Mario Einaudi

Mario Einaudi, Goldwin Smith Emeritus Professor at Cornell, died in Piedmont, Italy, in the house in which he was born almost 90 years ago.

The eldest son of Luigi Einaudi, economist and Italy’s first president (1948–55), Einaudi’s wisdom, dignity and love of freedom inspired generations of students at Cornell, and at the Foundation he later founded in his father’s memory in Turin, Italy.

Einaudi received his degree at the University of Turin, where he studied alongside his lifelong friend Norberto Bobbio, Italy’s premier political philosopher. He first came to the U.S. in 1927 as a Rockefeller Foundation fellow, returning in 1933 as a political exile after refusing to swear allegiance to Mussolini and fascism. Raising three sons in America with his wife, Manon Michels Einaudi (1904–90), he taught political science at Harvard, Fordham, and Cornell, serving twice as Department chair at the latter institution. In 1965, he was founding director of Cornell’s Center for International Studies, which has borne his name since his departure from Ithaca in 1991.

At Cornell, Einaudi stood out against the growing specialization in American academia, by teaching and writing in both political theory and comparative politics and creating the University’s reputation in international affairs. As Milton Esman, his successor at the Center for International Studies, observes, “He introduced programs that he hoped would reach across areas and disciplines and would focus the attention of Cornell’s students and faculty on the emerging problems of an interdependent world.”

The 1960s were a particular challenge for Einaudi and for Cornell. But Einaudi—though no radical—resisted the knee-jerk conservatism that led some of his colleagues to an outraged reaction to the 1969 occupation of the Cornell student union. His lifelong preoccupation was with freedom: from his dissertation on the eighteenth century French philosophers to his condemnation of postwar European communism, to his magisterial book on F.D.R., Einaudi stood for civility in public culture, a culture he sought to advance in his teaching, his writing and his statesmanship.

The depth of Einaudi’s philosophical learning was revealed in his The Physiocratic Doctrine of Judicial Control (1937) and The Early Rousseau (1967), while he was making notable contributions to comparative politics in his works on Communism, Christian Democracy and Nationalization in Western Europe. In 1990, his contributions to political science were honored by his Cornell colleagues in Comparative Theory and Political Experience: Mario Einaudi and the Liberal Experience (Cornell University Press, edited by Peter J. Katzenstein, Theodore J. Lowi, and Sidney Tarrow).

Einaudi never stopped working to explain Europe to America and Americ to Europe. His most well-known achievement in this regard was his The Roosevelt Revolution (1959), written to make the New Deal part of the remembered experience of the western world. “This was a bold and important message for the 1950s,” wrote Einaudi’s former colleague, Theodore Lowi, in his 1990 appreciation of Einaudi’s work. Einaudi wrote the book out of fear that, as Europeans fell out of love with the Soviet model, they would drift toward fascism, and not toward the liberalism of the New Deal. Italy’s move toward the extreme right in the elections of the last weeks of his life left him distressed and fearing for the country’s future.

As he approached emeritus status, Einaudi began what amounted to a second career, founding and presiding over the Italian foundation that bears his father’s name and was based on the elder Einaudi’s remarkable library. For most of his last 30 years, he divided his time between Ithaca and the Foundation. His goal was to allow young scholars to carry on their research protected from the turbulence of the Italian university system. The Fondazione Luigi Einaudi today houses one of the world’s most important economic history collections and provides postgraduate fellowships for students from around the world.

But at the same time, his commitment to Cornell and to its students and faculty never flagged. He was instrumental in the founding and expansion of the University’s Western Societies Program and helped to establish a rotating chair for distinguished European intellectuals, the Luigi Einaudi Chair in European and International Studies.

Survivors include his sons Luigi of Bethesda, Maryland; Robert of Rome, Italy; Marc of Stanford, California; his 3 daughters-in-law, 9 grandchildren, and 2 brothers, Roberto and Giulio. At Cornell he leaves a Department bereft of a distinguished teacher, inspiring colleague, and dear friend. In lieu of flowers, the family believes that Professor Einaudi would wish contributions to be made to the Manon Michels Einaudi Travel Grants at the Institute for European Studies at Cornell.

Sidney Tarrow Cornell University

William E. Lyons

William E. (Bill) Lyons died of lung cancer on May 20, 1994. He was born in 1935 in Martinsville, Virginia. He received a B.A. from Millersville State College in Pennsylvania in 1957, an M.A. from Temple in 1962 and a Ph.D. in political science from Penn State in 1965. He taught high school social studies in the late 1950s and was on the faculty at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, for three years before coming to the University of Kentucky in 1967. He is survived by his wife Lynne, by two daughters, Kimberly Young and Dana Distler, and by two grandchildren.

