

**FROM THE ANNALES DE LA RÉGIE
DIRECTE* TO THE ANNALS OF PUBLIC AND
CO-OPERATIVE ECONOMICS: 100 YEARS
OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN AN
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC JOURNAL**

by

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Introduction

The histories of journals are often those of the movements which lie behind them, the debates which flow through them or the scientific disciplines they help to bring into the world.¹ These

* A translation of 'Régie directe' could be 'Direct State and Municipal Services'

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List of abbreviations: A = Archives; Ciriec Int-A = Archives of Ciriec international; Ciriec SB-A = Archives of the Belgian Section of Ciriec; AEC = *Annales de l'économie collective*; AEPSC = *Annales de l'économie publique, sociale et coopérative*; GM = General Meeting; ARD = *Annales de la régie directe*; CA = board of administrators; IB = international Board; Ciriec = International Centre of Research and Information on the Public, Social and Cooperative Economy; f. = file.

All quotations to *Annals* are extracted from the French edition and then from the unilingual edition.

1 See for example: Winock, M., *Histoire politique de la revue 'Esprit'*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1975; 'Le centenaire de *L'Année sociologique*', *L'Année sociologique*, 1998, no. 48–1, p. 9–248; Vallin, P., 'Études' histoire d'une revue: Une aventure jésuite. Des origines au Concile Vatican II (1856 to 1965)', *Études*, special edition, April 2000; Payre, R., 'Les efforts de

histories generally cover a short to medium-term period, no matter how long the lifespan being celebrated may be. If we are going to study a century of the history of the *Annals of Public and Co-operative Economics*, the changes to its contents, the people involved and their management decisions, we need to adopt an approach, a level of analysis and to divide things up into specific periods of time.

Although the journal and the man were inseparable for half a century, we could not consider writing either an intellectual biography of Edgard Milhaud or a history of the Ciriec, even though it certainly was created to support the journal, because its international and domestic activities fall outside this original remit. So the starting point for the study lies in the contents of the journal itself. In order to depict its evolution over a century, to highlight areas of and breaks in continuity, the decision was taken to classify each article according to four criteria: the type of article, its main topic and in some cases a second topic, and finally the geographical unit(s) covered.² This information has been sorted for each of the periods described below and the results have been compared in such a way as to throw light on the changes between the editorial policies under the various editorial teams. However, as the journal is certainly not independent of the practical circumstances surrounding its publication – and the

constitution d'une science du gouvernement municipal: *La Vie communale et départementale* (1923–1940)', *Revue française de science politique*, April 2003, no. 53-2, p. 201–218; 'Boudic, G., *Esprit, 1944–1982: les métamorphoses d'une revue*, Paris, IMEC, 2005.

2 Methodological note. All of the quantitative data relating to the contents of the journal comes from processing a file provided by the publisher Blackwell, which collates bibliographical data for each of the article headings (including columns and bibliographies) which have appeared in the English edition since 1925. This basic file has been enhanced by indexing each article into the following sections: type of article, main topic, secondary topic, country studied. Like all classifications, it is to some extent arbitrary (in the definition of the categories themselves and in the classification of the articles) and poses the problem of the stability and relevance of the categories over time. So we cannot consider that the first classification of an article under a category conveys precisely – in chronological terms – the first time that the topic comes up in the journal. To compensate for these various drawbacks, our breakdown into percentages between the categories only covers the main examples in terms of size and deliberately ignores the lowest occurrences. However, so as not to ignore completely the adage which says that evidence should be weighed and not counted, reference will be made to certain especially significant articles or authors, as well as statistics.

history of the *Annals* shows that there are often arguments over its editorial policy when it is operating at a loss – the vicissitudes of its financing and its distribution have been studied via the Ciriec archives.³

The division into periods mainly boils down to the journal's successive editors, in addition to the name changes and the widening of the contents in 1925 or the break in publication due to the Second World War. We have thus broken things down into six periods: The first goes from the creation of the *Annales de la régie directe* in 1908 to its replacement by the *Annals of Collective Economy* in 1925; the second comes to an end in 1943 and the next one goes from the restarting of publication in 1948 through to Edgard Milhaud's retirement in 1960; the fourth period is that of Paul Lambert's editorship; the fifth is Guy Quaden's time as editor and the last begins in 1990 when he was replaced by Bernard Thiry.

