

From 1971 to 1973 he was the leader of the Maltese delegation to the UN Seabed Committee. These diverse offices and the extremely wide range of his contacts with public officials and private individuals who were interested in an innovative and improved international legal regime for the ocean enabled Ambassador Pardo to play a very influential role in the treaty negotiations. It is not an exaggeration to say that his leadership gave a very positive direction to probably the most successful augmentation of formal international law since 1945.

His critical role in this area resulted in his appointment as coordinator of the ocean studies program at the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, where he served between 1972 and 1975.

In 1975 Ambassador Pardo joined the faculty of the University of Southern California. At USC he was professor of political science (1975–81), professor of international relations (1981–90), and senior fellow in the Institute of Marine and Coastal Studies (1975–90). As a member of the political science and international relations faculties, he was keenly interested in the research projects of graduate students and served on several Ph.D. committees.

For a period of three years Ambassador Pardo and Professor Carl Q. Christol of the political science faculty combined their legal backgrounds to team-teach graduate seminars. Since the Common Heritage of Mankind principle plays a substantial role in the international law of outer space, approaching this principle from different perspectives allowed for stimulating discussions. One result of the seminar was their joint authorship of an article entitled "The Common Interest: Tension between the Whole and the Parts," which was published in Macdonald and Johnston's *The Structure and Process of International Law: Essays in Legal Philosophy, Doctrine and Theory* (1983). His graduate students found Professor Pardo to be a person wholly committed to their professional advancement, who was both demanding of excellence and willing to meet with them on

friendly terms to guide and assist them along the way.

Even before Ambassador Pardo had left the service of Malta he had established deep and important contacts with California. In 1971 he became a visiting senior fellow of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara. Under the leadership of Robert Maynard Hutchins the Center became heavily engaged in studying and promoting the *Pacem in Terris* program. From this evolved the *Pacem in Maribus* project under the leadership of Elisabeth Mann Borgese. Under her skillful and dedicated tutelage a series of research projects were undertaken from which important published books and reports emanated. These efforts included the convening of international conferences, including very substantial multidisciplinary participation on the part of leaders of both advanced and developing countries, as well as highly placed personages composing the Club of Rome. The conferences took place in Malta, Japan (including Okinawa), and Algeria.

The *Pacem in Maribus* activities, in which Ambassador Pardo played a leading role, contributed very materially to the final draft of the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention. He believed firmly that governmental policies and programs could not be successful unless full attention were given by governmental officials to the careful and analytical reports and studies prepared by such institutions as *Pacem in Maribus* and comparable think tanks.

Thus, he engaged in the work of the Board of the Maltese International Ocean Institute, the Board of Sponsors of the War and Peace Center, the Board of Advisors of the Villanova University Common Heritage Foundation, the Board of Editors of *Ocean Yearbook*, Board of Editors of *Marine Policy*, and the Board of Editors of *Ocean Management*. Among his many other scholarly publications, he coauthored with Elisabeth Mann Borgese *The New International Order and the Law-of-the-Sea* (1977).

Among Ambassador Pardo's special honors were the 1982 Paul Hoffman Award of the Society for

International Development, the 1983 Prize of the Third World Foundation, and in 1992 the National Order of Merit of Malta (Knight of Malta) citation.

More than the identifiable prizes and awards he received or might have received was the cherished prize accorded by him to those many associates, friends, and students who benefitted deeply from his humanitarian outlook and from his steady and inspiring commitment to the resolution of mankind's need for disarmament, international development, and a meaningful law for the ocean. For many it may be said that they left the world a better place. The life of Arvid Pardo has placed him very high on any list identifying those who have faithfully and creatively served to ameliorate the wants and needs of humankind.

He is survived by his wife, Margit, and children, Christina Pardo Menez, Lars, and David of Seattle, Washington.

Carl Q. Christol  
*University of Southern California*

## Tang Tsou

Tang Tsou usually spoke with a low voice and a measured cadence. He also had a habit of asking his interlocutors whether his English was absolutely correct or as precise as it could be. Yet, even those who met him for the first time were not taken in by his self-effacing demeanor. At one memorable Chicago seminar, an eminent scholar made a condescending remark about China's Hakka minority, unaware that Professor Tsou was himself a Hakka. He promptly interjected, "When it comes to Hakkas, I am not a specialist, but I am a specimen."

