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**FIFTY YEARS IN THE HISTORY
OF ITALIAN ECONOMY AND CULTURE.
THE CENTRO EINAUDI IN TURIN
(1963-2013)**



This “Quaderno” has been prepared on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Centro Einaudi, founded in Turin by Fulvio Guerrini, who has been its General Secretary until his death, in 1979. The “Quaderno” is published online, in both Italian and English.

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**FIFTY YEARS IN THE HISTORY
OF ITALIAN ECONOMY
AND CULTURE.
THE CENTRO EINAUDI IN TURIN
(1963-2013)**

The history of the Centro di Ricerca e Documentazione Luigi Einaudi in Turin, Italy, established there in 1963 by Fulvio Guerrini and featuring the contributions of a significant group of young scholars and intellectuals, has been able to get through, and interact with, the most important events in the history of the Italian Republic. The industrial boom, the crisis of the 1970s, the contradictions of the 1980s, and the difficult and controversial “transition” Italy underwent during the last 20 years, teeming with political and economic issues, both on the national and international level, are not only the “context” this paper will move in, but it will also deal with the main issues the Centro Einaudi tackled, together with the several scholars and authors cooperating with it.

Branching out its activity into several sectors for analysis, such as studying institutions, politics and philosophy, all of them having meso- and macro-economic approaches as the cornerstone of their activity, the Centro Einaudi succeeded in becoming an important vantage point to observe the Italian reality. And this is mostly because of the quality of the studies the Centro carries out and promotes even today. Not only do they succeed sizing up and understanding the issues and the dynamics featuring in an economic reality such as the one in Turin, but also in going outside the local framework and expanding its activities both on the national and the international level. It is also worth noting that, especially in the first decades of its activity, the *atout* the Centro could rely on in its relationships helped in speeding things along. Making the most of all these elements, the Centro has been, since its inception, a significant place for vibrant intellectual production and dialogue, while Italy was experiencing the significant, and very quick, transformation which was to turn it into one of the main industrial powers on Earth, despite being unable to shed some of its structural limits, and that was something – as it is going to be explained below – the Centro Einaudi was aware of and dutifully put into the limelight.

The spread of liberal thinking in its many shapes and forms was the main goal underlying the inception of the Centro and its life as an institution. Such an aim has also been kept and enhanced during the following decades, constantly striving – and that is another peculiar feature the Centro possesses – to find social and economic practical applications.

Within this general framework, the main goal of the research I carried out with Professor Umberto Gentiloni Silveri and relying on help by all the staff of the Centro

Einaudi,¹ has been to try and retrace a reasoned chronology of the Centro's history, in order to consider and explain its life and activities, while highlighting its interactions with the changes the Italian society was undergoing. Therefore, this is by no means a "simple" chronology of events; rather, it is an attempt at detecting some of the long-term interpretive paths, as well as those main research inroads which have made the Centro able to read and understand – often much in advance – the changes undergoing in Italy.

By the same token, this reasoned chronology is an attempt towards a better understanding of the workings of the Centro and the changes it underwent, from its early, "artisanal" model to a more articulate internal structure. Their being able to constantly update their internal organisation and management as well as the themes they tackled has been an element itself not something commonplace; rather, it was a decisive factor, especially when joined with the skill this institution proved to have in valorizing and continuously training new generations of scholars. Therefore – as it has been proved by all the testimonies we gathered² – the Centro has been able to pinpoint new paths for analysis, while updating those it already followed, remaining a cornerstone both in the cultural and the economic Italian milieu, while at the same time (and this is something unique in the Italian situation) keeping their political sensibilities on the highest possible level, refusing to directly join (or ally with) any political parties. This also allowed its staff – especially in recent years – to be financially self-sufficient, precisely because of the quality of its studies and activities.

Therefore, the main goal of this paper is to examine and discuss the main results of the work presented at the Foyer of the Teatro Regio in Turin³ on December 3, 2014. Given the impossibility of reducing the complexity of the history and the evolution of the Centro Einaudi during more than fifty years of Italian economic and political life, I will try and highlight some of the most meaningful and emblematic features which emerged during the research here, subdividing my contribution into three main parts.

Within the first part, I would like to try and highlight some of the elements which, especially taking the results of this study and some testimonies of its protagonists into account, enhanced the awareness concerning the importance of the role the Centro

¹ Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014); this volume, available as an e-book, can be used both as a multimedia tool (<http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50/copertina.html>) and as a .pdf file (http://www.centroeinaudi.it/images/ebook_kits/radici_e_liberta_50_anni_di_centro_einaudi.pdf). I would like to thank the President of the Centro Einaudi, Salvatore Carrubba, as well as Giuseppina De Santis and Giuseppe Russo, the Director from 2001 to 2014 and the current Director of the Centro respectively. I am both bound and pleased to gratefully acknowledge the whole of the technical staff who, aptly coordinated by Anna Maria Gonella, gave an invaluable, highly professional and focused help in researching sources and, more often than not, helped this paper through suggestions and clarifications concerning the Centro's activities.

² The following personalities have been interviewed: Salvatore Carrubba, Mario Deaglio, Giuseppina De Santis, Maurizio Ferrera, Piero Ostellino, Angelo M. Petroni, Enrico Salza, Giuliano Urbani, Valerio Zanone, Giovanna Zincone.

³ Concerning the celebrations of this jubilee and the publishing of the e-book, see Carioti (2014), Gentiloni Silveri (2014), Petroni (2014), Schiavazzi (2014).

has had up to now and the need for a research that, considering the evolution of the themes and of the tools it relied upon as time went by, allows to read 50 years of political and economic history in Italy from a privileged viewpoint. Here, I am specifically thinking about the role of the founders and of the main protagonists of the activities the Centro carried out; about some study paths which began, against the mainstream, during the era of the Italian economic boom and that proved to be invaluable later on; I am thinking about the specific features the Centro Einaudi showed within a country which was still mired into political parties and their system; I am thinking about the capacity the Centro proved to possess in being able to weather the storm of the latter 20 years being able to grow even stronger on specific issues as well.

During the second part of my paper, I will try to present the structure of my research and its main sources, be they written, oral or coming from an archive or library, I analyzed and used.

Finally, I will try to draw up some starting points which may prove useful to reflect on some of the elements which proved common in the activities the Centro carried out, shaping its lifelines and research themes, particularly concerning the political and economic analysis of society in Italy – and abroad.

1. THE MODERNITY OF A RESEARCH

Fulvio Guerrini was an entrepreneur who followed the teachings of Luigi Einaudi; one could define him a follower of Weber's, as he was strongly sensitive towards innovative competition and to the role enterprises and business were to have in order to build modern societies.⁴

With these words, Valerio Zanone – one of the most important personalities subscribing to the Turin-based and Italian liberal mindset during the second half of the 1900s – both describes and resumes the image and the thought of Fulvio Guerrini, who established and promoted, in 1963, the Centro Einaudi in Turin.⁵ In his statement, Zanone remembers the period the Centro was established in, starting from the unique political and social complexity of those years, which saw the birth of the first true center-left governments in Italy and the new role Turin was ascending to within the milieu of the Italian social and political life.

The Turin-based liberalism – affirms the former mayor of Turin and former secretary of the Italian Liberal Party when talking about the political climate of the 1960s – is historically a “tricolore” model, as befits the first capital of Italy. Nevertheless, all of us became aware, during those years, that such a model was no longer enough, since Turin was becoming another kind of capital, that of the “four protests”: the workers’ protest; the student protest, “imported” from France; and the “ecclesiastical” one, who was gaining more and more

⁴ *Intervista a Valerio Zanone*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1964-1969/interviste.html>.

⁵ On the personality of Fulvio Guerrini and his relationship with the Centro Einaudi, see also the observations in Ostellino (1980).

momentum in those parishes serving the suburbs, where social life was becoming harder and harder and Church hierarchies seemed distant. Furthermore, Turin was the capital of the “urban” protest movement, in the sense that the inefficiency of the older institutions was felt more and more and city blocks’ committees spread in the suburbs. Faced with all this, Guerrini decided to tackle the problem of how the classical liberal premises could rise up to the new challenges of the times.⁶

The commitment and the choices undertaken by Fulvio Guerrini appeared by no means random; rather, they seemed a consequence of the cultural and intellectual frame of mind – considered in the widest possible sense – his family has always been endowed with. They were the children of Gastone Guerrini, a sculptor from Tuscany who moved to Turin during the beginning of the 1920s and able to start an enterprise dealing with restoration and decoration. Fulvio and his brother Alberto took part in the Second World War as reserve officers. After September 8, Armistice Day for Italy, within the mayhem of those days in 1943, both brothers made a clear choice towards freedom, joining the Italian Resistance. Such a choice and such a commitment went a long way towards cementing relationships between the Guerrini brothers and an important part of the intellectual and cultural milieu in Turin, made up by liberals, but by no means by them only, responsible of the anti-Fascist movement and for the Liberation of Italy; in the aftermath of the conflict, these people had a significant hand in rebuilding the country.

As he was an entrepreneur able to maintain and expand, together with his brother Alberto, one of the most important building companies in Turin, and he was by no means less sensitive towards culture and intellectual activity because of that, Fulvio Guerrini may be compared, given some aspects of his personality, to the best British “patrons”. He was in fact fully convinced of the need to commit himself to his community, building a better and more open Italy, starting from his skills, feelings and possibilities. Such a choice was by no means a common one, all the more considering the fact that it had been made during an era, i.e. the second phase of the Italian economic boom, when many others entrepreneurs and businessmen seemed to be less concerned with the overall events in Italy. On the other hand, Guerrini seemed to have understood, like many of his important peers at the time, the impossibility of separating economic growth and social welfare, lest becoming unable to envision and share the changes Italy underwent during those years in a virtuous manner.⁷

Piero Ostellino – who was amongst the founders of the Centro Einaudi and a good friend to Guerrini – placed the latter on the same level with the greater cultural planners of postwar Italy, such as Mario Pannunzio, Lelio Basso or Giuseppe Dossetti (Ostellino 1980). More than everything else, as highlighted by Ostellino himself, “Guerrini was an entrepreneur first and foremost, but also a man filled with intellectual curiosity, a friend to the Einaudi family, and a man of great worth”.⁸

⁶ See footnote 4.

