

# In Memoriam

## Maureen A. Casamayou

Maureen A. Casamayou passed away on October 6, 2014, at her home in Turin, New York. She was an engaging scholar and citizen who leaves numerous legacies connected to her teaching, research, and broader interests in theology, music, and athletics. She was 67 years old and was predeceased by her husband, Louis J. Casamayou.

Maureen had long-standing interests in American political institutions, political behavior, and comparative government and worked across these boundaries in examining the relationship between science and public policy. These are reflected in her numerous scholarly publications, which included the following books: *Bureaucracy in Crisis: Three Mile Island, the Shuttle Challenger, and Risk Assessment* (Westview Press, 1993); *The Politics of Breast Cancer* (Georgetown University Press, 2001); and *Organizational Learning at NASA: The Challenger and Columbia Accidents* (Georgetown Press, 2009, co-authored with Julianne G. Mahler). How bureaucracies perceive and react to technological risk was the focal point of her doctoral work in political science at Boston College, where she completed her PhD in 1989. She had previously received an MA in political science from Wichita State University and a BS in economics from London University in the United Kingdom. Maureen was a research fellow and guest scholar in the Governance Studies Program at the Brookings Institution. She served as secretary-treasurer of the Governance Institute in Washington, DC.

Maureen brought great enthusiasm to her students and taught in a diverse set of colleges and universities as she attempted to mesh her career with that of Lou's pursuit of military service and their frequent moves. Her most extended faculty appointment was at Mount Vernon College in Washington, DC, where she served as both assistant professor and associate professor. She also held positions at the State University of New York at Oswego; Mohawk Valley Community College in Utica, New York; Suffolk University in Boston; Auburn University; the University of Alabama at Fairbanks; and George Mason University. She taught a wide range of courses at both the undergraduate and graduate levels and was widely praised as a capable and caring instructor.

Maureen also pursued a range of interests beyond political science. During the last decade, she completed graduate studies in theology in preparation for ordination in the Episcopal Church. She ultimately decided to remain an academic rather than a priest and yet remained highly active in her parish, Trinity Episcopal, Boonville, NY. She also pursued interests in music, including membership in the Adirondack Community Chorus, and in athletics, where she served on the United Kingdom Cross Country Olympic Reserve Ski Team and completed a trans-American bike trip with her husband. Maureen is greatly missed by her many colleagues and former students. She believed that everyone has potential, and with her warm encouragement, cheerful optimism, and steadfast support, brought out the best in all those around her.

—Robert A. Katzmann,  
United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit  
—Barry G. Rabe, University of Michigan  
—John Tierney, Boston College

## Martha Ann Derthick (1933–2015)

Martha Ann Derthick, emeritus Julia Allen Cooper professor of government and foreign affairs at the University of Virginia, passed away in Charlottesville, Virginia, on January 12, 2015 after a short illness. She was 81.

Derthick, who served as vice president of the American Political Science Association in 1979, wrote or edited 11 books. She received the 1992 John Gaus Award from APSA for a lifetime of exemplary scholarship in public administration. The Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Section also named a book award in her honor. She was especially known for her studies of Social Security, federalism, intergovernmental relations, the politics of tobacco policy, and the deregulation movement during the 1970s. With Joshua Dunn of University of Colorado, Colorado Springs, she co-authored a quarterly column, *Legal Beat*, for *Education Next*.

Throughout her distinguished career, Derthick explored the complex interactions between Washington and state and local governments. In *Keeping the Compound Republic*, a 2001 collection of her essays published by Brookings Institution Press, Derthick explained her lifetime interest in federalism and skepticism of centralization, stating that she had a “strong personal preference for a form of government that divides and disperses official power, ideally with the goal of making it representative and grounding its exercise in practicality as opposed to political rhetoric that is all too often the demagogic style of mass democracy.”

Many of her works examined the unintended consequences of federal interventions in state welfare programs. In her 1975 book *Uncontrollable Spending for Social Services Grants* (Brookings Institution Press) she concluded that the explosive growth of these grants during the Nixon Administration was the product of design flaws in the law, the loss of jurisdiction over the program by staff specialists, and the failure of policymakers to exercise fiscal responsibility. Other books examined the National Guard, the unsuccessful implementation of President Lyndon B. Johnson's New Towns program, and the role of regional organizations in the United States.

Her award-winning 1985 book (coauthored with Paul J. Quirk) *The Politics of Deregulation* traced the pro-competitive deregulation of the trucking, airline, and telecommunication industries—in which a diffuse public-interest triumphed over powerful industry and union interests—to the influence of experts and ideas in politics.

