


The Rockefeller Foundation, Luigi and Mario Einaudi, and the Social Sciences in Italy (1926–1969)

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1. The Rockefeller Foundation's Contribution to the Beginnings of Social Science in Italy

The transnational character of the social sciences resides in their ability to offer spaces of socialization through the construction of international networks and the promotion of scientific policies of international exchange.¹ The Rockefeller Foundation (RF) embodied this transnational quality. Its program of grants and fellowships supported the institutionalization of the social sciences in the European academic context during the 1920s and 1930s. The RF's objective for the social sciences was to export a specific method of research based on (a) an experimental rather than a theoretical approach, (b) the rationalization of departments and laboratories, (c) intellectual cooperation, and (d) scientific specialization.² While the RF conducted the program with considerable success in France, the presence of the Fascist dictatorship in Italy caused it to encounter difficulties there.

In mid-1920s Italy, the RF's fellowship program was the only worthwhile alternative to the Inter-university Italian Institute. This Institute, founded by Giovanni Gentile in 1923, sought to create a program of academic and student exchanges under government control, but with little success.³ Relations between the United States and Italy had not yet been compromised and cultural interest in the American way of life remained relatively high. The economist Luigi Einaudi became the Italian advisor, first to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM), and then, in 1929, when many of LSRM's programs joined the Rockefeller Foundation, to the RF's new Division of the Social Sciences. As we will see, the RF's intervention in Europe, led by Paris-based Foundation officers John Van Sickle and Tracy B. Kittredge, became more complicated in the Thirties—so much so that in a letter to Edmund E. Day, Selskar MGunn observed

that “Italy, from the point of view of the SS [social sciences], is practically off the map for the time being”.⁴

The RF’s collaboration with Luigi Einaudi was made possible by Einaudi’s international academic prestige, his non-dogmatic and interdisciplinary contribution to the Laboratory of Political Economy (founded in Turin by Salvatore Cognetti De Martiis), and his affinities with Anglophone economics scholarship. During his period of official collaboration as RF advisor (from January 1, 1926 to the end of 1931), he selected twenty RF Italian fellows: thirteen economists (Alberto Breglia, Attilio Da Empoli, Mario De Bernardi, Giovanni Demaria, Luigi De Simone, Renzo Fubini, Angelo Martinenghi, Vincenzo Moretti, Carlo Pagni, Paolo Rota-Sperti, Volrico Travaglini, Ezio Vanoni, and Francesco Vito), four political scientists or jurists (Max Ascoli, Mario Einudi, Antonello Gerbi, and Alessandro Passerin d’Entrèves), one sociologist (Leo Ferrero), one anthropologist (Renato Boccassino) and one natural scientist, an expert in social psychology (Alessandro Gatti).⁵ Pursuing a policy of “cross-fertilization,” the RF gave these fellows the opportunity to develop a one-to-two year research project or to finish their doctoral work in a foreign country—often Great Britain or the United States—in order to acquaint themselves with new empirical methods and to bring them back to their country of origin. For Foundation officers, it was particularly important to choose (preferably unmarried) promising scientists with good scientific experience.⁶

With their field still embryonic in Italy in the 1920s, Italian social scientists warmly welcomed the RF’s guidelines as a means of defining disciplinary boundaries. Fellowship appointments in the social sciences were made in the specific disciplines of “economics, political science, sociology (including criminology), psychology and psychiatry, anthropology (cultural as contrasted with physical), geography (human and economic, in contrast to physical), statistics, history (in its political, economic and social phases), law, public and business administration, social welfare administration.”⁷

In addition to its transnational quality, the RF's activity in Italy also had a trans-generational effect. A large number of Einaudi's former RF fellows went on to bright academic careers and remained in touch with the next generation of RF officers (Norman S. Buchanan, Gerald Freund, and Kenneth W. Thompson, in particular).⁸ The RF had long-term philanthropic aims in Italy that carried into the 1950s and mid-1960s. At that point, however, the organization began phasing out its European grants to turn its attention to the African and Asian developing countries.⁹ In the economic sciences, the RF kept a strong relationship with Volrico Travaglini and Francesco Vito, and in political science with former fellows Mario Einaudi and Alessandro Passerin d'Entrèves (the first a professor in the US at Cornell University, the latter in Great Britain at Oxford), who negotiated a six-year RF grant for Turin University's Institute of Political Science.¹⁰ The Foundation provided similar support to Florence University, awarded for Giovanni Sartori's project on the "Political Representation and the Circulation of Elites in Italy."¹¹ Both Turin and Florence cooperated on Villa Serbelloni meetings at Bellagio.¹² It could be argued, therefore, that the RF's financial support from the 1920s until the 1960s, in spite of the long period of Fascist rule, gave Italy a real incentive to development of the social sciences.

