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This is an interview with William Friday, President of the Consolidated University of North Carolina, conducted in Chapel Hill, North Carolina on December 14, 1973 by Jack Bass and Walter De Vries.

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Walter De Vries: One of the hypothesis in the Key book was that North Carolina was more progressive than the other states of the south in terms of race relations, educational policy and so on. Some of the people we've interviewed said that the closer you get to North Carolina, the less progressive it looks and that really, there is not that much difference from other southern states and we were talking about this and suggested that there might be two influences that affect the state over a twenty-five year period: the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and its alumni around the state and the newspapers. We were commenting about the number of newspapers in this state and the fact that they generally are more progressive. I'd like to ask you about the role of the University of North Carolina in these twenty-five years. Is it as powerful as Mr. Jenkins seems to think it is, in terms of the

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alumni of the School of Journalism and so on throughout the state and that the leadership of the state therefore is quite progressive?

William Friday: Well, I think the answer is, yes. I think there has been a marked change in the state as I've watched it during this period of time, in the sense of sources of power. That is, the emergence of organized labor, the more viable role playing than heretofore and the impact of television on the political process is something that most people don't really appreciate. I think it has had enormous impact on the political life of a state and this state. Maybe that's colored a good deal by the fact that we operate the educational network, but I've had more than just a casual look at this. I'm one of those that believes that television is an enormous article in the arsenal of politics, if you know how to use it and use it effectively. As far as the press of North Carolina is concerned, I think I would say it even more vigorously than Jay would. I think it is the one major force that has kept this particular balance working in North Carolina. Your question to me then would be, well, how did George Wallace beat Terry Sanford by a 100,000 votes? I don't know that I could answer that question. I think an accumulation of anti-Sanford feeling which some of us who think, I thought I was very close to Terry in this exercise during his administration and I saw the negativism mount. But I think the accumulation of that, plus other political circumstances led in part to that. But North Carolina in my view, after this

interval of time, raised up a whole new class of people. That is, having worked in machine shops and cotton mills as a boy myself in the Depression, when people begin to own two cars, or an Oldsmobile instead of a Ford, and a house at Lake Norman or at Wrightsville Beach and have powerboats, and things like these, they don't want anything bothering that. An appeal to that mentality and attitude and conviction has tremendous force. And I think that Wallace had some of that in what he did. He played on a theme that he knew quite well and he knew how to do it. And it was something that got started that in a way, couldn't be headed off. Now, the University does have an enormous impact in the state. I would say that because I don't think that I have very much to do with it. I seem to find myself more often caught up in the political crossfire as a symbol to be attacked lots of times in this experience. It is, in terms of what the state has done in all its agencies and governmental structures and so on, the one thing that year by year stands out in national significance is this operation here, this campus. In any indices of measurement that you wish to use, this is true. The American Council studies, the AAU evaluation, the accreditation studies, all these things indicate that the qualitative base has not only been maintained here, but has been substantially improved. Now, when you have an operation like this and it fans out like the way it does, all over the state, the multiplicity of means of contact in continuing education for doctors, seminars for lawyers, English

teachers meeting here, dozens of dozens of these things, it keeps its contacts. Now, where the inroads have occurred, at least in part, in the interval of the sixties, you see, education institutions became the whipping boys of politicians. It was easy to attack the universities. It brought on enormous political capital. Wallace stood on the steps of the courthouse in Durham and ridiculed this university and got thunderous applause for it. Demonstrations, faculty conduct, student conduct and so on made us a part of that syndrome that developed at that time. Now, the loyalty band that you identify stuck with the place because this place didn't stop teaching, it didn't close down, it didn't fire shop, it didn't suspend classes, it kept right at the job. It was not easy to do, but it was done. And when people backed off and looked at it more deliberately, they saw that the integrity of the place had been maintained. That's the first time in the history of this place that you had police officers on this campus, armed, intervening in the process of the management of the University. Well, that stayed on the front page, as you well know Jack, for a considerable period of time and was done by an external decision. The governor of the state sent the troops in, we didn't ask for them. We solved the problem and they quietly left. Now, you can't create that kind of thing and the public's reaction to what was going on at the time, as magnified by the television coverage, and not get backlashes. That has been the principle difficulty to overcome in the educational

and political relationship in the last four or five years. It will interest you to know that during this entire span of time, the appropriations base of the institution continued to increase. At no point, did we suffer any major fiscal deprivations. But it's in the arena of confidence and association that you see this devotion taking place, it's true right now.

W.D.V.: Well, is this university unique among the eleven southern states? Do other states have this kind of relationship

Friday: Well, you've got to remember two things. This university is a lot older than most other state universities. As much as a hundred years older than some of them. It had worked at this deliberately since 1910 and 1920, that interval of time. It was Kidder Graham, not Frank Porter Graham who really set the base for it. This is all published in books that would make interesting reading to you. If you ever have the time, you should look at his concept of the U.S. in terms of the University of South Carolina or Tennessee or any other state. They are all coming on fast with this, but Chapel Hill was doing it a long time ago. It has been its sustaining strength. This university, Madison, Wisconsin, the Austin campus in Texas, I would include the main campus of the University of Missouri, are oriented this way. All you have to do is contrast it with Charlottesville to see a very dramatic

illustration. When *Colgate Darden* became president of the university after his governorship, he fought a hard battle over trying to, as he put it, humanize the institution. It was a rich man's school until then. We used to work with him closely and help him with suggestions and ideas that brought the University of Virginia more to what the University at Chapel Hill is. It has an historical root, but more particularly, it has a heavy personal committment of people that went into the institution. You can't have a Howard Odum moving around the way he did or an Albert Coates and John Couch and Branson and people like this. ^[McNider] McKnight in medicine and not have this constantly. These men were real giants in this business and it made a difference to be a giant.

Jack Bass: May I interrupt just a minute. You mentioned the Institute of Government. It comes down that that's another big factor in the state's progressive reputation. They train everybody from constable to superior court judge. It has been a real influence, I would say.

Friday: It has been for a quarter of a century. And these men have come here. . .we've trained every highway patrolman, we've trained every clerk, superior court judge, county attorney, city attorney.

J.B.: What's your concept of what is the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill?

Friday: What it is? Well, in a state university, Jack, the thing that differentiates them from the Harvards of the world, are these:

Yes, you have a basic teaching program. You carry that forward to the doctoral level and professional stand. Yes, you have a fundamental research program that is essential to get the graduate school to the posture of this graduate school that is one of the top twenty in the United States. The third component is the so-called service component. Which is in a way, unique to state institutions and really began with the land grant act in the middle of the last century, in President Lincoln's time which created the so-called land grant system. This university was doing these kinds of things before that act was ever passed. But that is the principle line of demarcation. Now, some private institutions do some of these things, but it's a steady, funded, deliberate choice with the good state universities.

J.B.: What is it that distinguishes this university as a state university?

Friday: I would say primarily the quality of its people. The excellence of its faculty and their commitment to these things. Well, the last evaluation of major state universities in the United States put this campus within the top ten. For these reasons, that is the quality and competence of its people and the excellence of what they do.

W.D.V.: Let me ask you this question. North Carolina is progressive in the forces of institutional strength of the university and the progressive newspapers and yet in the national rankings of per capita

income and the broad range of social indices, it's 46, 47 or 48 and there's no great change in the last twenty-five years of ranking. Why is this? To some extent, it's an enigma to a lot of people, I think. How do you explain this?

Friday: Well, you take the bottom ten of those states, how many of them are in the south?

W.D.V.: All of them.

