

In Memoriam

control. The subject is, therefore, one of the greatest in modern politics. To manage pressures is to govern; to let pressures run wild is to abdicate. (Politics, Pressures, and the Tariff, 1935, pp. 292-293.)

The classical definition of democracy left a great, unexplored, undiscovered breach in the theory of modern government, the zone between the sovereign people and the government which is the habitat of the parties. The parties occupy a blind spot in the theory of democracy . . . The only way to discover the parties is to revise the definition of democracy. (Party Government, 1940, p. 15.)

One implication of public opinion studies ought to be resisted by all friends of freedom and democracy; the implication that democracy is a failure because the people are too ignorant to answer intelligently all the questions asked by the pollsters. This is a professorial invention for imposing professorial standards on the political system and deserves to be treated with extreme suspicion. Only a pedagogue would suppose that the people must pass some kind of examination to qualify for participation in a democracy. Who, after all, are these self-appointed censors who assume that they are in a position to flunk the whole human race? Their attitude would be less presumptuous if they could come up with a list of things that people must know. Who can say what the man on the street must know about public affairs? The whole theory of knowledge underlying these assumptions is pedantic. Democracy was made for the people, not the people for democracy. Democracy is something for ordinary people, a political system designed to be sensitive to the needs of ordinary people regardless of whether or not the pedants approve of them. (The Semisovereign People, 1960, p. 135.)

What is government? From the outside it looks like a security system based on the marriage of land and people. From the inside, it looks like and attempts to create a community. A government is like an oyster, hard on the outside and soft on the inside, and the outside and inside are utterly dependent on each other. . . . The greatest miscalculations we make are about democracy itself, the illusion that we might have democracy without government. The pools of quiet that grew up within the communities in the shelters have been the nurseries of democracy. Because there were many governments, there were many sources, but the hard knot of the subject is that

democracy is a government in the fullest sense of the word and the cause of government is also the cause of democracy. People who do not know what government is are not likely to know what democracy is either, for democracy is only what the soft inside of the oyster looks like. (Two Hundred Million Americans in Search of a Government, 1969, pp. 24; 38.)

E. E. Schattschneider was a presence in his profession as political scientist and teacher. He had a loyalty and a style that made him an exemplar to many. He is survived by his wife, Florence, of Old Saybrook, Connecticut and by his son Frank Schattschneider of Princeton, New Jersey.

Fred I. Greenstein
Clement E. Vose
Wesleyan University

Louis W. H. Johnston

Louis W. H. Johnston, Professor of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh died at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on May 21, 1971. He is survived by his wife Mary McConahey Johnston, a daughter, Mary S. Johnston, and a son, Alexander M. Johnston.

He received his academic training at the University of Pittsburgh and Yale University. His interests were in political theory and American government.

During the forty years in which he was a member of the faculty of the University he established a reputation for influential teaching and effective participation in faculty affairs. He served as Vice President of the University Senate and chairman of Senate standing committees. He was secretary of the local chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

Both his colleagues and his students will miss the sharpness of his wit and the wisdom of his judgments.

William J. Keefe
University of Pittsburgh

Harvey Walker

On May 22, 1971, Harvey Walker, Professor Emeritus of the Department of Political Science of The Ohio State University and former Secretary-Treasurer (1942-50) and Council member (1939-41) of the American Political Science Association

died of a heart attack at his home in Worthington, Ohio.

A talented, versatile, action-oriented man, his driving energy and strong sense of public service projected him into a wide variety of professional, public and civic activities from the beginning of his career. Always busy, always going full tilt, he could never refuse a request to assist in a new public undertaking, or ignore a pressing civic problem. Living a full, work-crowded life on several levels he did the job of several men, giving his time and energy without stint until the very day of his death.

A bare recital of the formal recorded facts of his career may give the present day student of political science a useful picture of the patterns of work of an active political scientist in the public service tradition.

Born in Des Moines, Iowa, on February 24, 1900, he was a Political Science major and member of Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Kansas where he was graduated with an A.B. degree in 1923. From 1923 to 1925 he served as Assistant Secretary of the International City Managers Association. In 1925, he became a staff member of the League of Minnesota Municipalities and a graduate student at the University of Minnesota. Receiving his M.A. degree in 1927, his thesis on *Village Laws and Government in Minnesota* was published by the University of Minnesota Press in 1928. During the year 1927-28, he served as acting secretary of the League, acting director of the University's Municipal Reference Bureau and instructor in Political Science. In June, 1928, he received his Ph.D. degree. His dissertation on *Municipal Ordinance Making under the Federal Constitution* was published in 1929 by The Ohio State University Press.

In the fall of 1928 he came to The Ohio State University as an Assistant Professor of Political Science. A few months later he was appointed executive secretary of the Ohio Joint Committee on Economy in the Public Service, which was preparing a "Report on Administrative Reorganization" for the General Assembly. When this task was completed he was appointed Superintendent of the Budget of Ohio. Serving in this capacity until 1931, he drew up the Ninth Executive Budget of the State before returning to his university duties as an Associate Professor. Between 1929 and 1931 he also served as Secretary of the Ohio Municipal League. In 1932, he received a Social Science Research

Council Fellowship and spent the year 1932-33 in England studying the British Civil Service. His book *Training Public Employees in Great Britain* was based on this study. In 1935, he was promoted to a full professorship. In the same year his book *Law-Making in the United States* was published. In the summer of 1935 he served as educational director of the National Institute of Public Affairs and taught in the summer session of the American University. In 1937, his book *Public Administration in the United States* was published. During this period he instituted training programs for various state and local governmental personnel. Over a period of years he served as director of fourteen short courses on fire administration and nine short courses on police administration. He also supervised two short courses for civil service commissioners and employees, two for municipal finance officers and four for city managers in Ohio. These programs were initiated, organized and administered almost single handedly and with the most meager financial assistance.