As much as the division into periods, the approach leads to questions about the very identity of the journal, beyond the direct linear relationship between the *Annals of Public and Co-operative Economics* and the *Annales de la régie directe*.

1 The *Annales de la régie directe* (1908–1924)⁴

The first 75 years of the journal's history are inseparable from the personalities of its two first editors, Edgard Milhaud and Paul

3 We have been through the archives of the *Annals'* editorial offices, of the International Council, of the Executive committee (which became the Praesidium) and of the Ciriec International's general meetings kept by the latter, as well as the archives of the Ciriec's Belgian section. We were unable to look at Milhaud's archives kept in Geneva, Geneva State Archives, Edgard Milhaud Papers, Edgard Milhaud's Private Archives series, correspondence, 96, 97, Archives of the *Annales de la régie directe* and the *Annals of Collective Economy*; Edgard Milhaud's collected series of documents including correspondence, 17, 25, 27, 32, 38, press articles relating to the *Annales de la régie directe*, nor those kept at the French Social History Institute (Paris), Fonds Edgard Milhaud, No. 382 and 385 (received correspondence), 388 and 389 (copies of sent letters), 390 to 396 (files and reports).

4 This journal has already been the subject of a major historical study: Dogliani, P., 'Edgard Milhaud e la rivista internazionale 'Annales de la régie directe' (1908–1924)', *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, 1985, vol. 19, p. 195–249. So, we will not be going over all of this ground again.

Lambert, so what we need to do is to put their involvement into the context of the characteristics of the journal rather than simply setting out their biographies.

A holder of the *agrégation* in philosophy, graded second at the examination, Edgard Milhaud⁵ became politically active alongside Jean Jaurès, and then Albert Thomas, in the ‘Ecole Normale Socialism’ movement. This movement was formed around Charles Andler, Lucien Herr, Léon Blum and Émile Durkheim and amongst others it included Albert Thomas, Robert Hertz, Marcel Mauss, François Simiand, Max Lazard, Maurice Halbwachs, Edgard Milhaud, etc.⁶ This group championed a reforming socialism, sometimes described as ‘liberal socialism’, characterized by its economic realism and its commitment to a ‘scientific approach’ to politics, supported by statistically-based knowledge.⁷ Wary of rhetorical fluency, instead it laid the emphasis on a scientific analysis of social realities, embodied especially by Durkheimian sociology. These intellectuals, influenced by some of the achievements of their Belgian and British counterparts, saw municipalism and the co-operative movement as the two main tools of social change. In the eyes of these socialists, mistrustful of the centralizing Bourgeois state, aware of local achievements in Germany, Britain and Belgium and who had read *The Socialist State* by Anton Menger (brother of Carl, the marginal utility theorist), – which Milhaud himself translated in 1904 and for which Andler wrote the preface – the municipal level seemed to be the one on which collectivization of the means of production could take place, providing workers with better living conditions. Through working with the co-operative movement, of which Thomas, Mauss, Halbwachs and Simiand would become the champions,⁸ there was to be a meeting of minds of the ‘community of production’ (both workers and producers) and the ‘community of consumption’, and Milhaud

5 Raymond, J., ‘Edgard Milhaud’, in *Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier français*, part 3: 1871–1914. *De la Commune à la Grande Guerre*, vol. XIV, Paris, Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1976, p. 92–96.

6 Prochasson, C., ‘Entre science et action sociale: le “réseau Albert Thomas” et le socialisme normalien, 1900–1914’, in Topalov, C. (ed.), *Laboratoires du nouveau siècle. La nébuleuse réformatrice et ses réseaux en France, 1880–1914*, Paris, published by the EHESS, 1999, p. 141–142.

