

## In Memoriam

### Gerard Braunthal

Gerard Braunthal, born December 27, 1923 in Gera, Germany, died peacefully October 26, 2014, with his sons at his side, in Amherst, MA. He was a member of that remarkable group of German Jewish refugees from the Nazis who contributed so much to American academic life. Punished for their religion, many members were actually not very religiously observant and were proud bearers of the finer aspects of German culture. Gerry's family inheritance and personal commitment was to secular rationalism and socialism, a faith in the disciplined mind pursuing political and social truth. He saw democratic socialism as the kind of society to which a rational and humane mind is properly drawn. Gerry represents nearly the end of this refugee group, who brought us some of the best qualities of European intellectual life, even as they fled the worst.

Gerry's family came to the US in 1936. He earned a BA from Queens College in New York City, MA from the University of Michigan, and PhD in 1953 from Columbia University. He served in the US Army Intelligence Service, 1943–46, was an Interviewer for the US Air Force in 1950–52, and a Research Assistant at the National Bureau of Economic Research. He joined the political science faculty at the University of Massachusetts in 1954, was appointed full professor in 1967, and retired in 1988 as professor emeritus. His special focus in the discipline was the German political system, concerning which he was an internationally recognized expert. He was a lecturer at Brooklyn College, visiting instructor at Mount Holyoke College, and held Fulbrights in India. He was a member of the Executive Council of the Conference Group on German Politics and of selection committees for Fulbrights and the Social Science Research Council and NATO Scholarships, and served as member of the West German Election Observation Team (1976) and the Council for International Exchange of Scholars Area Advisory Committee for West Germany and Austria. He was consultant to the Yale University and US Arms Control & Disarmament Agency project on Germany in 1964. He received grants from Fulbright, German Academic Exchange Service, American Council of Learned Societies, and the American Philosophical Society. He was a distinguished scholar and a respected teacher, recipient of a Teacher of the Year Award from the UMass chapter of Pi Sigma Alpha, and mentor to graduate students who entered the profession to carry on his work.

Braunthal wrote sections on Germany for many books, published numerous articles and book reviews in our professional journals, and published major scholarly books. These included *The Federation of German Industry in Politics*; *The West German Legislative Process*; *Socialist Labor and Politics in Weimar Germany: The General Federation of German Trade Unions*; *West German Social Democrats, 1969–82: Profile of a Party in Power*; *Political Loyalty and Public Service in West Germany: the 1972 Decree Against Radicals and its Consequences*; *Parties and Politics in Germany*; and, in 2009, *Right-Wing Extremism in Contemporary Germany*. He presented papers at academic meetings, participated in seminars and conferences, gave speeches in the US and abroad—a fully engaged, widely respected scholar.

In 1999, Braunthal was honored by the Federal Republic of Germany for being “an academic and cultural mediator between the United States and Germany.” He was presented the Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany, the highest honor Germany gives to anyone from another country who is not a head of state. The decoration cites his “life-long academic achievements in the field of German and European studies and . . . significant contributions to German-American academic cooperation over the years.”

One of Gerry's early articles, published in 1956, opens: “A democratic nation, especially if faced with powerful extremist forces of the political Left and Right, ought to have a free and dynamic trade union movement to help safeguard the liberties of its citizens.” If the labor movement, in an hour of political crisis, withdraws from participation, there is danger it will be unable to resist totalitarianism. This happened in Germany, when the dominant labor leaders, socialists, attempted to compromise with the Nazis during the initial months of the Hitler era. Few of the leaders of democratic groups, including labor, “had the courage to oppose actively the National Socialists at the critical hour.” This essay displayed Braunthal's life-long professional and personal political passions as a democratic socialist. More than thirty years later, as an observer of the West German elections, he reported “an Americanization of the German election process”—a slick, media-driven process, he complained. Beginning to end, he was driven by the wish to see a free, democratic, fraternal, peaceable Germany—and United States!

