Transcription of Video Interview with

FRANCIS M. CARNEY

July 20, 1998

Erickson: Professor Carney, would you tell us where you were born and a little about your family, please?

Carney: Yes. I was born in New York City in 1921. That makes me now 76, and I was born in the Bronx. My mother and father and my younger brother and I, (younger brother Matt, younger than I by a little over a year) came out to Los Angeles in 1924. I was not quite three years old. We settled in LA, in Hollywood actually.

My mother was working in pictures and my father was a postal worker. They got a divorce about 1927, I think. I lived in North Hollywood and went to public schools in Southern California and then to St. Catherine's Military Academy in Anaheim for five years and then to Villanova Preparatory Academy in Ojai for a year and a half and then to North Hollywood High. I graduated from North Hollywood High School in North Hollywood in 1939.

I went to Stanford and into the Army, into the Air Force. It was then the Army Air Force in World War II, and I flew in Europe on a troop carrier command in 1944 as an aircraft radio operator.

Came home in 1945 and married a young lady I had met in Vermont during the summertime. My family had a place on a lake there. I met her back before 1939 or '40. We got married and had three children, three girls: Susan, the oldest; and Diane, the middle one; and Robin, the youngest. There was about a seven year spread amongst the three kids. Alas, my wife and I, after fifteen years of marriage and the three children, living here in Riverside, got a divorce.

Carney: I remarried to Jane Carney about fifteen years after that. I was single for several years, and then I married Jane Carney, who is a well-known lawyer and activist, etc. in Riverside. She does a lot of things for the community.

Erickson: Um hmm.

Carney: She had three children: a boy Michael, who was a football coach at the University of Nebraska, Omaha and just quit and has gone to work for a company that manufactures cooling and heating equipment, both commercial and domestic; and then two twin daughters, Lynn and Laura, who are now thirty. Lynn is now a graduate student in the School of Film in the Stark Program, the film producing program at the USC Graduate School of Cinema, and the other twin girl, Laura, is a Special Ed teacher in seventh grade in the … What is the school district, not Riverside?

Erickson: Alvord?

Carney: Alvord School District at Arizona Middle School. That's my family.

Erickson: I'm curious about your nickname. How did you get it?

Carney: That's a long story. I don't think I'll bother going into it, because it takes too long.

Erickson: Ok.

Carney: It had to do with when I was at military school, I ran away with another boy. We were going to go to Alaska and be miners, Alaskan sourdough goldminers, we thought. This was in the mid 1930s. The boys at military school hooted and howled, because we had just been found up in Paso Robles hitchhiking on our way to San Francisco. We were going to ship out. I was twelve.

Erickson: Oh, oh dear.

Carney: We were going to ship out from San Francisco for Alaska and mine gold in Alaska. The other boys then had, just that very Sunday that we were apprehended way up in Paso Robles, had seen a movie about Alaska. I think it was a John Wayne movie or something. There were two old sourdoughs in it named Hank and Joe. The other boy's name was Joe, so they nicknamed me Hank and it sort of stuck.

Erickson: Do you mind that when people call you that?

Carney: I prefer Francis but I don't mind, because everywhere I go there are people who knew me when I was a boy and all the way through high school and for a long time thereafter. But Jane likes Francis better, too. So, I like Francis.

Erickson: All right.
Well, tell us how you got to UCR?

Carney: I came to UCR primarily because I was … I was a graduate student at UCLA getting my Ph.D. in Poli Sci in the early 1950s. I read about the university opening a new undergraduate liberal arts college at Riverside on the grounds of the old Citrus Experiment Station and that it would be opening sometime in the early '50s.

I read also that the first Dean of the College of Letters and Sciences was going to be Robert A. Nisbet, who was still then Professor of Sociology at Berkeley.

In 1952, he had published a book called, <u>The Quest for Community</u>. It was a book, fundamentally a conservative book, as Bob Nisbet was a politically, socially conservative theorist. That is to say, he believed in old things, traditional things, small face-to-face communities and relationships as opposed to gigantism and thought that community could be re found in America by concentrating on small groups, small colleges, non-mega institutions. That was basically where Bob was. I was so thrilled by that. I was a student of American ideas, and I did think that there was an emptiness in American life, an emptiness that communities traditionally had filled—I mean

Carney: living, breathing, organic, human communities had filled—and that something was making a sickness of the soul, of American life. And I was thrilled that Bob Nisbet, the author of Quest for Community, which book I read, was going to be the dean of the school, and so I called him up and said, "Can I come out and talk to you?" He was, as always, graceful and courteous …

Erickson: How nice.

Carney: Oh gosh, just incredible. A graceful, courteous, attractive man. And I came out to see him, and we just hit it off marvelously. He said that he thought he would tell Arthur Turner, who was going to be the head of the Social Sciences Division with the new campus when it opened about me, and that he would suggest that Arthur ought to interview me and consider hiring me. So, he made an appointment for me with Arthur Turner. I came out again and interviewed with Arthur Turner up in the old Director's house of the Citrus Experiment Station, which was the headquarters for the whole shebang of administrators

Erickson: Oh, all the administration was there?

Carney: for the campus. The Library was there, the librarian—everything. Gordon Watkins, Nisbet, the Librarian—Coman, the heads of the various four divisions of the new undergraduate liberal arts college (The College of Letters and Science as it was called) and their staffs and so forth were all up there at the Director's residence. You know, you tripped over them

(laughter)

when you went up there. It was just a mess. But by the time I finished my interviews with Arthur Turner, they were beginning to start to move down to the lower … what we might call the lower campus, down here into the original four buildings with which we opened. The old Citrus Experiment Station building was still functioning at that time, although it was soon to be condemned.

Erickson: Oh… Because of the seismic problem?

Carney: Yes. In any case, the very day that Turner formally offered a position here to me, I was also offered one at Pomona College which seemed like a fine …

Erickson: Oh, really.

Carney: That very day. And I had to make a choice between UCR and Pomona. Primarily because of Nisbet, I thought it would really be first class to be near Bob Nisbet. And because it was the University of California.

Erickson: Um hmm.

Carney: I preferred the University of California. Furthermore, UCR wasn't going to open until January, until the winter rather than September, and I thought that might let me get my dissertation finished before I began teaching. I didn't.

Erickson: Oh, well. But you were traveling back and forth then to finish?

Carney: No, no. I moved. My first wife and our two children and I moved to Riverside in January of 1954. The classes actually began in early February, 1954.

I had a class the opening day. The first class, I think, was taught by Jim Parsons, a history class, an 8:00 o'clock class. I had a 9:00 o'clock Poli Sci class.

Erickson: Do you remember the size of the class?

Carney: Yes. There were thirty students. It was Introduction to Political Science, and there were thirty students in it, which was a good-size class in those days. The class was in Room 1101 Watkins, the classroom where I still teach Constitutional Law. It's now in the History Department, but it's in the same classroom.

Erickson: Oh, that's great.

Carney: There were about 120 students that opening day—126 maybe—and there were close to 60 faculty members, not all of them here on the grounds yet. Many didn't come until September. We all liked it. You know, it was terrific. But in any case, that's why I came to UCR because it was the University of California and because of Robert A. Nisbet, a great figure to me. I never lost my affection and respect for him. Sorry when he left.

Erickson: And where did he go?

Carney: He went to the University of Arizona of all places. You know, a man who wrote about the community, old communities, being old places where generations of people live together … and he goes to the University of Arizona,

(chuckle)

which is about as non communal as a place could be. But in any case, he went there and then to Columbia. His publishing career, which had languished while he was at UCR, because he just threw himself into being dean. But he began to write again and carved out an international reputation for himself as a major thinker and writer about American culture.

Bob was different from me politically. He was a political conservative, and he never really lost his commitment to the ideal of communities and the belief that communities can function best in small areas where people have face-to-face relationships and live relatively common lives. He would have been opposed to great gulfs of wealth between the richest and the poorest. But he didn't mind classes …

Erickson: I see.

Carney: as long as people in such diverse classes shared a life in some way, so that the richest style of living was not so different from the poorest style of living that nothing could run, no feeling of

Carney: affection, no commonality could run between them if their lives were so different that neither could understand the other, and then the community couldn't work. He had to be taken seriously. I disagreed with a lot of what he wrote in his later years but never lost my respect and affection for him.

Erickson: That's great.
Would you talk a little about the relationship between the liberal arts college and the existing Citrus Experiment Station?

Carney: Well, sure I will. They were wary, cool in their reception of us, I thought—at least as I perceived it. Remember, I came here as an Acting Instructor, which was the lowest rank that the University of California had in its table of organization, because I hadn't finished my dissertation yet.

Erickson: Right.

Carney: I hadn't earned my doctorate yet. That came in the first year that I was here. I thought that the researchers, the scientists here, were friendly enough, the younger ones especially. But I thought some of the older ones were cool.

I think that relations between Watkins and the older leading researchers with international reputations were ok, but I think they were cool about Nisbet and cool about John Olmsted, who was the head of the Humanities Division, and at first standoffish and cool toward Arthur Turner, who was a Brit, a Scot, and who had gotten his initial education at Glasgow and Oxford. But he got his Ph.D. at Berkeley. His Ph.D. was in history, not political science.