7 Prochasson, C., ‘Jaurès et les intellectuels du ‘socialisme normalien’ (1900–1914)’, *Bulletin de la Société d’études jaurésiennes*, 1986, no. 102–103, p. 17.

8 Chatriot, A., ‘Les coopérateurs’, in Becker, J.-J. and Candar, G. (eds), *Histoire des gauches en France*, vol. 2, Paris, La Découverte, 2004, p. 94–95; Prochasson, C., ‘Entre science . . .’, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

called for this meeting of minds in the mission statement of the *Annales de la régie directe*.

Milhaud was fully immersed in this reformism and did not shrink from getting involved in the exercise of power. Indeed between 1899 and 1901 he held an advisory post at the Ministry of Trade and Industry in Waldeck-Rousseau's government. However in 1902 he went down another road, embarking on a long academic career at the University of Geneva; there he occupied the chair in Political Economy and worked on the creation of a Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences of which he was the first dean in 1915. Albert Thomas appointed him to the ILO in 1920 to conduct a huge international inquiry on production and then to lead the Research Division; Fourth Section, which he only left in 1933.⁹

Management of the journal

The editorial staff and their work

When he launched the *Annales de la régie directe* in 1908, Milhaud himself took on the various tasks – both intellectual and practical – involved in editing a journal: dealings with the printer, contacts with authors and with some readers, exchanges with other periodicals, editing bibliographies and columns, and also writing numerous articles.¹⁰ Out of 144 articles published (with an author's name) between 1908 and October 1914, Milhaud wrote 41 of them (i.e. 28%).

Although we have been unable to find any precise data about how the journal was financed from its inception up until the eve of the Second World War, it is likely that Edgard Milhaud had to dig into his own pocket on more than one occasion when there was not enough income from subscriptions to meet the publishing costs.¹¹

9 Guérin, D., *Albert Thomas au BIT, 1920–1932*, Genève, Euryopa, 1996, p. 37; Lespinet-Moret, I., 'Le vivier de la Direction et du ministère du Travail à l'œuvre au sein de l'Organisation internationale du travail, 1919–1932', in Chatriot, A., Join-Lambert, O. and Viet, V., *Les politiques du travail, acteurs, réseaux, institutions*, Rennes, PUR, 2007, p. 248–249.

10 Dogliani, P., 'Edgard Milhaud e la rivista...', *op. cit.*, p. 216.

11 During the Second World War Milhaud was despicably suspected of making a fortune out of publishing the *Annals*, but he proved in court that he had spent 'almost all of his savings, in other words around 80,000 Swiss francs' (transl.) on it, Davidovic, G., 'Le Ciriec et son fondateur', *AEC*, October-December 1967, p. 414.

Distribution

For the purposes of distributing the journal, Milhaud adopted a strategy which he used again forty years later when the Ciriec was founded: he appealed to local authorities (originally, for instance, socialist municipalities, and then later, the national sections of the Ciriec) which might be able to contribute articles about their work, thus providing the journal both with material to publish and a natural readership.¹² Starting in the third year of its distribution, the journal began publishing a list of subscriber authorities as an appendix. In 1910, the *Annals* were distributed in 17 countries (21 in 1914); the largest number of subscriptions came from France (121), followed by Belgium (the only country where the journal was almost exclusively distributed through the socialist world), Italy and Switzerland.¹³ P. Dogliani has deduced a typical subscriber profile from this list: ‘university professors, especially of law and political economics; local and national administrators with socialist and radical leanings, technicians and clerks working for banks and insurance companies, public enterprises, the transport sector and post offices (as well as several national transport ministers, a subscription was taken out by the École Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées (National Bridges and Roads School and several of the correspondents from the Balkans were engineers), journalists, members of parliament and senators working on nationalization projects; socialist party leaders at the local administrative level; public sector trade unionists’. In France, on the other hand, Milhaud struggled to reach ‘the middle-ranking and lower echelons of the workers movement, especially the SFIO’; his journal made barely any inroads with full-time employees (such as local council secretaries) of town councils any more than the elected socialist representatives in small towns.¹⁴

The development of its content and its authors

In the mission statement which opened the first issue of the *Annales de la régie directe* in November-December 1908, Milhaud put

12 *Ibidem*, p. 219.

