

People in Political Science

ship in the National Academy of Public Administration.

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In Memoriam

John Chauncey Donovan

John Chauncey Donovan, DeAlva Stanwood Alexander Professor of Government at Bowdoin College, died suddenly on the morning of October 3, 1984. He was 64.

John was born in New York City of Old Yankee and New Irish parents. He grew up during the Great Depression in the mill town of Naugatuck, Connecticut. The Old Yankee connection took him to Bates College from which he was graduated in 1942.

As Lieutenant (JG) Donovan he served on a destroyer in the South Pacific during World War II, and returned to graduate study as part of that remarkable, immediate post-war generation in the Harvard Government Department (Lane, Beer, Easton, Walke, Proxmire and so many more). He received his M.A. in 1948 and his Ph.D. in 1949. That same year he was appointed instructor in government at Bates. Teaching the typically heavy and diverse loads of that period, he was promoted to assistant professor in 1951, associate professor in 1954, and professor of government and chairman of the division of social sciences in 1957.

During the early 1950s John was part (along with Edmund Muskie and Frank Coffin) of a quiet revolution in Maine politics which saw the Democratic Party emerge as a competitive force for the first time since the Jacksonian period. John was state Democratic chairman in 1957-1958 and managed Governor Muskie's successful senatorial campaign in 1958. He went to Washington in 1959 as Muskie's administrative assis-

tant. In 1960, in his only personal bid for electoral office, he was an unsuccessful congressional candidate in Maine's old second district. In 1962 he was named special and executive assistant to Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and became manpower administrator in March of 1964.

In February of 1965 John resigned from government to accept the Alexander chair at Bowdoin. During his Bowdoin years he published widely and with great distinction while serving from time to time as a Trustee of Bates, of the University of Maine, and as a member of several state study commissions, and completed a Ford Foundation study of British manpower policy. His widely acclaimed book on "the war on poverty," *The Politics of Poverty*, was published in 1970, and this was followed by *The Policy Makers* in 1970, *The Cold Warriors* in 1974, and (with Richard E. Morgan and Christian P. Potholm) two textbooks: *American Politics: Directions of Change*, *Dynamics of Choice* (1979, 1982) and *People, Power and Politics* (1981).

John's life was that rare combination—so often talked about, even dreamed about, but seldom realized—of teaching, scholarship, politics, and public service. His passing sadly diminishes his college, his state, and our profession.

Richard E. Morgan
Bowdoin College

Carl Joachim Friedrich

Carl Joachim Friedrich died on September 19, 1984, after a long illness. He had been one of the most learned and creative political scientists in America and Europe, who during his long career deeply influenced many generations of students at Harvard. The range of his scholarly work was extraordinary, especially as he was also constantly engaged in public life, in addition to being a dedicated amateur farmer and musician. He would not, however, have liked to be

remembered as a "Renaissance man," but rather as a good citizen. In his view nothing could be more dignified, for he was a principled and convinced democrat, who had come to admire the political institutions of the United States, without ever forgetting his civic obligation to criticize the policies of its government when he thought them mistaken.

Friedrich was born and educated in Germany, receiving a Ph.D. from Heidelberg with a thesis on the regulation of railroads. His first teaching appointment, however, was at Harvard in 1926, where he remained until his retirement. The number of his other appointments, honorary degrees and public marks of distinction was so great that it is impossible to list them here, but he was particularly proud of being elected president of the American Political Science Association in 1962. It proved to him that the members of his profession genuinely recognized his merits and those of the characteristic combination of empirical and theoretical inquiries that constituted his life's work. His cosmopolitanism, philosophical concerns, and his refusal to specialize were receiving their due, as was the remarkable body of writings that they had led him to produce. The respect they had won from people whose public approval he valued, even though he was in so many ways unlike them, meant a great deal to him.

A look at the shelves occupied by his books is always astonishing. First there is an annotated edition of a Latin work of Althusius with a copious introduction, both in the meticulous scholarly traditions of the last century. This is followed by wholly different work on Swiss and American public administration. Then there is his masterpiece, *Constitutional Government and Democracy*, which really does deal with every aspect of that vast subject. One's eyes move on to volumes on the principles of democracy, on foreign policy, and on military government. One stops at this point to note especially *The Age of the Baroque*, that dramatic period of European history in which he was able to relate everything from war to religion, and from Velazquez to Hobbes. On to popular editions of the works of Kant and Hegel as one turns to

the next shelf. There is the influential and much discussed *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, written with his friend and pupil Zbigniew Brzezinski. There are, finally, volumes on the history of legal theory and on the development of political thought, and, above all, his *summa*, *Man and His Government*. It would be hopeless to count the articles, the contributions to symposia, and other odds and ends.