⁷ On this, see Scoppola (1997), in particular ch. VII: “Sviluppo senza guida e secolarizzazione”.

⁸ *Intervista a Piero Ostellino*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1964-1969/interviste.html>.

As he was able to connect his entrepreneurial commitment with his civic passion, it is possible to link, albeit with all the due cares and attention and bearing in mind all the differences in style, ambition and the results achieved, the person, the spirit and the action of Guerrini with other peers of his age who likewise attempted to connect their commitment with an higher level, trying to influence the economic and social changes Italy was undergoing in the aftermath of the Second World War. And this was the case with men like Adriano Olivetti or – forcing my hand a bit and considering it to be a paradox – some managers of the great Italian public holdings, whose structure and function was nevertheless, as it will be explained below, criticized by the studies the Centro Einaudi carried out. These aforementioned men were united, despite the differences in their cultural approaches and choices, in their being a part of the collective path towards the resurrection of Italy after the Fascist years and the hardships of the reconstruction, as they were all fully aware that joining the recovery process of the global economic cycle during the golden age was the mandatory prerequisite to fully spread social well-being amongst Italians. These links and comparisons of mine may seem “strong” and somewhat paradoxical; nevertheless, they are able to fully describe, if considered proportionally and taking the aforementioned suggestion into account, the full sense and importance of the commitment Guerrini, and the whole of the Centro Einaudi with him, intended to deploy.

The very choice of the name and of the motto for such a cultural organisation are by no means a fringe element. They doubtlessly are a tribute to one of the most important personalities of that liberal economic thought which was able to let Italy rejoin, between 1946 and 1948, the path of the global financial and monetary systems, completing those bases without which Italy would have hardly been a part of the global economic recovery process. At the same time, such a choice also appeared as a clear stance. And this was all the more true during the 1960s, an era who featured the massive influence and preeminence of two main subcultures, i.e. the Catholic-popular and the Marxist-socialist one. In this light, the adoption of the “*Conoscere per deliberare*” (*Knowing to decide*) motto as a slogan, still present nowadays in all the publications and the depictions of the Centro, fully expresses the refusal of any and all ideological approaches towards understanding reality, as such approaches usually risk submitting the complexity of reality to an ideological template. Such a principle went completely against the mainstream models of the time, as the world was divided into the Eastern and the Western blocs, and despite the presence of radical models, even within the framework of Western capitalism.

Therefore, starting with these background choices, Guerrini initially moved on two parallel, and nevertheless converging, paths. The first of such paths was to look for possible financiers, and that was done not only to economically sustain the activities the Centro carried out, but also to widen the consensus base and the dissemination of their project within the vast world of the manufacture capital of Italy and one of the vertices of the so-called “industrial triangle”. As Enrico Salza – one of the protagonists of the Centro’s life from its foundation onwards – remembers, “Fulvio Guerrini was the President of the Builders’ Association in Turin and he asked me if I was interested in

helping him by taking part in this project of his".⁹ Relying on these relationships too, Guerrini began to look for collaborations and cofinancing instances, involving other subjects and a part of the entrepreneurial world in Turin in a cultural project able to enhance the dissemination of liberal thinking. Therefore, as Salza himself reminds, to the beginning efforts by Guerrini those by many supporters were joined, including the contributions by Gianni Agnelli's FIAT.¹⁰

The second path Guerrini followed involved the planning and buildup of a first group involving scholars, intellectuals and researchers from a liberal milieu (especially young people) eschewing, there as well, any pre-constructed orientation; on the contrary, this path succeeded in keeping together, comparing and valorizing different viewpoints, meanings and sensitivities. And thus was the "first generation" formed, who numbered the likes of Piero Ostellino (who became the editor of *Biblioteca della libertà* even since its earliest form as a "newsletter" of the Centro Einaudi), Valerio Zanone, Giuliano Urbani, Mario Deaglio, Giorgio Rota or Giovanna Zincone amongst its protagonists.

As reminded by Ostellino himself:

We were a group of liberal intellectuals bent on spreading liberal ideas, and then rationalizing and disseminating them by means of a journal, some conferences and other initiatives. "Old-fashioned" intellectuals, coming from a tradition, more than from the Liberal Party. The true great idea by Fulvio Guerrini was to establish a Centro remaining independent from the Italian Liberal Party. And that is precisely what happened. We were a minority, but we were not afraid of that. Liberalism has always been a minority in Italy.¹¹

It was therefore created what Mario Deaglio, putting a greater emphasis on those features connected with the economic research the Centro carried out, defined "the home of reformist entrepreneurs":

The Centro Einaudi was a very "small" institution at the time, especially compared with the cultural strength the Marxist thinking, the ideas of the laic left or the catholic world could rely upon [...]. Therefore, we had no wish to confront those other experiences; rather we wanted to reaffirm our identity and our special link with the entrepreneurial world.¹²

It was a small, but working think tank and fully able, according to Zanone, to meaningfully contribute towards an overhaul of Confindustria, the main manufacturers' union in Italy.¹³

Guerrini did indeed choose to set up the life of the institution he established on the basis of full research and intellectual autonomy for its staff; that was an important cornerstone feature, according to everyone involved. Still remembering the sense of a

⁹ *Intervista a Enrico Salza*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1964-1969/interviste.html>.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ See footnote 8.

¹² *Intervista a Mario Deaglio*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1970-1979/interviste.html>.

¹³ On the history of Confindustria, see Castronovo (2010).

common and collective path which was very heartfelt within the first 15 years of teamwork between people who were very different in their sensitivities, natures and cultural frameworks, Valerio Zanone reminds how

The Centro never had a Director and neither was never looking for such a figure. I think that all the initiatives we carried out, all our meetings with the representatives of liberal culture, our journal, our books, our book collections published by Sansoni, the Italian publishing house, are, on the whole, a proof of an essential feature of liberalism, i.e. its polysemy. [...] Everybody can be the liberal he or she wants to be. [...] Our relationships mirrored such a pluralism: this allowed us a greater degree of experimentation, while we were working together and putting ourselves to the test.¹⁴

There is more:

The very situation of Turin during the 1960s made pragmatists of us all and called upon us not to lock ourselves into an ivory tower, but rather to open up. It was not by chance that one of the first important researches we carried out was commissioned to us by Confindustria and was titled *Una politica per l'industria* [*A policy for industry*]. This opportunity was offered to us by the Commissione problemi organizzativi del Comitato centrale dei Gruppi Giovani Industriali, i.e. the commission Confindustria had set up to solve the managing problems for young industrialists, in 1969. This work was the base upon which the *Rapporto Pirelli* [*Pirelli Report*], the new social policy guidelines for Confindustria itself, were set up.¹⁵

Giuliano Urbani, in his putting greater emphasis on the overall themes the Centro tackled during the first years of its activity, highlighted how the link between the Centro itself and the entrepreneurial world in Turin did not limit the autonomy or the basic goals the researchers pursued:

The main question was to establish a new kind of liberalism which had to be not too similar to what Croce and Einaudi had already developed or based on a sort of “hyper-liberalism” connected to the business world; rather, we wanted to propose a democratic liberalism, something able to be democratic and to take individual rights into account, while at the same time not so near to the positions of Confindustria as it was instead the case with the Italian Liberal Party during Malagodi’s years. It is not by chance that some of us have been Radicals or Republicans in their youth.¹⁶

Urbani went on stating the following:

The Centro Einaudi has been extremely pluralist since its inception, but that’s one of the main features of liberal thinking and of the Italian Liberal Party (PLI) itself. Such a pluralist position has been kept later on as well; for example, Zanone became general secretary of the PLI from a position that criticized this Party, I experienced politics directly in my old age; anyway, all of us kept the independence of the Centro as paramount with respect to our personal ideas and choices. Many of the worthy youth I spurred to actively cooperate with

¹⁴ See footnote 4.

¹⁵ Idem. On the relevance of the *Rapporto Pirelli*, see Arrighetti and Seravalli (1997, 374 ff.) and Castronovo (2010).

¹⁶ *Intervista a Giuliano Urbani*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1970-1979/interviste.html>.

the Centro Einaudi had sometimes no common points with me when political activity was concerned.¹⁷

Giovanna Zincone herself, whose cooperation with the Centro was favoured also by the esteem Giuliano Urbani had for her,¹⁸ remembers the spirit of intellectual openness which was a unique feature of life in the Centro like this:

The choice I made to accept Urbani's invitation to cooperate to the activities of the Centro Einaudi was a somewhat "foolhardy" one, as it was certainly liable to slow down my academic career; nevertheless, it would also have meant to begin what I considered a sort of civic commitment [...] It was a very interesting world. Our project was to let a liberal, more English and modern culture enter Italy [...] The world of the Centro was one where a kind of applied liberalism was pursued, for example by means of specific studies.¹⁹

The similarities with the British model did not stop with the choices of themes, but involved also the operational model, where everybody's contribution was assessed on the base of the results achieved, spurred by the constant dialogue with colleagues and coworkers, breaking the more formal barriers. And it is still Giovanna Zincone to state the following:

The Centro Einaudi was a very lively place and, compared with the University, where I had put some experiences under my belt, was a place where age was not a factor in the hierarchies; even us "newcomers" could contradict our seniors without getting embarrassed for that.²⁰

This intellectual opening, based on the respect for intellectual autonomy and on individual responsibility, will remain a constant feature of this institution during the later years and "generations". Remembering his entry in the place, as a young scholar of political philosophy, in October 1980, Angelo M. Petroni highlights how the Centro Einaudi

was the main research institution espousing the new liberal thought, i.e. something connected with social sciences and not only with philosophy [...] Its true innovation was, since the 1960s, to cross the sociological and economic approach with the liberal vision, overcoming the tradition of both Croce and Hegel, both fundamental in themselves, but no longer enough for the second half of the 1900s.²¹

This intellectual autonomy and independence, upheld by Fulvio Guerrini first and foremost, and then by those coming after him, was kept also when dealing with the Liberal Party, despite its importance in Turin during the 1970s and the 1980s. The independence of the Centro from the PLI allowed direct interventions on several issues, includ-

¹⁷ *Ibidem.*

¹⁸ *Ibidem.*

¹⁹ *Intervista a Giovanna Zincone*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1970-1979/interviste.html>.