Probably her best known study was *Policymaking for Social Security* (1979), which won the Gladys Kammerer award of the American Political Science Association. The book analyzed the puzzle of how

Social Security grew from a small program at its birth into a political fortress with so little contention. Against the view that Social Security's success was inevitable and straightforward, Derthick located the answer in the agenda-setting power of program executives, who had a strong sense of proprietorship in the program; the autonomy of Social Security, which embodied a new understanding of rights, from regular mechanisms of democratic control; and the self-interest of voters, who got back far more in benefits than they paid in taxes. The book was based on a detailed analysis of congressional debates and executive decisions, and eschewed the arcane language and highly technical statistical models common in modern political science. Her lucid writing style reflected the influence of her father, a reporter and editor for the Cleveland Plain Dealer. "By family background and childhood experience, I have always been more journalist than social scientist, and what I did in the book was try to construct the reality of policymaking," Derthick reflected in a 2004 symposium on the book's contributions.

In her follow-up book *Agency Under Stress* (1991), Derthick examined two instances of poor performance by the Social Security Administration, found in the cases of its initiation of supplemental security income program in 1974 and a review of the eligibility of recipients of disability insurance in the early 1980s. Derthick traced the agency's highly publicized failures to "the most cherished structural features of American government," including frequent elections and the separation of powers, which she concluded pose enduring obstacles to effective public administration.

Derthick was born to Everest and Mabel Derthick in Chagrin Falls, Ohio on June 20, 1933. She graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Hiram College in 1954 with a major in history and political science. While at Hiram, she was active in Sigma Mu Sigma, the Alpha Society, and was the secretary of student government. She later served on Hiram's board of trustees.

From 1956 to 1958, she served as an historian in the office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the US Department of Defense. After receiving her PhD in political science from Radcliffe College in 1962, she taught at Dartmouth College and Stanford University. From 1964 to 1970, she was on the faculty at Harvard University and a research associate with the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard. After a year of teaching at Boston College, she spent 12 years on the staff of the Brookings Institution, serving as the director of the Governmental Studies program between 1978 and 1983. At Brookings, she pushed for the think tank to maintain a commitment to the analysis of political institutions and government programs, and was somewhat skeptical of gearing research agendas to the immediate needs of officials for policy advice. From 1983 to 1999, she was the Julia Allen Cooper professor of government and foreign affairs at the University of Virginia. Her many awards and prizes included two Brownlow awards from the National Academy of Public Administration, a Guggenheim Fellowship, the Harold Lasswell prize of the Policy Studies Organization, the Waldo award of the American Society for Public Administration, and the Radcliffe Graduate Society Medal. She was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and was a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences 1981–82. She also received an honorary doctor of letters degree from Colgate University.

Derthick served on the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970). Other service activities included service on an advisory committee of the Federal National Mortgage Association (1973–1974) and on a congressional panel on Social Security (1984).

Derthick's passions included international travel, watching basketball, and caring for her many cats. She was an avid gardener. She built an exquisite contemporary-style home in Charlottesville overlooking a reclaimed garden. At the time of her death, she had just finished an article that will be published in the current issue of *The Azalean* about the life and work of prominent 20th century American gardener and landscaper Beatrix Farrand.

—Eric Patashnik, *University of Virginia*

—James Ceaser, *University of Virginia*

—Sidney Milkis, *University of Virginia*

## George Downs

New York University professor George Downs was a pioneering scholar in the fields of international relations, human rights, and decision making under uncertainty. Equally, he was a brilliant dean and a humane, compassionate, beloved friend and colleague. To the great regret of everyone who knew him, he died of heart failure in his Manhattan home on January 21, 2015.

It is exceedingly difficult to sum up such an amazing lifetime of soaring achievement attained in such a quiet, modest, and humble way. George was exceedingly generous, but believed actions spoke louder than words. In that way he really embodied his excellent book with David Rockefeller *Tacit Bargaining, Arms Races, and Arms Control*. Consequently, he was a quick-witted, deep thinker who was slow to speak, but when he did he was always spot on. Every student and every colleague—whether in an office next door or ten thousand miles away—benefited profoundly from knowing George. As they all know so well, he was a devoted teacher and a gracious mentor whether to students or to younger colleagues. Many of his protégés have gone on to successful careers and leadership positions at institutions throughout the country. His spirit of generosity and wise leadership live on through the legacy he imparted to them.