2. Cooperation between Luigi Einaudi's Team and RF Officers in Paris

Beardsley Rummler, head of the LSRM from 1923 to 1928, was conscious of the importance of developing the social sciences. He organized a program of fellowships for Europeans, with one or more advisors for each nation given the task of selecting young scholars.¹³ Rummler commonly requested suggestions from these European advisors. The program was launched in 1926. Rummler invited the advisors to the United States for a guided tour of the main academic institutions

with the purpose of giving them “a chance to see some of the work which is being done in the social sciences.”¹⁴

Einaudi took part in that visit. He suggested the name of Alessandro Passerin d’Entrèves as the first fellow for the political science. Passerin d’Entrèves, along with his Austrian colleague Oskar Morgenstern, were the only two to benefit from a three-year fellowship.

According to LSRM policy, the monthly stipend of \$1800 included tuition (only for the US universities) and travel fees (6–7 cents per mile for long-distance travel). The fellowships started in September–October with a three-to-four month stay at the London School of Economics to attend an English course; during the summer they had the option of traveling in the US. The United States Immigration Act (1924) gave a “non-quota immigrants” visa to the fellows of accredited institutions like the LSRM, but scholars were legally required to return to their country of origin at the end of their studies. No extension to a third year fellowship could only be allowed except under the rarest of circumstances.

Luigi Einaudi was not completely convinced by this arrangement. He did not agree, first, with the choice of having fellows spend so many months learning English instead of beginning their research activities straightaway. He also had trouble finding Italian candidates who preferred to continue their research instead of teaching as an assistant professor in Italian universities. Still, Ruml was confident about the future of the program in Italy.¹⁵

In any case, in February 1927 Luigi Einaudi put forth the names of his son Mario, of Angelo Martinenghi, Alessandro Gatti, Luigi De Simone, Attilio Da Empoli and Paolo Rota-Sperti. In April 1929 he proposed Alberto Breglia, again Attilio Da Empoli, Antonello Gerbi, Renzo Fubini and, in April 1931, Carlo Pagni, Vincenzo Moretti, Volrico Travaglini, and Max Ascoli. All received fellowships. In late 1928 and 1929, both Ruml and Day reported that the majority of Italian fellows did not

want to return to Italy for political reasons or because they needed to develop their research further. The case of Alessandro Gatti and Luigi De Simone was particularly complex; they argued with RF officers, insisting on an extension.¹⁶ Van Sickle, who was appointed assistant director at the RF's Paris office in 1928, presented a new formula of short one-year fellowships for employees in academia or in banks or other public and semipublic institutions, who could not leave for a long time. Luigi Einaudi was reluctant, however, perhaps because he was worried about the RF becoming indifferent to the future of Italian science.¹⁷ In Van Sickle's opinion, the one-year fellowships followed the RF's practice of supporting people with good experience and could also offer a way to regulate the difficult situation of Italian fellows.¹⁸ Day, however, was cautious.¹⁹

In January 1931, RF President Max Mason reorganized the Social Science Fellowship Program and announced the end of the previous system of national advisors, explaining that the appointment of Van Sickle as "secretary for the Social Sciences in the Paris Office staff" made "the role of the local advisers... less important."²⁰ In a May 1931 letter to the advisors, Mason offered his gratitude for the high standard with which they had selected nominees and asked them to continue to informally counsel RF officers.²¹ Beginning in 1932, the RF dismissed all of its European advisors with the exception of two committees in Germany and Great Britain directed by August Fehling and N. F. Hall. While Fredrik Stang, Gösta Bagge, and Luigi Einaudi himself remained grateful for the opportunity offered by the RF and were still ready to help, officers like Van Sickle were not so pleased with the new procedure. The fellows themselves, feeling that they had lost a point of reference, carried a motion in favor of the local advisors, but their voices remained unheard.²²

Another crucial change occurred in 1935–1936, when the Foundation replaced general fellowships on varied subjects with projects focused solely on social welfare, international relations, and public administration. During World War II, the entire program was formally closed.²³ As / Because the Italian state

conformed strictly to RF regulations, at the beginning of 1930s, RF staff both in the New York and in Paris soon became aware of the difficulties being imposed by the Fascist regime.

