moderation in turn leads to Hamletian inhibition of action. Not so in the case of Ray Bauer. He was always ready to try the new. That was true in his personal life, in academic methodology, and in social policy. He was thus a rare combination of a scholar and a man of action, an innovator and a moderate.

Ithiel de Sola Pool
M.I.T.

Martin Diamond

Only an exceptionally strong mind and heart could possibly have sustained the range and diversity of Martin Diamond's interests, associations, and activities. The characteristic tension of his life was created by the many different and sometimes conflicting demands he allowed to be placed upon him. His friends constantly urged that he spend himself less freely (while of course taking plenty for ourselves), but he would not and could not give less than all of his remarkable talents and his good, affectionate nature.

Diamond was a superb speaker. Perhaps that is what he did best of all. On the stump, at the lectern, in academic conferences and confrontations, before public audiences, to statesmen, with friends—he spoke magnificently. He had the actor's sense of and concern for the details and the style of his presentation. He took pleasure in the finely turned, thoughtful phrase. He sought always to speak, of course intelligently and lucidly, but also with some elegance. He was a master story-teller and had a vast reservoir of perfectly remembered, subtle jokes that were always funny and in point. He enjoyed, and admitted that he enjoyed, the applause of his hearers. He once asked jokingly how he could get credit for suppressing a pertinent but not quite first-rate joke. He did not pretend indifference to being on the cover of *Time* as one of the country's ten best teachers. But he knew precisely the value of all the praise he received, and he valued most the applause of a quickened understanding. If his audience, whether in a great hall or in someone's dining room, was restless or inattentive or indifferent he died a little, and he made extraordinary and almost always successful efforts to reach it, to make it respond, understand, join his wonder at human nobility and human folly. These qualities helped to make Diamond the great teacher he is universally acknowledged to have been.

In addition to his own teaching in a wide variety of forums, Diamond was active in thinking and writing and teaching about teaching. He attempted to resist narrow, value-free, sub-political teaching about politics, at the lower as well as the college and graduate levels. He did all he could to arrest the decline in understanding among teachers of politics of the relevance and the nobility of the writings and doings of the American Founding Fathers. In his own teaching, in lectures and writings, in his textbook on American government, and as a member of the American Political Science Association committees on undergraduate education, he sought to reach out as widely as he could with tough-minded support for the nobility of teaching politics and for good teaching about the American tradition and American heroes.

At one time Diamond aspired to be an actor or perhaps a director, and he retained a keen interest in the arts, especially the movies. (He took pleasure in out-"buffing" self-declared, serious movie buffs.) But Diamond could no more have been content as an actor than he could have foresworn being an actor at all. He was determined to speak his own words, his own mind, at the highest level he could reach. The words he uttered as a young socialist agitator in New York City did not seem, finally, to stand up to the tests of experience and critical examination, and this led him on a journey into academia, providing him with the germ of his interpretation of the intellectual failure of American socialism, which became his Ph.D. dissertation. Entering the University of Chicago, without a B.A., for graduate studies in 1950, Diamond enthusiastically shared and contributed to the vitality of Chicago's Department of Political Science in the early 1950s, where a solid social science orthodoxy was under courteous, relentless attack by Leo Strauss, a remarkable professor from the New School for Social Research who proposed to restore, and who did in fact restore, political philosophy to a place in contemporary political science. Some of Diamond's writing and much of his teaching was concerned with elaborating or trying to explain or simply trying to understand Strauss' criticism of social science and the complex and difficult alternative he presented. Of special note here are his attempts to clarify, in ways guided by Aristotle but pertinent to contemporary political science, the notion of "opinion" and the relation of fact and value. A sketch of this ambitious project was presented in a series of lectures at Loyola University in 1970; portions were published in an essay on "The Dependence of Fact Upon 'Value'," in *Interpretation* (1972) and his William Benet Munro Memorial Lecture at Stanford University in 1975 on "Opinion, Passion, and Interest in Political Life."