When it came to Chinese politics, he was both. As a scholar born and raised in China who was working thoroughly and self-consciously within American political science, he treated Chinese developments as subjects of serious analytical and theoretical concern at a time when China's own apparent extremism and its penchant for radical reversals, as well as the Cold War, posed profound obstacles to doing so. He possessed a unique perspective that

combined a profound, innate grasp of Chinese history, culture, and society with an unshakable commitment to the objectivity of the scholar who can stand outside the object of study. He demanded, of himself and his students and colleagues, a thorough comprehension not only of Chinese affairs but also of the ways that China's leaders and ordinary people understood them, as well as the capacity to use Western political and social science concepts and theories to help describe and analyze them. His capacity to see China both from within and from without, from near and from far, produced incisive analyses of a broad range of issues.

*America's Failure in China, 1941–1950* (University of Chicago Press, 1963), his *magnum opus*, launched his career, and probably remains his most well-known work. In tackling U.S.-China relations during the 1940s—the most contentious subject in the field, and a key subject of McCarthy investigations—Tang Tsou began what would become a lifelong penchant for taking on the most controversial subjects of the day and developing balanced, sophisticated analyses of them. The book portrayed a self-centered U.S. government that sufficiently appreciated neither China's complexities nor its own limitations. Yet, it also contended that U.S. support of the Nationalist Party in China's civil war failed because of the party's corruption and infighting. *America's Failure in China* became an instant classic that still holds up very well despite a vast increase in available materials.

Thereafter, he shifted focus from international relations to comparative politics, pursuing a series of studies of the most ideologically charged issues. In each case he found a way to extract theoretically and empirically profound analysis from the Chinese maelstrom. It was commonplace to treat Mao's political thought as ideological cant, as cynical self-justification designed to legitimate the state or justify attacks on particular enemies, or, at best, as lightweight political theory. By contrast, Tang Tsou, in articles titled "Revolution, Reintegration, and Crisis in Communist China," "Mao Ze-

dong's Thought, the Last Struggle for Succession, and the post-Mao Era," and "Reflections on the Formation and Foundations of the Communist Party-State in China," treated Mao's thought as a serious, coherent body of writing that developed a new approach to the Marxist problem of theory and practice by abstracting from and, in turn, informing and explaining the Chinese revolution. Likewise, the Cultural Revolution was generally seen as a bizarre instance of elite power struggle or an ideologically driven campaign of popular mobilization led by zealots. In "The Cultural Revolution and the Chinese Political System," Tsou portrayed it as the distillation of a complex set of contradictory forces at multiple levels—among the top leadership, among key state institutions, between state and society, and within society—that revealed the most fundamental dynamics and crisis tendencies of the political system as a whole.

Once it became possible to return to China, Tsou conducted field research on political economy in the village of Dazhai and its Xiyang County, places that were dismissed by most scholars because they were the foci of national emulation campaigns. In a trilogy of articles titled "Organization, Growth, and Equality in Xiyang County: A Survey of Fourteen Brigades in Seven Communes (Parts I and II)" and "The Responsibility System in Agriculture" (both coauthored with Mitch Meisner and me), he led our efforts to use them as windows, first, into the achievements of late-Maoist-period economic development in deploying political power to reconcile the conflicting goals of growth and equality and, second, into the promise of the new structural economic reforms to shift the rural economy from extensive to intensive growth.

With the onset of the Dengist structural reforms, Tsou embarked on a summation of the tempestuous course and totalistic character of Chinese communist politics from the 1920s to the 1990s. "Back from the Brink of Revolutionary-'Feudal' Totalitarianism," and "Reflections on the Formation and Foundations of

the Communist Party-State in China" offered reformulations of totalitarian theory that stripped it of distortions rooted in its ideological anti-Communism but retained some of its essential insights into the dynamics of a state that pushed politicization and a totalistic approach to conflict and change to the outer limits of political sustainability. In "Political Change and Reform: The Middle Course," he set forth his cautiously optimistic view of the new alternative offered by the Dengists.

In the dark days after the 1989 crackdown, scholarly and popular sympathies the world over lay with the student protesters. Tang Tsou's pathbreaking article "The Tiananmen Tragedy: The State-Society Relationship, Choices, and Mechanisms in Historical Perspective" staked out a controversial position by parceling out as much responsibility to the students as to the state. It also laid bare the structural, political, and conjunctural path-dependent reasons why several possibilities for compromise had failed. A large number of student and intellectual protesters, themselves, and their supporters inside and outside China, many of whom were critical of Tsou's position when he first articulated it, ultimately came to agree with him.

In "Prolegomenon to the Study of Informal Groups in CCP Politics" (1976), Tsou began what would become a long-running argument over the use of faction theory to explain elite politics, in the course of which he raised the most fundamental issues of epistemology in political science. Nearly twenty years later, in "Chinese Politics at the Top: Factionalism or Informal Politics? Balance-of-Power Politics or a Game to Win All?" (1995), he re-joined the debate. Demonstrating his openness to the very latest theoretical developments in political science, this time Tsou came armed with a powerful game-theoretic model whose rules were that each iteration of conflict was played with the objective of completely vanquishing the enemy.