A connoisseur of fine food and wine, George loved nothing better than dinner with a few close friends in a fine restaurant or breakfast in a greasy spoon, participating in a discussion of the politics of the day and the political science of our times. He was at least as interested in what his newest graduate student or least experienced colleague had to say as he was in the thoughts of the most august figures in political science. He was, in a word, a mensch!

George Downs came to NYU in 1998 as chair of the Wilf Department of Politics, after serving as the Boswell Professor of Peace and War at Princeton (1987–98) and as a professor in the department of political science and the graduate school of management at the University of California, Davis (1975–87). As NYU's Dean of Social Science from 2001 to 2009, George helped to convert NYU's social science departments into world-class intellectual powerhouses. He was that most unusual academic administrator: he had no ambition for personal advancement or aggrandizement; he just wanted to help colleagues rise to the highest level they could. And oh what a success he was at that. And all the while he was also doing his own research, setting the agenda for a generation of researchers interested in international organizations and how they work; in human rights and how they might effectively be advanced; and in changes in the quality of governance through the advancement of what he called "coordination goods" such as free speech, free press, and freedom of assembly. He was the first scholar to use noncooperative game

theory to model the effects of domestic uncertainty on international negotiations and to identify how to use tacit bargaining—actions rather than words—to resolve disputes and arms races without coercion. Complementing this work was his ground-breaking analysis of the systematic ways in which international organizations and treaties fail to meet expectations or alter behavior while producing high, but shallow, compliance with treaty terms—a compliance process he and his coauthors David Roake and Peter Barsboom labeled as “easy music.”

In other innovative theoretical work that became known as “the resurrection hypothesis,” Downs and Roake (his friend from when they were college roommates at Shimer College in Chicago in the 1960s) provided the definitive explanation for why leaders facing virtually certain defeat nevertheless continue to fight. His contributions hold notable relevance in the current political climate, with President Obama and the Republican Congress pushing agendas they likely know will not succeed, while also illuminating the extreme actions of groups like ISIS and Al Qaeda to sustain their relevance.

George Downs provided the foundation for identifying policy solutions to intense international conflicts by avoiding the demonization of adversaries and by leaving room for postwar political survival for the vanquished. He was also a leader in the design of models to achieve practical success and advances in environmental negotiations and in the spread of human rights, the focus of his most recent research. Throughout his body of work he has shown how formal models can be used to extract practical solutions to fundamental problems, always in the vein of his strong, humane sense of ethics. As noted by NYU’s Michael Laver, a successor to Downs as NYU’s dean of social science, “George was driven by trying to understand particular problems, such as international negotiations or human rights, rather than how they were addressed. He was always more interested in the question than he was in any particular answer.”

In recognition of his contributions to the field, Downs, a black belt in Tai Kwon Do and an Air Force fighter pilot (1967–71) stationed in Korea during the Vietnam War (who never harmed a single hair on anyone’s head), was elected as a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Science in 2014. His five books include the highly influential *Optimal Imperfection?* (1995) and *Tacit Bargaining, Arms Races, and Arms Control* (1990), both coauthored with David Roake; *The Search for Government Efficiency: From Hubris to Helplessness* (1986), coauthored with Patrick Larkey; and his prize-winning dissertation, published in 1976 as *Bureaucracy, Innovation, and Public Policy*. Additionally, he was the author of more than 50 articles, several of them prize winning as well. *International Organization* plans to publish a compilation of George’s prodigious contributions as an online special issue and the NYU department of politics plans to hold a conference in George’s honor in the fall. These projects will amplify on his research, which was written both for technical audiences in top journals and for everyone in places like *Foreign Affairs*, where his research helped influence policy making and the advancement of human dignity.

George Downs, born on August 6, 1946, in Philadelphia, where he was raised, received his bachelor’s degree from Chicago’s Shimer College (1967) and his doctorate from the University of Michigan (1976). He had been suffering from esophageal cancer and, even during that battle this past summer and fall, managed to attend to his students and to complete an article on income tax policy and income inequality. He knew how to live life to the fullest and he was a model of graciousness and kindness to his last day. He watched President Obama’s State of the Union Address with his beloved wife,

Ilene Cohen, went to sleep, and passed into our devoted memory only hours later. He is survived by Ilene, his sister, Susan Gillette, Ilene’s children, Hanan Cohen of Arlington, Virginia, and Tamar Cohen of Jerusalem, and three adored grandchildren, Nina and Magali Kon of Jerusalem and Milo Cohen of Arlington.

—Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *New York University*

—William Roberts Clark, *Texas A&M*

—Michael Gilligan, *New York University*

## Maurice Duverger

(1917–2014)

**M**aurice Duverger, one of the founding fathers of European political science, died on 17 December 2014 at the age of 97 and was buried on 29 December 2014 at the Tholonet cemetery (Bouches-du-Rhone, France).

Along with Jean Blondel, he was without a doubt the best-known and most frequently quoted French political scientist in the world.

Born on 5 June 1917 in Angoulême, Maurice Duverger was educated at the Sainte-Marie Grand Lebrun Catholic School in Bordeaux and completed his baccalaureate in June 1934. At that point, he hesitated between one of four professions: writer, journalist, professor, and lawyer. He would have preferred to have become a famous writer and enter the Académie Française like François Mauriac, the famous Bordeaux author who also attended Grand Lebrun and who went on to win the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1952. But in the end he reluctantly enrolled at the law faculty of Bordeaux where he earned distinctions on several occasions. He specialized in public law—political science was not institutionally recognized in France as an autonomous branch until the 1970s—and graduated in 1937, becoming a Doctor of Law in August 1940. In 1942, he entered the examination to become a professor in public law and came first. He was first appointed to the Faculty of Poitiers (1942–43) and then returned to the Faculty of Bordeaux where he remained as a professor until 1955.

The start of his professional career as a young, brilliant jurist in the late 1950s was marked by controversy about his attitude during the occupation. Members of Parliament (in particular during a meeting of the Chamber in 1957), journalists, and academics criticised him for having objectively supported the anti-Semitic legislation of the Vichy regime in his weighty article titled “The Civil Servant’s Situation Since the 1940 Revolution” (1941). He dragged this recurring controversy around like a millstone, and in two instances took legal action against newspapers, respectively *Minute* in 1968 and *Actuel* in 1988, both won by Duverger. But they cost him his admission into the Académie Française.

At the end of the war, Duverger continued teaching public law—administrative law, comparative constitutional law, and financial legislation. From his courses he published manuals on public finance and public law. In October 1944, he taught a course on constitutional law which was published the following year and was the first work dedicated to the French institutions set up after the liberation. A few years later this book became a bestseller titled *Droit Constitutionnel et Institutions Politiques* (Constitutional Law and Political Institutions) and, in the Themis collection that he managed at

Presses Universitaires de France, came out in no fewer than 18 editions, and even 21 for the second volume dedicated to the French political system. But he gradually moved toward political science, a subject which his teacher, Roger Bonnard, considered to be mere journalism and gossip. He published numerous works and articles on political institutions, regimes, and parties. The international dissemination of his works was helped considerably by their translation into several languages, which at the time was very unusual in French social sciences.

In December 1952, he published an article in the *American Political Science Review* titled “Public Opinion and Political Parties in France.” But above all it was his reference work published in 1954, *Political Parties, Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*—which he described as the “sacred cow” of political science—that made his name in America and the rest of the world. This book was published not long after the speaking tour that he undertook from March 15th to May 15 that year on the invitation of the State Department at the universities of Columbia; Georgetown; Tulane; California, Los Angeles; Stanford; Chicago; Harvard; and Yale. The book *Political Parties* became a classic of political science, in the same way as other studies originally published in French by Ostrogorski (1902) and Michels (1915). Duverger’s international reputation earned him numerous honorary titles: in 1962 he became a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (political science, international relations, and public policy) and he was also an honorary doctor at the universities of Sienna, Geneva, New Jersey (Rutgers), Milan, Barcelona (UAB), Warsaw, Sofia, Athens, and Prague (Charles University).

Maurice Duverger was also a central figure in the movement to institutionalize political science in France, as well as at international level. He played an important role in the creation of the Bordeaux Institute of Political, Social, and Economic Studies in March 1946, an institution that he managed with the help of an excellent multidisciplinary team, in particular Jacques Ellul, Robert Escarpit, and Jean Stoetzel. Getting around numerous political and administrative obstacles, and with the support of members of Parliament, ministers, and the Mayor of Bordeaux Jacques Chaban-Delmas, in 1948 he managed to transform the status of the Institute of Political Studies into an autonomous institution linked to the university. He was its first director, a position he held until 1955.

In 1949 he was one of the founders of the French Association of Political Science and became a member of its first board, the only representative from outside Paris. That same year, under the authority of UNESCO, he helped to set up the International Political Science Association on the initiative of French, American, Canadian and Indian associations working in this discipline.