And they warmed up to Turner, I think, but never did to Nisbet, with his emphasis on the small college, not repeating the gigantism at Berkeley and UCLA. Those were important items of faith to Nisbet, and they were for Olmsted. Olmsted had been a Rhodes Scholar and had loved his years at Oxford, and to him, the great education was the Oxford education. His idea was to have this new College of Liberal Arts be as much like Oxford as possible, and that was an anathema to many people

Carney: in the sciences, not only the Experiment Station people but our own physicists, chemists, geologists, biologists, mathematicians, etc. who rather liked the large research university style rather more than the small liberal arts college. And I don't mean Harvard, Yale, Princeton; I mean the Little Ivy Leagues: Williams, Amherst, Wesleyan, Trinity, Swarthmore, Haverford. They were the model for the people who were sort of followers of Nisbet and Olmsted, which I was. That was, I think, the principal tension on the campus in the early days.

Now, there were other smaller tensions of an academic and intellectual sort, too, I would be happy to dilate upon if you would have any interest.

Erickson: Well, I am curious to know if you went to the University Club? Did you have social interactions?

Carney: I didn't. And I don't know why. It was some kind of snobbery on my part. It was intellectual snobbery, I guess.

Erickson: And it wasn't called the University Club.

Carney: It was called Faculty Club.

Erickson: Faculty Club.

Carney: It was up in the site where it is now, but it seemed to me and to many of my colleagues, particularly colleagues in the humanities and social sciences but some also in biology and chemistry and physics, that it was primarily peopled by folk from the Experiment Station. We were outsiders, newcomers. But we were formally invited to be members if we held a faculty position.

Women could not be members, however. It was for men only. It was a men's faculty club. We had about five women on the faculty out of that initial complement, maybe six, no more than that. One of the deans, the Dean of Women, the Associate Dean of Students … (Tom Broadbent was the Dean of

Carney: Students), and his assistant was Loda Mae Davis, who held also a position in psychology and taught psychology.

Erickson: Oh, she did?

Carney: We had a marvelously distinguished young art historian named Jean Boggs who got her degree from Harvard, and she went on to make great distinction in the field of art history, museum director and so on. She went back to Harvard to teach in the Art History Department.

But Loda Mae and Jean would occasionally go in protest, go sit on the steps with their bag lunches and their thermoses. Some of us took to joining them on the steps in the protest against the exclusion of women from the Faculty Club. There was no rancor, they weren't angry. You know, they weren't ripping off bras or anything like that or hurling names or calling anybody pigs or anything like that, but it was a little protest and it attracted the sympathy of many of the faculty.

I saw it as primarily a place for the people from the Citrus Experiment Station who were a little standoffish toward us, and for administrators—for people who worked in various administrative offices on both levels of the campus. There was snobbery, at least on my part and very much so for several others.

(laughter)

A lot of us were ferocious, terrible snobs. It was a disgrace how hot we thought we were—intellectually hot—elite. There was something … what?, "Good Fellowish" about the Faculty Club.

Bill Arrowsmith, (Professor of Classics, who later went on and wrote a famous translation of the Satyricon of Petronius Arbiter and went on to Texas and to Boston University) and I called them "The Rotarians" up at the Faculty Club. I know that's snobbish and terrible, but there it is—you want truth.

Erickson: I did. I did want to know.

Carney: Not gilding lilies and smoothing over things. So, if there was a standoffishness by the Experiment Station people, we reciprocated with snobbery. Some would call them the "field hands" and so on, so it wasn't all one way. We had our share of responsibility.

Erickson: Ok. How about your department? How was it structured?

Carney: The new liberal arts college was structured into four divisions: the Division of Physical Science, which included physics, chemistry, geology, math and a school of life sciences, which was biology and botany, physiology and biochemistry.

But there was also chemistry in the Experiment Station because … In other words, chemistry was still in some ways in those days divided between the old fashioned notions of organic and inorganic chem. Organic chem was taught in both the physical sciences and as biochemistry by some people in the Biology Department.

So, those two—Natural Sciences and Physical Sciences and then the School of Humanities, which was dominated by the personality of John W. Olmsted, the Dean or Head. They weren't called Deans, they were called Heads. The Head of the Physical Sciences was Conway Pierce, a chemist, who had been, I think, for a time at Pomona but had also been at the University of Chicago and was not in favor really of the small college model so much. He thought it was not practical for the university, it couldn't last in the university. He thought that to attract top scholars, you had to have graduate programs and graduate classes, TAs to teach the bigger classes that would come. So, to do that, you had to have graduate students, ok?

Erickson: Um hmm.

Carney: Herman Spieth was Head of the College of Life Sciences, and he fundamentally concurred with Pierce. Then Olmsted was Head of Humanities, which comprised History, Music, Drama,

Carney: Philosophy, Foreign Language, English, Comparative Lit, Art History were the departments. They weren't departments, they were part of the Division of Humanities, and Olmsted ran it and Turner then ran the Social Sciences. We had Anthropology, Economics, Psychology, Sociology, Political Science, Education … (pause) I may be forgetting something, but I don't think I am. Nisbet was, of course, Professor of Sociology as well as Head of the whole shebang of us, the whole college. And we had a great, very popular, successful figure in the university—our Chancellor.

Erickson: Gordon Watkins. His title then was Provost.

Carney: Gordon Watkins. His leadership was, I think, unchallenged by anybody and he was very, very popular in the community.

Erickson: And he and Dr. Nisbet worked closely and well together?

Carney: I think so. I believe that Nisbet and Watkins worked very closely together. Nisbet was, of course, enormously deferential to the Provost. I can remember Nisbet called him "Provost." He would always say Provost Watkins. Very Nisbet, much punctilio. He had manners, he had exquisite manners, did Nisbet. And he liked some of the formality of academic life and sought to lend some of that to the faculty although too many of us were not into manners.

(laughter)

Erickson: Did you have interaction with the community leaders who had helped establish the campus?

Carney: I never knew John Gabbert until years later and didn't have much interaction with the leaders. The only leader with whom I had any interaction was a person of roughly my own generation named Howard H Hays, Jr. (Tim). Tim was the first leader of Riverside that I got to know, and we became friends, which I am thrilled and happy to say we are to this day.

Erickson: Great.

Carney: But I didn't have much interaction with the leaders. Ho Coil, Horace Coil, and his brother Henry Coil, I knew because a year after we arrived, there developed a hot political issue in Riverside.

As you know, Riverside to this day has a municipal electric power system, which was created by solid Republican community leaders back in 1901. They were Progressives and the little public ownership didn't seem as though it were selling out to Godless Communism.

There was a proposal made by a locally-based, Riverside-based private utility company, California Electric Power Company made an offer to buy the electric power plant.

Most, but not all, of the leaders of the community, including the Hays family and The Press-Enterprise, (the old man was alive then, Howard Hays, Sr.) and most of the leadership of the community was solidly in favor of selling the municipal light plant to California Electric and using the money and taking the tax they would get from Cal Electric, which would make its regional headquarters here in Riverside.

There were a number of us on the faculty who, for a variety of reasons, thought why sell a fine municipal light plant? Some of us, no doubt ideologically, favored public ownership. I have to say that my own opposition to selling the light plant to a private utility was tinctured somewhat by a softness, a fondness for public ownership. I liked that thought.

The leadership … Watkins was in favor of selling the light plant and was frequently quoted. You know … leading economist. And two young economists on our faculty, Jerry Rothenberg and Don Corbin. Because Gordon had used his prestige as provost and an economist to urge a yes vote on the offer to Cal Electric, Rothenberg and Corbin decided they would go public in opposition to him. They roped me into it, which wasn't hard to do.

(laughter)

Carney: I did a lot of speaking around the town against the sale of the light plant, which brought a lot of criticism from people in town.

Erickson: To you personally?

Carney: To me personally, to Rothenberg and Corbin and other faculty members who spoke in opposition to the sale of the light plant, and there were townspeople including many of the leaders who helped bring the university to UCR who were stunned and shocked. You know, "My God, how sharper than a serpent's tooth is a thankless child." "Why can't you control them?" they would say to Watkins. "How can you not clamp down? They shouldn't be doing this."

And Gordon said, "Hey, wait a minute. You didn't think that when I said that I was going to support the sale of the plant. What makes you think that I can now turn around and say, 'Shut up'? We don't work that way in universities."

To their credit, some of them, Phil Boyd for example, who I think was actually in the Legislature, the Assembly, when the campus at Riverside was approved, grumbled about it, didn't like it, but he began to see what Gordon meant, learned something about academic freedom, and while he never really forgave me or Rothenberg or others, he <u>almost</u> forgave me—he was civil to me.

Erickson: I am sure he did.

Carney: We talked and I came to respect him a lot.

Erickson: Would you discuss please that transition then from liberal arts college to the general campus?

Carney: Yes. The transition, I thought from my perspective, was, by the time it was made, … I thought that when Clark Kerr became President of the University. (pause) Listen, I yield to no one in

Carney: my enormous admiration for that great university leader and statesman, Clark Kerr. Although, I still have lingering fondness for the idea of the small liberal arts college, but I realized it wasn't going to work.

Erickson: And why do you say that?

Carney: Well, because the state was growing like mad. Berkeley and Los Angeles were nearing 30,000 students, there were well over 25,000 students. The Davis campus was targeted for considerable expansion, and I thought that Riverside would not be able to resist the pressures to become a general campus.

Kerr was, of course, the philosopher of the multiversity and to him the giant University of California was not a threat or monstrosity or an anomaly or an anachronism or anything like that. It was something great and could be made greater and that Riverside should fit into that.