²⁰ *Ibidem.*

²¹ *Intervista a Angelo M. Petroni*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1970-1979/interviste.html>.

ing those of a political, economic or institutional nature, and even the most apparently awkward ones at that, during the so-called “First Republic”, the PLI was nevertheless a part of. Suffice it to think about the studies the Centro carried out significantly in advance and concerning many themes and issues that were to be in the spotlight of public debate in the following decades. Some of these themes are, even now, still part of the conflict connected with reforming Italy as a country. For example, in 1968, starting from the results of a previous work on IRI the Centro carried out on behalf of the Institute of Economic Affairs in London and which had particularly impressed Fulvio Guerrini, Mario Deaglio decided to coordinate a research on the structure (and on the weak spots) of the system of public holdings in Italy:²² “this was a kind of study – as its author himself remembers – absolutely unique with regards to the opinion on public companies at the times”.²³

During the second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, the Centro became a cornerstone for the application of political thinking and political science. It is not by chance that during the 1970s and, even more, during the following decade, the Centro Einaudi became a place for debate between the different intellectual expressions of the wider social and political world, both in Turin and on the national level, opening up to meeting personalities connected with other political and cultural milieus as well.²⁴ Those works by scholars such as Urbani, Zincone, Zannoni and Ferrera, just to mention a few, allow, on one hand, to value the activities carried out by the Centro while endorsing, on the other hand, political science as a good tool for reflection, not only in the framework of academia, but also in order to provide solutions to the problems of Italy. Suffice it to think, for example, to the issuing, in 1980, of a monograph for the *Biblioteca della libertà* book series, edited by Giovanna Zincone and emblematically titled *Il vizio di origine [Inherent Vice]*;²⁵ or, even before, the choice, made in 1971, therefore 20 years before the referenda and the beginning of “Bribesville”, the most important Italian national political scandal, to publish a research by Roberto Crespi able to question the system of public financing for political parties (Crespi 1971). Thanks, for example, to the commitment of Valerio Zanone in the beginning of the 1970s, a series of studies, peaking in 1976, were carried out concerning the then-established Italian Regions (Zanone 1976). The themes concerning the reform of the Italian State and of its structures is one of the main topics during these years, as it was proved by many

²² *Le baronie di Stato* (AA.VV. 1968).

²³ *Intervista a Mario Deaglio*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1970-1979/interviste.html>.

²⁴ Giovanna Zincone remembers the first meeting held at the Centro Einaudi with Norberto Bobbio, considered a “Liberal Socialist” at the time. The meeting was about the Marxist theory of the State and also concerned the intention of widening the participation of personalities of the liberal democratic world as a token of openness of the Centro itself to debates; *Intervista a Giovanna Zincone*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1970-1979/interviste.html>.

²⁵ *Biblioteca della libertà* (1980), featuring works by A.O.Hirschman, S. Rokkan, S.E. Finer, G. Carocci, G. Di Palma, P. Farneti, L. Mascilli Migliorini, G. Pasquino, G. Zincone.

meetings and publications on the subject,²⁶ first and foremost the one issued under the coordination by Giovanna Zincone and Maurizio Ferrera (1984) and concerning the demand for public health in Italy as well as the efficiency of the national health service.

The will to support and value liberal thinking, in its different and manifold expressions, was expressed also within the several publishing initiatives which became a characteristic feature of the Centro from the start. And it was also because of this choice – besides the commitment by the staff on the matter – that many works which went on to become cornerstones for all the scholars of economics and political thinking. In such a framework, the first works published in cooperation with Sansoni, and dedicated to authors such as von Hayek (1966) and Keynes (1966), are to be put.

The translation carried out by Mario Deaglio and concerning the series of essays by von Hayek, for example, speaks volumes about disseminating an approach concerning the study of capitalism and its building process being able to consider those nuances and interpretations thereof themselves more distant from the Marxist milieu. Such a goal was clearly expressed by Rosario Romeo who, in his introduction to the aforementioned volume, underlines how it is impossible,

during the 1960s, to still see the Industrial Revolution, as many still do especially here in Italy, in the same terms Marx, Webb or Hammond saw it, as such viewpoints were already growing old during the 1920s. (Hayek 1966, 14)

And this is the very same Rosario Romeo who was the protagonist, some years before as it is widely known, of a fiery controversy with Alexander Gerschenkron and the more Marxist economic historians on the development of the Italian industrial and capitalist system during the 1800s (Gerschenkron 1955, Romeo 1959).²⁷

Likewise, the translation Sergio Ricossa edited of Keynes' political essays may also be read as an attempt to bring the thought of an author whose theories were, especially during the years of the reconstruction and the golden age, used to justify what in fact was a mixed economy, especially in Italy, France and West Germany, in its true place, i.e. as a representative of liberalism. Forcing this issue somewhat, one might say that publishing this works was an attempt at "freeing" Keynes from the Neo-Keynesian thought, itself based on a structural model rather than on one taking the economic situation into account, or on an anticyclical one, concerning public interventions.

Keynes as a liberal – Ricossa wrote in the foreword to the aforementioned volume – is the less known of Keynes' aspects: he seems to be the exact contrary of what he should be. Even some liberals seem to ignore this; those non-liberals who reacted to his liberalism with accusation as outrageous as they are stupid seem to know it instead [...]. Keynes declared himself to be a liberal and, less obviously, he acted like one. [...] Therefore, the question is

²⁶ Suffice it to think, just to make three examples, to the following: Fisichella (1970); *Le agenzie. Indagine sulle tecniche più moderne per la pubblica amministrazione in Italia* (AA.VV. 1971); *Processo allo Stato* (AA.VV. 1971).

²⁷ This debate was resumed by Caracciolo (1963). For an overall view and to experience the evolution of such a debate within the framework of Italian economic historiography, see Cohen and Federico (2001, 59-86).

about knowing what kind of liberal he was, given the fact that a personality such as his was bound to give his imprint to this ideology. [...] Keynes was a “true liberal”, a new kind of liberal, a representative of a kind of neoliberalism, to which the task of integrating the following three goals were given: economic efficiency, social justice and individual liberty”. (Keynes 1966, 16-17).

During such a phase, the reorganisation of *Biblioteca della libertà* allowed to develop several monographs on particular themes.²⁸ As remembered by Piero Ostellino, the first editor of the journal:²⁹

The original idea connected with *Biblioteca della libertà* was the brainchild of Sergio Ricossa; in the beginning, we produced a short booklet with some bibliography. Then we realized that a political proposal was needed; therefore we turned it into a full journal, under my direction.³⁰

This initiative was joined, from 1976 onwards, by a new book series (titled “Quaderni di Biblioteca della libertà”) focused on publishing the researches carried out by the scholars cooperating with the Centro and the most important essays by eminent foreign scholars translated into Italian.

Upon the end of the 1970s, the settlement of Giovanna Zincone as the editor of *Biblioteca della libertà* is accompanied by the entrance, in 1980, to Angelo M. Petroni in the staff; he fondly remembers his activity, involving

scouting articles by economists, analytical philosophers and international sociologists to be translated and made known in Italy [...] Therefore, we published works by meaningful authors, such as it was the case with James M. Buchanan, at the same time of their original edition.³¹

The dissemination of the liberal way of thinking goes on and on, both politically and “philosophically”, also because of contributions by those authors able to start research projects and study groups finishing up their works with dedicated meetings or publications. It is, for example, the case of the activities started by Petroni himself by giving life to an observatory on liberalism, or of the commitment, many years earlier, of Nicola Matteucci (hosting, together with Sergio Ricossa, one of the most vibrant discussion groups on liberalism), Rosario Romeo, Giovanni Sartori and other important scholars;

²⁸ From 1976 to 1984 the *Biblioteca della libertà* was based on monographs focusing on current political and economic issues.

²⁹ The editor of this journal was, from 1964 to 1970, Piero Ostellino; from 1970 to 1977, it was Fulvio Guerrini (with the cooperation of Giovanna Zincone); from 1977 to 1988 it was Giovanna Zincone herself; from 1989 to 2004 it was Angelo M. Petroni; from 2005 to 2008 it was Anna Caffarena; from 2009 to 2012 it was Pier Giuseppe Monateri; from 2013 onwards, Salvatore Carruba is its editor, with Maurizio Ferrera and Beatrice Magni.

³⁰ *Intervista a Piero Ostellino*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1964-1969/interviste.html>.

³¹ *Intervista a Angelo M. Petroni*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1980-1989/interviste.html>.

this trend peaked, in the beginning of the 1970s, with an important essay (Matteucci 1971) and with a series of meetings held during the following months.³²

Next to the sector involved with political and philosophical studies, there was the “department” of economic studies – such a term was used more to indicate one of the many sectors to which the researchers of the Centro were committed than to define a kind of internal organisation – who was, under many aspects, the crux of the activities the Centro undertook.