Friday: All right. It refers to the population problem. The mix, I think. Secondly, in this state, the length of it, you've got a problem of the black and the white too. The deprived Appalachian area that we work in now in a way that we didn't heretofore. The level of education of these people, the job opportunities they have, and the kind of industry we have. We have four of the five lowest paying industries in the county. Tobacco, ceramics, furniture, and agriculture. And until you change that particular base, it isn't going to happen. This is one of the reasons that some of us have done all that we could do with things like the Research Triangle and the development of things like electronics and other higher income industries that you work to affect your way to change. Everybody's been rising, though, it's hard to make a gain when you show progress in a state but they are all moving simultaneously. But it's a very distressing circumstance to see what happened down here in one of our counties when a major industry wanted to go in there with a higher income base and

the county commissioners said, "No, we don't want you, because you upset the rate scale in the county." This actually happened. You saw it in Johnston County. There's one of your problems. Well, North Carolina until very recently didn't pass the 40% mark in the percentage of its college age youth that went on beyond the twelfth grade. The national average is well over 50%. Here's one of your problems. This is why Dallas Herring and I went to Terry in 1961 and asked him to create what has become known as his Commission on Post-Secondary Education. Out of that came the recommendation to build the community college system in this state and the technical institute program. It was as recent as that. In that process, bringing legislators into it. These decisions were made and it's one of the best things that the state of North Carolina has done. Ten thousand people. (interruption on tape)

. . .the morning paper indicates that somebody is moving on that. I think \$8,000 was allotted for the whole month's session. \$1500 a month, in other words, for the biennial interval.

J.B.: The organization of blacks

Friday: Yes, that has become a substantial, of course, I see that dramatically in this Board of Governors. The black movement in North Carolina has become a powerful political force, in my view.

J.B.: What's it meant to the state in politics?

Friday: Well, every candidate courts it very avidly and will continue to do so, in my opinion. And when you get black people,

able young blacks, some of whom we have in the university now, you're going to see that become a better organized political entity in my opinion. Well, I just spent two days in Atlanta with the HEW people on this letter that they sent to ten states. We had the head of the civil rights office right there cross-examining me on this interval. There isn't any doubt in my mind that the federal government is going to move through the courts to bring about substantial changes in the so-called dual system of education in the south. And make that a tremendously powerful weapon. They can cut off your federal funds. They can do this now, apparently. They are going to move into the private institutions on the same basis, they are just not doing it right now, but I asked him that direct question. With Duke University, for example, they get substantial sums of federal money. Why not Duke too? Or Davidson or any of the others? It's just a matter of time. And they will. Because this is looked upon as a vehicle now. I'll use his own words, "We are going to correct a hundred years of misdirection." That's what he said. "And you are going to be the process in which this is achieved." Well, the problem turns on their understanding of this process. They don't understand universities in my opinion. This was quickly shown yesterday when we got into an argument about tenure. One of his requirements was that when you had a tenured position become vacant at Chapel Hill, you've got to look over the other fifteen institutions, tenured and non-tenured, preferably for

a black and give him a chance at that professorship. Well, that's absurd. You don't work that way. Tenure is a locally conferred relationship. It's a contractual relationship between you and Duke University if you have it at Duke. Well, these kinds of problems have got to be thrashed out. But, having done all those things, you can see clearly that the federal pressure is there. I would guess that Mr. Nixon made commitments that this would be done. Interestingly enough, whereas three years these people would say never identify, don't count blacks, don't do this, none of this, it's the basic line of everything you represent now. And then, you talk to the black institution president, he is mortally afraid that somebody is going to say in Greensboro where you've got UNC-G and A&T, you've got to merge them. Why have two? You know, they're about three miles apart. That's the last thing that the black leaders want.

W.D.V.: The administration up there is about

Friday: The chancellor at N.C. Central told that the last real problem he had was when he found out that he had fifteen percent of that faculty white, because according to HEW, it's got to be thirty percent white. And the student body has got to reflect the racial balance within the state. Well, you tell me how to pull that off, short of pupil assignment. It's still an arena in which there is choice, you know. Higher education. They are getting too

far off. Yes, the black organization, I think, is a strong, powerful and is organized and will become more so of a political force in the state. I think that the acceleration of location of companies in the Piedmont region of the state has clearly manifested the Republican conception of government in a lot of ways. When you go down to Charlotte and attend meetings as I do from time to time, with the business leadership, you quickly see it's not Democratic in the tradition of the south twenty years ago. Not at all. These are bright young executives who are down there from American DuPont or RCA or companies like these. . .

W.D.V.: Do you think these changes are long-range and permanent? Some people argue that the 1972 election was sort of an abberation, a political accident.

Friday: You mean Nixon?

W.D.V.: No, Helms and Holshouser and that things will go back to normal in 1974 and '76. It's not really a long range change.

Friday: I think Helms's election was the negative side of what I told you about the sixties. I think Holshouser's election was entirely different. I think that the people there were responding to his thesis of change. They looked upon him as a clean, bright young face. They were sick and tired of the structural organization that was behind the past. And I think that if the Republican party got themselves a clean bright face, he would win hands down. In this state. I really do.

W.D.V.: So, you think it's a basic change?

Friday: I do. I think it's a change in attitude toward government and what it does and what it's there to do, that's coming about. It's not party. You're going to watch the party scramble to catch up with this. I'm convinced this is right. In idle times, driving around the state, I've often wondered which Democrat the Republicans could entice over to the party to win. They don't have one on the horizon, in my opinion. But if you could move around in this state and pick someone who has enormous respect, who people felt that way toward, like a character in the old days. Judge John J. Parker ran as a Republican in this state a hundred years ago or whenever it was, because the Democrats repudiated and he damn near won it then. But that was Parker's integrity showing, the quality of the man and this is what a lot of people are going to vote for.

W.D.V.: Did television bring this about?

Friday: Substantially, yes. I believe that. I think that camera has a way of transmitting a man's face and eyes and mind and way of speaking and style that is totally revealing.

W.D.V.: These television appearances are important in the south, in North Carolina, as everywhere else.

Friday: Yes.

W.D.V.: You know, one of the things I first heard when I first came down here is that politics in the south are different than they are in the north. People learn differently, they don't use t.v. as they

do in the north. But everything I've seen since I've been here suggests that that's not true. It's absolutely the same way and they are behaving the same way, comparable to other regions.

Friday: Well, if Sam Ervin had come on this campus five years ago he would have been hooted by these people. When he came, and five or six thousand of them sat over here to hear him speak the other night, it was an entirely different context. They haven't forgotten about Sam Ervin's attitudes about race, but they see him as the man who is "tidying up things," to use the expression of one of them. He's doing something about the rottenness in government. And you add on things like Mr. Nixon's tax payments on a million dollars income, you keep piling this stuff up, I think all that does is vastly exaggerate in the minds of people the wrongness of government and they are going to look for somebody to ride in on a great white horse and save us all. That's a dangerous thing in some ways, but it's why I don't think that Edward Kennedy. . .well, let me put it this way. He might win the Democratic nomination, he might even be elected President, but he can't govern the country in the sense that I think he would have to, because people don't trust him. Now, I read in Harpers, if you saw that article of the analysis made in Illinois recently? A few months back, now. Well, the net result of that thing was precisely that. And here's where the President is going to have a serious problem of credibility. Because, if Mr. Kennedy becomes the nominee and they are going to go after him the way they went after

Nixon and Agnew, then, the public is going to thoroughly condemn him for failure to treat people an equal way. I hear this in the circles that I move in all the time. What will the New York Times do about Chappaquidick? That's a fair question. Because I don't believe the American public knows about Chappaquidick. And if he is going to be President of the United States, they are going to find out. Or the press is going to be fairly condemned for not finding out.

W.D.V.: You think that Holshouser benefited from that whole climate of a need for a fresh young face in the south and a change. How do you assess the one year that he's been in?

