ENTANGLEMENTS OF POWER: US-ITALIAN CULTURAL NETWORKS, AGENCY

AND TRANSACTIONS IN THE EARLY COLD WAR

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the informal connections between Italian and American elites in the early Cold War period. It investigates primarily the US-Italian network created throughout the 1950s and early 1960s by two US exchange programmes: the Foreign Leader Program and the Foreign Specialist Program. Such programmes were part of American cultural diplomacy's activities and were devoted to the promotion of mutual understanding and the reinforcement of American soft power. In particular, the US State Department's exchange programmes engaged foreign leaders in all fields and tried to socialise the participants to American political objectives and cultural values.

Rather than looking at these connections and at the processes shaping the exchanges between US-Italian elites as a projection of US power, the thesis aims to offer a new perspective on these relations by exploring the agency of Italian cultural leaders. By focusing on the relational aspects in the US-Italian network, namely on how informal connections shaped and were shaped by the interactions among the participants involved, it brings to light the mechanisms and the negotiations entailed in these processes. Through the adoption of an innovative mixed-method approach combining Social Network Analysis and the analysis of the correspondence between Italian actors and American counterparts, this work explores both structural and ideational aspects, i.e., it tackles the actors' embeddedness and various understandings. In this way, it aims to offer a re-interrogation of the dynamics underpinning the implementation of American cultural diplomacy and the transactions between the elites across the Atlantic.

As this research shows, the complexity of these exchanges resulting from different relational patterns and negotiations hindered a simple socialisation of Italian elites to American values. Rather, it produced different types of engagement (such as mediating, gatekeeping and

indirect involvement), which contributed to shape and change the processes within the network. Documenting and interrogating this, the thesis contributes to unveiling the multidimensional and multilateral processes in the US-Italian network. It also aims to expand the notion of Cold War networks through their conceptualisation as spaces of interaction, allowing for a reconsideration of the role of the receiving end of American cultural diplomacy's activities.

To my parents

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INTRODUCTION

American Cultural Diplomacy and the Italian Case: Summary and Focus

Washington's post-war strategy in Western Europe was oriented towards the containment of Communist forces, the stabilisation and reinforcement of local anti-Communist governments, and economic aid. In the framework of the Cold War ideological battle, the identification of culture as a battleground transformed psychological and cultural operations into a central strategy for the US campaign alongside economic and political tactics. The use of culture and cultural activities became a 'tool' to foster American values and goals. Music, exhibitions, literature, movies and radio broadcasting networks became Washington's 'channels' to tell the world about America after World War II. Foreign publics were encouraged to immerse themselves in the images, tastes and representations of the American lifestyle as well as to adopt values and behaviours that would redefine their perceptions of the United States and their belonging to a Western community. The promotion of 'cultural products, performers and practices, broadly covering the arts but also education and training as a form of directed inter-cultural communication'[1] constituted what is commonly defined as cultural diplomacy. As such, it is considered a distinctive branch of public diplomacy (promoting informational activities to influence foreign public opinion), in which culture is 'used to enable varied forms of communication that project and attract support for ideas, beliefs and values'[2] with the participation of several state and non-state actors.

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[1] Giles Scott-Smith, 'Transatlantic Relations, Soft Power and the Role of US Cultural Diplomacy in Europe', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 24 (2019), 21-41 (p. 23).

[2] Simo Mikkonen, Jari Parkinnen and Giles Scott-Smith, eds., *Entangled East and West. Cultural Diplomacy and Artistic Interaction during the Cold War* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2019), p. 4.

The significance of such cultural means in the US strategy may also be detected through the attention cultural diplomacy activities received in the late 1940's and early 1950s. Following the directives of the Committee on International Information Activities (including CIA members), Washington intensified the effort to organise cultural activities abroad through the creation of the United States Information Agency (USIA) supervising the work of the United States Information Service (USIS) centres abroad and launching an all-embracing battle involving 'information, culture, research, broadcasting, film and cultural exchanges.'[3] An additional sign of the strategic role of these activities – which already targeted Western Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa – is their expansion in 1958 to cover the Soviet Union under the conditions of the 'US-USSR Cultural exchange Agreement.'[4]

In the Cold War context, US cultural diplomacy also relied on the creation of links to foreign groups, from labour unions to cultural and political organisations. The State Department in harmony with several American organisations, such as US philanthropic foundations and American trade unions, implemented a cultural campaign to win the hearts and minds of foreign elites and mobilise them in support of anti-Communism and Atlanticism.[5] Specifically, through the sponsorship of exchange programmes from the end of the 1940s and the promotion of people-to-people contacts in the 1950s, the idea of engaging foreign audiences and elites became the lynchpin of US cultural strategy abroad. Cultural exchange programmes, such as the Foreign Leader (FLP) and Foreign Specialist Program (FSP), and the Fulbright Program, played a vital role in US cultural activities, as they were perceived as part of US national

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[3] Simona Tobia, *Advertising America. The United States Information Service in Italy (1945-1956)* (Milano: LED, 2008), p. 112.
[4] National Archives and Records Administration, International Educational Exchange Service: Annual Reports of Division and Staff Offices, July 1, 1957-June 30, 1958, RG 59, Box. 2.
[5] Robert Anthony Waters and Geert Van Goethem, eds., *American Labor's Global Ambassadors. The International History of the AFL-CIO during the Cold War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Giuliana Gemelli and Roy M. MacLeod, eds., *American Foundations in Europe. Grant-giving Policies, Cultural Diplomacy, and Transatlantic Relations, 1920-1980* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2003).

security. The creation of informal ties were to support the American economic, political and ideological effort to contain Communism and reinforce the Westernisation of foreign publics.[6] These informal connections were to become a preferred means to mobilise local foreign elites and indirectly attempt to mould foreign publics' opinion, giving life to what Oliver Schmidt describes as the 'politics of exchange.'[7] They were launched in 1949 through the cultural schemes for leaders and academic exchanges of the Smith-Mundt Act.[8]

The development of informal connections with leaders abroad rested on the assumption that the projection of US power through cultural means and communication was a way to successfully foster cooperation and transform local leaders into indirect 'ambassadors' of the American cause.[9] State Department records as well as diplomats' accounts have emphasised the belief that cultural diplomacy could become a powerful and subtle instrument to mobilise groups in all fields.[10] In this view, the creation of informal ties between American and foreign elites was to generate networks that would support America's 'informal empire.'[11] Historical accounts have been central both in bringing to light the progressive institutionalisation of

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[6] Helena F. Kinn, 'The Case for Cultural Diplomacy: Engaging Foreign Audiences', *Foreign Affairs*, 82:6 (2003), 15-20. See, also, Robert E. Elder, *The Foreign Leader Program. Operations in the United States* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1974); Henry J. Kellermann, *Cultural Relations as an Instrument of U.S. Foreign Policy. The Educational Exchange Program Between the United States and Germany, 1945-1954* (Department of State, 1978); The United States Advisory Commission on International and Educational Affairs, *A Beacon of Hope: the Exchange-of-Persons Program. A Report (1963)* available at <https://openlibrary.org/books/OL21754148M/Beacon_of_Hope> (Last seen: March 2022).

[7] Oliver Schmidt, 'Small Atlantic World. U.S. Philanthropy and the Expanding International Exchange of Scholars after 1945', in *Culture and International History*, ed. by Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht and Frank Schumacher (New York&Oxford: Berghahn, 2004), pp. 115-133 (p. 120).

[8] Robert E. Elder, *op. cit.;* Liping Bu, 'Educational and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War', *Journal of American Studies*, 33:3 (1999), 393-415.

[9] Molly Bettie, 'Ambassadors Unaware: the Fulbright Program and American Cultural Diplomacy', *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 13:4 (2015), 358-372. See also, Kenneth Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006).

[10] Richard Arndt, *The First Resort of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* (Washington DC: Potomac Books, 2005); Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2003). As pertains US records concerning US cultural diplomacy and indirect ways to influence foreign publics viewed for this research: Library of Congress, Clare Boothe Luce Papers, Country Plan, April 16,1956, USIS—Italy, Box 634; Library of the University of Arkansas, CU collection, Minutes of Meeting: Committee on Leaders and Specialists, May 8-9, 1958, MC 468, Box 215.

[11] Giles Scott-Smith, *Networks of Empire: the US State Department's Foreign Leader Program in the Netherlands, France and Britain, 1950-1970* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008).

American cultural diplomacy, its centrality in the post-war ideological battle, and in revealing the extent of informal contacts amongst American and foreign elites, particularly in Western Europe.

American cultural diplomacy has thus provided a unique opportunity to interrogate the role of culture(s) in shaping Cold War relations between the United States and, primarily, Western European countries. It has also enriched the exploration of cultural operations in various fields, such as music, art, exhibitions and movies, and the way in which cultural programmes attempted to move across the East-West divide.[12] The analysis of exchange programmes has enhanced understanding of the role of individuals and unveiled the contribution of non-state actors, problematising the boundaries, practices and landscape of cultural diplomacy.[13] The longevity of US cultural diplomacy institutions and initiatives – for instance, the United States Information Agency (USIA), abolished only in 1999, the Fulbright Program and the creation of the International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP), still in operation today – also suggests the centrality of these activities within the Cold War American strategy and beyond. An open debate on its nature, limits and outcomes as well as on its evolution in contemporary years shows that interest in this practice is still central and thriving in scholarly interdisciplinary research.[14]

Yet scholars have been divided on a common definition and method of assessing the impact of such activities within the whole of Washington's approach. While Cold War scholarly

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[12] Lisa E. Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold World Era* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010); Andrew J. Wulf, *U.S. International Exhibitions During the Cold War: Winning Hearts and Minds through Cultural Diplomacy* (Lanham: Rowman&Littlefield, 2015); Peter Romijn, Giles Scott-Smith and Joel Segal, eds., *Divided Dreamworlds? The Cultural Cold War in the East and the West* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012); Simo Mikkonen, Jari Parkinnen and Giles Scott-Smith, *op. cit.*

[13] Ien Ang, Yudhishthir Raj Isar and Philip Mar, 'Cultural Diplomacy: Beyond the National Interest?', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 21:4 (2015), 365-381.

[14] See, for instance, Giles Scott-Smith, *Transatlantic Cultural Relations*; Carol Bellamy and Adam Weinberg, 'Educational and Cultural Exchanges to Restore America's Image', *The Washington Quarterly*, 31 (2008), 55-68; Nancy Snow, 'International Exchanges and the U.S. Image', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 616:1 (2008), 198-222.

research highlights that the 'meanings of American culture abroad are often multivalent',[15] such ambivalence has not been resolved. By looking at US cultural activities as part of a broader strategy to win the hearts and minds of Western European publics, scholarly research has been able to identify the centrality of such operations as a means to further the anti-Communist cause and the promotion of US values. Simultaneously, it has recognised the need to explore the varied backgrounds in which such ventures were carried out. As Giles Scott-Smith noted, although it is apparent that the aim of such informal ties is to gain political influence, they cannot be 'easily fine-tuned into political instruments'[16] and the way such an outcome can be achieved depends on the ultimate focus of the programmes and on the participants. Expanding previous conceptualisations of US cultural diplomacy, works on specific US-sponsored enterprises have offered insight into the complex space entailed in the interplay between agents on both sides of the Atlantic within the Cultural Cold War.[17] In so doing, they have advanced a reassessment of cultural exchanges between American and Western European elites through the understanding of local interests and rationale. The exploration of networks and exchanges, however, still lacks a methodological approach which can explore the agency of the recipients of US cultural diplomacy as part of these informal connections. The reduction of these exchanges to individual motives is not sufficient to explain how relations were sustained and shaped transactions: scholarly works have not explored these relational aspects and struggle to unveil the mechanisms of Cold War networks beyond governments' or groups' action. My

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[15] Uta G. Poigner, *Jazz, Rock and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 11. See also, See also, Michael L. Krenn, *Fall-Out Shelters For the Human Spirit: American Art and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill&London: Carolina University Press, 2006); Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency. American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[16] Lawrence T. Caldwell quoted by Giles Scott-Smith, 'Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy', in *The Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, ed. by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor (New York&London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 50-56 (p. 52).

[17] Hugh Wilford, *The CIA, the British Left and the Cold War: Calling the Tune?* (London & New York: Routledge, 2013); Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, *Transmission Impossible. American Journalism As Cultural Diplomacy in Postwar Germany, 1945-55* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999).

thesis addresses this gap in the literature offering a new approach to investigate informal networks and the exchanges among the actors involved.

Drawing on previous research on US cultural diplomacy and on US-European networks in the Cold War, my thesis primarily aims to contribute to the field of Cold War History and American cultural diplomacy as well as to the understanding of US-Italian cultural networks. It picks up the threads of works tackling Cold War informal networks and cultural exchanges, such as the ones by Scott-Smith, Hugh Wilford and Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht,[18] which have shown the significance of US-European informal connections as much as the challenges and struggles characterising such exchanges. These exchanges have also been at the core of works on US cultural diplomacy showing the multifaceted reception of American initiatives. Specifically, these analyses have shown that an examination of the agency of audiences and target groups at the receiving end is necessary.[19]

My study also builds on research concerning US-Italian relations such as Mario Del Pero, Leopoldo Nuti, Alessandro Brogi, Sara Lorenzini and Kaeten Mistry's works,[20] which have assessed the limits of United States' activities in Italy and the ongoing negotiations between American and Italian groups contributing to the comprehension of the developments and perceptions within post-war Italian-American relations as well as to the restoration of

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[18] Giles Scott-Smith, *Networks of Empire*; Hugh Wilford, *The CIA, the British Left and the Cold War*; Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, *Transmission impossible*.

[19] Frank Costigliola, *France and the United States: The Cold Alliance since World War II* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992); Richard Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture since World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997); Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, *Transmission impossible*. A more general reflection on the topic is offered by Stephen Brooks, *Anti-Americanism and the Limits of Public Diplomacy. Winning Hearts and Minds?* (New York&London: Routledge, 2016).

[20] Mario Del Pero, *L'alleato scomodo. Gli USA e la DC negli anni del centrismo*, 1948-1955 (Roma: Carocci, 2001); Leopoldo Nuti, *Gli Stati Uniti e l'apertura a sinistra. L'importanza e i limiti della presenza americana in Italia* (Roma&Bari: Laterza, 1999); Sara Lorenzini, 'Ace in the Hole or Hole in the Pocket? The Italian Mezzogiorno and the Story of a Troubled Transition from Development Model to Development Donor', *Contemporary European History*, 26:3 (2017), 441-463; Alessandro Brogi, *Confronting America: The Cold War between the United States and the Communists in France and Italy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Kaeten Mistry, *The United States, Italy and the Origins of the Cold War. Waging Political Warfare, 1945-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Italian leaders' agency. Fundamental to the elaboration of this thesis are insights provided by Simona Tobia and Paolo Scrivano's research[21] regarding US cultural diplomacy in Italy and role of non-state agents: as demonstrated by their works, the exploration of the US operations in Italy and the examination of US-Italian connections brings to light a far more complicated picture of the relations between American and Italian elites, which transcends the simple pursuit of US foreign policy objectives. This is because of the great variety of Italian groups involved, their different agendas as well as the participation of influential transnational leaders. What remains to be explained is how informal relations allowed for the participation of actors to various degrees and how non-state actors contributed to the construction of such relations. Building on previous research this thesis deals with the potential nested within such relations, rather than concentrating on the effects of these exchanges (on different groups, for instance, or on Italy's political affairs). Specifically, it wishes to examine in detail the informal connections created through US cultural exchange programmes with a focus on Italian cultural leaders and through the lens of networks and relationality.

As a case study, Italy represents a unique opportunity to explore the various motives, shifting contexts and actors that came together in shaping the country's relations with the United States as well as its political and cultural transformation. US overt and covert operations on the ground, with the purpose of reinforcing the Christian Democratic Party (DCP) against the Italian Communist Party (PCI), not only became central to the US operations in Italy but also became a 'model' for future US interventions.[22]

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[21] Simona Tobia, *Advertising America*; Paolo Scrivano, *Building Transatlantic Italy: Architectural Dialogues with Postwar America* (London&New York: Routledge, 2013).
[22] Kaeten Mistry, 'The Case of Political Warfare: Strategy, Organisation and US Involvement in the 1948 Italian Election', *Cold War History*, 6:3 (2006), 301-329; Mario Del Pero, 'The United States and "Psychological Warfare" in Italy, 1948-1955', *Journal of American History*, 87:4 (2001), 1304-1334; David W. Ellwood, 'The 1948 Elections in Italy: A Cold War Propaganda Battle', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television*, 13:1 (1993), 19-33.

The Italian case is also central to the study of cultural diplomacy's efforts, which were part of the strategic approach towards the country. Through the USIS centres and the creation of the exchange programmes, the United States attempted to mobilise Italian elites to pursue its political and ideological goals. Previous research and US documents have shown that cultural diplomacy's activities in Italy evidenced the growing attention devoted by US officials to cultural elites, namely to journalists, writers and editors throughout the 1950s.[23]

My research is thus built around the case studies of three cultural leaders who played a significant role in post-war Italy: the journalist and editor Mario Pannunzio, the writer Elena Croce, and the editor and entrepreneur Fabio Luca Cavazza, who were able to perform a primary role in the local arena through their enterprises (magazines and publishing houses) and who, like Pannunzio, could even play a political role in 1945-1946 as member of the National Council.[24] Chosen from among the selected participants for the US Foreign Leader Program (FLP) and Foreign Specialist Programs (FSP) in the 1950s, these figures are an embodiment of multiple interactions and diverse attitudes and roles of Italian agents in the network. They also are emblematic figures of the liberal-democratic group regarded as influential leaders and ideologically close by the American elites: some of its members were in touch with US representatives even before the end of the war, shared an antitotalitarian view and an Atlanticist stance.[25] Despite the prominence and the primary role of some of these individuals (politicians, writers, academics, etc.), liberals and democrats remained marginal in a public discourse dominated by the Catholics and the Communists. Nevertheless, they remained a primary target of US exchange programmes in the 1950s, as they were believed to be able to mould foreign public opinion, indirectly advancing US objectives. The figures selected for the exchange

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[23] Simona Tobia, *Advertising America.*

[24] Massimo Teodori, *Pannunzio. Dal "Mondo" al partito radicale: vita di un intellettuale del Novecento* (Milano: Mondadori, 2010).

[25] See Massimo Teodori, *Storia dei laici nell'Italia clericale e comunista* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2008).

programmes needed to be seen as being able to play such a central role by the American representatives.

Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio were, to different degrees, connected to the *Associazione Italiana per la Libertà della Cultura* (AILC), the Italian branch of the CIA-funded Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF). The purpose of this organisation was to mobilise non-Communist intellectuals both in the US and in Europe to take a stance against Communism and to embody the ideology of cultural freedom through the creation of publications, seminars and meetings.[26] These figures were also linked to different political movements, cultural and publishing institutions and took part independently in the cultural and political debate that was engendered by both Italian and international political developments. Their different – although connected – networks, together with the variety of interests and transactions within their relationships, constituted a complex sociocultural environment that this thesis introduces as a starting point to both understand the role they came to play in the US-Italian network and the background to the US operations in Italy. As active players in the Italian post-war arena through the creation of various enterprises, these Italian leaders represent interesting and challenging examples to investigate the role of the Italian elites within Cold war cultural networks. Rather than providing a general overview of what Italian elites could or aimed to achieve, this analysis offers an in-depth examination of these three case studies and identifies different modes of engagement within the set of relations analysed.

In considering and comparing each case study, the thesis focuses on the relationships between Italian and American elites. Cavazza, Pannunzio and Croce's agency is examined by looking at their positions within the US-Italian network, the context in which they operated, as well as their interactions with American counterparts.The idea guiding my study is that through

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[26] Giles Scott-Smith and Charlotte A. Lerg, eds., *Campaigning Culture and the Global Cold War. The Journals of the Congress for Cultural Freedom* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

the creation of informal ties between a great number of US actors and groups in the targeted countries – here, Italy – such entanglements fostered cultural flows and interactions linking official US goals to those of different American and local Italian motives, enterprises, and leaders in all fields, reshaping these transactions and connecting them to diverse local networks and cultures. The 'human dimension', namely, the cultural, political, social, and economic aspects constituting the nature of these spaces, as well as the attitudes and interests of the actors involved, needs to be considered here as central to this interplay.[27]

As such, my work has two empirical purposes, namely, to bring to light the different positions and roles in the network as well as to investigate the meanings attached to such connections through a study of the interactions. I embrace an explicitly relational approach centred on networks and interactions. As will be explained in Chapter One, this approach has derived from the realisation that much of the research on US cultural diplomacy in the Cold War adopted a one-sided perspective, providing in-depth examinations of the American rationale, strategies and operationalisation of its goals. Although fundamental to comprehending the centrality of these tools in the ideological battle against the Soviet Union, such an outlook has given little space to explore the counterparts' agency, which is underpinned both by their social connections and their beliefs. Specifically, as pertains the Italian case, very few works have explored in-depth the significance of US cultural diplomacy's enterprises and of the exchange programmes with Italy, exceptions being the works of Tobia and Scrivano mentioned above.[28] A focus on the US exchange programmes and US-Italian informal networks offers a unique opportunity to explore the agency of Italian actors within these informal

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[27] Ludovic Tournès and Giles Scott-Smith, 'A World of Exchanges', in *Global Exchanges. Scholarships and Transnational Circulations in the Modern World*, ed. by Ludovic Tournès and Giles Scott-Smith (New York&Oxford: Berghan, 2018), pp. 1-30 (p. 4-5).
[28] Simona Tobia, *Advertising America*; Simona Tobia, 'Note sulla diplomazia culturale americana in Italia negli anni della Guerra Fredda', *Storiografia*, 11 (2007), 211-240; Paolo Scrivano, *Building Transatlantic Italy.*

structures and not separated from these connections. This approach integrates previous views of Cold War networks, linking communicative interactions with sociocultural processes, showing the limits and possibilities entailed in such relations.

This study aims to contribute to the literature on Cold War history concerning cultural diplomacy and Italian-American relations in two respects: it offers a bottom-up perspective that re-imagines the transactions involved in informal US-Italian ties, therefore placing relations and exchanges at the core of its investigation in order to understand the agency of Italian groups. It also aims to cast light on the dynamics entailed in such interactions by showing how the set of connections in which the Italian actors were embedded enabled or hindered their engagement, contributing to the understanding of the negotiations in Cold War cultural networks.

The US-Italian Network: Context and Significance

The US strategy aimed to bind Western European elites: Italian elites were no exception. Simultaneously, however, Italy became a 'special' case. Due to its strategic position in the Mediterranean Sea as well as its political proximity to Soviet allies, Italy was considered vital from a geopolitical point of view.[29] It was regarded as a 'bridge between the more advanced European countries and the Mediterranean area.'[30] Moreover, the strength of the Italian Communist party (PCI) and the fragility of the new-born Republican institutions – emphasised by the US embassy in Rome – [31] placed it at the core of the American post-war campaign,

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[29] Mario Del Pero and Federico Romero, 'The United States, Italy and the Cold War: Interpreting and Periodising a Contradictory and Complicated Relationship', in *Italy in the International System from Détente to the End of the Cold War. The Underrated Ally*, ed. by Antonio Varsori and Benedetto Zaccaria (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2018), pp. 15-35.

[30] Andrea Mariuzzo, 'American Cultural Diplomacy and Post-war Cultural Reforms: James Bryant Conant's Mission to Italy in 1960', *History of Education*, 45:3 (2016), 352-371 (p. 358).

[31] See in this regard, Kaeten Mistry, *The United States, Italy and the Origins of the Cold War*; Mario Del Pero, 'American Pressures and Their Containment in Italy During the Ambassadorship of Clare Boothe Luce, 1953-1956', *Diplomatic History*, 18:3 (2004), 407-438.

transforming it into a 'testing ground' for political warfare operations, an approach centred on the augmentation and integration of 'diplomatic, economic, military, cultural and covert initiatives,' launched as early as 1947.[32] The mobilisation of Italian elites to pursue an anti-Communist agenda and an economic and cultural modernisation[33] of the country together with American pressures to promote political change has been regarded as illustrative of the limits and possibilities of US covert and overt methods, making Italy into 'a case point' of US strategy.[34]

Cultural and political changes occurring in the Italian arena (and more broadly, in Western and Eastern Europe) favoured the adoption and extension of more sophisticated cultural tools, such as the US exchange programmes, to engage local elites. Sharing the same ultimate US foreign policy objectives, Cold War American cultural diplomacy operations in Italy had the advantage of both 'advertising' America through a wide range of cultural activities, which were adopted, for instance, on the occasion of 1948 and 1953 Italian elections. Cultural diplomacy, and cultural exchanges, constituted a part of the general effort to advertise American goals, creating a tension over the years between psychological and propaganda operations, on the one hand, and cultural diplomacy's activities on the other.[35] Whilst psychological, information and cultural means (both overt and covert) were deployed in Italy up until mid-1950s to support anti-Communist forces, cultural diplomacy's operations gradually became to be seen as a preferential way to foster a political and cultural change.

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[32] W. Scott Lucas and Kaeten Mistry, 'Illusions of Coherence: George Kennan, U.S. Strategy and Political Cold War in the Early Cold War, 1946-50', *Diplomatic History*, 40: 1 (2009), 39-66.

[33] In this regard, see works on USIA and USIS centres: Elisabetta Bini, 'Fotografia e diplomazia culturale. La "United States Information Agency" nella Guerra Fredda', *Contemporanea*, 9:1 (2006), 99-113, Simona Tobia, *Advertising America*.

[34] Alessandro Brogi, 'Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce and the Evolution of America Psychological Warfare in Italy', *Cold War History*, 12:2 (2012), 269-294 (p. 270).

[35] See Richard Arndt, *op. cit.*. For an overview of cultural activities in Italy in the early 1950s, see, for instance: Luigi Bruti Liberati, *Words Words Words: la guerra fredda dell'USIS in Italia*, *1945-1956* (Milano: CUEM, 2004) and Simona Tobia, *Ascoltatori italiani buonasera! Voice of America e l'Italia, 1942-1957* (Milano: Libraccio, 2014).

The literature on US-Italian cultural networks has underlined the significance of US-Italian networks, emphasising the 'indoctrination' of the selected 'cultural mediators.'[36] No study so far has thoroughly explored the case of the Foreign Leader and Foreign Specialist Program in the Italian context, nor investigated how Italian participants or candidates interacted with their interlocutors. The importance of these programmes may be better understood in terms of their targets, which in Italy were primarily labour unionists and intellectuals. On the one hand, the creation of informal ties (also through the exchange programmes) aimed to reduce the attraction of the Communist Party by attempting to reinforce the 'free unions' to reduce support for the PCI where it had the greatest influence (namely, amongst workers);[37] on the other hand, targeting Italian intellectuals aimed to reduce the cultural influence of the Italian Communist Party.[38] The idea of reinforcing cultural groups belonging to the 'Non-Communist Left' (NCL) was a way to foster a cultural and political change in the country and to counteract the influence of the PCI on Italian intellectuals.

Such activities were bolstered after the creation of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953, which managed both information ventures (such as Marshall Plan propaganda) and cultural exchange programmes, in cooperation with the Educational and Cultural Exchange branch of the State Department. The aim was to create 'a community of interests and values.'[39] For the US representatives in Italy, the American effort needed to counter both 'Communist and Fascist' influence, and the labour movement was still considered the principal ground to reduce the PCI's support in Italy. Italian cultural leaders became a primary target of the US campaign and, specifically, of cultural exchange programmes. Such

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[36] Simona Tobia, *Note sulla diplomazia culturale*, p. 222.
[37] Maria Eleonora Guasconi, *L'altra faccia della medaglia. Guerra Psicologica e diplomazia sindacale nelle relazioni Italia-Stati Uniti durante la prima fase della guerra fredda, 1947-1955* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino, 1999).
[38] Alessandro Brogi, *Confronting America*.
[39] Simona Tobia, *Advertising America,* p. 126.

an effort also intersected with the simultaneous development of an intellectual network by the CIA-funded CCF, of which the aforementioned AILC was a part and in which many of the NCL Italian intellectuals participated.

In the Italian arena, however, the construction of a post-war role for cultural elites was highly influenced by the experience of fascism and antifascist resistance as well as the political development of the Italian Republic after the war. In particular, Italy lacked a democratic political tradition to which it could refer for the democratisation of the country: as highlighted by Mariuccia Salvati, the lack of mass socialisation towards democratic institutions led the two main parties, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and the Christian Democratic Party (DCP), to 'build up their respective influences by emphasising the feeling of belonging to a large, integrated institution and to its protective network of relief organisations'. [40] This led *de facto* to Italians showing 'loyalty to democratic institutions (parties, trade unions, etc.) but not the democratic state.'[41] Political and cultural post-war divisions and the peculiar relationship between political parties, the state and cultural elites was not resolved in the following years. The Cold War exacerbated the contrapositions among the principal political forces, increasing the sense of belonging and the faith in either the one or the other, not only within the masses but among Italian elites themselves.

Antifascism, which was at first a main ground of cooperation for political and cultural movements and initially a source of democratisation for the country, soon became a disputed notion between various political forces and cultural elites.[42] In the course of the 1950s, given the intensification of the main parties' battle of ideas and the struggle for a reorganisation of

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[40] Mariuccia Salvati, 'Behind the Cold War: Rethinking the Italian Left, the State and Civil Society in Italy (1940s-1970s)', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 8:4 (2003), 556-577 (p. 562).
[41] *Ibidem.*
[42] See Chiara Morbi, *Domestic Political Culture and US-Italian Relations in the Early Cold War: a New Perspective of Analysis* (University of Birmingham: PhD Dissertation, 2018).

culture, the PCI and the DCP elaborated strategies to engage cultural elites. On the one hand, Italian communists promoted a new approach towards culture and the working class of which the intellectuals would become the main conduit; on the other hand, the Christian Democrats primarily aimed to attract technical and industrial elites. Democracy and freedom became the main contested ground between these two political movements, and 'within the complex anti-Communist world […] essentially moderate ideas found themselves up against much firmer opinions.'[43]

There was also another 'stream' of cultural leaders, who belonged to the liberal, socialist and actionist movements. These elites constitute the core of the participants in the AILC and the main targets of US exchanges programmes. Liberal-democratic elites were positioned strategically, held numerous and prominent relations both at the local level as well as outside Italy, and had the chance to play an important role in giving shape to the representation of the relations between Italy and America among local cultural groups and US organisations. These groups comprised not only a myriad of organisations but also 'a series of political-institutional or economic stances' and a 'wide array of philosophical theories, historiographic leanings, literary streams, tastes and perceptions.'[44] This fragmentation already partly explains the difficulties in finding a common ground for action. A missing coherent and unanimous political reference – which was identified by diverse groups and in different phases, for instance, in the Action Party, Liberal Party, Republican Party, Radical Party and Socialist Party – also hindered the advancement of effective change both in and through the state, giving life to a composite and changing cultural and political space. In particular, the dissolution of the Action Party (PdA) in 1947, gathering liberal-democratic elites (but also libertarians and advocates of an

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[43] Andrea Mariuzzo, *Communism and Anti-Communism in the Early Cold War Italy. Language, Symbols and Myths* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), p. 121.
[44] Roberto Pertici, 'La crisi della cultura liberale in Italia nel primo ventennio repubblicano', *Ventunesimo Secolo*, 4:8 (2005), 121-155 (p. 122).

inter-class and revolutionary movement),[45] left these groups without a potential common ground. The division of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) – PSI becoming closer to the PCI in the first phase and a newly constituted PSLI (Partito Socialista dei Lavoratori Italiani) –[46] also made it more difficult for non-Communist political and cultural groups to elude the influence of the Communist party and the primacy of the Christian Democratic party. The Communist and Catholic stances dominated post-war political life leaving little room for these groups but to conform, reject or reach out to find a common ground. The Vatican and catholic networks also publicly participated in the political campaigns to contain Communist forces and the Catholic Church attempted to 'assert its position as a unique and universal guide towards salvation'[47] and to present Christianity as a true interpretation of the spirit of the nation.[48] Non-communist groups (liberals, social-democrats and many other sub-currents) acted as a depository of secular views and of a clear separation between the State and the Church.[49] More heterogenous positions continued to exist among these groups specifically as pertained laicism and catholic values. In this scenario, Italian cultural elites were prompted to either take a stand or to attempt to build new spaces for manoeuvre, aiming to reform political cultures through a critical stance and to become 'agents of change.'[50] The changes that occurred in Italy in the mid-1950s – such as the economic transformation of the country, the resurgence of Rightist forces, the detachment of the PSI from the PCI,[51] the foundation of the Radical Party – brought about a reconfiguration

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[45] Dino Colafrancesco, 'Pur en finir col Partito d'Azione', *Ventunesimo Secolo*, X (2011), 107-158.

[46] In this regard, see Maria Eleonora Guasconi, *op. cit.*

[47] Andrea Mariuzzo, *Communism and Anti-Communism in Early Cold War Italy*, p. 45.

[48] See Percy Allum, 'Uniformity Undone: Aspects of Catholic Culture in Postwar Italy', in *Culture and Conflict in Postwar Italy. Essays on Mass and Popular Culture,* ed. by Zygmunt G. Barańsky and Robert Lumley (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 79-96.

[49] Guido Verucci, *Cattolicesimo e laicismo nell'Italia contemporanea* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2001); Massimo Teodori, *Storia dei laici nell'Italia clericale e comunista.*

[50] David Ward, 'Intellectuals, Culture and Power in Modern Italy', *The Italianist*, 21:1 (2001), 291-318 (p. 294).

[51] Such an event spurred the development of an autonomous plan for the PSI to mobilise cultural elites with the proliferation of institutes and magazines that contributed to animate the cultural and political debate in the 1950s. See, for instance, Mariamargherita Scotti, *Da sinistra. Intellettuali, Partito Socialista Italiano e organizzazione della cultura, 1953-1960* (Roma: Ediesse, 2011).

of the field in which cultural actors operated that was due to external and internal dynamics. These inputs coming from the political arena prompted a redefinition of the debate on political culture and the repositioning of liberal-democratic actors, with a gradual abandonment of a Third-forcist stance and the elaboration of a reformist and centre-leftist project. As pointed out by Massimo Teodori, such a process became all the more evident after 1960 with the election of John F. Kennedy and became particularly significant within certain sectors of the liberal-democratic area.[52]

As this overview aims to show, it was in a difficult context that US operations took place. The Italian cultural arena was a tangle of diverse political positions, interests and cultural enterprises in a country that was simultaneously embracing an economic and cultural transformation within a polarised political arena. The informal ties created by American organisations did not emerge in a social, political and cultural vacuum: different processes, interactions and meanings were entailed in these transactions. The way intellectuals and cultural leaders operated in the Italian context, the political and cultural exchanges among different groups as well as the complex interconnections of which they were part need to be explored in order to understand the interactions between Italian and American elites.

Key Concepts and Research Questions

The core of this study on the informal ties between Italian-American elites within US Cold War cultural diplomacy exchanges is a re-imagination of the US-Italian network as a field of interactions constantly reproduced by the actors involved. Through an interdisciplinary approach, combining a historical perspective, an exploration of networks through Social Network Analysis (SNA) tools, and an examination of written exchanges between US and

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[52] Massimo Teodori, *Benedetti Americani. Dall'Alleanza Atlantica alla guerra contro il terrorismo* (Milano: Mondadori, 2004), p. 116-117.

Italian leaders, this work aims to explore the agency of individual participants as interactants, namely embedded in relations. Given the relevance of the FLP and FSP within the American cultural scheme (the 'second big post-war program'),[53] the extensiveness of the connections generated through these programmes[54] and the prominence of the figures involved, these programmes offer a unique opportunity to explore the agency of Italian actors in relation to their American interlocutors.

The thesis builds on historical and sociological research on informal exchanges, interrogating the participation of European actors in US cultural networks as well as various degrees of cooperation as 'shaped by the historical circumstances and actors involved'.[55] It simultaneously draws on the literature on relational approaches to networks, used in multiple works in historical research.[56] In so doing, this work aims to explore the processes that shaped such exchanges in order to reveal how the receiving end – that is the Italians – contributed to constructing such relations. The goal is to look at the agency of and relations among these actors in order to examine US cultural diplomacy activities, and, particularly the exchange programmes, as a space for negotiation, rather than merely channels of domination and management of empire.

The main object of my analysis is therefore actors-in-relation, that is, the agency of Italian actors in relational terms. At the core of this examination is a concept of networks not

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[53] Lonnie R. Johnson, 'The Fulbright Program and the Philosophy and Geography of U.S. Exchange Programs Since World War II', in G. Scott-Smith and L. Tournès, eds. , *op. cit.,* pp. 173-183 (p. 174).

[54] According to Robert Elder, 1446 participants from Europe visited the United States between 1956 and 1960 only through the FLP. See *Appendix* in Robert E. Elder, *op. cit.*

[55] Oliver Schmidt, *Civil Empire by Co-Optation: German-American Exchange Programs as Cultural Diplomacy, 1945-1961* (Harvard University: PhD Dissertation, 1999), p. 479.

[56] Among others, Kimmo Elo, 'Geospatial Social Networks of East German Opposition (1975-1989/90)', *Journal of Historical Network Research,* 2:1 (2018), 143–65; Marten Düring, *Verdeckte Netzwerke Im Nationalsozialismus. Berliner Hilfsnetzwerke Für Verfolgte Juden* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Roger V. Gould, 'Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune 1871', *American Sociological Review*, 56 (1991), 716-729. For a general review of the use of relational approaches to history, see: Florian Kerschbaumer and others, *The Power of Networks: Prospects of Historical Network Research* (New York: Routledge, 2020).

as emanation of a single organisation or country, rather as a field of relations developed at the intersection between the micro and the macro and forming a dynamic structure.[57] The participants (nodes) occupy different positions within this set of relations and their relational patterns both enable and limit their actions and roles within such a network.

Key to the exploration of network interactions are notions of culture and power, which entail meaning-making processes and struggles, a myriad of beliefs and attitudes as well as the existence of various positions, the results of which are irreducible to single agents and organisations. In this regard, my thesis also builds on the insights of research on the Cultural Cold War, which has explored the notion of culture in its multiple dimensions: 'a set of norms and beliefs by which a society might define itself;' the 'forms of political culture by which different political systems define their basic values;' and the 'domain of 'high culture', involving 'positions of intellectuals and developments in the arts.'[58]

Through a focus on the exchange programmes and on the interactions between US-Italian elites and the adoption of a relational approach, this work has the purpose of exploring the following research questions:

1. How were the transactions between Italian and American cultural actors made possible/constrained by networks?

2. What do different positions and relational patterns (structural elements) of Italian actors reveal about their potential engagement?

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[57]See James Moody, 'Network Dynamics', in *The Oxford Handbook of Analytical Sociology*, ed. by Peter Hedström and Peter Bearman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 447-473.

[58] Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabbendam, eds., *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), p. 4.

3. How do structural elements emerge in the communication between Italian and American leaders? What type of meanings and strategies were displayed in such interactions?

Conceptual and Methodological framework

The exploration of cultural diplomacy activities and Cold War networks has attracted much attention, particularly among historians, as a way to understand the cultural mechanisms and the agency of the groups involved. This thesis pivots around the idea that it is possible and necessary to look at these relations to understand how actors' engagements differ and the cultural mechanisms entailed in their exchanges. The investigation of US-Italian cultural networks given by this dissertation has the purpose of offering a representative and stimulating example through a new approach.

A major premise of this study is the idea that it is necessary to integrate previous perspectives with a particular conceptualisation of networks. This thesis aims to look at networks as fields of interactions, whose internal dynamics and exchanges are revealing of broader aspects concerning US-Italian relations. This view entails exploring actors-in-relations and networks as dynamic spaces shaping and shaped by all actors involved and relations as enabling/constraining action within such set of relations, defined through and defining the relational engagement of the agents involved.

Combining the theoretical tools offered by relational sociology to explore networks with theoretical concepts outlined by Pierre Bourdieu, this research aims to analyse the underpinnings of the relations between US and Italian elites, considering both structural features and meaning-making processes. Through this approach this work looks at relations and positions, whilst using the concepts of capital and habitus – developed by Bourdieu – to

investigate the agents' attitudes and understandings as well as the symbolic and material aspects defining the structures in which the players are involved. The positions in the network occupied by the players under investigation are not seen as fixed and defining all aspects of their mutual relationships: they are seen as a starting point to reflect on the "potential" of their relational patterns beyond their own motives and objectives. The exploration of different relational patterns does not aim to prove whether or not these leaders were influential. Their selection for the US exchange programmes was based on their prominent position at the local level: we thus know from the outset that they were influential. Rather it has the purpose of exploring the structures by which they were able to be influential and to play different roles and have agency within US-Italian relations. As explained in detail in Chapter Two, agency is understood as part of the relational patterns which constitute it and entailing the interactions and understanding of the actors involved. It means looking at how exchanges in this set of relations were possible.

In order to pursue an exploration of the transactions in the network, this research relies on an integrated approach combining a Social Network Analysis of the relations among US and Italian leaders with the analysis of the letters between Italians and their American counterparts. Through SNA, I observe and examine relational patterns among the actors with a focus on the three case studies selected for this research. SNA offers a great variety of tools to explore relations beyond dyadic exchanges (one-to-one), also looking at 'secondary effects that interactions between alters [other players] play on single relationships'.[59] As such, this exploration has the advantage of looking at different relational processes that come into play within networks, such as the density and the diversity of an actor's neighbourhood (that is, his or her direct connections) as these relate to specific positions.

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[59] Elisa Bellotti, 'Comment on Nick Crossley/1', *Sociologica*, 1 (2010), 1-8 (p. 3).

The qualitative analysis of letters aims to examine micro-level interactions and to reveal the way such relationships are seen by the players involved, what values and interests guided their actions: in other words it delves into how different agents engaged in these exchanges through the mobilisation of different resources and according to their own point of view. The examination of both structural and ideational features will allow me to provide a typology of engagement – hub, gatekeeper and broker – with the purpose of showing similarities and differences among my case studies as well as the relationship between their positionalities and their worldviews.

As such, my thesis wishes to contribute to the field of Cold War history by offering an approach that helps restore the agency of less powerful actors. This new approach not only favours a complex and in-depth analysis of Cold war networks; it also allows for the understanding of agency as a multi-layered and multilateral process, really exploring the significance of informal networks and the potentiality involved within such relations as pertains specifically to the Italian arena. It aims to explain how symbolic power was defined in the network through constant negotiations and transactions as well as different modes of interaction. In particular, it shows how a focus on relations and transactions may reveal hidden aspects of the agency of Italian leaders within such relations. By looking at the strategies and interactions among the agents as well as their participation in multiple networks, it expands the notion of collaborative engagement in US-Italian networks beyond simple co-operation. To this end, it provides an in-depth examination of three case studies allowing for a reconsideration of their role both at the local and transnational levels. Finally, it defines different modes of agency linked to the actors' goals, positions, and understandings, which build in turn into a typology. I present this as a first step towards understanding more fully the Italian actors' agential power

and towards a reconsideration of Cold War informal ties as spaces for multilevel negotiations and interactions.

Case Studies and Sources

My study offers an analysis of three representative case studies among the cultural leaders selected for the FLP and FSP between the 1950s and early 1960s: Mario Pannunzio, editor of the political magazine *Il Mondo*, Elena Croce, writer and editor of the literary magazine *Lo Spettatore Italiano,* and the founder of the publishing house *Il Mulino* Fabio Luca Cavazza. Through their activities, Pannunzio, Croce and Cavazza were central to Italian cultural and political life: *Il Mondo*'s circulation reached 33,000 copies (similar to political weeklies of the time).[60] The intellectual venture of *Il Mulino* (both a magazine and a publishing house) became increasingly important with the creation of a research centre in 1957.[61] *Lo Spettatore Italiano*, just one aspect of the intellectual and journalistic work of Elena Croce,[62] animated intellectual and literary debate in the 1950s.[63]

These figures have been selected for this research for the following reasons: firstly, the prominence given to cultural leaders (prominent media and intellectual figures) in FLP and FSP programmes and the scarce information about Italian cultural leaders' exchanges with American counterparts has played a primary role in selecting these individuals. As stated above, non-Communist elites were the primary target of US cultural programmes in post-war years.

These case studies also represent three different kinds of cultural leaders (editor and journalist, writer and editor, publisher and cultural entrepreneur). Secondly, Cavazza, Croce

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[60] Mario Forno, *Informazione e Potere. Storia del Giornalismo Italiano* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2010), p. 184.
[61] Francesco Bello, 'Fabio Luca Cavazza, the New Frontier and the Opening to the Left in Italy', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 21:4 (2016), 649-669.
[62] See Anna Fava and Alessandra Caputi, 'Elena Croce: cultura militante e difesa dell'ambiente', *La Camera Blu*, 18 (2018), 6-28.
[63] Emanuela Bufacchi, 'Elena Croce e "Lo Spettatore Italiano"', *L'Acropoli*, XI:3 (2010), 276-326.

and Pannunzio's enterprises had great prominence in the local arena (as pointed out in previous literature) and were considered relevant by US leaders on the ground. *Il Mondo*'s closest collaborators had regular contacts with US interlocutors (some even participated in exchange programmes) and Pannunzio was a member of the AILC since its foundation.[64] Documents reveal that Cavazza was selected as early as 1955[65] and took part in Italian-American projects.[66] Finally, Elena Croce collaborated with the Italian-American editor Marguerite Caetani, whose magazine *Botteghe Oscure* was funded by the CCF.[67] In addition, her family was involved in the antifascist resistance and developed contacts with US secret services during the war.[68] Finally, the archival documents, and specifically the correspondence, of these Italian leaders were extensive and well-preserved.

My analysis of the US-Italian network relies on the connections developed by these three figures both in the American and Italian contexts. The identification of such connections has been based on the archival documents concerning their correspondence, their memoirs as well as on previous literature wherever it was not possible to reconstruct their collaborations from the archival data. A full explanation of how this data has been collected and used for this research offered in Chapter Two.

The primary sources on which this work relies have been collected in the US National Archives (specifically the documents relating to the Foreign Leader and Foreign Specialist

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[64] See, for instance: Library of Congress, Clare Boothe Luce papers, US embassy, Box 642; National Archives and Records Administration, Periodic Status Report, FY 1960 – Foreign Leader Program, RG 59, Box 1; Leo Wollemborg, Jr., *Stelle, Strisce e Tricolore. Trent'anni di vicende politiche fra Roma e Washington* (Milano: Mondadori, 1983).

[65] National Archives and Records Administration, Leader Program – June 6,1956, RG 59, Box 1.

[66] Regarding the collaboration with the USIS, see: Andrea Marinello, L'editoria e la United States Information Agency, *Istituto Lombardo di Storia Contemporanea*, available at <http://www.ilscmilano.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/04_marinello.pdf> (Last seen: March 2022). See also documents concerning Bellagio Conference, Cavazza Private Archive.

[67] Lorenzo Salvagni, *In the Gardens of Letters. Marguerite Caetani and the International Literary Review 'Botteghe Oscure'* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina: PhD Dissertation, 2013).

[68] Raimondo Craveri, *La campagna d'Italia e i servizi segreti: La storia dell'ORI: 1943-1945* (Milan: La Pietra, 1980).

Program and the United States Information Service centres in Italy), the Rockefeller Archive Center (general information about US-Italian projects) and Library of Congress (papers related to the US embassy in Rome) in order to collect the necessary information on the implementation of the FLP and FSP in Italy. My analysis is also based on the papers concerning the correspondence of the three case studies held by the Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, the Archivio Elena Croce in the Fondazione Biblioteca Benedetto Croce and, finally, Fabio Luca Cavazza's private archive. A few studies concerning US-Italian relations have relied on this material to explore Cavazza's connections and the interplay between US and Italian political elites.[69] However, no study has investigated the exchanges between Pannunzio, Croce, and their American interlocutors. An in-depth reconstruction of US-Italian interactions, cultural networks, and an extensive use of this archival material for this purpose is part of the originality of this work.

The reconstruction of the Italian-American network centred around these three case studies does not aim to cover the totality of the exchanges between the elites on both sides of the Atlantic nor to consider the entirety of the connections and groups involved. As such, it does not aim to be an account of all of the links between Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio with Italian and American organisations, nor to establish historical 'truths' about these exchanges. Rather, it offers an exploration of 'how' Italian leaders could negotiate their roles in their interaction with American counterparts, beyond the simple analysis of individual motives and interests.

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[69] Umberto Gentiloni Silveri, *L'Italia e la nuova frontiera. State Uniti e centro-sinistra, 1958-1965* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998); Francesco Bello, *Fabio Luca Cavazza, la nuova frontiera e l'apertura a sinistra. Il Mulino nelle relazioni politico-culturali tra Italia e Stati Uniti, 1955-1963* (Napoli: Giannini, 2015); Francesco Bello, *Diplomazia culturale e guerra fredda. Fabio Luca Cavazza dal Mulino al Centrosinistra* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2020).

The boundaries of the network have been determined by both the timespan considered in this research (focusing primarily on the years between the mid-1950s to the early 1960s) and the information available in both historical documents as well as previous research on these three leaders. The network under analysis relies on a selection of Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's interlocutors: this operation determined how many/whom to include in my network. Although this selection was informed by the data available and the criteria of relevance/closest collaboration (as reported in the archival material or previous work on the three case studies' ventures), it inevitably impacts the results of this study. It is worth pointing out that due to the fragmentary data and the creation of a network merging the connections of each of my three case studies, the analysis of the network only aims to highlight some relational features and individual positions within these ties; the measures adopted have the purpose of showing how these ties could shape and were shaped by the participation of the actors in the network. The analysis of the letters is here complementary to the SNA to understand the agency of the three case studies selected as resulting from multiple and multilevel interactions. The process of selecting the letters is also addressed in Chapter Two. All letters were read and analysed in the language in which they were written (Italian or English); however, the Italian letters have been translated in the write-up of the thesis to make my argument accessible to the Anglophone reader. The implications of writing in a second language for the analysis is also discussed in Chapter Two. As previously mentioned, it is not the goal of this work to provide definite results, rather to open up a space for a different interpretation of the exchanges between Italian and American groups by providing a new approach to study the dynamics within Cold War cultural networks.

Thesis Outline

Elaborating on previous studies on US exchange programmes in the early Cold War, this work aims to take emphasis away from the construction and effectiveness of the American soft power and the use of culture as a means within the framework of cultural diplomacy. It places a focus on the receiving end, the heterogeneity of informal networks and the potential entailed in these relations. An overview of previous literature on US cultural diplomacy in Europe and US-EU networks in the Cold War is provided in the first chapter of this thesis: the aim is to highlight the insights and recent developments of Cold War history and the limits and gaps of a static approach to US-EU informal ties. Through discussion of the considerable number of works that have explored culture and cultural relations in the Cold War, I aim to highlight the main perspectives, contributions and shortcomings. In the same way, studies on the Italian case are presented in order to indicate the significance of my case studies as well as the lack of research as pertains specifically to mutual exchanges. The reiterated narrative of US influence in Italian post-war affairs and cultural life will also be analysed in order to show how such an approach has neglected an exploration of the role of Italian actors and Italian cultural and political cultures in these transactions. Finally, I will also show how literature on networks and recent works on transatlantic and transnational relations have advanced an interdisciplinary approach and allowed for an insightful re-imagination of cultural practices, as well as why and how a more dynamic approach is needed to understand the possibilities and limits entailed in Cold War networks.

The theoretical and methodological framework on which my analysis relies is presented in the second chapter of this dissertation. The interdisciplinary approach of my thesis will be addressed here through the introduction of the concepts and methods used in this study. In particular, this chapter will give a brief introduction to the literature and perspectives of Social Network Analysis (SNA) and the main SNA concepts and measures adopted by this study for

the examination of my three case studies. It will also discuss how the exploration of the US-Italian network will be integrated with a qualitative analysis of the correspondence between actors involved. Finally, it will show how this approach will allow this study to explore the agency of Italian elites, its limits, and their contributions, and will discuss the main case studies in detail.

An in-depth investigation of US-Italian links will be provided in Chapter Three. The aim of the chapter is to reveal hidden relational aspects enclosed in the network and to offer an understanding of how the relationships among Italian and American leaders enabled and limited their engagement and their exchanges. Through the visualisation of the network using the tools of Social Network Analysis and a computation of different measures of centrality, homophily, and structural holes, I will explore the potential role that Cavazza, Pannunzio and Croce were able to play in the network with a focus on the relational settings in which they were embedded. In this way, the chapter will provide insights into the dynamics within the networks and the various processes and resources that came into play in defining the agency of the actors through the delineation of three different roles for each of my cases studies (gatekeeper, hub and broker).

The examination of Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's letters will be at the core of Chapter Four of this thesis. With the support of the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo, the correspondence has been coded and analysed to explore how these actors interacted with different American interlocutors. Each case is analysed separately but the chapter also looks at the differences and similarities amongst these three figures showing how their different roles relied on different modes of communication, interests and understandings. The analysis of the text is related to the exploration of the network in Chapter Three, showing the interplay between structural and meaning-making processes in informing Italian leaders' engagement in the US-

Italian network. By bringing to light the agents' attitudes and worldviews, it explores questions related to the symbolic construction of such relations.

The Conclusion of this dissertation is devoted to the summary of the results and contributions of my research. It will elucidate the complex picture emerging from the analysis of non-state actors' agency and the examination of informal ties and the multi-layered as well as multidirectional elements entailed in the cultural processes involved in the post-war exchanges across the Atlantic. It will also illuminate on the significance of my study and the new possibilities of a relational approach for future research.

CHAPTER ONE

US Cultural Diplomacy in The Cold War: Actors, Networks and the Role of the Local

US cultural diplomacy during the Cold War has been at the core of a great number of works giving life to a heated debate over its nature, the role of its actors and its outcomes. This debate has been influenced and enriched by the contributions of several strands within the field of Cold War history as well as from multidisciplinary approaches, which have investigated cultural diplomacy's institutions, actors and networks. Cultural diplomacy in Cold war years is generally defined as a communicative tool to foster mutual understanding and trust[70] with the participation of state (and often also non-state) actors and accepted as such within different fields of study.[71] It relies on the idea that 'art, language and education' are effective and 'significant entry points into a culture.'[72] As argued in this chapter, this definition provides the purpose of cultural diplomacy and explains its goals but does not reflect its collaborative nature. As recent works on cultural diplomacy have highlighted, cultural diplomacy implies reciprocity and engagement, and it needs to be looked at and explored as such.

A key part of cultural diplomacy taken into account by this thesis is the creation and implementation of cultural and educational exchanges, which have the aim of both encouraging foreigners to learn about a specific country but also to foster people-to-people communication.

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[70] Giles Scott-Smith, 'Transatlantic Cultural Relations, Soft Power and the Role of US Cultural Diplomacy in Europe', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 24 (2019), 21-42.

[71] Andrew Murray and Giovanni Alessandro Lamonica, 'From Practice to Concept: Paving the Way to a Theoretical Approach to International Cultural Relations', *Working Paper Series in Public and Cultural Diplomacy*, 2 (2021), 1-20.