And so I sort of saw it as inevitable, that it was going to happen, that it wasn't going to stay a small liberal arts college, and when Spieth was appointed Provost and then became Chancellor to succeed Watkins over Nisbet …

Erickson: Yes.

Carney: You see, I thought the logical candidate, probably Watkins' preference, would be Nisbet for anybody to succeed him, or possibly even Olmsted, but mainly Nisbet. And it was only after Herman Spieth was appointed Chancellor that we learned there was tremendous opposition by some of the old lions and old barons and magnates of the Experiment Station were really opposed to Nisbet because they didn't want the small college. They wanted the bigger campus, to fold themselves into it in a more consistent way and so on.

When Nisbet was not named to succeed Watkins, I saw handwriting on the wall—mene mene tekel/upharsin, our concept had been weighed in the balance and found wanting

Carney: and wasn't going to fly. So, I believed and almost all my colleagues believed, "Ok, that's what it's going to be. Let's make ourselves a terrific department of Poli Sci. We will instantly create an MA program." And we did. I wrote the outline for an MA program and the rationale for it and so on, put together the syllabus for the new courses that would be graduate courses, taught graduate courses myself, looked for expansion, wanted to get the best possible people we could get into the department. I mean I completely accepted the idea of the general campus. My colleagues, David McLellan and Frank Way, did, too.

Of course, one always looks back with a little affection to an idea. We came here and opened classes in 1954. By 1958 when the general campus was declared by President Kerr, I would say that opposition to it was confined to a handful of diehards, some of them were still around.

Erickson: What about the community? Were they accepting of this change right away?

Carney: I think they accepted it right away. Yes, bigger, more students, more fame, athletics, etc.

Erickson: They did. Ok.

Carney: You know, an expanding campus seemed not a bad idea. The resentments from the people in the community, particularly leadership in the community because our side won the famed election by a substantial margin. I mean, Riversiders weren't that anxious to sell the light plant. And the leadership, The Press-Enterprise and so on took a drubbing on it. And the animosities generated by that lasted for a while.

But on the other hand, new figures were coming in. Ivan Hinderaker was appointed in 1964, I believe, and he was committed to the idea of the general campus. So was Herman, but Herman left after '63. He came on after '56, was appointed in '56 and served for those years, but he was committed, too, to

Carney: the idea of a general campus. He gave no resistance to it. There was not much formal resistance.

Olmsted, of course. Olmsted wanted Oxford and was unhappy with anything else. And Bob, Bob Nisbet, ever loyal to authority and particularly to the authority of the university and to the personal authority of Kerr went along, too, good soldier.

Bob Nisbet played good soldier, better soldier about it, I think, than Jack Olmsted was.

Arthur Turner, good soldier. He had no commitment to Oxford. He loved Oxford. That's his proudest degree, an MA—Oxon, but he was good soldier. McLellan and Way, too, and just about everyone I knew.

And I was good soldier. I shouldered my rifle, saluted and marched off to build a great graduate department if I could help do it. And I never wavered in that.

Kerr had the idea that there was some nest of resistance, that somehow or other UCR was being held back in its expansion and growth by some nest of resistors, some cadre of miners and sappers who wanted to somehow frustrate the Legislature and The Regents of the University and keep UCR small—but that was a myth.

Ivan bought into that myth. He believed, too, that his trouble was going to come from a group of resistants to the idea of becoming a general campus and expanding rapidly and developing graduate programs.

Some departments were, I think, slow getting graduate programs started. Poli Sci had an MA program in being by 1961, and I taught graduate classes and loved them. We had only an MA, but I was instantly at work on getting a Ph.D. program. When we hired Mike Reagan in '64, we knew we would be on our way to a Ph.D. program. We hired Chuck Adrian, and he … I was in favor of hiring Reagan, and I was in favor of hiring Adrian, because I thought they would give us

Carney: greater national visibility. I tried to get national visibility myself so that the department would be recognized around the country as a significant one, and so did the other political scientists, … and in most of the other fields, too.

Erickson: Were you helping recruit the graduate students also?

Carney: Of course. Yes, I helped recruit. I went out and spoke at various colleges to encourage graduate students. I used my friendships with Berkeley and UCLA, taught at UCLA and Berkeley myself to get undergraduates there in Poli Sci who would take my classes and say, "Gee, I want to go to UCR." and so on.

Erickson: Great.

Carney: Nobody in Poli Sci resisted. Nobody in Sociology resisted. Certainly not Robert Nisbet. To have fought leadership from within would have been just too much for Bob; he would never do that.

Erickson: Um hmm.

Carney: And he was the best of all the good soldiers. The first two sociologists we had were perhaps resistant to it, but they did not make tenure. And with the new sociologists we hired were just as committed to a big time Soc Department as I was and the other people in Poli Sci were committed to a big time Poli Sci department.

Erickson: Right.

Carney: Graduate students, distinguished scholars, fame, fortune.

Erickson: Over the years, I am sure various groups have asked you for your political analyses. What are some of those groups and what are some of the topics they have asked you to address?

Carney: You mean in Riverside?

Erickson: Uh huh.

Carney: Gosh, I have spoken to most of the famous service clubs: Rotary, Kiwanis, women's clubs, also Soroptomists. Gosh, I can't think of the many others. Spoke at them usually about politics. I usually spoke about elections.

Erickson: Elections.

Carney: Public opinion and elections. My own scholarly writing was about California politics, and I wrote about California more than anything else. As I got to be known a little bit for my California writing, I would be asked to speak on topics I had written about, national magazines and the like. The relationship between California's distinctive culture and its political system and so on. I spoke a lot on public opinion on what reasons people gave for voting the way they do, why people are Republicans, Democrats, why some people are relentlessly nonpartisan and so on. I mean all those things I spoke on.

Erickson: Um hmm.

Carney: Tim Hays frequently asked me to write a piece in election years, either before the election or maybe after the election to analyze what happened. And I would write those. I would write pieces for The Press-Enterprise also. As Riverside expanded in population and clubs and service clubs developed outlying chapters, why then the number of requests to speak were greater. I felt an obligation to go out and speak to them. Other faculty member did, but some would say no.

Erickson: Oh, they would.

Carney: Some would say no. That would take too much time away from their research or they just didn't want to do it, or "My God, I teach three classes. Isn't that enough?" and so on.

Erickson: Although community service is part of your obligation.

Carney: Community service is part of it, but there were some people who, for a variety of reasons, weren't into doing that. But there were some who were. And I thought it was a part of what a professor does. I didn't mind it. I sort of …. For an inner motivation, I wanted to heal the rift between myself and the leadership and the public in Riverside and the perception of me that "He is a crazed, radical, left wing, mad-dog ideologue."

Left wing! I was a Democrat. I was as left wing as Harry Truman, you know. What the heck!

(laughter)

The perception of myself as a rabid left winger … I wanted to heal that. Nisbet was glad. Nisbet was always glad when I would do things like that. And Turner was. Turner was good at it himself. He always gave very graceful, scholarly, informed lectures to town groups. Others were good at it, too. But not everybody is good at it.

Erickson: Um hmm.

Carney: There are some people who do it easily and well. It was easy for me to popularize research and public opinion because I did it from my beginning classes.

Erickson: Did you have a mentor along the way?

Carney: Well, I did have a mentor when I was at graduate school at UCLA named Thomas P. Jenkin. When Ivan came to be Chancellor, he hired Tom Jenkin as Dean of the College of Letters and Science. The UCLA department asked Tom Jenkin and Ivan if I could come to teach at UCLA until they could do a search for a successor for Jenkin.

Erickson: And you did that?

Carney: I did that, yeh. I taught at UCLA the first year Jenkin was here. I moved in to LA. My marriage was breaking up at that time. Two of my children wanted to live with me, the two older girls

Carney: wanted to live with me afterwards, and they wanted to stay in Riverside. So, I came back.

Erickson: Oh, I see.

Carney: I could have stayed at UCLA, but I came back for the girls.

Erickson: Well, we are glad you did.

Carney: And Tom was here. I thought he was a great dean. I mean, everybody I knew respected and revered Tom Jenkin. Utter integrity, honesty … you knew where you stood with him. Everybody loved him.

He fell out with Ivan and Carlo Golino over God knows what? I don't know the full story to this day. Ivan doesn't like to talk about it because he knows I was very devoted to Tom Jenkin.

He had been the director of my doctoral dissertation. I thought he was a great teacher, and his ideas were important to me in getting me started as a political scientist. I used his syllabi for political theory courses I taught, and my favorite course at UCR was probably the course in the development of the American ideas, History of American Political Thought, which is a course that I was a reader for him. I attended all his lectures when I was a graduate student at UCLA because he strongly influenced my orientation towards teaching.

Now, of course, over the years, I gradually moved away from that and developed different ideas, but Tom Jenkin was my mentor, my intellectual mentor. I had friends at Berkeley who were very influential on me in my thinking about American thought, American ideas, American politics.

And outside the University of California if I had an intellectual—not a mentor really, because we weren't all that far apart in age—James McGregor Burns, a famed biographer of Roosevelt and a distinguished political scientist. He was President ultimately of both the American Historical Association and the

Carney: American Political Science Association at different times. He was influential on me.