Friday: I think he was totally suprised when he got it, to tell you the truth. He's there, and I think these were factors in it. Well, he's had some very difficut problems. First, I'd say from my point of view, I haven't had a governor that cooperated more with me. I've had no problems at all. We talk constantly, work together constantly. He's got a problem of staffing, in the sense that there's no man of real solid experience around him, like we had Rankin, or Buchanan or Paul Johnson who served with Hodges and Terry and Dan Moore and people like that. He's got some people around him who really are troublemakers in the eyes of some people. They are obstacles, let me put it that way. Well, I haven't worried about that, because I don't have to deal with them. I work directly with him. He got by with a program that I thought was pretty substantial. The last time. Teacher's

salaries, university programs, everything he's set out to do, he's achieved. Of course, it will get a lot tighter now. And the big question he will have to face this session is whether or not he's going to go along with that 40 million dollar tax cut, nor however much it was that Mr. Ramsey put through the Finance Committee the other day. I think that happened and all of them really weren't aware of it. But put yourself in his position. Here he is with an Advisory Budget Commission that has twelve votes and eight of them are in the Democratic Party. He is not a voting member, all he can do is try to influence them. I think that the rhubarb that they got into about and Jim Hunt's sortie through the investigating committee backfired on Hunt, not Holshouser. And the best illustration of that, did you get this issue, have you seen North Carolina this month? That leading editorial. They just jumped all over Jim Hunt about this and that was the business community of this state talking. That editorial wouldn't have been written if that group hadn't approved of the posture of those words. They are very blunt words. I think it's too early to judge him, we won't really know until we get through this session. People really didn't know where they were last time. You know, this is a big surprise.

W.D.V.: Along that same line, looking back twenty-five years, which administrations would you single out as the most important or rather as having the most lasting effect on the state?

Friday: Well, I think each of them had. I think Terry's work in education has certainly been a sustaining force in the state. Luther Hodges's industrialization program and the Technical Institute program made a contribution. If Dan Moore were fifteen years younger, he's the kind of man that could run and win this time, because people looked upon him. . .the word integrity had a living symbolism in him. He was a man everybody trusted. I know people around him were in the same political band that you run into in many other groups, but never once did I ever question what that man was doing. There was only one time that we ever got into a real argument and that was over somebody they wanted to knock off the Board of Trustees for purely political reasons. It was because the two sat right over here in a conference deciding which one of them was going to run for governor and I sat right there and listened to the discussion and something fell apart during 48 hours. It caused a very sharp deterioration between the two men. Somehow, apparently, that had to carry over into the administration, so you just cut him off. That's one reason I don't want to get into politics. Personally, I don't believe in doing that kind of thing. I think they wasted an enormous talent there. He could have been a tremendous assest to his administration. Bob Scott, I had more tension with him than all the other governors ppt together. In this restructuring article, but in the end, he thought it through. I think that reorganization of state gvernment has yet to be proven. I don't think that you can show demonstrably the dollars that they talked about in

trying to put the thing through. Nobody's come up with an audit on it so far as I can see. But I think North Carolina could easily elect a Republican governor if he fits this other formula, next time. They can elect a Democrat for the same reasons.

W.D.V.: Do you see any people coming out of the Democratic or Republican Parties?

Friday: Well, I really haven't thought about it, locally. I've been worrying about it nationally, because of all the shift in politics nationally. Yes, there are people in this state who fit that mold. I can give you one illustration of a man that you can take, David Britt, who's on the Court of Appeals, he was Speaker of the House. A man who had enormous influence in his time. He's not that forceful a man, but I'm not sure that people are willing to listen this time, in the process, or that the charismatic quotient is going to be anywhere near as great as the other. The best way I know of illustrating that, Mr. De Vries. . .I watched the New Jersey election pretty carefully this time. That fellow had never touched politics before. He just walked in. Now, there are mitigating circumstances about the other candidate to be sure, and all that, but I don't believe that you could ever convince me that that fellow going on the tube, saying what he said and the manner in which he said it and given the context in which he had to campaign, it would have been very difficult for him to have lost. He would have had to cause it himself. The way he had the issues drawn and the thing organized. In my opinion. I'm too close to most

of these people to answer you at this stage. I don't really know. I'm relatively certain of what I'm saying. Because I watch them and I've seen some good men fall because they got caught, not themselves, but the circumstances around them pulled them down and they failed an election in this way. But it isn't going to be charisma, not at all. It's going to be issue oriented and integrity oriented. People are going to want to know what you really stand for and how much am I going to have to pay for it, and what does it mean and do you mean what you say. I think they have ways of deciding that now that they haven't had heretofore.

J.B.: How fertile do you see North Carolina in so far as the potential for a Populist candidate putting together in effect the black vote, the Humphrey vote and the Wallace vote?

Friday: Well, I don't think that North Carolina would ever take a Henry Howell.

J.B.: Why?

Friday: I think they would look upon him, if he were that type of personality, as you say, quick to get. . .it's going to be the other way around, the man, and people will go to him, rather than the coalition producing a candidate. That sounds crazy, I know, but you saw what happened to him the second time around. For a man like Louis to completely reverse the party label and then go in here and knock off the number one Populist adventurer there had been in the last hundred years, was really a remarkable achievement on

part. Well, I don't think that we all have to watch, but it's going to happen. We're now deciding to cut back on environmental controls because of the energy problem. We're going to pump more sulphur into the air. We're going to do a lot of things like this. Oil companies want this and the utilities companies want this and so on and so on. Well, how is the public going to respond to this? I don't think I know.

J.B.: Let me ask you a much broader question. That is, you came back after World War II in law school and were in the same class with Terry Sanford. The question is that all across the south, a lot of people who are governors now, congressmen, senators and high political office holders who have been legislative leaders in this whole theory of vast change. And a lot of that leadership has come out of that same basic, law-school class of that same year in all of these southern states. My question is, what was the impact of World War II in so far as the quality of leadership in the south in the last quarter century.

Friday: Well, in the first place, let me say from the experience here, you had the experience of five years coming together at one time. You had a five year span. There were really no law schools from 1941 to 1945 and '46. There was a concentration for one thing. Second thing, we were all a good deal older. The average age of that class was 26 or 27, somewhere along in there. So, most people had a

clear vision of what they wanted to do. And it was the hardest working group of people that I've ever associated with. Day and night, straight through. Finish law school in two and a half years. Not a single member of that group failed the bar exam. And I think that everybody came out of that experience feeling. . .well, no, I tie it more directly to Chapel Hill. In this state, most of the people that you are talking about, Jack, were undergraduates here. They had a sense of mission about the state that I like to think the University instills in people. They were all, if I may put it this way, disciples of Frank Graham, in a lot of ways. And he was very much a very active force then, you know. On his way to the senate just a year later, when we all graduated. This coalition of things brought out this particular increment of leadership, if you want to put it that way. It's still a very powerful force in this state. Terry, Bill Leas, Brock, who heads the circuit court here, we were all here in school together. Now, the query as to what has happened since then. Well, in the fifties, it seemed to me that the student generation just decided to quiet down and we had had a long war, a terrible war. They were just interested in other things. Then, you go through this decade that we just experienced in the sixties which was born for reasons both of you know, and we are now in another cycle like the early fifties. Students have just sort of settled down here and are tending to their own things, but in an entirely different context than I experienced here from '50 to '55. It was a more or

less self-contained, inside the University syndrome. This is entirely externally oriented. One of the last conversations that I've had with students in here the other day, is over the state-wide organization of PIRG group. . .what's it stand for?

J.B.: Public Interest Research Group.

Friday: That's right. That's what they want to get into now. They aren't worrying about management any more, they're not worrying about course content. They won a lot of those battles. They can take the courses they want, they can put together a degree program. Most of them are intense in the sense of getting themselves qualified. It's just entirely internally oriented, but now beginning to move out. Like this Public Interest group.

J.B.: Did this World War II experience have an effect? Because this same group, this same class, basically in South Carolina were products of South Carolina schools. You know, Bob McNair, Fritz Hallings, John West were all in that same class that you were in at North Carolina. And how much effect did this World War II experience have?