In 1932, for example, Selksar Gunn, who had been enthusiastically recommended by William Beveridge and Harold Laski, wrote to Day to ask some assistance for Edoardo Ruffini Avondo. Ruffini was living in exile in London because of his unwillingness to take the Fascist oath, required of all Italian professors. The RF's reply was negative. As Gunn put it, the RF was "very jealous of maintaining the reputation we have of being a non-political organization and [aware] that in aiding a man like Ruffini we might render ourselves subject of criticism from the Italian Government."²⁴ Even though in early 1932 Gunn and Day were satisfied with the RF program for the social sciences, they noticed that the "Italian program offers little promise at present conditions. Autocracies, whether they be of the Fascist or Bolshevik variety, create an environment which is altogether hostile to the social science developments we are trying to achieve."²⁵

In November 1931, Van Sickle heard from the Italian fellow Paolo Rota Sperti about political and economic troubles Luigi Einaudi was suffering, caused by the arrest of his son Roberto for antifascist activities and by other domestic expenditures. Stressing the influence of Einaudi's work as advisor, the officer proposed a prolongation of his and Alfred Francis Pribram's honoraria in exchange for further informal collaboration. Day, however, preferred to suggest, in both cases, a small grant-in-aid for their research. After an interview with Gunn in Milan in July 1932 and a meeting with Van Sickle in Turin, a grant of \$3000 was given in May 1933 for the *Riforma Sociale*, the journal of which the economist was editor, in order to "promote research in Italy in the fields of Economic Planning and Control and International Relations."²⁶

In a memorandum about the *Riforma Sociale*, Einaudi underscored the journal's international dimensions and its special focus on analyzing the 1929 crisis and

possible solutions to it.²⁷ The RF considered such grants as providing a means of supporting institutes capable of independent and objective research in the social sciences despite the illiberal atmosphere of the dictatorship, as Einaudi himself illustrated in his correspondence with Van Sickle. From the description reported by the officer, two problems came to light: the difficulty for scientists and young scholars to work at the university without having to make compromises with the Fascist Party, and the restriction to purely theoretical studies. It was only possible to conduct independent or applied research under the auspices of private and semipublic organizations such as large banks, chambers of commerce, or federations representing workers and employers.²⁸ The news about the worsening Italian situation also reached Sydnor H. Walker (one of the few women nominated RF Associate Director), who in April 1933 told Van Sickle that “Italy needs now as never before our fellowships, as political situation is in such turmoil.”²⁹

It might be argued that, in approving this unusual action in Einaudi’s favor, Walker interpreted the funding for the *Riforma Sociale* as a recompense for the great Italian’s “valuable services in the past in the administration of our fellowship program.” In Van Sickle’s opinion, however, it was more an effort “to keep alive in a scattered group of scholars the scientific spirit which is so threatened in Italy.”³⁰ In the wake of the “fluctuations in the exchange value of the dollar” in June 1934, at Van Sickle’s request the New York Office agreed not only to maintain the grant, but also to provide an extra \$3000. After these funds were exhausted, however, there would be “little prospect, under the present limitations of our programs, of continuing our cooperation, at least in this form.”³¹ RF officers were quite content with Einaudi’s results, especially following critical appraisals by Americans like professor Henry Schultz of Chicago University, who had visited Italy during that time.³²

The RF’s support enabled the publication of two volumes of *Riforma Sociale* in 1933 and 1934, as well as monographs by Roberto Michels, Attilio Cabiati, Marco Fanno, Edoardo Giretti, Pasquale Jannaccone, and Luigi Einaudi. The RF also

funded important translations of foreign books, including Henry Wallace's *America Must Choose*, which provoked a response by Mussolini the first page of his newspaper "Il Popolo d'Italia."³³ One year later, Mario Einaudi wrote to Kittredge asking to use the remainder of the grant to finance the *Riforma Sociale* second series (twelve volumes dedicated to contemporary economic problems), because the journal had been shut down due to Mario's brother's arrest and to the temporary closure of Giulio Einaudi's publishing house.³⁴ This extension was approved by the Office Committee, but, in a July 1936 interview, Luigi Einaudi explained that, like many scholars, he was now devoting himself to historical studies. His new *Rivista di storia economica* dealt with economic history and the history of the development of economic thought.³⁵