His analyses of the Constitution and of the nature of the political system and the role of parties on the electorate—all very strongly influential. They weren't so different from Jenkin … although they were, too. I was more like Burns than I was like Jenkin by the time I was in my late thirties and beginning to get a little better known.

Erickson: How did you become involved in the Robert Kennedy campaign?

Carney: Well, John Tunney was our Congressman here, and I knew John and liked him a whole lot. I had done work for him in his House campaigns. He hadn't yet run for the Senate, although he was going to run for it, and I would have been prepared to work for John although I was teaching at Berkeley the year that he ran. I was sort of a little bit out of it, and it was he who decided who was going to be Bob's campaign director …

Erickson: I see.

Carney: in Riverside County. John was very close to the Kennedy family. He decided on two people, a long-time contributor to John, a physician named Charles Gunnoe, who would be the nominal head of the campaign and I would run the campaign for Bob Kennedy. And somehow or other, I did it, I managed to do it. Put together a precinct organization, salted the Coachella Valley with some students who wanted to work for Bob Kennedy … you know, Latino lads who had connections to him out in the Coachella Valley. Got another group of RCC and UCR kids and Corona organized.

Erickson: You mainly used young people?

Carney: Mainly, but not only. There were also some retired military surprisingly who were very useful with me and some kids from UCR. Some of them still talk about it, and we think about it as

Carney: the greatest thing any of us ever did in politics was to carry this county for Bob.

Erickson: Ahh.

Carney: When Kennedy's people came out here in the spring in April, let's say, they said, "Fuhged abod it, Professor." (Carney was speaking with a New York/Boston accent). You know, they were all from Boston and New York City.

(laughter)

Because Bobby was the Senator from New York, but he was also a Bostonian. And they were an amalgam … "My fellow countrymen," "My fellow Micks, Italians, Jews." Very sophisticated and urban.

They come out here and Bob had lost to Gene McCarthy in Oregon in the Democratic Primary and McCarthy was well represented in Southern California and here on campus, so a lot of people were working hard for McCarthy.

The Kennedy people said, "It's Oregon, Professor. It's Oregon. We haven't got a chance. Fuhged abod it." "We are not going to put any money into it," and so on. But the statewide director for Bob was Jesse Unruh, who at that time was still the Big Daddy of the Legislature … hadn't yet run for Governor, still in the Legislature.

Erickson: Was he a UCR graduate?

Carney: No, no. He was a graduate of USC actually. But I knew him. I knew Jesse Unruh. I had gone to USC after WWII. I was working at the LA Times and was thinking of a career in journalism and I had had some troubles at Stanford. Didn't think they'd want me back and so on. So, I finished my undergraduate career at USC. It was interrupted in mid passage by WWII. I went into active service in WWII.

Erickson: I see.

Carney: And Unruh was in a lot of my classes. We were rivals for As. He was farther to the left than I was. We used to say if Jesse isn't a Communist Party member, he's cheating them out of their dues.

(chuckle)

Communist Party member. He was very left wing, and I was more moderate. I was a Democrat but more moderate than Jesse. You know, I was for Truman in '48, not for Wallace. And I liked Adlai Stevenson, that sort of Democrat.

In any case, Unruh thought that … I convinced Unruh that it wasn't impossible to carry the Inland Empire for Bob. We don't need much, we don't need a lot. A little bit of money to let me give some to kids, a little bit of money for some people from the ethnic communities who don't think politics is real unless somebody is getting paid for what he is doing. So, I wanted to be able to give some money to people who were going to be doing precinct work for us in Riverside and San Bernardino, but above all in the Coachella Valley. I said that's where we are going to win out in the Coachella Valley, and of course, just rolled it up for Bob out there.

Erickson: Oh, really, did you?

Carney: Well, Cesar Chavez took his team and moved out because he was going to start a strike in the Coachella Valley, going to start an organizing campaign in the Coachella Valley as soon as the primary was over. And he was all out for Bob, so he moved to the Coachella Valley and set up a little headquarters in Coachella and they really had the campesinos out in full flood, full force for Bob.

In any case, it all ended.

Erickson: Tragically.

Carney: That's how I became … and it was John Tunney who decided I would direct the campaign activities and Unruh decided they would put a little bit of money into it, that we could win it out here, that we couldn't take a chance on just writing it off.

Erickson: Would you ever do that again?

Carney: No, I lost it. I lost it. I think the hour Bob died, I really lost it. I did for Jane. …

Erickson: Oh, sure.

Carney: My wife, Jane, ran for the Assembly four years ago, six years ago, and I wasn't crazy about her doing it, but I thought she would be a great Assemblywoman. I thought she would be Speaker one day because she is so smart and able and so on. So, I went all out for Jane, but I haven't had the same fire since Bob was killed. I mean, something died in me.

Erickson: Um hmm.
Well, back to UCR. What do you think about the campus today and the growth?

Carney: Terrific. I think it is just terrific. I mean, I am not pleased with everything.

Erickson: Well, tell us what you are pleased with.

Carney: The threat of it now seems less imminent and acute than it was a few years ago. But I thought we were going to grow, and we were moving toward a tuition system here at UCR, and I was really sickened by that. I mean, this University of California became great, the greatest university in the world, because it offered the best possible education available anywhere on the globe to a huge number of young Californians for virtually nothing. And I thought it ought to go on that way, and the fact that Ray was willing to go … was talking about the Michigan model and so forth. I'll just say it … really alienated me and turned me off and made me angry.

Carney: I know that one of the great figures in the history of Riverside is your own husband, Jim Erickson. He has done enormously great things for it, and he was sort of prepared to go that way, too. But I know that in Jim's case, one reason he wanted to raise money for this place was so that tuition wouldn't go up to University of Michigan levels. I know that he, too, sort of believed in sort of a people's university, which is how we began and I thought should have tried to stay.

And I would have taught more, accepted no pay raises and everything else if we could have kept from charging students more and more and more as we were doing in increments virtually every year.

Erickson: Um hmm. What do you see as the ideal size?

Carney: It's hard to know. I mean, if I had a choice for my children to go to any place in the world, I think I would say Berkeley … is the greatest university in the world. But my best student, Jane's daughter Lynn, was a top student at North High School and graduated with good SAT scores, but not good enough for Berkeley—couldn't get into Berkeley. So, we sent her to Smith. If she couldn't get into Berkeley, I wanted her to go to the Ivy League. Didn't want her to go here or Santa Cruz. I wanted her to go to the Ivy League.

So, she went to Smith, but I think that we here at Riverside do a great job of education. I think Davis is terrific. UCLA is a great university, better and better. Chuck Young's twenty-odd years there were not spent in vain.

Erickson: Um hmm.

Carney: He's one of ours, Poli Sci major.

(laughter)

My own student and friend over all those years.

Erickson: Was he your student?

Carney: Oh, yes. Chuck was mine, and I encouraged him to go to UCLA and study with Tom Jenkin, which he did. UCLA is a great school, too. It's so … what are you going to say about UCLA? It's so huge and so good and so glamorous that it almost seems to shimmer as a sort of mirage there. People all over the world want to go to UCLA.

There's something about Berkeley, the compactness of it. The fact that the great vast majority of the students live right around it, either on campus or in the Berkeley community, down in the flat lands, all kinds of places. So, I think that Berkeley is the greatest university in the world.

I think that UCR is doing terrific. I mean, I am very proud of what's happening here and so on. I do believe that we slight undergraduate education now more than we used to.

Erickson: Oh, we do?

Carney: Yes. I believe that we are so intent on our academic and scholarly reputation and our ability to attract graduate students and grants and money for research, that we do inevitably slight our attention to undergraduates and I regret that. I regret that. If I were Chancellor, I would not let that happen. Ray would probably say it's not happening. You know, "You're imagining it." But I saw it in my own department. I see it. I know what the attitude of my colleagues is between graduate students and undergraduate students. They'd rather teach graduate students. Just the affect about undergraduates isn't there generally.

It is for some, I mean. Gosh, I think of my colleague in the History Department, John Phillips. (pause) I mean, he came to this campus every day at 8:00 o'clock in the morning and hardly left his office. He so loved this place and teaching undergraduates as well as graduates. And there are others that have that enthusiasm that John did. And departments all around. There's a marvelous man in mathematics who's now retired also … Louis Ratliff … marvelous fellow in math. Just had a zest for teaching that spread to the undergraduates. And

Carney: others around. But my colleagues in Poli Sci were, frankly, more interested in graduate students and their relations with their graduate students than they were with the undergrads. And that's, I think, unfortunate.

Somehow at Berkeley, I think that Berkeley undergrads get a great education. Now they may not have intimate face-to-face relationships with professors there, but they do hear them in the big lecture classes. And sometimes now and then some of those famous professors will teach an undergraduate class, and they do it well. But the atmosphere at Berkeley is so intellectual, and there is so much stimulation on the campus for whatever your intellectual interests are that you can't help but grow. Osmosis of a sort educates you in a place like Berkeley. You know, I think you get a terrific undergraduate education there, and I hope that can happen here.

Erickson: What would you like to see happen here?

Carney: I would like to see it go to a campus of about 25,000 students with strong graduate departments in major fields, some lesser fields like Art History, Dance and Classics. I think for example, possibly Art History could have genuine distinction as a graduate department. Dance could have genuine distinction among small departments. Classics could have distinction. The basis for it is there. You've got people in History and Comparative Lit who could make Classics, see, as well as the big departments: Chemistry, Physics, History, Biology, English, Poli Sci, Soc and so on. We should have great departments in all those. We should have top scholars in all those departments. There is no reason why not, and I think we will.