Appointed professor at the Law and Economic Science Faculty of Paris in 1955, where he taught until his retirement in 1985, he founded the political science department at the University of Paris I in 1969, alongside Madeleine Grawitz, Leo Hamon, and Marcel Merle. In 1976, he added an academic research centre to this department, the Political Systems Comparative Analysis Centre.

Alongside his academic activities, he published prolifically in the press, with some 800 articles as a regular editor of *Le Monde* from 1946 until 1994 as well as for *Le Nouvel Observateur* and *L’Express*, often appearing in radio and television programs, and publishing works in foreign newspapers such as *Corriere della Sera* and *El Pais*.

In 1989 he rediscovered his taste for direct political engagement—from which he had deliberately distanced himself in 1938—but this time

to the left. At the time of the European elections in 1989, after rumors that he would be standing as a candidate for the French Socialist Party, his name was eventually found on the list of the Italian Communist Party. He was elected and sat at the European Parliament until 1994.

—Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot, *Sciences Po Bordeaux*

## Robert A. Shanley

Robert A. Shanley, professor emeritus of political science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, born June 1, 1922, bade us farewell on November 17, 2014. He had retired in 1994, after 32 years of teaching and research. His dedicated teaching and research and his kind nature and amiable humor remain a legacy.

Bob served in the US Army Signal Corps in the occupation of Okinawa during World War II and later received a BA and MA at Columbia University and a PhD at Georgetown University. While at Georgetown, he held positions in the Documents Division, US Congress, and then as a research assistant at US Air Corps Intelligence. He taught political science at the University of Detroit and at Oglethorpe University in Atlanta. He then served as research director of the Joint Civic Agencies in Springfield, Massachusetts. He later served as Assistant Director of the Bureau of Government Research at UMass, Amherst (with a joint appointment in the political science department), where he published studies and facilitated conferences on state and local government issues. The bureau was subsequently absorbed into the department. He also taught at American International College in Springfield.

As a political science faculty member, Bob concentrated his teaching and research on the American presidency, as well as environmental and energy politics and policies. He specially studied presidential executive orders. Among projects he was engaged with were ones on public policy outputs in local political systems and a monograph he wrote on “The Problem of Simplifying the Massachusetts Constitution.” In this report, he noted that one third of the Constitution’s amendments contain nullified and obsolete material. A growing number of amendments (85) were added at the end of the document, not incorporated in the text, including amendments to amendments. He found the Massachusetts Constitution to be full of obsolete material, statutory detail, violations of the US Constitution, and archaic and hortatory language. It “seems to have become more of a historical document than a working framework of government.” He recommended simplification, eventually to be ratified by the electorate, for “all nullified, obsolete, archaic, and statutory material should be deleted and illogical organization, errors, ambiguities, and inconsistencies should be resolved.” His hope was that the Constitution would be understandable by citizens and the governmental process more subject to citizen control.

He was co-author of the book *Busing: The Political and Judicial Process* (1974) concerning racial balance efforts, the monograph “Civil Rights in the Political Process: An Analysis of the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Law of 1965,” and author of various studies and journal articles.

After retirement in 1994, as a volunteer he assisted immigrants in passing their citizenship exam, read to 4th graders, and delivered meals on wheels and provided food for the poor. Bob Shanley was a lover of nature (including walks along the river) and of music

(including regular trips to Tanglewood for the BSO). He nourished a host of diverse friendships. He was predeceased by his wife, Charlotte, whose family continued to keep loving watch on him. Though declining in health recently, he remained alert and well in spirit till the end. A gentle, good man, a fine colleague.

—Lewis C. Mainzer, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

## Paul E. Sigmund

Paul E. Sigmund, professor of politics, emeritus died on April 27, 2014 at the age of 85. He was lucid to the end. He is survived by his three sons, Paul, David, and Stephen, and four grandchildren; his wife Barbara Boggs Sigmund, who served as Mayor of Princeton, died before him in 1990 at the comparatively young age of 51. Paul graduated summa cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa, from Georgetown University in 1950 and received his doctorate in government (that is, politics) from Harvard in 1959. At Harvard, he was Allston Burr Senior Tutor in Quincy House and Instructor in Government from 1959–1963. He joined the Princeton faculty in the department of politics in 1963 and stayed at Princeton until he retired in 2005. Thereafter he recurrently taught in the Freshman Seminar program and did so until very recently. In 2005, he received the Stanley Kelley, Jr. Award for Excellence in Teaching, given annually by the politics department; it acknowledged his devotion to the classroom at every level from first-year undergraduates to advanced graduate students. In honor of his decades of outstanding leadership and teaching, the program in Latin American studies created the Paul E. Sigmund Scholars Award Program to foster independent research in Latin America by Princeton undergraduates.