In the same years, the former fellows remained in contact with RF officers, particularly with Kittredge, providing him with insight into Italy's dramatic situation. De Bernardi and Gerbi were very pessimistic about the possibilities offered by Italian universities for those who refused to swear the Fascist oath; a pessimism that grew in 1936 after Mussolini's victory in the Second Italo-Ethiopian War, because Italian society seemed, to Luigi Einaudi and his scholars, to be infected with a nationalistic enthusiasm.³⁶ Mario Einaudi's case was associated with that of German scholars, so much so that after his decision to move to America, the RF awarded him a grant of \$600 in April 1934, to supplement his stipend as a part-time instructor in the Department of Government at Harvard.³⁷

On the other hand, the RF strongly discouraged Demaria's request for a grant to create an institute of economic research in Milan. The RF's future program in Europe was to be modest and to be directed toward the promotion of research on specific problems. What Luigi Einaudi had feared did indeed come to pass. Aside, therefore, from the occasional grant-in-aid to a former fellow, extensive operations seemed unlikely.³⁸ In the late 1930s and World War II years, the RF's contacts with Italy were significantly reduced. Thanks to his son Mario, however,

Luigi Einaudi was able to benefit from a grant during his exile in Switzerland in 1944 in order to continue his research through the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva.³⁹ Yet more proof of the Foundation’s high esteem and respect for the Italian scientist and his work.

3. Former RF Political Science Fellows and Turin University

Among its various interventions in Europe after 1945 the US government contributed significantly not only to the material reconstruction, but also to the moral and cultural rebirth of the countries destroyed in the war. To this end, the Rockefeller Foundation played an important role in reestablishing connections between the American officers and European former fellows and institutions. In Italy, this process involved only the disciplines of economics and the medical sciences, at first. In the early 1950s, however, the RF directed new efforts toward helping both the social sciences and the humanities. Funds were allocated to the Institute of Historical Studies in Naples—created by Benedetto Croce and directed by Federico Chabod—to purchase books and to support a fellowship program for philosophy and contemporary history.⁴⁰

In 1952, some Turin University law professors founded the Gioele Solari Institute of Political Science (IPS; Istituto di Scienze Politiche “G. Solari”) under the patronage of the rector Mario Allara. The Institute was directed by Norberto Bobbio. Bobbio and his friend, the RF former fellow Alessandro Passerin d’Entrèves, learned that the RF was supporting the Croce Institute and St. Anthony’s College of Oxford University (where Passerin d’Entrèves himself taught). They asked Mario Einaudi (at the time professor at Cornell University of Ithaca) to put them in touch with Kenneth W. Thompson, the assistant director for the RF’s Social Science Division (in 1961, RF vice president), in order to ask for financial assistance.⁴¹ Their familiarity with the RF’s policies and their good

relationships with its officers, developed during their stay in the United States, enabled Mario Einaudi and Passerin d'Entrèves to succeed.

Several factors played into the decision to accept the request: Passerin d'Entrèves' intention to come back to teach at the IPS, Mario Einaudi's desire to spend his sabbatical there, and the presence of highly trained and interdisciplinary scientists. In their discussions with Thompson, both Mario Einaudi and Passerin d'Entrèves emphasized Turin's long history of interest in legal and political problems, the force of attraction of this university for students coming from northwestern Italy, and the IPS's advantageous location in a growing industrial center that would serve as a laboratory for the study of political movements and social change.⁴² This convinced the Foundation that the IPS would be a good way to bring Italy up to date in political science. Other university centers, like Florence or Bologna, were weaker in this field.