In his later life, Gerry endured illnesses and surgeries with remarkable courage. After skiing and bicycling for years, he kept going with less-demanding cross-country skiing and, later, getting around by bus and walker, against the odds. He never quit. He was a loyal family man (his dear wife, Sabina, predeceased him; his sons Steven and Peter survive him), and a friend to many who really cherished his friendship. Underneath a quiet, cheerful, gentlemanly manner boiled heated political passions to bring about a world closer to the ideal of which he dreamed. A son of the Enlightenment, he reached out to others to join him in seeking a better life in a more perfect society than that to which dull reality has seemingly condemned us.

—Lewis C. Mainzer, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

### James MacGregor Burns

(1919–2014)

Jim Burns began teaching at Williams College in 1946, following undergraduate studies there, service in the Pacific in the early 1940s, and graduate work at Harvard and at the London School of Economics. He became a towering figure in the field of political science over the following decades, as reflected in his presidency of the American Political Science Association and the

International Society of Political Psychology. He retired as Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government, emeritus. He also participated in the founding of the Jepson School of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond and was honored by the University of Maryland, which renamed it Center for Political Leadership and Participation in his honor. This is now an independent non-profit organization—the James MacGregor Burns Academy of Leadership.

Among his many scholarly works, his *Roosevelt: Soldier of Freedom* (1970) won the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award the following year. His seminal study in the field of leadership studies, *Leadership* (1978) opened a new field of academic work and has been the basis of more than 400 doctoral dissertations. His many books in the field of American politics spanned all three branches of the federal government and included numerous presidential biographical studies.

An ardent Democrat, he strongly advocated for greater equality and democracy on the national scene. His many writings, severely critical of the way things worked, advocated sweeping changes in our body politic, including a population-based Senate, term limits for the Supreme Court (noting also that judicial review was not prescribed in the constitution), and an end to mid-term elections. Note in particular his first book, *Congress on Trial* (1949), became the subject of the front-page of the New York Times Sunday Book Review that September. It analyzed why Congress was in a deadlock—“stasis” was his term; as you can see, our field evolves very slowly.

In his contribution to the study of leadership, he moved away from an examination of key leaders and emphasized the relationship between leaders and followers. Here he looked for transformation—in which a leader inspires in others a determination to advance human behavior and so have a positive impact on the wellbeing of all. To him, this required bold action in the face of political opposition. He contrasts this with the more common deal-maker transactional leader, who at best is an efficient horse trader, one who trades in political favor to get an immediate job done. In his view, Franklin Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan were, in their different ways transactional leaders. In his 1984 book, *The Power to Lead: The History of the American Presidency*, he noted a land with numerous transactional leaders but lacking transformational men.

He admired reformist democratic presidents yet was continuously critical of their performance. He faulted Roosevelt in the late 1930s for his faltering reform efforts and in the 1940s for not creating good long-term relations with the Soviet Union. He considered John Kennedy a great leader but wondered whether he had the capacity to exercise “moral leadership.” As for Clinton and Gore in the 1990s, he faulted them for turning to the political center instead of pursuing their liberal objectives more forcefully.

Jim Burns was a member of the political science department at Williams College for forty years. Because of curricular and personnel issues in the years after 1945, the department experienced several changes in its leadership. This led to Burns unexpectedly assuming the chairmanship of the department on several occasions for brief periods of time, a difficult challenge that he handled skillfully. He was thoughtful and helpful to many of the younger members, especially, in the early years, fellow war veterans who were trying to find their way in a challenging post-war academic environment. But he was also a firm leader. On one occasion he found it necessary to talk to his colleague as a Dutch uncle—explaining patiently that as an important component in the college, the group had a responsibility to support school-wide policies as well as pursue individual

interests. He performed this and related tasks with his customary tact and grace.

There were a few interesting encounters with President James Phinney Baxter during this period. In one vivid exchange of differences between them during a faculty meeting, the context is lost to memory but the image remains of the president becoming increasingly irate at Jim’s critical stance. All the while, Burns stood his ground calmly while the rest looked on with awe.