[72] Patricia M. Goff, 'Cultural Diplomacy', in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy,* ed. by Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine and Ramesh Thakur, available online at <https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199588862.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199588862-e-24> (Last seen: March 2022). In recent years, the semantic use of this term has changed: see the discussion in Ien Ang, Yudhishthir Raj Isar, Philip Mar, *op. cit.* See also: Lucian Jora, 'New Practices and Trends in Cultural Diplomacy', *Political Science and International Relations*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2013), 43-52; Matea Senkić, *Cultural Diplomacy from the Bottom Up* (Zagreb: IRMO, 2017).

As pertains specifically the field of Cold War history, US cultural diplomacy has been considered a fundamental tool to promote the American way of life, to favour collaboration with foreign groups along Atlanticist and anti-Communist lines as well as to reinforce the role of the United States at the international level.[73]

This chapter aims to offer an overview of the approaches towards US cultural diplomacy, focusing on the main themes in the literature and the perspectives offered by studies in the field of history as well as the implications of adopting models and concepts from works in political science, communication studies and IR. Given the topic of this thesis, it aims to show how exploration of the cultural dimension has enhanced our understanding of the relationship between the United States and Western European countries in multiple ways. Studies on US cultural diplomacy in the Cold War have problematised the relationship between the United States and foreign audiences and groups. They have looked at cultural aspects from multiple perspectives, exploring processes of production/consumption within different contexts. Finally, they have shown the significance of looking at non-state actors on both sides of the Atlantic in order to understand the complexity of cultural exchanges.

Works on US-Italian relations, which will be given prominence in this chapter, show how a focus on the local dimension has allowed for a better understanding of these transactions, looking at different individual motives. However, the literature on Cold War networks has not yet thoroughly investigated the informal ties between Italian and American elites and instead has devoted attention to few isolated Italian actors. As this chapter of my thesis aims to show,

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[73] Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht and Mark C. Donfried, eds., *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy* (New York&Oxford: Berghan, 2010); Mario Mariano, *Defining the Atlantic Community: Culture, Intellectuals, and Policies in the Mid-Twentieth Century* (New York&Abingdon: Routledge, 2010); Anna Fett, 'U.S. People-to-people programs: Cold War Cultural Diplomacy to Conflict Resolution', *Diplomatic history*, 45:4 (2011), 714-742.

there is a need for work that explores these networks as spaces for multiple negotiations and recognises the agency of Italian groups. The remainder of my thesis aims to fill this gap.

As such, this chapter starts with the examination of how culture and power have been explored in the literature and how these trends have informed the study of US cultural diplomacy and US exchange programmes. Secondly, it shows how the study of 'culture' in the Cold War has been expanded in recent years by looking at non-state actors, the development of informal ties and the negotiations among the groups involved, illuminating cultural exchanges in the Cold War by looking beyond states. This includes transatlantic studies, transnationalism, and cultural relations, which show the potential of de-centring the analysis of Cold War transactions and challenging the dominant understanding of US- European relations. However, this overview will also show that there are some limitations to these investigations: specifically, the way exchanges between US and foreign actors have been approached as static and unilateral processes. The underlying assumption is that the establishment of connections (social capital) favours a linear and simple process: such approaches look at ties as 'channels' (a means to promote US messages) or as 'pipes' (flow of resources, such as information and economic aid), rather than multilateral transactions. Specifically, the creation of social capital as the capacity to mobilise networks and acquire symbolic recognition (through informal networks) is regarded as a straightforward process to foster the socialisation of foreign leaders.[74] Moreover, they regard actors as entities with fixed attributes and do not explore the real significance of networks qua networks. This perspective has hindered the understanding of how relations between actors worked. I advance the idea that the exploration of networks and transactions among and between interdependent actors may illuminate the nature of these exchanges, the

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[74] Valérie Aubourg, 'Problems of Transmission: the Atlantic Community and the Successor Generation as Seen by US Philanthropy, 1960s-1970s', in *Atlantic, Euroatlantic, and Europe-America?,* ed. by Giles Scott-Smith and Valérie Aubourg (Paris: Soleb, 2011), 416-443.

engagement of all groups involved and the multi-directional and concurring negotiations, which cannot be fully understood by looking at pre-positioned and unchanging entities. Taking this observation as its starting point, my research in this thesis thus takes a new approach that tackles relationality in the US-Italian network.

1.1 American Cultural Diplomacy: Problematising the Investigation of Culture and Power

This section outlines the conceptual landscape characterising the examination of Cold War transatlantic cultural relations. In particular, it highlights the need to explore questions of culture and power in order to problematise the understanding of American cultural diplomacy and the notion of American soft power in Western Europe. It points towards the main reasons for the elaboration of a dynamic approach to cultural diplomacy to explore exchanges between the institutions and individuals involved in the relations between the United States and West European countries.

The study of culture and US cultural diplomacy in the Cold War brings together multiple perspectives and multidisciplinary approaches. The recognition that the cultural aspects of the Cold War are essential for a thorough understanding of the processes entailed in the construction of the transatlantic relationship, in the ideological confrontation between East and West, and in the promotion of a global role for the United States, for instance, has advanced different conceptualisations of 'culture' and 'power' as well as the relationship between the two. Nonetheless, with its focus on its role in the American strategy to communicate to foreign publics and a series of practices utilised to support the promotion of US ideas, values and cultural products abroad, the exploration of US cultural diplomacy in the Cold War also suffers from the use of vague definitions of culture and power.

Starting from analysis of the historical roots of US public and cultural diplomacy, scholars have emphasised the role of US ideology in defining and constructing the debate on the 'mission' of the United States and in orienting the elaboration of US foreign policy. Investigations concerning the development of US cultural diplomacy in the twentieth century have brought to light the general features of such a tool and its use after World War II. The constitution of cultural activities is presented by looking at their roots, dating back to US propaganda activities through the Committee of Public Information (CPI) during World War I, the exchange programs with Latin American nations in the interwar period, and later, the constitution of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and of the Office of War Information (OWI) in World War II in a linear manner.[75] As these reconstructions aim to show, only with the emergence of the conflict between East and West did these operations become central to the advancement of American strategy abroad. The establishment of public and cultural diplomacy's projects to support such an endeavour became part of a wider operation that aimed to reinforce American political, economic and cultural power.[76]

Placing emphasis on the 1947 campaign and the approval of the 1947 National Security Act, this view has reconstructed the framework for US propaganda operations around the idea of an anti-Communist strategy and the pursuit of freedom as well as fostered a representation of culture as an offensive means for the promotion of US ideals and an appendage of hard power.[77] As pointed out by Scott W. Lucas, the exploration of US cultural operations within such an ideological scheme – primarily retracing US officers' perspectives – has resulted in a

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[75] See, for instance, Daniela Rossini, *Woodrow Wilson and the American Myth in Italy: Culture, Diplomacy, and War Propaganda* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), and Niño A., Montero J.A., ed., *Guerra Fría y propaganda. Estados Unidos y su cruzada cultural en Europa y América Latina* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2012).

[76] Kenneth A. Osgood, 'Hearts and Minds: the Unconventional Cold War', *Cold War Studies*, 4:2 (2002), 85-107.

[77] Among others, Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); W. Scott Lucas, 'Campaigns of Truth: The Psychological Strategy Board and American Ideology, 1951-1953', *The International History Review*, 18:2 (1996), 279-302.

simplistic understanding of culture as an 'extension of diplomacy' and in a 'triumphalist' account of such enterprises.[78]

More broadly, studies on the Cold War exploring culture and cultural exchanges have emphasised the constitution of two opposing cultural, economic, political and ideological fields: the American and the Soviet spheres of influence.[79] The theorisation of an American and Soviet superpower, although correct in pointing out the extremely influential role of these countries in the global arena and in their relationship with either the 'West' or the 'East', has primarily looked at culture as a tool for the reinforcement of American and Soviet supremacy. The use of culture as a means of power also conceals the mechanisms through which it operated, insofar as it is unclear whether culture contributed to the construction of a US sphere of influence or whether it was a simple emanation of US power. The representation of an almost unchallenged ability of the United States to influence the international context leaves little space for negotiations and different types of engagement. In other words, although the study of culture and cultural means has become central to this perspective, it has mainly left unexplored contested and ambiguous cultural processes and exchanges.

Ideas of empire, on the one hand, and of a struggle for hegemony on the part of the US, on the other, have been frequently invoked in the literature concerning specifically US cultural diplomacy after the end of World War II.[80] Scholarly research has mainly offered a static representation of American power, focusing on American government, institutions and organisations concerned with the projection of American cultural power and the construction

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[78] W. Scott Lucas, 'Beyond freedom, beyond control, beyond the Cold War: Approaches to American culture and the State-Private Network', *Intelligence and National Secu*rity, 18:2 (2010), 53-72.

[79] John L. Gaddis, *The Cold War: a New History* (London & New York: Allen Lane, 2006).

[80] For instance, Geir Lundestad, *The Rise and Decline of American "Empire": Power and Its Limits in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Marc Trachtemberg, ed., *Between Empire and Alliance: America and Europe during the Cold War* (New York&Oxford: Rowman&Littlefield, 2003). For a general discussion on this concept, see: Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire. The Reality and Consequences of US Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

of an American cultural hegemony.[81] Within such a paradigm, the examination of US cultural and public diplomacy activities has offered insight into the adoption of cultural tactics and of ideas to influence foreign targets.

Mainstream depictions and understandings of US public and cultural diplomacy practices have been inspired by Joseph Nye's theorisation of 'soft power'. As Nye observes, soft power is attributed to a country's 'ability to manipulate the agenda of political choices.'[82] According to this approach, through information activities and cultural exchanges a state not only circulates a particular representation of its nation and furthers its political objectives but, more generally, alters the perception of power among foreign audiences. The notion of soft power and US attractiveness has also had significant influence within the literature on US cultural diplomacy. Self-promotion (whether considering nation branding, cultural attraction, etc.) has become a central focus and paradigm for understanding Cold War cultural operations, blurring the boundaries between propaganda, public diplomacy and cultural activities.[83] However, as will be discussed below, the study of cultural relations and cultural diplomacy as means of Soft Power has masked the relational aspects entailed in these exchanges, fostering a unilateral perspective. What is needed is to overturn a perspective that sees cultural diplomacy practices only as a means 'to accumulate power' and to move towards an approach that explores

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[81] For instance: Giles Scott-Smith, *The Politics of Apolitical Culture: The Congress for Cultural Freedom, the CIA, and Post-War American Hegemony* (London: Routledge, 2002); Nicholas J. Cull, *op. cit*. For a general discussion, Martina Topić and Cassandra Sciortino, 'Cultural Diplomacy and Cultural Imperialism; A Framework for Analysis', in *Cultural Diplomacy or Cultural Imperialism: European Perspective(s),* ed. by Martina Topić and Siniša Rodin (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 9-49.

[82] Joseph S. Nye, Jr, *Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p. 33. See also Joseph S. Nye, Jr, *The Powers to Lead* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[83] Nancy Snow, 'US Public Diplomacy: Its History, Problems, and Promise', in *Readings in Propaganda: New and Classic Essays*, ed. by Garth Jewett and Victoria O'Donnell (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2006), pp. 225-241; Hwajung Kim, 'Bridging the Theoretical Gap Between Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy', *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, 15:2 (2017), 293-326; Eytan Gilboa, 'Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy', *Annals AAPSS*, 616 (2008), 55-77.

the complex processes (symbolic and material) in relations. This is necessary to understand mutual constitutive exchanges in Cold War diplomacy's networks.

1.1.1 Cultural exchanges as a one-way process

A focus on US soft power and on the pursuit of US hegemony has found particular interest in scholarly research specifically concerned with the creation of US institutions for the socialisation of foreign audiences and mobilisation of foreign elites. The promotion and projection of US power as such stresses the creation of apparatuses and the involvement of actors in the reproduction of an established order. According to Nye, soft power may be linked to public diplomacy (and cultural diplomacy as part of it) specifically for the very nature of these government-led cultural activities, which deal with strategic communication and the development of relationships.[84] Different interpretations and conceptualisations of the 'cultural dimensions' of soft power and its relation to foreign policy tools have ranged from the adoption of all tools except military force to soft power being a 'conduit for behavioural influence and attitudinal change.'[85] In the context of the Cold War, cultural diplomacy has been identified as a key instrument to enhance US attractiveness and culture understood as a resource to win the ideological war against the Soviet Union and for this reason directly related to soft power. Although not all activities within the sphere of public and cultural diplomacy are received in the same way by foreign publics and targeted groups as well as do not necessarily foster trust and understanding, they are assumed to have the possibility to do so. Different perspectives on cultural diplomacy still co-exist, which tackle various features of such a diplomatic tool: within the field of diplomatic history, cultural studies and communication studies, the main focus has

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[84] Joseph S. Nye, Jr, *Soft Power. The Means to Success*.
[85] Vera Exnerova, 'Introducing Transnationalism Studies to the Field of Public Diplomacy', *The Journal of International Communication*, 23:2 (2017), 186-199.

been given to the primacy of national interests in giving shape to cultural diplomacy's activities.[86] Research on cultural diplomacy and international relations has also offered different theoretical approaches linking this practice to national security (de facto subordinating cultural activities to a country's material interests and strategic goals) and exploring its potential to foster cooperation and the co-optation of several non-state actors at a transnational level.[87] In order to investigate the processes entailed in cultural diplomacy's activities scholars have also started to look at identities and norms in shaping these exchanges.[88]

Similar strands and understandings may be also observed when looking at the literature on the Cold War and, particularly, the evolution of US cultural diplomacy. The study of institutional aspects of US Cold War cultural diplomacy have been primarily concerned with the organisation and implementation of such activities, bringing to light the actors' rationale in terms of ideological assumptions and strategic approach as well as the evolution of an architecture of power. Scholars have looked in depth at the sophisticated system devoted to the creation of American hegemony and the objectives of the US administration,[89] and to the globalisation of US efforts throughout the 1950s and 1960s.[90] These works have provided a

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[86] H.K. Finn, *op. cit.*; Arndt, *op. cit.*; Cynthia P. Schneider, 'Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy that Works, The New Public Diplomacy', in *The New Public Diplomacy. Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations,* ed. by Jan Melissen (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005); Marta Ryniejska-Kiełdanowicz, *Cultural Diplomacy as a Form of International Communication*, available online at <http://archive.interarts.net/descargas/interarts642.pdf> (Last seen: March 2022).

[87] Joseph Nye, *The Means to Success*; Carol Atkinson, 'Does Soft Power Matter? A Comparative Analysis of Student Exchange Programs 1980-2006', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 6 (2006), 1-22; Nina Gorenc, 'Public Diplomacy As an Instrument of US Foreign and Security Policy', *Teorija in Praksa*, 56:3 (2019), 911-929. For a general review: Anna Umińska-Woroniecka, 'Cultural Diplomacy in International Relations. Theory and Studies on Diplomacy', *Actual Problems of International Relations,* 127 (2016), 4-19.

[88] Rhonda S. Zaharna, *Battles to Bridges. U.S. Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy After 9/11* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), esp. p. 115-133; Yudhishthir Raj Isar and Anna Triandafyllidou, 'Introduction to This Special Issue. Cultural Diplomacy: What Role for Cities and Civil Society Actors?', *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 34 (2020), 393-402. See also David Clarke, 'Cultural Diplomacy', *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of International Studies,* available at <https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-543> (Last Seen: March 2022).

[89] For instance, Richard Arndt, *op. cit.*; Daniela Rossini, *op. cit.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[90] Odd A. Wedstad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For a more general account of how US ideological motives and campaigns,

thorough account of the top-down construction of the US domestic public sphere and of the projection of a particular representation of America abroad.

In this view, cultural diplomacy has been regarded as a simple endeavour to build a specific audience and has been linked to processes of Americanisation and Westernisation. Americanisation as a phenomenon, for instance, although lacking a univocal definition, has been referred to by and large as a way to promote 'artifacts that were regarded as typical for American culture and society, including consumer products, high living standards, and the advantages of a free market economy', especially as pertains the Cold War years.[91] The scholarship looking at processes of Americanisation has often run up against the question of how to interpret the role of the recipients in order to avoid simplistic and one-dimensional conceptualisations of these dynamics.[92] Historical and political science research, for instance, has been conducted with the purpose of investigating elements of persuasion (transmission and acculturation) aimed to enhance US power. Particular attention has been devoted to cultural transfer, especially in form of 'cultural imperialism' as cultural domination or 'expansion of consumer capitalism.'[93] Processes of Americanisation have been explored, among others, by Victoria De Grazia in relation to the rise of a mass-consumption economy in Western Europe,[94] whilst other studies have stressed the importance of the Marshall Plan as an instrument of modernisation (and reorganisation of) European societies and economies.[95]

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see Melvin P. Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind. The United States, the Soviet Union and the Cold War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007).

[91] Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, 'Shame on US? Academics, Cultural Transfer, and the Cold War. A Critical Review', *Diplomatic History*, 24:3 (2000), 465-494 (p. 469).

[92] Richard Maltby, 'The Americanisation of the World', in *Hollywood Abroad: Audiences and Cultural Exchanges*, ed. by Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby (London: British Film Insitute Publishing, 2004), pp. 1-20.

[93] Jessica C.E. Gienow Hecht, *Shame on U.S.*; Richard Kuisel, 'Debating Americanization: the Case of France', in *Global America? The Cultural Consequences of Globalization,* ed. by Ulrich Beck and Rainer Winter (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), pp. 95-113.

[94] Victoria De Grazia, *America's Advance to Twentieth-century Europe (*Cambridge&London: Belknap, 2005). See also Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology and European Users* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009).

[95] Anthony Carew, 'The Politics of Productivity and the Politics of Anti-Communism: American and European Labour in the Cold War', *Intelligence and National Security*, 18:2 (2003), 73-91. For an overview of the concept

Similarly, studies on the Italian case have explored the 'export' of the American economic and cultural model to the Mediterranean country: great attention has been devoted to the homogenising processes linked to the Americanisation of tastes, consumerism and values.[96] Culture and values are often represented as transferable means. Scholars have also examined the impact of American aid in Italian economic and political stabilisation, alongside the introduction of American goods as means of economic and cultural attraction and, finally, the exploration of the Italian imaginary about America.[97] As pertains the process of American cultural diplomacy, for instance, research has looked at the role of mass media and the export of American movies, magazines and comics as means of cultural transmission and Americanisation of the Italian public.[98] Looking at these operations as a part of an Americanisation process, this stream of the literature has been primarily concerned with the export of American goods as material symbols of economic wealth and modernity, as well as with the spread of ideas through radio broadcasts, movies and magazines.[99]

The dissemination of US values and messages and on the institutional and organisational aspects of these developments have also been at the core of studies on US

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of 'development' and its global reception, see also Sara Lorenzini, *Global Development: a Cold War History* (Princeton&Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019).

[96] Elisabetta Bini and Elisabetta Vezzosi, 'Genere, consumi, comportamenti negli anni Cinquanta: Italia e Stati Uniti a confronto', *Italia Contemporanea*, 224 (2001), 389-411; Stephen Gundle and Marco Guani, 'L'Americanizzazione del quotidiano. Televisione e consumismo negli anni Cinquanta', *Quaderni Storici*, 21:62 (1986), 561-594; Emanuela Scarpellini, 'Le reazioni alla diffusione dell'American Way of Life nell'Italia del miracolo economico', in *Antiamericanismo in Italia e in Europa nel secondo dopoguerra,* ed. by Piero Craveri and Gaetano Quagliariello (Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino, 2004), 353-367.

[97] Among others, James Miller, *The United States and Italy, 1940-1950: The Politics and Diplomacy of Stabilisation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); David W. Ellwood, 'The Propaganda of the Marshall Plan in Italy and the Cold War Context', *Intelligence and National Security,* 18:2 (2003), 225-236; Pier Paolo D'Attorre, *op. cit.*

[98] See, for instance, Silvia Cassamagnaghi, *Immagini dell'America: mass media e modelli femminili nell'Italia del Secondo dopoguerra,1945-1960* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2007); Stefano Cambi, *Diplomazia di celluloide: Hollywood dalla Seconda guerra mondiale alla Guerra Fredda* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2014); Ferdinando Fasce and Elisabetta Bini, 'Irresistible Empire or Innocents Abroad? American Advertising Agencies in post-war Italy, 1950s-1970s', *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 7:1 (2015), 7-30.

[99] Giorgio Spini, Gian Giacomo Migone, and Massimo Teodori, eds., *Italia e America dalla Grande guerra ad oggi* (Padova: Marsilio, 1976).

cultural activities. Research on US cultural operations in the 1950s has stressed the increasing importance of cultural campaigns in the crusade against the Soviet Union and in the democratisation processes, symbolised by a proliferation of activities in the cultural realm.[100] It has also stressed the importance of cultural activities through a coordinated system (covert and overt) and the primary role of the United States Information Agency (USIA) through which cultural projects became part of an all-encompassing effort to win hearts and minds of foreign audiences.[101]

In this regard, Kenneth Osgood's work has effectively shown the multifarious construction of the American global battle against the Soviet Union among different US organisations stemming from adherence to the principle of a 'total' war against the Soviet counterpart.[102] His study has thoroughly analysed how cultural and information operations to fight communism became the heart of American strategy and has brought to light how cultural activities, exchange programmes as well as 'person-to-person' contacts were expanded, generating a complex interaction within and between the national and international levels. Nonetheless, this representation of US cultural campaigns as an all-encompassing effort tends to homogenise the composite nature of these operations and obscures the receivers' role in shaping such practices, especially as pertains direct contacts across the Atlantic.

Previous works have not entirely overlooked this dimension. The problematisation of how US messages were received and how different perceptions and interests come into play has been offered, for instance, by focusing on the reception of US goods and images of America,

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[100] For instance: Laura Belmonte, *Selling the American Way. U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Frank Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938-50* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Wilson P. Dizard., Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the U.S. Information Agency* (Boulder CT: Lynne Rienner, 2007); Reinhild Kreis, 'Nach der "Amerikanischen Kulturoffensive". Die amerikanische Reeducation-Politik in der Langzeitperspektive', in *Die amerikanische Reeducation-Politik nach 1945*, ed. by Katharina Gerund and Paul Heike (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), pp. 141-160. To look at the American perspective: Laura Belmonte, *op. cit.*
[101] Nicholas Cull, *op. cit.*
[102] Kenneth Osgood, *A Total Cold War.*

or by the exploration of the interaction between US and local groups. These studies have suggested new approaches to the investigation of culture in the US-European relationship, capturing its fluidity and its heterogeneity.[103] Furthermore, these publications have called attention to the interactions, hybrid transformations, and translations that flows generate.[104] The idea of transatlantic exchanges and of different national receptions at the heart of this stream of the literature has challenged the perception of a one-way cultural transmission and has revealed a more complex set of cultural processes between the United States and Western Europe. American values and goods, mass and high culture, in this view, are part of mechanisms of diffusion for the constitution of American cultural hegemony.

1.1.2 New Approaches from Below: Cultural Exchanges and Local Contexts

Culture and cultural activities are often regarded as a means of US foreign and security policy to gain influence within the Western sphere. Consequently, a restrictive definition and representation of the role of different publics in this process is offered: by embracing a top-down approach, the literature on public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy reflects the mechanisms at the elite level, but does not take into account the role of different cultures and ideologies within foreign societies in these exchanges. As Belmonte and Osgood anticipated,[105] the investigation of cultural diplomacy and the programmes to mobilise domestic and foreign leaders may offer the opportunity to go further and to study power relations through a more complex and multidimensional analysis of the exchanges between Europeans and Americans. Conceptualisations of 'culture' as a 'fabric' of meanings and a 'signifying system that is

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[103] See, for instance, Richard Kuisel, 'Debating Americanization', in Ulrich Beck and Rainer Winter, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-113.
[104] Thomas Risse-Kappen, 'Ideas Do Not Float Freely: Transnational Coalitions, Domestic Structures, and the End of the Cold War', *International Organization*, 48:2 (1994), 185-214.
[105] Laura Belmonte, *op. cit.*; Kenneth Osgood, *op. cit.*

constantly reproduced and negotiated in relations by the society as a whole'[106] have allowed a rethinking of processes of cultural diffusion as more than just a unilateral transfer.

These new approaches have reimagined the role of the receiving end of American interventions. Richard Pell's work on US-European relations, for instance, has provided an exploration of these relationships by looking at the 'transatlantic' flows from both sides of the Atlantic, specifically as pertains to mass culture (primarily referring to processes of Americanisation and anti-Americanism), representations of America and Europe and contributions to a transatlantic culture.[107] His book, published in 1991, identifies some elements of the ambiguous reception of US culture among European publics, configuring itself as a representative study of the domestication and hybridisation of US goods and messages in different contexts. In the same way, works by Reinhold Wagnleiter, Frank Costigliola and Alexander Stephan have attempted to capture the 'limits' of Americanisation and have illustrated, through an analysis of different case studies, the possibility for resistance and change.[108]

This perspective has also allowed scholars to challenge the view of a cultural flow coming from America. As pertains the Italian case, scholars have reimagined the impact of Americanisation on the Italian audience as non-linear, noting the importance of taking into consideration class, gender, geographical dissimilarities (such as North/South) as well as the influence of communist counterpropaganda[109] and Catholic conservatism.[110] In other words,

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[106] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 144.

[107] Richard Pells, *op. cit*.

[108] Frank Costilgliola, *op. cit*; Reinhold Wagnleiter, *Coca-Colonization in the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States and Austria after the Second World War* (Chapel Hill&London: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Alexander Stephan, ed., *The Americanization of Europe. Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism after 1945* (New York&Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006).

[109] Andrea, Guiso, 'Antiamericanismo e mobilitazione di massa. Il PCI negli anni della Guerra Fredda', in *Antiamericanismo in Italia e in Europa nel secondo dopoguerra,* ed. by Piero Craveri and Gaetano Quagliariello (Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino, 2004), pp. 149-194; Alessadro Brogi, *Confronting America*.

[110] Santi Fedele, 'In un'Italia "gaudente e volgare". Gli Intellettuali e la Grande Trasformazione', *Humanities*, III:6 (2014), 60-72; Stephen Gundle, 'Cultura di Massa e modernizzazione. Vie Nuove e Famiglia Cristiana dalla

this view advances the idea that American messages have been subjected, at times, to a disjuncture from their place of origin or to a complete conversion of their meaning. As suggested by Philipp Gassert, when investigating such cultural processes, it is also necessary to look at the shifts in the symbolic representations of America and transformations 'from below.'[111]

This approach to cultural exchanges also calls for a re-conceptualisation of the ways in which cultural flows are made possible and the agency of the groups involved. If culture is something permeable and cultural flows have constituted a transatlantic dynamic process, then scholarly research also needs to explore the constitution of such a space of exchanges, both figuratively and materially. Scholarly research in recent years has offered numerous accounts concerning interpenetration of both sides of the Atlantic, which historicise such a phenomenon and recognise a more active role for the European audiences and elites.[112] Specifically, the theorisation of Westernisation processes alongside (or overlapping with processes of Americanisation) has constituted a valuable framework to investigate the emergence of an US-led community of shared values, stressing the commonalities between Western European and American states and aspects of cooperation and resistance.[113] This perspective has moved from a focus on popular culture to the study of political values and European elites. It has the advantage of looking at US-European relations in a broader historical and geographical

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Guerra Fredda alla società dei consumi', in Pier Paolo D'Attorre, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 235-268; Jessica L. Harris, 'Noi Donne and Famiglia Cristiana: Communists, Catholics, and American Female Culture in Cold War Italy', *Carte Italiane*, 2:11 (2017), 93-114.

[111] Philipp Gassert, 'The Spectre of Americanization: Western Europe in the American Century', in *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History*, ed. by Dan Stone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 182-200 (p. 190).

[112] Mary Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century: Europe and America, 1890-2010* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[113] For a brief overview of the historiographic debate on this concept, see Volker R. Berghahn, 'The Debate on "Americanization" Among Economic and Cultural Historians', *Cold War History*, 10:1 (2010), 107-130; Rob Kroes and Robert W. Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago&London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005). Finally, see also Neil Campbell, Jude Davies, and George McKay, eds., *Issues in Americanisation and Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburg University Press, 2004).

perspective, examining cultural flows moving back and forth between the new and old continent.[114]

With this in mind, the study of transatlantic relations has stressed the creation of an Atlantic community involving negotiations among European and American actors. Mechanisms of Westernisation implied the participation of all nations involved and of a great number of players (state and non-state actors), particularly in the years between the 1940s and the 1970s.[115] Such a view has opened up a reconsideration of US-European relations by emphasising the existence of simultaneous cultural processes, although considering Americanisation the predominant one.[116] In this regard, an original contribution on the relationship between the United States and Western Europe has been offered by Geir Lundestad's theorisation of the post-war order as an 'empire by invitation.'[117] The author focuses on the cooperative aspects that characterised the interplay between the two sides of the Atlantic, simultaneously investigating the reasons for the strength of US power, the rationale behind US force and the response of Western Europe. His analysis is a detailed account of the military, ideological and economic features of US supremacy also interpreting the success of American intervention as a consequence of its cultural and ideological attractiveness: European states required economic assistance, military and political cooperation as a way to direct US attention towards the 'old' world. Washington's 'irresistible' force is presented as the motor of European action. Lundestad's study illuminates the importance of interrogating the

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[114] See Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 1999).

[115] Holger Nehring, 'A New Paradigm for Interpreting West European History in a Cold War Context', *Cold War History*, 4:2 (2004), 175-191.

[116] Julia Angster, '"Safe by Democracy": American Hegemony and the "Westernization" of West German Labor', *American Studies*, 46:4 (2001), 557-572; George Ritzer and Todd Stillmann,'Assessing McDonaldization, Americanization and Globalization', in *Global America? The Cultural Consequences of Globalization*, ed. by Ulrich Beck, Natan Szaider and Rainer Winter (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), pp. 30-48.

[117] Geir Lundestad, *The United States and Western Europe since 1945: from 'Empire' by Invitation to the Transatlantic Drift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

respondents' agency but still entails a static representation of European-American power relations. One major drawback of this approach is the difficulty of relying on a US paradigm to interrogate different streams of US influence (economic, cultural, political) as well as their interpenetration, and the problem of investigating a multiplicity of responses and understandings at various levels (regional, national but also individual) over time. More than anything, such an interpretation of Europeans' action – within the same representation of transatlantic power relations – overlooks the contribution of non-state actors, i.e., cultural relations and the multidimensional nature of transatlantic exchanges.

As mentioned, dissimilarities among countries and organisations at the receiving end have not been neglected entirely; however, interactions among local groups have rarely been explored in depth. A number of scholars have advanced a new approach towards bilateral relations, relying on multi-archival and multi-language research and on the investigation of reciprocal perceptions. This rich set of studies have primarily contributed to a re-examination of the political and diplomatic arenas and to a re-imagination of the bargaining among American, Soviet as well as European and non-European groups (and also between the East and the West) at various levels. In contrast to a view that tends to conflate cultural and political exchange, two separate spheres of influence, this research has demonstrated the importance of understanding how international, domestic as well as multidirectional influences intersect in shaping American and local actors' relations, complicating views of US power. The search for a more complex representation of political, military and diplomatic effort, however, has not been limited to the European arena: the fascinating books by Paul Kramer on US-Philippines' relations and Mark Bradley's analysis of US-Vietnam relations at the beginning of the twentieth century have questioned previous interpretations which privileged the point of view of US

policymakers and have shown how representations of the other and racial perceptions shaped the interactions on each side and informed US action.[118]

The role of context and political culture has also been investigated in studies concerning operations on the ground, offering a reconsideration of US campaigns through the examination of local responses and dynamics. More specifically, new archival evidence has been determinant in illuminating the trajectories of power, which include domestic interactions between non-state organisations. Domber's work on Solidarnosc and William Hitchcock's analysis of US-French relations have investigated the role of goals and perceptions (and the influence of external entities such as the Vatican in the Polish case) as well as the ability of local actors to 'direct' American support.[119] Works on the participation of cultural actors, such as studies by Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht and Michael Hochgeschwender, have offered significant evidence for revising the paradigm of cultural transmission.[120] Gienow-Hecht shows that despite the asymmetry of power between the US actors and the German ones after WWII, the creation and management of the magazine *Neue Zeitung* was not always and not only a representation of the American perspective but was subjected to negotiations due the German contributors' views. In particular, her work shows that when research moves away from the analysis of US state and power and looks at the agency of individuals as well as specific enterprises, it is possible to offer a composite and less static representation of both power relations and culture.[121] This idea is also embraced by Hochschwender's account of the

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[118] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Mark P. Bradley, *Imagining Vietnam and America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919-1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

[119] Gregory F. Domber, *Empowering Revolution: America, Poland and the End of the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); William I. Hitchcock, *France Restored: Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership in Europe, 1944-1954* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

[120] Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, *Transmission Impossible*; Michael Hochgeschwender, *Freiheit in der Offensive? Der Kongress für Kulturelle Freiheit und die Deutschen* (München: Oldenburg, 1998).

[121] In this regard, see also: Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, 'What Bandwagon? Diplomatic History Today', *The Journal of American History*, 95:4 (2009), 1083-1086.

magazine *Der Monat*, which challenges a straightforward cultural consensus built under the guidance and support of US actors by recognising the indispensable role played by West German emigres and local groups.[122]

Similarly, the Italian case has been explored by looking at American operations on the ground and the interactions between American and Italian leaders. In this regard, Brogi's in-depth inquiry into the Italian cultural and political background reveals how the domestic structure and post-war debate allowed for a negotiation between Italian and American groups.[123] In addition, the role of local debates in shaping US strategies has been offered by Brogi's 2011 comparative study on the Italian and French cases, which has shown that local political and cultural environments as well as the interplay between local and international arenas are a primary ground for casting light on the ongoing influences between the domestic, international and bilateral relations.

US cultural and intelligence operations in Italy have also been explored by looking at the interplay between US and Italian groups on the ground, shedding light on how political culture and diverse perceptions influenced such interactions.[124] More complex representations of the interactions between Italian and American leaders on the ground have been offered by Kaeten Mistry's book[125] and Mario Del Pero's research.[126] The former has highlighted the role of prominent Italian actors in shaping US perceptions. Del Pero has explored the limitations to

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[122] See also Michael Hochgeschwender, 'The Cultural Front of the Cold War: the Congress for Cultural Freedom as an Experiment in Transnational Warfare', *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, 1 (2003), 2-25. For a thorough analysis of CCF' activities and the construction of US hegemony and Western community, see also: Giles Scott-Smith, *The Politics of Apolitical Culture.*

[123] Alessandro Brogi, *Confronting America.*

[124] Federico Romero, *The United States and the European Trade Union Movement, 1944-1951* (Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press, 1992); David W. Ellwood, *The 1948 Elections in Italy*; Mario Del Pero, 'Containing Containment: Rethinking Italy's Experience during the Cold War', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 8:4 (2003), 532-555. Robert Ventresca, *From Fascism to Democracy. Culture and Politics in the Italian Election of 1948* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004).

[125] Kaeten Mistry, *The United States, Italy and the Origins of the Cold War.*

[126] Mario Del Pero*, L'alleato scomodo. Gli USA e la DC negli anni del centrismo*, *1948-1955* (Roma: Carocci, 2001).

US operations on the ground by focusing on US actors' beliefs and their interactions with local groups.[127]

Finally, as pertains the United States Information Agency's activities *in loco*, the analysis of the Italian case has offered insight into the role of the political and cultural environment in shaping US operations.[128] Exploring US public and cultural diplomacy's campaign for the Italian public, Simona Tobia has illuminated the evolution and limits of the American cultural strategy and tactics on the ground.[129] Extremely relevant is her accentuation of the part played by the American information centres (as part of USIA) in Italy, not only as channels of cultural transmission but also as hubs for person-to-person contacts with local leaders, suggesting the creation of spaces for negotiations beyond the goals and management of American officers.[130] As such, this analysis of US cultural diplomacy in Italy challenges previous representations of a transformation of Italian cultural leaders into American brokers;[131] however, relying on mostly US sources, Tobia does not explore the agency of Italian actors in depth.

If, on the one hand, this research has demonstrated the need to look at various specific cases and at flows stemming from both sides of the Atlantic, it has, on the other hand, raised the issue of how to evaluate these two-way flows. The focus on groups' ideological attitudes, interests and power relations have raised compelling issues regarding how power, culture and agency may be explored. As pertains specifically the realm of US cold war cultural activities,

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[127] See also Elena Aga Rossi, 'De Gasperi e la scelta di campo', *Ventunesimo Secolo*, 6:12 (2007), 13-39; Barbara Taverni, 'For Italy in a Changing World: the Political Apogee of Alcide De Gasperi, 1948-1954', *Modern Italy*, 14:4 (2009), 459-471.

[128] Mario Del Pero, 'American Pressures and Their Containment in Italy During the Ambassadorship of Clare Boothe Luce, 1953-1956', *Diplomatic History*, 18:3 (2004), 407-438 (p. 410-11); Mario Del Pero, *Containing Containment*.

[129] Simona Tobia, *Advertising America.*

[130] See also: Sara D'Agati, *The United States Information Agency and Italy during the Johnson Presidency, 1963-1969* (University of Cambrideg. PhD Dissertation, 2017); Leo J. Wollemborg, Jr., *op. cit.*

[131] David Forgacs, *Italian Culture in the Industrial Era, 1880-1980: Cultural Industries, Politics, and the Public* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

attention has been paid to elements of reciprocal influence, although a lack of a clear method to tackle the outcomes of such ventures has been pointed out as a 'dangerous gap.'[132] Given the difficulty in assessing the effects of cultural operations, scholars looking at cultural processes of Americanisation and Westernisation have often investigated American cultural operations involved in such exchanges through the eyes of US officers and their assessment of success or with the adoption, refusal or cooperation along American lines.[133] As noted by Mary Nolan and Giovanni Bernardini,[134] the main drawback of looking at cultural exchanges and the agency of European actors within the framework of Americanisation and Westernisation, is that the agency of individuals, institutions and nations as part of power relations is overlooked. They tend to limit receiving groups' agency within a rigid paradigm of cooperation, adaptation and resistance, rather than considering the multiplicity of negotiation, actors and meanings involved.[135] The existence of 'timeless' Western values and an unproblematic view of anti-communism is assumed, rather than explained.

As pertains specifically US cultural operations in Western Europe in the Cold War and the conceptualisation of a common understanding of power and agency, an approach that presents the US as the dominant actor and Europeans as receivers systematically excludes the

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[132] Linda Risso, 'Radio Wars: Broadcasting in the Cold War', *Cold War History*, 13:2 (2013), 145-152 (p. 149). See also: Detlef Junker, 'Politics, Security, Economics, Culture and Society', in *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945-1968, Vol. I,* ed. by Detlef Junker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-24.

[133] Alexander Stephan, *op. cit.*

[134] Mary Nolan, 'Americanization or Westernization?', *GHI Institute Conference* (1999), available online at < http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/ebook/p/2005/ghi_12/www.ghi-dc.org/conpotweb/westernpapers/nolan.pdf> (Last seen: March 2021); Giovanni Bernardini, 'Westernization vs. Americanization After World War II: Still a Debate Issue? An Overview of the Historiography Issue over Shapes and Times of US Influence Over Postwar Germany', in *Democracy and Difference: The US in Multidisciplinary and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Giovanna Covi and Lisa Marchi (Trento: Università di Trento Editore, 2012), pp. 35-41.

[135] See, in this regard, Mary Nolan, 'Rethinking Transatlantic Relations in the First Cold War Decades', in *More Atlantic Crossings? European Voices and The Postwar Atlantic Community,* ed. by Jan Logemann and Mary Nolan, *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, 10 (2014), pp. 19-39; Alessandra Bitumi, 'Rethinking the Historiography of Transatlantic Relations in the Cold War Years: The United States, Europe and the Process of European Integration', in *Reinstating Europe in America History in the Global Context,* ed. by Maurizio Vaudagna (Turin: Otto, 2015), pp. 81-93.

role of different actors (including marginal ones) in shaping such relations. As stated by Ien Ang, Yudhishthir Raj Isar, and Philip Mar, a number of questions arise

> who should decide what 'desirable products' are, and what criteria should be used? How exactly does popular culture communicate 'American ideas and values?' How does one know whether and which products will have a positive impact on 'world opinion?' How can one ensure that 'desirable' products are received in 'desirable' ways, for whom and according to whom?[136]

My thesis suggests that American cultural intervention, rather than being evaluated in terms of US efficacy, or simply as a two-way series of transactions, should be tackled through an exploration of the relational aspects involved in such exchanges, implying that structural and ideational elements should be examined as part of these processes. This perspective is needed to restore the mutual nature of these exchanges and their complexity.

1.2 The American Cold War Culture: Approaches to the US Cultural Campaigns and the Exchange Programmes

Cultural operations and the exchange programmes specifically thus became a fundamental channel to pursue actively an anti-communist strategy. Particularly prolific in this regard has been the stream of literature concerning the cultural Cold War, which has the specific purpose of examining the role of diverse US interests, protagonists and projects involved in American operations abroad and which evokes a complex representation of American foreign intervention. As pointed out by Gienow-Hecht, the attention paid to different agents and the interaction with local actors has 'expanded the meaning of culture to include social affinities, comparative analysis, cultural conceptions, psychological influences, local traditions, and

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[136] Ien Ang, Yudhishthir Raj Isar, Philip Mar, *op. cit.*

unspoken assumptions.'[137] As I will show, this exploration of the exchanges between US and foreign groups has primarily considered actors in their individuality; when looking at their interconnections, scholarly research has not brought to the fore the significance of the relational aspects, namely how these exchanges were made possible (the negotiations in interactions) and what these meant for the actors involved. As such, this research has still considered cultural exchanges as separate from the social and cultural embeddedness of the actors involved.

The study of US cultural operations has been central in bringing out a more complex representation of such enterprises both at the domestic and international level; in particular, it has called for a thorough examination of how different groups took part in these activities, shedding light on individual agents, positions and ideologies, highlighting the existence of areas of contestation. With respect to the American domestic arena, great attention has been devoted to the role played by ideological principles in shaping the US approach and, more specifically, public and cultural diplomacy's activities. A great number of studies have focused on the interaction between the State Department and private groups. Cold War elites primarily created cultural diplomacy's activities as ways to promote actively ideals of 'freedom' alongside anticommunism. Scott W. Lucas' work on the state-private network – which brought to light the synergic effort between US private actors and the State Department – has paid particular attention to the role of an ideology of freedom in the Cold War, revealing the contradictions entailed in its offensive potential and mission which justified direct anti-communist intervention and ventures behind the Iron Curtain.[138] This new approach has revealed the importance of ideology and language in constructing a crusade for freedom, and in influencing

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[137] Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, 'How good are we? Culture and the Cold War', in *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe*, *1945-1960*, ed. by Hans Krabberdam and Giles Scott-Smith (London&Portland: Cass, 2003), pp. 269-282 (p. 273).
[138] W. Scott Lucas, *Freedom's War: the US Crusade against the Soviet Union 1945-56* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

tactic. The progressive involvement of the private sector has been explored as a way to pursue information campaigns, to establish informal connections and to organise cultural enterprises in order to 'ensure at least a semblance of political independence' in the eyes of foreign publics.[139]

The conceptualisation of the state-private network in the Cold War, namely 'an extensive, unprecedented collaboration between 'official' US agencies and 'private groups and individuals,'[140] has, firstly, allowed for a thorough exploration and a dynamic representation of the negotiations among various US actors and their contributions. Secondly, it has challenged a simple view of a state-controlled effort, where culture is not only a means, but also a ground for negotiations. The study of the private actors involved in the elaboration of cultural enterprises and in the creation of informal connections (including exchange programmes) have primarily explored the role of US labour movements in constructing networks with Western European groups[141] and US private organisations such as the Rockefeller Foundation since the interwar years,[142] and specifically, after World War II.[143]

The mobilisation of labour, academic, intellectual, and religious networks both at the US domestic level and outside the United States has been regarded as a primary way to give life to cultural operations abroad.[144] Research on US trade unions and US philanthropic groups, in particular, has advanced the understanding of informal connections to support US foreign

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[139] Giles Scott-Smith, 'Maintaining Transatlantic Community: US Public Diplomacy, the Ford Foundation and the Successor Generation Concept in US Foreign Affairs, 1960s-1980s', *Global Society*, 28:1 (2014), 90-103 (p. 94).
[140] Liam Kennedy and W. Scott Lucas, 'Enduring Freedom: Public Diplomacy and U.S. Foreign Policy', *American Quarterly*, 57:2 (2005), 309-333 (p. 312). See also W. Scott Lucas, *Freedom's War*.
[141] Robert Anthony Waters and Geert Van Goethem, eds., *op. cit.*
[142] Katharina Rietzler, 'Before the Cultural Cold Wars: American Philanthropy and Cultural Diplomacy in the Interwar Years', *Historical Research*, 84:223 (2011), 148-164.
[143] Giuliana Gemelli, ed., *The Ford Foundation and Europe: Cross-fertilization of Learning in Social Sciences and Management* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 1998); Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Canergie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); Giuliana Gemelli and Roy MacLeod, *op. cit.*
[144] Helen Laville and Hugh Wilford, eds., *The US Government, Citizen Groups and the Cold War. The State-Private Network* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

policy objectives. The former has identified the centrality of US trade unions acquired in the modernisation programmes (through the Marshall Plan) and in supporting cultural diplomacy campaigns.[145] Much attention has been devoted to the economic reconstruction along the ideological lines of the US 'politics of productivity' promoting economic modernisation through the establishment of a collaboration between 'free'[146] non-Communist trade unions, private business and the state and exploring the impact of American aid and of the American economic model.[147] In this regard, the study of the US-Italian networks, created as early as the mid-1940s, has brought to light the informal connections that accompanied the launch of the Marshall Plan in Italy.[148] Federico Romero's study has constituted a significant step in exploring the Italian-American informal labour relations and in taking into account the significance of US officers' individual connections and has highlighted the need for further exploration of non-state actors, the diverse strategic goals that favoured a mobilisation of US and Italian leaders as well as the limits to American action.[149]

The mobilisation of US philanthropic organisations has also been linked to US cultural diplomacy operations abroad, such as the US exchange programmes like the Fulbright Program and the Foreign Leader and Foreign Specialist Program,[150] as well as to broader cultural operations within the Cultural Cold war. These were characterised by the development of

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[145] Geert Van Goethem, Robert Anthony Waters and Marcel Van der Linden, eds., *op. cit.*

[146] Charles S. Maier, 'The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy After World War II', *International Organization,* 31:4 (1977), 607-633; Federico Romero, 'Gli Stati Uniti e l'Italia. Il Piano Marshall e il Patto Atlantico', in *Storia dell'Italia repubblicana. La costruzione della democrazia dalla caduta del Fascismo agli anni Cinquanta*, *Vol. I,* ed. by Francesco Barbagallo (Torino: Einaudi, 1994), pp. 234-282.

[147] Alessandro Brogi, 'The CIO and AFL between "Crusade" and Pluralism in Italy, 1944-1963', in Geert Van Goethem and Robert Anthony Waters, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-84; Ronald L. Filippelli and Luigi Antonini, 'The Italian-American Labor Council, and the Cold War Politics in Italy, 1943-1949', *Labor History*, 33:1 (1992), 102-125.

[148] Maria Eleonora Guasconi, *op. cit;* Ronald L Filippelli, *op. cit.* See also Adriana Castagnoli, *La Guerra Fredda economica: Italia e Stati Uniti, 1947-1989* (Roma&Bari: Laterza, 2015).

[149] Federico Romero, *The United States and the European Trade Union Movement...*

[150] Liping Bu, 'Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War', *Journal of American Studies*, 33:3 (1999), 393-415.

contacts with foreign intellectual circles and secret funding by the American government and the intelligence channels.[151]

In this regard, a number of studies have focused on the development of informal ties between the CIA-funded cultural organisation Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) and intellectual elites in Western Europe. [152] Firstly, Frances Stonor Saunders' book has offered a detailed exploration of CIA-funded enterprises and the network of individuals involved.[153] Her work has opened up a space for scholarly research into the role of the Central Intelligence Agency in sponsoring and coordinating the various branches of the CCF and the set of connections comprising both US and foreign leaders involved in this anti-Communist effort. As such, this pioneering work has unveiled the links between intelligence organisations and private actors, providing a rich investigation into the US attempt to mobilise culture.

Nonetheless, both Saunders' work and studies on US foundations have reiterated the idea that ties between US private organisations and foreign leaders within either private or governmental schemes would advance (only) US goals.[154] It remains unclear how these connections favoured a mobilisation of foreign elites along US interests and anti-Communism. This view has subsequently been challenged by compelling research such as that conducted by Hugh Wilford.[155] In his 2008 book, Wilford has thoroughly analysed the role of the CIA in funding several US organisations, such as labour, student, religious and intellectual groups and has brought to light a composite picture of this covert network by showing the existence of several stands and agendas within it. In a subsequent study, published in 2013, Wilford further

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[151] Hugh Wilford, 'The Cultural Cold War: Recent Scholarship and Future Directions', *Cahiers Charles V*, 28 (2000), 33-47.
[152] See Hans Krabberdam and Giles Scott-Smith, *op. cit.*; Peter Romijn and Giles Scott-Smith and Joes Segal, *op. cit.*
[153] Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: the CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: New Press, 2000).
[154] For a general discussion of this matter, see also W. Scott Lucas, *Beyond Freedom, Beyond Control.*
[155] Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer. How the CIA played America* (Cambridge&London: Harvard University Press, 2008).

calls into question the representation of a CIA-directed network by exploring the case of the *Encounter*, a CCF magazine edited in the United Kingdom.[156] By looking at the exchanges between US officers and British editors, this analysis exposes the limits of the US action and the negotiations taking place between American and European leaders.[157] Most of all, such an examination illustrates that CCF-linked magazines were more than just echo chambers for US views and values. However, it does not explain how these ties shaped exchanges and interactions beyond individual motives.

In a similar way to works concerning the American cultural Cold War and the realisation of US collaborative enterprises in Western Europe presented above, research on US-Italian relations has aimed attention at the engagement of Italian leaders against the dichotomy of collaboration/rejection, reconsidering the impact of the local context in shaping transnational agency and ties.[158] Among others, Chiara Morbi's study, examining the activities of the Italian branch of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (AILC), has explored the agency and interplay between Italian editors of the AILC magazine *Tempo Presente*, the intellectuals Nicola Chiaromonte and Ignazio Silone, and their American counterparts.[159] The author has convincingly illustrated the capacity of Italian primary figures to promote their views and

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[156] Hugh Wilford, *The CIA, the British Left and the Cold War.*

[157] See also for an examination of US leaders' motives and, particularly, the figure of Michael Josselson: Sarah Miller Harris, *The CIA and the Congress for Cultural Freedom in the Early Cold War. The Limits of Making Common Cause* (London&New York: Routledge, 2016).

[158] Eugenio Capozzi, 'L'opposizione all'antiamericanismo: il Congress for Cultural Freedom e l'Associazione italiana per la libertà della cultura', in Piero Craveri and Gaetano Quagliariello, *op. cit*; pp. 325-352; Massimo Mastrogregori, 'Libertà Della Cultura E "Guerra Fredda Culturale". Bobbio, Gli Intellettuali "Atlantici" e i Comunisti: Alle Origini Di "Politica E Cultura", 1955', *Storiografia*, XI (2007), 9-37; Daniela Muraca, 'L'Associazione Italiana per La Libertà Della Cultura: Il Caso Italiano E Il Congress for Cultural Freedom', *Storiografia*, XI (2007), 139-160.

[159] Chiara Morbi, *op. cit.* See also: Andrea Scionti: '"I Am Afraid Americans Cannot Understand". The Congress for Cultural Freedom in France and Italy, 1950-1957', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 22:1 (2020), 89-124; Paola Carlucci and Chiara Morbi, 'Beyond the Cold War: Tempo Presente in Italy', in *Campaigning Culture in the Cold War. The Journals of the Congress for Cultural Freedom,* ed. by Giles Scott-Smith and Charlotte A. Lerg (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 127-147.

beliefs according to their national rather than transnational interests and has been able to elucidate the heterogeneous and ambiguous aspects of Italian leaders' agency.

Finally, scholarly research has given particular attention to US exchange programmes, as representative examples of the exchanges between foreign elites and American leaders within the field of US cultural diplomacy. Studies concerning these schemes have primarily focused on the significance of the Fulbright Program in giving life to American Studies in Europe, in fostering 'democratic values', as well as in promoting the creation of American-European academic networks.[160] Some scholars have provided a more nuanced representation of the American intervention bringing to light the negotiations that were involved in the foundation of courses on American Studies, the realisation of cooperative enterprises as well as the differences that characterised the Fulbright Program in various countries, also outside of the domain of the US-European relationship.[161] Although not explicitly theorised and still incorporated within the hegemonic influence of the United States, research on academic and student exchanges has contributed to identifying different national contexts as a fundamental source to explore the multidimensional nature of such exchanges and to turning our attention to the participation of local leaders and their engagement.[162]

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[160] See, for instance, Arthur P. Dudden and Russel Dynes, eds., *The Fulbright Experience, 1946-1986: Encounters and Transformations* (New Brunswick&Oxford: Transaction Books, 1987); Karl-Heinz Füssl, 'Between Elitism and Educational Reform: German-American Exchange Programs', in *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945-1990: A Handbook*, *Vol. I*, ed. by Detlef Junkler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 409-416; Sam Lebovic, 'From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism, 1945-1950', *Diplomatic History*, 37:2 (2013), 280-312; Molly Bettie, *op. cit.*

[161] Among others, Alice Garner and Diane Kirkby, 'Never a Machine for Propaganda? The Australian-American Fulbright Program and Australia's Cold War', *Australian Historical Studies*, 44 (2013), 117-133; Luís Nuno Rodrigues, 'Establishing a "Cultural Base"? The Creation of the Fulbright Program in Portugal', *The International History Review*, 40:3 (2018), 683-697; Ezra Pakin, 'American Studies in Turkey During the "Cultural" Cold War', *Turkish Studies*, 9:3 (2008), 507-524.

[162] Whitney Walton, 'National Interests and Cultural Exchanges in French and American Education Travels, 1914-1970', *Journal of Transatlantic Studies,* 13 (2015), 344-357; Rausch Helke, 'Wie Europäische ist die kulturelle Amerikanisierung?', *Kultursoziologie und Kunstsoziologie*, 2 (2008), 9-15.

