Mulloy: Well, I was out of it at that point. I'd been fired. There was certainly reaction from Congress and others to the Seditious Activities Act and other kinds of things that were going on around the country with the Poverty Program that were questionable or unacceptable by the Powers that Be. I vaguely remember that I really can't comment on that, I think it did put some more clamps and constraints on the abilities of an organization like the Appalachian Volunteers to function over three or four states and not really be beholden to any political authorities in any of those states, outside the Poverty Program types.

Kiffmeyer: Do you have any idea what happened in the other counties when all this stuff was going down in Pike?

Mulloy: Like what? There were no arrests.

Kiffmeyer: Did any of the effects bleed over?

Mulloy: Well, I'm sure it did, there was a chilling effect. There was anger. There was fear. There was sorta wise nodding of the heads. The Pike County operators, that's the way they do things with a heavy hand. There was, I know some I told you so's and second guessing of me. Joe had too high of a profile. Should have layed back more. Should've been out there so much. Work more behind the scenes, that sort of stuff. you know, that's hard to call. I might've, I was enthusiastic and we were doing what we were suppose to be doing. I think, I don't know if I was too visible or not/ I remember consciously making efforts not to be real visible. I don't know if I could've satisfied anybody. I think we were on a collision course, the Green Amendment and some of those other things would've come in some fashion with or without the sedition. I think I don't subscribe to the big man theory of history. Individuals are a part of events. I think certain things sorta take there course.

Kiffmeyer: Right before the sedition trial, I believe you had a meeting at Highlander. Do you recall that?

Mulloy: Yeah, well I remember being in touch with Miles Horton. You going to ask me about a specific?

Kiffmeyer: Do you remember that meeting and what went on at that meeting? As I recall, I'm kinda fuzzy to you had you , a few people from Pike, some AV's from Floyd or Knott or something and you went to Highlander to a meeting. Just wondered what was going on at that meeting? Were you planning something or trying?

Mulloy: I'm sure we were. I don't remember that meeting specifically discussion.

Kiffmeyer: Okay.

Mulloy: We had worked with Highlander of and on. Do you know the Highlander center? Are you familiar with it?

Kiffmeyer: A little bit, yeah.

Mulloy: Of course, Miles Horton, who just died this past year, Highlander goes way back into the 30's and had, "Radical History" in its self. Miles had contacted Milton when, when did he do that? I was living in Virginia. That was another significant part of my education, growing up. My association with Highlander and Miles Horton. At some point, Miles had contacted Milton Ogall. Milt was anxious about Miles because of his reputation. Fights with the Klan and that sort of stuff. So Milton sent him out to see me. I was the most nearest fieldman to the central office. I thought, "This is great. Just what I am looking for. Here's somebody with all the history and knowledge." And I was able to facilitate, help introducing Miles to a number of people in the AV's and Appalachian movements which then they picked up on and moved forwards on independently. There were a lot of trips to Highlander. It was a place for meetings. It was a residential workshop, training session center.

Kiffmeyer: Wait a minute.

End of Side A, Tape Two.

Side B, Tape 2.

Mulloy: Over the winter of 67', Miles had been to our house visited us. We'd talked with some other AV's. She and I drove down there to visit for the weekend and that weekend it just so happened that SNCC was having a retreat. Stokely Carmicheal, Rap Brown and all these people were there. So we had dinner with Stokely Carmicheal. We were talking back and forth and Miles introduced us. He said, "Where are you from?" We said, "We are from Eastern Kentucky, Appalachian" something like that. He said, "Oh, you are from a colony." That was Stokely Carmicheal.

So we got into this big long discussion about the economics of poverty and everything at that point and again that's another influence, if you want to see my thinking or perspective and the AV's as well. These were a number, a lot of meetings with the...I don't recall any specific meeting after the sedition arrest. Although, there probably was at Highlander, people trying to figure what to do or where to go from here. How to pick up the pieces or how to defend the movement to make sure that struggle goes forward, which it did. That anti-strip mining fight recovered and went forward, I think.

Kiffmeyer: Is it a close relationship with Highlander and the AV's or is it...

Mulloy: With a number of individuals of the AV's, not with the organization persa. Milton was nervous about that. Milton is dealing with young guys that in a certain sense with were starting to second guess. See in a way, he second guesses Pearle Heirs to the Council wanting to get more out there, more activist. Milton's trying to hold everything together, make sure the funding is there. You know, I can understand his position.

Kiffmeyer: What was your new...

Mulloy: When he fired me after that 20 to 19 vote, three in the top leadership positions re-signed in protest.

Kiffmeyer: Who were they?

Mulloy: Mike Clark, who went on to become a director at Highlander.

Kiffmeyer: Mike Clark?

Mulloy: Mike Clark. I'm not sure where Mike's at now. Saw him on television recently. He's a national spokesman for an environmental group.

Steve Daughterty, who's in Cincinnati currently and Tom Bethel. I'm not sure what Tom is doing now. Tom's been a writer and photographer, based at Washington. Do you know Tom?

Kiffmeyer: I know his name.

