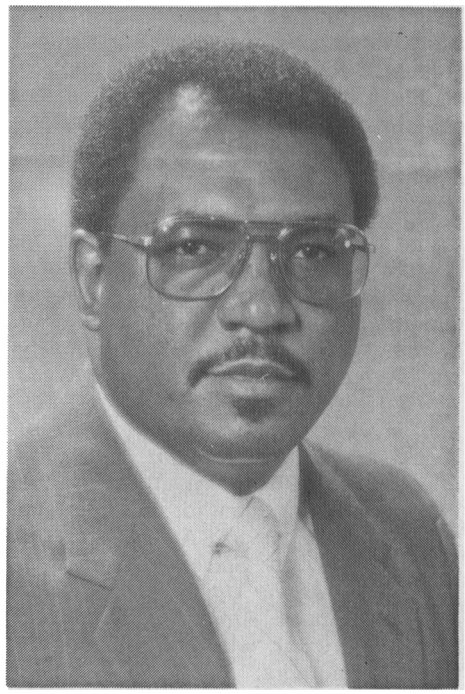
ities for 1986-87 for his research on: The Social and Economic Impact of Black Politics in the South.

Fred W. Riggs, professor of political science at the University of Hawaii, received the Order of the White Elephant of Thailand from the King of Thailand on April 1, 1986. This top honor of the Thai government is given to foreigners for distinguished service. Also, the first "Fred Riggs Award" was given at the national meeting of the American Society for Public Administration in Anaheim, California, on April 12, 1986.

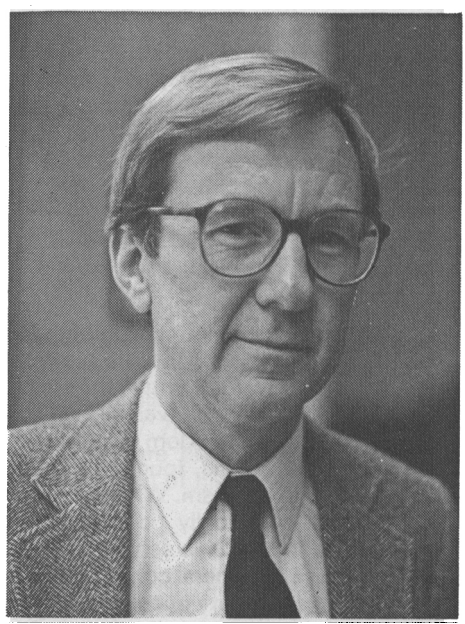
Dennis Thompson, professor of politics at Princeton, has been designated as the Whitehead Professor in the Department of Government and at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. Thompson will establish and administer a new Program in Professional Ethics.

Sheldon Wolin, professor of politics at Princeton University, received the 1985 Benjamin Evans Lippincott Award in Political Theory of the APSA for his distinguished work, *Politics and Vision.* As the recipient Wolin gave a public presentation at the University of Minnesota, Department of Political Science, on February 26, 1986, entitled "Democracy and the Welfare State." In the future, the award will be presented on a biennial basis.

Robert Wrinkle, Pan American University, has received the University's Outstanding Faculty Achievement Award for 1986.



Huey L. Perry has been awarded a Ford Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship to study black politics in the South.



Dennis Thompson has been designated the Whitehead Professor at Harvard University where he will inaugurate a Program in Professional Ethics.

In Memoriam

Louis Hartz

Louis Hartz, one of the most original minds of his generation of political scientists, died of a seizure on January 20, 1986, in Istanbul. Presumably he was in Turkey to continue the comparative study of cultures which had occupied him in recent years. He was 66.

Born in Youngstown, Ohio, the son of Russian immigrants, Hartz grew up in Omaha, Nebraska, going to Harvard in

https://doi.org/10.1017/S003082690062653X Published online by Cambridge University Press

1936 with the help of a scholarship from a local newspaper. A brilliant student, he graduated with a *summa* in 1940 and got his Ph.D. in 1946. As a member of the government department, he was rapidly promoted, receiving tenure at the early age of 31.

A talented and enormously popular teacher, he offered courses mainly in European and American political theory. Published in scholarly journals from his undergraduate days, he was the author of three major works: *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania 1776-1850* (1948); *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution* (1955), which won the Woodrow Wilson Prize for that year and in 1977 the Lippincott Award; and *The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada, and Australia* (1964), with contributions by four other authors.

The Liberal Tradition is his best known book. It had an immediate impact, stimulating passionate affirmations and sharp rejoinders. It continues to influence the work of political scientists and historians, as one can see, for instance, in recent books by Samuel P. Huntington and John Diggins. Only a few weeks before his death, an informal seminar of faculty and graduate students celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of its publication. A few words about this book is probably the best way of recalling Hartz' remarkable contributions to our discipline.