Alongside works on the promotion of American Studies through the Fulbright Program, the Harvard International Seminar[163] – and, from a different angle, the Salzburg Seminar[164] – this body of the literature has examined and shown the relevance of the Foreign Leader Program (FLP) and of the Foreign Specialist Program (FSP) due to their breadth (covering Western Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa), their duration (until 1965, and merged to survive to date) and their scope (targeting primary figures in all fields).[165] For the most part, however, the literature has acknowledged the relevance of the leader programmes within the general US scheme of cultural activities abroad but has not analysed in depth their impact among the participants.[166] A renewed interest in these interconnections has fostered a re-interrogation of these networks, the outcome of which suggests that there was a space for negotiation for the participants: according to Oliver Schmidt, 'scholarly exchange programs while often deployed as a means to conduct the Cold War, also served as means to subvert it.'[167] Petra Goedde also emphasises the need to recognise dynamics of power, particularly exploring the 'peripheries' where 'layers of connections and influence […] often remain hidden.'[168]

The most relevant work on this subject for this thesis – and, surprisingly, the only one offering a comparative study of different national groups and operations is the pioneering work by Giles Scott-Smith, published in 2008, concerning the US exchange programmes and the links between American officers and European leaders.[169] This publication – an inspiration for

[163] Inderjeet Parmar, 'Challenging Elite Anti-Americanism in the Cold War: American Foundations, Kissinger's Harvard Seminar and the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies', *Zeitschrift Für Geschichte*, 13 (2006), 116-129.
[164] George Blaustein, 'Pictures from an Institution. Salzburg Seminar and Post-war Mitteleuropa', in George Blaustein, *Nightmare Envy and Other Stories: American Culture and European Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 122-171.
[165] Nancy Jachec, 'Transatlantic Cultural Politics in the Late 1950s: The Leaders and Specialists Grant Program', *Art History*, 26:4 (2003), 533-555. See also Robert E. Elder, *op. cit.*
[166] Kevin V. Mulcahy, 'Cultural Diplomacy and the Exchange Programs: 1938-1978', *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 29:1 (1999), 7-28.
[167] Oliver Schmidt, *Civil Empire by Co-Optation*.
[168] Petra Goedde, 'Power, Culture and the Rise of the Transnational History in the United States', *The International History Review*, 40:3 (2018), 592-608 (p. 598).
[169] Giles Scott-Smith, *Networks of Empire*.

my research – has stressed the importance of these informal connections for exploring US strategies of engagement and the participation of European groups in the Foreign Leader and Foreign Specialist Program on the basis of common values and goals, such as the struggle against the Communist movements and cooperation within the Atlantic community.

Adopting a Neo-Gramscian perspective, Scott-Smith's work has looked at the British, French and Dutch participants' responses – placing significant emphasis on the role of the recipients – to examine how Cold War cultural diplomacy's networks reinforced US power by way of cultural persuasion. However, in his work, the agency of individual actors is represented in ideological terms, neglecting the agents' multi-layered identities, habitus as well as multiple relations in local and transnational contexts. Such an approach poses unresolved questions regarding the participation of European actors: the local context still remains a voice in the background, not a primary ground for local leaders to develop their attitudes, relations and interests. Finally, in Scott-Smith's work, relations are still interpreted in fixed terms, rather than considering how such ties were shaped and managed by actors themselves and how these reciprocal and multilateral influences among the participants worked, e.g., through interactions and transactions among them.

Alongside the in-depth historical reconstruction of the cultural channels established through a great array of governmental and private enterprises, works on the connection between American and European cultural actors have significantly changed the understanding of US cultural operations abroad. They have illustrated the importance of individual as well as organisational objectives and actions as well as the importance of personal connections and the nuances between different cases. However, a new perspective that illuminates the engagement of these actors in relational terms and their participation on multiple networks is needed to

understand how these transactions were enabled and how negotiations among multiple groups shaped the effectiveness and reach of these networks.

1.3 A New Perspective: The Study of Relationships

What is needed is thus research that recognises the central role of informal networks between American and European groups in US strategy, but with a focus on how these relations may open new ways to explore the agency of all agents involved by reassessing the role of actors both at the core and the periphery. In this regard, recent research on Cold War interconnections has fostered a new perspective on transatlantic networks, on agents on both sides of the Atlantic as well as between the East and the West.[170] Particularly noteworthy is a recent publication edited by Luc Van Dongen, Giles Scott-Smith and Stéphanie Roulin concerning the development of anti-communist networks and providing an innovative approach to US-European informal relations, which integrates the examination of these ties to explain collaborative projects and ideological affiliation, looking not only at the agents involved but also at their motivations and transnational exchanges.[171] This book suggests that historical research on Cold War networks has advanced new perspectives and thought-provoking work. The major contribution of studies on these networks is to move the focus away from the state level and to consider the people-to-people transactions, bringing to light the variety of interests and agents involved. In these studies, the mechanisms characterising cultural diplomacy are not explored and the agency of the actors is still represented through the paradigm of cooperation.

What needs further discussion and investigation are the ongoing multi-layered negotiations and interactions in which these actors were embedded and a consideration of their

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[170] Simo Mikkonen and Pia Koivunen, eds., *Beyond the Divide. Entagled Histories of Cold War Europe* (New York& Oxford: Berghahn, 2015); Ludovic Tournès and Giles Scott Smith, *op. cit.*
[171] Luc Van Dongen, Giles Scott-Smith and Stéphanie Roulin, eds., *Transnational Anti-communism and the Cold War. Agents, Activities, and Networks* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014).

agency not as the result of fixed and unchanging attributes, rather as part of the relations that constituted these networks. New interdisciplinary studies have also offered innovative theorisations of public and cultural diplomacy's activities. Such approaches have suggested that sociocultural and relational elements are necessary for an understanding of cultural diplomacy practices. A remarkable conceptualisation has been fostered by a recent collection of essays edited by Zaharna, Arsenault and Fisher, which promotes the introduction of a relational framework having at its core the exploration of multiple and multi-directional exchanges within a network and the multi-sided influences.[172] This study is primarily intended as a tool to re-conceptualise the enactment of public diplomacy in contemporary times, rather than suggesting a new approach to its investigation. Nonetheless, it indicates significant steps towards recognising the complexity of the sociocultural processes involved; it also proposes to reconsider public and cultural diplomacy practices in relational terms as 'connected' activities, noting the need to look at contexts and groups.[173] As such, a relational framework is necessary to fully understand how cultural diplomacy's exchanges were sustained.

Building on these analyses, and in the context of this research gap, my study offers an innovative approach to US-Italian exchanges based on a multi-layered examination of these processes. If the primary goal of cultural diplomacy practices was to engage foreign leaders to forge collaborative relationships, then it is necessary to reconsider the notion of engagement and how it is rooted. As pointed out by Rhonda S. Zaharna, 'engagement suggests an active audience participation, as opposed to passive reception, as a means to build relationships.'[174] My critique of the literature has shown that this aspect has been dismissed or considered through

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[172] Rhonda S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher, *op. cit*.
[173] Ali Fisher, 'Standing on the Shoulders of Giants. Building Blocks for a Collaborative Approach to Public Diplomacy', in Rhonda S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher, *op. cit* , pp. 209-226 (p. 210).
[174] Rhonda S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher, 'Introduction: The Connective Mindshift' in Rhonda S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault and Ali Fisher, *op. cit* , pp. 1-14 (p. 6).

a paradigm that does not really explore what such relationships are; rather it interprets the actors' engagement through networks of prepositioned entities with unchanging attributes, where power relations and meanings are described or assumed but not explained. Conversely, I consider social capital as the potential resources nested in networks, which may enable or constrain individual action; simultaneously, I point out the need to look at agency through engagement as a process linked to both material patterns and meanings in relations. However, rather than interpreting engagement as a property of a single individual (or resulting from specific units, such as identity, motives, etc.) I propose to look at it as an interdependent process, a disposition constitutive of and shaped by relational patterns: in this way, it is possible to explain the great variety of possibilities and ambiguities entailed in the relationship between American and foreign elites.

As such, the agency of the leaders involved in the US cultural diplomacy's network needs to be explored not at the individual level, but as a multi-level and multi-directional phenomenon. Individuals need to be considered in complex systems of negotiation to see multiple possibilities and positions. A focus on both the context in which the participants in US exchange programmes operated as well as the set of relations in which they were embedded, is therefore relevant to analyse how the communication between targeted leaders and US counterparts was enabled. These elements are essential not only for a thorough definition of the role of US cultural diplomacy and all the agents involved but also to understand how meaning making processes entailed the participation of various groups at multiple levels, reshaping the relations and meanings entailed in such processes. Through the analysis of relations, positions and meanings, it is possible to see the potential roles actors could play, not as pre-defined, rather emerging from the possibilities and constraints entailed in the relations among them. The analysis of the interactions among the leaders involved brings to light not only different

interests, goals, agendas and ways of communication within such relations but also how these interactions managed to transform and construct the ties among them.

As discussed in more detail in the next chapter, through a comparative analysis of three case studies, a focus on positions and interactions, my research offers an interrogation of the limits and possibilities entailed in US-Italian informal networks and shows how relational patterns impacted on the realisation of US cultural diplomacy goals. In this way, the national and transatlantic dimensions of these networks may be considered, and the agential power of the actors within these relations restored.

CHAPTER TWO

The Relational Viewpoint: A Mixed-Methods Approach

The study of networks and informal ties in the literature concerning US Cold War cultural diplomacy in Western Europe has brought significant advances in the understanding of transatlantic relations and the role of the European recipients. However, the theorisation of these links has remained vague. In particular, scholarly research has focused on the agents (groups and individuals) but they have not investigated the role of relations themselves.

The relational point of view, rather than disregarding the individual, explores the actors-in-relations, or 'interactants'. Each agent is seen as embedded in their connections: emphasis is placed on the interdependence of all agents through their ties. The problematisation of agency in particular has been at the core of a variety of sociological and historical works taking a relational approach: emphasis has been placed on the need to give primacy to the interactions among the actors involved. As Dépelteau put it, a relational approach, 'redefines what social phenomena (redefined as social fields) are and what entities (perceived as transactors) are making these phenomena.'[175]

The reconsideration of agency in relations – or the actors' embedded acting – has highlighted the shortcomings of previous approaches relying on an artificial separation between structure and agency itself: positions and beliefs have been regarded as mutually constituting relational processes.[176] However, new challenges have been posed concerning the exploration of power and culture as the main relational elements. This chapter argues that such aspects can be tackled through the adoption of a relational approach based on

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[175] François Dépelteau, 'Relational Sociology, Pragmatism, Transactions and Social Fields', *International Review of Sociology*, 25:1 (2015), 45-64 (p. 53).
[176] For an overview, see Ann Mische, 'Relational Sociology, Culture and Agency', in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis* ed. by John Scott and Peter J. Carrington (London: SAGE, 2011), pp. 80-98.

insights from field and network theory. It also advances a mixed-methods approach based on Social Network Analysis (SNA) and the qualitative analysis of correspondence that is particularly beneficial for the examination of agency in networks.

Social Network Analysis offers a flexible and innovative perspective, providing methodological tools for the exploration of an individual network's potential, resources and homogeneity.[177] In this thesis, these aspects are investigated through the adoption of a case-study approach and software-assisted inquiry. This perspective has the advantage and purpose of looking at actors' embeddedness in the network to understand their potential agential power. It looks at how information and communication could potentially be transformed and transacted by the specific modes of engagement favoured by the actors under investigation. The selection of the Italian actors and sources as well as the creation of the network are discussed in this chapter, and the advantages and limitations of this method are outlined.

The analysis of historical sources (principally letters between Italian and American interlocutors) is used in this study to explore the three case studies under investigation. Letters, as a 'communication or exchange between one person and another or others',[178] are particularly fruitful for the study of individual agency in relations, primarily in historical research. By looking at the correspondence between my case studies and their American interlocutors, I aim to explore the exchanges between these actors and the meanings attached to their connections. As I will explain in the last section of this chapter, I will analyse beliefs and interests as they are expressed in these texts as a complementary method to SNA: the

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[177] Mustafa Emirbayer and Jeff Goodwin, 'Network Analysis, Culture and the Problem of Agency', *American Journal of Sociology*, 99:6 (1994), 1411-1454; Ronald S. Burt, Martin Kilduff, and Stefano Tasselli, 'Social Network Analysis: Foundations and Frontiers on Advantage', *The Annual Review of Psychology*, 64 (2013), 527-547.

[178] Liz Stanley, 'The Epistolarium: On Theorizing Letters and Correspondences', *Auto/Biography Studies*, 12:3 (2004), 201-235 (p. 202).

aim is to understand the role of habitus (the agents' dispositions) in informing individual engagement. This approach allows me to investigate not only the structure of the relationships among US-Italian actors but also the intersubjective dimension and individual participation. This will help me understand the roots of Italian groups' agency as part of ongoing relational processes. However, relying on fragmented data and on a small number of ties, this work also suffers from some limitations, which will also be addressed in this chapter.

2.1 Analysing Relations

2.1.1 A Conceptual Map

Relations and processes as complex and fluid phenomena have been at the core of a 'relational turn', which has characterised multiple disciplines (such as psychology, sociology, archaeology, etc.).[179] Relationality, in all its forms, has been conceptualised and analysed through a variety of approaches in different disciplines and within these subfields as well. This study relies on the concept of relationality utilised in the field of relational sociology. The first part of this chapter explores the main assumptions of this approach and presents the conceptualisation of networks and agency as the main notions underpinning my research. Finally, it shows how these concepts are used to enhance our understanding of US-Italian Cold War informal ties.

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[179] Riccardo Prandini, 'Relational Sociology: a Well-Defined Paradigm or a Challenging Relational Turn in Sociology?', *International Review of Sociology*, 25:1 (2015), 1-14; François Dépelteau, 'What is the Direction of the Relational Turn?', in *Conceptualizing Relational Sociology* ed. by François Dépelteau and Christopher Powell (New York: Palsgrave MacMillan, 2013), pp.163-185.

The non-monolithic nature of relational sociology, characterised in fact by multiple views and methods of analysis, indicates its status as a movement, rather than a school of thought. However, it is possible to identify a series of principal claims, which also define the approach adopted by this study. By stating that it aims to 'analyse the social world in interaction […] a process arising between social actors',[180] this perspective stresses the primacy of processes and hypothesises the interdependence of the agents.

In this view, the focus of inquiry moves away from substances (or entities) to look at processes, investigating the fluidity and complexity of the social realm. A relational framework does not presuppose fixed and pre-ordered beings, forms or structures; it rather explores relations and transactions. In the words of Mustafa Emirbayer, the relational approach 'sees relations between terms and units as pre-eminently dynamic in nature, as unfolding, ongoing processes rather than as static ties among inert substances.'[181]

Similarly, this perspective rejects the independence of individuals or groups and emphasises the dialogic nature of all actions. The theorisation of interdependence and ongoing processes relies on fundamental ontological assumptions. First of all, social relations exist as part of other relational sets and not in isolation. Secondly, the actors' engagement depends on their different positions in different sets of relations with temporal and spatial dimensions. Thus, relations are regarded as '*lived trajectories of social interaction*' which have a 'history of past and an expectation of future interaction' shaping the interactions among the actors.[182]

This is not a universal position within the relational movement: differences exist in terms of the conceptualisation of relations, transactions, and interactions. However, as

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[180] Nick Crossley, *Towards a Relational Sociology* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 21.
[181] Mustafa Emirbayer, 'Manifesto For a Relational Sociology', *American Journal of Sociology*, 103:2 (1997), 281-317 (p. 289).
[182] Nick Crossley, *Towards a Relational Sociology*, p. 28 (emphasis in the book).

explained by François Dépelteu, relational thinking presupposes, alongside the acceptance

of processes and interdependency, the idea of 'co-production' (to different degrees) and the

rejection of 'dualisms', above all the counterposition of the individual and society.[183] The

depiction of the agents as co-producers stems from the rejection of causality thinking. The

actors are not products of determined positions/relations (or 'structures') rather they partake

in processes that reproduce and transform such relations. At the same time, structures cannot

be reduced to the individual units. This framework specifically aims to overcome both a

focus on whole (the totality of relations) or on individual levels, identifying as a central unit

of its analysis the relations themselves.[184]

A relational perspective also implies a specific conceptualisation of power, fields and

culture. As concerns power relations, this approach presupposes a definition of power that

moves away from its view as an 'entity' or 'possession'. However, my study does not rely on

a theorisation of power as a ubiquitous force that creates structures of thought and of actors as

products of such systems.[185] Conceived as producing and being reproduced by agents-in-

relations, the notion of power is seen here as a fundamental element of relations and

interdependencies and closely related to the concept of field (a space of positions and power

struggles, as explained in the next subsection). Thus, power is part of the ongoing processes

within a set of relations and the agents involved. As Nick Crossley puts it: 'actors are not self-

contained entities. They need one another both to survive and to realise their wants and plans.

[…] [As such] interdependency is a basis from which power emerges in social relations.'[186]

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[183] François Dépelteu, 'Relational Thinking in Sociology: Relevance, Concurrence and Dissonance', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Relational Sociology* ed. by François Dépelteu (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 3-33 (p. 19).

[184] Frédéric Vandenberghe, 'The Relation as Magical Operator: Overcoming the Divide Between Relational and Processual Sociology', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Relational Sociology* ed. by François Dépelteu (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), pp. 35-57.

[185] Michel Foucault and Colin Gordon, eds., *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York&London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1980).

[186] Nick Crossley, *Towards Relational Sociology*, p. 105.

First, as effectively argued by Charles Wetherell, actors in all social systems are viewed as 'interdependent rather than independent'. Second, the linkages or relations among actors channel information, affection and other resources. Third, the structure of those relations or ties among actors both constrain and facilitate action. Fourth, and finally, the patterns of relations among actors define economic, political and social structure.[187]

2.1.2 Looking at Power in Relations

My approach relies on a definition of 'field' as a competitive 'social space of interactions' in which power struggles take place.[188] As explained below, this conceptualisation presupposes that social actors occupy various positions in different fields, which they aim to maintain or improve. Central to this understanding of power relations in the field is the notion of capital as theorised by Pierre Bourdieu: specifically, the idea of capital in all its forms (social, material, cultural, symbolic) serves here to recognise the various resources entailed in the exchanges among various agents in the field. In other words, 'the structure of the field, i.e., of the space of positions, is nothing other than the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties, which governs success in the field and the winning of the external or specific profits (such as literary prestige) which are at stake in the field'.[189]

Whereas fields are nearly autonomous spaces with relatively stable 'rules' and institutions, the theorisation of networks as fields of action has been primarily advanced by relational sociology and commonly described as a set of links and nodes.[190] Networks are,

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[187] Charles Wetherell, 'Historical Social Network Analysis', *International Review of Social History,* 43:6 (1998), 125-144 (p. 126).
[188] In this regard, see Ann Mische*,* 'Relational Sociology, Culture and Agency' in *op. cit*, ed. by John Scott and Peter J. Carrington (London: SAGE, 2014), 80-98; Mustafa Emirbayer, Jeff Goodwin, *op. cit.*
[189] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed', *Poetics*, 12 (1983), 311-356 (p. 312).
[190] Thomas Birtchnell, 'Networks', in *The Routledge Handbook of Social and Cultural Theory,* ed. by Anthony Elliott (London&New York: Routledge, 2014), pp.175-191.

however, more than just a number of connections. They are intended not as 'mere analytical constructs, but as real social structures with three dimensions: the structure of social relationships; the individual actors and their connections; and the meaning associated with networks and their connections'.[191] Culture is thus central to this understanding. In contrast to a formalist view of social ties, a relational framework deems actors' viewpoints an essential constituent of networks, namely 'intersubjective meanings of social ties' emerging from the participants' interactions and leading to 'the possibilities for the transformation of meanings.'[192] As demonstrated in Chapter One, the idea of culture as a transferable means and as a fixed attribute of cultural encounters,[193] which has dominated in the accounts concerning US-European Cold War relations, has furthered a static representation of such interconnections. The dynamic approach my research aims to undertake has at its core a depiction of culture as a complex set of symbols and practices defining and defined by a particular social field.

As this chapter attempts to show, by making social connections the primary focus of inquiry, it is possible to explore the engagement of actors as a processual phenomenon. The combination of field theory as conceptualised by Bourdieu and network theory has the advantage of looking not only at the underlying relations generating practices but also at the interactions among individuals, providing an insight into the mechanisms shaping these relations.[194] In particular, in this work this approach has the purpose of uncovering cultural

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[191] Jan Fuchse and Sophie Mützel, 'Tackling Connections, Structure and Meaning in Networks: Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in Sociological Networks Research', *Quality & Quantity*, 45 (2011), 1067-1089 (p. 1068). See also: Christine Moser, Peter Groenewegen and Marleen Huysman, 'Extending Social Network Analysis with Discourse Analysis: Combining Relational with Interpretive Data', in *The influence of Technology on Social Network Analysis and Mining,* ed. by Tansel Özyer and others (New York: Springer, 2013), pp. 547-561 (p. 558).
[192] Sourabh Singh, 'What is Relational Structure? Introducing History to the Debates on the Relation between Fields and Social Networks', *Sociological Theory*, 34:2, 128-150 (p. 132).
[193] For further discussion on the application of different cultural perspectives to historical research, see Peter Jackson and Pierre Bourdieu, 'The "Cultural Turn" and the Practice of International History', *Review of International Studies*, 34:1 (2008), 155-181; David Clarke, 'Theorising the Role of Cultural Products in Cultural Diplomacy from a Cultural Studies Perspective', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22:2 (2016), 147-163.
[194] See Marco Serino, 'On the Encounter between Field Theory and Social Network Analysis. An Assessment and a Theoretical Proposal', *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, 1 (2018), 25-50.

mechanisms involved in post-war US-Italian networks with a focus on the agency of Italian leaders. As I will explain in the next section, the study of agency relies both on the exploration of relational patterns as well cognitive and habitual elements involved in the actors' exchanges.

2.1.3 Relational Agency: Positionality and Embeddedness

In order to understand the various components and implications of a relational framework, it is necessary to highlight how the relationship between structure and agency is conceptualised, which not only differentiates this understanding from previous and co-existing views but has also initiated a heated debate amongst relational scholars. Positionality and relational agency are presented here as major theoretical notions referred to in my investigation. Given the various interpretations of these terms and the relevant contributions coming from different relational approaches, a specification and explanation of my use of these concepts is offered in this section.

The main distinctive characteristic of the relational framework is its attempt to overcome the structure/agency dualism. By definition, it relies on a dynamic and fluid representation of the relationship between agency and structural forces: it does not dismiss the mutual influences between agents and relations but avoids rigid and deterministic conceptualisations of structural positions and relational patterns. Not all relational theories, however, conceive the structure/agency relationship in the same exact way. It is worth outlining some of the main differences and positions characterising this debate, before I define in detail the particular framework adopted by my research.

The attempt to move away from more static representations of the relational dynamics principally derived from a rejection of a deterministic structuralism, which is considered problematic for the emphasis on external structural elements as organising

individual actions and behaviours;[195] a prioritisation of individual agency has also been reconsidered due to its stress on the intentionality and rationality of all human actions.[196] The theorisation of networks as flexible relational settings has not brought unity among relational thinkers. Various interpretations of the degree to which structure and agency influence each other have been offered. The adoption of specific relational concepts is extremely important to the definition of the methodological strategy in exploring structural and ideational features.

A primary notion in relational sociology is the definition of positionality: as anticipated in the previous section, actors are regarded as nodes occupying different positions in social settings. The study of relations and positionality coincides with the exploration of the ideational and material elements, which come together to form specific sets of connections. Positions, as explained later in the chapter, are not prior to but derivative of relations.[197] A specific definition of relations and culture is implied to determine the effects of agents' interactions and of social patterns on single individuals. Some scholars have privileged the study of social structures – and considered them the determinant factor – others have focused on the exchanges and processes in social fields.

The former view, advanced among others by Harrison White and Charles Tilly, argues for a study of positions as a way to identify durable structural patterns, regularities and roles. This does not mean that cultural features remain fixed or neglected. Rather, their primary concern is to find the mechanisms shaping culture and social structure within

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[195] Frédéric Vandenberghe, *op. cit.*; François Dépelteau, 'Relational Thinking: A Critique of Co-Deterministic Theories of Structure and Agency', *Sociological Theory*, 26 (2008), 51-73.
[196] Ian Burkitt, 'Relational Agency: Relational Sociology, Agency and Interaction', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 19:3 (2016), 322-339; Mustafa Emirbayer and Jeff Goodwin, *op. cit*. See also: Mustafa Emirbayer and Victoria Johnson, 'Bourdieu and Organizational Analysis', *Theory and Society*, 37:1 (2008), 1-44.
[197] Nick Crossley, *Towards a Relational Sociology*, p. 26.

networks.[198] The study of networks, in this perspective, aims to show the correlation between structural positions and categories (sub-groups with specific relational and cultural attributes). White's approach, in particular, highlighted the centrality of language and communication in creating networks of meaning constructed within specific sets of relations and domains ('netdoms').[199] Despite the role assigned to cultural elements, the core of this analysis remains structural patterns, where meaning comes into being only as 'accommodation to patterns of social action' as the result of identities' discursive interaction within a specific netdom.[200] White recognises the impact of moving within different networks on identities, attributing importance to symbolic interactions and progressively integrating the conceptualisation of these elements to the study of relational patterns among actors in similar positions (blockmodeling). However, relying on the concept of identities to give order to network ties and on identities' 'switching' among networks, he struggles to elaborate on how these changes impact networks and how interactional exchanges affect structure within networks. As such, his main contribution remains on the study of structure rather than on relational elements. Similarly, works on culture and networks have stressed either the generative force of networks (production, creativity and social movements), the diffusion of culture through relations (flows), or the creation and management of relations through specific cultures. Showing the importance of language, meanings and exchange, these perspectives, nevertheless, have conceptualised culture and social structure as two distinct categories with different degrees of influence on one other.[201]

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[198] Harrison White, *Identity and Control. How Social Formations Emerge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Charles Tilly, *Identities, Boundaries and Social Ties* (New York: Routledge, 2016).
[199] Jorge Fontdevila, Pilar M. Opazo and Harrison C. White, 'Order at the Edge of Chaos: Meanings From Netdoms Switchings Across Functional Systems', *Sociological Theory*, 29:3 (2011), 178-198.
[200] Harrison White, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
[201] For a thorough discussion of this topic, see Paul McLean, *Culture in Networks* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017); Ann Mische, *Relational Sociology, Culture and Agency*.

Conversely, directing attention to processes, radical constructivist interpretations of networks build on the idea that everything is connected, hypothesising that all positions and relations constantly and fluidly transform. Bruno Latour and Manuel Castells' theories recently fostered new approaches to the study of networks,[202] the former exploring the role of actants (networks of actors and non-human elements in the network) and the latter advancing a new perspective on the historical steps that led to the expansion of networks and on the power of communication networks in the information age, emphasising the capacity of different groups to shape networks according to their values and goals.

The key issue with both these conceptualisations is the weak agential power of the subjects (leaving little space for intentionality or exploring the wider implications of networks but not micro-level interactions), as opposed to the exploration of embeddedness and relational potential (connectedness, type of connections and alters) of the actors pursued by my research. More recent attempts to restore the role of agency within sets of connections have drawn on previous conceptualisation of ties as networks of meanings recognising negotiations at the individual level within a culturally rooted relational frame, where interactions are resulting from the expectations and identities attached to these links.[203] Drawing on a more flexible theorisation of processes and structures, this study adopts a view of positionality that illuminates specific patterns in networks and the relational 'possibilities' associated with it. Positions are considered a result of the participation of agents in other fields and, as such, are not predetermined, rather open to negotiations. They

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[202] See, for instance, Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) and Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Information Age* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

[203] Jan A. Fuhse, 'The Meaning Structure of Social Networks', *Sociological Theory*, 27:1 (2009), 51-73; Jan A. Fuhse, 'Social Relationships between Communication, Network Structure and Culture', in *Applying Relational Sociology. Relations, Networks and Society* ed. by François Dépelteu and Christopher Powell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.181-206.

are subject to reproduction and transformation through interactions: structures emerge from past interactions and processes look at their evolution.[204] As argued by David Knoke, such positions are not stable features of different nodes (agents); they are 'inseparable aspects of a unitary structural phenomenon – the social network. Continually changing interactions […] [allow] new roles to emerge and old roles to be transformed.'[205] As network relations are continually re-constructed by its agents, the underlining assumption is that participants' positions within a specific network can provide an insight into their potential roles rather than assessing their impact in the field.

Without falling in the trap of individualism, as previously discussed, the recognition of agential power goes hand in hand with a new perspective on social actors and on relational agency. Taking into account the interdependence of all actors, their interactions and positions, it is possible to explore their agency as part of the relations in which they are embedded. As a 'temporally embedded process of social engagement,'[206] agency is not a property of an individual or a result of structural position, rather it originates from interactions among actors-in-relations. Not all actors have the same power and position in the network, but they all participate in the constitution of the network themselves: connections and positions represent their 'potential' to act in a specific field.

Positions, relations and networks, however, are not viewed simply as confined in a specific set of relations. They entail a contextualisation within a broader historical and social field. In this regard, my examination also relies on the idea that such positions need to be considered as a projection of agents' positions in other networks. In other words, the

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[204] See, for instance, Frédéric Vandenberghe, *op. cit.*

[205] David Knoke, *Political Networks. The Structural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 8.

[206] Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische, 'What is Agency?', *American Journal of Sociology*, 103 (1998), 962-1023.

exploration of a network's relations needs to take into account the embeddedness of the network itself (and of its agents) within other networks, namely it needs to take into consideration the multidimensional nature of such relations. In this regard, I will build upon the concept of multi-positionality as this idea refers to the actors' multiple positions in different fields (political, cultural, economic, etc.), which allows them to perform a leading role.[207] An underlying postulation of my theoretical framework is that actors act in various fields and their position in the network under investigation is also affected by their participation in other local arenas. I also use this concept to describe multifarious aspects of a certain actor's role within the US-Italian network as emerging from the computation of different measures. In this way, such a notion and approach may help avoid the rigidity of concepts such as 'positions' and 'roles' and embrace further the idea of ongoing negotiations.

2.2 Habitus in the Network

As argued by Ian Burkitt, 'agency is not simply enabled or constrained (…) but it is constituted within relationships as they unfold across space and time.'[208] Network and positions bring to light the structural aspects of a specific network and the embedded features of an agent's position. The capacity of an actor to capitalise on their positions, resources and the definition of their interests constitutes a complementary part of the exploration of networks, as regarded by this research. In particular, cultural elements and exchanges need to be acknowledged as fundamental and constitutive features of relational agency. Thus, ideational as well as material aspects are essential to understand the

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[207] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London&New York: Routledge, 1984).
[208] Ian Burkitt, *op. cit.* (p. 336).

interactions in a set of relations. In particular, these symbolic components are envisaged as reflecting the material aspects entailed in a field's relations and the perceptions of such a structure and embodied disposition (habitus).[209]

The notion of habitus is essential to comprehend different actors' attitudes for it describes both the 'system of schemes generating classifiable practices and works' and the 'system of schemes of perception and appreciation'.[210] Specifically, it identifies the embodied dispositions, conscious and unconscious, that inform the ways different individuals perceive and act in a certain field.[211] In this study, the notion of habitus is particularly relevant to consider how it operates in shaping the types of engagement of Italian leaders. As pointed out by Christopher Thorpe, 'habitus generates socially distinctive modes-of-being characteristic of which are a disposition toward, or elective affinity for, certain types of individuals, situations, events, and […] ideas and ways of thinking.'[212]

These habitual dispositions are also relational and part of past and present interactions:

> first, they are 'intentional' in the phenomenological sense. My typification of and trust in you is not a characteristic of me but rather of the way I relate to you. […] Second, these dispositions are shaped by my interaction with you and may, like shared stories, be the joint product of our interactions. They are, to reiterate an earlier

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[209] *Ibidem.*

[210] Christian Fuchs, 'Some Implications of Pierre Bourdieu's Works for a Theory of Social Self-Organization', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 6:4 (2003), 387-408 (p. 395). See also Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu and Loic J.D. Wacquant, eds., *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992).

[211] Pierre Bourdieu and Loic J.D. Wacquant, eds., *op. cit*.

[212] Christopher Thorpe, 'Critical Strategies for Implementing a Relational Sociological Paradigm: Elias, Bourdieu, and Uncivilized Sociological Theoretical Struggles', in *Conceptualising Relational Sociology. Ontological and Theoretical Issues,* ed. by Christopher Powell and François Dèpelteau (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.105-122 (p. 110).

point, shared conventions. […] Third, as this latter point suggests, these conventions are generally only triggered by my contact with you.[213]

Emphasising the relational nature of habitus means recognising the importance of looking at this concept in a specific field, in combination with the actors' embeddedness, roles and interactions. In other words, it is necessary to recognise that habitual elements can be associated to specific forms of capital (and knowledge) of a particular group but also reinforced or challenged through interaction.[214] As pointed out by Daniela Dalla Penna, rather than 'predictive behavioural patterns', a less mechanistic habitus needs to be evoked through the exploration of individual embeddedness: meanings and structural elements are constructed intersubjectively through experience and concur to forge individual understandings.

In this way, 'space' is not constitutive to a specific geographical entity and pertains not only to the structure of a given field; it is also a component of the actors' representations and connotes the imagined construction of the Italian space within the Italian-American relations. Following Etienne Balibar, when looking at single actors we need to look at them

> [as] genuine actors, whose capacity of influencing their own history depends on the transformations of the external and internal conditions, but also on their own representations of the system in which they act.[215]

The exploration of relations and the meanings attached to such connections at the personal level need to be explored simultaneously. The exploration of agency of actors-in-relations, particularly of the Italian leaders in US-Italian Cold War networks under investigation in this study, necessitates tackling these aspects. As I will explain in the following sections, I

[213] Nick Crossley, *Towards a Relational Sociology*, p. 36.
[214] See Nick Crossley, 'Habit and Habitus', *Body and Society*, 19:2/3 (2013), 136-161.
[215] Etienne Balibar, 'The "Impossible" Community of the Citizens: Past and Present Problems', *Society and Space*, 30 (2012), 437-449 (p. 439).

have developed an approach which combines both quantitative and qualitative methods to address both structural and ideational elements. The exploration of the relational aspects that underpinned exchanges between Italian and American actors as well as the examination of their mindset is needed to glean elements of change and to tackle the heterogeneous composition of the network, intended as 'a social arena within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them.'[216] I argue that whilst the examination of enabling and constraining patterns may be best achieved through specific quantitative tools (here, SNA), the analysis of subjective meanings requires a qualitative analysis of texts.

2.3 Social Network Analysis: Exploring Connections and Roles

2.3.1 Network Theory: Looking at Actors-in-Relations

Relations and actors can be looked at as part of a broader relational context, namely observed as agents-in-relations and patterns of relations. Social Network Analysis, which I aim to present in this section, has the main purpose of looking at nodes (actors) and ties (relations) as embedded in social networks. Rather than being a paradigm or a fixed set of tools, SNA offers a variety of means to explore network connections. In the same manner as relational sociology's wide range of theoretical perspectives, Social Network Analysis comprises diverse approaches to networks. The main goal here is to introduce the key concepts in SNA and to present the methodological framework adopted by this study.

Network theory concepts have been used to form the core of SNA interpretations of both the ways relations work and how they can be explored. Actors' behaviours are not

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[216] Richard Jenkins, *Pierre Bourdieu* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 84.

linked to specific attributes, rather regarded as part of relational engagement of the agents themselves. This means exploring the actors' neighbourhood, which can be defined as the direct connections of a specific agent but 'importantly [...] [it] also includes all of the ties among all of the actors to whom the ego has a connection.'[217]

Certainly, formal analyses of networks have been central to the development of SNA tools, especially in conjunction with more structuralist perspectives. Graph theory, in particular, inspired the elaboration of highly complex mathematical models to investigate formal properties of ties and nodes. These models have been applied, for instance, to the understanding of group dynamics (structures of leadership, for instance, introducing notions such as centrality and density) and communities (structures of kinship among different class-based groups).[218]

Models based on actual interactions were then integrated with studies on roles and positions. Early works on SNA primarily explored this through structural measures, namely defining roles in mathematical terms, only partially engaging with questions of culture and its association with power.[219] More recently, works by Harrison White, Steve Borgatti, Ronald Burt and Ann Mische, among others, have developed multiple approaches to explore questions of culture as related to different kinds of networks and have attempted to overcome the dichotomy between agency and structure.[220]

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[217] Robert A. Hanneman and Mark Riddle, 'Concepts and Measures for Basic Network Analysis', in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, ed. by John Scott and Peter J. Carrington (London: SAGE, 2011), pp. 340-369 (p. 357).

[218] John Scott, *What is Social Network Analysis?* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), p.12-14.

[219] For an exhaustive overview of the evolution of SNA, see, for instance, Linton C. Freeman, 'The Development of Social Network Analysis with an Emphasis on Recent Events', in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, ed. by John Scott and Peter J. Carrington (London: SAGE, 2011), pp. 26-39.

[220] See, for example, Harrison White, *op. cit.*; Roland S. Burt, *Brokerage and Closure. An Introduction to Social Capital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Steve P. Borgatti, 'Centrality and Network Flow', *Social Networks*, 27 (2005), 55-71; Ann Mische, 'Cross-talk in Movements: Rethinking the Culture-Network Link', in *Social Movements and Network: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*, ed. by Mario Diani and Doug McAdam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 258-280.

More recently, the field of SNA has been expanded by studies on cultural and historical sociology, history and archaeology. Scholars such as Martin Düring, Paul McLean, Charles Wetherell, and Roger Gould have underlined the value of adopting SNA to explore historical networks.[221] Such research has emphasised, on the one hand, the relevance of SNA measures to observe and analyse actions and events exploring hidden possibilities, similarities and differences between case studies as well as the complexity of cultural mechanisms that can challenge simplistic interpretations of stories, communication and interactions.[222] On the other hand, however, a number of potential drawbacks have been pointed out, for example, the fragmentary nature of the sources, the oversimplification of SNA measures and inappropriate research questions.[223] Underdeveloped examinations of cultural elements have been progressively abandoned in favour of more sophisticated relational frameworks and means, often with the support of software and visualisation tools.

In the case of the social web under investigation in this study, SNA measures are used as exploratory tools to look at the possibilities concealed in the relations between Italian and American leaders, seen as a hidden potential to use different kinds of resources and connections to influence mutual exchanges, according to the agents' views and interests. social network analysts have extensively used different kinds of measures as exploratory tools to reveal different aspects of social action and patterns of relationships. Different indicators, for instance, have been used in qualitative and quantitative works concerning

[221] For instance, Martin Düring, *Verdeckte Netzwerke Im Nationalsozialismus. Berliner Hilfsnetzwerke Für Verfolgte Juden* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Paul McLean, 'A Frame Analysis of Favor Seeking in the Renaissance: Agency, Networks, and Political Culture', *American Journal of Sociology*, 104:1 (1998), 51-91; Roger V. Gould, *op. cit.*

[222] See Marten Düring, 'Can Network Analysis Reveal Importance? Degree Centrality and Leaders in the EU Integration Process', *Lecture Notes in Computer Science*, 88:52 (2015), 314-318; Claire Lemercier, Formale Methoden Der Netzwerkanalyse in Den Geschichtswissenschaften: Warum Und Wie?', *Österreichische Zeitschrift Für Geschichtswissenschaft,* 23:1 (2012), 16-41.

[223] Shawn Graham, Ian Milligan and Scott Weingart, eds., *Exploring Big Historical Data: the Historian's Microscope* (London: Imperial College Press, 2016).

historical cases to explore the rise of social movements, different relational patterns of evolution, and elements of power within political networks, showing not only the versatility of such methods but also their applicability to various approaches.[224]

2.3.2 SNA: Key Concepts and Application

No matter what the perspective is, social network analysis usually relies on mathematical graphs to represent relations and agents. The visualisation of the links is extremely important as it allows the researcher to see the 'effects' of calculations and manipulations on the network structure. Nodes can be individuals or organisations and the lines are the visual illustration of the connections among them: the lines show the existence of a relation between the nodes (actors).[225] In this research, these connections are unweighted, i.e., they do not have a direction (from A to B, or vice versa) and frequency of interaction is not evaluated. The reason for this choice stems from the impossibility of determining the 'value' of a tie: given the fragmentation of historical sources it was not possible to establish how 'strong' a connection was.

The construction of the graph (or sociogram) relies on the elaboration of relational matrices mapping the connections between the nodes examined by the research. One of the main distinctions in the representation of networks concerns the entities taken into account. Square matrices (as the ones adopted by this study) map the connections between entities of the same kind (person-to-person). As the main goal of this study is precisely to investigate

[224] Among others, Peter S. Bearman and Kevin D. Everett, 'The Structure of Social Protest, 1961-1983', *Social Networks*, 15:2 (1993),171-200; Nick Crossley, *Networks of Sound, Style and Subversion: the Punk and Post-Punk Music Worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-1980* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Roberto Franzosi, 'Mobilization and Counter-Mobilization Processes: from the "Red Years" (1919-20) to the "Black Years" (1921-22) in Italy. A New Methodological Approach to the Study of Narrative Data', *Theory and Society,* 26 (1997), 275-304.
[225] See Lothar Krempel, 'Network Visualisation', in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis,* ed. by John Scott and Peter J. Carrington (London: SAGE, 2011), pp. 558-577.

the relations between Italian and American actors, I have created an adjacency matrix to trace such connections, as explained in detail below. I have also built two attribution matrices to 'map' the nationality of the actors and their affiliation to specific organisations; attribution matrices can be mapped onto an adjacency matrix with the purpose of showing similar/dissimilar political, professional and cultural backgrounds in the participants' relational neighbourhood. Information concerning how data is used in relational matrices will be provided in the next subsection.

The creation of the graphs and the use of the tools provided by SNA have the specific goal of looking at the nodes' positions and roles in a specific set of relations and to explore the cleavages, distance and redundancy among different groups and individuals. It is necessary to highlight that SNA calculations may concern the whole network (whole network perspective) dealing with the entirety of the connections (effectiveness, density, etc) or provide information about the relational neighbourhood of a specific actor (how 'involvement affects its actions').[226] I also evaluate the opportunities and constraints of an actor as emerging from its embeddedness: measures such as centrality, effective size and constraints adopted by this analysis are part of this bottom-up approach. As pointed out by Christina Prell, the exploration of individual positions has the potential of elucidating how personal social connections can relate to an actor's particular advantageous/disadvantageous position.[227]

The measures taken into consideration in this thesis include: degree (DC) and betweenness (BC) centrality, homophily; structural holes and cutpoints. Each of these will be introduced in more detail below. Centrality measures will be applied as a means to

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[226] Keith G. Provan, Amy Fish and Joerg Sydow, 'Interorganizational Networks at the Network Level: A Review of the Empirical Literature on Whole Networks', *Journal of Management*, 33:3 (2007), 479-516 (p. 483).
[227] Christina Prell, *Social Network Analysis: History, Theory and Methodology* (London: SAGE, 2012).

identify the potential role associated with positions. Relational patterns – emerging through the computation of the volume of direct connections (DC) of the participants and their ability to connect others (BC) – are regarded as enabling or constraining the engagement of the leaders under investigation. DC reveals the number of actors to whom a single node is connected (connectedness) and BC explores how many times a node is 'in-between' others, following the assumption that the more an ego falls in-between others, the more their alters depend on that ego to reach each other (falling, for instance, in-between actors who want to talk or exchange resources, connecting various regions of the network). If an actor in the network has a high DC, this may underline his or her potential to have a prestigious role or to reach many others (ability to let others know about their ideas). BC brings to light the centrality of a node's relational setting in controlling information/resources.

In other words, centrality measures help identify how central positions could be linked to the core of the transactions in the network in different ways. DC and BC are usually associated with influential roles (hubs and bridges) and to access to various resources.[228] In my research these indicators will be used to explore the limitations and possibilities of actors' various relational positions, rather than considering this 'potential' a property of the actors. Finally, it is worth keeping in mind that the opportunities related to a node's position emerging from the calculation of DC and BC are related to this particular set of relations and these specific alters.

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[228] Dawn Iacobucci and others, 'In Social Network Analysis, Which Centrality Index Should I Use: Theoretical Differences and Empirical Similarities Among Top Centralities', *Journal of Methods and Measurements in the Social Sciences*, 8:2 (2017), 72-99; Andrea Landherr and Julia Heidemann, 'A Critical Review of Centrality Measures in Social Networks', *Business and Information Systems Engeneering*, 2 (2010), 371-385.

Homophily is commonly understood as the principle that 'a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people',[229] that is the potential to share similar mindsets, perceptions and practices. As Nick Crossley put it,

> Insofar as habitus reflect the social influence of particular clusters within the network of worlds, however, they too can act back upon this process reinforcing it. We see this in homophily, that is, the tendency for actors to variously seek out and bond more readily with those who are (more) like their selves.[230]

My analysis uses the concept of homophily to evaluate the composition of an actor's neighbourhood (his/her alters) specifically as pertains their nationality and their affiliation (professional category/organisations). By applying the concept of homophily, I aim to explore not only the embeddedness of my case studies in different sets of ties but also how interactions with specific others may be linked to particular views or roles in the network. Finally, cutpoints identify the nodes (actors) whose ties hold the network together and whose removal has the potential to break communication, highlighting particularly powerful positions.[231] Structural holes measures look at "gaps" in an ego's network and capture the significance of these gaps for ego. These indicators stem from the assumption that the absence of ties in parts of the network may be related to opportunities for other nodes to bridge and control exchanges between alters at the extremes of the hole.[232] The computation

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[229] Miller McPherson, Lynn Smith-Lovin and James M.Cook, 'Homophily in Social Networks', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27 (2001), 415-444 (p. 416).

[230] Nick Crossley, *Towards Relational Sociology*, p. 178.

[231] Maryann M. Durland, 'Exploring and Understanding Relationships', *New Directions for Evaluations*, 107 (2005), 25-40.

[232] Ronald S. Burt, *Structural Holes. The Social Structure of Competition* (Cambridge: Harvard Univesity Press, 1992).

of these measures may reveal particular actors' strategic positioning as related to abilities and motivations as well as style of communication.[233]

The calculation and combination of all these measures has the purpose of identifying the agents' network position, namely 'the structural positions of actors relative to other actors in a network': 'not only the dyadic tie between two actors (…) but also the indirect ties between actors are taken into account'.[234] On the one hand, centrality highlights a node's potential power 'due to the ability to slow down flows' or, for instance, 'to distort what is passed along in such a way as to serve the actor's interests.'[235] On the other hand, the calculation of homophily can help explore similarities, differences and patterns among different actors as a result of their background, resources and interactions of the actors involved. As such, SNA allows for a thorough examination of the network structure and individual relational possibilities and the 'interaction practices', which are 'central to the processes leading to the formation, reproduction, and transformation of habitus and field structure.'[236]

2.4 Data Collection and Procedures

2.4.1 Case studies

The set of ties examined by this study has been generated through the combination of three Italian representative leaders' ego-nets. As stated in the Introduction, Fabio Luca Cavazza, Mario Pannunzio and Elena Croce were three prestigious and renowned cultural figures in

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[233] Rafael Wittek, 'Structural Holes', in *Encyclopedia of Social Network Analysis and Mining,* ed. by Reda Alhajj and Jon Rokne (New York: Springer, 2014), pp. 2075-2083.
[234] Renée C. Van Der Hulst, 'Introduction to Social Network Analysis (SNA) as an Investigative Tool', *Trends in Organized Crime*, 12 (2009), 101-121 (p. 107-108).
[235] Stephen P. Borgatti, Ajay Mehra, Daniel J. Brass and Giuseppe Labianca, 'Network Analysis in the Social Sciences', *Science*, 323 (2009), 892-895 (p. 893).
[236] Sourabh Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

the 1950s in Italy and part of the cultural and political group, which were targeted by the US exchange programmes considered for this study. As the literature on historical networks indicates, in order to select a specific case study archival sources need to be available.[237] Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's archival sources are well preserved and accessible. The selection of Italian leaders in the cultural field (comprising Italian journalists, editors, writers and intellectuals) for this analysis also stems from the importance such actors played in the eyes of American officers. In particular, USIA and State Department documents have revealed that such actors became a primary target especially after 1956, when international events and local political, economic and cultural transformations gave space for new actors and enterprises to try to shape the political and cultural debate.[238] Thus, the selection of Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio to take part in the US exchange programmes demonstrates that US officers considered these figures potential ambassadors of the US cause. Moreover, their participation in Italian Congress for Cultural Freedom branch (Associazione Italiana per la Cultura) in post-war years also shows the Italian leaders' sympathy for, or at least curiosity about, US matters.

These figures played a prominent role in the local arena as previous literature reveals. Pannunzio's main enterprise in the period under consideration here, the magazine *Il Mondo*, gave him the chance to take part directly in the Italian post-war cultural and political debate. This magazine was created in 1949 in reaction to the Italian 1948 elections. This event ensured a prominent governmental position for the Christian Democratic Party and marked the inauguration of James Dunn's ambassadorship in Rome, favouring a

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[237] Nick Crossley and others, eds., *Social Network Analysis for Ego-Nets* (London: SAGE, 2015).

[238] *Country Plan, April 16,1956, USIS –Italy*, Clare Boothe Luce Papers, Box 634, Library of Congress; Simona Tobia, *op. cit*. See also: Mario Del Pero, 'The United States and Psychological Warfare in Italy, 1948-1955', *Journal of American History*, 87:4 (2001), 1304-1334.

convergence of interests between Italian and American governmental representatives as well as non-state actors that allowed for the Christian Democratic Party to be identified as the primary interlocutor.[239] Italian elections also symbolised a division of the political ground along Cold War lines, which was also reflected in the Italian press,[240] as well as the beginning of a political and cultural struggle between the two main parties, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and the Christian Democratic Party.

The foundation of *Il Mondo* reflected Pannunzio's need to create a space for the construction of a Third Force, namely a political and cultural movement that eluded and counteracted the power of Communist and Christian Democratic parties, and that originally stemmed from the actionist and federalist plan to promote change within Italy's political life within the framework of New Europe.[241] Pannunzio's efforts aimed to fight totalitarianism in all its forms, both secular and religious, and considered anti-Communism, anti-fascism and anti-clericalism (mainly against the Church as a political and cultural player) the main traits of his enterprise.[242] Such a project had the purpose of bringing together several different ideological stances among the laical and liberal elites, united by the intention of providing a new perspective on Italy's democratisation and modernisation process. Such an intellectual cluster shared a Europeanist and Atlanticist stance, but it also comprised a variety of views. Projects such as the social-democratic magazine *Il Ponte*, the publication *Nord e Sud*, which had a focus on Southern Italy, and *Comunità* by the entrepreneur Adriano Olivetti pursued

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[239] Kaeten Mistry, *The United States, Italy and the Origins of the Cold War*.

[240] See, for instance, Caterina Genna, *Guido De Ruggiero e La "Nuova Europa". Tra Idealismo e Storicismo*, (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2010); Altiero Spinelli, *Europa Terza Forza. Politica estera e difesa comune negli anni della Guerra Fredda: scritti 1947-1954* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000).

[241] Massimo Teodori, *Pannunzio. Dal "Mondo" al partito radicale*.

[242] Massimo Teodori, 'Introduzione', in *Carteggio Pannunzio-Salvemini (1949-1957)*, Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, available online at <https://archivio.camera.it/resources/pu01/allegati/Carteggio_Pannunzio-Salvemini.0005.pdf> (Last seen: March 2022).

various aims, respectively the promotion of debate on the Republican system through a socialist perspective, the advancement of a discussion on the issues of Southern Italy and the attempt to give life to a 'spiritual reformation' of Italian society.[243] Particularly influential in the Third Force movement in Italy was the European Federalist Movement (MEF), which Pannunzio joined in the early 1950s. For Pannunzio and his collaborators, Europeanism and Atlanticism were regarded as necessary tools to prevent an expansion of the Communist influence in Italian politics and a reinforcement of extreme-right forces; in his view, the Atlantic Pact was not supposed to be 'an aggressive instrument against the Soviet Union, but a means for [the creation of a] Europe, that was taking its first steps.'[244] These ideas converged later in *Il Mondo* and became part of the approach of the Italian branch of the American Congress for Cultural Freedom (AILC), whose activities continued throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, in which Pannunzio actively took part.[245]

Another prominent figure in post-war Italy, Cavazza founded his magazine *Il Mulino* as early as 1951 and a publishing house of the same name a few years later (1954). His enterprise gathered a wide number of scholars, intellectuals and journalists to analyse political, economic and social issues. The purpose of the founding group[246] was to combine the Catholic and secular political cultures through a reformist and a non-communist, leftist approach.[247] Given the

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[243] Fabio Guidali, *Uomini di cultura e associazioni intellettuali nel dopoguerra tra Francia, Italia e Germania Occidentale, 1945-1956* (Freie Universität Berlin: PhD Dissertation, 2013); Benjamin De Liguori Carino, *Adriano Olivetti e le Edizioni di Comunità, 1946-1960* (Roma: Fondazione Olivetti, 2008), in particular, p. 63-80.

[244] However, it is worth mentioning Altiero Spinelli's progressive detachment from the MFE movement at the beginning of the 1960s and his involvement in *Il Mulino* group's activities, that allowed him to become an emblematic figure for the intellectuals involved in such a project.

[245] *Associazione Italiana per la Libertà della Cultura: verbale del comitato direttivo, 4th December 1951*, Archivio Storico Camera dei Deputati, Box 75, Folder 539; *Ignazio Silone to Mario Pannunzio, 23rd October 1951*, Archivio Storico Camera dei Deputati, Box 13, Folder 6; *Ignazio Silone to Altiero Spinelli, 6th March 1961*, Historical Archives of the European Union, AS-90.

[246] Such a group numbered, among others, Federico Mancini, Nicola Matteucci, Paolo Rossi (FLP 1956), Pier Luigi Contessi.

[247] Paola Govoni, 'Il Mulino, la storia della scienza e la "Cultural Cold War"', in *Una scienza bolognese? Figure e percorsi nella storiografia della scienza,* ed. by Annarita Angelini, Marco Beretta and Giuseppe Olmi (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2015), 347-363 (p. 350).

polarisation of the Italian political arena, Cavazza 'endorsed an alliance between Catholics and Socialists'[248] as he considered it the only viable solution.

His publication as well as his publishing house caught the attention of US officers who felt it could serve as a platform to develop and circulate non-Communist and democratic political culture to reinforce an intellectual non-communist left. In the mid-fifties he was also regarded as an outstanding figure by the Information Research Department (IRD) for the stature of his projects, the environment where his activities came to life (Bologna and the rest of Emilia-Romagna were predominantly 'red'), and the circle of people collaborating with him.[249] As pointed out by Marzia Maccaferri, this group's cultural project was organised through different initiatives: as an instrument to 'remove the separation between intellectuals and society'; as a channel to promote a 'reformulation of the public and political space' through the magazine and the publishing house; and as a tool to 'modernise Italian culture.'[250]

Cavazza's visit to the United States as part of the Foreign Leader Program for the year 1955 gave him the chance to travel to the main American destinations, to adjust the trip to his own interests and to meet several US political and cultural figures. Among them, the most relevant personalities with whom he got in touch were the representative of the Italian Association for Agriculture Victor Sullam and the American politician and intellectual Arthur Schlesinger. These two figures constituted a point of reference for Cavazza over the 1950s and 1960s, as shown by the archival material and as has been pointed out by previous studies.[251]

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[248] Francesco Bello, *Fabio Luca Cavazza, the "New Frontier" and the Opening to the Left*, p. 653.

[249] Giovanni Fasanella and Mario Josè Cereghino, *Il Golpe Inglese. Da Matteotti a Moro: le prove della guerra segreta per il controllo del petrolio e dell'Italia* (Milano: Chiarelettere, 2009), p. 206.

[250] Marzia Maccaferri, 'Intellectuals, Journals, and the legitimation of political power: the case of the Italian Intellectual group Il Mulino (1950s and 1960s)', *Modern Italy*, 21:2 (2016), p. 188. See also Matteo Lodevole, 'From the Italian Resistance to the Kennedy Era: Italian Intellectuals and their American Counterparts', in *Politics and Culture in Post-war Italy*, ed. by Linda Russo and Monica Boria (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Press, 2006), pp.146-162 (p. 149).