Friday: Well, I can only speak personally there, but it certainly developed a notion of internationalism in the minds of everybody at that time. You know, we can't live in an isolationist concept. That's something that's gone now, the world is too small. We found out, in great measure, what technology could do. It became a tremendously powerful force in human society at the end of World War II. It also brought integration, in the sense of your relationships in the

service, showed you that what you had heard all your life was not necessarily true. Now, we had one hell of a race riot, right on the base where I was on duty one night. You can look around at the service experiences of people, as you move from '43 to '44 to '45, these things diminished. People begin to understand that you could live together and work together. But it was a long way coming and we haven't got there yet. We've been moving, but this is one of the things you learned to appreciate out of World War II. But you found yourself, you know, with your father and your mother and your uncles and your aunts, they didn't think this at all.

J.B.: The south has gone through, you know, sixty or seventy years of social and economic and cultural stagnation, in a sense, up until World War II and then it sort of entered this modern period. People like yourself, was that a force, and for the people that you knew in law school who have gone on in the state in other ways?

Friday: Well, the War had a profound influence on me, I can tell you that. I was thrown with people from all over the United States and you really had to measure. . .

J.B.: Was there any sense of coming back to a region and wanting to get things moving here?

Friday: Yes, that's a substantial factor. You saw other regions of the country. You saw what was being achieved, you understood why you had so many poor people, some of whom were you kin. You saw

the enormous loss from the lack of education. Dramatically illustrated were the problems of poor health with the highest draft rejection of eight among the fifty states at the time, or forty-eight states. This state was in that position at one time. Yes, you developed these concerns. I don't mean now, in any sense except that you want to share a little bit of what you've got, if you can or if you have an opportunity. You do your part. This is what I think is really a part of the University at Chapel Hill. In your experience here, you learn that every citizen owes the state a little something. That is, you are going to have to contribute something of yourself. This is the difference. Woodrow Wilson introduced this theme at Princeton when he was president there. It's the citizenship quotient that I think is very important. I think that most of the people you are talking about really believed this, that you cannot always be always taking, you've got to give some. Wherever you find your level of giving, you do it. And when you do it in one level, sometimes it leads to this and to this. People move on. I don't mean in any vain sense, now, any self-advantage. I really think it's a part of what people loosely refer here to as the "spirit of Chapel Hill." It's true, it has been since I've known it. And I hope that nothing ever changes it.

W.D.V.: Is the south any less of a region today than it was in 1948? I mean, are there regional differences and how has it changed?

Friday: I think there are sections of the south that are a lot different from other parts of the south. You can't sit in Atlanta,

the way I did yesterday, and move around in that city and then drive down to Valdosta or some other city, and feel like your are in the same place at all.

W.D.V.: What I'm getting at, is that we all believe that the south had certain characteristics back in 1948 that really defined it as a particular region of the country. . .

Friday: Do you mean by that, agrarian, easier living style, hunting and fishing on Friday and Saturday, this kind of thing?

W.D.V.: Well, its sense of history and so on.

Friday: I don't think it's lost its sense of history, at all.

W.D.V.: How has it changed in that twenty-five year period?

Friday: Well, it's moving a lot faster. It's more aggressive and seeking the right kind of industry, if that's the way to put it. Not more of same, but better. It's interested, obviously, now more in its natural resources. Not only their utilization, but their preservation. This state's doing an awful lot in these dimensions. Look at the expenditures in schools. Seventy cents out of every tax dollar spent in this state right now, goes to education. That's an enormous committment for a region. And it's, I think, quite to the credit of this state. It's a part of the national fabric in a way that it wasn't twenty-five years ago, simply because we all are. And we have aggressively sought to be, I think, in a lot of ways. Look at Charlotte, look at the Research Triangle. You would never have heard of this a quarter of a century ago.

W.D.V.: How is it still distinctive?

Friday: Well, I think it's distinctive because many of the characteristics you refer to still exist. It's still an agricultural area, it still has a lot of trees and you can be yourself in the sense that you're not crowded into a vast metropolitan region where identity gets lost. There are not really major cities in the region, in terms of population. There are sprawling cities, to be sure. I think there is still enough of the common base line. This is the way the universities are, see. When we all sit down together, starting with Vanderbilt, moving around to Tulane and come on up to Johns Hopkins, this loop in here, it's been very interesting to watch this change. I've been sitting there now for eighteen years watching presidents come and go and chancellors come and go. What's interested me so much of late is how many of their replacements are southerners themselves. *Heard* goes to Vanderbilt, four men out of here have gone into other universities in the south, Steve Muller goes into Johns Hopkins, but he was there and I think this says something about it. I think it says that they want to be sure that the new leadership that's being brought in is aware and part of what's happening nationally. But you also hope to find that its base rootage is in the regional notion. Freedom, as manifested here, freedom of discretion, freedom of debate, and of the institution itself. A willingness to change and be demonstrable about change. Don't let somebody bring it to you, be

aggressive about it yourself in the institution. This is what I think this place has done. You go back and look at this interval of time and see what the University did in terms of better health programs in North Carolina, schools, highways, farm development, you'll see that it was right out of these campuses that all these ideas came. Every single one of them. I've been in meetings with governors where the first thing they'd do is to call in all the brain power in the institution and say, "What idea have you got?", "What idea have you got?" Well, you sift through them and you take four or five and off you go.

W.D.V.: On that point, I attended the governor's conferences for seven years with Romney and it always struck me that the southern governors had some kind of alignment, or they worked together, as distinct from the other regions of the country. Do you detect that among the university presidents?

Friday: Sure.

W.D.V.: Why is that?

Friday: Well, let me give you an economic answer. Wednesday night in Atlanta, the representatives from Virginia, Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee and North Carolina were sitting around at supper together. The question was, who will build the next school of veterinary medicine? Economics is one answer to this question, because the four of us can't spend twenty million dollars apiece to build independent schools. We don't have the resources in the south to do that. Obviously, there isn't a need to do it. But it's because we've got the mechanism to

sit down this way and "I know you and you know me and you know what is at Charlottesville and you know what's at Chapel Hill and let's see if we can't get together." (interruption of tape. End of side A). . .and it's this idea, which doesn't happen in other regions of the country, apparently.

J.B.: What's SREB's role in this?

Friday: Well, it's supposed to be the catalytic agent, Jack. It brings us together. It's going to be on this one, because we turned to Godwin and said, "Now, you get us back together here on January 9th and make some sense out of this." Because Georgia has a particular problem. We're all consumers and we're taking most of their spaces. South Carolina doesn't have a school. Move right on up the belt, from Georgia to Maryland, and this is what we're constituted to do and it's a part of what you say. The governors themselves took the initiative but this idea was stimulated here. The three directors of this SREB have all been Chapel Hill men.

and . It all came out of Howard Odum's classes on southern social forces, in the southern region. You can trace it just as clearly as you can run a line in the creek. But, I don't know, maybe it's something that's fuzzy in terms of definition, but there's a desire to do this, let me put it that way. I enjoy sitting down with these other eight or nine fellows. We all swap off ideas, we take people from each other, but increasingly, we are getting

together to do things, because we feel that it doesn't make a lot of sense for everybody to be duplicating everybody else. We can't afford it anymore.

J.B.: Yeah, but it appears to be unique.

Friday: Well, it is unique. It really is. I've watched the Big Ten and this, I would guess such intense competition in some areas of the Big Ten that you never show your face cards. Around here, the press is so vigorous, you never have an idea that isn't printed somewhere before the nightfall.

W.D.V.: Do you see this continuing in the next ten or twenty years in the south?