In February 1958, as a scientific committee was preparing a formal proposal, Norman Buchanan, the director of the Social Science Program, came to Turin. He noted the presence, on the same floor of the IFS's building, the connected Institutes of Legal, Economic, and Historical Studies and the library of the IPS (the original nucleus of which was legal philosopher Gioele Solari's private library). The Institute actively offered "accommodation for seminars and discussion groups under the supervision of the teaching staff", encouraged "the formation of study groups in the social and political sciences among them, two groups for sociological research (religious and political)", and helped secure "the publication of works by members of the staff and other scholars somehow connected with the Institute"⁴³

The Institute was financially dependent on Turin University and, despite supplementary funds from private institutions and local authorities, its funding was barely adequate to meet its needs. Further development within the available resources was almost unimaginable.⁴⁴ Mario Einaudi and Passerin d'Entrèves

therefore requested RF support. In May 1958, the Executive Committee approved a grant of \$45,000 for graduate work and for research, so “the recommended support for six years would enable the Institute to extend fellowships for the three-two year periods which the faculty deems essential for substantial results”. The fund guaranteed two fellowships (with one year renewal for young historians, political scientists, or sociologists) and also a program of visiting professors, the work of the sociological laboratory (Gruppi di Sociologia), and two series of publications (“Inventory of Italian Political Writings” and “Italian Political Writers”).⁴⁵ When this grant expired, another allocation of \$9,000 was made, though only to provide for two grants a year (January 1964 to September 1967).⁴⁶ Unlike the Social Science Fellowships Program in the 1920s–1930s, which was managed entirely by the Paris and New York offices, this latter was arranged directly in Turin and payments were made “on a semiannual basis upon receipt and acceptance of a budget for the program at the beginning of each fiscal year of the appropriation.”⁴⁷

Thanks to the international prestige the Rockefeller Foundation’s support conferred on the IPS, it was transformed into a Faculty in 1969 (although Passerin d’Entrèves wanted the political sciences to remain within the Law Faculty).⁴⁸ This substantial action in favor of Turin University stirred up discord among Italian academics like Bruno Leoni, professor at Pavia University, who complained that the IPS was extraordinarily wealthy in comparison with the situation in Pavia.⁴⁹

In December 1961, Bobbio and Passerin d’Entrèves approached RF officers with Giovanni Sartori’s idea of a round table on “Parliamentary Government” at Villa Serbelloni in Bellagio, an idea that had not been approved the previous year because the project was limited to the Western Europe.⁵⁰ RF Assistant Director Gerald Freund agreed to the proposal of a “master fellow type of conference,” but he insisted on knowing who the participants would be long in advance and on having young scientists among them.⁵¹ The conference finally took place in July

7–12, 1963 and, in the wake of its success, Passerin d'Entrèves received a grant of \$550 to organize another master fellow meeting on legal philosophy in September 1965 at Villa Serbelloni: another sign of his good relationship with the RF, a foundation with which he had always gotten on well.⁵²

Although this project on the RF contribution to the growth of the Social sciences in Italy is still at the beginning, we can anticipate some provisional considerations. The exchanges promoted by RF's fellowship program in mid-1920s resulted in close connections between Italy and the United States, during the difficult years of Fascist regime. This process allowed the young generation of scholars to familiarize themselves with new methodologies and, first of all, with a new way to interpret the Social sciences themselves, in opposition to the organicistic vision that was widespread at that time. The esteem of the RF officers both to Luigi Einaudi's work as advisor and to his son Mario, who took up his academic career in the United States, founded a long-lasting relationship with Italy. On the other hand the RF "cross-fertilization" policy was not only a decisive factor in the rebirth of the Social sciences in that country during the mid '50-'60s as a whole, but also, in Turin, brought about the creation of a new Faculty.

¹Johan Heilbron, Nicolas Guilhot, and Laurent Jeanpierre, "Vers une histoire transnationale des sciences sociales," *Sociétés contemporaines* 73 (2009): 121–145.

²Ludovic Tournès, "La fondation Rockefeller et la naissance de l'universalisme philanthropique américain," *Critique internationale* 35 (April–June 2007): 173–197.

³Andrea Mariuzzo, "Stato-nazione e mobilità degli studenti universitari dall'Unità alla repubblica: La situazione degli studi," *Storicamente* 7 (2011): 1–9.

⁴Selskar Gunn to E. E. Day, December 31, 1931, Rockefeller Archive Center (hereafter RAC), RG 2 1931, 700 S, box 63, folder 516.

