

So Hans set out to understand what he considered the "real" world of international politics, not as he would like it to be, but as he found it. His seminal work, *Politics Among Nations*, analyzed international relations in terms of power and national interest. He believed that a proper understanding of the national interest would illuminate a country's possibilities as well as dictate the limits of its aspirations.

Hans was much criticized for his alleged amorality in those days. His critics did not understand him. Being himself passionate, he did not trust passion as the regulator of conduct. Being committed to peace, he was prepared to enter the cold world of power politics to achieve it.

In the 1960s, Hans proved that he was beyond the manipulation of military calculations. He opposed the war in Vietnam when it was still supported by all fashionable opinion. In 1966 he and I debated the issue in *Look* magazine. He considered America overextended, the war unwinnable, the stakes not worth the cost. I maintained that the size of our commitment had determined our stake, that we had an obligation to seek our way out of the morass through negotiation rather than unconditional abandonment of the enterprise. He was right in his analysis, probably in his policy conclusions as applied to 1966. Three years later—quite unexpectedly—I was faced with the problem as a policy maker. We both stuck to our convictions.

I will not debate their ultimate merit here. But I think it is important to understand that we shared almost identical premises. We both believed America was overextended; we both sought a way out of the dilemma. Hans wanted to cut the Gordian knot in one dramatic move; I chose a different route. But we were both in a way lonely among our associates. Hans is not correctly understood as a protester. He was a teacher trying to bring home to his beloved adopted country the limits of its power, just as earlier he had insisted on its central role. Through all these disagreements I never ceased admiring him or remembering the profound intellectual debt I owed him.

With the end of the war, our paths became increasingly parallel again, though I do not wish to burden Hans's memory with the army of my critics. Hans remained always himself: clear in his perception, uncompro-

missing in his insistence on getting to the essence of a problem. He meant much to me.

A word must be said about Hans as a human being. Few eminent men correspond to their images. Hans made his reputation as an analyst of power, but he was a gentle, loving man. He was a great teacher, yet quite shy. He had a marvelous, slightly sardonic sense of humor which never stooped to the malicious. Yet he was slightly tentative—at least in his dealings with me—in showing this side of himself. He would make a witty remark with an absolutely straight face, peering from behind his bushy eyebrows to see what the response would be. Only when he saw that his sally had been understood would his whole face crease in the smile of a mischievous little boy. He was a lovable man.

Hans Morgenthau was deeply conscious of his Jewish heritage. He knew that no people was more likely to be the victim of injustice and passion. He thus felt a special obligation to resist intolerance and hatred. And he understood that in this battle he must never stoop to the methods he was combatting. He was a noble man.

I saw Hans for the last time at breakfast a few weeks ago. He had grown quite frail, though mentally he was as alert as ever. His professorship at the New School had just ended. He spoke of how much teaching meant to him. Everyone must feel he makes a difference to the world, he said. And his vocation was teaching, which he hoped to continue. I told him that he already had made a big difference to the world; he did not have to prove himself constantly. He did not quite believe it. His life was his work. As he said on another occasion, he saw no sense in extending the one by cutting down on the other.

We promised to meet regularly. It was not to be. He settled our little dialogue by his sudden death. There would be no gap between Hans Morgenthau's life and his work; he had made a difference.

And the nature of that difference is best shown in the sorrow of his friends and in the fact that all who remember Hans Morgenthau recall his passion for justice, his fertile intellect, his warmth, and his honesty. It will be a lonelier world without him.

Henry Kissinger

Charles W. Shull

Professor Charles W. Shull, professor of political science at Wayne State University for 40

years until his retirement in 1969, died July 31, 1980 at the age of 76. During his career at Wayne, Professor Shull specialized in the state legislative process and was highly regarded as

a teacher and scholar. He published over 50 articles and 83 book reviews.

He was born in Indiana and was educated at Ohio Wesleyan University where he received his B.A. in 1926, and Ohio State University where he received his doctorate in 1929, the first Ph.D. granted in political science.