As a member of the U.S. Army Officers Reserve Corps he was called to active duty on June 1, 1941. After almost four years of service, largely in South America, he was de-activated as a Lieutenant Colonel and returned to the University. While carrying on his regular duties he completed a full course of study in the College of Law. In 1948 he was awarded the LL.B. degree, elected to the Order of the Coif, and admitted to the practice by the Ohio Supreme Court. In October, 1951, he was admitted to the bar of the U.S. Supreme Court.

In the immediate post-war period, he brought out several more books: *The Legislative Process* (1949); *American National Government* (with C. P. Patterson, 1949); and *Constructive Government in Ohio: The Story of the Myers Y. Cooper Administration* (1947). He also contributed a chapter on "The Vargas Regime" to a book on Brazil published in 1947; and translated from Portuguese a book entitled *Budget-Making in Brazil* (1946). In 1949, he served in the summer session as a Visiting Professor at the University of Idaho. The Ohio Civil Service Commission then asked him to direct a "Reclassification of State Employees." This task was completed in January, 1950.

In August, 1951, he was a member of a United Nations Technical Assistance Mission which assisted the Brazilian government in organizing

In Memoriam

a teaching and research center in public administration for all of Latin America. He spent 15 months in 1951-52 in Rio de Janeiro at the center teaching courses in "Budgetary Administration" and "Public Administration" to students from various countries of Latin America. In February, 1952, he served as a member and rapporteur of the International Seminar held under the auspices of the U.N. and UNESCO dealing with problems of Public Administration. In March, 1952, he held a seminar on public personnel administration at the University of Sao Paulo for State and municipal employees. In July, 1952, he held a similar seminar in Porto Alegre for the Department of Public Service of the State of Rio Grande Do Sul.

Returning to his duties at The Ohio State University in 1953, he was asked to help revise the charters of several local governments. In the following years he performed this service again and again. In July, 1956, after a Spring Quarter as a Visiting Professor at Southern Illinois University, he served as assistant director of the United Nations School of Public Administration in San Jose, Costa Rica, and offered courses in comparative public administration, budgetary administration and administrative ethics. He also participated in international seminars on Civil Service in Honduras and Guatemala; offered a short course on administrative ethics in the National School of Public Administration in El Salvador; and advised the government of Nicaragua on problems of organization in the field of taxation and public finance.

In September, 1957, he returned to The Ohio State University. During this period he was the co-author of a book on *Ohio Government and Administration* (published in 1956); the author of a book on *Ethics in Public Administration* (translated into Spanish and published in Costa Rica) and another book on the *British Parliament and the American Congress* (published in Brazil in the Portuguese language). In 1961, he was guest lecturer at the University of Cologne in Germany.

Throughout all of his 39 years of service at The Ohio State University, he was a teacher who gave generously of his time to his students, both graduate and undergraduate. Many of his students, who are scattered through the public services in various administrative posts at the local, national and international level will never forget his interest and continuing helpfulness. To

them he was a dependable friend and advisor. To them it came as a shock when their seemingly tireless preceptor retired from the University in 1967 to become Professor Emeritus and devote his time to a full program of civic, fraternal, legal and private activities. In 1969, however, when the University of Kansas asked him to come back as a Visiting Professor in Public Administration, he accepted and spent the academic year 1969-70 in the school of his youth. In 1970, he came back to Columbus, hoping to practice law, continue his ever present consultative service to Ohio local governmental bodies and other public agencies, when he was called upon to serve as an associate director of a task force studying the effect of shock probation for the Ohio Division of Corrections. He was engaged in this undertaking until the day of his death.

It is difficult to appraise the total effect of this highly organized, useful and genuinely helpful man. He did so many things at the same time that few people had any conception of the full range of his activities. A great number of people in the university, in the public service, in civic organizations and elsewhere knew full well that if they needed help they could call on his quick interest and quicker intelligence and he would invariably lend a hand. Indeed it seemed to be taken for granted that his talents would be readily available and would be generously extended. Perhaps only a few people would have complete understanding of his varied contributions to the University, the profession and the public service.

To those who had some awareness of his hope for a better society and his faith in the "efficacy of his effort," his pattern of work at high speeds on many fronts became understandable. Those who knew him well, and that would include his students, had for him not only a warm affection but a very high respect. They saw him give the best of his talents and energies to an unceasing program of work for purposes he considered to be for the common good. They knew that neither they nor any other man could give very much more. If they were called upon to measure his life and work, they would have to give it a very high mark indeed. If as Thomas Carlyle says "All work is as seed sown; it grows and spreads then sows itself anew," perhaps even the least of his many efforts will not be lost. His many friends would wish it to be so.

Francis R. Aumann
The Ohio State University