The Liberal Tradition is commonly classified with consensus interpretations of American politics. Hartz does so himself when he opens the work with "the story book truth" that America was settled by people who, seeking freedom from feudal and clerical oppressions, founded a society united by its liberalism. When he criticizes, indeed, continually ridicules, historians of the Progressive school for failing to recognize this liberal consensus, he does not deny the reality of conflict or express complacency over our community of values. Quite the contrary. His first book, for instance, was in the Progressive tradition, finding in the Pennsylvania of the Jacksonian era a robust democratic faith supporting wide government intervention, which was then challenged by the new doctrines of negative government favored by the satisfied powers of American "Whiggery." In the succeeding book Hartz did not deny this conflict, but rather provided a more penetrating analysis of why the "Whig" challenge was able to succeed. These passages on the capacity of what we now call American "conservatism" to mount a populistic appeal are still richly instructive.

Hartz was no doubt reacting to the teaching of his teachers. Above all, however, he was responding to what he termed "the entire crisis of our times." When he wrote *The Liberal Tradition* he was not looking inwardly to the stacks of Widener Library, but outwardly on the world of the Great Depression, World War II, of decolonization and the cold war. One aspect of that crisis was domestic. Hartz feared that American liberalism was so narrowly defined by the conventional rhetoric that it could be used to attack freedom of thought and expression and to restrict the discussion of public policy. This menace he personified in "the frightening figure" of Senator Joseph McCarthy. His main concern, however, was outward. Hartz fully accepted the central importance of the conflict of freedom vs. totalitarianism, but feared that Americans might fail the new responsibilities of "our world position" by construing any departure from our unique values as taking sides with the enemy. Hartz sometimes made light of the divisions of American politics, but for him the menace of the "redscare" at home and abroad made it urgent that American liberalism see itself in a wider perspective.

In his belief in the power of ideas, Hartz was himself a deep-dyed liberal. He could, therefore, hope that liberalism, which was founded on that belief, could be brought to transcend itself. On this fundamental plane, he rejected Marxism. Yet he used Marxist categories in contriving an un-Marxian self-transcendence for American liberalism, in the course of which he explained that inexplicable nonevent for Marxists: "the absence of socialism" in this most capitalist of economies.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S003082690062653X Published online by Cambridge University Press

The two main categories he used to interpret the American experience were "feudalism" and "liberalism." The meaning he gave to feudalism, which has sometimes been criticized by historians, he got from Marx, and ultimately, I should say, from Montesquieu. His concept of liberalism could also be accepted by a Marxist, except for the radical departure of saying that in America this outlook enduringly characterized not just one economic class, but a whole society. Hartz uses "Locke"—a very democratic Locke—as shorthand for this outlook. He does not say that Locke was the cause or the source of these ideas. Indeed apart from the absence of feudalism, he is not much concerned with historical origins. His question is: if a society lacks a tradition of revolutionary class struggle against a feudal order and shares a pervasive liberalism, what will be the consequences for its politics? One is that, lacking such a past, this society will have no foundation for a true Tory conservatism on European lines. More important, it will not have the concept of class and class struggle necessary to convert the economic presence of a proletariat into a socialist movement. For, concludes Hartz, "socialism is largely an ideological phenomenon, arising out of the principles of class and the revolutionary revolt against them which the old European order inspired."

The purpose of his analysis was to enable Americans to get a better understanding of others, as well as themselves. Comparison performed both functions, and, from *The Liberal Tradition* on, Hartz continually emphasized the need to study systems and sub-systems not in isolation but in comparison with one another and in the light of some larger framework of analysis. The pursuit of such a framework constantly enlarged his sphere of study. In *The Founding of New Societies,* as Ben Barber has observed, Hartz transformed the specific thesis about American liberalism into a general hypothesis about new societies. Starting from the complexities and dynamism of Europe, he examined how the "fragments" of this whole, when embodied in new societies, lapsed "into a kind of immobility" and like America were confronted with the problem of self-transcendence.

Louis Hartz was driven by a passion for ideas. Not merely for their bearing on the "crisis of our times," but above all for their own sake. My friendship with him sprang from an hours-long argument—about Locke—in 1946 and continued until he left Harvard in 1974. It was for me one of those supremely rewarding experiences of academic life which occur once in a while when you meet someone with whom you agree and disagree in just the right balance to make conversation continually irresistible and constructive. The bond was entirely intellectual. We had in common few other tastes, gustatory, social or recreational. It seems now as if we spent nearly thirty years talking, off and on, about political theory. Hartz' very passion for ideas, inherently impersonal and abstract, could at the same time create a close personal tie. I have been made especially aware of this by the many communications I have recently received from former friends and students. Their concern obliges me to say a word about his sad, last years.

Hartz suffered from some severe emotional disturbance that in time led to estrangement from his family, his friends and his students. It is impossible to give a name to this trouble since one of its symptoms was his refusal to seek professional help. In 1973 a bitter and unnecessary altercation with students in one of his courses led ultimately to his resignation from the university. He lived in London for a while; then went to New Delhi, where he was warmly received and greatly admired, returning to New York in 1978. In 1982 he published in photo-offset and loose-leaf form a summary of his latest ideas, *A Synthesis of World History.* Some passages still shine with the old brilliance. A review is forthcoming in *Political Theory.* Friends and former students are planning a scholarly commemoration of his work as a whole.

Samuel H. Beer
Harvard University

John D. Lees

John Lees, who died on February 23, 1986, was one of the leading British political scientists working in the field of

https://doi.org/10.1017/S003082690062653X Published online by Cambridge University Press