Throughout this variety and volume of writing, each one of which is a distinguished piece of work, one can trace a coherent political theory. Historical evidence and speculative reasoning must be joined to elucidate the phenomena of politics. Comparisons between different governments are often possible, and when they are, they reveal more about institutions and practices than any purely local analysis. It is neither feasible nor honest to avoid moral judgment in thinking about politics, which is inherently a purposive activity. It is therefore important to be clear and fully self-conscious about the ethical dimensions of political explanations. Honesty in this respect is a duty to oneself no less than to one's readers. This in Friedrich's case was an effort to live up to the main precepts of Kant's moral philosophy, which he regarded as both necessary and true. In empirical research he was generally eclectic in his method, but Aristotle was rarely far from his mind in these areas of reflection. Bitter experience, no less than moral and scientific convictions, led him to regard constitutional democracy as the only just form of government in the modern age. In his most Kantian work, *Inevitable Peace*, he made a reasoned case for a democratic foreign policy that, without loss of prudence, must seek to promote acceptable standards of legality and a lasting world order, as matters of republican principle. In keeping with these ends he looked to federalism as the most likely path to peace and decency. That these were the true aims and wishes of mankind seemed to him obvious, whatever the policies of deviant governments might be.

Among the many political causes in which he became directly involved none

consumed him more than the struggle to destroy Hitler and Nazism. He was tireless in his efforts to make Americans understand just how dangerous the Nazi regime was at a time when they did not believe that Hitler meant exactly what he said. It was a great relief to him when the United States finally entered the war, even though he had many relatives whom he loved in Germany who had to endure much during those years. At times he felt as if he alone had the responsibility of representing Germany's more noble traditions. In keeping with this obligation he became an ardent Zionist and later a champion of the State of Israel. To complete his task he also returned to Germany as an adviser to General Clay and took a very active part in the framing of the constitutions of the Federal Republic as well as of the various Länder. Later he taught regularly at his old university in Heidelberg. The impulses that had led him to these endeavors eventually took him to Puerto Rico, whose government he was to advise during a complex period of constitution making. These public services contributed much to his teaching. He was among the first to offer seminars in public policy at Harvard, and his enormous personal experience in government made these unique in their impact.

Indeed his greatest achievement was as a teacher who brought out the best efforts in young people by the force of his example and by his understanding. He was particularly good to the intellectually gifted to whom he was a tolerant and understanding guide. He clearly enjoyed the challenge and responses of these often difficult companions on the road to knowledge, and few, if any, can have forgotten what he gave them.

Judith N. Shklar
Arthur Maass
Harvard University

Samuel Hendel

Samuel Hendel died on August 27, 1984. He entered the City College of New York in 1926 at 17. A year later, he enrolled in Brooklyn Law School from which he graduated in 1930 with the

third highest grades in a class of 1,000. He was admitted to the bar in the following year but was soon dissatisfied. A life of teaching and scholarship promised the greatest satisfaction. While continuing his practice, he studied at City College and in 1936 graduated with a B.A., Phi Beta Kappa. He also studied at Columbia University on a part-time basis.

Sam began his teaching career in 1940 as a part-time tutor in the Evening Session of City College. A year later, he was full-time at the Baruch School of City College and within 11 years was a full professor. From the outset, he was committed to civil liberties and was never inhibited by careerist considerations. The College's president held back his promotion, it was believed, because of Sam's position on some controversial issues. He was to become one of the most articulate and persuasive voices, within City College and nationally, on issues of academic freedom.

At the City College, he was in the forefront: in support of honors programs; for the establishment of an interdisciplinary inter-college Russian Area Studies Program, which he headed for several years; for the upgrading of the department, which he also headed in the early 1960s; as a leader of the Faculty Council; and as the first ombudsman elected by the faculty. During the watershed years in the history of the College, 1969-1970, he fought on the side of the barricade that championed equality and evolutionary change toward "open admission" while preserving the tradition of educational excellence that identified City College as "the Harvard of the Proletariat."

Sam was at his best in the classroom. The zest and joy with which he taught were contagious. He was clearly one of the great teachers in the history of the College. His use of the Socratic method and the animated discussions elicited by his searching questions left a lasting imprint on the minds of generations of students. A recognized expert in the fields he taught—constitutional law, Soviet government and politics, and American government—he always kept revising his syllabi, providing the students with the most recent materials and tools. He made many trips to the Soviet Union, on one