Petroni remembers:

The Centro Einaudi would never have become a reality without the contribution of Turin’s entrepreneurial world. This was not only about financing, but also because the logic pushing us, especially the economists amongst us, to study and analyze solutions [...] was the positive one, typical of the business world. During the beginning of the 1980s, Turin was a remarkable city [...] held high by a “factory logic” (felt, politically speaking, both by the right and by the left). This logic was based on the idea of an ethics-driven morality of work, who refused intellectualism-based solutions. [...] Such a pragmatic approach was a gift to the Centro Einaudi by the Turin – and Piedmont – based entrepreneurial world.³³

Studying the economic processes of a country which was undergoing deep transformations at the time, as it was the case with Italy during the economic miracle or during the crisis of the 1970s, just to make two examples, was the perfect key to insert into the political debate those elements and those proposals more specifically concerning liberalism which were excluded from Italy at the time, as mixed economy, i.e. involving direct and indirect State influence on the industrial and business milieu was still one of the main elements. As Deaglio still remembers:

In the beginning, the Centro Einaudi was sending its first signals towards an opening and liberalization of public industries. After that, we moved on the long term much more than only on the short term, focusing our activity on those research sectors, but also having an immediate inference with some specific temporary choices.³⁴

The need to widen their study sectors and to interact more and more often with both the local and national entrepreneurial and financial realities was born, according to Deaglio, also of more practical reasons, given the fact that the research goals of its staff integrated with the needs of financial support the Centro felt.

While in the beginning the Centro could rely on sturdy financial bases, especially because of the commitment and the resources the Guerrinis poured into it, following the growth of this

³² On this, see “Oxford ’67”, a meeting held in Turin on December 2, 1967 and concerning the declaration of the Liberal Internationale featuring S. Fiandaca, L. Firpo, G. Malagodi, A. Passerin d’Entrèves, S. Ricossa, P.S. Trovati S.J. (the proceedings of this meeting were published). Another particularly relevant moment was the meeting titled “Per una nuova politica liberale”, and held in Sirmione on January 22-23, 1972, featuring, among others: R. Dahrendorf, N. Matteucci, O.M. Petracca, G. Urbani, V. Zanone.

³³ See footnote 31.

³⁴ *Intervista a Mario Deaglio*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1970-1979/interviste.html>.

institution it became necessary to increase the external sources of income. Therefore, we try to carry out those studies or analyses able to pique the interest of the entrepreneurial world and/or of the banking milieu, both on the national level and locally. And it was so that, for example, our survey on the savings of the Italian citizens,³⁵ still published today, was born.³⁶

This kind of “double track” moving between the opportunities to gather commissions in order to support forms of self-financing for the Centro, and the evolution of more general surveys, proved successful in triggering a virtuous cycle, itself able, on one hand, to increase its financial autonomy and, on the other, to establish it as a wide-area research and data processing structure. It is not by chance that the Centro published, since the 1960s, several researches concerning the evolution of the industrial society, as well as the limits and the issues of the development process for Italy during the years of economic boom or during the stagflation crisis.

Suffice it to think, just to make some examples, to the publication, in 1972, of the special report by *The Economist* and titled *Italia: il miracolo incompleto* [*Italy: the incomplete miracle*] as a supplement to the then-current issue of *Biblioteca della libertà* (1972). Such a report tackled some strategic issues (ranging from the Southern Question to industrial structures, from the role of public enterprises to that of trade unions). These issues are a constant presence in those studies planned and issued by the Centro during the following decades. Suffice it to think of those works and working groups managed by Giorgio Rota, himself one of the most vibrant protagonists – until his untimely death – of the Department of economic studies. Such themes are then reprised during the 1980s and the 1990s by means of a global update on the base of the capacity this institution had to expand more and more the link between the Italian economic reality and the changes on the global scale. The work by Deaglio and Zincone (1983), which was somewhat in advance on the times and dealt with the computerization of production processes and its effect on the modernization of capitalist societies and on individual freedom, as well as the analysis by means of which Maurizio Ferrera has always striven to integrate the study of social and economic trends, both on the national and international level, with their links to the liberal way of thinking, are all proof of that.³⁷

The very decision to introduce, from 1984 onwards, the “Fulvio Guerrini” Conference as a yearly event does not only show the will to increase and enhance the cultural life of the institution, but also the attempt at attracting important authors, having an international renown, in order to further widen the international links the Centro had.³⁸ The interaction between the national data and the international context does indeed become,

³⁵ BNL/Centro Einaudi (1984). Since 2011, this survey is carried out with the support of Intesa Sanpaolo.

³⁶ See footnote 34.

³⁷ This work is still going on, as proved by the establishment of a permanent Laboratory of Comparative Politics and Public Philosophy in 2008 (Laboratorio di Politica Comparata e Filosofia Pubblica – LPF).

³⁸ Two volumes contain the conferences held from 1984 to 2005 (AA.VV. 1993 and 2005). All the texts, even after 2005, are published in *Biblioteca della libertà*.

especially since the final years of the 1980s, an even more important feature of economic research. Such a trend does clearly emerge also taking the choice to introduce, from 1996 onwards, the yearly publication of the *Rapporto sull'economia globale e l'Italia* [Report on Global Economy and Italy], edited by several scholars, such as Giorgio S. Frankel, Anna Caffarena and Giuseppe Russo, under the guidance of Mario Deaglio. At the same time, since the final years of the 1980s, *Biblioteca della libertà*, under the management of Angelo M. Petroni, undergoes a widening of its perspectives, opening up its area of research to those events following the collapse of the Communist model and the following rearrangement of the global situation.³⁹

Finally, from the 2000s onwards, the acknowledgment of the weight of new globalization and of the “system crisis” Italy was sliding towards became a part of all the studies and publications issued by the Centro. It is not by chance that Anna Caffarena, who was the editor of *Biblioteca della libertà* from 2005 to 2008, was also one of the persons more involved into those initiatives having the goal to widen the cooperation of the institution with the international milieu, while updating its various research goals. These issues and themes were joined with the ones that could be considered less markedly economic overall in their being more connected with the link between new liberalism and social renewal, such as justice (this specific field was managed, with a special care, between the 1990s and the 2000s, by Pier Giuseppe Monateri and Alberto M. Musy), bioethics and international relationships.

As explained elsewhere, intellectual autonomy and individual responsibility have been the cornerstone for all the different generations of scholars the Centro has hosted: the resident ethos allowed to let everyone involved to feel part of a community, even when careers, working or family commitments spurred them to move away from Turin. And this is the very same spirit who allowed the Centro Einaudi to weather the Italian crisis of 1992-1994; as Italy fragmented itself, politically speaking, into what Michele Salvati termed a new “imperfect bipolarism”, some important protagonists of the Centro made some different choices from each other. Nevertheless, they were driven by the idea to be finally able to disseminate the main assumptions the liberal thinking is based upon within the new political parties who were established in Italy during the mid-90s. Some of these scholars, as Urbani remembers, joined the center-right as they were sure they could finally make the “liberal revolution” a reality⁴⁰ or, as reminded by Petroni, they could achieve “a mass liberal party”.⁴¹ Such a choice was in fact blocked, as asserted by Urbani himself, by an electoral system imposing far too many compromises with too many parties having “nothing in common with the liberal revolution”.⁴² Others, as it was the case with Giovanna Zinconone, tried to emphasize those factors that, cramming them into a framework, could be defined as more akin to

³⁹ *Intervista a Angelo M. Petroni*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1990-1999/interviste.html>.

⁴⁰ *Intervista a Giuliano Urbani*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1990-1999/interviste.html>.

⁴¹ See footnote 39.

⁴² See footnote 40.

the liberal tradition within the then-changing Italian left.⁴³ Probably, considering also the Italian history of the latter two decades, the hopes of these protagonists, belonging either to the left or to the right, have been largely dashed.

Besides the individual decisions and fates, the ever-growing internationalization and the constant quest for skills, both within and outside this institution, have been the two driving forces by means of which the Centro succeeded in overcoming all those problems almost all the other great cultural institutions in Italy experienced, sometimes without being able to recover from them, since the mid-90s and all the more after the economic crisis which began in 2007. This was made possible also by an internal overhaul of this institution and by the choice, kept in force since 2001, to choose, as directors, those personalities not only able to perform “bureaucratic duties” but also capable of being an added value, culturally speaking. And such objective has been achieved, starting with the contribution given, from 2001 to 2014, by Giuseppina De Santis, up to its current Director, Giuseppe Russo, who has been working with the Centro since the 1980s and has been particularly committed to economic and financial analysis.

And it is precisely because of the many changes who followed one after another within the political and institutional world in Italy during the final part of the 1990s, that the director is an important personality in updating the *modus operandi* of this institution. Remembering the choices underlying her appointment, Giuseppina De Santis said the following:

Angelo Pavia was the then-Secretary General;⁴⁴ our problem was to understand what kind of placement could the Centro look for during the 1990s, upon the disappearance of a specific political landscape. During that time, we experienced the need to survive as an institution and to keep some of our initiatives alive; furthermore, a whole series of relationships, some of them financial in nature, were to be rebuilt. Therefore, the first issue we had to tackle concerned whether we were fit to go on with our activities, and this was precisely the first task Angelo Pavia and I set our mind to during the first three or four years.⁴⁵

There is more:

What we did, especially thanks to Angelo Pavia, was to streamline our structure, turning the Centro into a true Association, not only legally speaking, setting up a statute and drawing up our roles and responsibility. It was a time-consuming process, and by no means a painless one [...]. It was then that the great financial crisis of 2008 began; that was another hard moment for us, as the Centro has no assets of its own but rather survives by means of its activity. What helped us was the fact that we have in fact never received non-repayable public financing; the whole of the financing received by our institution was tied to our activities or initiatives. This attitude to research made us able to propose, even during the years of the

⁴³ *Intervista a Giovanna Zincone*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1980-1989/interviste.html>.