[251] Francesco Bello, *Fabio Luca Cavazza, the 'New Frontier' and the Opening to the Left*.

Through these prominent figures, Cavazza managed to get in touch with a wide range of American politicians, scholars and members of diverse US foundations, among others CIA members (Joe Zaring, Dorothy Jane and Dana Durand), the State Department's Italian Desk (John Hawley), the Institute of Defence Analysis (James E. King) and the OIR (John Di Sciullo and Tom Fina) as well as members of the US trade unions (Victor Reuther) and of Kennedy's administration (for instance, William Knight), with whom he had contacts throughout the 1960s and some even in the 1970s.[252]

Elena Croce, the third and last case study, developed a network of contacts among Italian intellectual circles. In 1944 she collaborated with the magazine *Aretusa* created by her father, the philosopher Benedetto Croce and the literary critic Francesco Flora aimed to reconstruct Italy's post-war cultural fabric through the association of Italian and international antifascist intellectual forces. The assistance of Elena Croce was crucial both as a point of connection and as a promoter of a new literary product. Not only was Croce acquainted with the Roman circles, for she had moved to the capital after her studies in the 1930s, but she also had the chance to witness and take part in the post WWII 'literary renaissance', namely the creation of numerous publications 'dedicated to politics, literature, art and society.'[253] Such an experience inevitably had an impact on Croce's creation of her magazine *Lo Spettatore Italiano*, which she published between 1948 and 1956.

These ventures, which aimed to rebuild a genuine liberal culture and later to forge a critical and innovative instrument that could serve the needs of new democratic elites, gathered a vast number of collaborators, whose involvement, however, gradually changed the nature of

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[252] This is what emerges from his archival papers.

[253] Erika Bertelli, 'Le memorie di Elena Croce', in *La letteratura italiana e le arti. Atti del XX Congresso dell'ADI Associazione degli italianisti* (Naples, 7-10 September 2016), available at <https://www.italianisti.it/pubblicazioni/atti-di-congresso/la-letteratura-italiana-e-le-arti/Bertelli.pdf> (Last seen: March 2022), p. 3.

the publications themselves. Perhaps because of this transformation, or because it was anchored to post-war debates and views, *Lo Spettatore Italiano* did not last after 1956, when a process of deep cultural reconfiguration took place. The chance to become a mediating tool and an incisive instrument in the political-cultural arena was missed. Croce's role as an editor as well as a writer and academic allowed her, nevertheless, to become a primary figure among Italian cultural elites.[254]

Her connection to multiple leaders also needs some consideration. Her family was close to USIS personnel as reported by the director of the USIS centre in Florence in the mid-Fifties, James Moceri, whose acquaintance with Croce's family (and his 'excellent relationship with Benedetto Croce') and Neapolitan liberal intellectual circles dated back to the end of the 1940s, and by James B. Engle, USIS Political Officer in Naples (1951-1953) and Rome (1953-1955).[255] Although it is not possible to confirm any further contacts between these American leaders and Elena Croce after the death of her father, such information may, at least, suggest that she was known among USIS personnel. The lack of correspondence with American officers on the ground in the archival material I consulted is not per se an indication of a total absence of communication with various centres of the USIS, but it may reveal that such interactions never became frequent, and their relationships never grew stronger.

The figure of Marguerite Caetani is also central to the development of Croce's network, as recalled in her memoirs.[256] Specifically, Croce and Caetani, with the cooperation of the aristocrat Giulia Benzoni and Nina Ruffini – collaborator of Mario Pannunzio – gave life to a

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[254] See Daniela La Penna, 'Aretusa: Continuity, Rupture and Space for Intervention, 1944-1946', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 21:1 (2016), 19-34 (p. 20); Lorenzo Salvagni, *op. cit.*; Giuseppe Galasso, *op. cit*.
[255] Lewis G. Schmidt and James Moceri, *Interview with James Moceri, 1990*, Library of Congress, available online at <https://cdn.loc.gov/service/mss/mfdip/2004/2004moc01/2004moc01.pdf> (last seen March 2022); Charles S. Kennedy, *Interview with James B. Engles, 1988*, Library of Congress, available online at <https://cdn.loc.gov/service/mss/mfdip/2004/2004eng01/2004eng01.pdf> (Last seen March 2022).
[256] Elena Croce, *Due città* (Milano: Adelphi, 1985), p. 39.

circle in Rome for intellectuals, journalists, writers, and political figures called *Il Ritrovo*. In her memoirs, Croce refers to it as a hub for illustrious characters such as the politician Carlo Sforza and the architect Bruno Zevi, which, however, did not have a definite political or cultural aim. As a project inspired by the Allied Psychological Warfare Division, it bore the limits of a contingent venture in an extremely uncertain and delicate time. Nevertheless, both her role in the local arena as well as her international reputation makes her case particularly interesting to explore the dynamics and the complexity of the interests shaping her agency in the local arena and in relation to her American interlocutors.

As Cavazza, Pannunzio and Croce were actively involved in these debates, they constitute representative examples for my research to explore how their cultural and social capital developed through connections and how different enterprises informed their engagement with American interlocutors. Inasmuch as they performed different professional roles (Cavazza as a publisher, Pannunzio as an editor, and Croce as a writer and editor) and by taking distinctive stances within the liberal-democratic elites and the Atlanticist and anti-Communist groups, they also give me the chance to explore and compare their roles in the US-Italian networks by looking at their varying attitudes and understandings.

2.4.2 The construction of the US-Italian network

Mapping relations relies on specific choices concerning the relational boundaries of a set of connections because 'in contrast to groups' networks have 'no natural boundaries.'[257] The selection of the number and names of the other participants for this investigation was conducted after a thorough examination of the primary sources available in the Archive

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[257] Stephen P. Borgatti and Daniel Halgin, 'On Network Theory', *Organisational Science*, 22:5 (2011), 1168-1181 (p. 1169).

Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce and in the private archive of Cavazza's family. In addition, I used primary sources of the National Archive in College Park and the CU collection of the University of Arkansas concerning the Foreign Leader and Foreign Specialist Program. I also relied on secondary sources such as memoirs, biographies and scholarly research to identify the most significant alters for each of the three case studies. The criteria for the selection of the alters were dictated by the archival information (exchanges of letters) and biographical reconstructions specifically as pertains US-Italian connections. The whole network comprises figures that participated in Cavazza, Pannunzio and Croce's main professional ventures (co-editors, members of the same publishing house, etc.) and/or with whom they had a long-lasting relationship (as emerged from their memoirs, biographies, and correspondence). In the case of Fabio Luca Cavazza, given his extensive number of connections (both in Italy and the US), the choice was operated relying on both the strength of the relationship (number of meetings and letters exchanged) and also on the information available regarding his alters: some of these figures – especially among the American groups – were hard to identify and their connections with the other Italian participants not retraceable, potentially altering the position of Cavazza in the network.

Finally, the availability of the sources and the information through archives, memoirs and secondary literature were determinant for the reconstruction of the network. When there was no information available regarding a specific connection, it has simply been regarded as non-existent. For contemporary topics researchers have opted for different methods of data collection (surveys, interviews, etc)[258] but a number of historical studies rely on archival

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[258] Stephen P. Borgatti, Martin G. Everett and Jeffrey G. Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks* (London: SAGE, 2013); Rob Cross, Stephen P. Borgatti and Andrew Parker, 'Making Invisible Work Visible: Using Social Network Analysis to Support Strategic Collaboration', *California Review Management*, 44 (2002), 25-44.

documents/biographical material.[259] As discussed in the next section, this sample may not be a comprehensive representation of interests and groups within the network, but it principally aims to provide some insight into the processes that gave shape to Italian-American relations.

The ego-nets of Cavazza, Pannunzio and Croce have then been merged to form a whole network encompassing these three main actors' relations with both Italian and American elites. The connections among the agents have been recorded through an adjacency matrix and have been attributed either a 0 value (no ties between the two nodes considered) or 1 (existing link between two nodes) on an excel spreadsheet. This set of relations is a one-mode and undirected network (tracing the relations between all nodes) for a total of *73 actors*. The relational data were then analysed by means of UCInet software, which provides a comprehensive set of tools for the exploration of power distribution, manipulation and visualisation of the network.[260] This software allows the researcher to run both egocentric and whole network measures and it also provides the users with a visualisation programme, NetDraw.

After the creation of the relational matrix, this set of connections was examined through the calculation of various measures. Among them, the computation of centrality and homophily are the most relevant. I have selected indicators with strong correlations (such as degree and betweenness centrality) because they may provide a full evaluation of the importance of the nodes in the network, for instance, the multiple and complex role certain actors came to play as well as the differences and similarities between some of the key

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[259] Gemma Edwards and Nick Crossley, 'Measure and Meanings: Exploring the Ego-Net of Helen Kirkpatrick Watts, Militant Suffragette', *Methodological Innovations Online*, 4 (2009), 37-61; Marten Düring, *op. cit.* (2015); Paul D. McLean, *op. cit.*

[260] Stephen P. Borgatti, Martin G. Everett and Jeffrey G. Johnson, o*p. cit.*

players.[261] Although the correlation between these measures cannot be determined beforehand and depends on the structure of a network (for instance, its density), studies have pointed out the likelihood of their high correlation but have also assessed their importance in showing different processes through which a node may find itself in a powerful position.[262]

In addition, I also explore homophily measures, cutpoints and structural holes, as gauges to provide additional information on each individual's relational setting and peculiarities. The significance and potential calculated through these measures will be explained thoroughly alongside the analysis of the network in Chapter Three.

It is worth discussing here another aspect concerning the resources and roles associated with specific positionalities, as revealed by the SNA measures. The importance of specific actors in the network as well as their attitudes and influence may be measured by looking at the potential part they could play as it emerges from the analysis of their interconnections. Acting as a broker (controlling information), a bridge (connecting others) or a gatekeeper (having the chance to include/separate groups), for instance, might represent the occupation of an advantageous position in the web of relations taken into consideration. As Ronald Burt argued, 'the location of the player's contacts in the social structure' might define their 'chances of getting higher rates of return on investment.'[263] This concept is similar to BC presented above. Whilst BC looks at how many times a node is in the shortest path between two alters (and therefore acts like a potential bridge), structural holes measures

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[261] Shaolin Huang and others, 'Identifying Node Roles Based on Multiple Indicators', *Plos*, 9:8 (2014), available at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4121239/> (Last Seen: March 2022).
[262] Thomas W. Valente and others, 'How Correlated Are Network Centrality Measures?', *Connect*, 28:1 (2008), 16-26; Stuart Oldham and others, 'Consistency and Differences Between Centrality Measures Across Distinct Classes of Networks', *Plos One*, 14:7 (2019), 1-23.
[263] Ronald Burt, *Structural Holes,* p. 45.

also provide a thorough understanding of how a node's embeddedness may influence its ability to act as a broker by looking at redundancy (namely, having strongly connected others, limiting the ability of ego to control information).[264]

As I will discuss further in the next chapter, brokerage usually invokes both a strategic position (the ability to connect two otherwise disconnected nodes) and the ability to act as a bridge, namely a connector whose 'removal increases the number of components in the network'.[265] There are various types of brokerage roles, which SNA allows the researcher to identify, within the same group, amongst different ones, or between individuals embedded in different groups.[266] Other roles might still be important but secondary, indicating a less powerful position in the set of connections analysed. Through my analysis, I will explain which model (broker, gatekeeper, hub) best describes the roles of the three actors at the centre of the study, thereby developing a typology of action. In particular, I will show how Cavazza's role in the network is the one of a broker, whilst Croce and Pannunzio are identified, respectively, as gatekeeper and hub.

2.5 The Exploration of Meaning: Letters a tool to study relations

2.5.1 A Qualitative Analysis of Letters

Given the perspective adopted by this study, the analysis of networks cannot be limited to structural elements. These social webs are not stable but continuously modified and entail cultural processes, which cannot be explained only through the analysis of relational

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[264] Robert A. Hanneman and Mark Riddle, *op. cit.*, p.360.
[265] Wouter De Nooy, Andrej Mrvar and Vladimir Batangelj, *Exploratory Social Network Analysis with Pajek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 127.
[266] Christina Prell, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-128.

patterns and positions. All the more so because relations per se do not explain how actors felt about or acted upon them. A complementary investigation of meaning-making among the actors involved is essential to understand how the participants valued and viewed such connections and how they negotiated the meanings attached to their relations through communication. As stated by Christine Moser, Peter Groenewegen, and Marleen Huysman,

> visualization or statistically expressed numbers sometimes help to make interpretive results more accessible, and therefore enhance the quality of the research' but a focus on meanings in the network is fundamental to understand SNA findings, so that a 'position can be linked to content and vice versa'.[267]

The texts analysed to unearth these meanings are letters exchanged between Italians and American actors in the period between 1950 and 1965. Previous works within network analysis have based the analysis of personal networks on the letters exchanged between an individual and his/her alters.[268] In particular, my analysis applies a selection of the letters *a priori*, limiting it to the archival material available for Mario Pannunzio and Elena Croce and, as pertains Fabio Luca Cavazza, selecting a number of representative American alters from different organisations, given the extensive material held in his personal archive. Specifically, my selection was limited to the early 1960s given the scope and interest of this dissertation and to the alters with whom he had the most written exchanges.

In this work, the sources concerning the cases of Cavazza, Pannunzio and Croce are explored through a qualitative historical source analysis. Qualitative analysis, which is widely used in historical research,[269] does not rely on a fixed and detailed process for all

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[267] Christine Moser, Peter Groenewegen, and Marleen Huysman, *op. cit.*(p. 558).
[268] Paul DiMaggio, 'Cultural Networks', in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis,* ed. by John Scott and Peter J. Carrington (London: SAGE, 2011), pp. 286-300; Paul McLean, *op. cit.*
[269] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Methods and New Directions in the Study of History* (London&New York: Routledge, 2015).

different types of historical documents. Rather, it offers an indication of how sources should be approached, what the necessary analytical steps are, and how to use documents as evidence. It entails a reflection on the authenticity and credibility of the sources, the context in which they were created, and their purpose: the reconstruction of the context, in particular, is key to the understanding and interpretation of these documents.[270] Historical source analysis (and the analysis of letters as part of this) also pays particular attention to the content and language used by the authors, the presence of references to other groups/individuals, the structure of the texts and the messages they conveyed in order to extract the most important information for the researcher's questions, to reflect on the author's intention and his/her audience as well as on how the message was delivered.[271] This information is then related to the immediate context in which the text was created (the author's position, the facts and figures mentioned in the text, etc.) and the broader context (to identify whether the text reflect broader phenomena, the attitudes of a specific group, etc) in order to be able to problematise or further explain particular events, aspects and experiences; finally, the motivations, assumptions/bias, and self-presentation beyond the literal meaning of the text are further scrutinised.[272]

This method has been used in historical research to analyse a great variety of sources, including biographies, oral testimonies and letters.[273] With regard to the latter, language plays a significant role as it helps understand the letter-writer's goals, the relationship

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[270] Elizabeth Ann Danto, *Historical Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.60.
[271] Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire, *Research Methods for History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).
[272] Katherine Pickering Antonova, *The Essential Guide to Writing History Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
[273] See, for instance, Miriam Dobson, *Reading Primary Sources* (London&New York: Routledge, 2020); Maria Pia Casalena, 'Lettere come documenti e testi', *Contemporanea*, 9:1 (2006), 199-205; Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir, 'Fragments of Lives: the Use of Private Letters in Historical Research', *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gendered Research*, 15 (2007), 35-49.

entailed with the recipient and the ways events are described.[274] Specifically, letters have been used in historical research in a wide range of studies concerning political and intellectual figures to investigate their lives and networks.[275] Since the 1960s and 1970s, they have also been analysed to look at how ordinary people lived their lives, to unfold the complexity of particular events and phenomena as well as the socio-cultural aspects concerning the actions, beliefs and values of a community or group. Exchanges of letters have been examined as meaningful tools of communication moving between the individual and the social:[276] several works on letters and letter-writing have reflected on the dialogic nature of these exchanges as well as on the material and communication aspects of these means.[277] Scholars have also used letters as a historical source to highlight different purposes (private, political, etc) and to explore exchange of letters as a social and cultural practice in different places and times.[278] These studies show that the study of correspondence is particularly fruitful to the analysis of interactions and the perspectives and understandings of the authors entailed in such exchanges as well as the changes that occur over time.[279]

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[274] Bill McDowell, *Historical Research: A Guide for Writers of Dissertations, Theses, Articles and Books,* (London&New York: Routledge, 2013); Gary McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education, History and Social Sciences* (London&New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004).

[275] The possibilities entailed in analysing letters to explore connections are presented in Ruth Anhert and others, *The Network Turn. Changing Perspectives in the Humanities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

[276] Regina Schulte and Xenia Von Tippelskirch, 'Reading, Interpreting and Historicizing: Letters as Historical Sources', *EUI Working Paper HEC, No. 2004/2* (Florence: European University Institute, 2004).

[277] Terttu Nevalainen, Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen, *Letter Writing* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007); David Barton and Nigel Hall, eds., *Letter Writing as a Social Practice* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1999); Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1982).

[278] Sarah M.S. Pearsall, 'Letters and Letter Writing', *Obo in Atlantic History*, 2012 available at: <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199730414/obo-9780199730414-0187.xml> (Last seen: March 2022).

[279] Liz Stanley, *op. cit.*; Margaretta Jolly, 'Introduction: Epistolarity in the Twenty-First Century', *Auto/Biography Studies,* 21:1 (2006), 1-6. Letters have been at the core of interdisciplinary research exploring language in correspondence: Terttu Nevalainen, 'Women's Writing as Evidence for Linguistic Continuity and Change in Early Modern English', in *Alternative Histories of English,* ed. by Richard j. Watts and Peter Trudgill (London&New York: Routledge, 2002), pp.191-209; Minna Palander Collin, 'Correspondence', in *Historical Pragmatics,* ed. by Andreas H. Juncker and Irma Taavitsainen (Berlin&New York: De Gruyter, 2010), pp.651-678.

The qualitative exploration of letters adopted by this research relies on the idea that a letter exchange between Italian and American elites testifies that there was an actual communication between them. What is more, writing letters is in itself a relational activity, as it written by an actor (the writer) for an intended addressee. This is regarded as its main characteristic, even when the person writing is talking to themselves.[280] More generally, 'letters permit us to gain access to a domestic or intimate sphere, include emotions and perceptions, reflect representations and underlying ideologies' as well as 'to reconstruct social relationships and family structures and ways of establishing them.'[281] As such, these documents allow for an exploration of the connections among the actors and their agency.

The analysis of letters can provide an exclusive insight into the relationships between Italian and American actors. Surprisingly, no studies to date have thoroughly examined this material to uncover the meaning attributed to specific interconnections by Italian leaders. The exploration of archival letters allows for a focus on the intersubjective aspects of various dyadic relations, bringing to light the existence of heterogenous, ambiguous and complex meanings and the embeddedness of the actors and their actions as represented in their documents.[282] In this way, 'systematic connections between the pattern of relations' (identified through SNA) and 'the shared cognition of the actors' may be explored and described.[283] In other words, leaders occupying different positions of power acted according to different views. Through the analysis of their correspondence, I aim to

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[280] Sarah Poustie, *Letters and Networks: Analysing Olive Schreiner's Epistolary Network* (University of Edinburgh: PhD Dissertation, 2014).

[281] Regina Schulte and Xenia von Tippelskirch, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[282] Eero Vaara and Juha-Antti Lamberg, 'Taking Historical Embeddedness Seriously: Three Historical Approaches to Advance Strategy Process and Practice Research', *Academy of Management Review*, 41:4 (2016), 633-657; Daniela La Penna, 'Habitus and Embeddedness in the Florentine Literary Field: the Case of Alberto Carocci', 73:2 (2018), *Italian Studies*, 126-141.

[283] Jan Fuchse, Sophie Mützel, *Op.Cit*, p. 1082.

look at the ways in which they presented themselves and the reasons why they chose to foster their connections.

The analysis of texts and the agents' worldview is based on the view that language can be seen as a means through which individuals participate in the construction of meaning, namely a tool that gives access to individual understandings, not separated from the social environment in which actors are embedded, rather constructed through and in it. In the words of Norman Fairclough, 'people are not only pre-positioned in how they participate in social events and texts, they are also social agents who do things, create things, change things'.[284] In other words, such a perspective presupposes a 'co-constitutive relationship between agency and structure, text and context'.[285] In their letters, I argue, the participants are not only relating to each other – offering a personal perspective on relations, actions and facts – but they are also operating within a specific context. A focus on their texts offers a 'unique and necessary interface between the macro aspects of society and the micro aspects of discourse and interaction'.[286]

As mentioned above, my analysis relies on a qualitative study of such texts. Rather than counting the frequency of their contacts or of language patterns, for instance, it aims to identify the perceptions of others and presentation of the selves as performed through the epistolary exchange. As highlighted in this chapter, previous work on ego-nets has relied on letters to map and reconstruct personal networks or to analyse rhetorical tools as part of routinised cultural practices to form relationships. Conversely, in this study the relational

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[284] Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse. Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London&New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 160.

[285] Anna Holzscheiter, 'Between Communicative Interaction and Structures of Signification: Discourse Theory and Analysis in International Relations', *International Studies Perspectives*, 15 (2014). 142-162 (p. 143).

[286] Teun Van Dijk, 'Contextual Knowledge Management in Discourse Production: A CDA Perspective', in *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis. Theory, Methodology and Interdisciplinarity*, ed. by Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilto (Amsterdam&Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2005), pp. 71-100 (p. 87).

patterns identified through SNA will be explored through the study of the letters of the three main figures under investigation. The main purpose is to uncover the negotiations and agential power of these actors in their engagement with US counterparts and influencing symbolic environments. Central to this perspective is the principle that constructed roles may be identified through the examination of the actors' representations of their worldviews, activities and interests.[287]

Particularly relevant is the perceived capacity to act and the cultural assumptions (values and beliefs) underpinning the actor's representations. In personal documents, such as letters, the agents share views, opinions, information.[288] They might choose to build trust or reject an offer: for this reason, letters are invaluable sources to comprehend the ways Italian actors chose to interact with their American counterparts. The intimate nature of these letters (being personal and not 'official' correspondence) also allowed Italian and American participants to interact more freely. The issues discussed, the expectations and preferences of the characters as well as the continuation/interruption of their relationships may therefore give us an idea of their perceptions, but also specific linguistic choices (English words, translations, informal expressions) as ways to produce intended effects on the audience. In addition, values and attitudes as part of particular practices are socially constructed: 'social practices not only involve what agents typically *do* but also involve typical representations, perceptions and classifications'; as such they 'involve linguistic practices' through which 'the products of habitus (…) are evaluated'.[289] As pertains

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[287] Marina Dossena, 'The Study of Correspondence', in *Letter Writing in Late Modern Europe,* ed. by Marina Dossena Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti (Amsterdam&Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012), pp.13-29.

[288] Rebecca Earle, 'Introduction: Letters, Writers and the Historian', in *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600-1945,* ed. by Rebecca Earle (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 1-14.

[289] Glenn F. Stillar, *Analyzing Everyday Texts. Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Perspectives* (London: SAGE, 1998), p. 101 (emphasis in text). See also: Pierre Bourdieu, 'Social Space and Symbolic Power', *Sociological Theory*, 7:1 (1989), 14-25.

epistolary exchanges, a great number of studies have emphasised the role of letters as connectors (means), have examined in detail the nature of letter writing as a social practice and, finally, have relied on them to reconstruct personal networks.[290]

2.5.2 The Coding Process

Single actors' strategies are nested in questions of relational power both in structural and cultural terms, namely both as a result of the social role and habitus of the various players involved, and, as such, are 'dependent on subjective assessment and possibilities.'[291] In this way, the various potential roles of Italian actors identified by means of Social Network Analysis are investigated through the different ways in which they were discursively performed in different interactions. The examination of the texts does not aim to uncover key truths, rather to explore the interaction between American and Italian elites.

Representations and strategies were identified by means of an exploration of the topics discussed as well as the depiction of selves/others and will be linked to the contextual elements. In order to explore and analyse these aspects, the letters were coded with the support of the qualitative data analysis software QSR NVivo. In qualitative research,

> To code […] is to assign a truncated, symbolic meaning to each datum for purposes
> of qualitative analysis. Coding is a heuristic [tool]— a method of discovery — to
> the meanings of individual sections of data. These codes function as a way of
> patterning, classifying, and later reorganizing them into emergent categories for
> further analysis.[292]

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[290] See, among others, Sarah Poustie, *op. cit.*; Elisa Bellotti, 'What Are Friends For? Elective Communities of Single People', *Social Networks*, 30:4 (2008), 318-329; Brian Ogilvie, 'Correspondence Networks', in *A Companion to the History of Science,* ed. by Bernard Lightman (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), pp. 358-371.
[291] Stephan Tischer and others, eds., *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis* (London: SAGE, 2000), p. 156.
[292] Johnny Saldaña, 'Coding and Analysis Strategies', in *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research,* ed. by Patricia Leavy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 581-605 (p. 584).

NVivo offers a series of tools to pursue a qualitative examination of texts, which specifically aims to 'identify information and the link among different texts and hold them together', [293] which is particularly helpful when dealing with a large number of documents. In this study, I identified parts of Cavazza, Pannunzio, Croce's correspondence — a whole sentence, a paragraph or just a word — assigning a code to them, which in NVivo are called "nodes": these elements may represent 'any categories - concepts, people, abstract ideas, places and any other things that matter to [the] project' and make it possible to 'browse all the data coded[…], rethink, recode, and ask questions about the category in searches.'[294]

'In my analysis, the codes were created inductively as they emerged from the leaders' letters and as such do not necessarily have broad applicability to other case studies. The inductive approach was adopted in order to pursue an explorative study of the sources and to allow different communication features to emerge from the texts.[295] The codes created through this analysis aimed to capture

1. how the actors represented their role and their relationship with their interlocutor

2. what activities they mentioned or issues/topics they raised with their interlocutor.

During the first steps of my analysis, a great number of subcodes were generated inductively from the texts: the full list of these subcodes is available in *Appendix B*. In the second stage of analysis, these subcodes were organised in NVIvo: this software allows for codes to be designated 'child nodes' (the subcodes identified in the first part of the coding process) or 'parent nodes' (overarching categories created by aggregating particular subcodes) to be able to identify both broad themes and detailed dimensions as well as to eliminate duplication.

[293] Lyn Richards, *Using NVIVO in Qualitative Research*, (London: SAGE, 1999), p.109.
[294] *Ivi*, p.12.
[295] See David R. Thomas, 'A General Inductive Approach for Analyzing Qualitative Evaluation Data', *American Journal of Evaluation,* 27:2 (2006), 237-246.

Particular attention was given to verbs (active/passive verbs to describe their actions as a means of strategic presentation), the topics discussed (to describe their interests) and the ways they addressed their interlocutors (to analyse how they perceived their relationship with their interlocutors or how they approached them to further their collaboration). To give one example of the coding process, the following is an extract from a letter from Cavazza to a US governmental leader John Di Sciullo:

> In the course of my trip I aim to have conversations with the Ford Foundation concerning [our] new research projects and [meetings] with publishing houses, authors, etc. in order to increase our publishing activities'.[296]

In this brief extract, I coded 'in the course of my trip I aim to have conversations with' as having an 'active role' as well as 'looking for connections' and 'Ford Foundation/publishing houses' as 'Being connected'; finally, 'concerning our new projects/publishing activities' was coded as 'Il Mulino activities' (Il Mulino being Cavazza's publishing house). The code 'Active Role' and 'Being Connected' was put in the category of Presentation Strategy. The code 'Looking for connections' was then merged with 'Active Role' as they both contributed to the same idea. Finally, 'Il Mulino activities' went into the category of Interests, as he discussed with his interlocutor what his goals were and what he aimed to gain from his trip. A more detailed explanation of the codes used in this project is further presented in Chapter Four.

The process described above serves as a way to organise the great number of codes created during the first steps of the analysis, to be able to create links among different texts and to highlight different aspects of the exchanges between Italian and American leaders.

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[296] F.L. Cavazza to John Di Sciullo, *27 March 1960*, Archivio Fabio Luca Cavazza. Here is the original text: 'Nel corso del mio viaggio mi riprometto principalmente di avere colloqui alla Ford Foundation in merito ai nuovi progetti di ricerca e con Case editrici, autori, etc. per incrementare la nostra attività editoriale'.

Finally, the codes were finalised into three main categories, which aim to capture the information necessary to address the questions leading this analysis. Interests/Topics, Relationship Type and Presentation Strategy are the categories used: [297]

1. Presentation Strategy: this category encompasses all the codes that, according to my analysis of the texts, tells us how the actors describe their actions, their activities and their roles among Italian and American groups. It is important to underline that these letters were primarily exchanged for professional purposes, although there are some instances where the actors felt free to express opinions and refer to activities that do not exclusively involve the interlocutor or their collaboration with them. These codes may reveal a particular way of presenting oneself to a specific addressee and of a particular role that the Italian leader may have wanted to play. However, one must keep in mind that 'it is only possible to talk about *the people of the letters*, not *the actual people*';[298] that is, it is only possible to look at an agents' understanding and agency in relation to a specific other.

2. Relationship type: this category relates to the expressions in the texts that refer to the meanings the actors assigned to their relationships. This entails the way the Italian leaders greeted their addressees, the way they openly refer to them (for instance, "colleague" or "friend"), the purpose that they intended for their relationship (for example, for support or exchange). This may tell us about how an actor saw his or her relationship with the American counterpart.

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[297] For further information on the coding process, see: Kristi Jackson and Pat Bazeley, *Qualitative Data Analysis With NVivo* (London: SAGE, 2019).

[298] Reetta Eiranen, 'The Narrative Self: Letters and Experience in Historical Research', *in Private and Public Voices. An Interdisciplinary Approach to Letter Writing,* ed. by Karin Koehler and Kathryn McDonal-Miranda (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2015), pp.77-99 (p.84, Italics in the original text).

3. Interests/topic: this category refers to all the passages in which the authors of the letters write about specific topics (such as Italian politics, literature, etc.) and particular goals/interests (financial aid, for instance). These elements may unveil the goals and interests entailed in the relationship between the person writing and the receiver, how Italian actors tried to capitalise on their relationship with their interlocutors as well as whether they felt free to discuss private business, personal activities and to what purpose.

Additionally, an analysis of the different strategies used by each case study (Cavazza, Pannunzio and Croce) will be conducted through an examination of the frequency of the codes, which has the purpose of exploring the relations among different codes and actors.[299] In particular, this procedure will be conducted with the support of NVivo and will allow me to investigate the similarities/ differences between my case studies and to make general remarks about their attitudes and strategies, specifically by putting themes/codes from all texts examined in relation to the three Italian leaders.

The main purpose of the investigation in Chapter Four is comprehending how different kinds of embeddedness also relate to different understandings, possibilities and goals. As underlined by Nigel Hall and David Barton, the study of letters entails the identification of various elements, such as texts, participants (all actors involved, including carriers), activities and artefacts.[300] To cite Manuel Castells,

the process of communication is defined by the technology of communication, the characteristics of the senders and receivers of information, their cultural codes of reference and protocols of communication, and the scope of the communication

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[299] Lucia Coppola, *NVivo: un programma per l'analisi qualitativa* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2011), p. 105-106.
[300] David Barton and Nigel Hall, 'Introduction', in *Op.Cit*, 1-14.

process. Meaning can only be understood in the context of the social relationships

in which information and communication are processed.[301]

The analysis of the texts aims to highlight the ways the intended reader(s) is/are addressed,

defined and what matters are discussed; simultaneously, the ways in which the writer

describes him/herself are also investigated. In particular, attention is given to the ways actors

presented (justified and described) their actions and positioned themselves in relation to

others (in terms of roles, goals and beliefs).[302] The political, social and cultural background

in which Italian actors operated, presented both in the Introduction to this dissertation and

in this Chapter, are also considered in my analysis of Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's texts

to understand how their interactions at the local level influenced their mindset and their

diverse types of engagement.

2.6 A Typology of Agency

The analysis of the network (SNA) combined with the analysis of the letters allows me to

develop a typology of agency. Specifically, three different types of agency (types of

engagement) are identified: the broker, characterized by the ability to connect different groups

otherwise disconnected (acts like a connector); the gatekeeper, which has the chance to reach

more marginalized groups and filter information; and finally, the hub, characterized by a great

number of connections with various interconnected groups (bonding role). The underlying idea

is to compare and describe different modes of engagement of the Italian figures under

investigation through both the exploration of their roles in the network as well as their attitudes

and goals. The types of engagement and the roles described in Chapter Three and Chapter Four

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[301] Manuel Castells, *Communication Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 84.
[302] In this regard, see Ruth Wodak, 'The Discourse-Historical Approach', in *Methods of Discourse Analysis,* ed. by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: SAGE, 2001), 63-94.

is developed from the analysis of the sources I have managed to see and examine: as such, it is presented as a way to describe the possibilities and constraints of the relations considered for this research and not as providing a definitive and overarching representation of the relational agency (or influence) of Italian elites.

In particular, the traits emerging from the SNA, which are explained in detail in Chapter Three as well as the ways the relations are constructed through language, as explained in Chapter Four, provide insight into how Italian non-state actors could actively shape the relations with US counterparts, what that could mean for the network (if actors were central players in connecting groups, for example) and how the relational embeddedness of Cavazza, Pannunzio and Croce could favour or hinder their engagement in the network.

2.7 Limitations

This section discusses the limitations to my methodological framework as pertains both the analysis of the network and the analysis of the correspondence between Italian and American leaders. In particular, it addresses the shortcomings emerging from my data and interpretative work and the choices that have been made to attend to such limits.

In the course of my data collection, highly reliant on fragmentary primary and secondary sources, I realised that a focus on three actors and a combination of their specific social networks to generate my set of relations was preferable as it solved the problem of how to find sources about the agents involved. It is important to note that the exploration of the ties between Italian and American elites in this study is limited to a specific cultural network for several reasons. Firstly, it avoids being tangled up in the extensive number of links existing between figures on both sides of the Atlantic. Secondly, especially when looking back at the past, it is not possible – nor is this the main purpose of my analysis – to

reconstruct all the interconnections among such actors nor to evaluate the extent to which their performance could contribute to shaping such relations. Finally, the idea is that this network could be indicative of some of the dynamics entailed in the Cold War cultural negotiations. In particular, given the extensive number of Italian participants in the US exchange programmes and the lack of detailed information on many of them, the elaboration of a graph comprising all of them would have been less accurate. Moreover, even limiting my analysis to the cultural leaders selected for these programmes but attempting to retrace all links between different groups could have been problematic, if not misleading, especially with regard to less known individuals. For this reason, my development of the Italian-American cultural network has been restricted to the main actors connected to the three cultural leaders chosen for this analysis, as explained above, resulting from the sources utilised in this study. There are also a number of limitations concerning the case studies selected for this research. In particular, due to the number of the actors selected and the type of analysis (relying on personal interconnections) it may be hard to generalise the results emerging from the SNA and the analysis of the correspondence. However, rather than assessing specific cause-effect connections, my research aims to challenge and overturn the common perspective on US Cold War cultural diplomacy, which starting from the Italian case may allow for a more complex understanding of the cultural networks across the Atlantic.

The 'temporal' dimension, namely the evolution of the links between Italian and American elites, is not explored in this study: all graphs comprise all relations as they emerge from the archival documents pertaining the years between 1950 and 1965. The reason for this choice derived from the desire to focus on the relationship between both sides, rather to concentrate on single events/years. Another reason was the insufficient

information in the sources analysed concerning the development of such ties (for instance, the attendance of the same meetings, the sudden interruption of a professional or personal relationship, etc), which would be needed to create separate networks for different years.

The study of archival sources also presents a number of limitations, which I previously discussed in relation to building a dataset from historical documents. Additionally, the analysis of letters undertaken in this thesis is subject to other constraints concerning not only missing information (lost material or omitted facts) but also the relational data, meanings and linguistic choices. Particularly, whilst my reconstruction of the Italian cultural, political and social realms in Chapter Four has the purpose of highlighting the features and themes of the local political debate and sociocultural milieu and to contextualise the documents, the language used by the authors of the letters may invite different interpretations (for instance, particular words, expressions, and references). However, a transparent and detailed explanation of my coding approach as presented in this chapter should obviate any concerns related to the analysis and understanding of the documents.

The coding of the documents may also present limitations as it is derived from the sources analysed and the research questions of this thesis (and therefore limited and valid only for the cases under investigation).The letters presented in Chapter Four were analysed in their original language, whether English or Italian. Very few messages written were in English by the Italian actors. Two potential limiting factors were taken into account: vocabulary and different sentence structure in English and Italian. Regarding vocabulary, given the use of formal and professional language as well as the short length of these messages, this aspect did not seem to have a great impact on the written text. In just one message, Croce used Italian terms (as highlighted in my analysis presented in Chapter Four)

to refer to Italian holidays ('feste'). The structure of the sentences may have had an impact on the effectiveness and clarity of these messages for the interlocutors but these considerations do not play a significant role in my analysis. The quotes in the original Italian texts can also be found in *Appendix B*. In order to make these documents accessible to my readers, I offer a translation of these letters in the Chapter. Although my translation has the sole purpose of improving the accessibility of my sources — all sources were analysed in the language in which they were written — it is worth reflecting on the translation process, namely the approach adopted and its implications. As Campbell suggests,[303] as an English non-native speaker, it is important to acknowledge the challenges and limitations of this complex task. Although the letters investigated for this research did not contain technicalities or specific jargon, I did encounter occasional difficulties rendering specific expressions into English (both in terms of syntax and wording). To address this limitation, my aim was to provide a translation of the texts that is as close as possible to the original. I have therefore adopted a formal approach, namely a literal and word-by-word translation of the letters.[304] Where there are ambiguous terms (words with several meanings), different possible translations are also offered. Although translating a source always implies interpreting the original text,[305] I adopt a literal translation of the texts, a reading of the sources against the context in which they were produced, as well as the explanation of the references made by the authors to ensure a closer rendering. Finally, help provided by

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[303] Stuart Campbell, 'English Translation and Linguistic Hegemony in the Global Era', in *In and Out of English: For Better or For Worse?,* ed. by Gunilla M. Anderman and Margaret Rogers (Buffalo: Multilingual Matters, 2005), pp.27-38. See also Roman Horak, 'Translation, Cultural Translation and the Hegemonic English', *Culture Unbound*, 7 (2015), 565-575.

[304] Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Leiden: E.J. Brill for United Bible Societies, 1969).

[305] Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London&New York: Routledge, 2018).

English native speakers (both with and without a knowledge of Italian) has ensured that this process would lead to a literal but also fluid rendering, that is also as accurate as possible.

2.8 Conclusions

The elaboration of a mixed-method approach to investigate Italian-American cultural networks in the early Cold War, as presented in this chapter, has a twofold purpose. First, following the principles of relational sociology it aims to focus on relations and interactions among the actors involved and overcome the artificial separation between agency and structure. Second, it aims to provide the tools to explore the agency of Italian cultural leaders by focusing both on the structural and ideational elements in the network by means of Social Network Analysis and analysis of correspondence for the three case studies. Particularly problematic in previous research on social networks and cultural processes, as this discussion has shown, has been the neglecting of either the analysis of the structure (considering the positions and potential roles of the participants) and of the meanings entailed in these processes.

Specifically, in the context of cultural diplomacy, such a framework has the potential of bringing to light the complex cultural mechanisms of interaction between the elites on both sides of the Atlantic and to challenge a view which presupposes an unambiguous and deterministic socialisation of Italian actors taking part in US cultural diplomacy exchange programmes. As the analysis in Chapter three will show, the investigation of relational features through SNA is essential to the understanding of these dynamics and to the investigation of the agency in the network.

CHAPTER THREE

Beyond Americanisation and Open Resistance: US Cultural Diplomacy Dynamics and the Role of Local Actors

This chapter explores the sociocultural environment in which US-Italian relations took place and aims to develop a new approach to Cold War cultural networks. In particular, through the examination of actors' positions and roles, it reveals structural aspects that informed Italian leaders' agency and the embedded opportunities and constraints entailed in their roles within this set of relations. My purpose in this chapter is to look at powerful actors, to unveil their relational patterns and to show how they were influential figures in the network. The aim is not to prove *that* they were influential (as indicated in the Introduction, we know that they were at least perceived to be so by the Americans); rather, I explore *how* they exerted that influence in terms of the structure of their networks. Through the examination of network ties, I aim to provide insight into the dynamics that underpinned the Italian-American interplay between the 1950s and early 1960s and to reveal some of the features that characterised Italian actors' agency in their relationship with the American counterparts. I argue that the actors' multiple roles and positions allowed them to acquire symbolic capital and enabled them to enact a complex interaction with their US interlocutors.

The chapter explores central connections in the informal Italian-American network to uncover potential patterns of engagement. In other words, the exploration of local networks is regarded as a way to link the embeddedness of local leaders to their potential for engagement and to different advantageous positions. The notion of embeddedness adopted by this study comes from Social Network Analysis (SNA) research and is and commonly defined as the set

of ties an actor has with other actors .[306] Drawing on conceptualisations of networks as a source of mobilisation and involvement or as inhibitors,[307] this chapter of my dissertation aims to investigate through SNA how relations could favour or hinder the communication/collaboration between American and Italian leaders in multiple ways.

Through the exploration of the network I will develop a typology of agency and identify three types of engagement: broker, gatekeeper and hub. These categories allow for a better understanding of the opportunities connected to individual positions, but do not embrace the whole of my three case studies' activities, interests and opportunities. The use of these categories is a way to compare them and explain how such connections may have opened up new possibilities or constrained their actions within the network, namely in relation to both Italian and American groups. Whilst a broker has the opportunity to link various groups (as well as to also control information exchange, to gain recognition, and to widen the possibility of finding economic and social support, for instance), a hub is seen here as an actor with multiple ties among the same groups, who has the chance to become a "reference point" for them (as well as to gain recognition, long-lasting relationships that may lead to political and cultural projects, etc.). A gatekeeper is defined as an actor who has ties with more marginal actors in the network (which may give them the possibility to use their links for cultural, economic, and professional interests, for instance). These categories bring to the fore and exemplify the Italian leaders' possibilities in this set of relations.

As previously discussed, my study focuses on three case studies, namely: the Italian journalist and editor Mario Pannunzio; the academic and writer Elena Croce; and the cultural

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[306] Mark Granovetter. 'Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness', *American Journal of Sociology*, 91 (1985), 481-510.
[307] Nick Crossley and Mario Diani, 'Networks and Fields', in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements,* ed. by David A. Snow and others (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2019), pp.151-166.

entreprenuer Fabio Luca Cavazza. These individuals were representative members of the intellectual and cultural circles that did not identify with either the Catholic tradition or with the engagé intellectuals linked to the Left.[308] The actionist and liberal-democratic traditions, as explained in the Introduction, drew together a great number of groups and leaders from the cultural and political fields. The diversity of an actor's connections in a network is viewed as a fundamental consideration in an analysis of his or her involvement[309] and the heterogeneity of the actors involved (different organisations) and of the heterogenous ways they relate to each other (power, density and constraints) is explored in detail in this Chapter. Specifically, the investigation of the ego-nets (i.e. relational settings with such actors as the focal points) of Cavazza, Pannunzio, and Croce, as well as their interactions within the network, has the purpose of showing how different relational settings allowed these leaders to take part in the exchange between the Italian and American elites. This shows in turn different layers of interaction at the local and transatlantic levels.

The quantification of the data from the archival sources analysed for this study, namely the record of the relations among the participants as explained in Chapter Two, was done through an adjacency matrix. Following the collection and processing of the data, I undertook a formal exploration of this network with the help of SNA tools, specifically through UCInet. The various subsections in this chapter will guide the reader through the exploration of the network: presenting the various measures utilised and their meaning, as well their consequent implications for the actors involved and their agency. The measures used for this analysis will

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[308]Marzia Maccaferri, *0p.cit.*
[309] For instance, Robert Huckfeldt, Jeanette Morehouse Mendez and Tracy Osborn, 'Disagreement, Ambivalence and Engagement: The Political Consequences of Heterogenous Networks', *Political Psychology*, 25:1 (2004), 65-95; Hilde Coffé and Benny Geis, 'Community Heterogeneity: A Burden for the Creation of Social Capital?', *Social Science Quaterly*, 87:5 (2006), 1053-1072; Chiara Calastri and others, 'Modelling the Loss and Retention of Contacts in Social Networks: The Role of Dyad-Level Heterogeneity and Tie Strength', *Journal of Choice Modelling*, 29 (2018), 63-77.

also be presented through graphs: visual illustrations serve as an easier way to represent social relations showing the network through nodes/actors (squares) and their connections (lines).[310] They are intended as a tool to map and communicate various information (the colours for the nationality, shapes for the actors' affiliation, size of the nodes to visualise specific measures).

Through the evaluation of centrality, homophily and structural hole measures and the visualisation of different relational patterns, I offer an explorative analysis of the roles of these individuals and the processes entailed in their connections as opportunities, constraints and relational neighbourhoods. The aim of this examination is to understand how different relational patterns enabled and constrained exchanges between and among Italian and American elites in multiple ways.

Due to the limitations of this historical network (as discussed in Chapter Two), it is not possible to state that certain connections among the actors necessarily led to specific results in the economic, political, social and cultural spheres. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify possibilities offered by such connections to play different roles within this network (and to advance specific understandings and self-representations).[311] In the same way, no direct conclusions can be inferred from an actor's influence and power in absolute terms: terms such as 'powerful', 'influential', and 'strategic' are used to refer to the relational patterns identified through my analysis. Individual connections are explored in detail to tackle how these primary figures were able to play a significant role within the network. A potentially powerful actor, for instance, may be an individual with ties enabling him/her to be at the core of the US-Italian connections, to have a great number of connections (whether with US groups or Italian ones), and the potential to advance his/her interests and views. As Fran N. Stokman puts it, networks

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[310] Lothar Krempel, 'Network Visualizations', in *The Handbook of Social Network Analysis,* ed. by John Scott and Peter J. Carrington (London: SAGE, 2014), pp. 558-577.
[311] Pierre Bourdieu, *Social Space and Symbolic Power*, p. 20-21.

'provide and limit opportunities of individual choices' whilst 'individuals initiate, construct, maintain, and break up relationships' changing, reinforcing and reassembling the structure of the network; network structures and positions may create opportunities or constraints depending on 'the instrumental value of the relationships under study.'[312]

3.1 The Italian-American Network: Exploring the Agency of Italian Leaders

The examination of Italian leaders' relational patterns within the Italian-American informal network relies on the investigation of the actors' positions in the field. Such an exploration can provide insight into the opportunities and constraints as resulting from the interplay between US and Italian elites. To reconstruct this set of ties, I have combined the three *ego-nets* of Mario Pannunzio, Fabio Luca Cavazza and Elena Croce. The reconstruction of ties centred on these individuals and their most significant alters as well as the combination of their ego-nets to form a whole network. This allows me to provide a wider perspective on such actors' positions and interactions in the US-Italian relationship. Exploring the networks of local leaders, exemplified here through the case studies of three prominent cultural leaders, has the purpose of showing how American action was entangled with the specific interests, different interactions, and transformations happening at the local level, which opened up opportunities and fostered resistance or ambiguities amongst Italian elites. The Italian-American network under investigation is visible in *Fig.*1.The yellow nodes represent the Italian groups and the pale blue ones the American agents; they are connected by unweighted lines (ties). Red nodes illustrate Italian-American actors; the only Spanish actor in the network is represented here in dark blue. There are 72 actors in total.

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[312] Frank N. Stokman, 'Social Networks', in *The International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences,* ed. by James D. Wright (Amsterdam&Philadelphia, Elsevier, 2015), pp. 10509-10514.

The shapes of the actors' nodes varies according to the agents' activity: the circular shape highlights the presence of cultural leaders (journalists, writers, publishers, etc.), the squares of political figures (members of parties, governmental and diplomatic elites), the down-triangle represents figures who were both political and cultural figures in those years, and the diamond shape represents members of the CIA and of the Intelligence Branch of the State Department.
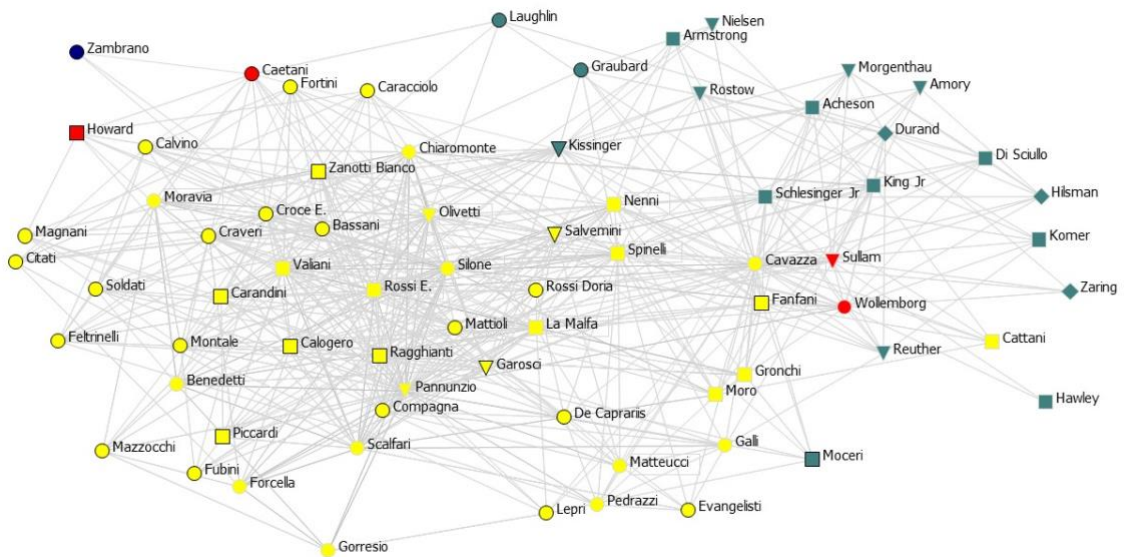
Figure 1 *Whole network visualised on NetDraw.*

A few general remarks can be made about the composition of this network. As the graph shows, this network is heterogenous in terms of the actors' nationality and, above all, their different functions. Specifically, this set of relations primarily comprises cultural leaders of different kinds (intellectuals, journalists and publishers) and prominent political actors, reflecting the intersection of multiple networks and interests. As such, the heterogeneous composition of the

network seems to indicate a complexity, which had the potential to affect the exchanges in the network as they carried different interests and worldviews.

The American aim was to gather together a composite group of cultural opinion moulders, primarily from the composite pool of the Liberal movement and non-Communist Left, under the aegis of the anti-Communist battle and the reinforcement of the Atlantic Community. Such prominent Italian figures had the potential to elude the rigidity of the Italian system, where the main parties attempted to exert control over the cultural sphere to foster their ideological views. Simultaneously, they were seen as potential promoters of the American Way of Life and of the reinforcement of the Atlantic system.

The network thus includes figures such as the academic and journalist Leo Valiani, the scholars Gaetano Salvemini and Aldo Garosci as well as the literary intellectuals such as Nicola Chiaromonte, Ignazio Silone and Giorgio Bassani. These individuals played a primary role in shaping the debate in the early years after the newly constituted Italian Republic. These leaders had developed connections with US and European elites during the war. Gaetano Salvemini and the antifascist elites participated in the Mazzini Society in the United States and Italian-American leaders played a primary role in connecting Italian intellectuals and politicians of the liberal-democratic and socialist area with US liberal elites.[313] Ludovico Ragghianti, Manlio Rossi-Doria, and Gaetano Salvemini were involved in the Italian Actionist Party (Partito D'Azione), and in the Third Force movement, in which political and cultural elites joined together to debate the cultural and political reformation of post-war Italy.

The network shows the existence of multi-layered and complex ties in which politicians from different organisations (Action Party, European Federalist Movement, Christian Democratic Party, Republican Party, Liberal Party and Radical Party) as well as various cultural

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[313] Charles Killnger, 'Gaetano Salvemini: Antifascism in Thought and Action', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 15:5 (2010), 657-677.

enterprises co-existed. The links of the three case studies considered here demonstrate American groups' interest in and connections to various Italian political groups. There are eminent representatives of the Christian Democratic party (DC) such as Amintore Fanfani and Aldo Moro, who were open to a reorientation of the party towards a more progressive political line, [314] political leaders such as Altiero Spinelli of the Italian branch of the European Federalist movement – in which also Ernesto Rossi took part, and Ugo La Malfa of the Italian Republican party are also amongst the network's nodes.

As noted in the Introduction, the dissolution of the Action Party (PdA) in 1947 and the division of the Italian Socialist Party also made it more difficult for anti-Communist forces in Italy and US elites to both marginalise the Communist Party and to elude the primacy of the Christian Democratic Party. As early as 1953, US cultural officers started to promote a different operation on the ground organised around a network of contacts. Generally, Italian non-Communists were supportive of the Atlantic Pact and of Western values. The American attempt to embrace a hotchpot of organisations under the umbrella of anticommunism, however, not only exacerbated the ideological fragmentation of the country along Cold War lines but also linked American action to a variety of local groups and interests,[315] including in Italy the creation of the AILC and the establishment of the magazine *Tempo Presente.*

Such links included the collaboration of leaders such as Mario Pannunzio and Fabio Luca Cavazza, but also incorporated several of the individuals shown in *Fig.* 1, such as Ignazio Silone, Nicola Chiaromonte and Altiero Spinelli.[316] Rather than having a homogenous membership, the AILC included diverse groups of intellectuals and political activists and

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[314] Michele Marchi, 'Amintore Fanfani e Aldo Moro', *Mondo Contemporaneo*, 2 (2018), 127-141.
[315] Chiara Morbi, *op. cit.*
[316] In this regard, more information will be provided in Chapter Four. See, in particular: Chiara Morbi and Paola Carlucci, *op. cit.*; Chiara Morbi, *op. cit.*; Historical Archives of the European Union, Altiero Spinelli Papers, AS-90, available at < https://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/3749?item=AS-90> (Last Seen: March 2022).

exhibited a peculiar national characterisation. From the US perspective, these leaders were part of the non-Communist faction. The reason for underscoring this aspect is that such a diversity also emerges in the structural embeddedness of the agents under investigation, their relationships at the local level and their participation in the local cultural and political spheres.

This composite group of actors already suggests that, although holding similar views regarding the Communist movement and the United States, various political and cultural values and goals as well as professional interests were at stake in the negotiations amongst all the participants. In this chapter the structural elements concerning the potential engagement of Cavazza, Pannunzio and Croce are the main focus. More details concerning the cultural and political background and developments at the local level will be discussed in Chapter Four.

3.2 Exploring the Network through SNA: positionality and engagement

This section offers an overview of the use of SNA tools in this study and explains the approach towards network positions, ties and measures as pertains the Italian-American ties. As described in Chapter One, the investigation of US-Italian informal ties in the literature – including the ones established by means of the US cultural exchange schemes under investigation, the Foreign Leader and Foreign Specialist Programs – has been essential to explore US informal means of influence. However, the focus on US motives and resources has reduced our understanding of the roles and interests of Italian actors within this set of relations. What I propose here is to decentre the American perspective within the post-war network, exploring the potential of Italian leaders by looking at their relational agency.