I think Riverside is a good community for undergraduate students, not as good as Berkeley or Los Angeles, but better than Santa Cruz or Davis. Davis has Sacramento close by. But I think that Riverside has potential for being a good home for undergraduate students that would probably be more oriented toward the campus than the town. But if we got a law school here, it would inevitably have tentacles, if not roots, into the

Carney: community and so on. I see the possibility of intellectual distinction. Whether it will ever become a Berkeley is hard to say.

Erickson: How would you say that a law school would benefit the city of Riverside?

Carney: Well, it would benefit the city of Riverside by bringing in another group of elite students of about maybe 500 students on the grounds at any one time at the law school. An elite faculty would move into it. There would be the fact that the courts are coming to Riverside. We have now a Federal District Court that has been established here, the California Fourth District Court of Appeals is here, the U.S. Bankruptcy Court is here, the Riverside County Courthouse is here. And San Bernardino also has the county court system. The Superior Court system amalgamates the old municipal and the old superior court into one system, and they have a courthouse. There would be jobs, internships and the like for students in both Riverside and San Bernardino. And it would benefit the community by its prestige of a law school.

I would not be in favor of teaching being done by local lawyers. Maybe a course here and there, once in a while. But in a top, first-rate law school, you want a teaching faculty, not a faculty of practitioners. I mean, sure, what's his name at Harvard … Alan Dershowitz takes a case now and then, but he also teaches. He fundamentally teaches. That's the way you want it—a first-class law school. Professors at Boalt and at Stanford and at UCLA are not out with a live practice running. I don't think you can have a live practice and do a first-class teaching job.

Lawyers work hard. I mean, a sixty or seventy or eighty hour week is common among attorneys. Maybe old senior partners, people who are of counsel could possibly do teaching. Judge Gabbert taught for us after he retired. Gosh, he was marvelous. He was so great as a teacher and a marvelous colleague. Loved him.

Erickson: Oh, sure.

Carney: Just revered him. I still do.

Erickson: Yes. So many people do.
Let's talk about your experience in Albania.

Carney: Sure.

Erickson: That was a Fulbright.

Carney: I was a Fulbright Professor of Law. I taught a course, the first part of which pasted together a history of the Anglo-American legal system beginning with the English Common Law, the adoption of the English Common Law system in the United States in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the development of a distinct American legal system. You had to get all that done and then contrast that with Continental Middle European systems for the Albanian kids.

In a communist country, they don't teach law. Law is nothing. Law is considered to be an epiphenomenon, it's not real. A correlation of class forces determines what law is. There is no real science of law in the Communist countries and no prestige for judges or lawyers particularly. They are functionaries, rather than independent professionals. And you had to explain to Albanian kids what the idea of law is and what the meaning of the rule of law is. And that was very hard to do.

Erickson: Why did you choose that country?

Carney: I wanted to choose a country that had … I wanted to choose a former Communist country whose students would have only the most warped ideas of what democracy is, so that I could teach them what democracy really is, what commitment it requires from its citizens, from its structure of government, from its constitution and so on. I wanted to go someplace that didn't have …

(pause)

Carney: At first I wanted to go to Prague. I wanted to go to Czechoslovakia, and I thought I was going to Czechoslovakia. The Czechs at Charles University thought I was too old. All they could see was 72 years of age, and I might not be able to endure the rigors of a Prague winter, something like that. I wanted to go someplace where it was not—I didn't want to go on a vacation. I wanted to go someplace where real living would be a little rough.

Erickson: And was it?

Carney: Yes. Yes, it was.

Erickson: Where did you live?

Carney: I had a tiny house. I lived alone. It had been the guard house and radio center for the Sigurimi, the secret police, the Albanian secret police in Tirana. It was right smack dab in the middle of what was called the political quarter where President Hoxje's house was. It was not far from the headquarters building of the CP and so on, the Ministry of Justice around the corner. It was a little concrete block, primitive. Had a bathroom, a primitive kitchen, a Turkish toilet, which is a hole in the ground. I mean it flushes, but it is a hole in the ground, in the concrete floor. You put a grate over the hole for showers.

Erickson: Um hmm.

(laughter)

Carney: You learn, and, I mean, it was okay. Often no water, often electricity out.

Erickson: Did you have fresh vegetables?

Carney: Marvelous fresh vegetables. It was a marvelous climate, and a good long growing season. And it was self sufficient on food. It could grow everything it needs. And it exports some fruits, olive oil. It exports electric power because it has rivers which flow from the highest mountains in Eastern Europe and fall

Carney: rapidly down to the Adriatic in less than a hundred miles—powerful rivers. So, they have developed hydro-electric power in Albania. Now those factories were Soviet-style factories. They are now rotten and rusting. The equipment is bad and so on. So although Albania could export electricity, it no longer does because it system is so badly built, and so many years old.

Erickson: How many classes did you teach there?

Carney: I taught two classes. I taught the course which was supposed to be called Constitutional Law, but I did Anglo-American legal history for a bit and then a quick three or four weeks on the U.S. Constitution and then on the U.S. legal system. And I also, early in my career there, had given a public lecture on Woodrow Wilson, who was a hero to the Albanians. Wilson's doctrine of self determination of peoples, and so on, democracy and the like and had been sort of mid-wived at the birth of Albania as a nation-state. And he was revered by the earliest practitioners of politics in the new, brand new nation. Albania had never been an independent country before 1914.

So I gave an anniversary lecture on the birth of Woodrow Wilson, and the College of Foreign Languages liked the way I spoke. They liked California English, my English, the way we speak in California, rather than the more dialect-driven style of New England or New York or the South or the flat nasal Midwestern and so on, some kind of straight television English.

So they asked me if I would teach a course in politics, in world politics, to the advanced students of English. And I said, "God, does the Pope like to say mass in the morning? Did Freud teach about the libido?" Of course I would do it. So I taught the two courses. I taught the course in world politics to the advanced students in the College of English and the College of Foreign Languages. And I taught in the faculty of law, like Humpty Dumpty, weird, throw-in-everything-but-the-sink course.

Erickson: And how were you regarded by the students?

Carney: The students seemed really to like me a whole lot, they really seemed to like me.

Erickson: And they believed what you were saying?

Carney: I think so. Some of them did. The students in English were really top people. They were terrific. They spoke English beautifully, too. Their high school and undergraduate language instruction was excellent. It is better than ours. We don't have anybody among our foreign language students who didn't begin with one of the foreign languages they are studying who speak English and Russian the way those kids could. Mathematics, physics and old fashioned physics, chemistry. Their secondary education and their undergraduate baccalaureate education is very good. When you get into history, sociology, political science, more advanced chemistry, physics and geology, they are not so good.

Erickson: Hmm. That's interesting.

Carney: But in any case the kids were terrific. And I found that the women in history in the faculty of law, were better than the men. The men were jerks, crude, untutored, and I concluded that the faculty of law was a kind of a dumping ground for children of the functionaries of the old Communist regime. And still it was something like that when I was there in '93. The Revolution was only a couple of years old, two years old, in '93 and still shaking itself out.

But I thought that the male students were, with exceptions obviously, as a group, not so hot. But the women were very interested, I thought. I think the Communist system was, in Albania, one of the worst, the worst, the most backward, reactionary, Stalinoid of all the Communist camp or socialist camp countries. Iron Curtain countries or whatever you want to call them. But they did bring one thing to a country that was primarily illiterate. The population was primarily non literate when the Communists took over. They brought universal education, universal health care, which was not Western health

Carney: care, but my God, it was better than anything they ever had before.

So those things were done, they were accomplished by the Communists and they were important, and you can't wish it away. You can't say, "Well gee, how come Communists can do something good? If they can have a good education system, why can't we?" and so on and so on. But they did. They had it for one reason or another, a terrific elementary and secondary school education system. Everybody was literate. The kids knew a lot about English lit, for example. My advanced students of English, they could talk a little bit about Hawthorne and Melville and Steinbeck and Hemingway and so on. They could talk a little about that.

Erickson: You were there for a year?

Carney: Yes. I don't know what I am on here. I am wandering. I liked the Albanians. There is a quality of innocence about them. They don't know much about the world. And at the same time, they are superstitious. They believe in magic.

Erickson: Oh, really.

Carney: Yes. It is primarily a Muslim country. The population is about 70 to 75% Islamic now. During the Regime, during the Communist forty years, there was no legal practice of religion. None. All mosques, all minarets were torn down. It was pitiful. Lacy minarets and mosques up in the north, attractive Catholic churches in the usual marvelous Byzantine, Greek Orthodox churches … But I would say about 10% of the population are R.C. (Roman Catholic). 15% in the south particularly are Greek Orthodox and the rest Muslim.

There is an inferior position for women. No matter what the Communists did to make the sexes equal, they couldn't do it. Couldn't do it. There were no women in government, almost none. It's still the case. Wives don't talk about politics, husbands are brusque and peremptory toward their wives. A

Carney: Westerner looks at it with dismay. Western women are disgusted. They don't like it.

At the same time, the men, most of whom were unemployed, and the young who were unemployed stand around or sit around. They've got a little dole, enough to buy beer and cigarettes. Everybody smokes incessantly, so I smoked when I was there.

Erickson: Oh, you did?