⁴⁴ The General-Secretaries of the Centro were the following: from 1963 to 1979 it was Fulvio Guerrini; from 1979 to 1984 it was Gastone Guerrini; from 1984 to 2007 it was Angelo Pavia.

⁴⁵ *Intervista a Giuseppina De Santis*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-2000-2013/interviste.html>.

economic crisis, some projects and initiatives who succeeded in increasing and enhancing public awareness and attention towards our institution. Therefore, already since 2010, our activity had begun again, and in an almost easy-going way. I have to say “almost” given the fact that our activity and success remained linked with our capacity to update our activity and march in step with the times. And I feel this to be a fair challenge, something worth the pain.⁴⁶

These words are another useful element in understanding why the appointment as the Director of this institution may very well sit with a former researcher: a scholar (and it must obviously be someone also sporting management skills when dealing with events, initiatives and workloads) may very well understand the quality and the potential of a research, be it proposed or commissioned, towards which human and economic resources could be implemented.

A strong attitude towards research and innovation has always been, and still is, a peculiar defining element of the Centro, as Salvatore Carrubba reminisces in describing the spirit and the objectives on the basis of which he accepted the presidency of the Centro in 2007:⁴⁷

My goals concerned first and foremost defending the assets of the Centro Einaudi; said “assets” were research instances, analysis and intellectual productions first and foremost. If we did not have our publications, our networking capacity and the possibility to make new generations grow, the Centro Einaudi would collapse on itself. The very economic survival of the Centro Einaudi is bound to these skills, since we have no public financing and we have to rely on contributions and cooperation with private partners; therefore we are a quality benchmark in the Italian cultural landscape. [...] All of this obviously happens within an area, i.e. liberal thinking, becoming very wide; we ourselves host different viewpoints. However, precisely because we have no contingent political goals, these differences enrich us and do not let us clash. Rather, they show yet again that debate is the spice of liberalism; and that is particularly true in a city like Turin and in a country who finally succeeded in setting free of old taboos and begins looking at liberal thinking like one of the keys to develop modern society.⁴⁸

The other key element allowing the Centro to go on in its activities, keeping itself particularly active within the Italian cultural milieu, lies in the fact that this institution has always been able to pay significant attention in training young researchers and in offering opportunities to carry out studies and further research by awarding several study grants, like the one dedicated to Giorgio Rota, for example. As highlighted by Carrubba:

The main strength of the Centro lies in the skills of its scholars. What we are doing now is to support the training of a new generation. Nowadays, the thirtysomethings need to have the

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ The Presidency of the Centro was established in 1985 and held by Franco Mattei; from 1986 to 1993 was held by Gastone Guerrini; from 1995 to 2007, by Piero Ostellino (since 2007, he is the Honorary President).

⁴⁸ *Intervista a Salvatore Carrubba*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-2000-2013/interviste.html>.

opportunity to communicate, make themselves known and engage in debate. And is precisely why we offer several study grants and publishing opportunities every year. Another help on the path we offer them is the new course of the *Biblioteca della libertà* series, for them to use as a “laboratory” for their publishing experiments. Therefore, we want to make sure that a new generation will be ready, and we want it to be able to strike a dialogue with its older protagonists but also to take their place when the need will arise.⁴⁹

Such a choice was taken as if it was to close a circle going from the “founders’ season” to the current times, as highlighted several times by Valerio Zanone during his interview, underlining that one of the specific features of the Centro resided in its being able to train several generations of scholars who, in the majority of the cases, went on to be important personalities in the intellectual world and won renown in their working area.⁵⁰

2. THE MAIN TOOLS USEFUL IN BUILDING UP A REASONED CHRONOLOGY: STRUCTURE AND ARCHIVE AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Considering the complexity of the context explained above, the reconstruction thereby attempted of the chronology of the Centro Einaudi could not eschew a methodologic approach, focused on using archive and bibliographic materials, as well as direct testimonies by the protagonists, to value the link between:

- the single initiatives, the themes chosen and the general goals of this institution;
- the single initiatives, the themes chosen and the changes who went one after another, both in the national and international context during the last 50 years.

Because of this, both the planning and the setup of this work have been based upon looking for the best way to present the reader with the themes we tackled. And this moved our choice in favour of an e-book, rather than of a more “traditional” paper volume. In so doing, we succeeded, also because of the professional skill of our editors, as we have been able to build up a working structure fit to allow for a first subdivision of data and their presentation, based on the following two elements:

- a chronological reconstruction of all the events promoted by the Centro and all the publications it issued, both directly and indirectly;
- the definition of a diachronic “theme”, able to allow readers to peruse the activities undertaken by the Centro Einaudi and understand their evolution by means of a topic-based cross-section research key.

Considering this chronology as a whole, we divided it into decades, starting with the 1960s up to the 2000s, further subdividing them by year. This gave us five temporal macro areas, whose definition, besides being linked to evident reasons of structural clarity, is also connected with acknowledging the peculiar features of each decade, considering Italian economic and cultural history and their interactions with the activities of the Centro Einaudi itself.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁰ *Intervista a Valerio Zanone*, in Gentiloni Silveri and Palermo (2014), <http://www.centroeinaudi.it/ebook-50-1970-1979/interviste.html>.

The setup of this chronology has been made possible by researching and analyzing the available archive and bibliographic sources. If, from 1998 onwards, many in-depth electronic reports are present concerning the life of the Centro (including its activities, seminars, cooperation with other institutions, conferences and meetings, as well as its main publications), we relied upon the papers kept within the “Fulvio Guerrini” Library when considering the 1964-1997 period.

The use of the yearly reports usually set up on behalf of the *Comitato dei Programmi* [the Programmes Committee], i.e. an organism gathering the main promoters and protagonists in the Centro’s life, proved very apt. These reports are usually divided into a summary concerning the work carried out within the previous year and a programme for the current one; comparing these two parts allowed us to get a worthy image of the initiatives which were carried out. However, it is possible that an action or activity was not inserted in the reports; and this was especially the case with the first two decades of activity. The electronic structure of this volume will allow for easy updates, corrections, notes and integrations, following recommendations from our readers.

We have been unfortunately unable to find paperwork concerning the Centro’s budget; this element could have had a significant hand in increasing our knowledge of the internal structure of this institution and its relationship with the entrepreneurial world in Turin (and in Italy), as well as in clarifying the relationship between the financial autonomy of the institution and the direct support single subjects gave it instead.

Reconstructing the publishing activities of this institution, be they direct or indirect, proved to be somewhat easier, since the Library kept almost every publication the Centro Einaudi issued or promoted. Such a process was then integrated with an examination of the main national and international bibliographic indexes.

Therefore, in order to build up a chronology based on such material, we had to tackle the differences within archive documents (the reports concerning the aforementioned *Comitato dei Programmi* varied in their structure length and design as the years went by) as well as with making sure that we were presenting our readers with a complex situation involving several initiatives, themselves carried out within completely different contexts, periods and ways, in the clearest possible way. Such problems required a significant effort, both in summarizing the data and processing them through three possible access paths: *activities*; *projects and research* and *publications*. The paths we envisioned are by no means the only ones.

Each decade present in the volume is introduced by a brief table containing the main guidelines of the relevant activities during that period. Then the initiatives carried out each year are discussed, processing them through the three aforementioned paths:

- ① the *activities* (including seminars, meetings, conferences, internal workgroups, international cooperation and the like);
- ② the *projects and research* (be such projects carried out by the Centro, or in cooperation with other institutions);
- ③ the *publications* (published works, papers, hard copies and, since the 2000s, online copies as well).

The examination of the *Biblioteca della libertà* series has been particularly fruitful regarding information, as it has also been the case with monographs, booklets and with

the papers featured during the Centro's early years. Reading this material, given the importance and the worth of its contents, had a hand in showing the guidelines and the themes around which the cultural life of this institution was drawn.

The interviews we made to the protagonists of these events and that now are a part of the mentioned e-book (each of them usually lasting 30 or 40 minutes) have been further subdivided into brief fragments, each lasting up to five minutes and concerning an easily identifiable period or topic. Therefore, subdividing the single interviews connecting them with the decades of activity, we attempted to cross the individual testimony or experience with a chronological structure, in order to allow our readers to have a more complete image of the Centro's life. Finally, the website of the Centro, in its being particularly well updated, proved to be a very important tool to check and integrate the data we gathered.

3. THE CENTRO EINAUDI AS AN IMPORTANT OBSERVATION POINT OF ITALIAN HISTORY

In light of the aforementioned considerations, the testimonies we received and recorded and the results of the archive and bibliographic reconnaissance we carried out, this research highlighted the importance of the Centro Einaudi as a place of cultural and economic development as well as a vantage point to observe fifty years of Italian history.

Our volume does in fact attempt to draw and present an image of the activities the Centro undertook during the several decades, as well as the single years, of its work, also considering the trends emerging both from the elements of continuity and discontinuity concerning the analysis, the approaches and the *modus operandi* of this institution. These activities cross and shape each other within the framework of the changing national and international scenario.