In a similar vein, Burns firmly stood his ground when Jackie Kennedy sent him a long, hand-written letter on yellow legal pad, imploring him to remove what she considered unfavorable and incorrect observations about her husband in his book, as Jack was running for the presidency. It was well argued, but Burns believed his study was accurate and the book as a whole was cast in a favorable vein, so he graciously refused to alter anything.

On another matter regarding Mr. Baxter, in the early 1950s, Stetson Hall, site of the political science department, had one telephone attached to the wall on the third floor, an old-fashioned device with a separable earpiece. When the president would call Jim on sensitive departmental business, his voice carried throughout the building. While holding the phone at a distance, to protect his eardrums, Jim handled the matter in his customary calm fashion, and kept the discourse to a minimum. After hanging up, he passed by with a shrug, a wave, and a rueful grin.

In sum, James Burns did not serve as a transformational leader in those years, but he was a crackerjack transactional leader.

He is survived by his partner and co-author, Professor Susan Dunn of Williams College, and his three children. His colleagues and professional friends across the world remember him fondly.

—Fred Greene, professor of political science, emeritus,  
Williams College

## Franco Mattei

**F**ranco Mattei, emeritus associate professor of political science at the University at Buffalo (SUNY), died in Florence, Italy, on August 12, 2013. He was laid to rest at the Del Pino Cemetery in Florence. Franco was born October 7, 1958 in Trento, Italy. He spent his childhood in Trento and Padova before his family moved to Florence. Franco is survived by his parents, Giuditta Bellante and Roberto Mattei, and his sister, Luciana Mattei.

Franco graduated cum laude in political science from the University of Florence in 1982. He received his MA in political science from the Ohio State University in 1986 and his Dottorato (PhD) in political science from the University of Florence in 1987. Professor Mattei joined the UB faculty in 1992 after serving as a postdoctoral teaching fellow at the University of Rochester and a senior cultural specialist in the Cultural Affairs Office of the American Embassy in Rome.

Professor Mattei was a specialist in US presidential and congressional elections, presidential nominations and campaigns, and voting behavior. He taught a number of graduate and undergraduate courses at UB on voting and public opinion, political parties, congressional elections, and methods, including the introductory and intermediate graduate courses on statistics. Franco was a dedicated and hard-working instructor who had a precise and highly

informative style of teaching. He maintained high expectations for all of his students, including those whom he mentored through the dissertation process. One of Franco's many PhD students wrote to the UB political science department when he heard of Franco's passing, recalling his crucial guidance and crediting Dr. Mattei as instrumental to the successful completion of his dissertation. "I was crushed when I heard the news," he said. "I want to express my respect and appreciation for such an incomparable mind and mentor. I owe so much to that wonderful, wonderful man."

The Professor Franco Mattei Memorial Scholarship was recently established in Franco's memory to be awarded to the best performing students in the UB PhD program who share his research interests and who may otherwise have financial difficulties in completing the program. Funded by a gift from the Mattei family, a scholarship will be awarded annually from 2014–2018 in Franco's memory.

The focus of Mattei's research was mass political behavior and political institutions, subjects that he explored with both rigor and unflinching intellectual honesty. Franco never took the easy way out. His book, *Political Participation in Western Democracies*, was published in Florence in 1987. Franco published more than 20 articles in leading journals such as *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Polity*, *Political Behavior*, *Electoral Studies*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, and a number of other professional outlets in the United States and Western Europe. He additionally authored several book chapters, and more than three dozen conference papers and presentations. Many of his articles were co-authored with senior scholars in the discipline, his UB colleagues, or his graduate students. Franco received a number of grants and awards in support of his research, including a prestigious Fulbright Fellowship in 1985–1986. At the time of his death, Mattei was working on two book manuscripts: one interpreting and explaining the new Republican majority in the US Congress that evolved in the last two decades and the other on reforming the US presidential nominating system.