Carney: I hadn't smoked in twenty odd years, but in self defense, I began to smoke again. They all smoke incessantly and hack and spit. That's the way they do it. But, you know, they would be rude to women on the street corners.

In that way not attractive, but physically they are an attractive people, the Albanians. And there is something about them that is touching. Something about their naiveté about the world.

Erickson: So you were pleased to have gone?

Carney: Oh! I would go back if I could.

Erickson: You would go back?

Carney: Yes, but not without Jane.

Erickson: That's when she was going through …

Carney: Well, I applied for the Fulbright when Jane was running for office. The assumption was that would get me over the first year of her office holding. It would keep me occupied while Jane commuted between Riverside and Sacramento.

I thought she was going to win. Who could possibly not vote for her? I thought it was a piece of cake. All they had to do was look at her. That was the way it was for me on that.

Carney: I made my arrangements thinking that Jane would be so busy learning the ropes and becoming an Assemblyman that it would be good for her and good for me to be there.

Erickson: When was it that you retired, Francis?

Carney: I retired in ’91. The moment I turned 70. I turned 70 on September 30 of 1991, and I was in the first VERIP. I was one of the first group of people who got the VERIP. And I continued to teach here, roughly the same schedule in Poli Sci.

Erickson: Oh, the same?

Carney: Yes, I taught here in ’91 and ’92.

Erickson: Did you give up anything? I mean did you lessen your research?

Carney: Oh, I lessened my research. I lessened all my activity, administration of any kind. I had been chairman when I retired.

Erickson: Of the department?

Carney: All that and I didn’t teach graduate classes. I taught undergraduate classes, American Thought. I teach a course on the American Classic Novel and American Political and Social Ideas, the beginning course in Poli Sci. And then I went to Albania.

When I came back, I wrote to the Political Science Department and said, “I know that it’s tough at the University, and you don’t have to pay me. I’ll teach.” But they didn’t seem interested.

Erickson: Oh, that’s interesting. My goodness.

Carney: But the History Department was very interested, and so I was happy to do it. I taught the Constitutional Law course in History, and I have been doing it ever since.

Carney: One of these days, I am going to stop. There are some things I want to write.

Erickson: That's what I was just going to ask. What are you writing about?

Carney: Well, I had begun way back in the '80s a biography of an American writer named Carey McWilliams. He was a writer/editor and something of a political activist in California. The first half of his professional life he lived in California, the second half he was managing editor of the magazine The Nation.

I used to write articles for The Nation from time to time, and he knew about some of my scholarly writings on California. And I liked doing that more than I liked doing scholarly writing. I wanted to write a biography, and I began. But he died in 1980 or '81.

Erickson: Did he know that you were writing about him?

Carney: Oh, yes. Absolutely. I had known him since the sixties when I began writing articles for the first time for The Nation. I talked with him by telephone once or twice, but usually we communicated by mail. Then I met him personally in 1979. Ivan brought him here as a Regents Lecturer …

Erickson: Oh, great.

Carney: in ~~'69~~ '79, I think. And then UCLA named him a Regents Lecturer when they learned he was going to be out here. So, while he was out here living in Hollywood and teaching at UCLA and giving lectures and teaching here, I saw him. And then he came out in the summertime from New York where he still wrote for The Nation.

After he retired he still wrote for The Nation, and I saw a lot of him. Oh God, I just revered him. I loved him, and it was just thrilling. I wrote quite a bit.

Carney: He died, and I discovered after his death that he had, since he was seventeen or eighteen years old, kept a diary. The young woman who now edits The Nation, Katrina vanden Heuvel, who succeeded Victor Navasky, was working back in the '80s for Carey McWilliams helping put his papers in order.

She said, "Do you know about this?" There were boxes and boxes of books with crabbed hand, but readable. You had to work to read it, but you could read it. So, I began ripping through it and reading it, and it is a great American document. As a seventeen year old boy, he was already an interesting person.

But his wife, Iris McWilliams, didn't like the direction of some of the questions I was asking her about things in the diary. So, she decided that nobody would read the diary until two years after her death.

Erickson: Oh, dear.

Carney: And we are not there yet. And I quit. I mean, he was sitting there on my shoulder every time I tried to write anything. The memory of that diary was sitting there, and I couldn't do it.

Erickson: Is there anything else that we haven't talked about that you would like to bring up?

Carney: Up to you.

Erickson: I thought maybe …

Carney: Do you want any more appraisals of any of the early?

Erickson: Yes. Why don't you talk about the early chancellors? Or all the chancellors you have known. Maybe your perspective….

Carney: I'll talk briefly about … I have known all the chancellors. Actually I knew Ivan best.

Erickson: Um hmm.

Carney: Oh, I guess I have to say I liked Ivan best of them all. I spoke at the retirement dinner the CUC gave for Ivan here. I gave a speech about Ivan of that day, and what I said then, I think I would still stand by. Ivan had enormous knowledge about how the university works. He was a very good administrator. He was also a very warm and sympathetic human being and was quite committed to not only UCR growing, which was driving him crazy, it rode him in some way that enrollment was stagnant.

Erickson: Um hmm.

Carney: But he was also committed to undergraduate education as well as graduate education. He was just as committed to the humanities as he was to the sciences. Would not even brook the idea of a second-class status for humanities and social sciences.

And he was just personally an honorable, intelligent man, a good political scientist. He was chancellor for fifteen years. I think he graced the office.

Gordon (Watkins) was a remote and austere figure, although he was very kind to me. When some people, including a state senator from Hemet and some of the leaders from the community got on the UCR faculty for having opposed the light plant plot, Gordon wrote a letter to Phil Boyd, which I have kept all these years in which Gordon gave Phil a little lecture about what academic freedom means and what the townspeople … that this was going to become a great campus, that if we are going to become a great university here, you will simply have to understand that faculty members are diverse and you can't treat them like children. You can't treat them as though they are a second-class citizen. They have a right to express their views, and we are lucky to have such informed people and so on. I mean, if it's ok for me to say "Sell the light plant," it's ok for my youngsters to say, "Don't sell the light plant." It's a great letter that should go into the archives. I've got a copy.

Erickson: I'll get that from you.

Carney: I'll turn up the copy, because it's a marvelous thing. He wrote it to Phil Boyd. And I think it made a difference in Phil Boyd's view of the faculty and the campus and his relationship to it. He hadn't yet become a Regent, I think, at this time, but he wanted to be one.

Gordon was austere. Herman (Spieth) wasn't convinced that the humanities and the social sciences were up to the rigor and intellectual authenticity of the physical sciences. He thought they we were opinion mongers and just didn't do research as rigorous as that done in the sciences. But it was hard to dislike Herman. I liked him, too. He was very down to earth, even in his relations with a junior faculty member, as I was, and other faculty. I think he had a more circumscribed view of the role of the University professor, nevertheless, than Gordon Watkins did or Ivan did.

And after Ivan, well obviously, the most successful has been Ray. I have my reservations about Ray. And he is going to see this, no doubt, someday. I don't think he is aware enough of what is going on on the campus, of what is percolating down there in the bowels of the student body and the faculty.

Erickson: Do you think that comes with size?

Carney: It is partly size. Oh gosh, we are slightly fewer than 10,000 students, and when Ray came here, we were what … 6 or 7,000 students? The problems are not the problems of gigantism. We haven't reached that yet. One, I don't like the Executive Vice Chancellor system.

Erickson: It used to be The Vice Chancellor?

Carney: The Vice Chancellor, yes. There was The Vice Chancellor, and then there were other vice chancellors—Vice Chancellor for Administration. I think Jim (Erickson) was an Assistant to the Chancellor when he first came, or something like that. I don't think he was a Vice Chancellor.

Erickson: No, he did come as Vice Chancellor.

Carney: He came with Ted Hullar. After Ivan, to me, Ted was my next favorite Chancellor. I know there is a rap on him, that he was too much talk, but his optimism was contagious. You would talk to him, he would whip out that notebook … I loved his enthusiasm, his optimism …

Erickson: Yes, he has that.

Carney: Sky's the limit. I thought, God, at last, we are finally going to take off here.

I liked Rosemary (Schraer). I liked her ideas, her values. I liked her as a person. She did not have Ted's charisma, nor did she have Ivan's knowledge of the University and how it works and of the politics of the state. She had grown up and been reared in Pennsylvania and had known more about politics there. She understood that you had to know something about the Legislature and the political currents in the state, as well as how The Regents function and how the bureaucracy in Oakland and Lake Merritt functions and so on (what we used to call University Hall), but we long ago outgrew University Hall.

Ivan, of course, was a master at that. Ray is pretty good at it, too, although Ray delegates too much for me. I don't think Ray is up to date on what is happening in the faculty and among the students as he should be. But other than that, I think he has been by far the most successful of all of all the Chancellors in raising money. To me that is Jim, but I think Jim is one of the most significant figures in the history of the UCR campus.

Erickson: Thank you.

Carney: He knows I think that.

Erickson: He does, yes.

Carney: I am sure he does.

Erickson: He does. What was your reaction as professor, as part of the Senate, when President Gardner named Ted Hullar to go to Davis and Rosemary Schraer here?

Carney: I was angry about it. In the first place Rosemary was appointed Chancellor without a search.

Erickson: That is what I was getting at.

Carney: There was no search, hence no distinctive faculty input, no student input, no community input, nothing. It was just administrative fiat. And I thought that was just an excessive act of administrative bravado. And it made me distrust Gardner, whom I thought always disliked the Riverside campus, never really had respect for this campus.