Friday: No question about it. I think it will grow. Whether the SREB will or not is another question, but the institutional relationships will and it will include the private institutions. There are very sound reasons for that. Take this state, we're putting five million dollars into private education this year. Direct legislative subsidy. It's allegedly student aid, but it works out to be an effective general fund appropriation. I believe that the private sector is going to become more dependent on state and federal appropriations. There's no way you can keep in the business if you keep going up with tuition. What's Duke now, four thousand dollars a year? Something like that. And in truth, we have too many private institutions around the region. We'd be better off if some of them didn't continue and there may be too many public institutions, born

of the dual system. But that one has a tremendous federal obstacle in front of it. Because one of the things Mr. Holms says to us, "You show the slightest decline in the number of black faculty members in a black institution, that's prima facie evidence that you are not removing your segregation barrier." So, that will take time to wear through, but in ten years, it'll be a different attitude. I've seen it in the last ten years go from one extreme to the other. But, inter-institutional cooperation, yes. I think we can and find new ways, really. More involvement. I would guess for example, maybe two of these states that sat down Wednesday will decide that there be one school built between them. The other will contract for the spaces at a rate that is justified. The building state will undertake the cost. In other words, you say out of a class of 80, we'll buy 40 spaces and tell you how that we'll pay seven thousand, eight thousand dollars a year for each space taken. Well, there's half the operating budget cost. We don't have to spend twenty million dollars to build the buildings, he does. He wants to for other reasons. Now, the veterinary medicine group in our state want that plant here. So, it's more than just teaching and training of people, it's a research center, where you send diseased animals to get diagnosed, treated, operated on and so on. But we have that part of it in operation at present. That's a good illustration of the kind of cooperation that I see coming. And there will be other avenues of it.

J.B.: Getting back to that situation, where was it, Johnston County where the commissioners turned down the plant?

Friday: Yes.

J.B.: Is there any overt, or covert, really, probably if there is any, effort or pressure exerted by the dominant industries in North Carolina to keep these high wage industries out?

Friday: Well, you read that, that was the essence of everything that was said there.

J.B.: Well, yes, that was true. They seem to exert that kind of pressure.

Friday: What happens is that one of these industries comes in that has an employment level of a thousand or fifteen hundred people, the cream of the working capacity moves toward it. Go down to Cumberland County and find out what happened when Kelly-Springfield moved in there with that tire plant. You'll probably notice that it's expanding its capacity a hundred per cent. They pay very high wages, of course, it's very hard, hot work. But somebody was sitting in here the other day, talking to us about that very case. It really created some turmoil in the county because every good worker wanted to get that six dollars an hour or whatever it was they were paying. Well, having worked in cotton mills myself, I can tell you. I made 18½¢ an hour when Mr. Roosevelt became president. And when he became president, I made 37½¢ an hour the next day. I was a Democrat forever after that. That's exactly the reaction, see. Doing exactly the same work, but he

came in and gave people a new economic dimension, a new hope.

J.B.: These are also the same, the basic industries in North Carolina, their connection with the other economic forces in the state, a lot of the directors of banks and insurance companies, as well as these industries are the sources of political campaign financing.

Friday: Jack, I don't believe that the new generation of leadership in the banking system is going to think that way. I don't think the young Luther Hodges sees the future of NCNB in that kind of context at all. He can only be for a growing economy and a higher wage scale. His banking system won't be sustained if he doesn't. Banks operating today are quite different from what they were twenty-five years ago.

J.B.: Is that going to result in a different sort of political leadership, you think, on the local level who would accept these kind of industries coming in?

Friday: I think it will have to. How can we continue to pay for the demands of the public for public services without increasing the tax base? And we certainly aren't going to do that through property tax, you're going to do it through industry tax. It doesn't bother these people, as long as they make six dollars an hour, you know. He's paying his income tax, o.k. This man wants to come here, o.k., I'm getting more out of it, you're getting a bigger tax base in the county, x, y, z and so on. Now, the enviromental conditions are

going to enter into this. I just don't see that mentality controlling in the next ten or fifteen years.

J.B.: But it is controlling now?

Friday: To some extent. But you watch.

J.B.: Is this going to be one of the coming changes?

Friday: Well, in our state, you've got some related problems. Look at the tobacco industry. It's been going down. The cigarette production. It's going to continue to do that. What's R.J. Reynolds done? It's diversified all over the place. It owns a pineapple company, it's in sports, Liggett and Myers is a big whiskey organization now, didn't they say that 55% of their gross income this year was from non-tobacco products? Well, this is the kind of transition that is going to take place. But in those areas, they're not the low income productivity that we think, if I read correctly what they are doing. And of course, the more you get into those industries that are national in involvement, the further you are going to unionize. And that's going to happen.

J.B.: That's sort of my next question. Do you think that unionization is going to grow?

Friday: I think it will grow. The more diversify and more particularly, the more you become involved with national and inter-national industrial combines, it's just inevitable.

J.B.: What's going to be the long range political effect of that?

Friday: Well, I don't think that if unions don't straighten up on a lot of things, they aren't going to be the political force they were in the days of Mr. Roosevelt. At all. People are getting a little tired of bossism there too. Even the unions. Didn't you see that in the last election? You even saw that in the last convention here, for the first time, an abortive anti-Wilbur Hobby manifestation, which I had never heard of. But people get a little tired of this kind of thing and there is really a new generation of leadership coming out of this. The young people I talk to, who are five years out of Chapel Hill, couldn't care less for the traditional leadership type that we are talking about. Not at all. They are thinking of their generation and what they are going to do. They'll be polite, in the southern region, they'll be courteous, but they are going to be rock hard. They are going to be quite different. That's the way I see it, do you disagree with me?

J.B.: No, I agree.

W.D.V.: How about the university ten years from now? What's it going to look like?

Friday: Well, it's going to be stabilized, it isn't going to grow by any means like it did in the last ten years.

J.B.: Are these younger people, are they thinking in effect of taking on the establishment?

Friday: They will replace it.

J.B.: Replace it with what?

Friday: I don't think that you are going to have any face-to-face confrontation in trying to take over, I just think that the way things have grown and the management base has had to widen, much as you saw down there in the NCNB elections down in Charlotte very recently. They didn't pick one man, did you notice that, they picked three. Now, why did they do that? They didn't want to lose any one of those three. You make one of them the head man and the other two go. It showed you that in that relationship down there, they needed the three capacities that were in that contest. Addison Reese had developed three very strong individuals. There won't be another Addison Reese in that bank building until Tom Storrs (?) is ready to do what he's going to do. He's moving up into Addison's position, but it's just going to be a different relationship, altogether. It's just the way that generations change things. And you can see that in some of the industrial structure in this state. There's no dominant controlling force like Jim Grey was in Winston-Salem. That man was an enormously powerful man in North Carolina. There's no one central figure like that, as I can see, maybe I just don't see it, but there are now a half-dozen people.

J.B.: Who would these half-dozen people be?

Friday: Well, you are going to have a consensus grow out of this, Jack, and if I had to look around the state right now and identify

names of people, I'd think in terms of Luther Hodges, Jr., and Bland Worely (?) and Ruffin and the whole new generation of leadership in the Burlington complex now, in the Reynolds complex and almost everyone of these industries. But there's another factor here. There has been a lot of new ones that have grown up, that are big money. You can go into the Raleigh area and find this in data processing, oh, many of these things that were at one time peripheral things that are now very much primary industries in this state that have a whole new generation of people that have no connection whatsoever with the group that you and I are talking about. Except to borrow money from them. Now, they put them on their boards once in a while, but always keeping control though, I would guess, to themselves. There's an independence about it, that's really what I'm saying. When I came into this picture, you could count ten men in the business arena of this state and that dang-burned near covered it. Bob Hanes, you can get into that clique, Bob Hanes, Jim Grey, in Charlotte, one or two down there, it was very tightly controlled. We had them all on the board of directors of the Business Foundation at one time up here and I used to sit there and look at that group and utterly marvel at the fact that you could bring that much power into one room. Into one operation and they could sit down together and work, that's what was amazing about it. (interruption on tape)

W.D.V.: . . .was there a parallel type of situation.

Friday: They weren't that separate.

J.B.: Is leadership becoming much more diffused in North Carolina?

Friday: I think so.

J.B.: Do you see it continuing that way?

Friday: Yes.

J.B.: So, the force of television becomes even more significant then, doesn't it?

Friday: Well, this is just one man's view, but if I were the campaign manager of a good, solid, hard candidate, I'd spend my money there and not in newspapers. I'd move him there and I'd move him around where he can see people, shaking hands with them in shopping centers and so on. You'd do some of the newspaper thing, but it's not your big deal, not now.