But while the context of Diamond's intellectual concern was the tradition of political philosophy that Strauss opened, the focus was on the American regime. To understand the basic principles of the American regime, Diamond turned to the intentions of its makers. Establishing for this generation of Americans (including political scientists), the relevance of the Founders to contemporary questions was Diamond's first major object, and it is his major scholarly achievement. The American Constitution and the writings surrounding it, especially the great *Federalist* Papers, were not, Diamond showed, a reactionary turning away from the principles of the Declaration of Independence. In Diamond's view profoundly democratic, these documents were rather a response to the

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problem of government set out in the Declaration and, for all their imperfections and limitations, brilliantly successful. Diamond's writing on the *Federalist* is the best ever done on that preeminent American political book; and it is the core of a relatively small but superb body of scholarship on the American Founding and its present-day relevance. Of special note are Diamond's widely reprinted 1959 *American Political Science Review* essay on "Democracy and *The Federalist:* A Reconsideration of the Framers' Intent"; "The Federalist," in *History of Political Philosophy* (ed. L. Strauss and J. Cropsey, 1963); "What the Framers meant by Federalism," in *A Nation of States* (ed. R. Goldwin, 1963); "The Revolution of Sober Expectations," in *America's Continuing Revolution* (American Enterprise Institute, 1975); "The Declaration and the Constitution: Liberty, Democracy and the Founders," in *The Public Interest* (1975); "The Federalist on Federalism," *Yale Law Journal* (1977). In recent years Diamond sought to explore and to defend the distinctive American ethic, especially in his "The American Idea of Man: The View from the Founding," in *The Americans* (ed. I. Kristol and P. Weaver, 1976) and the just-published "Ethics and Politics: The American Way," in *Moral Foundations of the American Republic* (ed. R. Horwitz, 1977).

In a textbook which he conceived and of which he was the senior author, *The Democratic Republic* (with H. Garfinkel and W. Fisk, 2nd ed., 1970), Diamond combined his understanding of the American Founding and his conviction that the intention of the Founders is the best beginning point for understanding the American regime, with his concern to provide the teaching of American government with the solid foundation, the civic relevance, and the dignity that it deserves. In a time and a profession that tends to cynicism, Diamond boldly praised what is praiseworthy in the American Tradition.

During and following his graduate studies, Diamond taught at the Illinois Institute of Technology (1952-1955) and at the University of Chicago (1952-1958), where he was also a major figure in the "Social Science I" course of the "Hutchins College" program at the University of Chicago. Moving to Claremont Men's College and Claremont Graduate School in 1958, Diamond was quickly recognized as a natural academic leader as well as an extraordinary teacher and scholar, and he established a program on political philosophy and American political thought and institutions that continues in those institutions. He was named Burnet C. Wohlford Professor of American Political Institutions in 1963. In 1971 Diamond accepted a Professorship at Northern Illinois University where he was again the central figure in a graduate program emphasizing political philosophy and American political thought and institutions. On the day before his death Diamond had moved to Washington where he was to have assumed the Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Chair on the Foundations of American Freedom at Georgetown University, and a position as Adjunct Scholar of the American Enterprise Institute.

As a political scientist, Diamond was a dissenter, a man of strongly held opinion that were controversial in his profession. Yet he was enjoyed, listened to, and respected throughout the discipline. To disembowel an opponent with a quick rhetorical thrust was child's play for Diamond, but the better, more interesting, more demanding task was to reason, inquire, and persuade. He carried extraordinary interest and enthusiasm not only into his teaching and writing and his very wide friendships among political scientists, but also into his many activities in the American Political Science Association. Diamond's contributions to the organized profession were many. He served on the Council of the American Political Science Association from 1973 to 1975, and on the Steering Committee for Undergraduate Education out of which came the Division of Educational Affairs. (A forthcoming issue of *DEA News* will be devoted to the contributions of Professor Diamond.) He was the principle architect of the APSA's Ethical Issues Seminars and the Strauss Memorial Award. At the time of his death he had agreed to serve on the newly established Task Force on the Future of the Association.

Diamond's other activities were almost endless. He was a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (a very special recognition for a man of his persuasion in 1960-1961); he was a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in 1974-75 and at the National Humanities Institute in New Haven the following year. He received recognition and support for his scholarly activities by the Earhart Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation. He was a very frequent advisor of foundations, publishers, and academic leaders. He lectured for the State Department, the United States Information Agency and other government agencies. He frequently appeared on public television. He was a member of the National Advisory Council of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. He was constantly in demand for consultation by public figures, including those at the very highest levels. He died on July 22, 1977, at the age of 57, just after testifying before the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Senate Judiciary Committee, testimony based upon his recent pamphlet written for the AEI, *The Electoral College and the American Idea of Democracy.*

There was an appropriateness—a still painful appropriateness—in the circumstances of Martin Diamond's death. He died, as Irving Kristol said, "in the bosom of his beloved republic—in a Senate hearing room"—better, for Diamond, the Senate than the White House or the Supreme Court building. "And he died after testifying brilliantly on behalf of a traditional American institution, the electoral college, which he believed indispensable to the well-being of that republic." He died also, I hope I

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may be permitted to add, in the presence of close friends and his beloved step-daughter, Diane.