And that he could take Hullar, the dynamic charismatic Hullar, the rising star, and rip him out of Riverside and put him in Davis, … I thought it was contempt for Riverside, contempt for the processes of the University. I could never really forgive him for it, although I tried to and was always respectful.

Erickson: How do you think Riverside is regarded? You have served on a number of systemwide committees.

Carney: Yes, I have served on statewide committees. I think Riverside has suffered in its reputation with the faculty and administrations in other campuses, particularly in the earlier years. In more recent years, it's been better. In my own interactions on statewide committees, it's been fine.

(pause)

I was the co-author of the Faculty Code of Conduct and originated the idea of doing it when I was statewide Chairman of Academic Freedom. I saw, in 1969 and '70, that there was growing anger at the university in the state fostered some by Reagan, I thought. You know, he played the university like a drum and played to the public using the university as a

Carney: whipping boy for the leftism and for strikes and so on at the campus at Berkeley, the disorders there and so on.

I thought that we were losing our constituency in the Legislature, we were losing our constituency with the public, and so I thought that we ought to have a Code of Faculty Conduct and that one could be written that would not limit academic freedom and at the same time make the professor responsible for teaching his classes. No calling off your classes for going out to …

End of Tape 1

(audio was not picked up here) ……..

Erickson: Karl Pister?

Carney: No, just before Pister?

Erickson: Hmm?

Carney: God, who was it? He was Vice President for Agriculture.

Erickson: Was it Mrak? Or McHenry?

Carney: No, McHenry was the first Chancellor.

Erickson: Oh, ok. I don't know.

Carney: McHenry was the first Chancellor at Santa Cruz and an old UCLA political scientist. I can't remember his name, but we negotiated with him, and then once President Saxon joined us and hammered it out. They didn't like everything that we had in there, and we weren't sure that the faculty would buy it.

Erickson: How does that work? Does it take an all-faculty vote?

Carney: Took a vote of the Senate.

Erickson: Of each of the Senates?

Carney: I think each Senate had to approve it.

Erickson: And what if they had not? Would you have rewritten?

Carney: Well, I think we would have had to rewrite. Once it got past the administration and The Regents, there was never any objection from the faculty. I thought we did a good job.

My other experience on statewide committees has been that Riverside gets respect now from the other campuses. There was a period very early when other faculties in the system wanted their kids to go here because they thought it was going to be the small liberal arts college, but when it stopped being that then it lost favor as a repository. Although some faculty members at Berkeley, UCLA, Santa Barbara or Davis didn't know and saw that its population was still small, and so they sent their children here anyway. But once everybody gradually became aware that it was going to be a general campus, then that sort of cachet of attractiveness of other faculty members, for their children, disappeared.

I rank Ivan at the top and Ted as my personal favorites. Ray is the next.

Erickson: We didn't talk about Tomás.

Carney: Tomás was a loveable, wonderful man. He really didn't live long enough. I am not certain he was cut out to be… He was a poet, a scholar, a man of ideas, a man of the Ivory Tower. He wasn't a man of manipulation and of management and administration, I think. He didn't have a chance to formulate where he wanted to go. He took people who were around as his administrators, and so on.

Carney: Tomás was gallant and gloriously courteous and respectful of faculty and students alike. I thought Tomás was badly treated by the faculty, by the left particularly, screaming and shouting at him. He, of course, speaking softly. Some people I can't forgive for the way Tomás was treated.

Erickson: What are the qualities you most admire in a CEO, in a Chancellor?

Carney: I think he ought to have a scholarly rep so that the faculty members regard him as a peer, a guy who is a specialist and pretty good in his field. I wrote to Gardner and to The Regents about Jim, recommending him to be Chancellor at Riverside. And the reaction from my colleagues in the Senate was unfavorable, anger at me for doing this. Chuck Young read me the riot act. He said Erickson was doing what he should be doing. He said, "The Regents won't accept a non scholar." I said, "They have accepted other non scholars" and so on. "And the Faculty Senate wants a well-known scholar."

I think Ray is probably the best known scholar, although Ivan was a good, solid political scientist.

Spieth was a solid biologist who had done his work at Indiana with Kinsey, the gall wasp specialist.

I think Ray is the best known, and Ray had an enormous initial welcome from the faculty that Jim wouldn't have got, and Rosemary didn't get, Tomás didn't get, and even Ivan, who was a good, solid political scientist who had published some interesting things, didn't get.

Erickson: Was it because of the time, do you think? Still that transition?

Carney: I don't know, Jan. In Ivan's case, it was partly his down-to-earth style. He didn't talk like a scholar.

Erickson: Um hmm.

Carney: Didn't use scholarly allusions to the great classical writers and so on. He said things like, "by golly" and "gee whiz" and so on. That was off-putting to some faculty members, and it was just his general down-to-earth modest demeanor rather than the fact that he hadn't published, because he had. (pause) It was Ivan's down to earthness.

I think there was resentment over the fact that Ivan's … that Birk didn't live here. She lived at the beach and continued to live in Irvine or wherever it was they had a house. I guess it was Costa Mesa. And that was held against them.

Some people thought that he was, early in the game, entreating the faculty to be more generous to the undergraduates because UCR had a reputation for being too strict in its undergraduate education. I think people thought Ivan was telling them not to give such rigorous reading and writing assignments, which he wasn't. But it was feared that was the direction in which he wanted to go, to make it more congenial to undergraduates.

So, people forgot that Ivan was a scholar. He was also close to the same age as some. If I was somewhere near the median in the faculty, Ivan was only something like five or six years older than I. He thought of us as peers and age peers, but he had been a professor at UCLA when I was a graduate student. So that built a different picture of him in my mind.

Ray has had the best welcome, I think, of any, has had the longest honeymoon. But Ray's honeymoon is breaking up, too.

Erickson: What do you think is an ideal amount of time to be a chancellor?

Carney: I think ten years and then you burn out. Ivan was burned out the last couple of years. I think ten years. Chuck, who is one of the great university heads in history, did it twenty five years.

Erickson: He sure did.

Carney: I think that Chuck was one of the most successful university presidents who ever lived. I mean, he built … Everybody used to say it was Murphy, and Chuck just carried out Murphy's designs. But, no, that wasn't so. Murphy was long gone and Chuck was still boiling away. So, together, between Murphy and Chuck they built a good state university up into a great one and made it so wealthy and powerful, …

(chuckle)

it's almost a law unto itself. So, I would think ten years, otherwise, a burnout would come.

Kerr wanted to stay on at Berkeley, but he was about ten years when The Regents basically fired him.

Erickson: Did you have any aspirations toward administration?

Carney: No, I liked the scholar's life. I liked the teaching and writing. I never thought I'd be any good in administration. No, I really didn't.

Erickson: Did you enjoy being chair of your department?

Carney: No. I did it because I thought it was important for me to do it. I thought that I could be a kind of a bridge in the department. I couldn't be because I was viewed by one camp in the department … I wasn't a bridge, because I was viewed as being in the camp of the non scientists, although I thought, you know, I sympathized and understood and voted for the requirements and statistics and so on for a rigorous training and quantitative methods generally for all political scientists. But I was thought of as being in the camp of the traditionalists, and I couldn't shake it. I couldn't shake it. Too many attachments to the Ivy League, etc.

The hard, quantitative people in political science thought the Ivy League was the repository of traditional institutional (what they would have called institutional) political science, but it's a bunch of baloney. It's a crude stereotype. But I couldn't shake

Carney: my reputation as being a traditionalist, a non-quantitative political scientist, and that was troublesome for me as chairman. And I didn't like it anyway. There were some things I didn't mind about it … but I was happy teaching and being a scholar.

Erickson: And you should be. I mean, all your students, you know, (pause) revere you.

Carney: Well, all I can say is, thank you. I am grateful. I do work at it and care about it, and I am grateful for the affection and respect I have had from my students. I don't deserve it …

Erickson: Well you do.

Carney: But I am really, really grateful for it. It means a lot to me that I have that from generations of students. In some ways, I would like never to quit, but there comes a time to depart. I remember years ago, John Gabbert said that to me. You know, I pleaded with him, pleaded with him to stay to continue teaching his course.

Erickson: Hmm.

Carney: You know, I said, "God, the students love you. … They revere you. …You are great at it. … It's the best thing we ever had in our department. … and so on." He said, "No, Hank, the time has come."

Erickson: It's time.

Carney: I said, "I know." He said, "I know it's time for me to go." I said, "John, anything you want. … You're so great. … You're such a great teacher. … We want you, we want you, we want you—forever." But he said, "There comes a time. It will come to you someday, and when it does, listen to that voice."

Erickson: Interesting.

Carney: So, that's what I am doing.

Erickson: You're listening. Well, thank you so much for this interview. It's been wonderful, just wonderful.

Carney: Ah, a pleasure. A pleasure entirely. I loved it, Jan. You were wonderful.

Erickson: Thank you.

Carney: I hope I didn't talk too much.

From the control room, Jim Brown interjected a question.

Brown: Dr. Carney.

Carney: Yes.

Brown: Were you, by any chance, involved in the school integration push in the sixties of Riverside Unified under Arthur Littleworth?

Carney: No, I wasn't much involved in that. I was involved in the housing integration in Riverside around the same time.