13 *Ibidem*, p. 221; as we could not find this appended list in the bound volume of the *Annals* at our disposal, we have been unable to carry out an exact total count.

14 *Ibidem*, p. 221–222 and Dogliani, P., ‘La théorie de la régie directe: Edgard Milhaud and Henri Sellier’, in Burlen, K. (ed.), *La banlieue oasis. Henri Sellier et les cités-jardins, 1900–1940*, Saint-Denis, PUV, 1987, p. 40.

his initiative back into the economic context of the era, characterized amongst other things by the transfer of ownership and the running of businesses to local authorities, often exercised as a monopoly.¹⁵ The resumption of concessions in the railways sector as well as for water, gas and electricity distribution is the best example of this. However in France especially, private companies were leading a rearguard campaign, putting pressure on a section of the press to stigmatize public management. It was in order to fight what he saw as misinformation that Milhaud decided to launch a journal in which, supported by large numbers of facts set out in a scientific manner, the results of certain publicly-controlled economic activities would be brought into the public domain. This approach was part of the political plan to 'prepare people's minds' for 'the collectivization of all the means of production and trade', 'to which the spectacle of the favourable results [...] of businesses which are now nationalized or run by local authorities, and all the attempts made, and all the steps taken to perfect their organization and to harmonize all the attendant elements and interests within them would make a powerful contribution'. Milhaud took care to point out that it was not enough for an activity to be taken away from private control and entrusted to the public sector in order for it to gain his approval; it also needed to be well-managed for the benefit of the community.¹⁶

So right from the outset the journal took up a position as a champion of public ownership along two lines: sometimes counter-attacking, where appropriate, and more usually illustrating public projects. These two lines were reaffirmed some fifty years later, the first of them by Milhaud, recalling his role in various battles, and the other by M. Delbouille, defining the Ciriec's remit: 'it is a matter of putting the collective economy on the map because that is the best way to guarantee its success'.¹⁷ The *Annals* has always been

15 Direct state and municipal services ('Régie directe') is a means of managing a public service handled directly by the local authority responsible for it, using the latter's means (both material and financial) and staff. Alongside direct state and municipal services, there are also modes of indirect management, delegated to a legal person governed by private law, which can take various forms such as a franchise, lease or third party management, where an outside manager leads the operation and receives payment which is partly determined by the results of the operation.

16 Milhaud, E., 'Notre programme', *ARD*, November-December 1908, p. 4-6 and Milhaud, E., 'L'économie publique', *ARD*, November 1911, p. 4-5.

17 Ciriec Int-A, IB 1957-1959, meeting held on 19-20.07.1957, p. 11; Ciriec Int-A, IB 1963-1964, meeting held on 08.02.1964, p. 8.

a journal which showcases projects, results or plans rather than a technical journal of the kind that there used to be covering its various interests (municipalism, etc.).

During the years leading up to the First World War, two main topics were tackled. First of all there was the matter of direct state services and municipalization in the UK, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, France and Eastern Europe, activities involving public transport, energy supply, housing, as well as local initiatives to combat the high cost of living. The working conditions of people in these direct state and municipal services were a prime consideration. Starting in the third year, it was the controversy surrounding the nationalization of the franchised railways, seen from the point of view of passenger safety and staff working conditions, which held Milhaud's interest.

The *Annals* continued to be published during the First World War, although admittedly in a slightly smaller format, retaining its international flavour, as can be seen from the attention which was still given to German municipal projects.