⁵On Einaudi's period as RF advisor, see letter from Luigi Einaudi, December 28, 1925, Archivio della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi Torino (hereafter FLE), Corrispondenza, 2, folder Lingelbach, William; folder Ruml, Beardsley; E. E. Day, "Fellowship Advisors in Europe Social Sciences," RAC, RG 1.2 100 ES, box 49, folder 375. For records of the fellows Einaudi appointed, see LSRM, 3.06, box 51, folder 547; box 52, folder 548: Yellow Sheets, A–H and L–Z; RAC, RG 10.2, "Fellowship Cards."

⁶“Bulletin of information for recipients of fellowships awarded by The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, 1926,” FLE, Corrispondenza, 3, Bio, folder Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.

⁷Copy of letter from E. E. Day, Rockefeller Foundation Inter-office correspondence, April 2, 1929, RAC, RG 1.2 100 ES, box 49, folder 375.

⁸RAC, biographical files.

⁹“DSS Fellowships Program, up to October 15, 1954,” RAC, RG 1.2 100 ES, box 49, folder 379.

¹⁰On RF relations with Volrico Travaglini and Francesco Vito, see Giuliana Gemelli, “Un imprenditore scientifico e le sue reti internazionali: Luigi Einaudi e la Fondazione Rockefeller,” *Le carte e la storia*, 1 (2005): 189–202. On the RF’s support for Turin University’s Institute of Political Science, see RAC, RG 1.2 751 S, box 17, folder 196–197; University of Turin and Archivio del Dipartimento politiche, cultura e società, Turin University (hereafter DPCSUT).

¹¹Kenneth W. Thompson interviews, October 1956, RAC, RG 12, box 469; Erskine W. McKinley interviews, October–December 1958, RG 12, box 323. See also: RAC, RG 1.2 751 S Italy, Social Sciences, box 15, folder 178–179: University of Florence (Political Science), 1956–1961; 1963.

¹²RAC, RG 3.2 900, box 87, folder 479 and folder 480.

¹³“List of Representatives of the Memorial,” April 1, 1927, FLE, Corrispondenza, 3, Bio, folder Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.

¹⁴Ruml to Luigi Einaudi, January 19, 1926, FLE, Corrispondenza, 2, folder Beardsley Ruml.

¹⁵Einaudi to Ruml, November 12, 1926; Ruml to Einaudi, November 30, 1926, both *ibid.*

¹⁶FLE, Corrispondenza, 3, Bio, folder Gatti, Angelo; De Simone Luigi.

¹⁷Einaudi to Van Sickle, February 25, 1930, FLE, Corrispondenza, 2, folder Van Sickle, John.

¹⁸Van Sickle to Luigi Einaudi, March 10, 1930, *ibid.*

¹⁹Van Sickle–Day correspondence, January–June, 1930, RAC, RG 1.2 100 ES, box 49, folder 375.

²⁰“Fellowship Advisers Social Sciences,” January 14, 1931, , RAC, RG 1.2 100 ES, box 49, folder 376.

²¹Max Mason to Einaudi, May 21, 1931, FLE, Corrispondenz, 2, folder Mason, Max.

²²The motion was received on November 17, 1931 and supported by the Italian fellows Breglia, Passerin d'Entrèves, Martinenghi, Rota Sperti, and Vanoni. RAC, RG 1.2 100 ES, box 49, folder 376.

²³The Trustees' decisions were made in response to the world economic and social changes. Kittredge to Einaudi, January 28, 1935, FLE, Corrispondenza, 2, folder Kitteredge, Tracy B. and "DSS Fellowship Program," RAC, RG 1.2 100 ES, box 49, folder 379.

²⁴Selskar Gunn to E. E. Day, February 2, 1932; Day to Gunn, March 2, 1932, RAC, RG 1.2 100 ES, box 49, folder 376.

²⁵Day to Gunn, January 25, 1932, RAC, RG 2 1932, 751 S, box 77, folder 618.

²⁶"Research Aid Grants, Paris," May 9, 1933, RAC, RG 1.1 751 S, box 8, folder 93, Einaudi, Luigi (Economics), 1931: 1933–1936.

²⁷Luigi Einaudi, "Memorandum on the present activities of *La Riforma Sociale*," April 1, 1933, *ibid.*

²⁸John Van Sickle, "Report of convention with Prof. Luigi Einaudi," April 7, 1933; Van Sickle to Day, April 11, 1933, both *ibid.*

²⁹Sydnor H. Walker to Van Sickle, April 27, 1933, RAC, RG 1.2 100 ES, box 49, folder 376.