J.B.: How do you best utilize television effectively in that context?

Friday: Well, let me tell you about this to answer your question in another way. I happened to be on the board of PBS and the question was who would be chosen to go on the board of CPB, the parent corporation. The big argument in that whole selection process was whether or not the potential nominee agreed with President Nixon's view about public issue telecasting on the public television network. (interruption on the tape)

W.D.V.: . . .and they mean that almost exclusively, you know. And

newspapers have dropped donw now to about 20 or 25%.

Friday: People don't read anymore. You take twelve citizens and ask, "Which magazines do you read carefully monthly? Harper's, Atlantic, which one do you choose?" You'll be lucky in half the instances to find out they even take one. Time and Newsweek, they're the standard fare, like the morning paper, but I'll bet that half the people don't really read them. I mean really seriously read them. I think newspapers are a really tremendous force, and God knows what would happen in this state if we didn't have the quality of the press that we have. Some of the red-neck movements would have run over this university long ago. And it's enormously important circumstance in North Carolina, I think. I'm sure that my life would be ten times more awful if they weren't there.

W.D.V.: I wonder why nobody has really looked into that. Why you have that situation here in this state, in terms of the number of papers and the quality of them and I've never seen anybody write about them or really think about it.

Friday: Well, in the News and Observer's case, you've got the tradition of Mr. Josephus Daniels, who was a powerful force in this state, but I mean that the newspaper to him was what you and I are saying that television is to the average citizen now. Well, look around at the editorial boards of them and see how many of them have had connections with this place. Either as students, graduates, short course participants, and so on. In every instance, major

segments of the staffs of these newspapers are Chapel Hill people. Bill Snyder, Ed *Yoder*, just call the roll, Jonathan Daniels, McKnight's crowd down there. Now, they've changed some in the last five years, but there was a time when every editor of every one of these papers had been to school here.

W.D.V.: Maybe you're right. Leo Jenkins ought to get a School of Journalism first, and then maybe he can get his School of Medicine.

Friday: Well, that takes a long time. It takes a generation to develop this. Oh, he'll get a School of Medicine, one way or another apparently.

J.B.: I'll tell you what told us, if Leo really
wanted that school

Friday: Well, the wonderful thing about this is that these people feel completely free to criticize this place. The harshest criticism I've ever seen here came from one of these editors. And a lot of it was justified. We were just off on the wrong track.

W.D.V.: How is the consolidated system working?

Friday: Well, I think it's too early to say right now, I think it's undergoing a pretty severe political test right now.

J.B.: This medical school problem.

Friday: That plus the fact that within itself, the Board itself is split into factions. The trustees of former black institutions, former regional universities, it's not a melded, functioning entity yet.

There's as much politics within it as there is between it and Raleigh,

if I may put it that way. It's the best answer that any state has come up with yet as to what to do with this problem, but it hasn't proved itself yet.

J.B.: How significant is what the legislature does on that medical college at East Carolina, in so far as the structure of higher education?

Friday: Well. . .

J.B.: Is that the key test?

Friday: Let me put it to you this way. If you were one of the people that had been sitting in here with Bill Friday for three months, talking about a veterinary medicine school and you see that happen. And Friday says to you, "But you stay within the process and work it through." Are you going to stay with that, if you're politically based? You certainly are not. That's exactly what they're watching. Now, you multiply that by the entities that want a law school at Charlotte built, very badly, and you can see what can happen. It'll get fragmented. The basic point, Jack, is that you spend all your time doing these things when there is so much more important work to be done. And it wears you out. I don't mean that it doesn't make you anxious or anything like that, you just get bored with it after a while, you know. Day after day after day.

W.D.V.: My experience with that, the State Board of Education was supposed to plan in Michigan, and John Hanna (?) went around Governor Romney, and it was over.

Friday: Well, Hanna was a past master at this kind of thing.

W.D.V.: When that happened, they all went their separate ways and. . .

Friday: Well, that's what will happen here. If you're smart about it, if I were a chancellor at Charlotte, I'd give me pluperfect hell from here on, getting what I wanted. This is a way to do it. It can be done. But the interesting thing about the state, speaking politically, this is one of the thought's Jay's always had and I think it's a very valid one: Look at the structure of arrangement of politics in North Carolina from here to the ocean. It's a well integrated, seniority based, very homogeneous based structure. From here to Forrest City, these people never even sit down together. The legislators, they don't begin to realize the power that they have. They just never get together on anything. And they let the eastern bloc run off with the whole business. You can demonstrate this with case history after case history.

J.B.: Who are two or three of the most powerful men in the legislature?

Friday: I don't know if there is one right now. John ^{Burney}~~Burney~~ (2) was, to tell you the truth. Is it '73 when he was there the last time? No, '72. Lindsay Warren was at one time, Knox from Charlotte is going to be a powerful force, maybe Ralph Scott I'd have to rate in that group. I'd add the word "respect" too, I think a lot of people respect Ralph. On the House side, you've got a lot of people who've been in there a long time, but whether they can command that kind of respect or not, is the question. Ramsey is. . .well, there's a lot of

criticism of the Speaker right now. Not showing really strong leadership. He had his chance, maybe it's gotten by him, I don't know. It's more fractionalism right now, Jack, they haven't come together anywhere, as I can see, around any one or two very strong people. You don't see this manifested.

J.B.: What was Ralph Scott's role in Bob Scott's administration?

Friday: He was a shadow. Always in there. He disagreed with Robert on a lot of things, he told me so.

J.B.: Was he a primary advisor.

W.D.V.: Well, even he had trouble getting to Bob.

Friday: Well, Robert's primary advisor was Ben Rooney, in my opinion. Just judging by what I thought of Ben's background. Hodges had a different arrangement, Moore had a different one and Terry, a third. They all do it differently.

J.B.: What is the role of Ed Gill in state government?

Friday: Well, it comes and goes. He was very strong in the Moore administration. In the Sanford administration, he just wasn't there at all. But his knowledge of fiscal matters and economic trends makes him a factor to reckon with. You can't move in certain areas without his support, I'll tell you that. I'll put it the other way around, he can hurt you, if you do. Just by raising a question about fiscal integrity and he can destroy you. As he has done some people from time to time. He's a man that supports this place, very strenuously

He grew up in the Gardner tradition and went through some pretty bruising battles in politics and he's a wily old combat veteran, I can tell you that.

J.B.: How is the budget put together?

Friday: Now? I don't think anybody over there could tell you this morning, Jack. We've been trying to help them, but I swear they. . . I spent forty minutes with Holshouser on the phone this morning arguing this very thing and that buzz there was that he had called back to our finance office and wanted to check something out. See, what happened is that you moved from a Democratically dominated and controlled staff-adviser-commission relationship to one that is entirely different. And most of the members of the new Advisory Budget Commission didn't have the slightest idea what was going on when they took that appointment.

J.B.: Now, who appoints that?

Friday: Well, they are automatic, you know, in terms of the House and Senate Appropriations Finance Chairmen, and then they reconstitute, . . . Holshouser appointed four, didn't he, or three?

J.B.: Yeah, four, I believe.

Friday: Charlie Jonas, and. . .

J.B.: The Democrats are larger, so they can keep control.

Friday: That's the whole idea, to dominate it. But the real struggle right now is over the shift away from line item budgeting. When you've

got a budget as big as this thing now, you can't possibly do what some of the older people want. They want to open that book and see where every nickel of that money went, you know. Horticultural research, or this or that. But that day is gone. But it's painful, and you just have to take your time in working through. Our disagreement with them right now is on the fact that, you remember that the statute categorically asserts that you shall appropriate these dollars in a lump sum to the Board of Governors. They are trying to go back of that now and say, "Yeah, it's out here in one line, but here's where it goes." And if you start that, you're back where you were in the sixties. It's a terrifying kind of thing.

W.D.V.: I'm not smiling at your misery, because we went through that. We were trying to combine program budgeting with line item and that gave us the worst of both worlds.