Mulloy: Worked a lot with the UMW reform movement, coal news. Good man. I haven't seen Tom in a long time. Anyway, those three resigned in protest. The organization survived but it was not a lot of energy left there and it had a dispirited affect on the people left in West Virginia, I think.

Kiffmeyer: Really. What were their reason for resigning? What reason did they sight? Do you recall?

Mulloy: That the organization had committed a grievous error in firing me. For resisting the draft, why would they disagree? They thought that it was wrong for firing me. For saying, I was going to resist the draft. Ask them, I don't know. That's what I recall at the time. They thought it was wrong. Everybody that was wrong hinted on that.

Kiffmeyer: What happened once Louie Nunn became Governor?

Mulloy: Well, the good news of that is Louie got elected, but Tom didn't.

Kiffmeyer: Ratliff?

Mulloy: Yeah, he lost which is kinda unusual. Usually, you have a ticket, I guess that happens from time to time but he didn't. So we felt really great about that, vindicated. The voters in the state didn't buy his Bs on all that stuff and he didn't get any political gain out of it and I think on one level, that's all he was interested in. Promoting himself and I'm sure on another level, he was patriotic and standing up for America. Trying to root out the Red Guards.

Kiffmeyer: Do you think he was sincere to a degree?

Mulloy: I'm sure he thinks he is. People do thing for a lot of different levels and motivations. I think he was sincere, certainly. On one level, in his belief and on another level, he was very insincere. He was promoting himself.

Kiffmeyer: What else do you know about him? What his background is?

Mulloy: Wealthy. Coal operator.

Kiffmeyer: Wealthy, coal operator. Do you think that?

Mulloy: Got into politics, became Commonwealth Attorney.

Kiffmeyer: Do you think his relationship with the coal industry had anything to do with that?

Mulloy: Well, certainly, they all hob-knobbed together and went to the same country club together. That's what they're suppose to do. Goes on today too, you know.

Nothing's really changed in that respect. Whether he was a bad man, I don't know. He had children. He had a wife. I'm sure he had virtues. You know, I don't hate him. One piece of advice I got during that period was from Miles. That my wife and I really consciously took to heart. "A lot of stuff happened to you right now, make an extra effort not to be bitter. Don't think somebody owes you something because of all of this and don't blame people. People maybe doing you wrong now. Don't hold it against them for the rest of your life. You're only going to hurt yourself" and that was helpful. That was real helpful.

At that point, gave us a little perspective and I think we've tried to follow. I'm not bitter about it. I wish it hadn't happened. I don't think it was fair. It shouldn't have happened but it did. I survived. I'm here, still alive.

Kiffmeyer: Do you recall anything about the Kentucky and American Activities Committee?

Mulloy: Ah, yes. Seems like that was aimed more at Edith and the McSurelys in Pike County. At this point, I think I was more or less taken care of by the draft. I mean, I had been convicted and was on appeal and I think they thought their problems was solved with me. There was still activities going on in Pike County and I can remember, Karen might be able to help you better on this. I can remember being outside one of their hearings in Pikeville and talking with Perry Justice, the sheriff and "you almost got me, Perry, Ah!" "Joe, we always liked you" and this kind of stuff. I was never called to testify. I don't believe, I don't know. There was stuff, the Bradens, that kind of stuff.

Kiffmeyer: Why Edith? What was she doing?

Mulloy: Well, she, I think, got my job eventually. It was split up. She became the AV representative in that area. You know, they still wanted the AV's to be dead. They knocked some teeth out but they were still alive. Have you talked to Edith?

Kiffmeyer: I don't know if I'm talking to Edith. I don't know yet.

Mulloy: Edith can tell you about that. My recollection of all that aspect, I wasn't living in Pikeville. I know it was an activity that SCEF put a lot of effort into and the McSurelys. I don't think I was that much targeted or really involved in although, I remember being down there. We moved back and forth a couple of times from Pikeville to Louisville, then back to Prestonburg. We lived there for a while, then moved to New Orleans. Was in New Orleans for about a year working with the SCEF project down there in the Deep South. Then we moved back to Louisville. Then when I won my draft case and I wasn't going to go to jail, then we said we could make some concrete plans for our lives. Then we moved to West Virginia. Fall of 1970, so I really can't help you much about the quack committee.

Kiffmeyer: What about the Marrowbone Folks school? What was going on there?

Mulloy: Well, that was a small Highlander model concept. We had worked with Edith and others on that creek. Actually, we were going to buy an old schoolhouse out on the main creek of Marrowbone. Edith lives on Poor Bottom, the main Marrowbone Creek and it was just a matter of days. We'd talked to a guy about buying it and I'd talked to a banker. It was like three thousand dollars or something and I remember meeting the fellow in town in Pikeville one day, and the sorta wouldn't look me in the eye and not given me straight answers about let's get going, let's close the deal on this schoolhouse that we were going to have for this center. Then a couple days later, we were arrested. I figured he'd been tipped off. Stay from these folks. So we didn't buy that big school building. Thank god, we didn't, Jesus. Somebody would've burn it down, I'm sure. But we worked then with Edith afterwards building that little center there up on Poor Bottom, which was the community Center and a place for meetings and workshops and I think eventually she had a little store in there or something. But it was the Highlander model for empowering local people. Getting local people to come up with solutions or answers to their problems. Listening to people.