³⁰Walker to Van Sickle, April 27, 1933; Van Sickle to Walker, May 17, 1933; Walker to Van Sickle, May 18, 1933, RAC, RG 1.1 751 S, box 8, folder 93, Einaudi, Luigi (Economics), 1931: 1933–1936.

³¹Van Sickle to Day, June 26, 1934, *ibid.* The second grant-in-aid was officially approved in 1934. Kittredge to Einaudi, December 18, 1934, *ibid.*

³²Henry Schultz, "Impressions on Italy," April 27, 1934, RAC, RG 2 1934, 751 ES, box 110, folder 848.

³³Mario Einaudi to Van Sickle, October 7, 1934, RAC, RG 1.1 751 S, box 8, folder 93 Einaudi, Luigi (Economics), 1931: 1933–1936.

³⁴Mario Einaudi to Kittredge, December 9, 1935, *ibid.*

³⁵Interview, Tracy B. Kittredge with Prof. Luigi Einaudi, July 30, 1936, *ibid.*

³⁶"Memorandum: Italian former fellows," RAC, RG 2 1934, 751 ES, box 110, folder 848. Kittredge to Walker and Van Sickle, August 20, 1936, RAC, RG 2 1936, 751 S, box 141, folder 1051.

³⁷Van Sickle to Day, May 2, 1933, RAC, RG 2 1933, 717 S, box 91, folder 725. See also: RAC, RG 1.1 751 S, box 8, folder 94: Einaudi, Mario (Political Science), 1931–1935.

³⁸“Tracy B. Kittredge Memorandum: Proposed Institute of Economic Research, Milan,” January 14, 1935, RAC, RG 2 1935, 751 ES, box 126, folder 957.

³⁹RAC, RG 1.1 100 S, box 101, folder 914, Einaudi, Luigi 1943–1947.

⁴⁰Frédéric Attal, “L’Institut Croce, la revue ‘Nord e Sud’ et la diplomatie culturelle des fondations américaines (1946–1964): Histoire, sciences sociales et ‘guerre froide culturelle’ dans le Mezzogiorno italien,” *Storiografia* 14 (2010): 9–178.

⁴¹Discussions between Thompson and Passerin d’Entrèves about the program began in April 1957. RAC, RG 1.2 751 S, box 17, folder 196: University of Turin.

⁴²Interview of K. W. Thompson with Mario Einaudi, July 10, 1957, *ibid.*

⁴³ Bobbio to Buchanan, April 1, 1958, DPCSUT, Vol. A, 1958–1963.

⁴⁴RAC, RG 1.2 751 S, box 17, folder 196: University of Turin;

⁴⁵*Ibid.* Twenty-one scholars were awarded in these years. Oets Kolk Bouwsma, Johan Galtung, and Robert Dahl were among the visiting professors.

⁴⁶RAC, RG 1.2 751 S, box 17, folder 196: University of Turin. See also Maria Teresa Silvestrini, *La Fondazione Luigi Einaudi: Storia di una istituzione culturale* (Torino: Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, 2002).

⁴⁷ Flora Rhind to the Rector Mario Allara, February 4, 1964, DPCSUT, Vol. A, 1964–1967.

⁴⁸ Interview of Passerin d’Entrèves by K. W. Thompson, October 24, 1962. RAC, RG 1.2 751 S, box 17, folder 197: University of Turin.

⁴⁹Interview of Bruno Leoni by Erskine W. McKinley, September 30, 1958. RAC, RG 1.2 751 S, box 17, folder 196: University of Turin.

⁵⁰Luigi Einaudi was asked for his opinion about Giovanni Sartori in Interviews of Mario Einaudi by K. W. Thompson, November 25, 1959, *ibid.*

⁵¹RAC, RG 1.2 100 ES, box 17, folder 113: Parliamentary Government Conference (Villa Serbelloni) 1961–1963; 1965. Correspondence among Gerald Freund, Bobbio, Thompson, Sartori and Passerin d’Entrèves, January–December 1962, DPCSUT, Seminari Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio 1963–1965.

⁵²*Ibid.*; RAC, RG 3.2 900 S, box 87, folder 479: Villa Serbelloni Master fellow meetings on Legal Philosophy, 1964–1966; box 87, folder 480: Villa Serbelloni Master fellow meetings on Legal Positivism, 1959–1962.