Friday: That's what is going to happen here.

W.D.V.: Here's the program budget, but here is how it is line itemed.

Friday: And it isn't all the question of a struggle for power. It's a very inefficient use of the tax dollar. I can prove that. I had it here one time and counted up the pages. And the first 90 days of the fiscal year, we had to type and send to Raleigh, 1700 sheets of paper on change orders. Some of them for as little as five dollars, ten dollars, this kind of thing.

W.D.V.: Can't you transfer between line items.

Friday: That wasn't true then. It's total waste, but no, it's a

power concept, you know, they've got control over you birds, they're not going to let you run off with the treasury. Like you could if you tried! I once told a state budget officer, I said, "The day that the appropriations bill is passed, you take that sum of money and take three per cent right now. Just take it out. Put it over here in this account and give us the rest of it. Have it audited, do anything else you want to in terms of accountability, but don't fool with us, leave us alone. Let us try to run the university the way the legislature thinks it's going to be run." Of course, he'd never do it. But that's what happens every year. It averages out about three per cent enforced reverse. You have a position to become vacant in the last six months of the second year, you couldn't keep that money if you didn't fill it. It would go to the next appointment, they would kick it back in. You have to start another fight all over again. You talk about an exhausting process. This is where you spend time, terribly important time and time that the state is paying a very high rate for, to effectuate this kind of change.

W.D.V.: Is there any chancellor that we ought to see that has a pretty good understanding of state politics

Friday: You ought to talk to John Caldwell. He's been here with me for twelve years, now. At N.C. State, he's a political scientist and he can tell you a lot. All the black chancellors are relatively

new people, Whiting, Lyons, these fellows, have all come on the scene in the last five years. Have you thought of talking to Albert Coates?

W.D.V.: No.

Friday: He's one I'd talk to. The man that founded the Institute of Government, but he knows more about the intricacies of politics in this state than any ten people you can talk to.

W.D.V.: Where does he live?

Friday: Right here, over here back of the. . .Hooper Lane, Albert Coates. And he's got time and he'd talk to you. Really a man of real perception. And a lot of courage. He built the Institute of Government out of his own pocket. The university wouldn't even take him in, wouldn't even support him. He made it an international institution. The Ford Foundation is trying to duplicate it all over the world. Well, they thought of the idea and a publisher, Publications, Joseph Palmer Knapp, saw what Albert was doing down here in Currituck County. That building is the J. Palmer Knapp Building. He gave him the money to build it. Half of it. The state matched the other half, see. But it's a very interesting story, but there's a man who doesn't have any personal involvement. But he raised all of us, Terry, me, all of us, right there in his criminal law class. Everyone of us worked for him and were staff members of the Institute. He knows us better than we know ourselves. Most of us. If you can just get him to talk. Get him started. You

might wind up spending six hours there but it will be one of the most instructive six hours you ever spent, I'll tell you that. Because he known them since way back yonder. He's been actively involved. The transition point, really, that was Max Gardner's administration, moving forward from that. He'd be well worth your effort.

W.D.V.: This is a question based on an assumption, but how significant is the weakness of the governor's office in North Carolina?

Friday: Well, it can become terribly significant. Look at the controversy in this state over the speaker ban. If we'd had the veto power, we'd never have gone through that. It took two more years of ver pervasive hostility, a terribly costly thing in terms of money. Finally wound up with special sessions of the legislature, finally wound up in the federal court. That could have been stopped.

J.B.: Why is there no veto power? Is it just legislative opposition?

Friday: Well, it was written into the constitution that way. And you'll never get it changed, because of the legislative attitude. I've seen it tried three times, and I just don't think they'll ever get it out. And it does weaken that office. Of course, compensation is that the Executive Budget Act in this state makes the governor a very powerful man. As one of them used to say to me, "You give me control of the money and you can have control of everything else. Anything you want to do, go ahead, you have to come to me to get the funding." You know, it's life and death for a lot of agencies.

You know, the questions you raise make you stop and think a minute and you've only been able to sit here and watch something move over twenty-seven years. The important point is that the university is every bit the vital force today that it was then. I think more so. And that has been its history for 180 years. And the reason that it is, is because people believe in it. Because when they come through here and get this experience and be a part of this process, they go out and are committed to it. This is the difference from other state universities, in my opinion. I don't believe you'd ever have a speaker ban controversy in some other state universities. You'd find them banning the speaker themselves, before he ever came to the campus. Indeed, you can find that on the statute books of some of these southern states right now. He shall not speak, or some such regulation. Now, that I think, is really what I'm trying to say. When you've had the heritage that is here and seen what could be achieved in the lives of people since 1900. . .well, I have some reading and speaking acquaintance with most of them. . .this has been the difference, really. It's true in a lot of ways of the University of Michigan, very definitely.

W.D.V.: But not of the other schools.

Friday: No sir. Wayne State, I would never think of it. You don't even mention them in the same breath. It's a very precious thing and in a way, a very difficult thing to define, until you've experienced it. But you just ask Ed Yoder (7) and Bill Snyder, for example, or

Jonathan Daniels. As angry as he gets, or did get, he doesn't any more. I've listened to Jonathan rave on into the night about the University, but you start hurting it and he's the first man in line to defend it. That's what I'm trying to say to you, that there's something about that association and experience that qualitatively is a line of demarcation. You can get the same basic course of instruction, you can get the same degree options, you can go to law school, you can get your doctorate, but there's this identifiable difference. Few institutions have it. In the history of this place, you can go back to Harry Woodward Chase, David Kidder Graham, Frank Porter Graham, but there were men around them that neither you nor Mr. De Vries would ever hear about, but that I know about, that really put that together. Marvin Hendricks Stacy, for example, who was a tremendous force in this university. I've mentioned Odum and I've mentioned these others, but there were dozens of others like Greenlaw in the field of English literature. . . produced some mighty famous writers that you've read in your time, including Bill and Cash and dozens more. The famous Vanderbilt agrarian movement and all of that came out of here. It's. . . well, I don't know how to say it any better. That's a pretty poor expression, but that's what it is. I'm trying to convey a feeling to you. I think that's what inspired Terry Sanford. I've always believed that about him. Terry had that sense of commitment out of his experience here and he was energized in a great way by Albert Coates. He went to work for

Coates, right after he left. He was in the FBI for awhile, for one year, but then he came back here. Am I misstating that?

W.D.V.: No, I think that's right.

Friday: He's been on the periphery looking in, but he's now a part of it, so he can look at it both ways.

W.D.V.: You said that the Helms election represented a darker side of. . .

Friday: Well, he. . . I once told Jesse that I would never criticize him for being inconsistent, because for every waking day that I had known him, he had been consistent in his criticism of the University of North Carolina and he had never varied from it. But he appealed to that sense in all people. He played on fear, he played on. . . he was always. . . well, I'll put it the other way around. I never really believed that he brought out the best in people. And the public at that time was deeply troubled and you know, when you're worried about something and you're afraid of something and disturbed about something, you're not going to be bold and adventurous. You're going to play what's safe, or what you think is safe. That's what happened in part in his election. We had a very damaging internal Democratic fight going on there, where not enough attention was being paid to defeating the Republican candidate. But if there ever was a classic illustration of the effect of television. . . do you think that Jesse Helms could have run a race at all, if he hadn't been a television personality? Not on your life. People were accustomed to seeing him up there

every night.

J.B.: There were about two news

Friday: Yeah. It didn't even get visible at all, in terms of the campaign. But it was just the fact. . .sort of like the polls tell you about Cronkite, you know, he's the father figure for all of America, now. Did you see him the other night when that guy came in. . .

W.D.V.: I missed that show.

