

People in Political Science

30 years lament his passing, take pride in his achievements, and extend our condolences to his wife and relatives.

S. M. Kennedy
J. W. Davis
Texas Tech University

Charles H. McLaughlin

Charles H. McLaughlin, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Minnesota, died unexpectedly of a heart attack at age 75 on Thursday, November 3. He is survived by his wife, Mary, a daughter, Mary Deborah Krider, a son John, and several grandchildren.

Charles McLaughlin—"Mac" to all who knew him—received the B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Denver in 1929 and 1934 and the J.D. from Harvard University in 1935. His additional graduate work in public law at Columbia University was interrupted by four years of service during World War II as an officer in the Army Air Force. Mac came originally to the University of Minnesota in 1936, and from his return to campus from military service in 1946 he was at the University, except for occasional leaves, until his retirement in 1977. Beyond his involvement in the University and professional associations in political science, Charles McLaughlin was a leader in the United Nations Association, the Foreign Policy Association, and the Twin Cities Committee on Foreign Relations. Among his scholarly publications were *World Politics in Transition* (co-authored with Lennox Mills) and numerous articles in legal reviews, directories, and encyclopedias.

Although he was a scholar of great learning and a man of the most cosmopolitan interests, Charles McLaughlin had his greatest impact on the University of Minnesota. He served it for 41 years in almost every imaginable way. He was a faithful and learned teacher; his list of doctoral students is long and distinguished. He championed the study of the world beyond American shores and served for 17 years as the director of the Center for International Relations and

Area Studies (now the Quigley Center) and for one year as the Acting Dean of International Programs. He chaired or served on committees, councils, and task forces too numerous to mention, especially when the University needed his impressive skills as mediator, councillor, and master of language. He also chaired the Department of Political Science for five crucial years in its history, the period of the early 1960s in which much of the present department was built. In recognition for his broad service he received the Regents' Award in 1976 for "contribution to the growth and development of the university," the first faculty member to be so honored while still in active service.

These accomplishments tell much about Charles McLaughlin—his dedication, his hard work, his leadership, his wisdom. They speak also to the power, logic, and precision of his mind and to the fairness, humanity, and generosity that made him so valuable a citizen of the University. They don't speak fully, however, to the personal qualities that endeared him to his friends—his subtle wit, his genuine modesty, his distaste of pretension, his vast learning and his boundless good will. He gave our department high standards of equity and civility, of openness and collegiality, of responsibility and dedication to the ideals of a great university.

Charles McLaughlin was in all things a man of standards—standards in scholarship, in language, in personal relationships. But in his quiet way he was also a man of action, a man who was not afraid of change and progress. An architect of programs and procedures, he was for four decades a major influence in the building of the University of Minnesota.

Benjamin E. Lippincott
W. Phillips Shively
Frank Sorauf
University of Minnesota

Milton Rakove

Milton Rakove, 65, professor of political science at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) and perhaps the most prominent academic observer of the

Chicago Democratic machine, died on November 5, 1983. Since the 1975 publication of his book, *Don't Make No Waves, Don't Back No Losers* ("an insider's analysis of the Daley machine"), Milt had been in great demand as a guest lecturer in many of the nation's leading universities and colleges.

Milt's death came after a two-year struggle with cancer, and through his final months he exhibited a dignity and commitment which will stand as a lasting inspiration to the broader UIC faculty. He taught his classes through the first third of the past fall quarter, making his final walk to the campus subway station three weeks before his death. Milt was a man of great warmth, wit, and humor. Indeed his phenomenal success as both a teacher and a scholar cannot be separated from his winsome personality. A familiar sight at APSA and regional conventions was the clustering of admirers around Milt to hear his latest views on Chicago politics.

As a young child Milt was brought to Chicago by Russian emigrant parents. The family settled on the West Side in what Milt often described as a Jewish ghetto. He attended public schools in the area and then graduated from a Chicago City College branch before serving three years in the U.S. Army during World War II.

One can hardly imagine a situation in which the purposes of the GI Bill were more faithfully realized than in Milt's case. He received his bachelor's degree from Roosevelt University in 1948 and his master's and doctorate in political science from the University of Chicago in 1949 and 1956. Among those with whom he studied at Chicago were Hans Morgenthau and Leo Strauss.