Kiffmeyer: What year was this? When you organized this?

Mulloy: Well, it would've been winter of 67', 68' along in there. I remember helping lay out the footers, cutting some wood with Jake, for pouring foundation.

Kiffmeyer: What was the philosophy here? Did you take any concrete action or were you still in the planning stage when everything kinda went haywire?

Mulloy: When...on the Folks school?

Kiffmeyer: Yeah.

Mulloy: We were moving forward in that direction and then we got stiffed on getting this larger building. This abandoned or empty schoolhouse because of the sedition arrest and then, there was a period of regrouping and Edith picked up the mantle and went forward with it. You know, I was distracted. I was dealing with trials and hearings and the, the draft business and I remember thinking and saying it was not appropriate for me to make commitments that I was going to be dealing with this draft thing. I'd probably be going to jail and that Edith needed to take the lead on that, the Marrowbone Folks School and supporting her, you know, encouragement and that sort of thin. You know, I felt like I was going to be dealing with something else for a couple of years.

Kiffmeyer: Do you recall anything about the water district that was being planned roughly the same time, a water utility or water system being build, called the Marrowbone Water District or something of that nature that was brought up in the HUAC? The AV's with the support of the Marrowbone Folks School and Edith were protesting the tap on rate at the lid.

Mulloy: I was not directly involved in any of that. I don't think I was even living there. I was in Louisville or in Prestonburg.

Kiffmeyer: Okay.

Mulloy: As I said, Edith became a staff person. She was told, you're not a local person anymore. You're a staff person and they carried on with organizing and I think that quack was further attempts to still the beast there a little bit.

Kiffmeyer: After Louie Nun was elected, could you recognize any kind of concrete shifts, starting with his administration in the War on Poverty in the State?

Mulloy: No, I couldn't. I was out of the War on Poverty persona. I think there were on a national level in conjunction with the states, I think the War on Poverty became much tamer and became more of a social service agency which essentially it is today. A good social service agency, except for people who fall through the safety nets but it's not what it originally was. That community action component suppose to be.

Kiffmeyer: What about the ideal of maximum feasible participation?

Mulloy: Ah, who've you been talking too? I remember that. Maximum feasible participation, that suppose to be the poor people?

Kiffmeyer: That was in the...

Mulloy: The beginning, in the law isn't it? I remember we use to quote that phrase quite often, kinda a mouthful.

Kiffmeyer: It ever happen?

Mulloy: It happened at the Hawthorne School in Washington D.C. that meeting I was telling you about. Yes, that was "maximum feasible participation."

Kiffmeyer: What about it in Pike County? When...

Mulloy: Yes, yes, certainly, Jink Ray, that was his agenda. It was him and his neighbors that were up there on that mountain. I was supporting him, other people were supporting him. They were out there doing it. They were saying, "this is the struggle we want. This is the help we need. This is what you can do to help us." That's pretty maximum, I think.

Kiffmeyer: What about in the Community Action Program down in, I say, in Pikeville?

Mulloy: I don't remember the Community Action Program in Pikeville. They were having much of a presence. Although they must have had one there, there must have been a Community Action Agency for Pike County persona. I think that there was. I don't remember ever really having much of a linkage with that.

Kiffmeyer: Was that 9-7-9? That was Flem's organization, I think.

Mulloy: On Mudd Creek?

Kiffmeyer: Yeah.

Mulloy: That was a good program that carried on a good while and of course, the work that it don is still being carried on there. There was in Riley County in West Virginia, there was a very active community action program and that' where the community, with the help of the AV's actually took over the agency and hired their own director and controlled the board. Set the agenda, very much so, maximum community participation I that I would say. That would have been like a model to us.

Kiffmeyer: I've heard other people say, they took over the...

Mulloy: It's great hearing these words.

Kiffmeyer: Yeah, they took over the Community Action Programs. What does that mean?

Mulloy: Elected the majority to the Board of Director, that's what it meant.

Kiffmeyer: The way people say this.

Mulloy: Conciliation.

Kiffmeyer: It sounds...

Mulloy: Well, I think that's what our mind set was. I think we were in our twenties. We were doing that's the way you approached things. You weren't reasonable. You didn't negotiate. I mean, I'm a hospital administrator today and I'm in my mid-forties and I try to avoid conciliation. I negotiate with the union and the employee's and with the department heads and try to reach a consensus and see I'm doing a different thing. You know, you had an entrenchment of authority that we felt, at least on the local level, responsible for the conditions as they existed and we wanted to empower the people at the head of the holler, the poor people, the disenfranchised and let them have a say in how the programs that effected their lives and have programs be established that would make a difference for them. We did take them over, yes.

Kiffmeyer: How did you manage to do that?

Mulloy: Getting a lot of people out to the meeting and power of persuasion and when it comes right down to it, Robert's Rules of Order and vote, voting people in, I mean, they had to have a board of director's. They had to have elections. Get your people out there, strict politics.

Kiffmeyer: How did the...