SNA measurements make it possible to 'quantify characteristics of network activity, social roles, positions and associated social mechanisms like power and dependency.'[317] In this way, I aim to investigate the relations that emerge from the interactions among the individuals, specifically reflecting on how these structural elements suggest different kinds of engagement. The idea of positionality, discussed in Chapter Two, is an essential idea alongside the concept of heterogeneity, to describe the relational embeddedness of the actors involved. Positionality primarily examines 'the number of ties […], the strength […] [of the node's position] […] and the role an actor is able to play in the network.'[318] Positionality has been previously adopted in scholarly literature to take into account the variety of resources involved in different exchanges and power distribution relying on the Bourdieusan view of social capital: in this view, social ties may increase the capacity of players to advance their interests and, with the aid of symbolic capital, positions are legitimated.[319] Heterogeneity is also linked to different potential relational patterns and, ultimately, connected to processes reflecting the plurality of interests at the local level subsumed in the interaction between groups on both sides. Such relational patterns, however, are conceived here as enabling but not necessarily determining social action and as inseparable from agents' attributional differences, power positions and individual socio-cognitive perceptions.

The relationship between the structural position of agents and their participation in movements or the display of particular behaviours has already been shown in social network

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[317] Stanley Wassermann, Katherine A. Faust, 'Social Networks Analysis: Methods and Applications', quoted in Renée C. Van Der Hulst, 'Introduction to Social Network Analysis (SNA) as an Investigative Tool', *Trends in Organized Crime*, 12 (2001), 101-121 (p. 103).

[318] Lieke 't Gilde, *Social Network Theory in International Relations Research. A Literary Review* (Tilburg University: BA Thesis, 2014), p. 16.

[319] For an overview, see Nick Crossley and others, eds., *Social Network Analysis for Ego-Nets*, specifically p.24-38. Other examples: Robert Huckfeldt, Jeanette Morehouse Mendez and Tracy Osborn, *op. cit.*; Martti Siisiäinen, 'Two Concepts of Social Capital: Bourdieu vs. Putnam', *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, 40:2 (2003), 183-204.

literature. Although I do not aim to draw a direct line between individual position and behaviour, I believe it is nevertheless necessary to consider the potential contained in a specific position. Florence Passy,[320] for example, has showed the importance of connections in enabling and constraining action, shaping individual perceptions through interactions, and highlighting the role of networks in shaping individual participation. The main assumption is that individuals do have different relational settings and different ways to play a 'central' part in the network and that these structural dissimilarities will also inform their engagement resulting in various styles/modes of interaction, which I aim to capture in analysis of their letters in Chapter Four.

In addition, an exploratory analysis of the connections and the nodes' embeddedness allows for a deeper understanding of how the structure of an actor's ego-network facilitates or constrains their engagement. As studies in multiple fields have shown,[321] there is a great number of ways of looking at the characteristics of the whole network (the entire set of ties considered) and the effects of these aspects on the network dynamics/exchanges. The main–goal of this chapter is to lay out an explorative social network analysis of structural features and dynamics in all their complexity. The case studies of Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio will be explored through this approach, taking into account not only their immediate links but also their agency in the local sphere and their potential role in relation to both Italian and American elites. As such, going beyond the actor-based perspective, this analysis aims to show how mutual influences, constraints and embeddedness sustain or limit the exchanges and the symbolic power of the actors involved.

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[320] Florence Passy, 'Social Networks Matter. But How?', in *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action,* ed. by Mario Diani and Doug McAdam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp.21-48.
[321] For example, see: Amir Goldberg and others, 'Fitting In or Standing Out? The Tradeoffs of Structural and Cultural Embeddedness', *American Sociological Review*, 81:6 (2016), 1190-1122; Daniela La Penna, *Habitus and Embeddedness*; Eero Vaara and Juha-Antti Lamberg, *op. cit.*

3.3 Key Players and Power Relations: Using Centrality Measures to Explore Potentialities in the Network

3.3.1 Degree Centrality

The investigation of network relations and actors' positions may be approached in several ways. However, centrality measures in SNA allow for a multifarious representation of the leaders' potential role within this set of relations. In order to better understand the concept of centrality we can define it as 'the contribution the node makes to the structure of the network.' In particular, looking at structural elements (number of ties, betweenness and proximity) these calculations provide multiple perspectives on the actors' positions at a local level and in the US-Italian interconnections. Given the limited number of transactions and ties considered in this study, and the impossibility of fully reconstructing the historical networks in which the participants were embedded, the outcome of SNA centrality measures will always be expressed in the chapter as a 'potential to'. The importance of centrality can be understood in different ways. All the indicators used in this chapter and measured through UCInet software will be calculated on all of the connections, namely on the whole network created through the combination of Mario Pannunzio, Luca Cavazza and Elena Croce's ego-nets (*Fig.1*). The centrality indicators used in this work are degree centrality (DC) and betweenness centrality (BC). Degree centrality is the most straightforward centrality measure: it is a simple count of the total number of ties an actor has. Betweenness centrality captures the extent to which an actor is in the advantageous position of connecting others. The combination of these two measures will ensure a multifaceted representation of power relations in the network in order to take into account the numerous ways in which the agents could exert their influence in this set of relations.

Usually, degree centrality is used to identify the potential a node has to communicate with multiple others in a given set of relations by looking at the number of connections of a node. The main assumption is that the more connected the node, the more influential their position is. In the case of the Italian-American network, this calculation has the purpose of showing which actors might be seen as the most prestigious, or which ones were in a favourable position at the core of the network to be able to influence the exchanges amongst the groups involved. Influence is conceptualised here as 'a process by which a social actor frames others' choices in the sense of its interests, while not being able to impose these interests by sheer force' which 'usually involves a bargaining process.'[322] As Marten Düring has argued, DC can provide substantial information in historical networks about the importance of leaders even with imperfect networks.[323]

In an unweighted network it is not possible to determine the number of ties directed to a certain node or, conversely, started from that same node. Without this distinction, data concerning individual prestige (in-degree centrality) and popularity (out-degree centrality) are unavailable. Thus, the calculation of degree centrality will be considered here only as the ability to reach/be reached by several other groups and nodes: this might suggest that the actor considered has the capacity to directly influence symbolic processes and information flows and, simultaneously, gain access to various resources.[324] If A has ties to B,C,D,E, for instance, it may indicate that A has the potential to communicate with many groups, gain access to information, be at the core of a cluster, etc. This relational feature can be seen as a first assessment of A's potential within this specific network. It is helpful to keep in mind that the

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[322] Manuel Castells, 'A Rejoinder: on Power, Identities and Culture in the Network Society', *New Political Economy*, 3:3 (1998), 473-483 (p. 474).
[323] Marten Düring, 'Can Network Analysis Reveal Importance? Degree Centrality and Leaders in the EU Integration Process', in *SocInfo 2014 International Workshops,* ed. by Luca Maria Aiello and Daniel McFarland (New York: Springer, 2015), pp. 314-318.
[324] Charles Wetherell, *op. cit.,* p. 127.

existence of many links does not necessarily equate to a heterogeneous social neighbourhood (which can be measured through homophily) nor necessarily to a direct access to resources (economic, cultural, etc.).[325]

Due to the nature of the network under investigation, which merges three individual ego-nets, it is necessary to take into account the potential distortion that might result from this method. The computation of DC – and, similarly, of BC – may overemphasise the role of the egos on which the whole network is constructed and obscure other relevant individuals in the network; as such, it allows me primarily to compare the three case studies considered by this research. While some considerations on the alters will be provided (especially the ones with the highest scores), these cannot be compared to three case studies.

As can be seen in *Table 1* and in *Figure 2*, the most connected actor appears to be Cavazza (DC: 0.563). His DC is higher than that of both Pannunzio (0.493) and Croce (0.479), giving him the chance to reach the largest number of leaders. Given the way the network was constructed, it is unsurprising that these three figures top the table. It is, therefore, worth highlighting the other groups and players who display high scores of DC: in particular, Italian leaders such as the politicians Ugo La Malfa (0.437) and Altiero Spinelli (0.479) as well as the cultural entrepreneur Adriano Olivetti (0.451) but also the writers Ignazio Silone (0.437) and Giorgio Bassani (0.437). This suggests a high connectivity in the network; as such, it also indicates that many nodes in this network had the potential to reach and connect with many participants. This would make it more difficult for actors to take on a bridging role between different groups and increases the cohesiveness of the network.[326]

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[325] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *The Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education,* ed. by John Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), pp. 241-58.
[326] James Moody and Douglas R. White, 'Structural Cohesion and Embeddedness: A Hierarchical Concept of Social Groups', *American Sociological Review*, 68:1 (2003), 103-127.

Actors	Degree Centrality
Cavazza	0.563
Pannunzio	0.493
Croce	0.479
Spinelli	0.479
Olivetti	0.451
Silone	0.437
La Malfa	0.437
Bassani	0.437
Salvemini	0.366
Rossi	0.366

Table 1 *Degree Centrality in the whole network (top ten actors).*
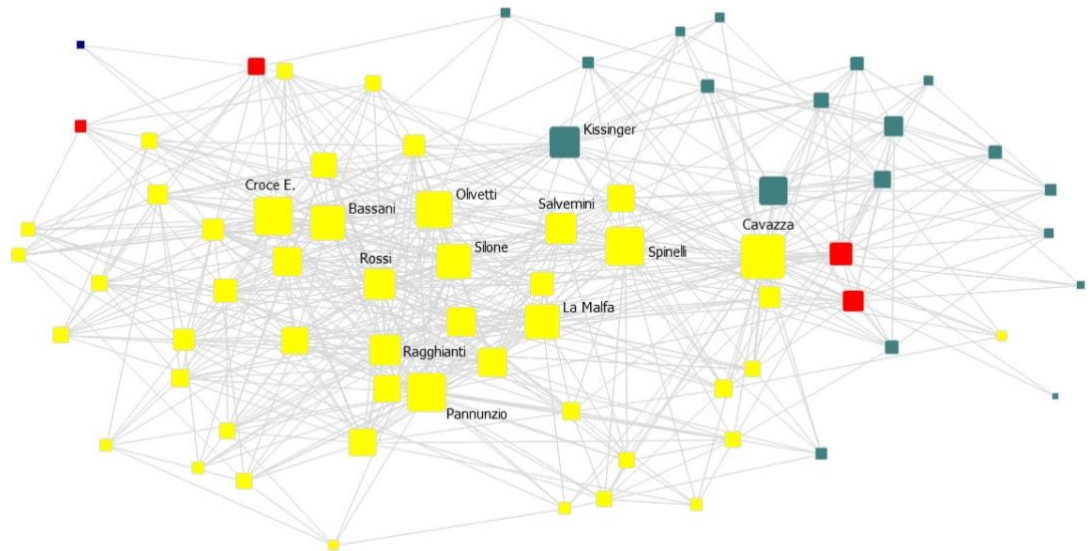
Figure 2 *Degree Centrality in the Whole Network .*

The graph illustrates the difference in DC among the actors (where Cavazza appears to be the most connected): the bigger the node the higher the DC. It highlights how other actors (in particular Italian leaders) could potentially hold a great number of ties and play a significant

role in these exchanges. To aid legibility, the graph provides labels only for those nodes with a DC above 0.365.

With regard, specifically, to Pannunzio, Croce and Cavazza, the analysis of DC also provides information on their ego-nets and the ways their interconnections could alter (or not) the structure of the network itself. Looking at how their ego-nets contribute to the cohesiveness of the network means identifying how 'central' their relations are. The main idea underpinning this investigation is to explore if and how the connections of the three actors analysed were actually key to holding the various groups together (potentially favouring communication and involvement) but also showing the key players' potential embeddedness 'in the network around them.'[327]

One way to approach this issue of looking at direct connections (and not mediated paths) is to extract the three main actors under investigation and see how their removal has an impact on the structure of the whole network. It is possible to do so by calculating the density in the network. Density looks at 'the probability that a tie exists between any pair of randomly chosen nodes.'[328] This indicator is relevant in an explorative analysis of social networks, because it gives us an idea of how connected a network is. If the network breaks up after the removal of the relations of one of the case studies and density in the network plummets, this may indicate a more difficult communication among various groups without that actor; it may also illustrate a higher or lower potential for exchanges among the actors involved. This can be tackled by comparing the overall density with and without each of the three case studies. This calculation provides information on their potential role in the whole network by highlighting whether their presence has a substantial impact on the set of ties investigated here.[329]

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[327] Stephen P. Borgatti, *Identifying Sets of Key Players in a Social Network*, p. 22.
[328] Stephen P. Borgatti, Martin G Everett and Jeoffrey G. Johnson, *op. cit.,* p. 175.
[329] Gemma Edwards, 'Mixed-Method Approaches to Social Network Analysis, NCRM Paper' (January 2010), available at: <http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/842/> (Last Seen: March 2022).

I have measured the density in the network before and after the removal of the ego-nets of Pannunzio, Cavazza and Croce, one at the time, in order to explore the changes in this set of relations. The results of this calculation are displayed in *Table 2*. The lower the overall density, the higher the importance of a player's connections. In addition, I have also looked at the effect of this manipulation on the whole network by showing the variations in DC among the other participants, also displayed in *Table 2*.

Dataset	Density
Whole Network without Cavazza	0.210
Whole Network without Croce	0.212
Whole Network without Pannunzio	0.212
Whole network	0.220

Table 2 *Density in the network.*

Although not very large, there is a difference between Cavazza and the other two leaders analysed: the network seems to be less dense when he is removed. Given the little variation in the overall density of the network, it is possible to understand that none of the groups involved is totally disconnected from the network without the leaders under investigation. A possible explanation for the small variation in density may be the presence of other well-connected leaders (as *Figure 2* also shows). As previously explained, leaders such as Spinelli and Silone, for instance, were involved in the AILC and in touch with US counterparts. This may indicate that Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio did not have any 'exclusive' connections and that there were multiple connections between US and Italian groups.

More generally, the calculation of DC and density has highlighted the high connectedness of Croce, Cavazza and Pannunzio, which may be indicative of their prestige; the calculation of density seems to suggest the existence of multiple exchanges and the potential

for strong connections. However, the greater variation registered when removing Cavazza's egonet needs to be taken into account and may suggest that his ego-net had more central ties than Pannunzio's and Croce's. Such a difference may be revealing of the diversity of these actors' ties and be viewed as a consequence of the existence of different types of agency in the network. This seems to suggest that Cavazza's ties were more central to the exchanges between American and Italian groups in comparison to the ones in Croce and Pannunzio's egonet. The variation in the actors' ties and in their potential for engagement raise questions about the model that it is offered in the study of Cold War cultural networks, which tends to pre-assign positions and roles. In particular, the complexity that already arises from this exploration problematises that model and shows that relational features unveil differences and mutual interdependencies, which are fundamental to understand the dynamics in the network.

3.3.2 Betweenness Centrality: The Power of Bridging

In Social Network Analysis, the possibility to act as a bridge between groups and connect them is considered a particularly advantageous position. In Cold War cultural networks, this position would open up the opportunity to advance the interests of otherwise disconnected groups; it could also allow an actor to gain and transfer information (acting as a broker). As such, in the eyes of the Americans, brokers could be regarded as essential players to reach disconnected groups and to the maintenance of those connections. The exploration of brokerage roles offers, once again, the opportunity to look at the complex relational patterns and interactions in the network. SNA allows for such an investigation through Betweenness Centrality (BC). Betweenness centrality measures how often a given node sits *between* two other nodes. A high level of BC is normally associated with the idea of network brokerage and bridging, namely the possibility to develop a direct intermediary role (on the quickest path) – acquiring a prestigious

and powerful position – as theorised by Linton Freeman.[330] It may also bring to light bridging mechanisms (connecting disconnected alters), which are usually associated with more powerful positions and relational engagement.[331] In other words, it is 'useful as an index of the potential of a node for control of communication.'[332] BC indicates who could potentially act as a broker (promoting particular interests/ideas) and as a gatekeeper (including/excluding specific groups). The broker connects separate areas of a network socially, economically, or politically, and therefore he/she is the only one to access both valued information and resources from different areas of the network.[333] Given the relevance of this role in a network, it is possible to imagine how vital such a figure might be to enable the communication among different groups. Even more in an informal network such as the one under investigation, brokerages roles may be central to allowing specific ideas and points of view to circulate as well as to enable the collaboration among diverse groups or individuals. What is more, a brokerage opportunity between US and Italian elites in Cold War networks may be not only revealing of the possibility for Italian actors to capitalise on such relations to promote their own interests but also to be able to influence the construction of US-Italian relations. As such, it challenges the idea that Italian leaders were merely passive recipients and that collaborative engagements followed a linear path.[334]

It is important to note here once again that the calculation of BC in a whole network produced through the merger of three ego-nets may overemphasise the role of these three actors

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[330] Linton C. Freeman, 'A Set of Measures of Centrality Based on Betweenness', *Sociometry*, 40 (1977), 35-41.

[331] Roger V. Patulny, 'Exploring the Social Capital Grid: Bonding, Bridging, Qualitative, Quantitative, International', *Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 27: 1-2 (2007), 32-51.

[332] Agnieszka Rusinowska and others, 'Social Networks, Prestige, Centrality and Influence', in *Relational and Algebraic Methods in Computer Science*, Vol. 6663, ed. by Harrie De Swart (Berlin&Heidelberg: Springer, 2011), pp. 22-39.

[333] Katherine Stovel, Benjamin Golub and Eva M. Meyersson, 'Stabilizing Brokerage', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, 108:4 (2011), 21326-32.

[334] Ali Fisher already suggested that collaboration in networks is a constant negotiation: Ali Fisher, *Collaborative Public Diplomacy: How Transnational Networks Influenced American Studies in Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

and, potentially, overshadow other nodes' centrality. As in the case of DC, however, the purpose of the BC calculation is to bring to light hidden relational potentialities, rather than give an exact account of individuals' overall influence and relevance; it also allows for a comparison between the case studies under investigation. The validity of such an analysis also depends on the way an influential role is described,[335] which in my study is regarded as a combination of social capital (i.e., potential access to resources and people) and symbolic capital (possibility to enhance one's recognition) to be able to perform a primary function. *Table 3* provides the BC for the top ten actors in the US-Italian network.

Actors	nBetweenness Centrality
Cavazza	13.583
Spinelli	6.072
Croce	5.786
Bassani	4.945
Pannunzio	4.916
Olivetti	4.833
Kissinger	4.556
Silone	4.270
Salvemini	3.779
Schlesinger Jr.	3.060

Table 3 *Betweenness centrality in the whole network.*

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[335] Marten Düring, 'How Reliable are Centrality Measures for Data Collected from Fragmentary and Heterogeneous Historical Sources? A Case Study', in *The Connected Past: Challenges to Network Studies in Archeology and History,* ed. by Tom Brughmans, Anna Collar and Fiona Coward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.85-101 (p. 89).

As shown in *Table 3*, it emerges that Fabio Luca Cavazza has the highest BC (13.5) in the whole network, followed by Altiero Spinelli (BC: 6.07). According to this analysis, Croce and Pannunzio found themselves in a less advantageous position to act as bridges, namely to become the link between otherwise sparse nodes and loose connections. Elena Croce holds a BC score of 5.78 and Mario Pannunzio a BC score of 4.91; this is slightly less than the writer Giorgio Bassani (4.95) and just a little more than other players such as the cultural entrepreneur Adriano Olivetti (BC: 4.83) and the US political leader and academic Henry Kissinger (BC: 4.55). This may indicate that other players have the potential to play a bridging role, considering their high score in a network built on Cavazza, Pannunzio and Croce's relations. Lastly, BC values offer the possibility to reconsider the high scores of DC displayed by the three main Italian leaders and shed light on the diversity of their potential: whilst Cavazza emerges both as a well-connected and powerful leader in-between groups, both Croce and Pannunzio's connections seemed not to place them in the same influential position.

Through the computation of BC only it is not possible to state definitively that Cavazza had such a great influence and to establish which groups and nodes he could he was able to connect. However, such a measurement allows me to detect certain characteristics that scholars such as Stacie Goddard have identified as essential components of a brokerage role: connections that provide 'resources to effect change', being 'vital' to the network, and the possibility to create 'switching effects' (integrating or disconnecting other nodes).[336] In Cavazza's case, high scores of DC and BC may be regarded as two inseparable elements reinforcing each other. In other words, his great number of connections and his potential to link different actors may be seen as a way to collect information (or other resources) and to advance specific views/interests by controlling the communication among groups.

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[336] Stacie E. Goddard, 'Brokering Change: Networks and Entrepreneurs in International Politics', *International Theory*, 1:2 (2009), 249-281 (p. 250).

It is worth noting that, alongside Cavazza, Altiero Spinelli, leader and co-founder of the European Federalist Movement, also emerges as a potential connecting figure in the network with a high score of both DC and BC. As in the case of Cavazza, it is not possible to draw a direct line between his position in the network and the reachability of his ideas. Nonetheless, it is interesting to consider that as a promoter of a transnational European institution, Spinelli's attitude may have influenced him in looking for support amongst various groups also outside of Italy. Spinelli's belief in the US constitution as a potential model for the European integration process might also have led him to link with US groups overseas.[337] In addition, it is also necessary to consider the potential of his connections, which he developed during the war and in the 1950s through his collaboration with liberal-democratic groups (and with *Il Mulino)*, which opened up new contacts with other European leaders.[338]

The computation of BC in the whole network has highlighted the centrality of Cavazza's ties in bridging among groups; although sharing a degree of 'betweenness' among different nodes, Croce and Pannunzio's links seem to be less central. By looking at Croce and Pannunzio's BC in the light of the calculation of DC, it seems that their high number of connections in the network were less important in terms of holding the network together. This aspect may suggest that Cavazza had a higher potential to influence the exchanges among the groups involved either by offering or relying on different resources (information, financial aid, etc.) and by becoming a point of connection (making others reliant on his connections). More generally, the analysis of BC suggests that relational patterns within Cold War networks would open up possibilities for mediation on the part of the receiving end; it also highlights how

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[337] Andrew Glencross, 'Altiero Spinelli and the Idea of the US Constitution as a Model for Europe: the Promises and Pitfalls of an Analogy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47:3 (2009), 287-307.
[338] Enzo Santarelli, 'Altiero Spinelli', *Belfagor*, 49:3 (1994), 291-307.

relational neighbourhoods with a high BC (such as Cavazza's) would allow Italian figures to become central to the exchanges in the network.

3.4 A Focus on the Ego-Nets: Homophily and Neighbourhood Composition

The results of the centrality analyses bring to light the differences between my three case studies, which may be better understood through an examination of the relational settings of these three ego-nets. As stated above, multiple indicators are particularly helpful here to to tackle the complexity of Cold War networks and to determine what potential an actor has for engaging and shaping the exchanges among different groups and how this translates into different potential roles in this set of nodes. In other words, two actors may have the same number of nodes but are positioned in different areas of the network and consequently perform different roles. In particular, nodes with a high DC have the potential to be at the core of many exchanges and to enhance their prestige: in this case, actors may play the role of hubs. Nodes with a high degree of BC had the possibility to actively influence the exchange among otherwise disconnected groups: Cavazza's high BC seems to indicate he had the chance to do so.

Homophily measures, that is, the tendency to be connected to alters sharing the same status or values, can be useful for understanding these dynamics further.[339] For example, if a woman has only male friends her neighbourhood is heterophilous, while if she has only female friends her neighbourhood is homophilous. Taking into account the nationality and groups of belonging of the nodes (affiliation), I explore how processes of homophily influence heterogeneity in the whole network and the dynamics at the core of the Italian-American network.

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[339] Nick Crossley and others, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

As pertains the network under investigation, homophily processes may 'decrease the exposure to diverse and heterogenous views' and facilitate the 'identification' with specific groups through the creation of dense ties.[340] As such, the exploration of homophily offers insight into the possibilities for the actors to reach different areas of the whole network (groups and individuals) and, simultaneously, to take into account the role of heterogeneity in processes of diffusion (attitudes, information, resources).[341] Although it is not possible to establish a causality between processes of homophily and the agents' interactions, this investigation aims to uncover how homophily processes might influence the engagement of my case studies in the network: such processes are fundamental to comprehend how their participation in heterogenous or more homogenous networks could affect their understanding of those relations and their roles.

Homophily measures, in this specific case, rather than assessing particular preferences of individual participants *per se*, are used to look at their resources in terms of capital and reachability. On the one hand, looking at the nationality of the node's alters, such measures allow us to explore Italian elites' potential to act as bridges across the Atlantic, for instance, or at their potential development of transnational interests/ventures. On the other hand, by exploring their affiliation, i.e., their participation in specific political, cultural, governmental organisations, I explore their potential to form different kinds of ties.[342] As pertains specifically the affiliation of agents, such measures may help suggest a potential circulation of specific ideas and practices within a specific cluster or through specific groups in the US-Italian network. These measures do not provide information about the actors' perceptions and construction of

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[340] Ruixue Jia and Weidong Li, 'Public Diplomacy Networks: China's Public Diplomacy Communication Practices in Twitter during Two Sessions', *Public Relations Review*, 46 (2020), 1-12 (p. 11).
[341] David Jarman, 'Social Network Analysis and The Hunt For Homophily: Diversity and Equality Within Festival Communities', *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 10:2 (2018), 117-133.
[342] Breal L. Perry, Bernice A. Pescosolido and Stephen P. Borgatti, *Egocentric Network Analysis: Foundations, Methods, and Models* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 167.

such relations nor the 'meaning-related ambiguities' entailed in their interactions, which will be tackled through a qualitative analysis of texts in Chapter Four. To put it simply, if 'homophily makes it easier for actors to communicate with each other' the presence of heterophilic ties may 'increase access to different information sources and adaptive capacity'.[343]

In order to explore these aspects and delve into the specifics of Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's ego-net, I computed the homophily measures based on the nationality and affiliation of the participants separately. As outlined in Chapter Two, the nationality matrix records the nationality of each actor in the network while the affiliation matrix reports the specific organisations or professional group to which the node belongs. As illustrated in *Figure 7* below, these categories are: Il Mulino, Italian Socialist Party (PSI), Italian Social-Democratic Party (PSDI), AILC, Italian Liberal Party, Christian Democratic Party (DC), Radical Party/Espresso group (PR), European Federalist Movement (MFE), Il Mondo, Lo Spettatore, Caetani's group (Circolo Caetani), Publishers. State Department, CIA, US academics, CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), Other (non-affiliated individuals such as writers).

I used the calculation of the *E-I Index*, namely a parameter that looks at a node internal (similar) and external (different) ties to calculate its heterogeneity between a range of -1 (max. homogeneity) and +1 (max. heterogeneity).[344] *Tables 4 and 5* show the E-I Index of the three case studies for each measure. I also extracted each of the three leaders under investigation from the whole graph through the visualisation tool *Netdraw*, in order to show their similarities and differences (*Figures 4-6*).

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[343] Anil Kumar Chaudary and Laura A. Warner, 'Introduction to Social Network Research: General Introduction and Major Terminology', *IFAS Extension* (2021), available at <https://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/publication/WC195> (Last seen: March 2022). See also Wendy Bottero, 'Relationality and Social Interaction', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 60:2 (2009), 399-420.

[344] Stephen P. Borgatti, Martin G Everett and Jeoffrey G. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 169; Nick Crossley and others, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Actors	E-I Index Nationality
Cavazza	0.000
Croce	-0.647
Pannunzio	-0.943

Table 4 *E-I Index: Nationality.*

Actors	E-I Index Affiliation
Cavazza	0.800
Croce	0.882
Pannunzio	1.000

Table 5 *E-I Index: Affiliation.*

With regard to the nationality of the alters to which they are linked, Cavazza displays the highest heterogeneity (E-I Index: 0.000) whilst Croce (E-I Index: -0.647) and Pannunzio (E-I Index: -0.943) are primarily tied to other Italian actors. If combined with the computation of DC and BC, the analysis of network homophily related to the nodes' nationality is very revealing: the only actor with the potential to act as a real bridge between the US and the Italian group is Cavazza, having both a high BC and approximately the same number of connections with both American and Italian groups. Looking at the nationality of her alters, Croce seems to have a slightly less composite neighbourhood: this means that she holds connections with both Italians and Americans but one of these two groups represents the majority of her alters. As *Figure 6* also shows (see below), the majority of her alters were Italian. Considering that her BC score in the network is high, this analysis may reveal that she held a powerful position primarily at the local level but had the chance to develop her connections with US groups further. Conversely, the connections of the last case study, the journalist Mario Pannunzio, seem to

suggest that he mainly operated at the local level and held a prestigious role in the Italian arena, but it appears less likely that he could/did maintain closer contacts with American leaders. In other words, the factor that made Pannunzio play a relevant role in the relationship between the US and Italian cultural leaders seems to stem from the important position he held amongst Italian elites. It also suggests that, in contrast to Cavazza, both his goals and interests were highly connected to local organisations and networks. In other words, the various relational features highlighted through this analysis already allow me to draw some tentative conclusions regarding the actors' diverse potential for action. Specifically, three different types of agency seem to emerge: the potential of Cavazza's ties and the diversity of his alters indicates his ability to play a central brokerage role between US and Italian organisations. Croce's role is more complex as her neighbourhood shows a potential to link to both Italians and Americans: only a further exploration of her neighbourhood through the analysis of her alters' affiliation may provide more information on her mediating role. Finally, Pannunzio's high number of connections seem to be primarily with Italian groups; his lower level of BC also suggests that his role was more of a hub rather than a bridge.

With regard to the political/institutional affiliation of the alters, the computation of homophily indicators brings to light the diversity amongst Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's ego-net and allows for some reflections on their structural embeddedness. In particular, the E-I index for the nodes' affiliation reveals that heterogeneity in Cavazza's ego-net (E-I –Index: 0.800) is lower than in that of Croce (E-I Index: 0.889) and Pannunzio (E-I Index: 1.000). Considering the high and, respectively, similar score of DC of all these participants, but dissimilar levels of heterogeneity in their neighbourhood, it is possible to argue that their connections render them 'central' actors in different ways: Cavazza by binding Italian-American groups; Croce by connecting Italian elites and linking these groups to a select few

foreign groups; finally, Pannunzio by mediating between several Italian actors with different affiliations.

A further exploration of the Italian actors' neighbourhood is needed to comprehend the composition of the case studies analysed here: in particular, what is needed is a detailed examination of the people and groups they were connected to. This may help to understand how the case studies' links favoured particular types of engagement. As *Figures 4-6* illustrate, there are similarities and differences in the three ego-nets, which can be translated, once again, as their ability to capitalise and enhance their symbolic and cultural power. The nationality is expressed with different colours whilst the affiliation is represented by different shapes (see colours in graph *Fig.1* for nationality values) and the *Legend* below for the organisational affiliation:

○	Il Mulino
□	State Department
△	CIA
⊞	US universities
▽	PSDI
⬭	AILC
+	DCP
◇	PLI
⧗	Other
⬚	L'Espresso
◠	AFL
⬚	PRI
☆	PSI
◣	MFE
✦	Il Mondo
⊕	Lo Spettatore
⬚	Circolo Caetani
⬚	Publisher

Figure 3 *Legend to symbols in the whole network.*
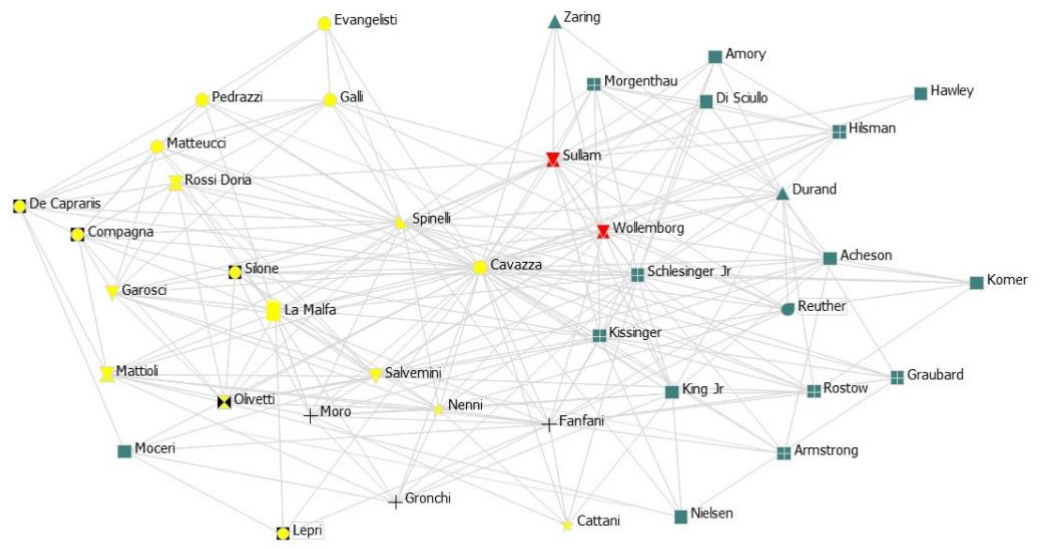
Figure 4 *Cavazza's egonet extracted from the whole network with NetDraw.*
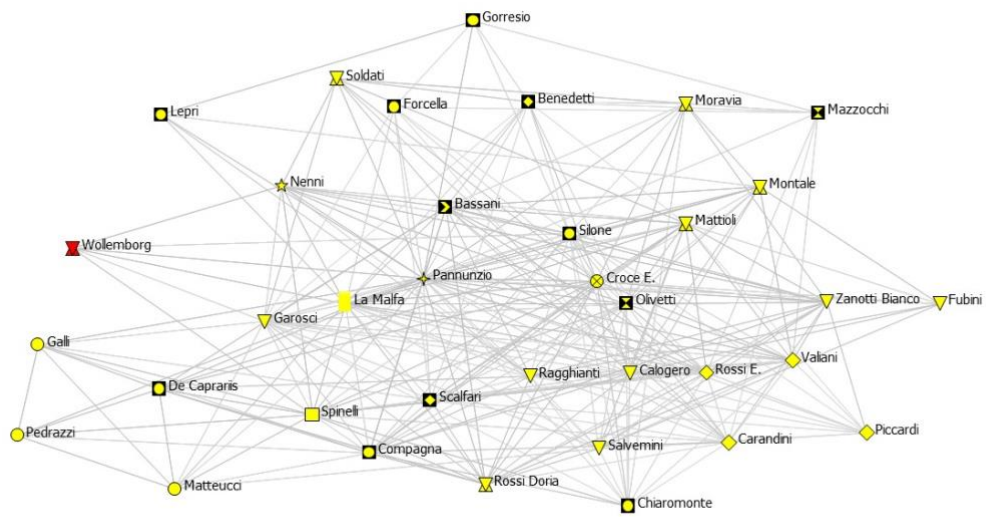
Figure 5 *Pannunzio's ego-net extracted from the whole network with NetDraw.*

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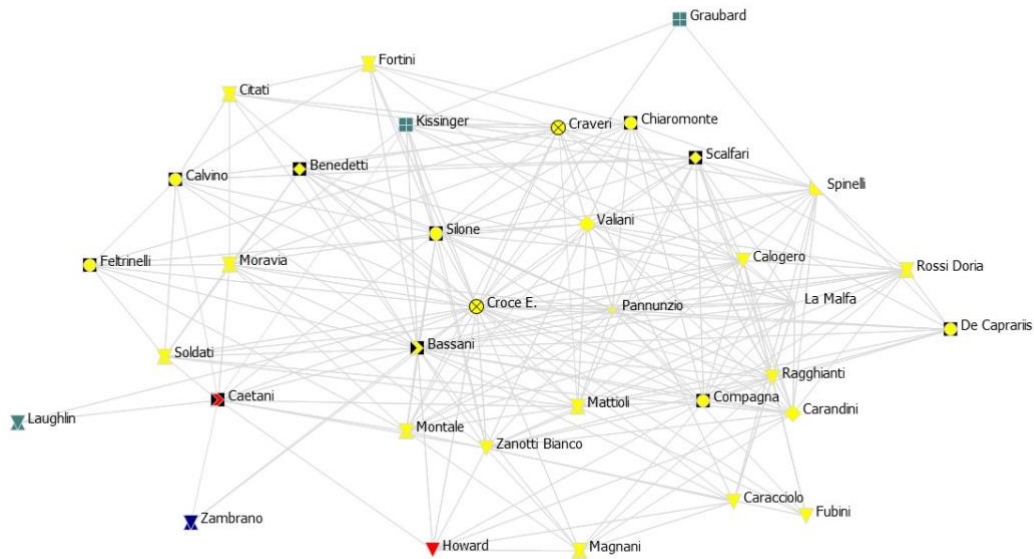
Figure 6 *Croce's ego-net extracted from the whole network with NetDraw.*

As *Figures 4-6* illustrate, the three egonets are characterised by a different composition both in terms of nationality and affiliation. Cavazza has a high BC centrality and variety in the nationality of his alters, which allows him to hold a potentially advantageous position by linking Italian and American groups. Additionally, Cavazza also displays a high degree of variation in the affiliation of his alters, although inferior in comparison to the other two main leaders analysed. As *Fig. 4* illustrates, he managed to establish connections with multiple political leaders (for example, the members of the Catholic party Amintore Fanfani and Aldo Moro, the MEF leader Altiero Spinelli, and the leader of the PSI Pietro Nenni), cultural entrepreneurs (Adriano Olivetti and Raffaele Mattioli) and various cultural leaders (among them, Francesco Campagna and Ignazio Silone), while also developing links to various US organisations: not only the already mentioned Henry Kissinger and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr, but also Dana Durand and Joe Zaring (CIA), Waldemar Nielsen (Ford Foundation), State Department leaders (James King, Jr and John di Sciullo) and scholars (Walt Rostow and Hans Morgenthau). This seems to

suggest that Cavazza had multiple connections on both sides of the Atlantic and held a position of broker between all these actors. This may have allowed him to access and control, partly (as, as said before, he was not the only one with a high BC), the flow of information between Italian and US groups through the development of informal and more formal (at the local level) ties.

As pertains the embeddedness of this actor, it is worth noticing that he could both connect with alters with a limited number of ties and with high homogeneity (such as Matteucci, Pedrazzi, Galli, Armstrong, etc) as well as with the agents with the highest degree of DC, BC and heterogeneity (such as Spinelli, Olivetti and to a lesser extent Silone). This had the potential to open up opportunities for a mediating role amongst more peripheral alters, while simultaneously operating at the core of the exchanges in the network. What is more, Spinelli, Olivetti and Silone seemed to be also inclined to perform similar 'mediating' roles, as emerges both from this analysis and previous research.[345]

The calculation of homophily also reveals that Elena Croce had a diverse relational setting in terms of affiliation of her alters, which also comprised a small number of foreign leaders, showing that she had the potential to enhance prestige at the local and international levels through her collaboration with a great array of collaborators. In the case of Croce, most of her alters were members of Italian organisations with the exception of her friend and famous philosopher Maria Zambrano, the academic and politician Henry Kissinger and the publisher James Laughlin. Moreover, many of the actors in her ego-net operated in the Italian literary field (for instance, the poet Eugenio Montale, the writers Giorgio Bassani, Ignazio Silone and Nicola Chiaromonte) or to other cultural enterprises (Mario Pannunzio, for example, as well as

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[345] Paolo Scrivano, 'Lo scambio inter-atlantico e i suoi attori. Il rapporto tra Stati Uniti e Italia in architettura e urbanistica e il ruolo di Adriano Olivetti', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, 15:2 (2003), 451-473; Pietro S. Graglia, 'Altiero Spinelli e la genesi dello IAI: il federalismo, il gruppo de "Il Mulino", e la dimensione internazionale del lavoro culturale', in *Altiero Spinelli e i movimenti per l'unità europea,* ed. by Daniela Preda (Padova: Cedam, 2010), pp.245-277; Chara Morbi and Paola Carlucci, *op. cit.*

Giovanni Evangelisti and the publisher Arrigo Benedetti), potentially as a consequence of her prestigious role as the editor of *Lo Spettatore Italiano*, published until 1956. As in the cases of Pannunzio and Cavazza, we also find a great number of Italian political and cultural leaders, some of whom had connections with her father and her family (for example, Ugo La Malfa of the IRP, the actionist Filippo Caracciolo and the philosopher Guido Calogero).[346] Her capacity to reach a great variety of Italian groups indicates her potential to move across various organisations at the local level and to reach some groups abroad. Her potential within the US-Italian network is different to Cavazza's: her connections to other cultural leaders and alters in similar roles seems to suggest a preference for a mobilisation of resources within a specific field and her interest in a prestigious role among intellectual circles. Political ties in the case of Croce seem more a result of her family's connections to antifascist groups (particularly, La Malfa, Caracciolo, Spinelli and the member of the Liberal Party Nicolò Carandini).

Additionally, Croce's ties seem to be more embedded in local networks and her links to US leaders less central to the whole of the connections. Although considerations regarding the cultural aspects of these relationships will be better understood by means of the letter analysis offered in Chapter Four, the investigation of the structural elements suggest that her central position was primarily due to professional collaborations (similar actors in the literary field) and her links to otherwise less connected alters (as well as the only other two women in the network), rather than holding together American and Italian elites through her collaborations. In this regard, *Fig. 6* better illustrates Croce's capacity to reach more marginal actors (for instance, the editor Giovanni Evangelisti and Zambrano) but also American leaders such as Laughlin and the scholar and Kissinger collaborator Stephen Graubard. Both Graubard and Laughlin were editors and potentially shared an interest for fruitful collaborations. Finally, her

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[346] See Elena Croce, *op. cit.*; Daniela La Penna, 'The Rise and Fall of Benedetto Croce: Intellectual Positionings in the Italian Cultural Field, 1944-1947', *Modern Italy*, 21:2 (2016), 139-155.

relations with prominent figures in post-war Italy (e.g., Ugo La Malfa and Altiero Spinelli) enhanced her possibility to be seen as an important figure both at the local and international levels and opened up an opportunity to be directly or indirectly involved in other networks. Her links to this composite (but, in some instances, similar) group of alters may help define her role in the network: she held connections with prominent cultural and political figures, which primarily belonged to specific circles; at the same time, she held ties with few American leaders and with marginal alters. This relational setting places her in a particular position with the capacity to reach more 'distant' agents and also to develop ties with US leaders: in other words, it seems that she held an influential position as a connector and gatekeeper amongst various groups rather than being at the core of Italian-American exchanges, as in the case of Fabio Luca Cavazza.

Very different to these two Italian leaders is the case of Mario Pannunzio. In particular, homophily measures show a very low heterogeneity concerning the nationality of the actors tied to him but the highest score as pertains the numbers of groups included in his ego-net. Such an evaluation highlights the potentiality of Pannunzio's ties: as an editor and himself a member of the Liberal party after the war and of the Radical Party in the 1950s, he established connections with a great variety of cultural leaders, primarily liberal intellectuals and journalists, and with several different groups such as *Il Mulino* (notably the connections with Luigi Pedrazzi and Giorgio Galli) and the network linked to Elena Croce and Giorgio Bassani. In other words, as regards the potential to access various resources as well as to be regarded as an influential cultural leader, his ties to a great number of political and cultural figures provided him with symbolic recognition and the possibility to play a primary role in the Italian political and cultural debate. Pannunzio's embeddedness, specifically, seems to indicate a preference for ties with groups with which he had a strong connection at the local level (shared political and

cultural views); what is more his BC scores are significantly lower than Cavazza's and also lower than Croce's. As such, this indicator may suggest denser (and maybe stronger) connections amongst the groups with which he was in touch. His ability to reach various groups may also demonstrate his capacity to mobilise social capital to perform a central role (gaining prestige and influence) at the local level. However, his scarce interaction with American elites – as emerges from the analysis of the network – appears to reduce his potential to actively shape the relationships across the Atlantic (as in Cavazza's case) or to enhance the reachability of his magazine, for instance, or to be seen as a hub.

The differences between these three case studies show the articulations and complexity of the mechanisms of interaction, positioning and engagement within this network (and, more generally, the Italian cultural field). Specifically, the analysis of homophily in the network has highlighted the variations in the social neighbourhood in the three examples provided but it has also captured the potential different attitudes and modes of engagement displayed by Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio. The case of Pannunzio shows that a more indirect role within the US-Italian network was balanced by his role as a hub and his recognition within the Italian arena: an older player (he was born in 1910 whilst Cavazza, for instance, was born in 1927 and Elena Croce in 1915), the Italian journalist seemed to privilege a position that could allow him to connect multiple local groups and the possibility to be seen as a central cultural innovator in the liberal-democratic sphere.

As such, the analysis of homophily has brought to light some traits concerning my three casen studies, which elucidate how heterophilous and homophilous egonets may favour/hinder the engagement of agents in the network. The social, cultural and political context is crucial to make sense of these differences. These diversities will be addressed more thoroughly by looking at the cultural values and interests subsumed in the transaction between Italian and

American elites in Chapter 4. These various types of relations, positions and roles as well as the significance of local networks suggest that Cold war networks were embedded structures and that interactions and agency need to be looked at in the light of such processes.

3.4 Structural Holes and Cutpoints: Constraints and Breaking Points in the Network

3.4.1 Measuring Constraint and Redundancy

The focus on single ego-nets helps define the peculiarities of the cases analysed and their potential roles. However, in order to explore in full the potential of a node to 'bridge', it is necessary to look at what is known in SNA as redundancy in the network. A bridging tie is 'redundant' when the two alters connected by an actor are also connected by a path that does not include the actor – that is, they can reach one another by other means. In this sense, redundancy refers to the cohesiveness of the ego's alters (if they are strongly connected with each other) or equivalence (being connected to the same third parties).[347] In other words, a tie is redundant if the alters can reach one another by a path that does not include the ego. The assumption is that less redundant ego-nets are less constraining, whilst bridging holes in the network (lack of ties) amongst two nodes leads to potential advantages.[348] Grouped together, these measures are known as the analysis of structural holes. These measures are central to the outline of different types of agency for the three case studies and to assess how constraining elements might play a part in their engagement.

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[347] Ronald S. Burt, 'The Social Capital of Structural Holes', in *The New Economic Sociology. Developments in an Emerging Field,* ed. by Mauro F. Guillèn and others (New York: Russel Sage, 2002), pp. 148-192.
[348] Rafael Wittek, *op. cit.*

In general terms, the theory of structural holes, primarily conceptualised by Ronald Burt, underlines the importance of intermediate roles in a network.[349] Whilst other approaches stress the positive effects of cohesive ties (reciprocated links among the actors) to build trust and cooperation within a whole or an ego net, Burt's conceptualisation considers high levels of cohesiveness as limiting the agents' opportunities to have an impact on the whole of the connections. As such, 'low redundancy indicates diversity' and high redundancy scores 'suggest cohesion and hence conformity in social networks' implying that 'low redundancy gives access to diverse information regardless of tie strength.'[350]

Structural holes measures expand the idea of brokerage and bridging introduced above: non-redundant ties allow the ego to interact with alters who do not know each other, namely to have a higher chance to control the exchanges with these groups. This perspective is particularly useful to understand the levels of interdependence and constraint among all actors, and what that signifies when exploring the cases of Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio. In this way, structural holes parameters bring to light the potential for single nodes to have an impact on the whole of the network more clearly, directly linking their positions and influence to the roles they could have within such set of relations. For the purpose of this research, these measures provide more information regarding the embeddedness of Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's connections by highlighting the potential impact of constraining relations or bridging positions in adopting particular views and modes of engagement as part of a wider network than their own. As for the centrality and homophily measures, the results of these calculations will help define how constraining factors could play a part in defining the roles and positions of the actors and how bridging may differ among the case studies.

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[349] Ronald S. Burt, *Structural Holes*.

[350] Jan Inge Jennsen, 'Does the Degree of Redundancy in Social Networks Influence the Success of Business Start-Ups?', *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 8:5 (2002), 254-267 (p. 258).

The two measures considered here are the Effective Size and the Constraint (see *Table 6*). Although primarily used in weighted sets of relations, Effective Size for 'undirected binary data' shows an 'ego's degree minus the average degree of alters (not including the ties to ego).'[351] As such, this indicator computes the number of ties that are non-redundant (not overlapping), which helps to define the possibilities of a leader's action as both a capacity to reach different groups and to have the most advantageous position in connecting them. The evaluation of Constraint, on the other hand, measures the possibility of alters finding alternative ways to reach other nodes (i.e. groups or people) and resources. As such, these measures are complementary, for they allow me to describe the possibility of an agent to rely on various resources and his/her importance within the ego-nets.

As underlined by Robert Hannemann and Mark Riddle, the calculation of structural holes measures highlights possible alternative paths in the network that might reduce the influence of an individual, pointing out, for instance, that 'actors who have many ties to others may actually lose freedom of action rather gain it, depending on the relationships among other actors.'[352] By way of explanation, if one of the actors involved has redundant ties (i.e. this node had links to alters also connected to each other), this actor may have more difficulties to reach different information and resources. As a consequence, his position may have an impact on how the node perceives relations, on what kind of role this actor might play, and on his/her overall engagement.

According to Ronald Burt, these measures are associated to the notions of brokerage and closure: if a network is characterised by one or many structural holes, the advantageous position will be the one spanning those holes; a redundant network, according to the author,

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[351] Nick Crossley and others, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
[352] Robert A. Hannemann and Mark Riddle, *Concepts and Measures for Basic Network Analysis*, p. 361.

will lower the risk of cooperation (favouring the creations of strong ties) among all actors but also hinder the access to new information.[353]

Actors	EffSize	Constraint
Cavazza	30.250	0.950
Croce	22.896	0.111
Pannunzio	21.314	0.109
Spinelli	22.471	0.112
Bassani	20.968	0.119

Table 6 *Effective Size and Constraints.*

As *Table 6* elucidates, Cavazza has the highest level of Eff Size (ES: 30.250) and the lowest score of Constraint (Co: 0.950). This means that his ties could allow him to reach individuals in many different areas of the network and to really hold them together – without Cavazza the network would be less connected. In some ways, this analysis confirms the potential of the Italian publisher to effectively reach different groups and rely on a wide number of resources (as pertains information, support, collaborations). What is more, the evaluation of Cavazza's possible relational 'limits' discloses, in reality, his role in holding closer together groups that otherwise would be weakly connected. As such, this configuration seems to confirm the results of the analysis on centrality and the entailed 'entrepreneurial opportunities' gained by performing an intermediating role in the whole network. This may indicate that Cavazza's participation in the network was favoured by and enabled his role as broker between Italians and Americans and the access to and control of the communication among these groups.

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[353] Ronald S. Burt, 'Structural Holes versus Network Closure as Social Capital', in *Social Capital. Theory and Research,* ed. by Karen Cook, Nan Lin and Ronald S. Burt (Boca Raton: Routledge, 2001), pp. 31-57.

Compared to the analysis of Cavazza's ego-net, the cases of Elena Croce and Mario Pannunzio show different relational features, which also differ, for instance, from other leaders with a high degree of Eff Size. On this particular aspect, it is worth underlining that whilst Croce's level of Eff Size is relatively high (ES: 22.896), Pannunzio's score is lower (ES: 21.314), especially if compared to other leaders such as Altiero Spinelli (ES: 22.471). These results seem to indicate that Pannunzio's connections were, to some extent, redundant and 'dense', reducing his capacity to perform a bridging role among his alters; the similar constraining level for both Croce (Co: 0.111) and Pannunzio (Co: 0.109), however, shows that her higher score of ES is probably due to her ability to connect distant alters but, with regard to her other connections, she shares similar degree of redundant ties to that of Pannunzio. This may suggest Pannunzio's exchanges and engagement were more limited to specific groups with similar connections (and with similar alters, as suggested by homophily measures) and that he could act as a hub. Croce 's ties allowed her to bridge among nodes, who were more redundant than the ones of Cavazza's: consequently, the role she could play was the one of a gatekeeper rather than of a broker.

3.4.2 The Calculation of Components in the Network

The concept of a node's centrality, effectiveness and limits still leaves open the question of which particular ties were essential to this set of relations and had the potential to shape the structure of the network. As stated by Stephen Borgatti,[354] there is a key question when trying to identify the most powerful figures in a network, namely to what extent they are determinant to the existence of this set of relations. The final measure to be computed in my analysis is BI components. The main purpose of this measure is the identification of the links and nodes that

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[354] Stephen P. Borgatti, *Identifying Sets of Key Players*, p. 22.

allowed different disconnected groups to be 'held' together. Although centrality measures (DC and BC) help bring to light the key connections and players at the core of the US-Italian network, BI components establish the articulation points (cut-points). Specifically, the actors whose removal increases the number of separated components in the network.[355] As widely discussed in the literature on SNA,[356] cutpoints may represent uniquely powerful positions in the network (because that node has the chance to tie together two separate groups).

My calculation of BI-components aims specifically to identify the nodes that are crucial to the development of such links. Establishing the existence of cutpoints, particularly, reveals the actors without whom the number of components of the network (disconnected subgroups) would increase. Since the inclusion of the three actors on which the reconstruction of this set of relations is based would alter the results – *de facto* suppressing any possibility to identify a hidden articulation points and disconnected areas – I pursued this examination by removing Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio from the whole network. The reason for such an inquiry is the opportunity to adopt a top-down approach on the whole network tackling the potential effects of Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's relations on the structure of the Italian-American interconnections, i.e., whether one or more of the other members considered by this analysis could have the possibility of becoming key players, exerting their influence by, specifically, holding connections to isolated groups. The results of this analysis are displayed in *Figure 7*. Only one cutpoint was identified through this calculation. The cutpoint (highlighted in the graph by the colour red) is the Italian-American representative of Federconsorzi (Italian Federation

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[355] Stanley Wasserman, Katherine Faust, *op. cit.*, p. 113-114. See also Loet Leydesdorff, 'Clusters and Maps of Science Journals Based on BI-Connected Graphs in the Journal Citation Reports', *Journal of Documentation,* 60:4 (2004), 317-327.