Among his numerous achievements, he was a member of a 12-person APSA panel in 1954 on state legislatures. He was also one of the founding fathers of the *Midwest Journal of Political Science* (now the *American Journal of Political Science*) and served for a time as its managing editor. He was very active in the Phi Sigma Alpha, the political science honorary, and served as its national president in the 1940s. He helped establish, in cooperation with the University of Michigan and Michigan State University, a state legislative internship program in Michigan, financed by the Ford Foundation. He was also an advisor to the Michigan Constitutional Convention of 1961-62.

He was also active in community affairs through Kiwanis, especially the Kiwanis of Michigan Foundation, the United Presbyterian Church and the volunteer program of the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library.

He is survived by his wife, Pauline, and two daughters.

Dale Vinyard
Wayne State University

Baljit Singh

Baljit Singh, professor of political science and assistant dean for academic affairs of the Michigan State University College of Social Science, died Sunday, July 27, 1980, at his Lansing home of a massive heart attack. He was 49. Born in Budaun in Upper Pradesh, India, he came to the United States in 1957 as a staff member at the Indian Embassy. In 1961 he completed a doctorate at the University of Maryland, becoming a naturalized U.S. citizen following his major appointment on the faculty at Michigan State.

While a dedicated internationalist, he was acclaimed among his students as a scholar on South Asian politics, adding refreshing views on regionalism. It became his thesis to classify emerging world powers in reference to their regional interests, thus redefining aspects of non-alignment, giving witness to the positive dimensions of the foreign policies of countries like his native India, Brazil, and Nigeria. He remained alert to the dynamics of international Indian politics, anticipating the return of Mrs. Gandhi to leadership. His most recent analysis of this perspective is currently in press: *Government and Politics in India* (Asia Publishing House), in co-authorship with Dr. Dharendra K.

Vajpeyi, Department of Political Science, University of Northern Iowa.

The publication for which he became best known, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Guerrilla Warfare*, with Dr. Ko-Wang Mei, Taiwan, drew early attention to guerrilla warfare as a major weapon for national and international political change in the age of nuclear stalemate. It became the basis for his continued study of political violence and leadership in the analysis of international terrorism, recognized through his membership on the board for the recent journal *Terrorism: An International Quarterly*. An insightful overview appears as the lead chapter in *Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Yonah Alexander and S. M. Finder, eds.).

Foremost Dr. Singh was a student of human nature. While a trained and skilled political scientist, he remained interdisciplinary and intercultural. He brought a dignity to his style and scholarship which alerted those of us who worked with him of the depth of humanity and the pride and value of the individual. This was symbolized in his dedication to evolving concepts of human rights, particularly as these added understanding to an acceptance of an international community based on the concept of self-determination, not as a basis for national sovereignty but for the sovereignty and equality of individual human beings. This is most evident in his co-authorship with this writer of the concluding chapter "Self-Determination and World Order," in the recently published *Self-Determination: National, Regional, and Global Dimensions* (Yonah Alexander and Robert Friedlander, eds.). Among the philosophical quotes left in his private papers I found the following example of his beliefs: "Man must have a clear concept of his ideal as well as a definite understanding of the nature of that ideal, for without this knowledge life loses its constructive progress and founders in the depths of doubt and misery in the sea of ignorance." A Sikh by birth and practice, he was a scholar and adherent to the Buddhist concepts of human nature.

Private Sikh services were held for the family on July 29th. A memorial service was held on the following Friday at the MSU Alumni Chapel. Remembrances were directed toward the Baljit Singh Memorial Fund, MSU Development Fund, which in part will be used to advance South Asian Studies at the University. He is survived by his wife Barbara (Hassler) and two sons, BalKrishna and BalRam.

Harold S. Johnson
David W. Rohde
Michigan State University

Carl O. Smith

Professor Carl O. Smith, a member of the Wayne State University Department of Political Science for 40 years, from 1935 to his retire-