Mulloy: There was a whole slew of people in Riley County that came along with that local natives, local people. Riley County was the most significant quote "take-over" I guess. They were able to do the most with it. This is in West Virginia and probably the most successful of the AV's efforts in that direction and the person that was directly leading that was a guy named Gibbs...Kinderman who was one of the original AV's. He was like the second people I met. After Jack Rubble and Gibbs was a remarkable person and was fresh from Mississippi. Had spent the summer in Mississippi and from California. Was Harvard-educated. Very bright person, very energetic.

Kiffmeyer: What happened to the dethroned Community Action Program people after you took them over? What did they do? How did they react?

Mulloy: Well, they were mad. Some of them lost their job, you know. There's hacks in some cases. Some of them just went on their way.

Kiffmeyer: They were hacks, for who?

Mulloy: Either they were incompetent individuals that were just beating in their time or they were tied in with some local political structure.

Kiffmeyer: What did the local political structure do once you took over?

Mulloy: I think they contacted their Congressman and their state people and objected long and loud to these long-haired hippie, heathenish kids that were in here taking over and raising hell and nobody had any control over'em, that's what they were doing.

Kiffmeyer: Then what happened eventually?

Mulloy: Well, eventually, some of us got arrested. I mean, I think all this concluded all that. There were complaints made to the authorities about this.

Kiffmeyer: And it led too?

Mulloy: Well, it led to the Green Amendment and there were complaints being made all over the country. Don't look at Appalachian as a specify, isolated case cause it was going on in California. It was going one in the big cities. It was going on everywhere. The significance of the AV's, I don't know if there was any place else in the country write like this. The AV's was a multi-state agency that had large, hundreds of people. You know a couple of points, deployed, organizing, agitating, stirring up at the head of the holler. Trying to ensure maximum, feasible participation. Well, that was pretty dangerous stuff.

Kiffmeyer: Did this huge deployment of this, this huge expanse, did this help or hinder the AV's effort, do you think?

Mulloy: Being so large?

Kiffmeyer: Yeah.

Mulloy: No, I think it accelerated things in terms of hearing from people. Hey, this is what you need to be working on. This is what our agenda is fixing up the schoolhouses is great but if you really want to help us, help us on this water system. Help us get a road or help us stop this strip mine bulldozer. Help us whatever.

Kiffmeyer: What about on the administrative side? Did that cause problems, lack of communication, travel distance?

Mulloy: Maybe, maybe. I don't know. At one point, I had a staff position in the organization. I was Assistant to the Director of Field Operations in charge of training. Yeah, legalistically problems were certainly there. I mean, we had one training session's summer of 66' at East Tennessee University. I had five hundred students there. They were all VISTA's for the summer and many of them stayed on as VISTA's for the rest of the year. My wife being one of them, I mean we handled all of that. That didn't contribute to the demise of the poverty war or anything of that nature. I think what it contributed, it accelerated something that was positive and that was getting closer to the home of what the issues are here. Because we were so wide spread and covered such a diverse area, we weren't just dealing with our own little turf or our own little back yard. I have to go to the bathroom.

I go back to that backend at the Hawthorne school at Washington as pivotal to my thinking, my motivations which choose me to do certain things to seek out how I endure or whatever and pursue that contact and to open myself up to working on more controversial issues like strip mining. To me, that's what the Poverty War was suppose to have been all about. People voicing their concerns and actually naming uses that needed to be addressed and asking for help from educated, trained, and experienced professionals. We weren't professional people. We certainly had money. We had credit card. We had vehicles, telephones and that was a new element in people's lives. We were community organizers.

Kiffmeyer: Since we're back at the school in Washington, is there anymore details on that meeting?

Mulloy: I've gotta be careful and not get confused because I was out there twice. I was there in 68' with a poor people's campaign and a lot of the same people for Appalachian were there for that. A West Virginia, an Eastern Kentucky delegation. I think it was over a hundred people in one respect, it was kinda self-serving agenda. The AV's had getting all these poor people up in Washington in their overalls and accents and force the bureaucrats to fund us or expand funding to poverty related programs. See, we know real people. We have credibility. We're with the folks. If you wanted to look at it rather crassly, you could say, yes, that's what that was about. That was part of it. Certainly, but

had another much stronger effect, like pulling the wool, the veil off some people's eyes. That's what we ought to be going. That's what our agenda should be. Where we should be focusing should be providing meaningful experiences for, you know, eighteen, nineteen-year-old girls from over in Ohio. Swathamore or should those girls from over in Swathamore be helping local people learn to control their lives a little bit more. SO, it's just kinda shifted from the volunteer to the folks.

Kiffmeyer: Now, what year was that again?

Mulloy: That was the fall of 1966.

Kiffmeyer: 66'—Okay.