[356] See, for example, Robert A. Hannemann and Mark Riddle, *op. cit.*; Stephen P. Borgatti, 'Identifying Sets of Key Players in a Social Network', *Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory*, 12 (2006), 21-34.

of Farmer's Cooperatives) in Washington and Professor of the Johns Hopkins University, Victor Sullam.
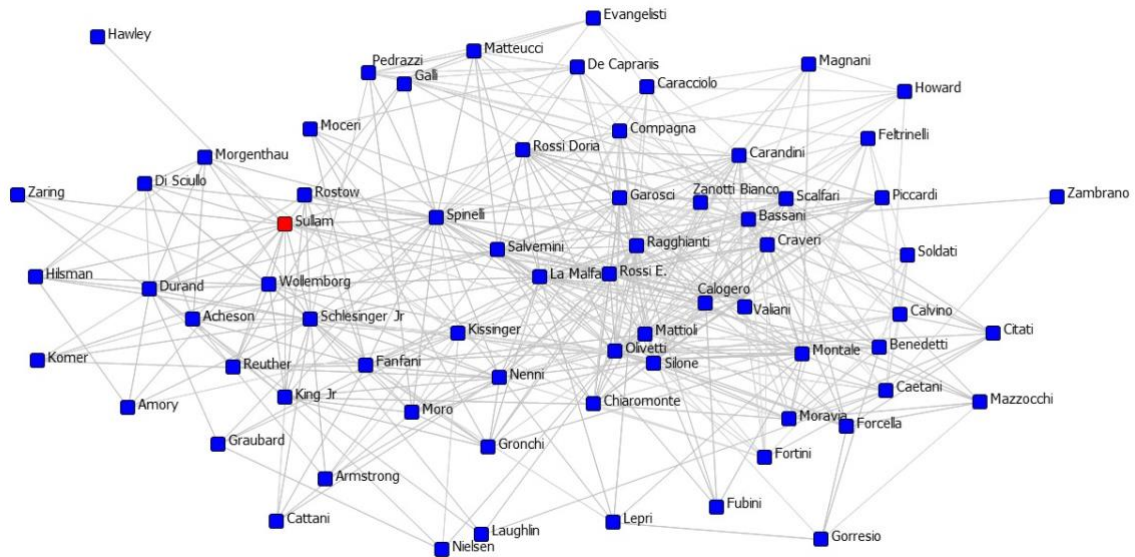
Figure 7 *Cutpoints in the whole network.*

The examination of cutpoints – or rather the absence of them – thus brings to light a high level of interdependence between all the groups in the network, especially at the Italian level: none of the leaders involved seemed to be completely isolated nor does there seem to be any cliques (dense and enclosed sub-groups separated from the remaining actors). As such, this analysis confirms the existence of a high-density network. It also helps explore the idea that, specifically in an informal set of ties, influential agents could enable or constrain the action of the leaders examined by this research. This measurement appears to validate the idea that many Italian actors shared similar connections with US leaders as well as similar roles within the network, potentially concurring to give shape to the communication between US and Italian leaders.

As pertains the three case studies under investigation, Cavazza emerges once again in an advantageous position for his link to Sullam, which is absent from both Croce and

Pannunzio. As the only cutpoint, Sullam had the potential to exert his influence on the network by holding together leaders both in Italy and in the United States. Particularly relevant to an attempt to analyse his possible role more thoroughly is to take into account that he really was operating between the Italian and the American ground: born in Italy, he took part in the ECA mission and was the one to introduce Cavazza to the most important US figures, as demonstrated by Cavazza's and Umberto Gentiloni Silver's work.[357] The fact that this fundamental figure belongs to Cavazza's ego-net also seems to enhance the potential of the Italian cultural leader to be a broker in the network. Most interestingly, this analysis seems to suggest that Sullam's fundamental role in connecting US and Italian elites and his friendship with Cavazza gave him the possibility to increase his prestige and leverage on both sides of the Atlantic, and to Cavazza's group, *Il Mulino*, the chance to have privileged access to different US organisations and become a crucial agent. Finally, Sullam's position appears to be particularly advantageous as it gave him the chance to work as 'mediator' and to directly affect the network by cutting the ties with specific groups.

3.5 Conclusion: Multiple Roles and Complex Interactions

This chapter has highlighted the structural features of the US-Italian network, particularly exploring the cases of the Italian actors Fabio Luca Cavazza, Elena Croce and Mario Pannunzio. The main purpose of this analysis was to show the different potentialities linked to an actor's positions and relations, the dissimilarities amongst each leader under investigation and the ways in which the density, cohesion and heterogeneity in the whole network would enable or constrain exchanges in the network. What is more, the focus on potential limits to the action of Italian groups has highlighted the existence of multiple alternatives and ways of participation

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[357] See Umberto Gentiloni Silveri, *L'Italia e la nuova frontiera;* Francesco Bello, *Fabio Luca Cavazza, la nuova frontiera e l'apertura a sinistra.* See also Francesco Bello, *Diplomazia culturale e guerra fredda.*

that could directly or indirectly influence the construction of Italian-American relations in the 1950s. Such a complexity provides the chance to reflect on the composite assemblage of interests and figures involved in such transactions at the individual, group, local and transatlantic levels.

In particular, such an examination allows us to think about the potential engagements of Italian elites, not considering it in a narrow way – i.e., whether they were prone to absorb and promote US values and views – rather in terms of agential power (a potential to), embeddedness and interactions. The hidden potentialities of the three cases studies have been brought to light by means of SNA, showing how structural elements need to be taken into account both as opportunities and constraints, and how the different actors' ego-nets would allow them to play different roles and to shape particular attitudes.

The SNA has brought to light how the US-Italian network held together different groups and actors with a different potential for engaging, communicating and developing different understandings. As such, structural features reveal that the participation in the network was not a homogenous process and that cohesion (density) and homophily (diversity) as well as individual positions could favour or hinder the collaboration among the groups. In a dense network with many diverse groups, brokerage opportunities seem to be relevant to the introduction of different ideas. The analysis of individual networks has also provided an in-depth exploration of how the relational patterns seen in the three case studies may be linked to different types of engagement and agency.

Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's relational settings allowed them to play different roles in the network and different kinds of embeddedness. The calculation of centrality in the network (DC and BC, specifically) indicate how connected Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio were but also how they were connected to the others. Additional information has been offered by means of

the exploration of homophily in the network (regarding, particularly, affiliation to various groups and the nationality of the alters) giving an idea of the composition of each leader's neighbourhood, the paths and interests their ego-nets crossed and brought together, and how their ties contributed to shape the US-Italian network. Structural holes measures (Eff Size and Constraint) have gone further in the investigation of the multifaceted aspects concerning a node's relational setting exploring the brokerage potential of a particular individual and uncovering the interdependence mechanisms in the network. The computation of density and Bi Components to identify cutpoints, finally, have helped comprehend the ways Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's ego-nets, respectively, related to the rest of the network and the potential significance of their connections to change and shape the whole of the network considered by this study.

My analysis, specifically, has elucidated the difference between the three Italian leaders' potential and positions within the US-Italian network. Whilst Pannunzio and Croce had a prestigious role primarily in the local arena – the former, however, displaying a higher degree of homogeneity in his social environment and a direct influential role only among Italian groups – Cavazza had the potential to bridge Italian and American groups and the capacity to strategically position himself between them. Thus, three types of agency have been identified: broker, gatekeeper and hub. Cavazza's relational setting offered him the possibility for brokerage opportunities: characterised by a great number of connections with low constraint and a high score of heterogeneity (as the calculation of homophily has evidenced), his links allowed him to act as a broker. In other words, he had the potential to mediate between individuals and organisations on the two sides of the Atlantic. In contrast to Cavazza, Pannunzio's higher constraint, lower BC and great number of ties suggests that he held a central position among Italian actors and could act as a hub. As such, he could maintain multiple

connections with many other groups and could be at the core of the exchanges among this groups.

A more hybrid case, Elena Croce's prominence as a local leader and her large and various number of ties allowed her to reach marginal groups and individuals in the network, showing her potential to enhance her prestige as a connector to groups to which Americans and other Italians did not have access. As such, her ties allow her to perform a different role from Pannunzio and Cavazza: the heterogeneity of her relational pattern, higher constraint (in relation to Cavazza's) and great number of connections (although primarily with Italians) suggests that she had a potential to act as a gatekeeper (i.e., to link a few nodes with no ties or less connections).

Finally, in the light of such dynamics, the American strategic approach towards Italian elites needs to be understood as a process that holds together local peculiarities, transnational interactions as well as simultaneous developments in the implementation of cultural diplomacy at a European and international level. Multidimensional socio-cultural relational processes were at place. The embeddedness of the agents and various potential types of engagement (broker, hub, and gatekeeper) highlighted by this analysis, however, cannot be fully explained without an investigation of the motives of and context in which Italian leaders operated to 'make sense' of the world and of their connections. Specifically, in Chapter Four I will explore the beliefs and interests of Italian groups, which informed the action of Italian leaders, and analyse the meanings subsumed in such engagements revealing the mutual link between structural and ideational elements in defining Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's agency.

CHAPTER FOUR

Lights and Shadows: Negotiations and Roles of the Italian Actors Between Domestic Challenges and Transatlantic Exchanges

This chapter explores multiple kinds of engagements in the relationships between Italian and American elites. In particular, it aims to link the social network analysis in Chapter Three, focusing on power, relational structure and possibilities entailed in the Italian-American network, with an exploration of the ways in which Italian actors could contribute to constructing such relations. Italian cultural elites operated within a public arena defined by cultural, political and social dynamics, in which they attempted to position themselves, sometimes acting in harmony with or in contrast to the main political parties and various social and cultural groups and institutions. Hence, such a cultural field can be seen as a 'space of positions' defined by the 'possession of determinate quantity of specific capital (recognition)',[358] namely symbolic capital as linked to cultural and social capital.

In order to play a part within this context, Italian cultural actors gave life to cultural initiatives that had the purpose of shaping the debate on Italian political and cultural life. The analysis offered in Chapter Three cast light on the structural elements constituting the relations between US and Italian leaders using Mario Pannunzio, Fabio Luca Cavazza and Elena Croce as exemplary case studies. In particular, the exploration of structural features has shown the opportunity for Pannunzio, Cavazza and Croce to rely on different ties and positions to act, respectively, as a broker, a gatekeeper and a hub.

In the same way, the analysis of the letters between these three main Italian figures and their American interlocutors serves here to investigate their different understandings,

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[358] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Field of Cultural Production or The Economic World Reversed', in *The Field of Cultural Production. Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. by Pierre Bourdieu and Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 29-73 (p. 30).

beliefs and goals, and the negotiations and ambiguities entailed in such exchanges and relations.

As letters are per se relational, they offer a unique opportunity to explore the meanings attached to these connections by the Italian actors as well as their attempt to position themselves strategically in their exchanges with the American counterparts. Whilst SNA has highlighted the structural constraints and possibilities and the dissimilarities in the egos' relational settings, demonstrating the dissimilar roles the actors could potentially play within the US-Italian network, the analysis of the three main Italian figures' correspondence allows me to indicate the meaning-making practices entailed in the Italian-American interactions. Single actors' discursive strategies are nested in questions of relational power both in structural and cultural terms, as a result of both the social role and habitus of the various players involved. As such, they are 'dependent on subjective assessment and possibilities.'[359] The analysis of individual texts thereby allows me to open up cultural aspects not considered in the SNA and complementary to it.

The majority of the archival letters investigated in this chapter does not deal specifically with personal issues or political opinions. Rather, the letters often present themselves as instruments to develop professional interactions, projects and exchanges. However, they are a cross-section of the ways in which Italian actors developed their relationships with the leaders overseas and present an opportunity to explore underlying beliefs, their understandings and goals and a possibility to explore their dispositions as developed through their interactions, primarily as part of multiple connections in the local cultural and political field. For this reason, it is necessary to keep in mind the context in which Croce, Cavazza and Pannunzio operated (presented in my Introduction and in Chapter Two). By examining how the three primary

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[359] Stephan Tischer and others, eds., *op. cit.,* p. 156.

figures presented themselves/others, I will highlight the inner dynamics and cultural assumptions underpinning their relationship with the American groups.

The analysis of the texts has been performed with the support of Nvivo software. Specifically, as a text organisation software Nvivo has allowed me to code my documents and arrange my codes hierarchically through the creation of sub-codes (the first information extracted from my texts) and over-arching main or 'parent' codes (that incorporate sub-codes), as presented in Chapter Two. As a support tool, Nvivo has been used to ensure a systematic analysis of the texts and to better highlight the intersections between topics discussed and the language used by the Italian actors in relation to their interlocutors.

In order to introduce the discussion on the three case studies, I will illustrate the main codes that emerged from the examination of the texts and present an analysis of the codes' frequency (coding matrix) related to how the three Italian actors define their interests, their relationships with their interlocutors, and how they present themselves and their roles. The coding matrix will be followed by a detailed analysis of letters representative of the key codes. While all letters were analysed in the original language, the extracts in this chapter are provided in translation from Italian; the original text is available in *Appendix B*. My translation of these documents retains where possible the sentence structure and idiom of the original text. As explained in Chapter Two, where a term or phrase could not be rendered in the same way in English as in Italian, I offer an explanation of the possible interpretations.

4.1 The Italian-American Informal Network: The Cases of Croce, Cavazza, and Pannunzio

Efforts to establish informal contacts with Italian cultural leaders were made by several US organisations in the 1950s and early 1960s. Italian elites were driven by their desire to play a new role after World War II and offered a diversity of voices and interconnections to their

interlocutors. Within those voices were a range of professional and intellectual aspirations, and political and cultural debates; these individuals aimed both to inspire change and to challenge cultural and political stagnation. The three case studies analysed in this chapter are relevant examples to comprehend the dynamics and negotiations at the core of the exchanges between Italian and American groups. As this next section aims to show, the analysis of Pannunzio, Cavazza and Croce's letters illuminates their attitudes and strategies.

The initial analysis was conducted through inductive coding to identify the main themes discussed, the language utilised to construct the actor's relationship with the American counterparts, and that used to construct the Self. Three broaden categories were chosen to guide my analysis, namely the agents' interests (Interests and Topics), the way they defined and constructed their relationships (Relationships), and how they talked about themselves (Presentation Strategy). As pertains presentation strategy in the letters, the codes concerning single parts of the texts (verbs, words or sentences) were clustered in nine groups as follows: Active Role (promoting change, bridging, promoting dialogue, organising, etc.), Affinity (appreciation, common view, friendship and trust), Being Connected (related to their social capital), Delegitimization (differentiation, contrast, negative representation), Dramatisation (strong emotional language), Informative (reporting opinions, impersonal sentences), Management (arrangements and requests), Opinion (personal statements introducing their own views) and Reciprocity (polite language, apologies, gratitude, etc.). The actors' definition of the relationships were gathered in three groups, namely Kinship, Collaboration and Exchange (including financial aid). Finally, Topics and Interests were identified by looking at the themes discussed in the written exchanges (for instance, opinions on political events, requests for articles on a specific topic, etc.). After coding the texts, a matrix coding query was run in Nvivo

to identify which codes featured most frequently in the correspondence of each actor. The results of this query are presented in *Table 8*.

	Interests and Topics	Relationships	Presentation Strategy
Pannunzio	Personal Business US politics	Kinship Collaboration Exchange	Affinity Reciprocity
Croce	US politics Italian Literature Originality	Kinship Collaboration	Being Connected Delegitimisation Management
Cavazza	Connections Support Italian politics Personal Business	Kinship Collaboration Exchange	Active Role Being Connected Delegitimisation Dramatisation Informative Opinion

Table 8 Analysis of codes' frequency.

The coding of the texts delineates the differences and similarities between the case studies. As the table shows, different actors relied on various discursive strategies in their interaction with American interlocutors: although all of them aimed to further their collaboration with like-minded interlocutors (see, in particular the coding related to the category of 'relationships' in *Table 8*). They did so according to the roles they aimed to play, their interests and preferences.

As my analysis will show, Mario Pannunzio's relations seem to be pursued in name of a collaboration (with his magazine) as the letters to Brioschi, Worley and La Palombara will highlight. There is also a link between a professional relationship and a feeling of mutual respect and appreciation. As the topics discussed bring to light, his exchanges were mostly connected to the management of *Il Mondo* and the opportunity to gather perspectives from abroad (La Palombara) and on profitable collaboration with US publishers (Worley). My analysis of his letters will also focus on his presentation strategies, which were primarily

devoted to the construction of relations based on reciprocity and strongly related to his editorial role. Set alongside the data acquired through SNA in Chapter Three, these results suggest that his high number of ties, constraint and similarity (in terms of nationality) are also related to his preference for strong connections and reliable like-minded collaborators. It also shows that in his connections to Liberal-democratic groups, he put *Il Mondo* at the core of such interests in order to allow the magazine to become their unique voice. My examination will show how the use of professionalism and reciprocity (encouragement, appreciation and favours) is seen here as representative of his ability to construct such collaborations, as a sign of his capacity to 'navigate the magazine as a social and network space.'[360]

The case of Elena Croce shows both similarities and differences to Pannunzio, as emerged also from my analysis in Chapter Three. The coding of her relations with US actors shows a focus on collaboration and on commonality of views; however, in contrast to Pannunzio, the coding reveals her attention to the originality of the pieces submitted to or commissioned, for different topics (Italian literature) and a use of her connections (social capital as Being Connected) and editorial role (Management). The unique role of her magazine and particular position occupied by her magazine is also enhanced through negative comparisons with others (Delegitimisation). In this way, her collaborations seem to be maintained on the basis of the possibility to differentiate and innovate, drawing on her connections to explore both politics (for instance American politics) and literature (in the case mentioned here, Italian literature) through different perspectives. In confirmation of such an attitude, she wrote as early as 1949:

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[360] Matthew Philippots, 'What Makes A Great Magazine Editor?', *Eurozine*, available online at < https://www.eurozine.com/makes-great-magazine-editor/?pdf=> (Last seen: March 2022).

It is necessary that foreign collaborators apart from knowing the cultural streams of their own country are able to compare them to the ones of the country the magazine is published in, that is to also know the cultural currents of the latter and to comprehend its 'national' language.[361]

This may explain the diversity of her relational setting as emerged from my SNA analysis in the previous chapter: her ability to reach figures abroad was connected primarily to the original and, mostly, intellectual debate she intended to advance.

Finally, the case of Fabio Luca Cavazza, whose relational settings have different and unique features as reported in Chapter Three, also has a very particular strategic communication style and diverse interests. As *Table 8* shows, Cavazza places particular attention on his own active role (which has been used here as a category for verbs showing personal commitment such as meeting, organising, etc.) in combination with presenting his extensive number of connections (Being Connected). It is also worth noting the combination of delegitimation, dramatisation (emotional expressions and language) and informative language, which allowed him to present his opinions (code used here for expressions such as 'I think', 'I believe', etc.) and discuss different topics (personal business as well as Italian politics). In this way, he could 'play' his connections in multiple ways and for different goals. Lastly, an important aspect which both Pannunzio and Cavazza have in common is the potential for an exchange (primarily financial aid) through their relationships.

As such, the analysis of the letters will bring to light how different types of engagement (hub, broker and gatekeeper) are related to different ways to communicate and interact with US counterparts. In what follow, these aspects are discussed in more detail by analysing each case study separately and by examining their correspondence in depth.

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[361] Giuseppe Galasso, *op. cit.*, p. 284 (my translation).

4.2 The Case of Mario Pannunzio: A Hub

Pannunzio was a member of the liberal movement after the World War II and amongst the founders of the Radical Party in the mid-Fifties. The great number of connections he established and distinct features of his relational setting suggest that his relations had the potential to enhance his prestige and to foster a position for him as a central actor in the Italian arena. As brought to light by the measurement of homophily in Chapter Three, Pannunzio's relational setting was characterised by a high homogeneity in terms of nationality but, simultaneously, a great diversity amongst his alters in terms of their type. Despite the high number of actors with whom he interacted, his connections also illustrated a relatively higher degree of constraint in comparison to the other case studies analysed. In other words, the agents with whom he was connected were also linked to each other: this reduced his ability to control information or to access new information. The analysis of his letters brings to light how Pannunzio perceived his role and how his personal and professional beliefs and interests contributed to shaping his interaction with his American counterparts.

As previously stated, Pannunzio's archival collection contains very few traces of his contacts with US organisations. Consequently, my study is based on the fragmented information emerging from his letters combined with secondary sources. To my knowledge, previous studies on the editor of *Il Mondo* have not explored his contacts with US actors. Pannunzio's collection in Rome gathers his correspondence and his documents primarily as the editor-in-chief of *Il Mondo* but also a number of letters not strictly related to his work for his magazine. As my analysis elucidates, Pannunzio's interactions with American counterparts remained sporadic and his exchanges limited to his agenda as an editor and active participant in the local cultural and political debate.

A first contact with a US organisation overseas is recorded in Pannunzio's archive in Rome as early as 1952 through an Italian interlocutor, Gian Antonio Brioschi. Documents on the foundation of the AILC (connected to the CCF, of which Pannunzio was a member in 1950) as well as on the USIS suggest that the Italian editor was not far-removed from US-Italian cultural transactions in the early years after the war. Brioschi, who was at the time the proxy holder of the American magazine *Confluence* founded by Henry Kissinger, sent Pannunzio a letter concerning this publication. He presented it as an opportunity for an 'exchange of ideas between Europe and America,' with a circulation of '7,000 copies' and an 'advisory committee constituted by some of the most important American cultural figures,'[362] and he asked the Italian leader to circulate it among his collaborators and readers.

The Italian leader's reply indicates a genuine positive response and a willingness to continue their 'collaboration'.[363] In particular, his letter seems to suggest his intention to foster his relationship with his interlocutor by means of reciprocity and exchange. The Italian editor's efforts seem to be primarily concerned with the establishment of a professional collaboration: whilst in the first part of his letter he reciprocates Brioschi's gladness for their meeting (notice the 'too' in the text), he subsequently offers his help with the registration in the official organisation for Italian journalists (offering a favour, coded as Reciprocity) and, finally, asks for more information about how to receive copies of the Kissinger's magazine *Confluence*, reassuring Brioschi on his intention to share it with 'our readership' ('I nostri lettori', in the original text):

Dear Dr. Brioschi

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[362] Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Gian Antonio Brioschi to Mario Pannunzio, 28 July 1952, Box 22, Folder 102. See *Appendix B*, Letter B1.

[363] Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Mario Pannunzio to Gian Antonio Brioschi, 30 July 1952, Box 22, Folder 102. Original text in *Appendix B*, Letter B2.

Thank you for your letter. I am glad to have personally met you, too, and to have established with you, I am sure, friendly relations and a cordial collaboration.

I am sending you the form for your membership in the register of journalists. I do not think there will be problems for your acceptance.

I do not know the magazine 'CONFLUENCE' if not by name. I would certainly like to get to know it and to let our readership know about it. How to get it? Is an 'exchange' possible?

Let me know something about that, please.

Accept my warmest regards

Pannunzio's letter is revealing of the editor's interest in strong and 'friendly' collaborations. The issue of building trust is further reiterated by offering help to the interlocutor ('I am sending you the form') and reassuring him ('I don't think there will be any problems'). It is also worth noticing the direct questions posed to his addressee, which seem to express genuine interest in learning about how to receive the American publication. The use of the term 'exchange' ('cambio,' in the Italian original text), offers here two possible interpretations, which may cast a different light on Pannunzio's attitude. The use of this term sounds unusual in this context: being in quotation marks, it may indicate that its use is not literal and the request Pannunzio is making is tentative. Specifically, the word 'cambio' may have been used here to talk about the currency (asking whether he could pay in lira rather than dollars). In this sense, the word could constitute a way to make specific arrangements. The quotation marks and the expressed reciprocity in the whole text, however, also offer a different interpretation of this word, namely as an 'exchange.' Such a term generally refers to a transfer of items of the same value

(suggesting a collaborative relationship based on mutual benefits). The interrogative clause and the use of a future tense may be a way to present a request – a collaborative exchange – that Brioschi could decline.

As such, it may imply the Italian leader's belief in an 'equal' relationship and value of his own magazine and the American one. It also seems to show that Pannunzio was curious about what was published abroad (although not actively starting the correspondence with his interlocutors) and considered these exchanges both an opportunity for his own publication but also for himself. What is particularly interesting in this paragraph is the sequential disposition of his statements: 'I would certainly like to get to know it' and 'let our readership know'. By reassuring his interlocutor about his intention to have a look at *Confluence* (see the adverb 'certainly'), the Italian leader seems not to be aiming to please Brioschi but also to position himself and his magazine as a potential recipient for ideas from abroad. On closer inspection, however, the statement reveals a certain degree of ambiguity. The sequence of his statements seems to suggest that the material needs to reach him first before reaching his audience, stressing the managerial attitude of the Italian editor.

What is more, there is a shift in the text from the sole figure of the editor (I would like...) to the inclusion of his recipient with the expression 'let our readership know': through this expression, Pannunzio may be alluding to a shared audience (where Brioschi would be already considered as part of collaborators of *Il Mondo*); conversely, it may only refer to the editor's interest in receiving material from abroad not only to enhance the prestige of his publication but also as a favour towards the proxy representative of Kissinger's magazine. Both possibilities seem to invoke the idea of affinity (either for having a common audience or a like-minded readership, who would be interested in reading *Confluence*'s articles).

As such, the coding of this text has highlighted the stress on affinity (common readership and appreciation) and reciprocity (gratitude and gladness) to build a solid collaborative relationship as well as on Pannunzio's managerial role. The conception of reciprocity and collaboration is also conveyed by the Italian editor's allusion to the establishment of 'friendly relations' and 'cordial collaboration.' Specifically, Pannunzio's habit of calling his group of collaborators and closest interlocutors 'friends' can be found not only in other documents in the archive (see analysis below) but also in his foundation of the group 'Amici de Il Mondo' with whom he organised a series of conferences in the 1950s. It is not a surprise to find the expression 'rapporti di amicizia' (literally 'friendship' but translated here as 'friendly relations') in this letter. Pannunzio appeared to regard his collaborators as intellectuals and journalists with whom he could exchange ideas and material, articles, and information as well as favours. Being interested in transforming his publication and circle of collaborators into a meeting point and laboratory for cultural and political debates at the local level, Pannunzio seemed not to be interested in developing further contacts, for instance, with Henry Kissinger nor, according to his archival material, with Brioschi himself.

The approach seems to be confirmed by other archival documents. In 1953, the Executive Director of the Harvard Seminar and, at the time, consultant of the Psychological Strategy Board Henry Kissinger sent a letter to Pannunzio to ask for his 'help in attracting participants' for his Seminar.[364] The letter goes as follows:

Dear Sir:

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[364] Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Henry Kissinger to Mario Pannunzio, 10 January 1953, Box 24, Folder 104.

We are writing to ask your assistance in attracting participants for the 1953 session of the Harvard International Seminar. You will notice that this Seminar is designed for individuals who are already active in some endeavor. It has occurred to us that members of your staff or of your acquaintance might be interested. Or that you may wish to bring it to the attention of your readers. I am sure you appreciate that the success of the Seminar depends entirely on the quality of the candidates we can attract. For this reason, we would appreciate your bringing it to the attention of the best young men and women. We are enclosing several announcements and application forms which explain our program in detail. Your assistance in distributing this material to those who could make the best contribution would be of great help. Because of the time required for obtaining visas and passports, we are compelled to ask that applications reach us no later than March 1, 1953. Could you therefore impress the necessity for an early reply on your candidates? Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours

However, there is no archival evidence of the Italian journalist's reply. What is more, the way Kissinger addresses him ('Dear Sir') – namely through a formal and standard expression – suggests that there had been no further contact between the two leaders after Brioschi's letter and, hence, may confirm that Pannunzio had not tried to contact the editor of *Confluence*. The absence of more written exchanges between the two leaders might be a sign of the Italian editor's preference, at the beginning of the 1950s, for collaborations relevant to his magazine and to the enhancement of his prestige in the Italian arena, rather than actively pursuing the creation of ties with US leaders.

In 1953, the Italian journalist also received two letters[365] from Joseph Friedman of the Courier Publications, enquiring about the possibility of publishing articles and photographs of *Il Mondo* for a new magazine devoted to 'Anglo-American readers most interested in Italian affairs': the *Courier from Italy*, which would be distributed in several countries (United States, Great Britain, Canada, Italy and other Western European states). Friedman's second message[366] followed his previous 'outstanding' letter ('inevasa') and asked again for a collaboration. Although it is not possible to tell whether Friedman acted independently or whether his publishing house in Milan had any connection with the USIS centre or with any of the US foundations (such as the Ford Foundation), there are three aspects that need to be taken into account. Firstly, we should note the echo of Pannunzio's magazine both in Italy and in the United States ('*Il Mondo* is regarded abroad as the one of most well-informed and unbiased voices of Italian journalism'). Secondly, it is important to consider the nature of the exchanges, which for the most part deal with the possibility for Pannunzio and his collaborators to publish their material abroad. And finally, the date is noteworthy; 1952 was the year in which both Brioschi (on behalf of Kissinger) and Friedman's letters were sent, namely when a new US cultural operation was launched and USIA was created.

In contrast to Brioschi, Friedman seemed not to have had a previous meeting with Pannunzio or any earlier personal contact with him. This aspect is not secondary as it seems to suggest that Pannunzio had a preference for contacts meaningful to him and his own publication in Italy, rather than abroad. Given the fact that such material refers only to exchanges that

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[365] Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Joseph Friedman to Mario Pannunzio, 10 July 1953, Box 24, Folder 104.; Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Joseph Friedman to Mario Pannunzio, 27 July 1953, Box 24, Folder 104. Other letters confirm that Pannunzio's magazine had a number of readers in the United States, primarily in New York and, especially, among Italian-American leaders. For instance, Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Robert J. Ellrich to Mario Pannunzio, 30 November 1953, Box 24, Folder 104; Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Gian Lupo Osti to Mario Pannunzio, 22 October 1956, Box 27, Folder 107.

[366] The original text of this letter is provided in *Appendix B*, Letter B3.

occurred in the first half of the 1950s, it is worth analysing Pannunzio's correspondence throughout that decade and in the early 1960s, in order to understand whether there was an evolution in the way he interacted with US leaders (also as a consequence of contextual changes and personal enterprises), as well as to comprehend whether the missing responses to US leaders' letters need to be ascribed to poor safekeeping of the oldest documents, to a negligent attitude on Pannunzio's side or both.

Evidence from Pannunzio' s correspondence shows that the Italian editor had some contact with US groups at the local level, although this was sporadic. Apart from the AILC, which Pannunzio joined at its creation and which stood for a potential thin line of communication with non-communist American intellectuals,[367] two letters show that he was in touch with the USIS centre in Rome over the 1950s and 1960s. However, while the first of these exchanges concerned the use of USIS material by Pannunzio's publication, the second one pertained to an informal event organised by the USIS Deputy Public Affairs Officer in Rome, Edmund Schechter,[368] to which Pannunzio had been invited. This event was, in Schechter's words, a way to gather 'our journalist friends'[369] on the occasion of the departure of the director of the USIS press office in Italy Alfred Jacobson: the inclusion of Pannunzio, a famous editor based in Rome, is therefore not surprising.

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[367] See, in this regard, Frances Stonor Saunders, *op. cit.*

[368] Schechter, former member of the US Office of War Information, was a Public Affairs Officer in Italy between 1958 and 1964 and actively supported the constitution of a Centre-Left government. See, Lewis G. Schmidt, Interview with Edmund Schechter, February 5, 1988, Library of Congress, available online at <https://memory.loc.gov/service/mss/mfdip/2004/2004sch03/2004sch03.pdf> (Last seen: March 2022).

[369] Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Letter from the United States Information Service, 26 October 1950, Box 20, Folder 99; Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Edmund Schechter to Mario Pannunzio, 16 February 1960, Box 32, Folder 112. Text as follows (original text in Italian in Appendix B, Letter B3): 'Dear Doctor, in a few days my friend and colleague Alfred Jacobson, director of the USIS press office, is going to the United States for a long holiday. Before his departure and to the aim of wishing him a safe trip and a happy return to Rome, I would like to gather all our journalist friends for a vermouth at my place, Via Giovan Battista de Rossi 20/c on February 18th from 12.30 until 2.30 pm. I hope I will have the opportunity to see you soon. Best wishes, ES, Deputy Director of USIS in Italy'.

More interesting is the reply to Schechter's letter, which shows that Pannunzio was in touch with USIS personnel, as he refers to his addressee in an informal way ('Dear Friend'), denoting a certain degree of acquaintance or, at least, his desire to reciprocate Schlechter's appellative:

> Dear Friend,
>
> I am truly sorry for not being able to take part in the farewell vermouth for the dear colleague Alfred Jacobson. Unfortunately, I received your kind invite late, which had been sent to Via Campo Marzio 24, where the administrative office of our magazine is, and not to Via Colonna Antonina, where our newsroom is.
>
> > I hope I will be able to make amend for my absence by meeting Mr Jacobson upon his return in Rome.
> >
> > I am sending you my warmest regards and thanks.
> >
> > Yours[370]

This message, similar to the analysis of Brioschi's letter, shows Pannunzio's use of reciprocity and affinity, although in this specific case among figures having similar professional roles and goals. In particular, the Italian leader refers to 'Mr. Jacobson' as someone known to him and as a 'dear colleague,' suggesting that he had formal professional relations with him and that he considered his role and inclination alike (equal professional relations based on Kinship and Affinity). The way Pannunzio answers Schlechter's letter also appears to be aimed at conveying the idea that he was both professional and approachable. In the first place, Pannunzio offers apologies and carefully clarifies the reasons for missing the event. Secondly, by 'making

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[370] Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Mario Pannunzio to Edmund Schechter, 19 February 1960, Box 32, Folder 112. Original text in *Appendix B*, Letter B4.

amends' Pannunzio de facto forcefully suggests a future meeting. There are two important aspects to underline, namely the potential and ability of the Italian journalist to support and extend his ties with USIS officers in Rome. In addition, by stressing their commonalities (calling his receiver a 'friend' and Jacobson a 'dear colleague') and their professional and personal bond as well as by offering apologies, Pannunzio manages to advance a request for further contacts (using mutuality to maintain his relationships). What is still to be explained is if and why the Italian journalist's attitude had evolved since the early 1950s or if he acted this way because he considered the USIS in Rome a way to promote his publication and meet like-minded leaders (at events and conferences). It may also demonstrate Pannunzio's potential for and interest in building and maintaining multiple connections (social capital), specifically at the local level.

To further explore the interaction between Pannunzio and his American interlocutors and their dissimilarities and commonalities, two examples are particularly relevant: the case of the American scholar Joseph LaPalombara[371] and that of the US publisher Eleanor Davidson Worley. Regarding the former, Pannunzio and LaPalombara had met in Rome in 1958 and, following the Italian journalist's suggestion to draft an article for his magazine, LaPalombara initiated a written exchange with him in 1960 with the purpose of writing 'some correspondence about the developments of the US political situation,' particularly on 'the reaction of US public opinion on the Conference in Paris' and on 'the part played by the crash of a US plane shot down in Soviet territory.'[372] It is worth noting that LaPalombara was also in touch with Cavazza and that the American seemed to be an intermediary between US foundations (in particular, the

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[371] LaPalombara, who had an Italian American family background, was at the time a Professor at the Michigan State University and had been a visiting scholar at the University of Florence in 1957-58.

[372] Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Joseph LaPalombara to Mario Pannunzio, 24 May 1960, Box 32, Folder 112.

Ford Foundation but also Rockefeller Foundation) and prestigious Italian cultural groups.[373] This is a further confirmation of Pannunzio's potential to reach indirectly collaborations with several US groups (USIA and US foundations).

Their correspondence between La Palombara and Pannunzio, composed of a few letters, covers the whole of the year 1960. The editor of *Il Mondo* enthusiastically welcomes the possibility of receiving some articles from the United States. Like Brioschi's case, his letter dated 22 June 1960[374] reflects the Italian editor's idea of giving life to a collaboration with prominent figures he personally knew and with whom he had established a relationship of trust and mutual respect.

Dear Friend,

I really appreciated your letter and your kind words. I would be very happy – let me say that, finally – to have you among the collaborators of 'Il Mondo' and I hope this will happen as soon as possible. The issue you told me about seems of a great interest to me.

However, I have the impression that the happenings in Japan and the effects that must have occurred in America, can provide new elements to a broader view of US foreign politics. I am not sure whether it will be possible to extend such a theme to a wider overview. In case you accepted my suggestion, the length of the article should be of 10-14 pages. There is no need to say that I will be very glad if you send me, even without any prior arrangement, articles from America about any issues you may consider suitable for 'Il Mondo'.

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[373] See Archivio Fabio Luca Cavazza, Giuseppe Di Federico to Fabio Cavazza, 25 June 1960; Archivio Fabio Luca Cavazza, Fabio Luca Cavazza to Joseph La Palombara, 4 July 1960.

[374] Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Mario Pannunzio to Joseph LaPalombara, 22 June 1960, Box 32, Folder 112. See original text in *Appendix B*, Letter B5.

I am sending you my warmest wishes.

Yours

Once again, the characterisation of his professional relationship goes hand in hand with the establishment of a personal and trustworthy bond (coded as Appreciation and Affinity): by addressing his recipient as a 'friend,' by including him 'amongst the collaborators of *Il Mondo*' and by encouraging him to send any article he may find appropriate for *Il Mondo* 'without any prior arrangements.' It is also worth noting the use of expressions of thankfulness and gladness ('felicissimo,' 'grato' , 'lieto') as well as the use of 'finally' and 'as soon as possible,' which show the interest of Pannunzio in fostering this collaboration. The second paragraph in the letter, however, shows Pannunzio's attempt to both advance a polite request ('broader view', 'my suggestion') for an article with a broader scope whilst simultaneously reaffirming his trust in LaPalombara, by offering him the chance to submit any 'articles from America' on issues of his choice ('without any prior arrangement').[375] Particularly interesting here is that the invitation to collaborate with his publication connotes a particular attitude, based on the belief that the prestige of the American scholar could be of terrific value for his magazine, as could the possibility of having first-hand commentaries from the United States.

There are two potential interpretations of the reasons behind this choice. It may show, on the one hand, that there was particular interest among Pannunzio's audience in reading about US life, politics, and culture. On the other hand, it may indicate that having material written from an eminent US Professor was a way effectively to increase the relevance and prominence of his magazine effectively, which was aimed principally at other intellectuals. In this case, this preference may be seen as a common trait of Italian editors, whose magazines had a

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[375] See also Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Mario Pannunzio to Joseph LaPalombara,12 October 1960, Box 32, Folder 112.

considerable highbrow participation (see analysis of Croce in this chapter). Both explanations could be valid interpretations of Pannunzio's attitude. However, this is a unique case for two reasons: first, the American professor personally met Pannunzio and could communicate with him in Italian; second, he wrote to Pannunzio to offer his collaboration (and not to submit a request), which was considered beneficial by the latter for his enterprise. Pannunzio did not enquire about the possibility of finding other American collaborators, for instance, nor did he ask for connections (funds, members of specific organisations, etc.) that could help him to promote his magazine abroad or that could open up new opportunities for new ventures. All Pannunzio's efforts seemed to be devoted to the enhancement of his magazine as a credible tool and of his reputation as an editor by capitalising on links to prestigious alters.

In the second example mentioned above, Pannunzio was contacted by Eleanor Davidson Worley of the Worley Publishing Company in 1960 to 'collaborate with *ATLAS*, a new magazine to be published in the United States which will reprint articles, fiction, drawings, poetry, and cartoons from leading magazines and newspapers abroad' and to have the chance of 'providing a wider audience' for his publication.[376] In her letter she explains she had previously contacted the Italian editor but had not received a response. According to the material available, their few written exchanges as well as meetings[377] continued until 1961. Pannunzio relied on his collaborator Nina Ruffini to take care of these exchanges and events: not only did she provide her help with the administration of *Il Mondo*'s written communication but also, and even more so, with the exchanges with foreign leaders, as she had mastery of the English language.

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[376] Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Eleanor Davidson Worley to Mario Pannunzio, 19 October 1960, Box 43, Folder 124.

[377] In one of her letters, Worley mentioned a luncheon she and Pannunzio's collaborator Nina Ruffini had in Rome. Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Eleanor Davidson Worley to Nina Ruffini, 14 November 1960, Box 43, Folder 124.

In contrast to the other cases explored in this section, that of Worley is remarkably characterised by the use of formal language and by Pannunzio's collaborator's emphasis on the professionalism of the *Il Mondo*'s group. Formal greetings ('Dear Mrs Davidson,' 'Dear Madam,' 'Dear Mrs Worley'), which also vary throughout the communication, seem to suggest that the editor of *Il Mondo* (through the words of his collaborator Ruffini) wanted to maintain a more formal and professional relationship with this recipient. Particularly in the letters dated 28 October 1960 and 30 January 1960,[378] Ruffini insists on the professionalism of *Il Mondo*'s group ('duly signed,' 'you will find what you asked for,' 'agreement') as she is both settling the arrangements for their collaboration and introducing the purpose of Pannunzio's publication. Although a change in the language – in comparison to other messages analysed – may be ascribed to Ruffini's different 'voice,' the gender dimension should also considered as a possible differentiating factor: both Ruffini and Worley are women (which may also be a reason for Pannunzio to prefer Ruffini to be in charge of this collaboration). What is more, Ruffini may have been responding to the hierarchical gap between her and her interlocutor. In the letter of January 1960, Ruffini wrote:

Dear Madam

Thank you very much for your letter of January 26th.

Here enclosed you will find the few lines you asked for with information about our weekly. […]

First issue 1949

Political point of view: radical (liberal of the left)

Readership: intellectuals, middle class.

Circulation: between 50 thousand and 40 thousand.

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[378] Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Nina Ruffini to Eleanor Davidson Worley, 28 October 1960, Box 43, Folder 124; Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Nina Ruffini to Eleanor Davidson Worley, 30 January 1960, Archivio della Camera dei Deputati, Box 43, Folder 124.

Strongly antitotalitarian.

Near to the line of the Congress for the freedom of culture.

In this regard, it is worth noticing the use of 'radical' to describe the political point of view held by Pannunzio's editorial group. Originating in the nineteenth century as a current of the Italian Liberal party,[379] it refers here to the Left stream of the Liberal Party and Actionist Party, which joined a brand-new lay movement that aimed to change Italian party politics.[380] Given the specific meaning of this term in the Italian context, it is unsurprising that what is meant is further clarified in parentheses, 'liberal of the Left.' The clarification 'liberal of the Left,' once again, can be understood only by looking at the Italian political affairs of the time: only by knowing that there had been a split within the Italian Liberal party and that the Leftist current of this movement had left to give life to the RP, would one know exactly what such a definition meant. Most interestingly, the connotation of *Il Mondo* as a 'strongly antitotalitarian' project somehow comes only after Ruffini has mentioned its readership and circulation. The reference to it being 'near to the line of the Congress for the freedom of culture' comes at the end of the letter. The political orientation of Pannunzio's publication takes first place, for it defines both the aim (reforming political culture) and the political movement gathered around it.

The antitotalitarian stance was a feature of Pannunzio's circle from its very beginning; such an attitude was also shared by the intellectuals involved in the CCF. However, in the Italian cultural and political arena such a belief brought together a heterogenous range of positions, which found expression in the 'Third Force' movement. Antifascism was part of the post-war

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[379] See Fulvio Cammarano, *Storia dell'Italia Liberale* (Roma: Laterza, 2011).
[380] Lucia Bonfreschi, 'Becoming the "Party of Civil Rights": The Radical Party, 1962-1979', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 24:4 (2019), 600-617.

rhetoric of both the Christian Democrats (DCP) and the Italian Communist Party, and, specifically, the latter; anticommunism, on the other hand, predominantly marked the political discourse of the Christian Democratic Party and conservative forces after the war. After the 1956 Hungarian revolution, antitotalitarianism also served to distance intellectuals from the Communist-dominated discourse on antifascism. Finally, antitotalitarianism for *Il Mondo*'s group was not only a defence of freedom but also a political stance for a new political culture. In this regard, Pannunzio's position found harbour in the AILC but also differed in its desire to create a new political reference point. This would explain Ruffini's reference to the magazine being 'near to' the stance of the CCF: by adding it at the end of the letter, Ruffini clearly shows their interest in being an active means of political change (pointing out the editorial group's ideological closeness to American views). Her reference to the US-EU transnational intellectual association both underlines *Il Mondo*'s resemblance to and marks a difference from such an organisation, de facto conveying its unique and independent stand.

A further interesting letter was sent by *Il Mondo*'s group to Worley after Ruffini's meeting with the US publisher:

> I was very happy to meet you and your husband. I apologize for our speaking so much about politics. But when one has spent practically all one's life in fighting for Freedom *[capital letter in the original text]*, one is terribly attracted by this topic. Now that we know about the way things developed, I am very happy to acknowledge that Kennedy had to act as he did. I confirm what I told you in our conversation and add that we accept the financial arrangement you mention in your letter of November 14.[381]

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[381] Archivio Storico della Camera dei Deputati, Fondo Mario Pannunzio, Nina Ruffini to Eleanor Davidson Worley, 28 November 1962, Box 43, Folder 124.

Even after their luncheon together – referred to in Worley's letter – the recipient is still addressed in formal language by Pannunzio's collaborator, Nina Ruffini. It is also remarkable that Ruffini was in charge of both the correspondence and meetings with Worley: Pannunzio did not seem interested in getting acquainted with the American publisher. Although he considered this professional encounter an opportunity to advertise his magazine amongst intellectuals abroad, he did not seem to get directly involved, perhaps because there was no space for creating a more personal and collaborative relationship.

Ruffini's apologies (for 'speaking so much about politics') and her presentation of *Il Mondo*'s agency seem to be aimed at setting up the boundary of not discussing politics but business (which is also confirmed by her brisk comment on Kennedy's policy). Finally, Ruffini also aims to demonstrate the Italian editorial group's active role ('fighting for Freedom') for which politics is not just an accidental interest, but one to which they have dedicated all their lives: the prestige of *Il Mondo* derives from the particular active part it has undertaken.

Pannunzio's connections mainly disclose his interests as an editor and his reliance on collaborations from the United States and first-hand material for topics concerning US politics and, more specifically, American foreign policy. His goal of constructing a space for a debate among liberal elites through his magazine is constructed through the projection of both his professional figure as an editor and his active role among cultural and political elites. His link with the American publisher Worley in the early 1960s may disclose an evolution of his attitude towards new opportunities coming from the United States and the possibility of an exchange (previously advanced in his message to Brioschi). Not participating in the Worley-Ruffini luncheon, however, may also indicate that his efforts were primarily devoted to the establishment of contacts with whom he had a strong professional collaboration or shared common goals.

Through the coding and analysis of his letters, it has been possible to cast light on Pannunzio's use of gratitude, appreciation and apologies as means to build strong collaborative relationships, which seemed also to be based on similar views and the possibility to rely on his interlocutors' cultural capital to enhance the role of his magazine. Particularly, through arrangements and requests and choosing the topics and length of the articles, stressing his professionality, reassuring and encouraging further exchanges with his collaborators, Pannunzio presented himself as a well-established and approachable editor. In this way, although none of his exchanges were initiated by him, he could positively capitalise on them. Finally, as explained in Chapter Three, it is necessary to take into consideration Pannunzio's position and his potential to be at the heart of the exchanges among several Italian groups (acting as a hub). On the one hand, this appears to be the result of his approach, goals, and understanding. On the other hand, his particular position may have influenced his attitude and reinforced his preference for strong ties and reluctance to develop heterogeneous and sparse connections.

4.3 Pursuing a New Political and Cultural Agenda: Fabio Luca Cavazza's Brokerage Role

As highlighted by the analysis in the previous chapter, Cavazza's connections as well as his cultural ventures allowed him to acquire a central position in the US-Italian network. His participation in this set of relations, enhanced by his economic, social and cultural power, allowed him to be in a unique position to be perceived as a fundamental player and to have the potential to be at the core of the exchanges between Italian and American actors. This particular advantageous position gave him the opportunity to perform a powerful role acting as a broker, as previously explained. Here I look at the ways in which he presented himself by drawing on

different discursive resources. As in Pannunzio's case, I explore how such a role is related to the ways in which he strategically approached his American counterparts. Such an analysis will explore the themes, the relational features and values that defined Cavazza's representation of self/others.

As anticipated in Chapter Two, during the 1950s and 1960s Cavazza attempted to present himself both as a representative of his Publishing House *Il Mulino* and as an independent mediator among different Italian political and cultural groups. These two aspects defined him as both a young professional with economic, cultural and social power within his country, who also – thanks to his connections and his insight – could offer an independent and discerning point of view on Italian affairs. His publishing house could become the centre of such activities promoting research and circulating scientific studies, principally on Italy and Europe. This duality – his capacity as a publisher and his 'private' and mediating role as an observer – is often present in his letters, suggesting that Cavazza was aware of the centrality of his position and relied on his social interconnections to play a primary part in the transatlantic network. The idea of a mediating role may also be linked to Mark Pachucki and Ronald Breiger's concept of 'cultural holes,' namely 'contingencies of meaning, practice, and discourse that enable social structure.'[382] As the authors explain, such a concept refers to bridging roles in relational spaces which vary in different local contexts. This allows us to re-imagine Cavazza's engagement not only in terms of resources but also in terms of his agency's direct effects on the relations between Italian and US actors.

Most of the archival material available for analysis was written at the beginning of the 1960s, when Cavazza had already established a wide number of contacts with members of the

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[382] Mark A. Pachucki and Ronald L. Breiger, 'Cultural Holes: Beyond Relationality in Social Networks and Culture', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36 (2010), 205-224 (p. 215).

Kennedy administration. Among them, my analysis will focus on Cavazza's exchanges with two American governmental leaders, John Di Sciullo of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR), and one of the most prominent figures among Cavazza's connections, and Arthur J. Schlesinger Jr, the Special Assistant to the President, who was one of the most active and powerful American actors in the whole of Italian-American network. These interlocutors and the letters presented here have been selected as the most representative of the patterns identified in the coding. Given the extensiveness of Cavazza's corpus, this selection allows me to present the main themes and to limit the analysis to the years considered by this study and, particularly, to the early 1960s when the exchanges between Cavazza and American groups intensified.

John Di Sciullo, an analyst of Southern European affairs of the US Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, was an expert on Italian affairs and worked since 1953 to split the Italian socialist parties from the Communists in order to expand the political support for the centrist governmental coalition.[383] Schlesinger, a member of the Congress for Cultural Freedom since its origins, author of *The Vital Center* –[384] a publication that had a wide resonance among liberal intellectuals in the US and abroad – and Associate Professor at Harvard, had become over the 1950s an influential figure in the relations between European and American prominent cultural and political figures. As a member of the Congress for Cultural Freedom since its origins, he was a central actor in the cultural Cold war.

In 1960 Cavazza was already a successful editor and publisher, had a great number of contacts with political, economic and cultural groups in Italy and his interests covered a wide number of areas making him a versatile entrepreneur in the cultural field. Cavazza was

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[383] Spencer M. Di Scala, *Renewing Italian Socialism. Nenni to Craxi* (Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 123.
[384] Arthur Schlesinger, *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (New York&London: Da Capo, 1988).

particularly interested in stressing his personal prestige and his accurate insight into the Italian political situation. His written exchange with John Di Sciullo – archival evidence suggests this started at the latest at the beginning of 1960 and continued in following years, although sporadically – brings to light the twofold nature of the Italian leader's letters, in which he both portrays his work as a publisher and cultural entrepreneur and reports on the political developments on the ground.

In his long letter dated 1 October 1960,[385] Cavazza firstly expressed his satisfaction with the meeting that occurred between Di Sciullo and his 'Italian friends', before discussing his personal ventures and work. Their correspondence started earlier in 1960, but had developed in the preceding years, as shown by the way Cavazza addressed his interlocutor and by some informal expressions, which were certainly favoured by the use of Italian rather than English. In his letter, the greeting 'carissimo amico' (dearest friend) rather than showing a great degree of intimacy, suggests that Cavazza aimed to stress the friendly nature of such a relation, also equating it with the other relations he had with Italian actors ('the Italian friends'). In this way, the addressee was called to take an interest in (to sympathise, to enquire about or just to pay attention to) his enterprise. In the first part of his letter, Cavazza wrote:

> Dearest friend,
>
> I have very much appreciated your letter and I am glad to have found in it expressions of respect for my Italian friends, who came to visit you. I hope you managed to see them again upon their return to Washington and to finish, in this way, your conversations. I know that their return trip to Italy is scheduled these days, but I will not be able to see them until around mid-month, when I will be going to Rome. As a matter

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[385] Archivio Fabio Luca Cavazza, Fabio Luca Cavazza to John Di Sciullo, 1 October 1960. See original text in *Appendix B*, Letter B6.

of fact, in this period I am very busy travelling through the three capitals of the Italian industrial triangle to gain the interest of the biggest Italian firms for our research projects and surveys. You may imagine that my work is, in many ways, similar to the one of a missionary, because it is a kind of a new matter in Italy to ask for 'financial support', done in the same spirit and the same ways of your Foundations. However, I must acknowledge the help of the President of the Republic for such a missionary activity, [an aid that was] truly exceptional and completely disinterested.

The author not only clearly depicts the nature and goals of his efforts but also emphasises the innovative and central role he was undertaking. By presenting his connections with multiple US and Italian groups as well as his interest in reinforcing such ties, he showed his ability and willingness to be at the core of such exchanges. As he expressed his gladness for the meetings between the State Department's officers and his 'Italian friends', whom he would see later that month, for instance, he seems to suggest that he would be informed about the matters discussed and, most importantly, that such talks might have happened because he was the one who put them in touch: his 'hope' ('mi auguro') was that the meetings between Di Sciullo and the Italian leaders had continued since they had last talked. His encouragement appears to stem from his genuine belief that these bonds should be strengthened; it also appears to reveal his expectations and active attitude in trying to pursue a closer collaboration amongst groups on both sides of the Atlantic.

In contrast to Pannunzio's letters, Cavazza's expressions of gladness and appreciation are expressly linked to the realisation of his 'hope', that of a meeting between Di Sciullo and the group of Italian leaders visiting him and the possibility for further conversations among them. However, it is also possible to interpret the terms 'respect' (stima), 'I wish' (mi auguro) and 'you may imagine' (Lei può immaginare), as a way for the Italian publisher to stress their

commonality of interests, the positive perceptions and understanding between himself and Di Sciullo. By defining their relationship in these terms, Cavazza was also allowed to discuss his 'private business' (i casi miei), namely his activities, his 'work' (lavoro) and the limitations he encountered in the Italian context.

What follows is a representation of Cavazza's active role, seen in the use of first-person narrative and active verbs. Namely Cavazza makes clear that he has been informed of the Italian leaders' return, taking a trip to Rome to meet them and his mention of the various activities that keep him busy. As Cavazza explains in his letter, he was 'busy travelling' to the biggest industrial cities[386] to meet the most relevant Italian businessmen in order to raise funds for his projects. Particularly interesting is a passage of the letter where he describes his activities as 'similar to the one of a missionary.' By defining his activity in this way, he also conveys to the reader the idea that he is willing to step, metaphorically, in an unknown land, among unfriendly groups, to pursue his mission: particularly difficult was raising financial support, as it was not a practice Italian economic groups were used to and easily persuaded to endorse.[387] On the one hand, he offers his interlocutor a positive portrayal of his role in the Italian arena as a pioneering and ground-breaking one. On the other hand, such a statement seems to be aimed to emphasise, in the eyes of the Americans, the centrality of Cavazza's figure for his ability to build connections with various organisations.

This second aspect is key to Cavazza's presentation strategy, as it is referred to throughout his letter. The status and nature of such relationships are also mentioned, reinforcing the idea that he could reach prominent leaders in Italy and had a vast set of contacts: for instance, the 'Italian friends', who visited the American officer; the big companies of the Italian

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[386] He called it the 'industrial triangle' (triangolo industriale), namely Milan, Turin and Genoa.
[387] For original text, see: *Appendix B*, Letter B6.

'industrial triangle'; the Ford Foundation's friends; the President of the Republic, from whom he received 'aid' (aiuto), his 'autonomist friends of PSI' (amici autonomisti del PSI),[388] and, finally, his 'friend' Piero Bassetti, 'owner of one the biggest industrial companies in Italy' and 'city councilman for the CD party'. By referring to the autonomist socialist group, the Italian editor and publisher also showed that his ties positioned him at the core of the Centre-Left project, the necessity of which Cavazza seemed to believe in. Additionally, his reference to political figures also appeared to be a means to enhance his credibility regarding Italian political affairs, on which he provides a detailed comment in the second half of this written exchange.