Brown: Would you speak maybe to that issue to Jan—just a few words?

Carney: About the school integration?

Brown: About all of that.

Carney: Well, Riverside was a segregated city in a lot of ways. I mean, the Eastside and Casa Blanca were ghettos. And the schools were separate, segregated. The school board for the city of Riverside was an elite institution. I mean, if I were asked as a political scientist to identify the heart of the Riverside governing elite, I would say it is in this school board.

Erickson: Interesting.

Carney: That's what is the most protected, not the legislators or the City Council, but the school board is the crucial, traditional community organization. And the chairman of the school board in the mid sixties and a little into the late sixties was Arthur Littleworth.

Now where the continuation school is, Lincoln School, was an absolute ghetto school with Black and Latino pupils. And there weren't Blacks and Latinos in the other schools, some at Poly High naturally and at Ramona High and later in '67 at North High. But in the lower schools, the elementary schools, they were segregated. The Lincoln School was firebombed one night.

Erickson: Oh.

Carney: By whom … no one knows. But it was by parents who were protesting the segregation of Lincoln School. Littleworth was determined that Riverside would desegregate its school system. Since Lincoln had burned and was not useful, it was closed and its students fed out into surrounding schools, and all without any real incident.

There were the usual things—neighborhood, neighborhood, neighborhood—was the code word. No busing, etc. of students for purposes of segregation. But in order to do it, you had to do some busing, and Littleworth was determined. He got a unanimous school board to approve the desegregation of the Riverside schools and won some fame for Riverside. It's one of the great contributions of Arthur Littleworth to his community, although there are many others over the years.

And our education people here, in the School of Ed, were, of course, very active.

Erickson: Oh, in what ways?

Carney: In urging that it be done and helping to draw the school boundaries and so on.

Erickson: That would have been Irv Balow at the time?

Carney: Irv Balow, primarily. The two Irvs—the regimes of the two Irvs. (Irving Balow and Irving Hendrick)

(laughter)

It was a great one, lasted a long time and made our School of Education.

On the housing, both students and faculty became involved. I became the head of what's called The Riverside Open Housing Committee. The motive power for it came from a group of undergraduate women. A couple of them were my students but not all of them, who were shocked to realize how segregated housing was that Blacks couldn't rent housing. They campaigned for the Human Relations Commission to be established and then to urge the city to adopt an ordinance abolishing segregation in housing.

In the meantime, our committee operated this way. We would get a Black couple to go, or a mixed couple to go to an apartment community or block that was opening and apply for rent. And when they were told that … The ordinance had been passed, you know. It was against the law to discriminate on the basis of race. But they were discriminating on the basis of race, and the kids, really through this event, … a few Black people from the Eastside joined, George Williams and a fellow named Bill Bland.

We used Bland because he was an appealing looking fellow, and he would go with a Black woman or with a white woman to apply for a rental and was told there were no vacancies or that they just rented it. We would do that until it became clear what was happening, and we would then throw a picket line around the apartment house. You know, get dozens of people, get as many whites as we could possibly get to (pause) be in the

Carney: picket line so it wouldn't be threatening to have angry Blacks carrying picket signs shouting slogans. We would just circle around and around the street, and the owners would give in.

The Riverside Press-Enterprise (Tim) picked up what we were doing and wrote about it …

Erickson: Oh, he did? Wrote editorials?

Carney: Advocated that this come to a stop and that it's against the law and prosecutions be made an so on. And they caved. The whole Eastside became desegregated.

Earlier … at the time of Freedom Riders and lunch counter sit-ins down south in the late fifties … we had a Woolworth's on Main Street. It's where the California Museum of Photography (CMP) is. A grand, marvelous old building. Beautiful building, beautiful example of art deco architecture.

Some local NAACP chapter decided it would be good if the Riverside Woolworth's lunch counter would be desegregated, you know, Blacks would be served there. The leadership in that came
from a young man, a student at UCR, a student named Henry Ramsey.

Erickson: Oh, my goodness.

Carney: He was a former student of mine and now a good friend. Henry, as you know, is now Dean of the Law School at Howard University. He was a Superior Court Judge in Alameda County in the ~~1960s~~ 1970s as one of Jerry Brown's first appointments to the bench. A stupendous figure and growing still in stature is Henry.

In any case, Henry was a rough young student at that time and didn't have the polish that he does now. He didn't dress the way he does now and didn't have all that elegance and charm and smoothness that he has now. But he was intelligent and articulate, and he started a one-man picket of the Woolworth's.

Carney: They said that they would serve anybody who came up after Henry began to picket.

Even after they served, Henry continued to picket because he wanted to draw attention to what was happening in the south. That caused a lot of people to dislike him. They said, "You can go up there and buy a cup of coffee. Why do you continue to do this?" And Henry said, "It's the principle. I want Woolworth's to desegregate their southern lunch counters."

I remember that my daughters, my young daughters, Susan and Diane, knew Henry and liked him and wanted to do something. So, they picketed with Henry one day, carrying signs, the two little girls picketing with Henry. A white man, burly man came out of the store and saw Henry and the two girls and began yelling at Henry. Henry calmly … The guy spit in Henry's face. Henry calmly wiped it off and said, "That's not going to stop me. That's not going to stop me from picketing. I have a right to do this, and our cause is the right cause. And you should be supporting me, not denouncing me." They continued to picket and the guy walked away. I never forgot that.

Erickson: Right. And your daughters probably never did either.

Carney: Yeh. They've never forgotten it. No, they remember it to this day. They were so impressed.

Henry went to Boalt. We told Gordon Watkins that regardless of what his LSAT score, his law school aptitude test score, was … it was down to some low thing. I know he was a product of a Philadelphia ghetto, but he was a good student. He was a darn good student. We don't care what his LSAT score was. He was a top student at Berkeley and some day, you'll be glad you admitted him. And Henry went to Boalt where he was a star as a law student, and of course, went to work for the Alameda County DA. When Brown became Governor, one of his first appointments to the bench was …. He was a city councilman in Berkeley and then went to the bench.

Carney: We had also at the same time, a year before Henry, a young Latino from San Bernardino named Ernest Lopez. Ernie Lopez, Poli Sci major and … God, just a great guy. And a crackerjack student. He was a beautiful student, really good. But he had about a 350, a really low score on the LSAT, no chance of going … Gordon, again, wrote and talked to the dean at Boalt and said, "Please. My faculty here assure me that there is no way he can fail in law school. He will be a top student." So, Ernie also did very, very well at Boalt.

The Public Defender law was passed after Gideon against Wainright, a legal case. The Supreme Court decided that the right to counsel provision to the Fifth Amendment was binding on state governments. It was the period in which the Supreme Court gradually incorporated all the Bill of Rights to count against the state governments as well as the national government, ok.

Erickson: Um hmm.

Carney: The court had ruled since John Marshall's time back in the early 19th century that states were not bound … The Federal Bill of Rights bound only the Federal government and the Federal
courts, prosecutors and the like. So, it was a long process of bringing all the features of the Bill of Rights over into the meaning of the Due Process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, ok.

But in Gideon against Wainright, the court explicitly overruled an earlier opinion that the right to counsel did not bind state government. It was only binding on the national government. The state passed a Public Defender Law creating an Office of Public Defender. Ernie was one of the first public defender's in Riverside. And when Jerry Brown became Governor, looking around for a Latino for the bench, met Ernie and, of course, was totally impressed by him. They sat talking for hours and hours, but he instantly appointed Ernie.

Erickson: Were you ever tempted to go into law?

Carney: I was tempted because I liked it as an intellectual discipline. I like the intellectual discipline of law. I was tempted to abandon … and try to go to UCLA or Boalt.

Erickson: When were you considering that?

Carney: Oh, in the fifties and for a while in the sixties. I never really gave it up. I often thought maybe even after retirement, I would try to get in and see if they would take me. And I would become … just to …

But in any case, Riverside was once a segregated place. And Ernie was the first Latino. God, there wasn't a woman on the bench in Riverside until …

Erickson: Who was the first?

Carney: Jan McIntyre Poe was the first. Jerry appointed the first woman to the bench here. UCR students were involved in all those things. Henry was involved in race issues here, but not only in race issues.

I remember a group of ladies called Pro America, a very right wing group, fundamentally a front group for the Republican Party. There were a couple of women, Mrs. Quist and Mrs. Payne, (Dickensian names if ever there were a pair) who were trying to get books removed from the library because they were not appropriate to be on the shelves for children.

The council was considering some kind of ordinance like that. Henry Ramsey went down and spoke to City Council. God, it was as memorable as … let's say something out of the play by James Thurber, "The Male Animal." The professor gives the stirring speech in favor of not banning books from the libraries—or anything Mencken ever wrote about banning books. Henry was marvelous. He argued with the council persons and so on, respectfully but ably.

Erickson: Did he talk to you first, before he would do these things?

Carney: Oh, of course. Yes, of course, we went over it. There are many, many … The case is overwhelming, banning books from the library, because children might get ahold of something with a dirty word in it. Henry would have argued the same way if somebody had wanted to ban Huck Finn …

Erickson: Sure.

Carney: Because he word "nigger" was used.

Erickson: Professor Carney, thank you so much for agreeing to this interview. It was wonderful.

Carney: The pleasure was all mine. You were a wonderful interviewer, and I enjoyed it.

Erickson: Thank you.

END OF INTERVIEW

Text has been edited by Professor Carney.