Mulloy: My first project I worked in the winter of 64', fall of 64' and we had a smaller summer project in the summer 65'. I went back to school and I quit in January 66'. Went to work full-time for the AV's. The AV's split from the council then, in that winter, I think, set up headquarters in Bristol, Tennessee. The summer of 66' there were five hundred volunteers, big group. Many of those people stayed on to be VISTA's through that winter and the spring of 67'. Summer of 67', there was another four or five hundred volunteers and there were Peace Corps trainee as well. The people that were working for us for the summer as part of a Peace Corp training and I don't think there were any more big summer volunteer projects. There may have been in the summer of 68'. Although I wasn't involved at that point, O.E.O. was sat up nationally. We were a multi-state cap. We had VISTA's assigned us the local community agencies had VISTA's assigned to them. You signed up for a year, two years. We were unique in that we had this big summer project and that was one of the special features of the AV's. I don't know if anybody else in the country had that sort of thin I that was kinda a should over from our Pre-O.E.O. days. It seemed to me and O.E.O. paid for this. They financed it and it was like a massive, an influx of students. Course, they weren't all student but certainly a majority of students. I don't remember any not being a student coming in as a volunteer. So, during the course of the year, the AV's had thirty or forty VISTA's. Maybe, more than that assigned to it I wouldn't think much more. But over three months period, two and one-half period, they'd have five or six hundred people, shake a lot of bushes with that many folks.

Kiffmeyer: Were they all involved in issue organizing? Or were they...

Mulloy: Well, it grew. It grew, no; it wasn't all involved in issue. A lot of it, it depended what was going on locally and there was a certain unevenness amongst the very skilled men in terms of where their interest were. Talent or perspective to what they focused on.

Kiffmeyer: This insider-outsider issue you talked about how it affected you. What about all these VISTA's coming in from wherever. Did the insider-outsider issue come into play with these people?

Mulloy: Yeah, we were pretty clear to them. Shoe's on the other foot here, it's they're here to help. They're not here to be the leadership. Get on TV or do all the work. They're job is to build local leadership, make the contacts, provide the encouragement's, seek out the leaders and help put them together with the two roles who create the situation where the problems can be identified and solutions planned and carried forward for those. Now, it's very clear. They're going to go home at the end of summer or after their year or two years as VISTA's. Although, it's kinda interesting, three are scores of people who came to Appalachia as VISTA workers or AV's who have spent their lives here. Their adult lives here particularly in West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky. I think but in West Virginia, I lived in West Virginia for the last nineteen years. I'm a little more conscious of it. We had a VISTA, AV, no; VISTA reunion in about two years ago and it was great. All kinds of folks and half if them at least, still liver here. Jay Rockefeller came to it. He wasn't a AV but he was a VISTA and a lot of folks who that are in New York or California, whatever came. It was interesting. Who benefits from that, I as one person who stayed here? I benefit from that. We saw something we liked in the culture and the community and we stayed with it.

Kiffmeyer: What about some kind of patronizing attitude on the part of the VISTA's? Any of that present?

Mulloy: I'm certain. I don't, I think it was initially there was some holdovers of that with the council or Southern Mountains from its social work orientation and background and I think we were, as young Turks ready to put that tot rest and did moved off and formed our own organization. I don't think we had a patronizing attitude as an organization. I think it was reasoned and leveled and attuned to listening to people. Now that doesn't mean we didn't make mistakes. Maybe, we listened too hard to something and not to others. Sometime you can listen and you hear what you want to hear sometimes. You know, and there were slow individuals who were patronizing. Had that kind of attitude as I said earlier, the summer volunteers, we all carried bus tickets around in our pockets. Supervisors did, which I was one and it somebody wasn't working out literally, give them a bus ticket and send them home right away. They were causing problems. They had the wrong attitude. You know, their dress, their life style, whatever was creating problems, cause we didn't want those kinds of problems. That's not an issue. Whether you wore short shorts or you dress according to the people in the community. Wear your short shorts when you get home in the fall.

Kiffmeyer: You mentioned the mistakes you might have made. What do you think they were?

Mulloy: Mistakes I made? Mistakes the AV's made?

Kiffmeyer: The AV's made.

Mulloy: Oh, I think probably there were times we were real brash. We could've been a lot more diplomatic and you know, these quote "take-over" not that, that needed to be done. Maybe, it could've been done in a fashion that was less consultation. It might have

had a little bit more long-ranging effects. I don't know. It's easy to go back. Monday morning quarterbacks on those things but that was consultation times. We were living and of course, remember the local poorer structure didn't want. They didn't want to negotiate with you. They didn't want to compromise. They had it and you basically had to be consultation for them to even look at you. So, it's too easy to say if we'd have been more reasonable. We could've gotten more this wouldn't have happened. That wouldn't have happened. It wasn't in the cards, in some respects. Yeah, I know there were some mistakes.

Kiffmeyer: Can you point to any concrete ones perhaps or specifics?

Mulloy: Well, let me think about that a little bit.

Kiffmeyer: Okay. In that same line, anything you would have done differently? Or something you should've done that you didn't do?

Mulloy: I think if I had known that Pike County was. It was going to be so risky to live there, I would have chosen to live someplace else. I would have still done the work there that might have had an impact on some of the outcomes. I mean, I would've been out of Thomas Ratliff's jurisdiction perhaps, if I'd had that conversation with Harvey Caudill or Tom Gish prior to moving there. I might not have personally moved there. And again, I think some people perceive that as an attempt by the AV's to go toe-to-toe with the operators and that was not it at all.