Interestingly, the author devoted a whole paragraph to his relationship with the Ford Foundation: not only was it presented here as means of comparison (to the Italian firms and their lack of financial support) but also an opportunity for Cavazza to communicate his views, goals and beliefs:

> I hope to be able to launch some of my research projects in two or three months. Actually, to this end, I am impatiently waiting for the coming of the Ford Foundation's friends in order to discuss with them the steps I have taken. In fact, it is a very deep desire of mine not to interrupt the collaboration with them, established so successfully as regard to the last research about the University: it is my personal belief that the presence of the Ford [Foundation] in Italy is not a minor incentive and not an irrelevant contribution to carry out a renovation of the education structures in Italy. Exactly for this reason, I would like that the Ford [Foundation]'s support merged with the Italian one. Honestly, even if I could find all the funding needed in Italy, I would like that a

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[388] The autonomist socialists aimed to constitute a 'Centre-Left goverment' in order to 'attract all the progressive elements in Italian society'. See Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy. Society and Politics, 1943-1988* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), p. 266.

share of it remained open so that the presence of the Ford [Foundation] would never fail.[389]

He defines his goal as a 'collaboration' with (and receipt of financial aid from) the US foundation in order to pursue his research projects on the Italian universities for the 'renovation' of the country's 'education system'. By defining the relationship with the Ford Foundation subjectively (I am waiting, a desire of mine, my personal belief, I have taken, etc.), once again the Italian leader positioned himself at the core of these interconnections. Expressions such as 'impatiently', 'successfully', 'very deep', 'truly important' in combination with the repetition of negations (not a minor incentive, not an irrelevant contribution, not to be cleared) seem to delineate an ambivalent attitude on Cavazza's side. Whilst eager to continue his established relationship with the American foundation, he also seemed to be concerned about how his transatlantic exchanges would be perceived among other Italian groups or about the difficulties in the Italian context.[390] This may suggest that Cavazza viewed the support system of US foundations as a model. At the same time, discussing this particular aspect with Di Sciullo (who was not directly involved) seemed to be a way both to show his interlocutor the wide range of his connections, the great number of initiatives he was pursuing, but it could also be a way to receive some support from Di Sciullo for his ventures, given he was having difficulties getting his projects approved by the American foundations.[391]

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[389] See *Appendix B*, Letter B6.

[390] In this regard, it may be useful to explore the contrasts between Il Mulino group and Giorgio Barbieri, the owner of the publishing house and of the newspaper Il Resto del Carlino, who was the president of the Bologna Association of industrialists. In particular, Barbieri had hoped to transform the publishing house into a Centre-Right enterprise, coming at the loggerheads with Il Mulino Group in 1961. See Giuliana Gemelli, 'Le fondazioni culturali in Italia. Origini storiche e primi sviluppi istituzionali', *Storia e Società*, 90, 707-724.

[391] He discussed this issue with both Giuseppe Di Federico and Joseph La Palombara: Archivio Fabio Luca Cavazza, Giuseppe Di Federico to Fabio Luca Cavazza, 25 June 1960; Archivio Fabio Luca Cavazza, Fabio Luca Cavazza to Joseph La Palombara, 4 July 1960.

This ambiguity entailed multidimensional aspects of the Italian-American relationship: on the one hand, it relied on the idea that Italian actors were reluctant to take action for change and were not primed to invest in new enterprises; on the other hand, such a construction was used to highlight a contrast between Cavazza's role and the cultural and political background (still conservative) in which he operated; finally, by underlining that he considered such a commitment worthwhile and successful he also aimed to persuade Di Sciullo of the same, namely to be himself sympathetic to Cavazza's venture.

The second half of his letter, as noted above, was primarily dedicated to the examination of the political developments in Italy. His comments were detailed and aimed to provide information on both recent and imminent events, showing that he had the authority, in the eyes of the US department, to discuss these matters. Similarly, the Italian publisher seemed intent to carve out for himself a role as an 'interpreter' of the political developments occurring in Italy. To this effect and in confirmation of such an understanding, his style changes: the number of subjective clauses reduces dramatically, and the account becomes more detached and informative.

Cavazza's representation of the Italian political affairs had a twofold purpose: by providing detailed information – which he seemed to derive also from his multiple interactions with powerful interlocutors (coded as 'being connected') – he was attempting to persuade the American officer of both the credibility and thoroughness of his statements and, at the same, time, to advance a specific political agenda. As previously noted, the *Il Mulino* group actively took part in the debate for the creation of a more democratic political system and the 'Opening to the Left': as highlighted by Marzia Maccaferri,

> The need to 'govern' the new challenge posed by the affluent society and the economic miracle was, for the Bolognese intellectuals, the field where the 'modernisation of

culture' and the 'modernisation of the political' met. The political answer to this challenge was to include the Socialist Party in the governing coalition.[392]

In this regard, it is possible to notice the contrast between Cavazza's representation of the DCP leader Fernardo Tambroni, on the one side, and other two DCP members, Amintore Fanfani and Aldo Moro:

> It is true that Tambroni is not a danger anymore for he has no chances to enlarge his support among the leading members of the Christian Democratic Party; it is true that one cannot take too seriously his frequent meetings with Angiolillo (editor of Il Tempo in Rome) and with the shipowner Fassio to constitute a 'great Right;' it is true that one should not overestimate the activity of his secret office (it is supposed to be in Via Del Corso, a few metres away from the headquarters of the Comitati Civici) because such offices, secret or public, he mostly needs for his business (he controls the Compagnia Mediterranea di Assicurazioni, the Anonima Petroli Italiani – a refinery in Ancona – a chain of restaurants and estates in Rome); however, it is very true that he could turn into a danger again for he is able to still hold a good hand in case of a political crisis.

Through a repetition (it is true that), used to list negative facts concerning Tambroni, the author manages to create a tension aimed to attract the reader's attention to the 'danger' represented by the group led by Tambroni, a representative member of the conservative stream within DCP, whose cabinet in 1960 was constituted with the support of the post-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI), the monarchists and the liberals, that, even though supported by Washington, was nonetheless a cause for concern among US officers in Italy and members of the CIA.[393]

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[392] Marzia Maccaferri, *op. cit.* (p. 191).
[393] See, in this regard, Federico Robbe, 'Gli Stati Uniti e la crisi del governo Tambroni', *Nuova Storia Contemporanea*, XIV: 2 (2010), 87-112.

On the other hand, the team composed by Fanfani and Moro, once again members of the Christian Democratic Party, was, according to Cavazza, 'working wonderfully and in harmony':

I would say that nowadays the [political] tandem Moro-Fanfani works quite well. Nowadays, Fanfani attempts to be the impartial man, tries not to fall into the snare of the [political] streams, he wants to keep himself free. […] My autonomist friends in the PSI are quite angry at Nenni [the PSI leader] because they believe there was no need […] to make too many concessions to the left (or, as they call it, this warehouse of unsold stock that we are not able to sell to the PCI). What is more, the autonomist organisational project is not going as fast as one would like, precisely because of the chronic lack of funding. The ENI [Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi] still gives funds to the 'carristi' [the leftist faction of PSI] (and also certain members of MSI).

The contrast with Tambroni becomes particularly clear in another long letter to Di Sciullo;[394] for example, Cavazza wrote:

The more the hours passed, the clearer it became that the permanence of Tambroni in the government would permanently radicalise the political situation […]. In the past few weeks, the political game has been taken back to the conditions of 1948: but worse […]. If you add to this scenario the marked abilities of the man [Tambroni] in organising plots, threatening and, as many argue, preparing blackmails and phone tapping, you will certainly find enough reasons to understand how the agreement between Fanfani, Reale, Malagodi and Saragat was done. […] Fanfani, well aware of the dangers to face if the radicalisation of the political battle were accomplished […], had already thought about

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[394] Archivio Fabio Luca Cavazza, Fabio Luca Cavazza to John Di Sciullo, 19 July 1960. Full text is available in *Appendix B*, Letter B7. As pertains Cavazza's contacts with DCP leaders, some letters also prove that in the same years there was a written exchange between the Italian publisher and both Aldo Moro and Amintore Fanfani.

the governmental solution that later came into place […]. Moro has obstinately worked to come to the governmental solution that is now forthcoming.

These extracts are key to understanding Cavazza's perspectives and ambitions: through a juxtaposition of Tambroni and Fanfani (specifically by means of delegitimisation of the former), he could give more prominence to the latter and introduce an alternative and a possibility for a future scenario, where the autonomist elements within the PSI – that he presents as his 'friends' – could play a vital part. In his view, their autonomist stance within the party and their criticisms of Nenni's too concessionary attitude towards the 'carristi' and, simultaneously, their independence from external powerful and ambiguous figures, such as Enrico Mattei, head of ENI, could open up new possibilities to reinforce centre-leftist forces. In other words, Cavazza's analysis not only aimed to present the complexity of the Italian political arena but also to find support from his interlocutor, perhaps hoping that US funds would be channelled to the 'autonomisti.' Cavazza expressed his appreciation for these leaders and his occasional meetings with them: these leaders were amongst the ones involved in the Opening to the Left and were open to discussions with a wide range of Italian and American actors.[395] By showing that he had insight and knowledge about the latest political developments as well as a number of connections to Italian political groups, Cavazza was able to enhance the possibility of his being regarded as a reliable observer and his accounts of being received by the State Department.

What is more, from the analysis of this letter, it appears that the combination of dramatic expressions (calling Tambroni a 'danger'), negative representations and comparisons supported by the use of informative language (reporting facts, impersonal language, reporting others'

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[395] See, for instance, Francesco Bello, *The New Frontier and the Opening to the Left in Italy*; Francesco Bello, *Fabio Luca Cavazza, la nuova frontiera e l'apertura a sinistra*.

opinions) and personal opinions ('I would say that') allowed Cavazza to foster his own point of view, while simultaneously relying on his social and cultural capital. A similar strategy can be found in other letters sent by Cavazza to Di Sciullo in the course of 1960.[396]

As one of the most significant relationships, Cavazza's interactions with Arthur Schlesinger Jr is a compelling subject of analysis. The case of Schlesinger is particularly significant not only for his role both as an intellectual and political figure, but also for his involvement, in the early 1960s, in projects and debates with prominent Italian leaders in the political and cultural arena. Cavazza's acquaintance with Schlesinger probably dated back to the second half of the 1950s but their official correspondence, according to the documents in Cavazza's private archive, started in the early 1960s, in conjunction with Schlesinger's new position in Kennedy's entourage. The new president's policy for a strong Atlantic community, which aimed to reinforce the American position by making Western Europe a 'unified, faithful helpmate'[397] 'through a political, economic and strategic rebalancing'[398] was interpreted by Italian elites as an opportunity for enhancing their participation in the process of integration. Cultural and political groups also attempted to position or reposition themselves within the Atlantic framework and to actively pursue closer contacts with American counterparts.[399]

The interest of the *Il Mulino* group in closer contacts with members of Kennedy's administration should be interpreted in this light. Schlesinger was, indeed, the 'Special Assistant to the President', as it also appears in a letter of the 13 May 1961[400] sent by Cavazza

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[396] Archivio Fabio Luca Cavazza, Fabio Luca Cavazza to John Di Sciullo, 19 July 1960; Archivio Fabio Luca Cavazza, Fabio Luca to John DiSciullo, 27 March 1960.

[397] Frank Costigliola, 'The Pursuit of Atlantic Community: Nuclear Arms, Dollars and Berlin', in *Kennedy's Quest for Victory: American Foreign Policy, 1961-1963*, ed. by Thomas G. Paterson (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 24-56 (p. 27).

[398] Marco Mariano, 'Divergenze Parallele. L'amministrazione Kennedy e il centro-sinistra', *Italia Contemporanea*, 204 (1996), 471-495 (p. 475, my translation).

[399] See Umberto Gentiloni Silveri, *op. cit.*

[400] Archivio Fabio Luca Cavazza, Fabio Luca Cavazza to Arthur Schlesinger, 13 May 1961. Original text in English.

to the American leader. In reply to a previous message from Schlesinger – thanking the Italian leader for inviting him to the Conference in Bologna – Cavazza discusses the outcome as well as the main issues that that event brought to light. What was recounted in this message, specifically his evaluation of the debate on the US-European relationship and his assessment of the Italian domestic political life, provides insight into his self-perceived role and the way he attempted build his relations with US governmental leaders to legitimise and raise resources for his group's project.

The letter sent by Cavazza, written in English, revolves around two main topics, namely the political situation in Western Europe and the political developments in Italy, drawing a sort of parallel between what was happening at broader and local levels. In this way, the Italian publisher is able not only to discuss a topic that was of interest to the American interlocutor, but he also shows the connections with the Italian case, which in his representation becomes a primary and compelling example of the fragmentations that were paralysing the ruling elites. The analogy also serves as an opportunity to discuss his beliefs and to present his own insight into Italian political affairs. After thanking his interlocutor for his last letter, Cavazza promptly starts his analysis of the main issues emerging from the conference he had organised. By stressing that the 'need to face them' is 'urgent' (coded as Dramatisation) he reveals, on one side, the significance of the successful conference he had organised and, on the other side, the central role figures like him could play in bringing together actors from different fields and countries:

> The role [of] the new European generation is very hard in this municipalistic [parochial] continent. The feeling we have new common tasks, the consciousness that <u>we</u> must find out other tools for our political survival (which are no more the crusade spirit or, according to the opinion of some Cardinals of the Holy see, the Lepanto spirit), the

awareness that it is useless to support the present European status quo, are all elements [that] are deeply rooted in small factions of European milieux which fight in the same moment conservative[s] and communist[s]. What is discouraging is, for instance, the behaviour of our political class [...]. I can assure you that if the responsible men of our government and of our relative majority Party would have said in a public speech one tenth of statements made to us in private, now Italy would be involved in a government crisis. Nevertheless [,] we must pursue any attempt in order to [...] remove the present stagnation.

He underlines the inability of the 'European leadership' in a 'municipalistic continent'[401] to recognise the need to look beyond their own interests, to not let the ties with America vanish; he suggests that the same inability to share common goals and to become aware that a change is needed has impaired Italian politics and led it to its 'stagnation'. The young leaders of new generation, in his words, struggled to address all these challenges – from the fragmentation among diverse European countries to the resistance of communist and conservative groups – and, in the same way, to carry on a battle against the 'East' (using Lepanto as way to identify the menace coming from Eastern Europe) relying on relics of the past. These themes refer to the campaigns of militant Catholicism: the idea of a spiritual 'crusade' against communist forces not only looks generally at past struggles in the name of common Christian roots, but alludes to the divisive political battles of the late 1940s and early 1950s.[402] The mention of Catholic forces and the role of the Vatican ('some Cardinals', the 'Holy See') seems to be specifically aimed to make of the Italian case the primary example (and ground for a change) of such an attitude.

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[401] With this expression Cavazza arguably meant 'fragmented', as he states later on in his letter ('small fractions').
[402] Andrea Mariuzzo, *Communism and Anti-Communism in Early Cold War Italy.*

The Italian publisher's presentation appears to have a threefold purpose. The necessity of a common action: the repetition of a plural pronoun ('we') in combination with a series of verbs ('we shall have', 'we shall heir', 'we have', 'we must pursue') compellingly highlights the need to act and to do so collectively (coded as willingness to have an 'active role'). In the second instance, the lack of preparation of political elites to face the challenges that come from both 'communist' and 'conservative' forces appears to suggest that figures like Cavazza himself (and Schlesinger) are needed to lead the political debate. Lastly, his reference to 'private talks' in which extremely important information was shared – which would compromise governmental stability – appears to be a way for the Italian editor to confirm the reliability of his opinions and his knowledge about the most recent developments. In combination with the statements prompting the implementation of a common action, it suggests Cavazza's willingness and ability to undertake an active role.

A shared understanding between him and Schlesinger is also invoked in the letter (coded as Affinity and Kinship). By affirming that the problems that European and American elites are encountering are due to a generational replacement of the ruling class, he described a phenomenon that had both material causes (and, hence, was a 'fact') and ideal ones, with the consequence of separating 'them' (the new European ruling class) from 'us' (that 'we' invoked in his message), i.e., Italian and American cultural elites. Such a statement disempowered the political elites of European countries and forced onto Cavazza and all actors, who thought and acted alike, the 'task to convince Europeans' that only together could the new challenges be faced and that they should 'give' instead of 'making money from the exploitation of other countries.' In his view, Europeans still relied on an obsolete and Eurocentric understanding of the world. Criticism of European attitudes also strategically positioned Cavazza in line with

Kennedy's administration and the call for the aspirations of African people that had been part of the new president's 1960 campaign.[403]

The analysis of Cavazza's written exchanges brought to light the way in which the Italian publisher could position himself at the core of the Italian-American exchanges in the early 1960s. If the SNA results in Chapter Three highlighted the great number of connections he developed on both sides the Atlantic, including Victor Sullam, the only 'binding' node in the whole network.[404] In particular, the exploration of the network has revealed Cavazza's potential to link US and Italian groups offering him brokerage opportunities.

A closer look at his letters has shown that his dynamic attitude, cultural and political expertise as well as prestige in the Italian arena allowed him to become not only an intermediary but a 'cultural broker' between Italians and Americans. Such a role had the potential to both enhance his prestige as a publisher – not only through financial aid but also by obtaining contributions from several cultural leaders on both sides of the Atlantic – and, simultaneously, to be at the core of the debate over the constitution of a centre-left political movement. In his letters, Cavazza insisted on his active role as a cultural entrepreneur (promoting research projects for his publishing house, for instance) and as an intermediary among several groups (reporting about his meetings and other individuals' opinions), whilst using dramatisation and delegitimisation as a way to convey a particular representation of Italian political affairs and present his own agenda. He could also position himself at the core of local political changes and enhance the role of his publishing house as a motor for cultural and political renovation. Offering Italy as a primary example of broader dynamics at the European level gave him the chance to try to ensure a more central role for Italian cultural leaders and Italian political affairs

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[403] Philip E. Muehlenbeck, 'Africa', in *A Companion to John F. Kennedy*, ed. by Marc J. Selverstone (Chichester: John Wiley&Sons), pp. 347-365.

[404] See the analysis of cut points in Chapter Three.

in the eyes of the Americans. It is worth noting that such connections allowed him to have a primary role in the local arena and to capitalise on such linkages to further promote the role of his publishing house. Through joint ventures (like the one of Il Mulino and the Ford Foundation for the translation of US books)[405] and US funds (together with other Italian groups) funnelled into the constitution of the think tank *Istituto Affari Internazionali* (founded by Spinelli, Cavazza and Olivetti's group), Cavazza also tried to enhance the prestige and activities of his enterprises. Documents also reveal that Cavazza attempted to capitalise on his connections for his personal and professional interest by attempting to marginalise Spinelli by presenting his own project to the Americans.[406]

4.4 Elena Croce's Activities: A Gatekeeper Among Intellectuals

The emergence of Elena Croce as a key figure of Italian cultural liberal groups, as explained in Chapter Two, needs to be seen as the result of her participation in multiple ventures, such as the publication of the magazine *Aretusa* between 1944 and 1946 as well as her relationship with members of the Allied forces. Such activities contributed to shaping her professional as well as personal life and had an impact on the position she came to play in the 1940s and 1950s. In particular, her main cultural enterprise after the war, the publication *Lo Spettatore,* was created in 1948 in reaction to Italian liberal-democratic elites' disillusionment towards Italian political developments and as a tool to make space for a 'tongue-in-cheek critique, free from ideological boundaries.[407]

At first primarily marked by a historical and literary slant, the magazine became in the early 1950s a space for the elaboration of a new political and cultural discourse as well as a

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[405] Francesco Bello, *Fabio Luca Cavazza, la nuova frontiera e l'apertura a sinistra*, pp. 43-45.
[406] Paola Govoni, *op. cit*., p. 353.
[407] Elena Croce, *Due Città*, p. 43.

nexus of a liberal-democratic vision and one of the Catholic Left. Unlike Pannunzio's magazine *Il Mondo*, however, Croce and her husband Raimondo Craveri's operation also aimed to look at 'literature, culture, social affairs and governmental directions' to the end of stimulating 'a cultural education of the Italian ruling class.'[408] For this purpose, the publication was divided into two main sections, a literary one under the direction of Elena Croce and a political-economic one entrusted to Pietro Craveri. The former was mainly devoted to the exploration of literary production in Italy and abroad (especially, European and American literature), regardless of the market success of such publications. The editors were primarily interested in the moral aspects and the originality of such works.[409] According to Emanuela Bufacchi, through a precise selection of the authors, including lesser known ones, Croce intended to fight a 'rampant conformism', that she regarded as the cause of a cultural crisis, and to forge informed cultural elites, necessary to the formation of a 'responsible political class'.[410] In other words, by adhering to high quality standards and setting as a priority the de-ideologisation and autonomy of her publication, Croce attempted to negotiate a space for her magazine to become an instrument of cultural innovation (and renovation).

Although *Lo Spettatore* ceased to be published in 1956, in just a few years it managed to attract important collaborations as well as the attention of US and European leaders. What is more, Croce's Roman social and cultural gatherings gave her the chance to host famous international and Italian guests – Henry Kissinger, for instance – and enabled several collaborations, such as the one with the editor (former member of PCI) Luciano Foà and the manager Roberto Olivetti, son of the entrepreneur Adriano Olivetti, for the creation of the

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[408] Emanuela Bufacchi, *op. cit.*, p. 277.
[409] *Ivi*, p.287; Elena Croce, *Due Città*, p. 44.
[410] Bufacchi, *op. cit*, p. 288.

publishing house *Adelphi*.[411] Ventures like *Lo Spettatore*, the participation in the constitution

of the Association *ItaliaNostra* and the indirect involvement in the establishment of *Adelphi,*

show that Croce was at the heart of relations with a variety of economic, cultural, and political

groups. The analysis in Chapter Three has brought to light her great number of connections and

the composite nature of her relational neighbourhood (specifically in terms of affiliation) and

her potential to act as an intermediary among these actors.

Most of the documents relating to Elena Croce gathered by the Istituto Storico

Benedetto Croce are letters she received from a composite group of collaborators and friends;

only a handful of written exchanges are preserved that offer evidence about her replies. In this

section, a selection of such exchanges will be looked at, exploring both the messages sent to

Croce during the 1950s and those letters authored by her. According to her papers, the Italian

literary critic's number of international contacts grew in consequence of her role as an editor of

Lo Spettatore. In addition, her relations with members of the AILC, her reputation (as daughter

of Benedetto Croce, editor and scholar) and her cultural and social weight as an editor of the

magazine *Aretusa*, and, finally, her sociability and interest in maintaining such contacts,

allowed her to be at the core of intellectual as well as political networks. Croce's archival

collection reveals that, just as in the early post-war years, in the period under study, she was

regarded as a prestigious intermediary between Italian and American elites by US leaders.[412]

Lo Spettatore, alongside its purpose of creating a space for an intellectual debate on the

renovation of culture, also started to host a political debate aimed at envisaging a new role for

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[411]Nello Ajello, 'Elena Croce un mondo a parte'*, La Repubblica* (18 March 2000), available online at <https://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2000/03/18/elena-croce-un-mondo-parte.html> (Last seen: March 2022).

[412] What is more, according to Giovanni Fasanella, such a view was shared by the USIS personnel in Italy, that relied on Croce for the selection of Italian candidates to send overseas under the US exchange programmes. See Giovanni Fasanella, 'Introduction to the Italian Edition', in *La Guerra Fredda Culturale. La CIA e il mondo delle lettere e delle arti*, by Frances Stonor Saunders (Roma: Fazi, 2004), 7-12 (p. 11).

liberal elites as well as a dialogue between the Catholic and Communist leading figures. Such an operation disregarded and perhaps even challenged the strict anticommunism of Ambassador Luce's years.[413] In a letter (originally in English) to the American historian Koppel Pinson,[414] with whom Croce had frequent exchanges, this topic emerges clearly; what Croce conveyed was her uniqueness in the Italian cultural arena and the distance of her position from the most conservative groups, favoured by the American ambassador:

Dear Professor Pinson

My husband and all my politics contributors would be very enthusiastic to have, as you suggest, an essay on American labor movement, written by a friend of yours...so tell please [P]rofessor Reich that we will be delighted...Mrs. Luce does not read *Lo Spettatore*: she reads mostly *Il Borghese* of Longanesi and similar things, and she sees a lot of the type of journalist which could be described as [a] provincial and reactionary imitation of the New Yorker…Our ways do not meet very much, which is not unpleasant, because those people [Longanesi and his collaborators] are for me old acquaintances, with whom it is perfectly useless to argue, especially as they are perfectly right to do what they do on a commercial basis...in Milan, rich town, that type of journalist is great best seller: in Rome their remarkable success is with Mrs Luce! I forgot to send you one or two cuttings from [L]eft-wing [news]papers who quoted you enthusiastically […]..But as serious [L]eft-wing here haven taken to appreciate us as correct conservatives, we are really beyond suspicion. In this issue there is an article of Valiani on our [L]iberal party situation who quotes once more Schlesinger and so I will finally put an acknowledgment to the [F]ord foundation for giving us the essay: it would

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[413] See, for instance, Mario Del Pero, *American Pressures and Their Containment in Italy*.

[414] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Elena Croce to Koppel S. Pinson, no date, E IV D, Vol. 25, Folder 8. Original text in English. Given the topic discussed, the letter was arguably written between 1953 and 1955, when *Lo Spettatore* was still published.

have been better if I had done it immediately, but from now on I will put them after the reviews.

Her letter to Pinson brings to light, first and foremost, her involvement in maintaining her connections in the US with like-minded individuals with whom she shared both similar academic interests – Pinson was an expert of German History and Croce of German literature – and political views. Previous correspondence shows that Pinson had collaborated with *Lo Spettatore* with articles on 'the American scene'[415] and appreciated Croce's work so much that he also distributed some of her articles to 'several people'[416] and discussed with her his readings.[417] Through Pinson, Croce also had the chance of receiving an article from another academic in the United States, Norman Reich, on the American labour movement.

Firstly, Croce's reply to Pinson's offer is revealing of her willingness to be the reference and connector for the relations with the prestigious associates of her magazine and to accept the recommendations of his recipient. Although the topic proposed was not relevant to her work, she thanked Pinson on her behalf, on behalf of her 'husband' Piero Craveri, namely the political editor, and all her 'politics contributors.' Secondly, as stated above, Croce's remark on her dislike for Ambassador Luce and on the difference between conservative groups' publications and hers serves here also as way to clarify and validate her work (coded as Delegimisation). Croce suggested to her addressee that her view and the one endorsed by the American ambassador were completely irreconcilable (arguing is 'perfectly useless'). She also stressed the contrast between the 'provincialism' and 'reactionary' stance of journalist such as

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[415] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Koppel S. Pinson to Elena Croce, 25 June 1955, E IV D, Vol. 25, Folder 6-8.

[416] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Koppel S. Pinson to Elena Croce, 27 July 1955, E IV D, Vol. 25, Folder 6-8.

[417] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Koppel S. Pinson to Elena Croce, 11 December 1955, E IV D, Vol. 25, Folder 6-8.

Leo Longanesi,[418] whose work circulated only amongst rich elites in Milan, as opposed to her publication, that had illustrious contributions from abroad as well as wide readership. Through this representation, she seemed again to differentiate her venture from other Italian groups and magazines (coded as Delegitimisation). It is worth reflecting, for instance, on the term 'old acquaintances' – whether used in a figurative way or not – which may be seen as an attempt by Croce to present herself as both an 'insider', well-informed and well-connected – and an 'outsider', imagining her operation to be of a wider scope through the construction of a future vision that stemmed from a deep understanding of Italy's cultural roots.

In the second part of her letter, she stresses the similar political perspective shared by herself and the American interlocutor: detached from the most conservative circles, they did not, however, belong to the Leftist groups either. Nevertheless, their work reached the latter and animated their debate, and Pinson's articles were 'enthusiastically' quoted. In this way, Croce seemed to be presenting her work as having an international appeal and finding in the collaboration with foreign correspondents and in a wide intellectual readership the necessary support for the innovative role she aimed to play. In this regard, her reference to the article of the Italian politician and historian Leo Valiani – also associated with *Il Mondo* – quoting an essay of Arthur Schlesinger Jr seemed to be a sign of this dialogue and the combination of diverse ideas. In other words, Croce stresses the similarity and affinity between her and her interlocutor (appreciation and gratitude, sharing personal opinions and a mention of Pinson and herself as 'we/us') while distancing herself from other conservative groups (negative representation) and Left-wing newspapers (us/them). This is not only a way to define her role and to position her magazine as having international reach, but also to stress further their

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[418] Croce explicitly refers to Il Borghese (The Bourgeois), a right-wing publication, published by Leo Longanesi. Just as the case of Pannunzio and Croce, the journalist Leo Longanesi, editor of such a magazine, gave life to a political and cultural circle in the mid-Fifties.

commonality of views, highlighting their ideological affinity and emphasising it as a fundamental element of their collaborative relationship.

In the last few lines of her message, Croce wrote about her decision to acknowledge 'finally' the aid of the Ford Foundation for providing Schlesinger's study. If, on the one hand, this may indicate she had direct connections with US organisations overseas, her statement appears ambiguous as she only belatedly resolves to acknowledge their support. Talking about her fault as an editor ('it would have been better if I had done it immediately') gives the impression that she wanted to also distance herself from American foundation, rather than to discuss the matter with her addressee.

Such a point may be confirmed from the written exchange with Professor Lienhard Bergel of Columbia University, with whom Croce had relatively frequent written exchanges.[419] As reported by the USIS, in the early 1960s Bergel also went to Italy as an exchangee. During his trip, he 'was especially successful in his identification with the Italian intellectual circle which gravitates around the family of Benedetto Croce and the Istituto di Studi Storici in Naples with which he was affiliated' and 'gained appreciation not only for himself but also because he has not neglected Italian contributions from Vico to Croce.'[420] This document proves that the relations between Croce and Bergel continued for several years.

Her relationship with Bergel, who lived in the US, lasted also after *Lo Spettatore* had already ceased publication. Particularly significant was his written message dated 14 August 1957, which gives an idea of the interests Croce had at that time and the type of connections

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[419] As a matter of fact, Bergel had been also in touch with Benedetto Croce and also studied his works. In this regard, the correspondence between them is held at the Italian Institute for Historical Studies. The long relationship between Bergel and Croce's family has also been recently investigated by Daniela La Penna, 'Elena Croce and Lienhard Bergel: A Transatlantic Friendship', *Cultures on the Move Conference Paper,* University of Oxford (2016).

[420] University of Arkansas, CU Collection, FY-1961 Annual Report dealing with U.S. Exchange Program in Italy, 6 July 1961, Group XVI: Box 318.

she was attempting to build. Bergel promised he would help her find the right American foundation for her needs so that she might receive financial support:

> I shall do my best to search for a foundation that will fill your needs: if you, in the meantime, could describe to me the purpose for which the money is needed, a little more in detail, it would be helpful. There should be no difficulty in finding 'angels' for strictly partisan purposes of 'fighting communism' but I doubt that you want that. […] I shall discuss the matter with a colleague most competent to make suggestions.[421]

Croce was presumably looking for a foundation that would give her financial support for other ventures, perhaps related to her activities as a scholar and writer. As suggested by the German-American actor, Croce was not pursuing a specifically anti-communist enterprise, and her interests concerned primarily the literary sphere. Most importantly, such a message indicates that it was imaginable – and, therefore, not uncommon – for an Italian cultural leader to turn to US organisations for funds.

It is also worth pointing out that Croce was selected by the United States Information Service for a visit to the US, just one year later, in 1958.[422] Although these two events might not be related, it is still indicative of Croce's ability to be regarded as a key figure on the ground. There are two possible explanations, which may also cast light on what emerges in Bergel's letter. On the one hand, her selection and participation in the Foreign Leader Program may have been suggested to her as a more indirect way to pursue her goals or it may have been somehow related to her interaction with the US leaders. On the other hand, it could be also linked to the USIS' interest in sponsoring academics after 1956, which, according to Alessandro Brogi, was

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[421] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Lienhard Bergel to Elena Croce, 14 August 1957, E IV D: Vol. 26, Folder 5.

[422] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, David Zellerbach to Elena Croce, 8 July 1958, E IV D: Vol. 26, Folder 5; National Archives and Records Administration, Records Relating to Leaders & Specialists Projects 1951-1963, 1958 Final Year Report, RG 59, Box 2.

intended as a way to strengthen the idea of European integration within the Atlantic framework.[423]

Bergel's letter also reveals a certain degree of scepticism towards the 'angels' – a term that might refer to US foundations as they were supposedly 'philanthropic', or more generally to the variety of groups that supported anti-Communist operations – and their activities, often promoted under the umbrella of an anticommunism, regarded by the author as 'partisan.' Such a statement might indicate the cultural leaders' reluctance, on both sides of the Atlantic, to take advantage of their relations with certain US organisations due to their high levels of ideologisation and their preference for a 'moderate' anticommunism. It also suggests, however, that other opportunities (or channels) were available for such leaders to advance their interests. Additionally, Bergel uses the verbs 'doubt' and 'want' to establish a connection between his beliefs and Croce's needs/purpose: by anticipating Croce's desires, Bergel evokes a common view of the aforementioned American groups and of the way to interact with them, that would make Croce opt for other solutions, for fear of being associated with such 'militant' bodies.

Pinson's and Bergel's letters introduce two aspects of Croce's interplay with American academics with whom she had a longer correspondence. Firstly, they were potential connections to a variety of resources (financial, social, cultural, etc). Secondly, they provided information on how Croce and her closest American acquaintances perceived the relationship between the Italian and American cultural spheres. The scepticism towards American groups at the forefront of the cultural war seems to indicate that Croce was, although keen on hosting innovative material from collaborators abroad in whom she trusted, not eager to be associated with specific organisations, which she might have perceived as too partisan. Croce seems to desire to keep the same distance towards her contacts overseas as she has at the local level

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[423] Alessandro Brogi, *Confronting America*.

towards both conservative and leftist groups, as she expressed in her letter to Pinson. Her involvement in the selection of candidates for USIA programmes (although there is no direct trace of these activities in her correspondence) seems in this regard to be counterintuitive and may be ascribed to either a different perception of the official cultural branch of the US department, the apparent 'apolitical' nature of the exchange programmes or her 'indirect' participation.

In this context, Elena Croce's documents offer the opportunity to explore two more cases, namely her interplay with the editor of *New Directions* and founder of *Intercultural Publications Inc.* James Laughlin, and the consultant of NSC, scholar and editor of the magazine *Confluence* Henry Kissinger, at the time also organiser of the *Harvard International Seminar,* supported with Ford Foundation's funds.[424] Particularly fascinating is the case of the non-profit *Intercultural Publications Inc.*, a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation. According to Volker Berghahn, such an institution received funds from Shepard Stone's foundation in the early 1950s, but was then dissolved. The reasons for this were twofold: on the one hand, its main activity was the dissemination of the magazine *Perspectives U.S.A.,* considered too 'journalistic' and not 'intellectual' enough to be distributed among European elites. On the other hand, Stone regarded the CCF as the preferred channel to engage foreign elites.[425]

It is also worth taking into account James Laughlin's unique position, especially when considering his activities through *Intercultural Publications*. In his view, American magazines were means to promote American culture and build intellectual connections in other countries but were not to be folded into active militant campaigns.[426] In particular, Laughlin was

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[424] Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century*, p. 105.

[425] Volker R. Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe. Shepard Stone between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 174-175.

[426] In a memorandum to Shepard Stone, Laughlin wrote: 'There is a question, however, which I think we must think through very carefully. That is the matter of militancy, of direct participation in the Cold War. […] I do not believe that the Foundation should become closely identified with any project which uses arts and letters as an

concerned about how American foundations and cultural officers (and their divisions) could reinforce transatlantic exchanges and, specifically, how to engage European intellectuals.[427] The creation of and support for the CCF had been, as previously explained, a way to allow for a participation that, at least on paper, was less politicised. This was particularly true for the Italian case and for Italian intellectuals, as shown by Andrea Scionti, for whom it seemed 'unwise to associate with the Congress and its Italian outfit because of their implicit political orientation.'[428]

In a memorandum concerning *Intercultural Publications'* operation and the Ford Foundation grants, the creation of *Perspective U.S.A.* was presented as a means not to 'carry propaganda, [rather] its purpose was to correct the American image abroad, particularly among European intellectuals,'[429] through an operation representing America in all its facets alongside anti-Soviet ideas. However, even though Laughlin's project was not an openly anti-communist operation, it was still aimed to project American culture and values and shape foreign publics' representations and opinions. It was, in any case, part of the cultural effort to promote America abroad: above all, Laughlin's concerns seemed to suggest his doubts about the reception of such material among foreign elites. As such, his correspondence with Elena Croce might be also regarded as an attempt to access prestigious Italian intellectual circles through a reliable interlocutor.

It is not possible to reconstruct when exactly Laughlin and Croce got in touch for the first time. However, in January 1955, Croce initiated contact with Laughlin to ask whether he

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aggressive weapon in the world fight against Communism'. See Rockefeller Archive Center, Memorandum: James Laughlin to Don Price and Shep Stone, 25 March 1954, Reel 1059.

[427] See, in this regard, Oliver Schmdt, *Small Atlantic World*; Anna Zetsche, 'The Ford Foundation's Role in Promoting German-American Elite Networking During the Cold War', *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 13: 1 (2005), 76-95.

[428] Andrea Scionti, *op. cit.* (p. 105).

[429] Rockefeller Archive Center, FF records, Nancy McCarthy to Mr. Francis X. Sutton, 17 September 1981, Box 1.

could provide some essays for *Lo Spettatore*, as evidenced by a letter written by Laughlin.[430] As this exchange underlines, Croce had the chance to request specific contributions from prominent American leaders (Arthur Schlesinger and George Kennan), whose pieces could interest and encourage a debate among Italian political and cultural elites. In a letter dated 23 February 1955, James Laughlin confirmed Schlesinger's participation.[431] It is remarkable that Croce became the main interlocutor of Intercultural Publications and not, for instance, other editors of *Lo Spettatore*, above all her husband Pietro Craveri: in particular, this underlines Croce's prestige and the specific attention devoted to her by US leaders. Archival material regarding Elena Croce's letters shows that she was a connecting point and had several correspondents, both in Italy and abroad. Moreover, as demonstrated by the organisation of the post-war circle in Rome and later the gatherings at her house, she was particularly keen on being at the centre of such interconnections. Her activities seem to confirm what my analysis in Chapter Three has highlighted: her potential to link to several Italian actors as well as to foreign leaders and her potential to expand those connections further.

It is also worth underlining that this was not the only time that Croce relied on Laughlin to approach American leaders and ask for their collaboration. Specifically, a letter sent by James Laughlin in March 1955 to the Italian editor reveals that her request for Schlesinger's article had not been an isolated case. Laughlin offered his help with providing some pieces on a topic suggested by Croce and recommended two possible contributors, Prof. David Riesman of the University of Chicago and Prof Leslie Fiedler of the University of Montana, previously alumni

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[430] Laughlin wrote: 'Many thanks for your letter of January 29th. I am writing in this post to [Arthur] Schlesinger and [George] Kennan to see whether there is any possibility of getting them to do essays for you along the lines you suggest'. See Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, James Laughlin to Elena Croce, 14 February 1955, Archivio Elena Croce, E IV D: Vol. 25, Folder 6.

[431] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, James Laughlin to Elena Croce, 23 February 1955, E IV D: Vol. 25, Folder 6.

of the University of Harvard, as were Henry Kissinger and Arthur Schlesinger.[432] According to Alberto Arbasino,[433] who was a visiting leader in the early 1960s, Kissinger, Riesman and Schlesinger used to have regular informal gatherings to which they also invited foreign guests. For this reason, the recommendation made by Laughlin does not come as a surprise, as these prominent figures were certainly well known amongst Italian liberal elites.[434]

As remarked by Laughlin in his message, Fiedler was a regular collaborator to the British CCF-affiliated magazine *Encounter*, probably the most active and long-lasting publication of the Congress, together with *Der Monat*. In other words, by means of his role, Laughlin attempted indirectly to negotiate a position for his organisation among the wider spectrum of US-EU cultural exchanges, maintaining his contacts with EU leaders, serving as a connection point between the Ford Foundation and the heterogenous realm of the CCF. Croce's operation, on the other side, might also be better understood through Matthew Philpotts' definition of 'charismatic editorship,' which combines the need for the acquisition of capital (material and symbolic) and an 'effort of sociability' that is successful only if 'accompanied by specific competences and dispositions.'[435] It shows, on the one hand, Croce's ability to negotiate her role as an editor (not only for the literary but also political material). On the other hand, it highlights her capacity to maximise the symbolic importance of her magazine through

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[432] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, James Laughlin to Elena Croce., 16 March 1955, E IV D: Vol. 25, Folder 7. Laughlin wrote: 'Many thanks for your note of March 8th and I have written at once to David Riesman at the University of Chicago to enquire whether he can undertake something for you. I hope he will be willing. […] Thinking of other American writers, who might be of interest for your pages, I wonder what you think of Leslie Fiedler. I thought his essays in Encounter were brilliant. I don't know whether he would do something, but we could try him, if you wanted to suggest a subject'.

[433] Alberto Arbasino, 'Ad Harvard con Riesman e Kissinger', *La Repubblica*, 31 March 1999, available online at <https://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/1999/03/31/harvard-con-riesman-kissinger.html> (Last Seen: March 2022).

[434] In this regard, see also Jeremy Suri, *Henry Kissinger and the American Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009). The author talks about Harvard as a 'cold war university', which 'operated more as an extension of government than as independent academy' (p. 93).

[435] Matthew Philpotts, 'The Role of the Periodical Editor: Literary Journals and Editorial Habitus', *The Modern Language Review*, 107:1 (2012), 39-64 (p. 45).

foreign contributions.[436] Although something similar might be said about the case of Mario Pannunzio, Philpotts' definition applies specifically to the literary field, to which Croce mainly wished to contribute.

The written exchange between Croce and Laughlin in April 1955 is particularly revealing of the Italian editor's attitude and goals. The American editor sent her a message confirming that he had received Schlesinger's 'excellent' piece and asking Croce for permission to use it for his magazine *Perspectives*.[437] Croce's reply[438] seemed to be aimed at consolidating her image as a knowledgeable, well-connected and assertive editor; it also clearly elucidates the contrast between what she considered obsolete and irrelevant to the intellectual debate she wanted to spur, specifically in the literary field.

In the first part of the letter, Croce expressed her appreciation for receiving Arthur Schlesinger's article (an 'excellent' piece), which fulfilled her 'requests' ('i miei desiderata'):

I was not expecting my desiderata to come true so soon and so satisfactorily: thank you, then, for the promptness with which you provided us with this excellent article by Schlesinger. Such a clear and solid presentation of an argument is difficult to get these days, in which confusion is hidden more easily by starting arguments. I really think an article of this kind will be extremely useful for our readers because it highlights aspects of the American traditional political thought, that here – even among well-informed people – are not sufficiently taken into account. And, meanwhile, it's been very useful

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[436] Her major purpose did not seem to receive funds nor to mediate between 'old' and 'new' ideas: her editorship seemed to follow her plan for cultural renovation.

[437] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, James Laughlin to Elena Croce, 12 April 1955, E IV D: Vol. 25, Folder 7. The American publisher wrote: 'I trust that you will be able to translate it and run it soon because it is so good that we might like to use it […]. We have paid Professor Schlesinger for writing this piece, so you do not have to, but please send him several copies of the magazine, at Harvard University […] We shall be most eager of course, to learn what reaction you have to this piece, and particularly if you print any letters in reply to it.'

[438] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Elena Croce to James Laughlin, 16 April 1955, E IV D: Vol. 25, Folder 7. Original text in *Appendix B*, Letter B8.

for me, who has learnt something! The article will be released in May issue – I am going

to keep fifty or a hundred copies aside – as many as you want. An old bourgeois instinct

makes me feel a little of an opportunist in regard to the payment: but the thing that the

payments of Italian magazines have become a formality, that has no material 'reality'!

In the first few lines, Croce reveals her attitude and role as an editor of an intellectual magazine. If, on the one hand, Croce's words aimed to reinforce her collaboration with Laughlin, they also disclose that she was particularly interested in the quality of the contributions and in meeting the needs and interests of an intellectual readership. She pointed out her 'satisfaction' ('excellent', 'satisfactorily', 'clear and solid') for the valuable piece she had been given and its ability to speak clearly about political issues (implicitly setting the requirements for future contributions). The contrast she made between the article she was about to publish and 'the confusion that usually hides behind argumentative language' also seems to serve here to differentiate her publication from other Italian magazines (or from more 'journalistic' approaches), relying again on a negative representation of these groups to distance herself and her publication from them, that is, on a strategy of delegitimisation.

The negotiation of her role as an editor at the local level also built upon engaging the ('our' in the original text) readership with articles that would not only be of the best quality but also informative. Stating that the article would be 'useful' ('utile') even for well-informed readers had the effect of highlighting both the purpose of her magazine, the distinctive value of her operation and the audience to which she wanted to link. This also aimed to make her own enterprise unique in the eyes of Laughlin, who could continue to provide material and connections to a well-established publication. What is emphasised in these first lines is her dynamic attitude, which allows her to oversee the correspondence with foreign leaders and to deal with the political section, although not her main expertise. Additionally, the details she

provided regarding the shipping of copies of *Lo Spettatore* ('I am going to keep fifty or a hundred copies aside') contributed to the same impression.

It is also worth pointing out that Laughlin offered to pay Schlesinger for his essay, to which Croce consented. Rather than simply welcoming Laughlin's offer, Croce stressed the different approach between American and Italian magazines: for the latter, such a payment would not have any 'real economic value' ('realtà economica'). Croce de facto accepted the support of the US publisher but did not discuss the arrangements in detail: it may suggest her uneasiness in receiving financial aid from an American group or in formally touching on the matter for future collaborations. Nevertheless, such a statement contrasts with the general enthusiastic and assertive language of her message. The way in which Croce constructed her relationship with the American actor is particularly interesting, especially if compared to Pannunzio and Cavazza's letters. Rather than stressing their affinity (unless one takes her appreciation for Schlesinger's piece as indirect appreciation of Laughlin), she seemed to be mainly advancing her own requests and goals by which her interlocutor was compelled to abide (coded as denoting 'management').

This is also confirmed in the second half of her letter, where Croce discussed the possibility of arranging a contribution from Fiedler. This part is particularly important for casting light on her personal beliefs and the dispositions of her publication as a social, cultural, and economic organisation within the Italian cultural field:

> he is smart and one of the most informed about Italian affairs but, if I may say a very superficial impression, he appears to me to be still a little confined in the psychological complex Europe-America; probably, he has now changed, because such a complex does not interest any intelligent person anymore here, and so, I think, it is obvious there, too [in the USA]! If Fiedler wanted to give us an essay on an Italian literary subject, writing,

however, as if he were talking to an American reader (except for the informational side, which is not needed), even at the risk of being very negative, it would certainly be very interesting; the flaw of literary exchanges – with political ones it is much easier to find a common language – is always that they are always done too prudently and they end up being banal. On the other hand, there is no need to ask Fiedler to explain why he does not, possibly, like contemporary Italian literature: we all know very well, I believe, why one likes this or dislikes that but it is still a mystery the reason why some of our products, even good ones, have success – and this would be interesting to investigate.

Firstly, the Italian editor apologised for forgetting to reply to Laughlin's letter in which he had suggested a collaboration with Fiedler. Secondly, she informed her addressee about her meeting with the American academic. Finally, she contrasts her approach (and the one of her magazine) towards the US-European cultural relations with the one portrayed by Fiedler. Her apologies give Croce the chance to open up a space for a potential collaboration in the literary field, in which she was most interested. Showing that she had met the American academic and knew his work, also give her the chance to stress the reach of her connections and to present herself as a knowledgeable editor (coded as Being Connected as a way of presentation strategy).

Her criticism of Fiedler's stance also seemed to introduce, once again, a comparison between what she considered 'old' and irrelevant and the new perspectives that she aimed to host. In particular, the Italian editor presented Fiedler's point of view as bound to the past, to that 'psychological complex',[439] that 'any intelligent person' would consider, by then, outdated. In this way, Croce seemed to suggest that her journal would not support a stance built upon old categories, that would only confine European cultural production – and Italian literary

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[439] As George Blaustein explains, such was an 'inferiority complex in the face of the European heritage, even if that heritage had culminated in the cataclysm of the war' in George Blaustein, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

production as a representative example of it – to an ideal past, rather than investigating the 'reason' for its success, the contributions that it could make on both sides of the Atlantic.

This point was reiterated by advancing a request: if Fiedler wished to contribute, he could do so by writing a piece on Italian contemporary literature as if the author was writing for an American public. In other words, in her interaction with Laughlin, Croce showed both her ability as the leading figure of *Lo Spettatore* and, simultaneously, delineated to her interlocutor the role she intended to perform: the choice of the topic and the perspective to adopt indicated she would accept a piece only under certain conditions. An original angle would be needed to stimulate an intellectual debate.

In her words, the old perspective only offered a 'banal' critique of cultural productions and conciliatory essays that had lost their original and revolutionary potential. What is more, she appeared convinced (or so it seems in her communication to the American publisher) that the adoption of new angles and exploration of the topic proposed was even more important as the literary world lacked a 'common language', the one that characterised the political debates. This indicates that Croce tried to carve out a part for literary criticism as an enriching instrument both to explore mutual influences and to modernise local culture.

Croce believed that a truthful and courageous analysis of literary production could explore cultural exchanges and allow for reflection and change. Through a series of contrasts, namely the old/new, the political/literary, the static/imaginative, Croce seemed to define her role as an editor – setting the standards for her publication – but also to attempt to position *Lo Spettatore* as a mediating tool to reconcile these discrepancies. By investigating the reasons for the success of Italian literary works in the United States, the Italian editor appeared to be claiming a new and broader role for such studies as a way to explore social and cultural dynamics, similarities and differences. That was the 'mystery', the gap, in her opinion, that

literary study was supposed to fill, contributing to the understanding of national and transatlantic cultural mechanisms. Yet, it also suggests that such a change pertained to intellectuals (mostly academic) and was confined to a highbrow debate.

Although fruitful, the relationship with Laughlin did not seem to outlast the closing of Intercultural Publications and of *Lo Spettatore* in the mid-Fifties. In contrast to this case, the written exchanges between Croce and Henry Kissinger continued even after 1956. In 1953 Kissinger sent Croce a long letter after their meeting in Italy (attended also by Umberto Morra),[440] telling her about his new enterprise, the publication of *Confluence*, which was financed by the Ford Foundation through Intercultural Publications.

Confluence was meant to be an instrument 'to permit as free a discussion of as many points of view as we can assemble', as Kissinger wrote in his message. In order to be able to create a space for discussion, Kissinger required a three-fold support from the Italian editor: finding 'individuals, who will permit us to notify them of the topics we plan to discuss and who would then propose suitable authors;' these figures would choose 'what problems they consider most significant;' and, finally, suggest 'significant books.'[441] Kissinger's aim was to expand his network of collaborators and topics discussed from a multidisciplinary point of view.

As this letter seems to suggest, a network of contacts in Western Europe would enhance US cultural promotion abroad and establish informal connections with foreign leaders in different fields. This aspect does not come as a surprise if *Confluence* is considered as a complementary effort to Kissinger's *International Seminar at Harvard*, in the sense that it aimed to contribute to the socialisation of foreign elites to American values but also to develop

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[440] Morra was an Italian journalist, who also presided over the Italian Atlantic Committee between 1955 and 1957.
[441] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Henry Kissinger to Elena Croce, 16 February 1953, E IV D: Vol. 22, Folder 2.

European connections through influential local leaders.[442] Most interestingly in the context of this thesis, Kissinger's message also reveals that Elena Croce was regarded as an important figure in the Italian arena especially for her contacts with various cultural leaders, primarily in the intellectual and scholarly world.

On a similar note, another letter from Kissinger was sent to Croce after their second meeting (this time with the participation of Pietro Craveri), in which he enquired about any Italian publication concerning the topic of nuclear power. In his message, the American editor attempted to establish a connection between Craveri and Croce's group and his 'friend Arthur Schlesinger Jr,' who was going to visit Milan on 15 and 16 September: 'I think you would find him a stimulating individual, and if you and Mr. Craveri should be going to Milano, perhaps you would try to get in touch with him.'[443] If, on the one hand, such a written exchange appears to be a further indication of the vast number of connections Kissinger and Schlesinger had in Italy (as these names appeared in almost all the material analysed in this section), it may also suggest that Croce (and Craveri) could potentially regard the US editor as a reference point to other connections and contributors.

Although Croce's reply is missing, a little note jotted down at the bottom of Kissinger's letter as well as the latter's answer, dated 19 December 1955, are helpful to reconstruct her attitude towards the American leader and their interactions. In her note (possibly, for her husband), Croce stated that she would try to send 'Leo' – most likely, the historian and politician Leo Valiani,[444] or the literary critic Leo Spitzer, an old friend of Croce's family – to meet Schlesinger in Milan. She also concluded: 'it is up to you whether you want to ask

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[442] As highlighted in previous sections, for his seminar Kissinger relied on a local trusted representative to receive recommendations.

[443] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Hwney Kissinger to Elena Croce, 5 September 1955, E IV D: Vol. 25, Folder 6.

[444] In her exchange with Pinson, Croce mentioned an article by Leo Valiani quoting Schlesinger. This would explain the reason for her choice.

Kissinger [to write] an article – or what to say (with regard to the works of his he sent you).' In the first place, her message discloses at least some interest in getting in touch with Schlesinger (whose pieces were hosted in her magazine), although her decision not to meet him in person is also worth noting. The second part of her note brings to light some discomfort, on her side, in fostering an active collaboration with *Confluence*. In this regard, a letter from Koppel Pinson in reply to Croce's comments reveals some potential reasons for such an uneasiness, namely her belief that the American venture was a dull enterprise:

> I share entirely with you your feelings re both the attempt of the Ford Foundation and *Confluence*. Your description of the latter as 'a wastebasket for European intellectual second-hand products' illuminated and finally crystallized all my hesitant feelings about that publication. I am afraid, however, that I cannot offer you any practical advice as how to deal with them without offending them. For one, I do not know you personally well enough […]. You could make clear to them […] that you had entered into an arrangement with a certain Koppel S. Pinson to contribute to your journal on the American scene and that this arrangement precludes any other similar commitments.[445]

This message, sent in 1955, seems to confirm that Croce's opinion regarding the American philanthropic organisations (such as the Ford Foundation) as well as towards Kissinger's venture was overall not positive. Rather than opportunities for sharing the views of European highbrows and for the promotion of a European-American dialogue, she highlighted the (in her view) lack of quality and purpose of such enterprises. This may be seen as a reason for her reluctant and indecisive attitude towards the American leaders who got in touch with her. Specifically, it may explain her uncertainty on how to 'deal with' them. Croce's posture appears

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[445] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Koppel S. Pinson to Elena Croce, 25 June 1955, E IV D: Vol. 25, Folder 8.

at times ambiguous, divided between the possibility to extend the number of prestigious contributions to her magazine and cautious regarding relations with American elites.