Between the Armistice and 1924, as well as pre-war themes such as the many aspects of municipalization (housing, transport, etc.), there were also issues stemming from the war, such as nationalization, workers' control, the housing crisis and the international co-operative movement. The journal's pages were never closed to German and Austrian correspondents (the latter did not write for the pre-war journal). P. Dogliani notes that at this time Milhaud published more translated articles, which had already been published elsewhere;¹⁸ this choice may well have something to do with Milhaud's huge workload while he was leading the Production inquiry (ILO) and writing up its conclusions.

In order to ensure that the journal had international coverage, from the outset Milhaud had been able to count on several reliable correspondents such as Émile Vinck (Belgium), Alessandro Schiavi (Italy), Hugo Lindemann (Germany), Marcus Gitermann (German-speaking Switzerland), and Édouard Herriot (France). Some of these were to stay with the journal for the long haul, contributing numerous articles to it, and all of them went on to write for the *Annals of Collective Economy*.

18 Dogliani, P., 'Edgard Milhaud e la rivista...', *op. cit.*, p. 243.

2 The *Annals of Collective Economy* (1925–1943)

In 1925, the *Annales de la régie directe* changed its name to the *Annals of Collective Economy*. Milhaud said this was due to the widening of the journal's scope, as a result of the changes observed since the First World War. The first was to do with public management itself: the old essentially administrative direct state and municipal service gave way to an 'industrial' style of public service organization; various forms of publicly organized economic concerns which often aimed to accord greater management autonomy were added to municipalism and to direct state and municipal services. From this point on, the journal took on the task of making sense of these changes, observed in various countries. The second change was to do with developments in co-operatives and in their relationships with the public authorities, which delegated certain tasks to them (the French experience during the First World War in particular had left its mark on Milhaud¹⁹). Finally, on a larger scale, the target was the organization of the economy: 'economic action by the local authority is not just management; it is also regulation, and this increasingly tends to become organization'. Four ways of setting up this organization were covered: the prevention or mitigation of the effects of economic crises, the financing of social insurance systems, employment legislation and particularly international legislation and, finally, the economic organization in peacetime.²⁰

So in addition to the thematic expansion there was also a desire to achieve greater international distribution, leading to the English, German and Spanish editions.²¹ These were to be only a first stage, as Milhaud hoped to expand the readership with

19 For an illustration of this, see: Poisson, E., 'La collaboration coopérative et municipale pour la vente de la viande frigorifiée à Paris et dans le département de la Seine', *ARD*, November 1915–November 1916, p. 5–32.

20 Milhaud, E., 'Les Annales de l'économie collective', *AEC*, January–March 1925, p. 1–4.

21 The English and German editions were published from 1925 to 1989, at which point they were replaced by a single bilingual edition (English–French), with the former being halted between 1942 and 1947 and the latter between 1940 and 1950 (apart from a special edition dedicated to the Beveridge plan); the Spanish edition started coming out in 1925 but was halted in 1932.

editions ‘in Polish, in Czech, in one of the Scandinavian languages, in Japanese, in Esperanto...’.²²

Management of the journal

In order to publish the *Annals of Collective Economy*, as previously Milhaud had to draw on his own resources to start with. However, it seems likely that his role as director of studies at the ILO meant that he may have been able to obtain secretarial support. Indeed he took up the position at the same time that the English, German and Spanish editions were published. Vice versa, the international column which had appeared in the *Annals* was discontinued soon after he left this position in 1933.

The journal had about a thousand groups subscribing on the eve of the Second World War, 336 of whom were for the English edition; among them 110 universities, of whom 69 alone were from the United States.²³

At the start of the war, the *Annals* could still carry the main articles which appeared in the journal of the International Co-operative Alliance, by translating them into French,²⁴ but in 1943, cut off from the communications which were essential in order to sustain an international journal and with only Swiss readers as a viable audience, it ceased publication, not counting the final last-ditch stand of the publication, not only in French but in German, of the Beveridge Plan.²⁵

The development of its content and its authors

Breaking the articles down by type²⁶ does show the initial choice made by Milhaud, because descriptive articles do account for

22 Milhaud, E., ‘Les vingt ans des ‘Annales’, *AEC*, January-April 1929, p. 2.

23 Milhaud, E., ‘Les trente ans des ‘Annales’, *AEC*, January-April 1939, p. 46; Milhaud, E., ‘Pour assurer l’avenir des ‘Annales’, *AEC*, January-October 1948, p. 17.