Diamond was, as Senator Daniel P. Moynihan said in the Senate shortly after his death, "a man often called upon by our country's highest political figures for instruction and counsel, and that instruction and counsel will be sorely missed in legislative halls and executive offices as well as in the academic world." Diamond had keenly looked forward to his new positions in Washington to bring him into more sustained contact with American public life so that he could bring his special talents and point of view to bear upon it. He had hoped for a decade or two; he had plans, projects, insights, and wisdom enough for many times that.

Herbert J. Storing
Robert K. Gooch Professor of Government
University of Virginia

A bibliography of Martin Diamond's writings, together with a Eulogy by Irving Kristol and other material may be found in a Memorial published by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (Washington, 1977). A limited number of copies are available by writing to AEI, 1150 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

This memorial was completed just before Professor Storing's sudden death on September 9, 1977. A memorial for Professor Storing will appear in the Winter issue of PS.

Theodore H. Erb

Theodore H. Erb, Associate Professor of Political Science at California State University, Long Beach, died on November 21, 1976, at 57 years of age.

Ted Erb's achievements reflected a rare blend of academic and non-academic pursuits, to all of which he brought great energy, optimism, and a spirit of adventure. In 1939, as an undergraduate at the University of Southern California, he interrupted his studies to join the Army Air Corps, and after American entrance into the Second World War, flew over 200 unarmed solo missions into Germany from a North African base as a member of an air squadron taking aerial photographs for intelligence purposes. Later in that war he flew many additional missions on the China/Burma/India front. For these exploits he received numerous military decorations and promotion to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

Ted returned after the war to the University of Southern California and received his B.A. degree in International Relations/Political Science in 1947. He had joined the Army Reserve, but later returned to active duty with the newly created U.S. Air Force. He subsequently received his M.A. from Georgetown University in 1950, a Diploma from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces in 1960, and a Ph.D. from American University in 1968, all in the study of International Relations/Political Science. In the meantime he studied Soviet and East European languages while on duty with the Directorate of Foreign Liaison in Washington, D.C., and at the Army Language School in Monterey, California, later serving for a time as Air Attache in the American Embassy in Prague, Czechoslovakia. Until 1961, he worked at U.S. Air Force Headquarters in Washington, D.C., and served also on assignment at various times with the National Security Council, the State Department, and the Central Intelligence Agency.

While with the Air Force, Ted received considerable training in politico-military affairs, and he lectured before specialized audiences on such subjects as American foreign policy, national security policies, and Soviet and Eastern European Affairs, most notably as a faculty member of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces from 1961 to 1965. In 1965 he retired from the Air Force with the rank of full Colonel, and became a member of the faculty at California State University, Long Beach, where he taught until his death. He borrowed extensively in his teaching from his experiences as a policy practitioner, and his career demonstrated how a teacher's prior broad-ranging government service can contribute to the enrichment of his students and his academic community. He was likewise interested in applying the knowledge he gained as a teacher to the management and solution of policy-relevant problems.

As a teacher, he constantly emphasized the need to apply political controls to the use of force in international affairs, and refused to believe in the inevitability of nuclear war. In his last years, he came to focus increasingly on those politically significant issues—such as world-wide depletion of material resources and rising interdependent relationships between states—that can be coped with satisfactorily only through non-military and accommodative behaviors. In 1973, he was appointed Commissioner and elected Vice-Chairman of the Los Angeles County Energy Commission, remaining a member until the time of his death.

Ted was an approachable, warm human being, giving much time as a teacher to students. Through his own experiences, shared with students, he became a model to many who admired his growth and contributions and tried to aspire to them. With his gentle demeanor, he had good rapport with students, and was an immensely popular teacher.

Ted constantly sought new ways of expression and exploration. As a teacher, he had the ability to take a complicated question and pose it in a straightforward and direct way for students, yet also encouraging students to speculate about it and reflect on it. Accommodating himself to his students, he made academic life meaningful, even exciting, for them. He was always congenial and friendly with associate faculty members, often finding words of encouragement when the faculty collectively was faced with a particularly difficult problem. In whatever he did, he was totally lacking in

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