Subsequent written exchanges between Croce's group and Henry Kissinger occurred between 1955 and 1957, which reveal occasional collaboration between them. In particular, the American editor's message shows that at the end of 1955 he was asked to write a piece 'on the difficulties, disappointments and drawbacks of international cultural relationships' by Elena Croce whilst her husband would write an article for *Confluence* on a topic suggested by Kissinger himself.[446] On the same line, Croce took part in Kissinger's project 'Letters from abroad', that involved 'selected correspondents in all parts of the world, dealing with developments (political, social, economic, intellectual, artistic) in their own countries,'[447] namely an attempt to hold together the scattered and heterogenous network that constituted Kissinger's international informal ties.

Alongside these sporadic collaborations, however, the most relevant aspects that characterised the relationship between the American and Italian actors emerge in personal meetings, which show the belief, on the American side, that Croce could serve as a conduit into Italian cultural and intellectual circles. Two letters are particularly relevant to this point. The first one sent by Stephen Graubard,[448] co-editor of *Confluence*, briefly referred to a meeting that Croce had with Eleanor and Kenneth Murdock, a Professor of Harvard University; the second one was a message sent by Kissinger in 1962 concerning a visit of his 'close friend'

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[446] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Henry Kissinger to Elena Croce, 19 December 1955, E IV D: Vol. 25, Folder 7.

[447] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Henry Kissinger to Elena Croce, 29 April 1955, E IV D: Vol. 25, Folder 7. See also Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Henry Kissinger to Elena Croce, 7 June 1957 and Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Henry Kissinger to Elena Croce, 2 July 1957, E IV D: Vol. 27, Folder 4.

[448] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Stephen Graubard to Elena Croce, 5 March 1957, E IV D: Vol. 26, Folder 3.

Philip Quigg, managing editor of the magazine *Foreign Affairs.*[449] Specifically, Kissinger wrote:

> He would very much like to get an impression of current political thought in Italy. Could you possibly help him meet some people? I would be most grateful for anything you could do and would consider it a personal kindness. You may reach him at his hotel in Rome or, before that, in the care of Fabio Luca Cavazza at Il Mulino in Bologna.

Graubard and Kissinger's messages disclose, on the one hand, the US attempts to rely on Croce's influential network to contact prominent political and cultural figures, just as in the case of Fabio Luca Cavazza. On the other hand, through his request for 'help' and a 'personal' favour, Kissinger attempted to define their relationship in a friendly tone, as one may conclude from his last lines: 'it has been much too long since we have had the chance to talk. I will take the liberty of letting you know when I next come to Rome.'

Croce's brief reply,[450] although expressing enthusiasm for Kissinger's new idea, also brings to light her negative appraisal of how American operations of this kind were conducted. The most striking aspect of her message is that her criticism is included in such a short message, which, in her words, would be followed by a longer letter. It may be an indication of both her assertiveness and her frankness when talking to an interlocutor she had been in contact with for several years, although sporadically; it may also be evidence of Croce's scepticism towards US leaders' cultural programmes. Finally, the analysis of her note also allows for a comparison between her attitude and role and the one of Fabio Luca Cavazza, also mentioned in Kissinger's letter. In her message, written in English, Croce wrote:

> Dear Dr. Kissinger

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[449] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Henry Kissinger to Elena Croce, 4 October 1962, E IV D: Vol. 27, Folder 3.
[450] Istituto Storico Benedetto Croce, Archivio Elena Croce, Elena Croce to Henry Kissinger, no date, , E IV D: Vol. 27, Folder 3.

[…] I hope your really [,] very interesting initiative is going on: I am sure it will be a very positive thing, from all viewpoints…As soon as these feste have passed (meanwhile best best wishes to you and your family) I will write more thoroughly. For now [,] I only wanted to ask if you do not contemplate to have [A]mericans come here with a really serious personal program of contacts...[451]

Despite the warm and supportive words Croce devoted to Kissinger's operation ('your really, very interesting initiative', 'a very positive thing') and the amicable manners she showed in her message – for instance by sending her greetings to Kissinger's family on the occasion of the 'feste' (holiday), which probably alluded to the Christmas break giving a more intimate tone to her note – she did not spare criticism of the way Kissinger attempted to implement his project in Italy. In particular, Croce's words seem to be more than a suggestion to make Kissinger's plan successful.

In contrast to Cavazza's attitude, which was in line with his attempt to perform a connecting role at the core of Italian-American transactions, Croce appeared reluctant to play a similar part. Especially after the discontinuation of her magazine, her collaboration on Margherita Caetani's *Botteghe Oscure*, and her commitment as a translator (primarily of Spanish and German literature) and a writer, her attention primarily turned to the reinforcement of her personal prestige in the literary field. She appeared to be aware of the possibility to enhance her prestige both locally and internationally through her connections: as such, she is also seen not to regard her collaboration with the American leader simply as an informal task but as a chance to position herself as a central player, providing that she could perform such a role by taking an innovative role. As such, her statement may be understood as a way to set the boundaries of her participation in Kissinger's venture: by suggesting that he should consider

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[451] This is the original text of the message in English.

having a 'serious' plan for the US leaders visiting Italy, she seemed to be implying that her bridging role could not be performed without certain conditions. Finally, as in Pannunzio's case – although characterised by an indirect and less dynamic involvement – Croce's attitude reveals a certain degree of ambiguity: maintaining a sceptical approach, Croce's collaborative relationships seem to be pursued as a means to enhance her role, rather than assessing a strong affinity with her alters. These aspects seem to be closely related to her position in the network. Specifically, her ability to connect with and bridge several different groups together with her few connections with US groups goes hand in hand with her need to reinforce her role at the local level and her ambiguous attitude towards her American interlocutors.

The analysis of Croce's correspondence has unveiled the centrality of management (arrangements, requests, etc) in combination with expressions of appreciation for the purpose of constructing a collaboration with US leaders, which could enhance the role of her magazine. What is more, this examination has revealed her ambiguous attitude towards American groups such as the Ford Foundation and her reluctance in associating with these organisations. Thus, the affirmation of her role as an editor and a prestigious cultural figure was realised through a careful selection of her collaborators and of her interlocutors; this may also explain why she found a direct association with the Ford Foundation 'compromising.' As a matter of fact, similar doubts may be found on the American side, specifically as CCF's Michael Josselson regarded *Lo Spettatore Italiano* as too leftist.[452]

Finally, it has stressed the use of delegitimisation as a way to differentiate from other cultural players. As such, Croce's efforts were primarily devoted to establishing connections and collaborations that enhance her role in the literary field, also through distant connections, becoming a gatekeeper in these relations. What is more, she seemed more reluctant to become

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[452] Andrea Scionti, *op. cit.,* p. 120.

a bridge between other groups, despite her wide number of connections. This attitude would explain her connections to marginal alters in the network, a lower level of BC in the network (in comparison to Cavazza and Spinelli) and ties that are simultaneously varied but more homogeneous than other actors in the set of relations considered in this study.

4.5 Conclusions: Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio. Three Modes of Interaction

As the exploration of the texts has allowed me to show, the Italian elites relied on ambiguous modes of interaction with their American counterparts developing different spaces for manoeuvre, either maintaining indirect connections (Pannunzio) to enhance the pervasiveness of their cultural and political projects or looking for direct support for new political and cultural enterprises (Cavazza) and recognition as mediators among intellectual groups (Croce).

The difference and similarities in their strategies highlights different dispositions, attitudes and modes of interactions – shaping different abilities to engage – which relied on the three Italian leaders' different social connections, perceptions of self and others as well as interests and expectations. In particular, the analysis of the texts has helped me identify Pannunzio's preference for strong and reliable ties with like-minded alters, Cavazza's inclination towards building connections relying on different interlocutors' cultural, economic, and social capital to enhance his role as a bridge, and Croce's preference for connections that would enhance her professional role as an editor. A closer look to these actors' letters has revealed that the positions and potential roles highlighted through SNA were matched by different understandings and ways to communicate: it has not only helped understand that Pannunzio, Cavazza and Croce held multiple interactions but it also helped comprehend how their potential roles could be enacted and how their different worldviews and strategies would allow them to perform those roles. Pannunzio's preference for stronger bonds with his

collaborators and his ability to establish himself as a successful and popular editor matches his position in the US-Italian network as a hub with the possibility to create several dense connections at the local level and his reticence to maintain many connections at the transnational level. Cavazza's interests and commitment as well as his connections confirmed he could play an important role as a broker between Italian and American groups. Finally, Croce's case reveals that the Italian leader was particularly interested in the quality of her magazine and in maintaining bonds with specific like-minded individuals: as such her letters confirm her ability to be at the core of these relations as a gatekeeper, holding several connections with both selected members of local and foreign groups.

Hence, these three case studies have highlighted the existence of multiple negotiations in interactions and the different meanings attached to the relations Italian leaders had with American elites. The analysis of the letters and micro-level (individual) exchanges suggests that different positions in the US-Italian network corresponded to different types of engagement and to diverse possibilities to maintain, change and shape these ties. In particular, it has shown what meaning Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio ascribed to their relations and how they participated in the construction of them. By bringing to light the existence of diverse agendas and activities in the field, this exploration has also clarified the power dynamics in the network by not only looking at the possibility for Italian cultural leaders to advance specific interests but also by showing that the agents' involvement may be carried through specific expectations, requests, and processes of marginalisation/inclusion of others.

As such, my findings suggest that mechanisms of US cultural diplomacy need to be understood in the light of relational processes rather than through management (unidirectional) or through co-optation. This mainly implies examining those processes as subject to

negotiations that had the chance to pull 'strings' beyond individual/national interests and to change relational space.

CONCLUSIONS

Cold War Networks as Multidimensional Processes

This thesis has investigated the exchanges among American and Italian elites during the Cold War years. Looking specifically at US cultural diplomacy's exchange programmes and person-to-person contacts, it has delved into micro-level interactions and relations to challenge a static and simplistic view of US-Italian cultural exchanges. In Chapter One, it has argued that a broader conceptualisation of culture is needed to understand negotiations among the participants: culture is here not only a resource but a ground for negotiations. It has relied on and investigated power in relations, following the view that, 'power only exists when considering interactions between and among individuals and groups.'[453] The relational approach adopted by this thesis has generated an understanding of the complex transactions in informal networks by focusing on how communication between American and Italian groups was enabled. Rather than 'encounters' (the formation of ties), the focus of my research is the relational space in which cultural processes are interdependently constructed through multiple and multidirectional interactions. This perspective adds to previous analysis the possibility to look at interactions and exchanges beyond individual action and motives, beyond local and group dynamics, to explore the broader context of Italian-American relations. As such, it allows us to look at cultural diplomacy and cultural exchanges as an embedded practice.

By considering the structural and cultural embeddedness of the agents, this thesis has examined networks as constraining elements and as opportunities. It also allows for an exploration of US cultural diplomacy's transactions in the early Cold War beyond the scope

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[453] Scott D. McClurg and Joseph K. Young, 'Editors' Introduction: A Relational Political Science', *Political Science and Politics*, 44:1 (2011), 39-43 (p. 39).

and boundaries of these programmes. As discussed in Chapter One, the literature on Cold War US cultural diplomacy and, more broadly, on US cultural exchanges with Western Europe has predominantly imagined these exchanges as export, transfer and a monolithic and unilateral communication. When considered as a dialogic exchange, communication between individual agents/groups with specific resources and attributes is at the core. As argued in Chapter One, relations and exchanges have been interpreted through an artificial paradigm. As this thesis has shown, when exploring informal networks a relational perspective provides a better understanding of individual agency as part of and informed by these ties. The interest in these dynamics and aspects of the US-Italian ties and the general absence of in-depth analysis of US-Italian networks has led me to place these connections at the core of my investigation.

Chapter Two was devoted to presenting the relational approach adopted by this study. In particular, this chapter shows how the insights provided by relational sociology may be beneficial to the study of exchanges between Italian and American elites and the agency of Italian actors. It also introduces the mixed-method approach constituting the methodological framework of this dissertation. The chapter explains how the combination of SNA and the analysis of the letters between my case studies and American interlocutors may elucidate both the relational structure of the US-Italian network as well as the meaning-making processes entailed in these relations.

Chapters Three and Four present the empirical findings of the SNA and the examination of the archival documents. The first demonstrates that different relational patterns correspond to different positions in the US-Italian network identifying a typology of three potential roles: the broker, the gatekeeper and the hub. It sheds light on the possibilities and constraints of each case studies' relational setting and shows that the composition of each leaders' network, the diversity of central ties and the constraining elements of each case allowed them to become

more central: (i) to the whole US-Italian network (Cavazza); (ii) to the exchanges between intellectual groups, US groups and marginal actors (Croce); and (iii) to the exchanges within the Italian Atlanticist and non-communist leftist groups (Pannunzio). The actors' positions and potential roles are then connected to their understandings and the ways they perceived their relations and interactions. Chapter Four argues that Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio's diverse potential roles correspond to different communicative strategies and views, interests and goals. Particularly, it highlights Cavazza's collaborative attitude and his attempt to play an active and mediating role among US-Italian elites allowed him to capitalise on his position and relations acting as a 'broker'. My shows how his views, values and aims as well as his connections to a great number of US interlocutors gave him the chance to play such an influential role. In the chapter, I also demonstrate Croce's particular understanding of US-Italian exchanges and negotiation of her role as a 'gatekeeper', including/excluding potential collaborators. Specifically, I show how her engagement in the US-Italian network and the construction of her relations with US interlocutors are linked to the negotiation of her role. Finally, the chapter shows Pannunzio's interest for collaborations with like-minded interlocutors to advance the views and reinforce the centrality of his magazine: these aspects reveal how his attitude and his position (as a 'hub' among liberal-democratic elites) favoured a more reluctant engagement with US groups.

The three case studies analysed have brought to light the co-existence of dissimilar power positions, embeddedness and understandings in the network. Advantageous and central positions 'depended' upon different relational settings. A more differentiated and less constrained neighbourhood was particularly beneficial to Cavazza as it allowed him to mediate among different groups by controlling information and to act as a broker. The analysis of his correspondence has also stressed his capacity to present his role and activities as fundamental

for the continuation (and strengthening) of transatlantic relations and of transatlantic ventures. Cavazza's positioning relied on his ability to use his connections as both a source of information and knowledge as well as a way to enhance the activities of his publishing house. More generally his collaborative relationships relied heavily on his dynamic role (i.e. several meetings, trips to the United States, letters in which he provided information on Italian affairs, his initiatives, etc.) and embeddedness in various networks. While different attitudes and relations elucidate the possibilities of all three actors to shape their collaborative relationships with American elites (and their struggle to position themselves within the US-Italian relational arena), the case of Cavazza also indicated that he had the potential to place particular interests and agendas at the centre of US-Italian exchanges, for instance, by advancing a particular representation of Italian affairs (pointing towards an opening to the Left) among American groups.

The case of Pannunzio and Croce displayed a different embeddedness and type of communication strategy. The former's neighbourhood, primarily homogenous as pertains the nationality of his alters and more constrained in comparison to the other case studies, has illustrated Pannunzio's potential to primarily reach several Italian cultural and political figures; his positioning in this area of the network and among 'dense' (connected) groups allowed him to act as a hub, attracting several collaborations and being involved in different cultural and political projects. His correspondence also showed his ability to attract collaborations and to shape his connections with American interlocutors in terms of contributions and exchange. In comparison to Cavazza and Croce's, Pannunzio's position, interests, and preference for strong connections (primarily with Italian liberal-democratic politicians and intellectuals) limited, rather than enabling, his further involvement in the US-Italian network.

Unlike Pannunzio's neighbourhood, Croce's ties allowed her to reach not only Italian intellectual groups but also a handful of prominent foreign actors (American, Italian-American and Spanish alters). As such, both her connections and attitude allowed her to potentially act as a gatekeeper in the network. Her position in the US-Italian network suggested an opportunity to extend further her connections abroad and to connect peripheral figures as an intermediary. A less dense and less homogenous network (in comparison to Pannunzio's) seems to be indicative of her potential to connect particular groups (figures in the literary field as well as local politicians) but also to find alternative ways to obtain resources (whether material or not, such as financial aid and popularity). The analysis of her letters has brought to light that her belonging to intellectual circles and her international reputation contributed to the adoption of a 'selective' approach and a sceptical attitude towards new collaborations and opportunities, especially with regard to the exchanges with American interlocutors.

As such this analysis has suggested that investigating solely the motives of individual actors and a cultural leader's links are not enough to explain the engagement in the network and the ways in which such engagements contributed to shaping the transatlantic transactions. The engagement of Italian actors, as advanced by this research, was an 'embedded disposition.'

Thus, by exploring Italian actors' agency, this work has problematised the understanding of US-Italian relations: it has challenged the idea of a 'passive' and 'dependent' reception and brought to light the existence of diverse meanings in interactions, also questioning a simple and straightforward definition of individual participation. In this way, my research has provided a theoretical contribution to the literature on Cold War cultural diplomacy. It has shown that static representations of cultural exchanges in cultural diplomacy practice have hindered our understanding of the mechanisms underpinning these transactions. I have argued that the focus on individual actors, although advancing the understanding of

negotiations across the Atlantic, does not take into account interactions in networks and interdependency. The thesis has thereby brought to light the importance of relationality to comprehend how the exchanges between US and foreign leaders were possible. Relations have been identified as fundamental elements to understand the agency of the actors through the exploration of their possibilities and constraints. Dyadic (one-to-one) interactions have been recognised as fundamental sites of construction, but have also been considered as part of multiple and multidirectional negotiations within a network. In doing so, this thesis has advanced the idea that cultural diplomacy was an embedded practice and that cultural diplomacy networks need to be seen and explored as fields.

This thesis has moreover offered a methodological contribution to the exploration of Cold War cultural diplomacy networks. In order to explore the dynamics of these networks, it has provided an innovative mixed-method approach. Recognising the need to explore relations and interactions as both structural and ideational processes, it has combined the exploration of relational patterns in the network through SNA and the analysis of the correspondence of the three case studies considered for this research. This methodology has shown that it is possible to explore hidden relational aspects through the computation of different SNA measures. For instance, egos' knowledge of others' relations is limited: taking on only their perspectives leaves aside relevant constraining or enabling factors, which go beyond a player's perspective and intentions. SNA offers an exploration of positionality and embeddedness to comprehend what is in relations. Such an analysis was complemented by the examination of the actors' views and attitudes, recognising that different engagements and exchanges cannot be assumed, but need to be explored. For instance, some ties, relevant to the exchanges in the network, might not be perceived as such by the players involved. The construction of these relations goes beyond simple cooperation; it leaves room for ambiguities, changes and challenges. By looking

at the role of non-state actors as interactants, namely as actors-in-relations, it has demonstrated that actors' negotiations not only shape but are also shaped by multiple ongoing processes in the network.

This work has also advanced the understanding of US-Italian relations and cultural exchanges and has provided an in-depth knowledge of the three case studies of Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio. It has shown that these actors displayed forms of engagements and interests negotiated through diverse interactions, which contributed to the construction of the US-Italian network. It has suggested that Italian actors' different degrees of cultural and social capital allowed them to play various roles in the network, becoming more or less central to these exchanges. This has indicated that the mobilisation of Italian cultural elites followed different lines and that collaborative relationships also connected Americans to different local interests and networks. Moreover, it has contributed to the appreciation of Pannunzio and Croce's cases in relation to their American interlocutors (an aspect previously neglected in the literature on these two cultural leaders) and it has expanded the assessment of Cavazza's role in relation to US groups.

The analysis of exchanges between US and Italian elites also enriches the representation of the agency and power dynamics in the networks of US cultural diplomacy. It shows that cultural diplomacy's ties are better defined as a multidimensional process involving different types of engagement; that the meanings of cultural exchanges relate to different positionalities and embeddedness, that the agents' practice is better understood as part of their interactions with different interlocutors and as part of their participation in different fields.

This analysis also aims to contribute to the understanding of US cultural diplomacy and Cold War networks: it shows that it is not only important but also fundamental to explore the agency of local actors as it reveals how different interactions and negotiations contributed to

shape the relations between groups on both sides of the Atlantic. In particular, it casts light on how domestic structures, groups and dynamics played a part in giving shape to the transatlantic exchanges. It provides a framework to look at the relations between US and foreign actors beyond the lens of Soft Power, to de-Americanise the view on Cold War cultural diplomacy and cultural transactions with the purpose of broadening our understanding of the role of ideational factors. By looking at actors-in-relations it goes beyond states' goals and (mainly governmental) actors' interests and resources. In this way, it wishes to advance the understanding of the role of less powerful agents and of the cultural mechanisms which sustained these exchanges during the Cold War.

Limitations and Future Research

In several ways, these advances can be seen as starting points for future research. Indeed, there are a number of limitations related to the necessarily restricted scope of the study and the fragmented nature of its sources that invite further examination to build on these findings. Firstly, the number of case studies considered by this work is small and variations on the hub, gatekeeper and broker types of agency may be found. The inclusion of more case studies in future research will allow my typology to be further developed addressing similarities and dissimilarities among different actors. This would certainly benefit the understanding of various groups' participation, such as political, cultural and economic organisations.

In addition, the small scale of the network as well as the fragmented information from the archival material needs to be considered when interpreting the empirical results of the SNA, which should be seen as a general indication of the actors' potential and engagement and not a precise assessment of their power positions. Although this aspect is common to the study of

any network, and even more in historical research, the inclusion of weighted ties (going from/to the nodes) may provide further information on the actors' roles in the network.

In order to further investigate the exchanges in the US-Italian network (and, specifically, the three case studies presented in this work), other archival sources may be particularly helpful. Given the centrality of US actors such as Henry Kissinger and Arthur Schlesinger, it may be worth consulting their collections held respectively at Yale University and JFK Library: thus may help explore their correspondence with Italian cultural leaders (particularly, Cavazza, Croce and Pannunzio, and other Italian figures). The archives of American Foundations (Ford Foundation, Carnegie Foundation as well as the Rockefeller Foundation),[454] as primary groups in the implementation of US cultural diplomacy activities, may also provide information on the case studies investigated here (for instance, on other connections and meetings Italian actors had with American interlocutors) as well as on other case studies. Finally, the collection of James Laughlin's paper held at Houghton Library may help find more material on his exchange of letters with Elena Croce (and, potentially, other Italian leaders).

Finally, the coding of the letters as an inductive process may be seen as too reliant on specific documents and interpretative work. The codes were created for this specific analysis and to address the questions and goals that my research pursued: to investigate the Italians' presentation strategies, interests, and definition of their relationship with American alters as a way to bring to light the meanings associated with their interactions and the strategies and interests entailed in such exchanges. Nevertheless, by explaining my theoretical assumptions and providing information on the different steps of my analysis (from the sub-codes to the final

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[454] Giuliana Gemelli, 'Europe-U.S.A. American Foundations and European Scientific Integration: Actors and Networks (1920s-1970s)', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, 114:1 (2002), 411-422.

codes) I have ensured transparency and coherency of the whole process.[455] Future studies will likely need to develop similarly tailored codes and provide information on the coding process. The qualitative examination of the correspondence in this work was not directed towards generalizable results, rather focused on the distinctive features of each case study: the analysis of more case studies may help better evaluate and compare their styles and strategies.

This study has provided an opportunity to reimagine Cold War cultural exchanges and to open up a space for future research on the contribution of non-state actors and informal networks in shaping transatlantic relations. One of the crucial issues for historians looking at cultural diplomacy in the Cold War is the agency of the actors involved and the part played by cultural exchanges in shaping their relations.[456] Different national and individual case studies and comparisons may better illuminate these dynamics, also exploring networks through different relational approaches (i.e., different methods/indicators or different conceptualisations within the field relational sociology). Cases from other Western European states might bring to light how different relational patterns allowed for different negotiations and relational 'assemblages' and interests, including peripheral interactions, that could change the composition and the exchanges in these networks. Finally, a relational perspective may help to explain how these ties favoured or hindered the communication and exchanges among non-state actors in different national contexts. By looking at several examples and comparing cultural diplomacy in different contexts it may be possible to understand how domestic networks played a role in favouring the transactions among American and foreign leaders. A study of these relations and actors would allow researchers to connect the practice of cultural diplomacy to different social, political and cultural fields. It would also move away from an

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[455] See Carl Auerbach and Louise B. Silverstein, *Qualitative Data: An Introduction to Coding and Analysis* (New York: New York University Press, 2003).
[456] Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht and Mark C. Donfried, *op. cit.*

overarching interpretation of Soft Power as well as take into account the role of recipients. In particular, speaking of culture as a resource and of attraction, Soft Power as an analytical concept obscures the complex mechanism entailed in cultural exchanges, justifying rather than explaining how US cultural diplomacy works. A better understanding of the agency of actors at the receiving end and the exploration of the sociocultural processes entailed in such exchanges would be particularly beneficial to define the nature and limits of cultural diplomacy during the Cold War (as indicated for instance by David Clarke),[457] which can be tackled by looking at relations and interactions. A relational approach and the understanding of diverse constraining and enabling dynamics may also be helpful in the exploration of case studies in other parts of the world, where public and cultural diplomacy's efforts 'proved frustrating',[458] as well as in different periods of time. As this research shows, a 'bottom-up' perspective and a focus on relationality can help reassess the role of informal ties during the Cold War and offer insight into issues of power and culture.

The approach offered by this thesis may be applied to explore informal networks and the interplay between local and transnational connections beyond Cold War studies. The study of cultural diplomacy, no matter what perspective is adopted, needs to recognise the changing nature of this practice over time, to explore its developments both in terms of discourse and in terms of key actors.[459] Given the recent attention received by non-state actors, globalisation processes and the new role of cultural diplomacy,[460] a relational approach may be helpful to

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[457] David Clarke, 'The Role of Cultural Products in Cultural Diplomacy from a Cultural Studies Perspective', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22:2 (2014), 147-163.

[458] Rhonda S. Zaharna, 'The Soft Power Differential: Network Communication and Mass Communication in Cultural Diplomacy', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 2 (2007), 213-228 (p. 214).

[459] David Clarke, 'Cultural Diplomacy', *International Studies* (2020), available at <https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-543> (Last Seen: March 2022).

[460] Charlotte Faucher, 'Cultural Diplomacy and International Cultural Relations in Twentieth Century Europe', *Contemporary European History*, 25:2 (2016), 373-385; Ien Ang, Yudhishthir Raj Isar and Philip Mar, *op. cit.*; Mariano Martín Zamorano, 'Reframing Cultural Diplomacy: the Instrumentalization of Culture under the Soft Power Theory', *Culture Unbound*, 8 (2016), 166-186.

understand how connections and embeddedness come into play to favour or hinder the participation of different groups, specifically as these groups may act not only at the local but also at the transnational level; it may also provide insight on how non-state agents negotiate their role and shape shifting understandings of cultural diplomacy[461] as well as the constitution of transnational initiatives. Finally, a relational approach may offer insights on the diversity of connections and actors mobilised in different parts of the world. An interesting case is European cultural diplomacy: as highlighted in several analyses, the tension between internal and external targets as well as the involvement of different institutional and non-governmental organisations needs to be explored.[462]

Finally, the relational framework offered by this thesis may have relevance for the debate on structure/agency in International Relations studies and research concerning transnational interactions and non-state actors.[463] It may also contribute to the debates concerning relationality, power and networks in political science studies. [464]

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[461] Beata Ociepka and Justyna Arendarska, 'Networking in International Relations: the Case of Cultural Diplomacy in Russia', *SAGE Open*, 11:4 (2021), 1-12; Lucian Jora, 'New Practices and Trends in Cultural Diplomacy', *Political Science and International Relations*, 10:1 (2013), 43-52.

[462] Caterina Carta and Richard Higgott, eds., *Cultural Diplomacy in Europe. Between the Domestic and the International* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

[463] See, for instance, Colin Wight, 'They Shoot Dead Horses Don't They? Locating Agency in the Agent-Structure Problematique', *European Journal of International Relations*, 5:1 (1999), 109-142; Milja Kurki, 'Relational Revolution and Relationality in IR: New Conversations', *Review of International Studies*, 10 (2021), 1-16. Benjamin Braun, Sebastian Schindler and Tobias Wille, 'Rethinking Agency in International Relations: Performativity, Performances and Actor-Networks', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 22 (2019), 787-807.

[464] Scott D. McClurg and Joseph K. Young, *op. cit.*; Peeter Selg, 'Two Faces of the Relational Turn', *Political Science and Politics*, 49:1 (2016), 27-31.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table A 1: Degree Centrality in the whole network.

Actors	nDegree Centrality
Cavazza	**0.563**
Sullam	0.282
Hawley	0.028
Di Sciullo	0.127
Schlesinger Jr	0.352
Galli	0.169
Durand	0.211
Moro	0.197
Matteucci	0.155
Pedrazzi	0.155
Nielsen	0.070
Reuther	0.141
La Malfa	**0.437**
Rostow	0.141
Morgenthau	0.127
Amory	0.085
King Jr	0.197
Acheson	0.155
Wollemborg	0.254
Zaring	0.056
Hilsman	0.113
Cattani	0.085
Spinelli	**0.479**
Olivetti	**0.451**
Nenni	0.324
Armstrong	0.085
Komer	0.085
Gronchi	0.169
Pannunzio	**0.493**
Valiani	0.338
Moravia	0.211
Rossi E.	0.366
Gorresio	0.085
Chiaromonte	0.254
Silone	**0.437**
Scalfari	0.310
Forcella	0.155
Benedetti	0.197
Mazzocchi	0.113
Garosci	0.352

Carandini	0.282
Calogero	0.310
Salvemini	0.366
Piccardi	0.155
Ragghianti	0.380
Compagna	0.324
De Caprariis	0.197
Evangelisti	0.099
Bassani	**0.437**
Croce E.	**0.479**
Caetani	0.183
Soldati	0.169
Zanotti Bianco	0.296
Feltrinelli	0.155
Magnani	0.127
Howard	0.113
Caracciolo	0.155
Fortini	0.155
Calvino	0.169
Kissinger	0.366
Mattioli	0.352
Lepri	0.113
Fanfani	0.254
Moceri	0.099
Montale	0.254
Zambrano	0.042
Rossi Doria	0.268
Citati	0.127
Fubini	0.099
Craveri	0.254
Laughlin	0.070
Graubard	0.099

Table A 2 Betweenness Centrality in the whole network.

Actors	nBetwenness Centrality
Cavazza	**13.583**
Sullam	2.530
Hawley	0.000
Di Sciullo	0.046
Schlesinger Jr	3.060
Galli	0.356
Durand	0.775
Moro	0.570
Matteucci	0.127
Pedrazzi	0.435
Nielsen	0.040
Reuther	0.289
La Malfa	3.289
Rostow	0.548
Morgenthau	0.086
Amory	0.032
King Jr	0.615
Acheson	0.307
Wollemborg	1.878
Zaring	0.000
Hilsman	0.033
Cattani	0.009
Spinelli	**6.072**
Olivetti	**4.833**
Nenni	2.868
Armstrong	0.022
Komer	0.032
Gronchi	0.403
Pannunzio	**4.916**
Valiani	1.005
Moravia	0.613
Rossi E.	1.975
Gorresio	0.083
Chiaromonte	0.702
Silone	**4.270**
Scalfari	1.341
Forcella	0.302
Benedetti	0.434
Mazzocchi	0.127
Garosci	1.506
Carandini	0.995
Calogero	0.603
Salvemini	3.779
Piccardi	0.028
Ragghianti	2.117
Compagna	1.862
De Caprariis	0.614
Evangelisti	0.110
Bassani	**4.945**
Croce E.	**5.786**
Caetani	0.484
Soldati	0.237
Zanotti Bianco	0.895
Feltrinelli	0.297
Magnani	0.061
Howard	0.046
Caracciolo	0.296
Fortini	0.135
Calvino	0.266
Kissinger	**4.556**
Mattioli	2.371
Lepri	0.421
Fanfani	1.152
Moceri	0.075
Montale	1.003
Zambrano	0.000
Rossi Doria	0.508
Citati	0.114
Fubini	0.014
Craveri	0.682

Laughlin	0.252
Graubard	0.195

Table A 3: E-I Index: Nationality.

Actors	EI Index: Nationality
Cavazza	**0.000**
Sullam	0.900
Hawley	1.000
Di Sciullo	-0.111
Schlesinger Jr	-0.040
Galli	-0.667
Durand	-0.467
Moro	-0.571
Matteucci	-1.000
Pedrazzi	-0.818
Nielsen	-0.200
Reuther	0.400
La Malfa	-0.806
Rostow	0.000
Morgenthau	-0.333
Amory	-0.333
King Jr	0.286
Acheson	-0.273
Wollemborg	0.889
Zaring	0.500
Hilsman	-0.250
Cattani	-0.333
Spinelli	-0.412
Olivetti	-0.75
Nenni	-0.565
Armstrong	0.000
Komer	-0.333
Gronchi	-0.500
Pannunzio	**-0.943**
Valiani	-0.917
Moravia	-0.733
Rossi E.	-0.846
Gorresio	-1.000
Chiaromonte	-0.778
Silone	-0.742
Scalfari	-1.000
Forcella	-1.000
Benedetti	-1.000
Mazzocchi	-1.000
Garosci	-0.920
Carandini	-0.900
Calogero	-0.909
Salvemini	-0.538
Piccardi	-1.000
Ragghianti	-0.926
Compagna	-0.913
De Caprariis	-0.857

Evangelisti	-1.000
Bassani	-0.677
Croce E.	**-0.647**
Caetani	0.846
Soldati	-0.833
Zanotti Bianco	-0.714
Feltrinelli	-1.000
Magnani	-0.778
Howard	0.750
Caracciolo	-0.818
Fortini	-1.000
Calvino	-0.833
Kissinger	0.385
Mattioli	-0.840
Lepri	-0.750
Fanfani	-0.111
Moceri	1.000
Montale	-0.889
Zambrano	1.000
Rossi Doria	-0.895
Citati	-1.000
Fubini	-1.000
Craveri	-0.889
Laughlin	0.200
Graubard	0.143

Table A 4: E-I Index: Affiliation.

Actors	EI Index: Affiliation
Cavazza	**0.800**
Sullam	0.700
Hawley	1.000
Di Sciullo	0.778
Schlesinger Jr	0.600
Galli	0.333
Durand	0.867
Moro	0.714
Matteucci	0.273
Pedrazzi	0.273
Nielsen	0.600
Reuther	1.000
La Malfa	1.000
Rostow	0.600
Morgenthau	0.333
Amory	1.000
King Jr	0.714
Acheson	0.455
Wollemborg	0.889
Zaring	0.500
Hilsman	0.500
Cattani	0.667
Spinelli	1.000
Olivetti	1.000
Nenni	0.913
Armstrong	0.333
Komer	0.667
Gronchi	0.667
Pannunzio	**1.000**
Valiani	0.750
Moravia	0.600
Rossi E.	0.769
Gorresio	0.333
Chiaromonte	0.667
Silone	0.548
Scalfari	0.909
Forcella	0.636
Benedetti	0.857
Mazzocchi	1.000
Garosci	0.760
Carandini	0.700
Calogero	0.727
Salvemini	0.769
Piccardi	0.455
Ragghianti	0.704
Compagna	0.652
De Caprariis	0.714

Evangelisti	-0.143
Bassani	0.677
Croce E.	**0.882**
Caetani	0.538
Soldati	0.667
Zanotti Bianco	0.810
Feltrinelli	1.000
Magnani	0.778
Howard	0.500
Caracciolo	0.636
Fortini	0.818
Calvino	0.333
Kissinger	0.615
Mattioli	0.840
Lepri	0.750
Fanfani	0.667
Moceri	1.000
Montale	0.778
Zambrano	0.333
Rossi Doria	0.895
Citati	0.556
Fubini	0.143
Craveri	0.889
Laughlin	1.000
Graubard	0.714

Table A 5: Effective Size and Constraint in the whole network.

Actors	EffSize	Constraint
Cavazza	**30.250**	**0.950**
Sullam	12.950	0.189
Hawley	1.000	1.125
Di Sciullo	2.353	0.395
Schlesinger Jr	16.347	0.155
Galli	5.833	0.291
Durand	8.483	0.249
Moro	7.429	0.257
Matteucci	4.091	0.323
Pedrazzi	5.762	0.309
Nielsen	2.600	0.599
Reuther	5.200	0.349
La Malfa	18.161	0.123
Rostow	5.600	0.343
Morgenthau	2.667	0.390
Amory	1.667	0.551
King Jr	8.286	0.256
Acheson	5.909	0.332
Wollemborg	10.167	0.207
Zaring	1.000	0.766
Hilsman	2.125	0.434
Cattani	1.667	0.549
Spinelli	22.471	0.112
Olivetti	19.719	0.115
Nenni	13.609	0.161
Armstrong	2.333	0.542
Komer	2.667	0.541
Gronchi	6.167	0.292
Pannunzio	**21.314**	**0.109**
Valiani	11.083	0.159
Moravia	8.067	0.241
Rossi E.	13.500	0.146
Gorresio	3.000	0.520
Chiaromonte	8.167	0.205
Silone	18.645	0.122
Scalfari	11.955	0.167
Forcella	5.364	0.312
Benedetti	6.786	0.255
Mazzocchi	4.750	0.407
Garosci	12.760	0.151
Carandini	9.700	0.187
Calogero	8.864	0.172
Salvemini	17.231	0.145
Piccardi	2.636	0.327
Ragghianti	15.302	0.139
Compagna	11.304	0.162
De Caprariis	7.429	0.252

Evangelisti	3.857	0.411
Bassani	20.968	0.119
Croce E.	**22.896**	**0.111**
Caetani	7.283	0.301
Soldati	6.083	0.297
Zanotti Bianco	10.256	0.179
Feltrinelli	6.455	0.289
Magnani	3.111	0.387
Howard	2.500	0.433
Caracciolo	5.455	0.314
Fortini	4.619	0.322
Calvino	6.609	0.294
Kissinger	17.700	0.146
Mattioli	15.592	0.151
Lepri	4.500	0.395
Fanfani	11.111	0.207
Moceri	3.571	0.466
Montale	10.278	0.205
Zambrano	1.000	0.970
Rossi Doria	7.158	0.196
Citati	4.667	0.369
Fubini	2.286	0.477
Craveri	9.912	0.209
Laughlin	4.200	0.400
Graubard	3.571	0.465

Table A 6: Cut-points in the whole network.

Actors	Cutpoints
Sullam	**1**
Hawley	0
Di Sciullo	0
Schlesinger Jr	0
Galli	0
Durand	0
Moro	0
Matteucci	0
Pedrazzi	0
Nielsen	0
Reuther	0
La Malfa	0
Rostow	0
Morgenthau	0
Amory	0
King Jr	0
Acheson	0
Wollemborg	0
Zaring	0
Hilsman	0
Cattani	0
Spinelli	0
Olivetti	0
Nenni	0
Armstrong	0
Komer	0
Gronchi	0
Valiani	0
Moravia	0
Rossi E.	0
Gorresio	0
Chiaromonte	0
Silone	0
Scalfari	0
Forcella	0
Benedetti	0
Mazzocchi	0
Garosci	0
Carandini	0
Calogero	0
Salvemini	0
Piccardi	0
Ragghianti	0
Compagna	0
De Caprariis	0
Evangelisti	0
Bassani	0

Caetani	0
Soldati	0
Zanotti Bianco	0
Feltrinelli	0
Magnani	0
Howard	0
Caracciolo	0
Fortini	0
Calvino	0
Kissinger	0
Mattioli	0
Lepri	0
Fanfani	0
Moceri	0
Montale	0
Zambrano	0
Rossi Doria	0
Citati	0
Fubini	0
Craveri	0
Laughlin	0
Graubard	0

Appendix B

Table B 1: Interests (sub-codes)

Personal business	American politics	Networking/ Connections	Exchange of Ideas	Support	Italian Literature/Politics	Originality
- Exchange of material -Personal projects - Editorial plans	-Topic on US politics -US affairs - US political thought -articles from the US	- Meetings - Meeting specific people - Meeting with third party - Collaboration with institutions - extending network of collaborators	- Talks - Opinions	-Arrangements -Royalties -Financial aid	-Topic on Italian literature - Italian political affairs -Italian political characters	-Other magazines lacking originality -Asking for something new -Explaining differences -US perspective

Table B 2: Relationships (sub-codes)

Kinship	Collaboration	Exchange
-Friendship	- More articles/future articles	-Providing help
-Gratefulness	- Colleague	- Asking for exchange
- Gladness	- Collaborator	-Compensation
-Appreciation	- Formal/polite language	- Asking for aid
- Personal opinions	-Collaboration/collaborating	
- Informal language	- Requests	

Table B 3: Presentation strategy (sub-codes)

Active Role	Affinity	Being Connected	Delegitimation	Dramatisation	Informative	Management	Personal Opinion	Reciprocity
-fighting for a cause	- good collaboration	-Talks with people	- Contrast old/new	- strong language	- Describing problem within PSI	--Selecting articles	-expressing positive opinion	-Making amend
-missionary role	- similar views	-Knowing important figures	- Criticising old approach	- Talking of agitators	- Describing recent developments	- Making arrangements	- giving opinions	- Giving apologies
-meeting people	- praising interlocutor's initiative	- Prestigious collaborators	- Distancing from conservative groups	- Expressing concern	- Analysis of Italian politics	- Deciding topic	- Giving suggestions	- Reducing contrast
- trips	- Doing a favour	- Maintain contacts abroad	- Making comparisons	- Warning about authoritarian government	- Having special information	-Emphasising qualities of articles	- Expressing political opinions	- Expressing gratitude
-finding funding	- Encouraging a reply	- wide range of connections	- showing no interest in conservative approval/point of view	- Depicting tragic prospects	- Reporting opinions	- Highlighting interests of readership	- Polite suggestion	- Expressing interest
-providing information	- Encouraging collaboration		- comparing own/other magazines	- Warning of risks	- Providing insight	- Defining a good article	- Comment on Italian situation	- Making a polite request
-Organising events	- Expressing certainty		-opportunism of opponents	- Feeling of distrust		- negotiating role as an editor	- Opinion on US leadership	- Expressing regret
-Creating projects	Expressing satisfaction		- Distancing from argumentative journalism	- Potential radicalisation		- reading political contributions	- Expressing need to take action	- Reassuring interlocutor
-Promoting change in EU	-We/Us		-Distancing from US Foundation			- setting boundaries		- recognising one's misjudgement
- Bridging among groups	- Stressing need to act together		- Criticising DCP			- Sending copies abroad		- Expressing interests in meeting other US figures
- Showing knowledge			-Criticising Italian press			- Asking for copies		
- Arranging future meetings			Criticising Tambroni			- Deciding length of articles		
- Maintaining presence of US foundation in Italy			- Machinations within DC			- Evaluating topic proposed		
- Showing genuine commitment			-Manoeuvres against the Left			- Pointing out one's professionalism		
- Spreading material						- Reframing a topic		
- Being an established editor						- Reminding request		
- Inviting prestigious figures						- Reinforcing collaboration		
- Preparing a presentation						- Deciding the end of a project		
- Presenting projects in Italy and abroad								
- Sending research projects								

LETTERS:

Letter B 1: Gian Antonio Brioschi to Mario Pannunzio, 28 July 1952.

Egregio Dr. Pannunzio,

colgo con piacere quest'occasione per ringraziarLa della cortesissima accoglienza da Lei avuta a Roma e delle Sue gentili parole, sperando di poter sempre ricambiare la Sua fiducia nel mio lavoro con interessanti contributi.

Mi è stato detto che in relazione alla mia collaborazione a 'Il Mondo' potrei avere la qualifica di 'pubblicista' con i relativi vantaggi. Non so fino a che punto ciò sia esatto, ma comunque Le rimetto l'apposito modulo affidandomi al Suo giudizio e scusandomi per il disturbo che Le arreco.

Mi sarebbe gradito conoscere se Ella riceve regolarmente la Rivista americana 'CONFLUENCE' di cui mi occupo per la parte italiana. Si tratta di un'iniziativa per uno scambio di idee tra Europa e America che sta assumendo una notevole importanza: la Rivista ha oggi un Comitato consultivo composto di alcune tra le maggiori personalità della cultura americana e una diffusione di 7000 copie in tutto il mondo. Sarebbe forse interessante farLa conoscere tra i collaboratori del 'Mondo', specie giovani, anche per allargare la cerchia degli articolisti e non mi sembrerebbe del tutto inutile, se possibile, farne menzione sul giornale stesso, così da diffondere la conoscenza della sua esistenza e invitare un maggior numero di persone a questa libera discussione, priva di pregiudizi e reticenze.

Ancora ringraziandola e nella speranza di incontrarLa presto, La saluto molto cordialmente.

Letter B 2: Mario Pannunzio to Gian Antonio Brioschi, 30 July 1952.

Caro Dottor Brioschi,

La ringrazio della Sua lettera. Sono anch'io lieto di averLa conosciuta personalmente e di avere così stabilito con Lei, ne sono certo, rapporti di amicizia e cordiale collaborazione. Le mando la scheda per la iscrizione all'Albo dei Giornalisti. Non credo che ci saranno difficoltà per il Suo accoglimento. Non conosco la rivista 'CONFLUENCE' se non do nome. Avrei senz'altro piacere di conoscerla e di farla conoscere ai nostri lettori. Come fare per averla? Sarà possibile un 'cambio'? Mi sappia dire, La prego, qualche cosa in proposito.

Accolga i miei più cordiali saluti.

Letter B 3: Joseph Friedman to Mario Pannunzio, 27 July 1953.

Signor Direttore,

Facciamo seguito alla nostra inevasa del 10 luglio 1953.

Come già specificato nella nostra sopracitata Le ripetiamo che il COURIER FROM ITALY è un periodico mensile che riprodurrà in lingua inglese articoli ed illustrazioni scelti dai principali periodici italiani.

Dalla sua rivista 'Il Mondo' del 27 giugno 1953 abbiamo scelto la fotografia della bella mondina pubblicata a pagina 8. Essendo noi tanto interessati nella scelta fatta, Le chiediamo ancora una volta se possiamo contare in una Sua gentile concessione della foto in questione.

Facciamo affidamento nella Sua gentile collaborazione e sperando poter ricevere quanto sopra richiesto al più presto possibile, La ringraziamo anticipatamente e porgiamo i nostri distinti saluti.

Letter B 4: Mario Pannunzio to Edmund Schechter, 19 February 1960.

Caro Amico,

sono veramente addolorato di non aver potuto partecipare al vermouth di saluto al caro collega Alfred Jacobson. Purtroppo ho ricevuto con ritardo il Suo gentile invito, che era stato inviato a via Campo Marzio 24, sede dell'amministrazione del nostro giornale, e non a via Colonna Antonina, dove ha sede la nostra redazione. Mi auguro di poter riparare alla mia assenza incontrando il signor Jacobson al suo ritorno a Roma.

Le invio i miei più cordiali saluti e ringraziamenti.

Suo

Letter B 5: Mario Pannunzio to Joseph LaPalombara, 22 June 1960.

Caro Amico,

Le sono molto grato della sua lettera e delle sue parole così cordiali. Io sarei felicissimo di averLa – mi permetta di dirlo, finalmente – tra i collaboratori del 'Mondo' e mi auguro che questo avvenga al più presto.

L'argomento di cui Ella mi parla mi sembra di grande interesse. Ho l'impressione però che gli avvenimenti del Giappone e la reazione che si sarà prodotta in America, possono fornire nuovi elementi per uno sguardo generale sulla politica estera degli Stati Uniti. Non so se Le sarà possibile estendere il tema a questa specie di largo panorama. In caso che Ella accettasse il mio suggerimento, la lunghezza dell'articolo potrebbe essere di 10-12 pagine.

Non c'è bisogno di dirLe che io sarò molto lieto se Ella, anche senza preventive proposte, mi invierà articoli dall'America su argomenti che Ella pensa siano adatti al 'Mondo'.

Le invio i miei più cordiali saluti.

Suo

Letter B 6 : Fabio Luca Cavazza to John Di Sciullo, 1 October 1960.

Carissimo Amico,

ho molto gradito la sua lettera e sono lieto d'avervi trovato espressioni di stima nei confronti degli amici italiani che sono venuti a visitarla. Mi auguro che lei abbia potuto rivederli al loro ritorno a Washington e completare, in tal modo, le conversazioni. So che il loro ritorno a Washington è previsto in questi giorni, ma io non li vedrò che verso la metà del mese, allorchè andrò a Roma. Infatti in questo periodo sono molto impegnato a girare fra le tre capitali del triangolo industriale italiano per ottenere l'interessamento delle più grosse industrie italiane ai nostri progetti di ricerche e d'indagini. Lei può immaginare che il mio lavoro è, per molti aspetti, simile a quello di un missionario, giacchè è un po' un fatto nuovo chiedere in Italia 'a financial support', dato con lo stesso spirito e modalità delle vostre Fondazioni. Devo tuttavia dare atto al Presidente della Repubblica di un aiuto, per questa attività missionaria, veramente eccezionale e del tutto disinteressato. Io spero di poter varare nei prossimi due o tre mesi alcuni dei miei progetti di ricerche. Anzi, a questo scopo, attendo con impazienza l'arrivo degli amici della Ford Foundation per poter discutere con loro i passi che ho compiuto. Infatti è mio vivissimo desiderio non veder interrotta la collaborazione così felicemente instaurata con loro a proposito dell'ultima ricerca sull'Università: è mio personale convincimento che la presenza della Ford in Italian costituisca uno stimolo di non lieve portata e un contributo non indifferente per condurre in porto il rammodernamento delle sturtture dell'educazione in Italia. Proprio per questa ragione io desidererei che al finanziamento italiano si associasse quello della Ford. Insomma, anche se io trovassi tutti i finanziamenti che mi occorrono in Italia, vorrei che una quota di questi rimanesse libera per far sì che la presenza della Ford in Italia non venisse a mancare. Perché la ritengo veramente importante.

Ma mi sto accorgendo di parlarle dei casi miei e di trascurare qualche commento sulla situazione politica.[…]

È vero che Tambroni non costituisce un pericolo nel senso che non ha chance di aumentare il suo seguito fra i quadri della Democrazia Cristiana; è vero che non possono essere prese troppo sul serio le frequenti riunioni che ha con Angiolillo (direttore del Tempo di Roma) e l'armatore Fassio per costituire la 'grande destra'; è vero che non si deve sopravvalutare l'attività di un suo ufficio segreto (pare accertato si trovi in Via del Corso a pochi metri dalla sede centrale dei Comitati Civici) perché questi suoi vari uffici, segreti e pubblici, gli servono per fare del business (controlla la Compagnia Mediterranea di Assicurazioni, l'Anonima immobiliari a Roma); ma è tuttavia

verissimo che egli può ritornare pericoloso e di nuovo in grado di giocare il suo poker d'assi in caso di una crisi politica. Di qui i timori di Moro, ma però ha dovuto riconoscere che tali timori non erano sufficienti per rinviare le elezioni. Anzi, direi che oggi il tandem Moro-Fanfani funziona a meraviglia.[…]

I miei amici autonomisti del PSI sono piuttosto arrabbiati con Nenni perché sostengono che no vi era bisogno, nell'ultimo Comitato Centrale, di fare tante concessioni alla sinistra […]. E voti non ne possono perdere, e d'altra parte l'elettorato già ben orientato non abbandona il PSI per le posizioni espresse nel Comitato Centrale. E inoltre l'opera d'organizzazione autonomista non procede alla velocità che si desidererebbe, proprio per la cronica mancanza di finanziamenti. L'Eni continua a finanziare i carristi (e anche certi uomini dell'MSI) […].

Letter B 7: Fabio Luca. Cavazza to J. Di Sciullo, 19 July 1960.

[…]

Più le ore passavano più si rendeva chiaro che la permanenza di Tambroni al governo avrebbe finito con il radicalizzare definitivamente la situazione politica, annullando e distruggendo lo spazio di manovra delle formazioni politiche democratiche, spaccando in due il paese, dando l'avvio alla formazione di due blocchi contrapposti. Nelle ultime settimane il gioco politico è stato riportato alle condizioni del 1948, ma in peggio: perché l'antagonista del Fronte popolare è una Democrazia Cristiana, con Tambroni al posto di De Gasperi. Se a questo quadro lei aggiunge le spiccate qualità dell'uomo nell'organizzare intrighi, lanciare minacce e, come si afferma da più parti, preparare ricatti e controlli telefonici, lei avrà una spiegazione sufficiente per comprendere come si sia giunti a un accordo tra Fanfani, Reale, Malagodi e Saragat.[…] Fanfani, ben consapevole dei pericoli ai quali s'andava incontro se fosse giunta a perfezionarsi quella tal radicalizzazione della lotta politica, conseguenza prima e inevitabile dell'essersi appoggiati a un'ala estrema dello schieramento, già pensava alla soluzione digoverno che venne poi delineandosi nei giorni successivi.[…] Moro ha ostinatamente lavorato per arrivare alla soluzione governativa che ora appare imminente.[…]

Letter B 8: Elena Croce to James Laughlin, 16 April 1955.

Gentilissimo Laughlin,

Non mi aspettavo di vedere i miei desiderata realizzati così presto e in maniera così soddisfacente: grazie, dunque, anche della rapidità con cui ci ha procurato quest'ottimo articolo di Schlesinger. Un'esposizione così limpida e concreta di un problema è rara ottenerla al giorno d'oggi in cui la confusione si nasconde tanto più facilmente facendo della polemica. Credo davvero che un articolo così sarà estremamente utile per i nostri lettori perché mette in luce aspetti della tradizione di un pensiero politico americano che da noi – anche dalla gente ben informata – non sono sufficientemente considerati. E intanto è stato utilissimo per me, che vi ho imparato qualcosa!

L'articolo uscirà nel numero di maggio – gliene terrò da parte cinquecento o cento copie – quante ne vuole. Un vecchio istinto borghese fa si che io mi senta un po' profittatrice per la questione del compenso: ma il fatto è che i compensi delle riviste italiane sono ormai un fatto puramente formale, che non ha nessuna 'realtà' economica!

[…]

Mi accorgo con vergogna che non avevo mai risposto alla sua lettera in cui mi parlava di Leslie Fiedler, che io ho conosciuto qui anni fa. È intelligente e uno dei meglio informati sulle cose italiane ma se posso esprimere un'impressione veramente molto superficiale, mi pare sia ancora rimasto un po' chiuso nel complesso psicologico Europa America; probabilmente però ora è cambiato, perché come quel complesso ormai da noi non interessa più nessuna persona intelligente, così, penso, sarà scontato anche da voi! Se Fiedler volesse darci un saggio su un argomento letterario italiano, parlando però come se parlasse a un lettore americano (a parte il lato informativo che non occorrerebbe), anche a costo di essere molto negativo, sarebbe certo interessante, il difetto degli scambi letterari – in quelli politici è tanto più facile trovare un linguaggio comune – è sempre quello che si fanno sempre con troppa diplomazia, e finisce nella banalità. Del resto non c'è bisogno di invitare Fiedler a dire perché non gli piace, eventualmente, la letteratura contemporanea italiana: sul perché questo o quello non piaccia siamo tutti, credo, benissimo informati, mentre assai misterioso rimane il motivo per cui alcuni nostri prodotti, anche buoni, hanno successo – e proprio quello sarebbe interessante di indagare.