I think in terms of the draft, I never said this to anybody. Terms of my draft resistance and that sort of think. I think in retrospect, it would have been in order for me to resign from the AV's and not force that issue. I know what my motivates were and you know, I was feeling under attack, isolated. I could've done everything that I did without having to force that issue, with the organization.

Kiffmeyer: Just so, I can have it clearly stated, what was your motivation for resisting the draft?

Mulloy: Well, as I said earlier, or a number of different levels, from a number of different places. One, I objected to the Vietnam War as an unjust war, based on Catholic up-bringing interactions with Thomas Maron as my spiritual mentor. Also, influenced by my association with the Quakers and Mennonites through the work in the AV's. The understanding of peaceful solutions, nonviolent conflict resolutions. Influenced by the Civil Rights movement, a very strong concept that the people who profited from the War in Vietnam were the same people that profited from poverty in Eastern Kentucky. And a little bit of having my Irish up in that they were going to get me out of the scene with sedition. So, they were trying to draft me and I basically said, "I'm not going to put up with it. I'm going to fight it."

Kiffmeyer: You thought it was an AV's attack as well?

Mulloy: It was an attack on the AV's. Yeah and I still believe that today. And I thought the AV's should've fought that. But...

Kiffmeyer: in keeping with the AV's philosophy to fight it...

Mulloy: Maybe, this is a middle-aged man speaking now. That was an awful lot to ask that organization to take on. I think, in retrospect, given what they'd just been through, events were happening real quickly. It didn't change my resistance or what happened to me or my court case any of the educational work or organizing work I did around the draft at all. Whether I was fired or not and if I had that to do over, I think I would've taken a principle resignation.

Kiffmeyer: I have to change this.

Mulloy: Go ahead.

End of Side B, Tape Two.

Side A, Tape Three.

Kiffmeyer: In Bethel's letter of resignation, if you could make some kind of comment, I don't know the exact works, in keeping with the philosophy of the AV's, the you know, addressing the issue, as you were doing that's why he was supporting you in the anti-war Vietnam stance.

Mulloy: Right, it was the right stance to take, I have no question about that, about resisting the draft but would not hesitate. I don't have to fact it at my age. At this point, but have no second guesses about anything I did in Pike County. Whether I would have actually lived in his jurisdiction or not, if we had know all of this other stuff, I don't know. But that's really here or there. They could just have easily killed me. Or other people and probably wished they had of, as event turned out. It would have been a lot cleaner way of dealing with a problem.

Kiffmeyer: Uh-huh.

Mulloy: It was, it was a technique that was used in a lot of other parts of the country. Particularly with black people, um, on the draft thing, the Vietnam War was an issue in the mountains. I mean it was an underlying, unspoken issue and draft resistance and opposition of the war was untapped virtually and to a certain extent you know, I was still following through with, you know, with this. Was Ratliff and them trying to get me and kill the Poverty Program and Milton and others were coming from. We've lost so much around and so much credibility with the sedition case and now Joe, you're putting one more thing on use and you've not being reasonable and not everyone is going to know the whole organization. The organization just can't stand up under this.

Well, it should've been able to. We should have been strong enough too. But, I didn't really need, you know, to...I might have done that differently.

You know, the vote was 19 to 20. You know, 19 people voted not to fire me and many of the ones who voted to fire me didn't want to vote that way. I mean, they cried about it, literally. It certainly forced the issue.

Kiffmeyer: Did anything good come out of that? Besides the fact that you were exonerated of course, but as far as...did it heighten anybody else's awareness?

Mulloy: Oh, I think so, it caused a lot of people to have to really examine cause people had to take a stand. Certainly, Bethel and others did and they extended that by resigning and the ones who voted against me and Edith, Edith voted against me. For them to fire men and well, we talked about that later. and other people, local people Harlan County told me that they had never really thought about the war. Hadn't really thought about it in that perspective until that was forced. Had to deal with it in that respect, they were close to the AV's. So, I guess in that respect maybe it did force it. It didn't hurt the AV's anyway to fire men. I mean, nobody, I'm fact, I guess they were able to demonstrate to

whoever, that we have taken some aggressive action against this person. We don't support this.

Kiffmeyer: You never did say anything like this but I am going to ask you this anyway. And maybe, I'm completely off base, I don't know. You almost became a martyr for the anti-war effort in the mountains. Did you see anything you know, in the AV's? Do you think that had any effect like that as far as taking a stand? Probably knowing you were going down for it but doing it anyway.

Mulloy: Yeah, it did. This is separate from being fired or resigning. This is resisting the draft. The draft period, right? This is what you're talking about.

Kiffmeyer: Right.

Mulloy: Well, I'm not sure what you're asking me to say.

Kiffmeyer: I'm not sure I'm asking you. I'm wondering what...

Mulloy: I never saw myself as a martyr. I never thought that highly of it. It certainly a lot of symbolism involved and I was in circumstances had conspired to put me in a spot where I had the opportunity to do what was right. Fortunately, I had the support to...from spouse and friends and a lot of people to be able to do that and I think that sent a message to a lot of people. Yeah, it sent a message to that Sergeant at that recruitment center that my brother met twelve years later. I know it, I know it turned some minds of some folks that either voted for or against me. That were not even there but were peripherally involved with the AV's. That had to really think about rich man's war and poor man's fights the corporate aspects of war and that sort of thing and about nonviolent peace-keeping methods, concept, that sort of thing.