24 Milhaud, E., ‘Les Annales’ et la ‘Revue de la Coopération Internationale’, *AEC*, August-December 1941, p. 385–387.

25 Milhaud, E., ‘Un regard en arrière. Quelques grandes heures des ‘Annales’ et du CIRIEC’, *AEC*, January-April 1958, p. 6k.

26 With the creation of a typology of this kind, which is valid when dealing with publication over nearly a century, the problem lies in developments which affect both the economic discipline and the journal’s editorial choices.

58% of the total number of articles ($n = 483$); with programmatic articles making up 33% of this total. Out of the balance, international columns took up 6% of the publication. Although these disappeared as such in 1934, as Milhaud was no longer able to follow and summarize the major collective economy events on his own,²⁷ the subsequent structure of the journal, and especially the short length of some articles, suggests that some contributions which would previously have been columns were published as articles from this point on.

The geographical breakdown of the descriptive/empirical articles tells us both about the location of the events described and where the majority of the authors of the articles came from. Not counting articles with an international bent and those which cannot be placed in a particular country, as well as – for a reason which is explained later – articles on the USSR, ten countries, mostly from the West, account for just under 80% of the national events described.

Table 1 – Geographical breakdown of descriptive articles published between 1925 and 1943 (top 10 countries listed). Shown as percentages

| Switzer- land | Germany | USA | France | UK | Sweden | Belgium | Mexico | Italy | Czecho- slovakia | Total |
|------------------|---------|-----|--------|----|--------|---------|--------|-------|---------------------|-------|
| 15 | 15 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 77 |

Source: Blackwell file; own calculations; n locatable descriptive articles = 262, n countries = 28, n regions = 2, n international = 1.

We have used the following categories: descriptive article (\approx empirical, in the current sense), programmatic article (strategic and tactical), theoretical article, column (relating to journal and/or Ciriec matters), international column (called ‘current events’ or ‘column’ in the journal, which was shorter and not necessarily original, about collective economy projects, and news of ‘friendly’ international organizations), bibliography, summaries. The breakdown into categories is based on number of articles, which is the best way of presenting the article collation work, rather than the number of pages (by way of comparison, in the period from 1925 to 1942, descriptive articles made up 59.4% of the total pages published and programmatic articles 33.6%).

27 Ciriec Int-A, f. ‘For the Liège File’, Milhaud to Lambert, 14.11.1959.

The number of articles with an international scope should be highlighted: 17%, proving Milhaud's interest in projects which illustrated forms of international co-operation. The large numbers of articles on the USSR is due to interest in the five-year plans and the partnership which Milhaud requested from Professor S.N. Prokopovicz starting in 1939.²⁸

The subject breakdown of the articles shows that the programme set out in 1925 was largely adhered to: the public economy, the co-operative movement and the organization of the economy made up the subject matter for almost three quarters of the articles.

The co-operative movement, and especially agricultural co-operation, provided the subject matter for 29% of the articles (together with mutual insurance). Public economy was the subject of 23% of the articles, of which 12% were for forms of municipal or intercommunal management. Finally, almost 21% of the articles were devoted to the organization of the economy (including the international co-operative movement, planning and the organization of the economy). Wider-ranging economic contributions, not relating to previous subject matter, accounted for around 21% of the articles; the examination of secondary topics demonstrates the important role of currency and echoes one of the journal's early characteristics: it was a mouthpiece for Professor Milhaud's ideas. Faced with the worsening of the economic crisis, from the start of the thirties he actually proposed a multilateral compensation plan to govern international trade and provide a way out of the impasse created by the lack of means of payment. He devoted a whole instalment of the French edition to it in 1933 (this plan occupied the whole of the English edition for that year) and several articles in 1934 and 1936, and the plan was also the subject of commentaries in the journal by other authors (U. von Beckerath, L. Bjarnason, C. Bourdet, W.H. Edridge, A.E. Upton and R.S. Bradley).

