

Source: H. E. Chehabi, ed., *Juan Linz: Scholar, Teacher, Friend* (Cambridge, MA: Tÿ Aur Press, 2014).

## Remembering the Linz in Juan

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Although our origins were very different – Juan was born in Bonn and I in St. Louis – I thought of him as a *Landsmann*, because we had each been brought up in an environment where German *Kultur* was important and German politics serious as it was menacing. Thus, after a series of tributes from his Spanish-speaking PhD pupils who are now professors, and what Rocío called his grandchildren, that is, his pupils' PhD students, my comments focus on German recollections.

I first came across Juan's name in the acknowledgments of Marty Lipset's *Political Man* and bought and read a photocopy of his Columbia PhD thesis on German public opinion at ground zero, 1949. The thesis was shorter than Juan intended, since Marty had hired a copy editor to cut down the initial 1200-page manuscript so Juan could receive his doctorate and a start on an academic career. Implicit at the end of the last paragraph on page 945 was the phrase: *und so weiter*. Marty saw to it that a much shorter version of the thesis appeared as chapter 6 in the Lipset and Rokkan classic, *Party Systems and Voter Alignments* (1967).

We first met in Berlin at a conference of the Committee on Political Sociology in January, 1968, when the divisions that the Wall symbolized were very evident. In reply to my polite question about his most recent visit there, Juan said: "1936." When I asked why, he said the Civil War had broken out in Spain and, given the choices that family and fate had given her, his mother had come there to find out whether she should seek refuge behind Franco's lines or in Nazi Germany. His mother took her young son with her into the Staatsbibliothek on Unter den Linden as a research assistant. She would give him a pile of children's stories in German and Spanish and told him to put aside stories that had a lot of similarities for her to look at. After talking with trusted friends about the situation in Berlin, his mother chose wisely: Franco's authoritarianism was preferable to Nazi totalitarianism.

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There was a profound meaning in the way Juan would say in German-accented English, “I am Schpanisch.”

We spent an afternoon as tourists in East Berlin, an impressive example of what Sovietization could achieve. I will always remember Juan’s reaction in a great museum to displays of socialist realist art. He showed a physical revulsion against the debasement of high culture by Communist diktat. This reflected Juan’s old fashioned view of the totality of European experience, a belief that art, music, and literature were as much a part of European experience as politics. He could pull the catalogue of an art exhibit from his capacious bookshelves as well as a book by Hintze or Weber. For him culture change was switching his season ticket to the Metropolitan Opera in New York from the evening to the afternoon matinee where, he noted, many of his older academic friends had also migrated.

In hindsight, being equally against totalitarianism in both its Soviet and Nazi forms seems obvious. But that wasn’t the case in an era in which anti-Communism invited the accusation that one was a McCarthyite or worse. Juan was aware that many self-styled liberals, people whom Lenin would call useful idiots, were prepared to accept the Soviet system as the lesser evil or even see positive signs in what it did. He told me that for decades he had understated the horrors of Communism because he did not want to be attacked as a Franco apologist by people who had not had to face the choice his mother had to make in 1936.

Thanks to Al Stepan sharing Marty’s knack of making sure that some of what Juan put on paper would be sent to a publisher in due course, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* both particularized and generalized knowledge that Juan began to acquire in early childhood. Typical of the span of his knowledge, the massive edited work was also published as four separate volumes to appeal to audiences with interests in different themes and continents. It was followed in 1996 by a comparative study of a more welcome theme, *The Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* (1996).

The re-opening of *Mittleuropa* by the collapse of the Soviet system made it possible for Juan and Rocío to spend more time there. But by then Latin America and Spain were his priorities. When lecturing on Max Weber in Heidelberg, Juan had to re-learn how to lecture in German, even though he had read Weber all his life and, when marrying Rocío, had given her a copy of Weber’s *Politik als Beruf*, so she could understand what drove him.

Juan had learned about survey research from one of its pioneers, Paul Lazarsfeld, but he was more a philologist than a number-cruncher. Like Giovanni Sartori, he believed that we must name things before we can count them and, like Max Weber, he gave priority to *verstehen*. He treated the cells in a table as if they were words that required interpretation within a cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary context, rather than as inputs to a statistical black box that produced outputs remote from the world *wie sie eigentlich gewesen ist*.

On the cover of my 1996 book, *What Is Europe*, I placed a picture of the *Brandenburger Tor* on the grounds that if you can't come to grips with German politics, you can't understand what is good and bad in Europe. From personal experience as well as research, Juan shared that view. The dedication of the book read: "To two people, Juan and Rocío Linz, and one principle, *Freiheit*." At the celebration of Juan's work at the American Political Science Association meeting in 2006, my tribute ended with a quotation from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*. When a priest refers to Tamino as a Prince, *Sarastro* replies: *Noch mehr! Er ist Mensch!*