As a teacher, Professor Tsou showed the profoundest respect for his graduate students by guiding us in developing our own agendas,

questions and answers rather than his own. As a group, then, his students have never been associated with a common approach or sub-field. He was able to supervise dissertations across an extraordinary range, including the political psychology of mass movements, the Cultural Revolution, industrial management, political theory, village-level politics, and Republican-era (pre-1949) politics, to name just a few. Though he eschewed imprinting his own particular approach on his students' work, he nonetheless influenced each one profoundly. Many years after graduate school, I reread my notes from his classes in order to write a paper for a *festschrift* in honor of his retirement. Perhaps I should not have been surprised to realize that much of what I had by then come to think of as my own ideas had in fact come from him. What his students did come to share was his scholarly sensibility that connected appreciation and respect for Chinese developments on their own terms with the analytical perspective afforded by Western political science. He showed the way to ask the most momentous questions, to think independently about them, and let the political chips fall where they may, and not to shy away from the controversy they would necessarily entail. As a political scientist, he urged his students to elaborate the creative role that political leadership, ideas, and institutions could play in fostering dramatic, historic change.

He experienced such change in his own life. Tang Tsou was the son of Tsou Lu, a prominent Guomindang politician and party historian. He attended National Southwestern Associated University, a joint institution created by China's four leading universities when they were forced into exile during World War II. He came to graduate school at the University of Chicago in 1941, writing a dissertation under David Easton on the methodologies of Charles Merriam and Harold Lasswell and the evolution of American political science. He had planned to return to China with a specialty in American politics. But, by the time he graduated in 1951, such a plan was im-

practical. After a few years at the University of Utah, Tsou returned to Chicago when Hans Morgenthau selected him to join the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy. He commenced a series of studies of China's external relations that so impressed the Chicago faculty that, in 1959, they offered him an assistant professorship. Their faith in him was well founded: In 1965 *America's Failure in China* won the Gordon J. Laing Prize from the University of Chicago Press as the best book written during the previous two years by a Chicago faculty member. He coedited a multivolume set of essays from a 1967 conference titled *China in Crisis*, and, in 1986, published *The Cultural Revolution and Post-Mao Reforms: A Historical Perspective*—an anthology of his own articles with revisions based on reflections since their original publication. From 1978 to 1980 he was principal investigator of the NEH Modern China Project, which focused on the evolution of local government institutions from 1850 onward. He edited the summary volume *The NEH Modern China Project, 1978–80: Political Leadership and Social Change at the Local Level in China from 1850 to the Present*. However, most of his extraordinary scholarly energy was devoted to writing long articles in which he attempted to grasp the essential dynamics of Chinese politics of the day. In 1986, by which time his work had become widely known in the burgeoning field of political science in China, he was named Honorary Professor at Beijing University, where he was staying on an extended research trip.

Professor Tsou retired from the Chicago faculty in 1988 as Homer J. Livingston Professor of Political Science. When his former graduate students, under the editorial leadership of Brantly Womack, put together a *festschrift* titled *Contemporary Chinese Politics in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), he demonstrated how he would spend his retirement years by turning what was intended as a brief afterword into the lengthy chapter on "The Tiananmen Tragedy" that still stands as the most incisive scholarly

account of that extraordinary crisis. At his retirement dinner, he announced that his only request for gifts from his colleagues and students was that each of them give him a list of their ten favorite books in any field of political science, which he was anxious to read. He planned a return to his graduate school fascination with American politics, but, of course, he could not part from his abiding commitment to study and write about the politics of his native country.

In 1997 he was named an Honorary Member of the Chinese Academy of Social Science. He was still conducting research and writing actively and avidly until his death on August 7, 1999. In the days immediately preceding, he was still demanding that his colleagues supply him with lists of their latest favorite books so he could make good use of the many precious hours he was spending undergoing kidney dialysis.

He was extremely devoted to his wife, Dr. Yi-chuang Lu, a professorial fellow in psychiatry at the University of Chicago. I saw him just a few short weeks before his death, when he invited my family and me to their home so we could help welcome her home from a stint in the hospital. On that day he said that all he wanted was two more years to live so he could complete his current project of fashioning an historical explanation of the differences between China and the former USSR in the 1990s. At the end of his life, he evinced the very same youthful energy and single-minded commitment to his work, and to his ideals of helping China to become a great, modern country, with which he had started his long and illustrious career half a century before.

Marc Blecher  
Oberlin College

## Peter R. Weitz

Peter Robertson Weitz, 55, a political scientist, consultant, and former official of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, died of brain cancer September 7, 1999.

Weitz was a Washington native and grew up in Turkey and Europe,