Franco served as a referee for a dozen of the discipline's leading journals and was a reviewer of book manuscripts for several major publishers. He was a member of the American Political Science Association, the Midwest Political Science Association, and the Southern Political Science Association.

During his 20-year career at the UB department of political science, professor Mattei served in a variety of administrative capacities in both the department and the College of Arts and Sciences, including department chair, director of graduate studies, and as a member of the College's Policy Committee. Franco brought the same intensity and meticulous attention to detail to his university assignments that he brought to his scholarship. This included late-night Christmas Eve phone conversations to recruit students to the UB graduate program. He never seemed to stop working. Half-hearted efforts were simply unacceptable to him.

A recurring refrain from all those who knew Franco as a scholar was the impressive depth and scope of his knowledge of political science and American politics. One co-author, Lisa Parshall, observed, "I do not believe it was possible to have even a casual conversation about politics with Franco and not come away richer for the experience." Richard Niemi, who also worked with Franco, reflected that "the thing that stands out most in my mind about Franco the scholar is that he knew so much about American history and politics, all of which he seemed to have learned before coming to the US.

I remember conversations in which we talked about voting in early 20th century presidential elections. Franco would know not only the most obvious facts—who won and with about what percentage of the vote—but something about the issues that were important at the time and even about popular culture of the era. I also remember Franco's meticulousness in carrying out survey analysis. Tending in that direction myself made it a pleasure to work with Franco. In his years at Buffalo, I would occasionally meet Franco in Batavia, midway between our two cities. Those were all pleasant occasions—ones that I remember fondly as I think back on Franco's life."

Another co-author, Herbert Weisberg, recalls, "What impressed me most about Franco when I first met him was his thorough knowledge of political methodology. He came to Ohio State University on a Fulbright after having already received the highest post-graduate degree awarded in political science in Italy at that time. The first time he came by my office to talk, we were having a routine conversation and got onto a methodological topic. The conversation became memorable to me when it became apparent that Franco knew even the most arcane minutiae of the technique we were discussing as well as the full details of many other techniques. At that instant, I recognized that Franco was a peer rather than a student, and I was fortunate when we eventually became collaborators. Franco had a thorough understanding of the substantive literature, could locate the inconsistencies in it along with the methodological flaws in previous studies, and then use these as the beginning for his own contributions. In his articles, Franco relished challenging some of our conventional understandings of American politics. In every instance, his research was marked by enthusiasm and enjoyment of the challenges of honest intellectual combat. It is tragic when the discipline loses such a worthy contributor so prematurely."

Those who knew Franco best will forever recall him as a man with a devastatingly quick sense of humor, an impeccable facility for language, an uncanny ability to find order in the most complex of things, and an unparalleled capacity for getting to the heart of any matter. Franco had many and varied interests, including an appreciation for a fine meal, good conversation, and beautiful music. He was a life-long athlete and an avid runner who enjoyed the challenges of physical exertion. But above all was his abiding love for the mountains. He spent his summers climbing in the Dolomites. The last image several of us have of Franco is the photo of a handsome, smiling man on an Alpine summit. Fred Fleron recalls conversations with Franco about the prospect of visiting Florence during one of Franco's visits there in summertime. "Franco was delighted at the prospect and promised my wife and me a grand tour of the treasures of Florence. But, alas, we never got around to it; we missed a great opportunity to share something wonderful with a good friend. And so an old lesson had to be relearned: *carpe diem*."

Franco retired from UB in 2010. He will be remembered by his colleagues and students alike not only as a wonderful colleague, rigorous scholar, and demanding teacher who was quite generous with time for his students outside the classroom, but also as an esteemed colleague and friend who is sorely missed. They join us in honoring his memory.

—Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., Frank C. Zagare,  
University at Buffalo (SUNY)

—Richard Nieme, University of Rochester

—Lisa Parshall, Daemen College, Buffalo, New York

—Herbert Weisberg, Ohio State University

## George Modelski

George Modelski, born in Poland in 1926, passed away on February 21, 2014 in Washington, DC at the age of 88. He is survived by his wife of many years, Sylvia Modelski. Trained at the London School of Economics (BSc. in economics) and the University of London (PhD in international relations), he was professor emeritus at the University of Washington and had been a professor of political science there between 1967 and 1995. His main earlier appointment had been as a senior research associate at the Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University. Visiting appointments at various points were held at the University of Chicago, Princeton University, Harvard University, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, the University of Stockholm, and the University of Catania.

Throughout his career, George contributed to an impressive number of different research questions. His dissertation, completed in 1954 and published in 1962 as "A Theory of Foreign Policy," was a very early attempt to treat foreign policy issues theoretically, as opposed to the then standard reliance on descriptive accounts. No doubt reflecting in part his Canberra position at the time, Modelski wrote several monographs in the early 1960s on southeast Asian international relations. But he also wrote around this time early analyses of the international relations of internal war, Kautilya's international relations, the differences between agrarian and industrial systems, and the communist international system that were conspicuous in their attempt to treat these questions in a theoretical fashion. They also underlined his very early interest in comparing types of international systems.

His main contribution to the study of international relations, nonetheless, has to be founding a research program on leadership long cycles. Modelski began developing this original perspective around 1974 (first conference paper) and published the first article in 1978, following a slightly earlier effort to begin developing a systemic interpretation of world politics ("Principles of World Politics," 1972). Responding to the destabilized international system of the 1970s, George constructed an interpretation of world politics that was based on the emergence of lead economies, their rise and fall,

and implications for global war and order. His core writings on these processes, some co-authored, came out at about the same time ("Exploring Long Cycles," 1987; *Long Cycles in World Politics*, 1987; *Sea Power in Global Politics, 1494–1993*, 1988 with William R. Thompson; *Documenting Global Leadership*, 1988; and *Leading Sectors and World Power: The Coevolution of Global Economics and Politics*, 1996, with William R. Thompson). It is fair to say that the perspective that emerged over time came to be one of the leading schools of thought in world systems analysis.

Some of George's other edited work was highly complementary to the long cycle interpretation. *Transnational Corporations and World Order* (1979) focused on MNCs, while *North/South Relations* (1983) examined dependency reversal processes in international political economy. The co-edited *World System History: The Social Science of Long-term Change* (2000) reflected the interest he and others had developed in the 1990s to push the study of world politics back to its origins. In addition to an edited special issue of *International Studies Quarterly* in 1997, *Globalization as Evolutionary Process* (2008), also a co-edited work, highlighted his commitment to harnessing evolutionary perspectives to the study of long-term international processes. Another major venture in this vein was his effort to develop a better empirical and theoretical understanding of historical urbanization processes, as reflected in *World Cities, -3000 to 2000* (2003). Written after he had retired, this book represents a major contribution to the database on city sizes in the ancient world, which he viewed as indicators of an evolving city network that undergirded world economic growth. The long-term trend towards democratization was another special interest, culminating in several articles on the subject.

George Modelski contributed to the discipline in various ways. He chaired the University of Washington's Pacific Northwest Colloquium on International Security from 1982 to 1991. He was President of the ISA-West in 1982, a long-time member of the World Historical Systems group, and winner of the ISA's Susan Strange Award in 2006. In 2012, he was awarded a bronze medal by the International Kondratieff Foundation and Russian Academy of Sciences for his contribution to the social sciences. Throughout a long and distinguished career, George Modelski emphasized the need to bring together theory, evidence, and history in the unraveling of world political processes. Although never widely cited or known in IR circles, his contributions were always distinctively different and original.

—William R. Thompson, *Indiana University*

—Barry K. Gills, *University of Helsinki*

—Robert A. Denemark, *University of Delaware*

—Christopher K. Chase-Dunn, *University of California-Riverside*