Bill was the James Madison of
Lexington, Kentucky. In the early 1970s he was a leader in the movement to merge the governments of Lexington and surrounding Fayette County. He chaired and served as executive director of the Merger Commission and was largely responsible for drafting the charter of the Lexington-Fayette Urban County Government. The voters adopted it in 1972, thereby eliminating considerable redundancy and confusion and instituting a more professional government. He subsequently served two terms on the Urban County Council (winning once by seven votes and becoming known as “Landslide Lyons”). He later chaired several committees for that government. He won considerable renown because of his experience and success at merger and often served as a consultant to cities around the nation that were considering consolidation or merger.

Bill came to Kentucky to teach courses in parliamentary democracy and his first book was about Canadian politics. But as both a cause and effect of his merger activity, he soon shifted both his teaching and research to urban politics. A book on the Lexington merger experiences appeared in 1977. Two years ago, he, David Lowery, and Ruth Hoogland DeHoog published The Politics of Dissatisfaction: Citizens, Services, and Urban Institutions. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, he wrote eight articles in major journals pertaining to citizen response to urban services (often co-authored with Lowery and DeHoog).

Bill was devoted to improving the University of Kentucky and was one of its faculty leaders. He chaired the Senate Council, the faculty’s highest governing body, in the mid-1980s. He served as chair of the political science department. When he died he was the Director of UK’s Martin School of Public Policy and Administration. He also served the university on a lot of other important and not-so-important committees.

We at Kentucky and those in the profession who interacted with him recall that Bill was among the most rational and analytical persons we knew when it came to critiquing research or handling department and university problems. He had both the capacity and the willingness to think a matter through to its end. He was starkly honest. He did not delude himself into believing that the cavalry would come charging over the hill with saddlebags full of money at the last minute or that we could cross a nonexistent bridge when we came to it. He bluntly told us: if we want X, we need to do this and if we want Y, we need to do that and if we don’t do either, Z will happen.

Indeed, one of Bill’s greatest contributions was that he asked questions that needed to be asked. They could be big questions. More than once when some plan or project was about to be adopted unanimously, Bill would say (almost literally), “Whoa—wait a minute!” He then might ask why are we doing this? Will we get more out of it than what it costs in money and time? Is this just a symbolic act or will something actually happen as a consequence? Or he might point out a disadvantage or a risk involved in the proposed course of action. Sometimes he would be satisfied with the answers, sometimes not. He was not afraid to dissent. Bill did his homework and also frequently asked questions about detail. “How do we measure this or define that?” he would query.

Bill’s straightforward appraisals and penetrating questions were not always appreciated. He was defeated for public office as often as he won it and he probably lost more campus elections or search committee nominations than he won. But whatever the plan that was finally adopted, it was better for Bill’s involvement.

Bill’s logic was Aristotelian, but it was more. He had an excellent sense of what was going on in the real world. He knew what would fly and what wouldn’t, and what might if we worked at it. He was sharply aware of academic and political trends, of what was on people’s agendas and what was not, and how emerging political trends and technological changes would shape the future. This, of course, is the mark of a leader and is what made his leadership and counsel so valuable to us all.

Bill understood and adhered to basic principles. He never wavered in his devotion to competence and quality in the academic enterprise. He opposed programs and courses that lacked rigor or did not require students to think. He was suspicious of trendiness. He stood fast against the more irrational manifestations of political correctness when they came to Kentucky and firmly opposed the end justifies the means arguments too often used to push some worthwhile goal at a high cost to academic integrity. Bill believed that faculty and students knew right from wrong and did not tolerate those who cheated or cut big corners, nor did he have much respect for those who did not share his outrage about academic dishonesty or who wanted to give everybody second or third chances. Bill also believed in spending money wisely—even if it belonged to the taxpayers. He knew what was central to teaching and research and what were merely bells and whistles. He changed spending patterns accordingly when he could do so and fumed when he could not.

Most centrally, Bill believed in being of service. He embodied the spirit of the ancient Athenian oath of citizenship, the inductee swearing to make the city a better place when he left it than when he arrived. Bill enjoyed gardening and camping, but he was something of a workaholic. In early, out late, taking work home. Excepting his family, his life was wrapped up in the University of Kentucky and it certainly got its money’s worth out of him—and a lot more. Even in his last weeks, when his energy was ebbing fast, he came to campus when he could, paying attention to the details of administering the Martin School and eager to talk with friends and colleagues.