Kiffmeyer: What do you think was the over-all perception of your efforts among the mountain people themselves?

Mulloy: Well, I'm sure it was mixed. I'm sure a lot of people, crazy outsider agitator, come down here stirring up all up, that sort of thing. I don't know. You tell me. You talked to them. I don't know. I don't know. I mean it's, you know, now it's almost, it's a historical period. I talked to people today about it, it's another life for most of the people that are out. And about today, you just had to have lived through that period to really...

Kiffmeyer: As the War on Poverty begins to wind down in the 70's, is there anything during the void? Any new groups coming about, being organized 1970-71?

Mulloy: Well, I don't think so. I think that was pretty much it for the poverty program. I mean I went to work for SCEF, you know. We worked in the deep south labor strikers support work, did some newspaper writing and sort of late civil rights work. Got involved in a very, I don't know if you want to go into this, a very interesting strike situation in Mississippi where, black and white workers at a masonite Plant were on

strike and being white. We were trying to organize strike solidarity and support among the white employees and many were members of the Klan, which was kinda interesting and challenging working with black people. Enjoyed that. Learned a lot. Challenged, threatened. Had some hairy times down there. We came back here to West Virginia and we got involved with one of the groups that didn't really come out of the Poverty program but came out of that period of activism and it was a whole segment of the population that the poverty war never address and that was working people. You know, miners, we got involved, Karen in Healthcare and Occupational health and I went to work in the mines and worked with Arnold Miller and the Miners Reform Movement and was involved through out the seventies and all that business which was very successful and I didn't play the leadership roll or anything at all but was a part of it.

Kiffmeyer: Do you think that had roots into the {tape skipped}

Mulloy: Oh, yeah, sure APPALRED, which was Appalachian Legal Defense fund. Everybody in it started out in the AV's or some connection with the AV's. Milton Ogall was original director of it. Still there. Was an AV and many of the attorneys, Arnold Miller was involved in APPALRED and very close connections but more of that activism, spirit of activism than necessary direct line for some of these folks from the AV's or anti-poverty movement went into that Union Reform movement. Had a tremendous impact, nation-wide. There are some threads that run through there, sure.

Kiffmeyer: Still alive today?

Mulloy: Oh, yeah.

Kiffmeyer: Any other kind of long-range impact you see from the War on Poverty?

Mulloy: I hadn't really thought about the mineworkers Reform Movement or hadn't verbalized it quite that way. I think at least an indirect beneficiary of that activism period and certainly some of the, some of the individuals who played a key role were there. I don't think it's made a whole lot of impact economically in Appalachia. Certainly, things are as tough now as they ever have been. Taught some important lessons to a lot of people about how things really are and who controls things and a lot of those folks have gone on to get involved in other things have hopefully carried through some of those lessons. I think I've certainly tried to in my professional life, such as it is. Its difficult right now in that there is o regional organizations person, that are quite the level of activity that was going on then I don't think although there are a lot of groups and I think some of the uniqueness of Appalachia as a colony and special economic identity is still recognized or more broadly accepted. It's recognition of that and that was kind of a radical ideal back then in the sixties.

Kiffmeyer: Do you think the perception has changed about Appalachia as a result of the War on Poverty?

Mulloy: To a certain extent but conditions have changed also. Economic conditions, social conditions. So there are other kinds of problems we're facing as well today that complicated it. To a certain extent a lot of things are just the same as it ever was. Although we've got nice highways, all the Appalachian Region Commission work around is lose to being completed. It's not done entirely but that certainly helped access the areas. Made them less isolated. Hasn't brought that many jobs. I don't know. I don't have any great overview or oversight on that for you, I'm sorry.

Kiffmeyer: That's alright. What about you perceptions? Anything different than when you went in 64'?

Mulloy: In terms of me?

Kiffmeyer: Yeah.

Mulloy: Oh, I'm a very different person and I think if I hadn't gone into that I would've grown into adulthood as a very different person from what I am.

Kiffmeyer: How so?

Mulloy: Well, I think I have a much more realistic view on how things work in the world and in this country. Power, relationships and how change comes about. How people become convinced that something needs to happen. I think some of these events that have gone on this last year or so in Eastern Europe are remarkable and demonstrate maximum feasible participation after a fashion you and I wore people loose. It's embodiment of that whole Highlander concept, that people have the solutions to their problems within them and we've just got to create the situation where those answers can come out and be shared in a constructive way and then, implemented.

Kiffmeyer: How do people become...