Friday: I saw it. It was really a riot. You know, you never think of him blowing his cool. Well, you know, the interesting thing about Mr. Cronkite is that you never see him put himself in a position where anything can happen to him. He's in complete control all the time. And then this character walks in there and put that placard up there, his eyes got that big, and the screen went totally black. Somebody in the control room just threw the master switch. He came back on and you could tell he was very agitated and very nervous, very giggly, unsure of himself, then he settled down and told us what it was. It was quite apparent that the father figure got unnerved one time. (laughter) In contrasting him with John Chancellor, or Rather or some of them, I think Sevaried would have had the same reaction. They are at that age and skill where they are not going to play that game. No, I think Jesse is. . .I've known him since we were freshmen in college together. I've known him a long time. He used the television screen very effectively. You have to give him

credit. He knew how to work it.

W.D.V.: We had one person tell us that what Key said about North Carolina's progressive image, is that Key got seduced by Chapel Hill. The university and the town are different from the rest of the south. Friday: Well, there's some truth in that. Get outside of this triangle, I wouldn't just restrict it to Chapel Hill, because N.C. State has a very substantial Arts and Sciences component now, certainly Duke University and the black institutions in this region have got very good leadership in there too. But you get beyond that grouping and the press, and the war is on. You look at the impact of ^{WBT} ~~WB~~ television. Have you ever watched their editorial commentary? Just like Jesse. Charlie Crutchfield is right of. . .

W.D.V.: William McKinley.

Friday: Yes. He runs that place down there. They started attacking the university with a series of editorials, so I knew I couldn't do anything over here, so I called Crutch up and said, "How about letting me come down and meet with your board?" And I had him cold, they had misstated the thing completely. So, I just put the facts out in front of him and then the argument really started. There wasn't a chance in the world of getting him to take an attitude that even in any way suggested that you might have a fair point of view. And he did this, because three or four of his major stockholders were on this board and I was all set to go to them. Because, they hadn't made a very unbridled attack on us, it was not justified, in

any sense. But see, they found out that this is a way of bringing people to you. "Tell me what I want to hear", all too often. I watched the same thing in Atlanta. You had a WSB yesterday morning, there was a thing on there about the truck drivers who blocked the highways, Governor Carter had said, "I'll have the National Guard arrest them on sight and impound the trucks," and so on. Well, they just didn't report the news story, they put the editorial cartoon up there with a great huge, garish looking character who was the truck driver, you see. He's crushing the whole of society to suit his needs. How do you think that chicken farmer out there in Rome County is going to think about truck drivers? You're not aware of the influence of that on him, but it's real. They know that, they know doggone well what they're doing. It's interesting how they step up just this close to the line, but they won't step over it, sometime. They back away. But this is a tremendously powerful public opinion weapon, I think.

J.B.: Is there anything about North Carolina politics that we didn't ask you that you'd like to comment on?

Friday: I can probably think of a thousand things after you've left, Jack. And I'll take leave to talk with you again. It's something that we have to deal with, because it's our very existence. The university is, I hope, of politics and not in politics. It has to function in the political process. Well, I'd say this. I've noticed in the last ten years more efforts of political figures to

tamper with the university than ever before. Literally to tamper with it. To do things internally. To attack.

W.D.V.: Do you mean in terms of the university's policies or what?

Friday: Yes. To openly attack people. Robert Scott made a speech at Wrightsville Beach personally attacking me one Saturday night, that I had a network that provided me with information before he could even get it himself. And he attacked Jenkins and the same way.

J.B.: What was the story on Scott and Howard Lee

Friday: Well, when, what actually happened. . .

W.D.V.: We need to spend two hours with Howard.

Friday: Did he go over this with you?

J.B.: No. All he said was what his reaction was after he had read Scott's

Friday: Well, I can't recall it that literally, Jack. But as I remember, the sequence was that he had been recommended for an appointment, the opposition generated. We prevailed and had him approved, this was sometime, I guess, Friday, about two in the afternoon. He then went to Washington, and right there on television, openly attacked Robert Scott.

J.B.: Called him a bigot, I think.

Friday: Yes, called him a bigot. And I've forgotten what happened next, but Howard. . .we had to get him and say, "Look, what do you
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think is going to happen now, after you've chosen to do what you did?" Then, did he withdraw, or what happened? It's been so long ago.

W.D.V.: He withdrew.

Friday: Yeah, I think he took himself out. That might be wrong, I just don't recall. But I know that the university had gone all out to get him in and had prevailed within the executive committee to get him appointed and had him appointed and within twenty-four hours.

W.D.V.: Well, did Scott try to keep him from being appointed??

Friday: I don't recall. There was enough division within the board that he was identified with. This was in the executive committee, Jack. I don't remember anything personal toward him, but there was really a lot of hostility. Because he was an elected official, really and to the point. The university tried very carefully to avoid that. Having them involved with staff people. Now, we give people leave to be in the legislature, things like that, but not full time. It was inter-related to other things. You can imagine how some of us felt after having literally sweated blood to put him through and got him in and have that happen, just like you'd take the rug and yank it out from under you, you fall flat on your face. I had said to them, "He's this kind of man. He's a high quality individual. I'm supporting him."

W.D.V.: We're going to ask you one more thing, and then we'll let you go. Can you give us some illustrations of how the university

has been tampered with in the last ten years and how this is done.

Friday: Well, what I'm suggesting is, not so much direct assault, but the kind of thing that this character, John Hanna, would try to do. In terms of the governor's office. . . "what I can't do this way, I will achieve in another direction". . . that's what I'm really saying. The Board of Higher Education was set up and structured this way, without any notice to any of us in any of the institutions whatsoever. A speech gets made one morning saying that we are going to discard the entire structure and the governor is going to assume ^{be} chairmanship of this board and it's going to ~~be~~ reconstituted and it's going to have these political figures on it. See the technique? That very circumstance happened. I got off the airplane, met four legislators in the airport over here one night, and one of them just carelessly slipped the phrase, "Do you know about tomorrow?" And I said, "What are you talking about?" He said, "I've said too much already." The next day, this speech gets made and this happened. And the issue gets joined. That complex versus this complex. They beat it down into its position, beat it down into its "proper place", to quote. This is not something unusual in state universities, you had the experience in Michigan, too, I'm sure. In North Carolina, this kind of thing didn't happen until the last ten or fifteen years. Well, I think its real impetus came from the public's response to demonstrations and disorders and what they really believed, and that was that "the faculty is instigating two-thirds of it." They really

do believe that. Always have and especially about this faculty. "There are a bunch of kooks over there at Chapel Hill." That's one of the more famous lines that's been used quite often in this state. I think, in a way, you see, we'd be hard-pressed to put total blame on anybody. We've got some of it to assume ourselves. Because, we did do some very irresponsible things, in terms of the higher education community in this country. And here again, what you see again on that tube, happening in Champagne, Urbana or Berkley is not happening here, but it gets into the minds of people that it could happen here. That's where t.v. hurt us so. Night after night. People really believed this, they would come over on the campus and. . .I'll give you an experience. The post office used to be right over there on the corner of Main Street, still is, a little bank. I walked up on an alumnus standing right there in front of it one day. He said, "Come here and stand beside me." I said, "All right." He said, "Now watch what's happening." And here came some of the crummiest looking kids you ever saw in your life. There was no way in the world that I could convince him that their hangout was the door next to where we were standing, the restaurant there. I said, "Now, you come on and go with me. And let's go over here in any one of these dormitories you pick, I bet you that nine out of ten are not like that." "No, I believe what I see." Well, that's what you run into, time after time. Newspapers didn't print pictures of those kids, they printed the other, the ones

that did this and that. And you talk about the impact of a picture. That one single photograph of that boy walking out of the administration building at Cornell University with, you know, the bullet chain around his neck. That fired Jim Perkins, the president of Cornell University. That board met and then, just like that. They got swept up in that syndrome. They didn't understand why, just the fact that he had a gun and all those bullets in his possession, in that context, threatening the lives of all those people. That is where we started a lot of what we have. And are still paying for it in a lot of ways. Well, come back again.

(interruption)

J.B.: Carmichael, what did he say?

Friday: He said that at this time, at this stage of the calendar of the political process, there are so many antenna in the sky, it ain't safe for a spare bird to fly.

(end of tape)