Therefore if, during the 1960s, the establishment of this institution shared the moment with the so-called "Italian economic miracle", the 1970s, during which the Centro experienced its first meaningful expansion, coincided with the end of the golden age and the beginning of the political, economic and social crisis in Italy.⁵¹ Still, the reorganisation of the Centro during the 1980s proved useful to further expand its activities and interactions, before its intersection with a significant change in the Italian national scenario and then with the dual restructuring of the domestic and international context. It is enough to consider, just to mention a few, the changes due to the defeat of internal terrorism in Italy, the clash to eliminate a single contingency point, the "explosion" of the Italian public debt, up to the rebirth of the *made in Italy* as a system, without forgetting that the completion of industrial restructuring and streamlining would have modified the backbone of the country with the new productive and social development for SMEs. At the same time, on the "external front", there were the affirmation of the Washington Consensus and the fall of the Berlin Wall, two events bound to change the political

⁵¹ On this, see *L'Italia repubblicana nella crisi degli anni Settanta* (2003).

order and economic world in the 1990s. The Italian crisis of the 1992-1994 period and the beginning of the so-called “Italian transition” – a term perhaps abused and now actually ineffective to describe a twenty-year historical process which should, however, be increasingly studied as a critical period of economic and political history for the country⁵² – corresponded with the birth of the Maastricht System⁵³ and with the establishment of a new kind of globalization who, redesigning the global economic situation, offered new and difficult challenges to those countries leading the developed world.⁵⁴ Therefore, one of the most intricate events of Italian history overlapped with the significant changes of the international framework.⁵⁵

The very loss of economic competitiveness Italy underwent during the last two decades cannot be fully understood if one does not try to understand it by taking the interactions and inferences between the national and international dimensions into account.⁵⁶ Having considered those changes in the scenario, which were not always assessed in the right way by all the scholars involved, the Centro opened up its study areas and *Biblioteca della libertà* itself. These elements became more prominent during the following decade, when the links between the changes in the global scenario and the “system crisis”, involving politics, the economy and institutions in Italy was sliding towards, even before the crisis of 2007, as amply examined by the aforementioned *Rapporto annuale sull'economia globale e l'Italia* edited by Mario Deaglio, became more evident.

Considering five decades featuring significant changes, it is however possible to infer some goals and guidelines on the basis of which, despite the changes occurred as time went by, the Centro organised and managed its activities. It is one of the possible interpretations, carried out on the basis of the intersections between the single initiatives and themes and the general objectives pursued by the Centro and the changes occurred in both the Italian and the international context during those 50 years. In particular, it is possible to identify:

- ① the dissemination of liberal thinking, in its different aspects and features, in Italy; this was joined by the constant analysis of its evolution and implementation into different areas of Italian life;
- ② the will to make the Centro Einaudi a laboratory for analysis, study and reflection concerning the condition and the evolution of Italian economy and society (especially considering Piedmont) and to open up the dialogue with the protagonists of the economic and cultural milieu, both in Italy and abroad;

⁵² On the limits of the concept of “transition” in its different political and economic aspects see, among others: Ciccarone and Saltari (2015), Gentiloni Silveri (2015) and Palermo (2015).

⁵³ On the birth of the Maastricht System, see Dyson and Featherstone (1999), Savona (2003), Magnifico (2005), Savage (2005), Di Taranto (2007 and 2014).

⁵⁴ See Di Taranto (2007, 2012 and 2013), Galbraith (2004), Castronovo (2002).

⁵⁵ In order to understand the evolution of the Italian crisis which began up on the start of the 1990s, see Scoppola (1997, 381-539), Gentiloni Silveri (1998 and 2013), Crainz (2009).

⁵⁶ See Saltari and Travaglini (2006), Ciccarone et al. (2010), Rossi (2011).

- ③ the constant attention the Centro paid, even since the 1970s, to the link between the evolution of Italy and the changes in the international context;
- ④ the capacity to link the analytical part of the research with the quest for positive proposals and solutions;
- ⑤ a constant search, especially after the death of Fulvio Guerrini, and it was increased during the 1990s and the 2000s, for commissions able to warrant the Centro's autonomy and its organisational, thematic and research independence;
- ⑥ training new generations of scholars being able to dialogue with the "elders" and to join them through the offering of study grants and collaboration contracts, giving these scholars the tools the Centro has at its disposal as a "laboratory".

Keeping these guidelines in mind, it is possible to read the evolution of the initiatives and of this institution during the 1963-2013 period in an unitary way.

The research activities carried out during the 1960s (they are defined as the period of the *Affermazione di un nuovo laboratorio politico e culturale*, i.e. the advent of a new political and cultural workshop) are evidently connected with the urban and social transformations which occurred in Turin, and in the whole of Italy, during the age of the economic boom. As Italy was awash with political and social changes, the Centro made its level best to disseminate the works and the analyses of the best liberal thinkers by means of a dedicated series of books (the "Biblioteca del Centro di Ricerca e Documentazione Luigi Einaudi") published by the Sansoni publishing house in Florence. The divulgation activity has been present also in some working commissions, as well as in meetings, and was enhanced by the presence of Italian scholars and intellectuals who, besides offering a theoretical contribution, take direct part in the activities of the Centro, promoting working commissions on specific topics. In such a group of "pioneers" it is worth mentioning, amongst others, the following personalities: Vittorio Badini Confalonieri, Roberto Crespi, Raffaello Franchini, Aldo Garosci, Bruno Leoni, Nicola Matteucci, Federico Orlando, Piero Ostellino, Sergio Ricossa, Rosario Romeo, Giovanni Sartori, Enzo Storoni, Silvano Tosi, Giuliano Urbani, Valerio Zanone.

During the optimist years of the "Italian miracle", the Centro numbered amongst the few institutions focusing its attention on those who were to become the weak spots of Italian economy or on those themes which are discussed and debated even now, as it is the case with the aforementioned works on public industry in Italy edited by Mario Deaglio, or the inquiry by Roberto Crespi on public financing of political parties, or the meeting concerning the reform of the Italian State held in Rome in 1969.⁵⁷ The capacity the Centro had to use and implement its national and international relationships was considerable, largely due to the human and social capital it could rely on. And this is also why, between 1964 and 1969, the many instances of cooperation of the Centro with other cultural institutions, both in Italy and abroad (amongst which the Mont Pelerin

⁵⁷ The meeting was that on "La riforma dello Stato" [The reform of the Italian State] held in Rome from May 28 to 30, 1969 and featuring A. Predieri (*Il processo legislativo*), N. Matteucci (*Il processo esecutivo*), E. Spagna-Musso (*Autonomie locali, burocrazia e decentramento*), E. Capaccioli (*Il processo giurisdizionale*), S. Ricossa (*Stato e sistema economico*).

Society, the Istituto Cattaneo in Bologna, and the USIS should be mentioned), are noteworthy.

The publishing activity was structured on three levels during those years: besides the aforementioned cooperation with the Sansoni publishing house in Florence, the Centro directly issued volumes and monographs dedicated to those meetings or researches its staff joined in. The third tool is *Biblioteca della libertà*; it was established as a “bi-monthly newsletter” with usually 15,000 copies, it was then turned into a journal, published by the Centro Einaudi directly, having the mission and the ambition to gather interventions and contributions, not necessarily linked to its activities.

During the 1970s (a period we termed *Il decennio di sviluppo*, i.e., The Decade of Development in our e-book) the Centro underwent a significant expansion in its activities; this was a direct consequence of the credibility it had gained during its first five years of life and of the commitment by Fulvio Guerrini. On one hand, the elaboration and the analysis of liberal thinking in its different expressions, both theoretically and theoretically, went on. Therefore, the choice to publish, in 1977, a monograph within the *Biblioteca della libertà* series on John Rawls’ thinking and his famous book titled *A Theory of Justice* was very important (Rawls 1971).⁵⁸ Such a choice proved to be farsighted and was able to make the researches carried out by the Centro Einaudi the cornerstone of the cultural milieu in Turin and elsewhere. It is not by chance that, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the publication of *A Theory of Justice*, remembering the hows and whys of that decision on another monograph of the *Biblioteca della libertà* (2013) series edited by Beatrice Magni, Piero Gastaldo and Maurizio Ferrera reminisce how

The setup of BDL n. 65/66 was by no means an easy task. Under the guidance of Giovanna Zincone (who directed the journal at the time) and of Giuliano Urbani, we wondered a long time about the opportunity to invest on an author that, while known within the English academia, was practically unheard of in Italy; furthermore, he used a technical language, following a markedly “analytical” approach, something largely unknown in the Italian debate, including the liberal one. We were warmly encouraged by Nicola Matteucci (who hoped we could translate the whole volume) and spoke to Norberto Bobbio (who gave us precious suggestions, also considering philosophical lexicon) and we got to work in the end. When BDL n. 65/66 saw the light, the reactions were lukewarm, some of our colleagues in Turin minimized it all by telling us: “*Tut sì* (Is that all)?”. Truth be told, we had thrown a rock in the pond. A few years later, when the masterwork by Rawls was translated and published by Feltrinelli in 1982, the *Teoria della giustizia* (its Italian title) settled up as a milestone for the political philosophy in Italy as well; little by little, its proposals made inroads, as it was the case with other European countries, in the wider intellectual debate. (Ferrera and Gastaldo 2013, 7).

⁵⁸ See *Biblioteca della libertà* (1977). This issue analyzed Rawls’ theories, by means of a wide introduction (M. Ferrera and P. Gastaldo) and several essays; some have been translated from the English language (K.J. Arrow, D. Bell, R. Boudon, J.W. Chapman, M. Fisk, S. Hampshire, H.L.A. Hart), while others were written in Italian (D. da Empoli, A. Martino, G. Pontara, E. di Robilant).