Mulloy: I think that I'm an organizer. I mean what I do at my job as a hospital administrator is basically an organizer and I think I'm carrying out the same techniques or principles that I learned in the poverty program. Some of that I brought with me is my personality. Whatever listening, getting people to do things that maybe they're not sure they want to do. Finding out what their agenda is. What their, how they are, seeing the problem and trying to address that. So I personally use a lot of the skills that I developed or learned or lessons there. They're speaking of something along those lives. There was a situation in, you know, we were talking earlier about whether the people in Appalachia were ready for the War on Poverty or the Vietnam War as an issue. There was a question came up at one point in Harlan County around integration of a swimming pool and there were some AV people that argued it wasn't appropriate for the AV's to address that issue. Integration of a pool or racial discrimination that would be disruptive and divisive and wasn't really the issue. Sometimes, you know, you gotta jump out there and do it.

Kiffmeyer: How do you convince people they need change?

Mulloy: Well, it takes action. It takes events, material events have to happen. I can't convince you of something-just sitting here talking about it. Something has to affect you in your life. Those things are going to go on whether we talk about it or not. Things are going to affect you. I think if you can provide some analysis or some overview to some of that, that can provide the enlightenment to the direction people need to day, we need to change. This needs to improve.

Kiffmeyer: Just one question, I don't mean to jump you back and forth but I'm free wheeling this because the Marrowbone folks School was on the model of Highlander and you have hinted that Highlander. You don't know a lot, knew of Highlander, I'm assuming that other people knew about Highlander and the reputation it had. How it frightened Milt Nobel. Were the people in Pike County aware that Marrowbone was going to be another Highlander? Were they afraid it was going to be another Highlander?

Mulloy: I think there was a bigger boogey man closer than that at that point and that was the Red Guards. I don't think that Highlander persona ever became a big issue for Pike County. I think the concept of people, poor people disenfranchised, people getting together and talking and finding out other people had the same problem they had and maybe, maybe I'm not to blame for my, you know, entirely to blame for this and you know, a sense of empowerment. There that's frightening. That's frightening anywhere. That's frightening in China. That's frightening was at least in Eastern Europe. It's frightening in America.

Kiffmeyer: What constitutes empowerment? To you to the eighties? People?

Mulloy: Well, I think to me that's kinda a catchword, the eighties. But I think it's a question of having knowledge and having confidence that you can do something with that having knowledge of the facts and issues and confidence that you can...

Kiffmeyer: What would've been a threat to a county, county judge executive, or whoever, someone like that?

Mulloy: He wouldn't get re-elected.

Kiffmeyer: I mean, what would I do, me, you, whoever, that would be a threat? What would you perceive as being a threat to prevent him from being re-elected to shake his security?

Mulloy: Well in the Mingo County situation, we wouldn't be allowing them to allow dead people to vote or stuff the ballot box. We had poll watchers there. That's a threat. The guys not going to get elected.

Kiffmeyer: A poll-watcher was a threat?

Mulloy: Yeah, people that have always been subservient and pliant in the past, all of sudden challenging say, why not? Why don't we have this? Why isn't our road fixed? Why don't we have a water system? Why can't the county prioritize it for our are? What is the reason? Is it because we voted Democrat or we voted Republican last time or you don't like so and so or there is only a limited amount of money and you want to put it over here. Those are threatening. It's taking some of that decision-making authority away from.

Kiffmeyer: Would they be demanding some kind of accountability?

Mulloy: Demanding accountability in some cases if the accountability is there. You may find out they're been stealing for years. Nobody knows what some of these folks been doing. Our most recent Governor and four or five of our top leadership in the legislator in West Virginia are in prison right now. You know, for stealing, bribes, kickbacks, jury tampering, and tax evasion. They certainly don't want anybody questioning them or looking over their shoulder.

Kiffmeyer: Anything else you want to say?

Mulloy: Ah, I'm sure you're going to take a break and come back, right?

Kiffmeyer: Well, I don't know what they are planning on. I may give you a call here and come back in a couple of weeks or so.

Mulloy: I'm sure, I'm sure. There's, you were asking for some examples of some mistakes earlier. I'll think about that. I'll try to come up with something concrete, not something sweeping or general. I don't think that my choosing to force the AV's to fire me instead of my resigning was a mistake persa. If events had been a little bit different or if I had been able to force a more recent conversation with some people, I might have resigned but that wouldn't have affected my case in anyway and wouldn't have affected the impact of all of that. It did force the issue within the AV's but that wasn't my intent to put a lot of people on the spot. And I've sort of felt bad that, that's what happened. But now in terms of any specific areas...yeah, I did some dumb things. I wore bib-overalls one time to a community meeting and people immediately thought I was a civil rights worker because that was the uniform of the civil right workers and that was in Pike County and that got me off on the wrong foot with some key people right off the bat. Didn't help my reputation at all because I wore bib-overalls. People objected to it for several different kinds of reason. One is that they thought I was a civil rights worker. That was going to being in a bunch of blacks and stir up a bunch of stuff and some other folks thought I was being disrespectful cause I didn't dress-up and put a tie on.

Live and learn.

Kiffmeyer: Yeah, well...thanks a lot.

Mulloy: Sure.

Kiffmeyer: I might give you a call sometime or write you another letter and see if you have some time and see if I can come up with anything else.

Mulloy: Sure, sure...no problem.

Kiffmeyer: Thank you.

Mulloy: Am I going to get a copy of this? So, I can give it to my children?

Kiffmeyer: You sure will.

End of Oral Interview.