Milt had been an assistant to Morgenthau at Chicago, and several of his early publications reflected Morgenthau's influence. In early years his writings were rather evenly divided between international politics and urban politics. His 1975 book, *Don't Make No Waves, Don't Back No Losers* (Indiana University Press) placed him in the first rank among the nation's truly creative scholars of the urban scene. It was acclaimed by many

reviewers as the most accurate analysis yet produced of contemporary Chicago politics. Harvard's Edward Banfield called it "the most informative and thoughtful account of the political organization of any city." The unusual title came when Milt pressed a ward committeeman as to how he had operated so successfully in Chicago politics. The committeeman responded: "I got two rules: the first one is 'Don't make no waves,' and the second one is 'Don't back no losers.' "

His other major work on Chicago, *We Don't Want Nobody Nobody Sent*, was published in 1979 (Indiana University Press also). It was an oral history of the Daley years. Its title originated from a federal judge's early experience. As an enthusiastic young law student, the future judge offered himself as a worker to a ward committeeman. As Milt described the scene, there was dead silence: Then from the committeeman: "Who sent you?" Nobody, the student answered. The committeeman exploded: "We don't want nobody nobody sent."

The second book assured Milt's standing as a scholar of urban politics. Earlier he had been described as "Mayor Daley's intellectual." Indeed praise for Daley could be found in Milt's work. Some may have suspected this label implied disaffection among colleagues on the left. Quite the contrary. During the troubled times of the late sixties and early seventies Milt's own personal integrity and his reasoned analyses—though tolerant of the Daley regime—won him the respect of many reformers. His popularity with all sectors of Chicago politics was particularly significant since he had earlier been active himself in the party machine. In a preface to one book, Milt described his activities as follows:

I have been an advisor, speechwriter, and campaign strategist for candidates for office ranging from ward committeeman to governor; worked as a precinct captain in a ward organization; attended ward organization meetings and political rallies regularly; marched in the St. Patrick's Day Parade carrying a Daley banner shouting "We want Daley!" as the ward organization passed by the reviewing

People in Political Science

stand on which the mayor stood; helped plan campaigns in smoke-filled rooms; been offered the compensations due me as a member in good standing of the organization; and finally ran for public office on the county ticket, and experienced the frustrations and rewards of a candidate for local office in Cook County.

The extent of Morgenthau's influence on Milt's development and work became clear in 1977 when he wrote a chapter entitled "Power, Self-Interest, and Chicago Politics," in the book, *Truth and Tragedy*—a tribute to Morgenthau (edited by Kenneth Thompson and Robert J. Myers). Milt acknowledged his reluctant acceptance of Morgenthau's theory that self-interest is the dominating motive of human behavior. Translating Morgenthau's theory of political life at the international level to the Chicago scene, he devised a unique approach which characterized his two major works on Chicago and his scores of monographs and articles. Apparently the inspiration for this approach came about in 1971 when, still wrestling with Morgenthau's theories, Milt realized that the Chicago machine had not been analyzed in depth since Harold Gosnell's *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (1937). Suddenly the Daley machine cried out for attention, and Milt's contributions became a torrent, appearing in the popular media as well as in scholarly outlets.

Some of Milt's admirers believe that he quite possibly made history by helping the academy and urban political leadership to understand one another more clearly. He did this without compromising himself or his university. The UIC chancellor honored him in the spring of 1983 as the recipient of the first Chancellor's Award for Distinguished Service.

Recent literature of urban America reveals a remarkable national discovery of Milt Rakove. This discovery takes many forms. Few recent books on American government fail to cite his works on Chicago. Sociologists and others outside of political science have found his analyses helpful. Both because of its title and because it cites Milt's contributions extensively, one recent work is particularly relevant. This is Prof. Hadley Arkes'

1981 work, *The Philosopher in the City: Moral Dimensions of Urban Politics* (Princeton University Press). Indeed it is clear that Milt was deeply concerned about the city as a polity and about principles of justice. In our farewell to this Chicago figure we are reminded of Plato's description of Socrates as the individual most engaged in the true political arts in Athens.

In a rare tribute to a scholar, the *Chicago Tribune* editorially acknowledged that "the public loss is large. Our understanding will be diminished because of his passing." But even the editors could not resist an editorial smile as they quipped: "A man who titles a book about the Democratic organization *We Don't Want Nobody Nobody Sent* surely knows his subject."

Milt's passing was particularly poignant for many Chicago friends since it came only six months after the election of Chicago's first black mayor, Harold Washington. He often spoke of the certainty that blacks would assume leadership roles in the city's politics. Some years ago he had written that "the Chicago machine is not only the last of the great ethnic political machines of America but will probably be the first of the new black and Spanish-speaking machines which will develop in the years to come."

He felt strongly that Chicago's ethnic diversity and richness had contributed to the city's greatness, and he had high hopes for resolution of the present ethnic cleavages. At his funeral about 800 friends, representing a host of ethnic groups, heard tributes—appropriately—from both a rabbi and a Catholic priest. Among the mourners was a virtual gallery of Chicago's political leaders. Pallbearers included a former mayor, aldermen, committeemen, legislators, and academicians. A Milton Rakove Memorial Fund has been established at UIC. Even in our sadness those of us on the campus rejoice because we knew and loved Milton Rakove. Memories of his life and work give added meaning to the study of politics.

Boyd Keenan
University of Illinois at Chicago