Paul had amazing energies and never wasted time. His scholarly productivity and institutional commitments were therefore abundant. Throughout his academic life, Paul taught and wrote in two academic disciplines: political theory and Latin American studies. He wrote or edited 19 books and more than 155 articles and commentaries, and they covered both fields. It is unusual for a scholar to sustain a life-long commitment to two fields and achieve success in both. He also worked hard as an institutional citizen. On the university level, he served on the Committees on Course of Study, on Examinations and Standing, and on Admissions and Financial Aid. He was the director of the program in Latin American studies for eight years in all over a period of 16 years. In the politics department, he was director of graduate studies. He was the first reader for some of the most independent-minded, indeed adventurous graduate students in political theory, and his range made him an ideal member of many dissertation committees. He taught with distinction the politics department's basic undergraduate course in political theory from Plato to Machiavelli, as well as other courses, including the core course in Latin American studies.

Paul was a learned man. He read Greek and Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, and Italian. He lectured in Spanish in eight Latin American countries, and could speak French and German, as well. His extensive travels and occasional fellowship residence in Latin America and Europe made him a worldly man; this trait went well with being learned. In its Bicentennial Celebrations, July 1989, Georgetown University awarded him one of the medals made for alumni who distinguished themselves in their respective fields.

Among his works in political theory, mention should be made of

his first book, *Nicholas of Cusa and Medieval Political Thought* (1963); of his general interest in Cusa's endeavors in political thought but also in quasi-political thought concerning the proper administration of the Catholic Church; and of Paul's later scholarly achievement, the editing and translation of Cusa's enormous work, *The Catholic Concordance* (1991). Paul also co-authored with Reinhold Niebuhr, the renowned theologian, a book on democratic culture called *The Democratic Experience* (1969). A pioneering work was *Liberation Theology at the Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution?* (1990), which brought together Paul's concerns with the general theme of the necessity for reform joined to the undesirability of violent social revolution, with special emphasis on the role of activist priests in Latin American religion and politics. His longstanding interest in natural law was comprehensively expressed in *Natural Law in Political Thought* (1971), which prepared him for further work on Thomas Aquinas and John Locke. He published Norton Critical Editions first of Aquinas (*St. Thomas Aquinas on Politics and Ethics*) in 1988 and then John Locke (*The Selected Political Writings of John Locke*) in 2005. Both books show editorial work of comprehensive scholarship and judicious interpretation, attentive to the radicalism of both thinkers, who nevertheless shared a common aspiration to a sustainable structure of moderation in political and social life. For Aquinas, Paul freshly translated the selected writings from the Latin. At the time of his death, Paul was assembling the materials for a revised edition of the Aquinas book. The bent of Paul's scholarly interests was often to concentrate on thinkers—like Aquinas, Cusa, Locke, and the liberation theologians—who all were thought troublemakers (or worse) during their lifetimes and who eventually were vindicated, if not by the reigning establishment, then by later generations. Paul's temperament was reflected in the theorists he worked on. One might say that he was a liberal conservative, who admired those whose theories derived from the assumption that some risky change is essential to preservation.

Paul published a number of works on Latin American politics. Although he never stopped being a political theorist, he studied contemporary politics without overbearing theoretical expectations. It is true that his liberal conservatism was not held in abeyance. He favored reformist parties, in particular Christian Democratic ones that were not religiously dogmatic or ideologically rigid. The country he studied the hardest was Chile, where he spent more than a little time. The plain fact is that he did not sympathize with Allende or with Marxism no matter how revisionary it was. Among his writings on Chile are *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964–76* (1977) and a later and broader book, *The United States and Democracy in Chile* (1993). Whatever his sympathies, Paul kept an open, receptive mind, and tried always to practice both fairness and generosity. In 2002, in recognition of his writings on Chile, Paul became the first American scholar to receive the Bernardo O'Higgins Order of Merit, a great honor that Chile bestows. Paul was also extraordinarily active in philanthropy. He helped launch and lead Princeton in Latin America and supported as a trustee Hands Together to provide basic social services in Haiti.

Those of us who attend seminars in the university will remember Paul vividly because he regularly asked sharp, perceptive questions, always on the point, and always without vehemence. His presence graced our intellectual lives.

—George Kateb, *Princeton University*  
 —Stephen Macedo, *Princeton University*  
 —Deborah Yashar, *Princeton University*