We visited Bill in the hospital the day before he died. He was in bad shape, speech was difficult and the end obviously nigh. But he managed to say, “I have fought the good fight,” albeit in a tone as if there were a slight doubt. But there is no room for doubt. Bill Lyons fought the good fight; he ran a true
course. The profession, the university, and the community are all the better for his contributions. He will be sorely missed.

Bradley C. Canon
Vincent Davis
Karen Mingst
University of Kentucky

Ralph Miliband

Ralph Miliband, formerly Morris Hillquit Professor in the Department of Sociology at Brandeis and, later, Visiting Professor of Political Science at the CUNY Graduate Center in New York City, died in London on May 28. Miliband, born in Belgium and educated at the London School of Economics, was 70. He was one of the foremost democratic socialist intellectuals of our time. He long stood as a central reference point for the Left of the British Labor movement and in the 1980s co-founded the Socialist Society to give political voice to critical groups on the political Left. He was also active in the British peace movement, opposition to the Vietnam War, and innumerable campaigns against social and political oppression, including in the ex-Communist countries.

Miliband was a student of Harold Laski’s at the London School of Economics after World War II. He began his teaching career at the LSE, where he stayed until 1969. His first book, Parliamentary Socialism (1961), was a magisterial argument about the processes and mechanisms whereby British Labour Party leaderships were ensnared by the workings of the British establishment. His polemic with Nicos Poulantzas about the nature of the capitalist state which began with a review of the latter’s Political Power and Social Theory and continued for several years in different fora in the later 1960s, was central in the explosion of neo-Marxist state theory that marked political sociology for at least a decade. Miliband, more than anyone else, was responsible for “bringing the state back” into political science and sociology. The State in Capitalist Society (1969), in which Miliband combined a nearly Leninist vision of the workings of politics and the state in capitalist societies with a somewhat instrumentalist argument (strongly influenced by the work of his dear friend C. Wright Mills), drawing upon a wide range of comparative data to support this vision, is perhaps his best-known work. Marxism and Politics, from the same period, is his most explicitly “strategic” work, seeking new wisdom from Marxism about the transcendence of advanced capitalism, clearly partook of “Eurocommunist” rethinking on the European Left. He published numerous other articles and several other books, including Capitalist Democracy in Britain, his most complete statement about British politics. Ralph Miliband was also the founding co-editor (in 1964, with John Saville) of The Socialist Register, an annual of Left reflections on theory and political developments that quickly won a central place in international Left debates. Like most Left scholars, he was moved to reflect on a number of basic questions about socialism in the light of the collapse of Soviet-style regimes in the later 1980s. Unlike many, however, he concluded that a reformulation of arguments for socialist transformation was the task at hand. He was concluding a book presenting his case at the time of his death.

Miliband, who taught at Leeds University in England and York University in Canada, in addition to Brandeis, CUNY, and the LSE, was a striking and imposing public speaker, lecturer, and seminar leader. He combined a deep voice, rhetorical elegance, sense of humor and great charm with insistent urging toward sharp arguments and confrontations with the socialist tradition. He was able to combine these unique gifts with empathy and kindness. It was no accident that over decades, from his legendary seminar on “problems of contemporary socialism” (where the young guards of the British and North American New Lefts exchanged positions and ideas), his lectures on British politics and on Marxism at the LSE, to the many graduate seminars in state theory and the sociology of politics in the USA and Canada, he formed a devoted following of students. Miliband was a giving and successful mentor and colleague whose students around the world now form something of an “international” of their own.

Miliband’s scholarly and political career are a rare model of commitment and success. The extent of his influence can be judged by the fact that in the mid-1970s he was very near the top of the APSA list of the most-cited political scientists, despite his own aversion for cultivating influence in such circles. All those who knew Ralph Miliband were inspired by his great gift for combining political and scholarly integrity with personal warmth and generosity. The same gifts made him a model companion for Marion Kozak and father for David and Edward. Those many people who counted on Ralph Miliband for support, intellectual sustenance, leadership, steadfastness and friendship, plus a wonderful, reassuring smile, have suffered a huge loss. So has critical scholarship in the social sciences.

George Ross
Brandeis University

John Roche

John Roche, 70, a former columnist and professor who also had served as a Capitol Hill staffer and presidential adviser, died May 6 at a hospital in Cambridge, Massachusetts, after a stroke. He lived in Weston, Massachusetts.

He had served as national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action from 1962 to 1965. He had been an ADA founder.

Beginning in the early 1960s, Dr. Roche wrote speeches for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and worked for Humphrey for a time after he became vice president in 1965. From 1966 to 1969, Dr. Roche was an adviser to President Lyndon B. Johnson.

After that, he wrote a syndicated column, “A World Edgewise,” for 14 years. He also had been a contributor to TV Guide’s “News-

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