As a further confirmation of the actuality of Rawls' thinking and of the choice to disseminate him first in Italy, the two authors conclude like this:

Those "expert" economists now responsible of shaping the economic and monetary government of Europe no longer (if they ever did) concern themselves with the judgment of others: they impose those recipes descending from their doctrines as if they were "revealed truths". It is time to openly challenge those pretenses and reaffirm the primacy of "free and equal citizens" over the theory of the *homo economicus*, of the principles of justice over those of market competition (while keeping, it is worth repeating, the maximum openness towards competition and growth). In other words and more generally speaking, it is important to reaffirm the superiority of the political conception of economy (as explained above) over any economical conception of politics and society. And it is precisely in this field that we need, paraphrasing Van Parijs, a *militant Rawlsianism* able to create an effective European public *ratio*, in order for it to offer its expertise to the EU institutions, who could provide strong alternatives to those proposing only more market and more growth, without "any specific objective in sight", as Rawls himself warns⁵⁹ on his farsighted letter on Europe. (Ferrera and Gastaldo 2013, 20).

As the debate on the evolution of liberal thinking went on, and that was also because of the emerging political and economic crisis of the 1970s, so did the Centro's initiatives of analysis, study and reflection concerning the condition and the evolution of the Italian society and economy. Both the researches and the seminar-based activities were particularly attentive towards the issues of organizing the State, as well as towards reforming its political bodies and the institutional system.

On this, the initiatives managed by Valerio Zanone on modern liberalism and by Giovanna Zincone on the structure and the role of political parties, as the summer 1974 monograph for the *Biblioteca della libertà* series dedicated to the issues, perspective and limits of the "historical compromise" was published (*Biblioteca della libertà* 1974), proved to be very important.

However, the end of the Italian economic miracle and the explosion of the crisis of the 1970s brought the Centro Einaudi to focus a relevant part of its activities on themes of a more economical nature. Besides the analysis carried out by Giorgio Rota on inflation (Rota 1976 and 1978), the works by Riccardo Chiaberge and Paolo Zannoni on the role of trade unions and industrial relationships in both Italy and Europe (Chiaberge 1974 and 1976, Zannoni 1972 and 1975), the researches carried out by Veniero Del Punta on economic programming (Del Punta 1970 and 1972), by Angelo Nardi on regional and European financing (Nardi 1972 and 1973), as well as those carried out by Mario Deaglio on the relationship between public and private industry, are all a proof thereof. The latter work and author won renown through the aforementioned publication of a special report edited by *The Economist* on the critical features of the Italian economic miracle (*Biblioteca della libertà* 1972).

The widening of the themes and of the activities of the Centro brought up also the need to look for a more efficient internal management, itself able to value all the skills

⁵⁹ See Rawls and Van Parijs (2012). On this theme, see also Rawls (1999) and Nörr (2003).

involved and coordinate all the activities by means of the so-called “Studies Departments” concerning different areas, such as the following: political studies (coordinated by Giuliano Urbani and Giovanna Zincone), economic studies (coordinated by Mario Deaglio and Giorgio Rota), union studies (coordinated by Giuliano Urbani), international studies (coordinated by Giorgio S. Frankel), regional and Piedmont-based studies (coordinated by Valerio Zanone), territorial studies (coordinated by Attilio Bastianini and Guerrino Savio).

From 1971 onwards, the Centro began awarding study grants for young researchers, while its cooperations were widened, especially concerning other cultural and research institutions, both in Italy and abroad (amongst them, the following seem worth mentioning: the Friedrich Neumann Stiftung in Bonn, the Institute of Economic Affairs in London, the Foundation for Economic Education in New York, the Fondazione Pastore in Rome, the Johns Hopkins University in Bologna and the studies departments of CGIL, CISL and UIL, the main Italian trade unions). Finally, during this same decade, the Centro expands its consulting activity in planning and enacting those projects, research and seminars commissioned by other institutions, both public and private.

This sizable activity meant also a more diverse and significant publishing activity; from 1976 onwards, *Biblioteca della libertà* revolved around monographs dedicated to themes of political and economic relevance; at the same time, the publication of the “Quaderni di Biblioteca della libertà” was started with the cooperation of the Le Monnier publishing house. Such a series intended, first and foremost, to be able to valorize the results of the activities carried out by the Centro (or its single scholars and researchers), as well to publish the best essays and books by eminent foreign authors in Italian language. This was a sizable publishing bet for a then-relatively young studies’ department already having its own journal.

Upon the beginning of the 1980s, the Centro Einaudi went on being a protagonist of the Italian political and cultural life. As it was indicated in the report set up for the Programmes Committee in 1977,⁶⁰ if during its first decade of activity the Centro had acted “like a sieged city [...] worried to keep the flame of liberal thinking alight”, the goal for the future could no longer be to denounce the evils of Italy as a country, but rather to “present a series of contents and proposals” concerning the solutions to the problems of the Italian situation also through a privileged (but by no means unique) relationship with the Italian Liberal Party.

Within this methodological approach, there are three areas of study by means of which it is possible to briefly summarize the many activities of the Centro during this decade: the attention to the processes involving change in international politics and economics (from the rise of Reaganomics to the collapse of the Berlin Wall); attempting to recover a viable moving space for liberal thought during those years marked by profound transformation processes; furthermore, the watchful eye of the Centro remained careful towards the critical elements of Italian economy and society.

⁶⁰ *Le prospettive del Centro Einaudi negli anni futuri*, report to the Programmes Committee, September 1977.

This was the aim of the seminars organised by the Observatory on foreign policy coordinated by Giorgio S. Frankel or those focusing on the paradigm shift of English-speaking economies towards neo-liberism or, to mention another example, the aforementioned research managed in 1983 by Giovanna Zincone and Mario Deaglio concerning the modernization of industrial societies.

The reflections on the liberal thought within the changing scene in recent years remain one of the focal points of the activity of this institutions. The 1981 conference on Einaudi's legacy is a paradigmatic example thereof,⁶¹ as it was the cooperation with other international institutions such as the Liberty Fund, and the publication of a "Quaderno" on the political thought of Karl R. Popper (Petroni 1981), as well as a philosophical and theoretical reflection on the opportunities and the limits of contractualism as seen in the organisation of a seminar held in Turin in January, 1984⁶² or the one, always held in Turin a year later, dedicated to the evolution of the open society.⁶³

In 1984, Raymond Boudon inaugurated the Conferenze "Fulvio Guerrini" [the "Fulvio Guerrini" Conferences], a yearly event dedicated to reflecting on liberty in the advanced industrial societies.

If, therefore, the attention towards the main international issues remained high, so was the production of materials dedicated to the changes awash in the Italian economic and political systems. During the first half of the 1980s, several paths of research proposed the issue of welfare reforms to the Centro (Ferrera 1981), as well as the difficulties in economic internationalization,⁶⁴ the trends in public debt, the role of State participation in enterprises. The aforementioned Report on savings and savers in Italy became, from 1983 onwards, a fixture of the Centro. Concerning publications, while in 1982 the last number of the "Quaderni di Biblioteca della libertà" was published (a new series will begin in 2014), the journal underwent a transformation, ending the series of "monographs" in 1984 and restarting (in 1986) a new series, which attempted to enhance multidisciplinary contributions and reconfigure its thematic and structural layout. On the basis of such a legacy, the Centro Einaudi had, during the 1990s, to tackle the significant changes within the international scenario and in the Italian political and eco-

⁶¹ "Luigi Einaudi. Ricordi e testimonianze", a meeting organised in cooperation with the Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, Rome (held in Florence on November 19, 1981) featuring N. Bobbio, E. Gabbiani, G. Malagodi, F. Mattei, G. Pampaloni, S. Ricossa, F. Romani, S. Steve. The proceedings are published in a book whose title is the same of the meeting.

⁶² "Il contrattualismo", a seminar organised by Giovanna Zincone (Turin, 12-13 January, 1984) and featuring N. Bobbio, N. Matteucci, G. Urbani, S. Veca, S. Lombardini, F. Forte, M. Monti, A. Manzella, G. Amato, R. Ruffilli, P. Ungari.

⁶³ "Domani. I requisiti di una società più libera" (Turin, 6-8 June, 1985). This meeting was organised in cooperation with *Libro Aperto*, featuring G. Malagodi, G. Zincone, S. Brittan, A. Levi, P. Ostellino, H. Albert, R. Dahrendorf, S.M. Lipset, N. Matteucci, M. Olson, G. Sartori. Discussants: F. Barone, F. Bourricaud, O. Castellino, G. Cotroneo, D. da Empoli, F. Fejtö, E. Ferrari, P. Flora, S. Maffettone, A. Manzella, P. Mieli, S. Monti-Bragadin, S. Ricossa, G. Sola, M. Stoppino.

⁶⁴ "Un Paese che zoppica? Integrazione internazionale e sviluppo dell'economia italiana", a meeting held in Novara on October 23, 1983 and featuring V. Conti, M. Deaglio, A. Jozzo, R. Masera, G. Rota, A. Colombo, P. Frigero, G. Ratti, S. Stephenson, P. Terna.

nomic situation. The collapse of the Communist régimes, the German reunification and the beginning of the European Monetary Union all found an aware observer in the Centro. In May 1995, the Centro held an interdisciplinary conference on “L’Europa del liberalismo e della società aperta” [“Liberalism in Europe and the open society”],⁶⁵ while *Biblioteca della libertà* widened its traditional field of interest, opening up to the most current developments and gathering studies and reflections about the effects of the Maastricht Treaty in a dedicated section titled, between 1997 and 2002, “Profilo Europa” [“Focus on Europe”].

From 1996 onwards, the Centro started publishing the aforementioned report on global economy and Italy while, from 1997 onwards, it cooperates – as the Italian partner – in editing the Economic Freedom of the World report published yearly by the Fraser Institute, Vancouver. In such a meaningful context, during the mid-1990s, the monograph titled *Italia, un profilo liberale [A liberal profile for Italy]* (*Biblioteca della libertà* 1994) was issued. It contained an analysis of the Italian crisis and of its possible solutions, juxtaposed with a medium-long term analysis of the events underway. At the same times, the meetings focusing on the need to update the institutional and electoral features in Italy grew in number, especially during the second half of that decade. Therefore, some of the themes the Centro focused its research and its workshops on during the 1960s and 1970s returned to the limelight, such as the reform of the public financing of political parties or the electoral reform, or the reform of the Italian institutional layout.

These scenario analyses are always joined with empirical researches and projects, such as the building of a databank on the economic circumstances in Italy, the study of sector-specific issues and themes, the tertiarization of society in Piedmont or concerning the situation of the retail trade in Italy (on the latter theme, three volumes have been published, in both Italian and English, between 1999 and 2001).

The awareness of the historical importance of the changes happening at the time, both in Italy and on the geopolitical scenario of the world, spurred the Centro towards valorizing the potential of establishing the principles of liberalism within the new framework. As written by the then-new editor of *Biblioteca della libertà*, the aforementioned Angelo M. Petroni, in its opening editorial, the journal he directed had to:

put the ideological and political uniqueness of liberalism back into the limelight, during a time when it seems that liberal ideas have found a way even into those movements apparently furthest from it. (*Biblioteca della libertà* 1989)

⁶⁵ “L’Europa del liberalismo e della società aperta”, a meeting held in Turin on May 9, 1995 and featuring G. Bognetti, G. Brosio, M. Ferrera, F. Pizzetti, R. Vaubel, F. Vibert, V. Zanone, A. Comba, T. Cozzi, V. Curzon Price, A. Fourçans, C. Kirchner, A. Martino, A. Pera, E. Salza. The debate, which began in the early 1990s, had spurred, already in 1991, the issue of a specific monograph – *L’Europa del liberalismo* – within the *Biblioteca della libertà* series, featuring essays by J.M. Buchanan and other eminent scholars. The Centro took part, from 1992 onwards, to the European Constitution Expert Group, author of the *Progetto per una Costituzione europea*, in cooperation with the London Policy Forum, the Institut Euro '92 in Paris and the Frankfurter Institut.

This goal seemed particularly ambitious as, according to Petroni, in Italy

the liberal principles, albeit called upon from thither and yon, have very rarely found a coherent application. (*ibidem*)

Since the beginning of the new millennium (in what is called *Il Centro negli anni della globalizzazione*, i.e. *The Centro during the globalization years* in our e-book), the changes of the international scenario picked up speed again. During the decade of assertion for IT, the ascent of new protagonists puts the traditional economic layout into question. The attack on the Twin Towers and the following War on Terrorism changed both the role and the perception of the United States on the global milieu while, beginning in 2007, one of the most deep economic crises inflicts relevant damages on an Italy already weakened by years of low GDP growth and low productivity. Considering all this, while Italy seems not to be able to close its political, economic and institutional so-called “long transition”, the boundaries between the difficulties in Italy and the changes in the international context are less and less easy to define, while their interactions grow.

Within the reflections the Centro Einaudi put out in its publications and in its research groups, the interdependency between the national context and the evolutions of the international situation are always taken into the utmost account. The ever-growing integration of these two fields appears evident, for example, in the consequences of the opening of the world economy on the Italian juridical system (Monateri, Musy and Simongini 2001), in the reorganization of the survey on savings in Italy and in the setup of the reports on global economy which have been dedicated, from 2008 onwards, to the effects of the global crisis on the global economy (Deaglio et al. 2008; Deaglio 2011, 2012 and 2013). And it is precisely on the basis of this significant hoard of experiences, research and data(banks), that the Centro Einaudi can continue to be, in the 2000s and onwards, a place for proposals, besides analyses, as fairly shown by the publication, during the mid-2000s, of *La bussola del cambiamento* [A Compass for Change] edited by Mario Deaglio (2005), by the publication, both in 2001 and 2002, of an index of economic freedom in the European Union and, both in 2004 and 2007, of a comparison between the Italian and European economic freedom indexes, edited by Giovanni Ronca and Gabriele Guggiola (2004 and 2007).

The widening of the themes tackled requires an update of the tools to be used; therefore new study groups are born, such as the Global Politics Lab (LPG, from its Italian acronym), founded in 2003 under the coordination of Fabio Armao and Anna Caffarena and with the support of the Compagnia di San Paolo, an important Italian banking foundation; from this experience the Ombre Cinesi [Chinese Shades] project was born in 2006, under the management of Giovanni B. Andornino. The birth of The China Companion, an online portal focusing on the politics, the international relationships and the economy of contemporary China, was in 2008. Its most recent evolution is the Torino World Affairs Institute (T.wai), born in 2010 in partnership with the Centro Einaudi. Always relying on the support of the Compagnia di San Paolo, the Laboratory of Comparative Politics and Public Philosophy (LPF, from its Italian acronym) was founded in February 2008, under the scientific direction of Maurizio Ferrera, with the

goal of promoting studies, documents and debate on the most important changes happening in the political sphere of modern democracies.

Within an Italy undergoing deep political and social changes, the Centro Einaudi does, as always, its level best to analyze the evolution of liberalism, both in its theories and as a “widespread” culture or as an organised kind of political expression. Within this context, the publication, in 2003, of a double issue belonging to the *Biblioteca della libertà* series, proved to be particularly important. This issue was rich in contents, as it featured around thirty essays by different authors, not all of them “belonging” to the Centro; the first part was dedicated to the birth of liberalism in Europe, the second to its presence in Italy.

Besides a new update in the journal’s goals and objectives, who were bound towards a greater internationalization in their content and analyses,⁶⁶ the renewal of the Centro’s publishing tools receives further impulse from the birth of *Agenda Liberale*, an online newsletter with Alberto M. Musy as its editor, in 2007; the publishing of the Working Papers of the Laboratory of Comparative Politics and Public Philosophy (LPF), started in 2008; the establishment, in 2009, of an online economical newsletter, edited by Giorgio Arfaras. Always in 2009, *Biblioteca della libertà* becomes a free-access online journal.

These brief notes, in which of course all the activities of the Centro could not be included, are rather due to having chosen only those referring to a first-hand approach, albeit certainly a partial one, went on creating a work where, despite in a schematic, somewhat abridged way, its activities could be duly acknowledged, especially those concerning knowledge and the further study of the great cultural and economic themes, be they national or international in scope. The chronology we set up does in fact highlight the main features of the attempt at creating a veritable think tank of Italian capitalism and liberalism, based in Turin.

Considering Italian history and the events that have characterized its last two decades in particular, the proposals the Centro made for the implementation of a new liberalism in various sectors and fields of Italian society were innovative in terms of the analysis, but not so lucky in implementing the required solutions. This was not only because of the “limits” concerning the diffusion and penetration of liberal thought in Italy or maybe some of the proposals the Centro Einaudi itself made, but primarily because of the lack of awareness by a large part of the Italian ruling class in understanding, in their broadest sense, those hazards and risks Italy faced in the absence of structural reforms within the medium-long period, when they were most needed. A fact clearly

⁶⁶ Anna Caffarena, then the new editor of the journal, underlined the necessity to wonder about “the challenges the transformations pose to the modern liberal democratic societies, to the international political system [...] and to the liberal thought itself, whose tradition is more and more intertwined with the history of democracies” (*Biblioteca della libertà* 2005).

underlined by the current “systemic crisis” (involving the political, economic and institutional milieus) to which no convincing solution appears to be currently in sight as a good landing point.

After the Italian crisis of the 1992-1994 period, the same effectiveness of the social and political mobilization that led Italy to decide to join the Euro in 1997 was, in many respects, thwarted and not adequately valued, either as a possible way out of the crisis that began in 1992 or as a “springboard” to implement the structural reforms that could return Italy to its own place, even in the new global scenarios. Conversely, the lack of a clear and shared vision of Italy's future, as well as the uncertainties present in the ruling classes and in their wide (and not very cohesive) parliamentary majorities, slowed the assertion of those experiences and those potentialities which were nevertheless expressed thanks by virtue of innovative entrepreneurs, social forces and those representatives of the institutional world most sensitive towards a collective path. Especially in the following decade, the absence of a reformist vision led to dispel and scatter those benefits determined by the low interest rates for the Euro and those possibilities of development also present in the globalization process, given the slowdown in the potential Italian growth even before 2007 contracting its productivity and international competitiveness and making it particularly exposed and sensitive towards the effects of the 2008 crisis. Therefore, Italy has “floated” between the use of those resources accrued during the previous years, the increase in public debt, the failure to address the structural problems that had already affected said growth, as it was indeed reported by various scholars of the Centro Einaudi. The result of this “incomplete transition” was the start of a social divide clearly expressed by the resumption of the territorial divide, by an unprecedented rate of youth unemployment, the contraction in domestic demand and the reduction in the earning capacity for younger generations (OECD 2011 and 2014).

A structural crisis that, as such, would require structural solutions; solutions that, going back to the experience Luigi Einaudi and the “founding fathers” had, would in turn require an effort of national cohesion leading to choices and reforms, in some cases even “uncomfortable ones”, as though arising from the common awareness of the need for a reorganisation of the national industry, for better social redistribution based on the enhancement of the individual contributions, just as it happened during the immediate postwar period. From this point of view, those words uttered by Luigi Einaudi in June 1947 are still topical nowadays:

There is no clash between the citizens and the State; however, true freedom exists when the State, even expanding its functions, allows citizens to freely exercise their economic activity and increase their free moral personality.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ 18 giugno 1947. *Intervento di Luigi Einaudi sulle comunicazioni del Presidente del Consiglio*. The complete series of these interventions was published in Martinotti Dorigo (1982).

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