Out of the 359 identified authors of articles of various sizes, the vast majority (89%) only made a single contribution, whereas 11% wrote more than one article. Although admittedly there is some variation in the figures, this breakdown – $\pm 90\%$ and $\pm 10\%$ – remains consistent throughout the whole of the journal's history. Among the authors whose names appeared several times, there were quite a few members of the ILO (Georges Fauquet, Maurice Colombain,

28 Milhaud, E., 'Les bulletins du Professeur Prokopovicz sur l'économie soviétique et les 'Annales de l'économie collective'', *AEC*, January-May 1940, p. 151–157.

Albert Thomas, Harold Butler, etc.), regular national correspondents such as F.E. Lawley (Great Britain) and Ernst Kretschmer (pre-1933 Germany), along with Milhaud himself and obviously his output involves far more than just the articles he wrote under his own name. Indeed it is difficult to estimate as we can imagine that he would have been behind a large proportion of the unattributed articles.²⁹

3 From the founding of the Ciriec through to Edgard Milhaud's retirement (1947–1960)

Forced to suspend publication of the *Annals* for the reasons mentioned above, Milhaud was determined to bring it back to life as soon as possible. However because of his age and imminent retirement, he wanted to bolster the journal with a structure capable of guaranteeing its long-term future. With the support of a number of Europeans who had been friends of the pre-war *Annals*, and above all the representatives of Swiss co-operative and trade union organizations, an international collective economy research and information centre (the Ciriec) was formed; the international centre would gradually take up the baton, adopting the form of national sections.³⁰ Their support for the journal, as defined at the first International Collective Economy Congress, would be twofold: 'they will set up the committees handling 1) the editing of the *Annals*, 2)

29 Yvonne Gélard estimates Edgard Milhaud's output to the *Annals* at 3000 pages; in the English edition alone, articles written by Milhaud already come to 1150 pages, Gélard, Y., *1947–1997. 50 Years of the CIRIEC*, Liège, Ciriec international, 1997, p. 39; Blackwell file, own calculations.

30 The national sections were created in the following order; the date in brackets does not take account of any preliminary phases (e.g. Switzerland and Belgium, active from 1947 and 1949 respectively) just as it only means that the national section has been a constant member of the Ciriec since that date (the sections which are no longer members in 2008 are shown in italics): France (1950), *Luxembourg* (1951; merged with the Belgian section in 1958), Belgium (1951), Austria (1952), *Yugoslavia* (1953), *Switzerland* (1954), *Greece* (1956), Italy (1956), Germany (1960), Canada (1966), Argentina (1966), *Israel* (1968), *India* (1970), *United Kingdom* and *Scotland* (1970s), Portugal (1980), Japan (1985), Spain (1986), *Slovenia* (1992), Sweden (1992), Turkey (1999), *Venezuela* (2000), Brazil (2002), Gélard, Y., *1947–1997...*, *op. cit.*, p. 49–69, and information kindly supplied by Mrs Barbara Sak.

the distribution of the *Annals*'.³¹ Essentially they would produce both the raw material and the readership for the journal.

Thanks to the financial support of the Swiss Union of Consumers' Co-operatives and the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, Milhaud relaunched the *Annals* in 1948.³²

The editorial staff and their work

As before the war, first of all Milhaud took sole control of the journal; from 1954, he was helped in this task by a multi-skilled secretary from Geneva, Mrs Germaine Calame, who worked for him from 1946. The chairman's age, but also the weakening of the support from his Swiss Ciriec friends, led to the issue of where to locate the headquarters of the International Centre being raised. After the third international Ciriec congress, which took place in Puteaux in 1957, it was decided to move the headquarters to Belgium and, more specifically, to Liège.³³ Paul Lambert, who was already general secretary of the Belgian section, became director of the International Centre.

Even so, the journal's management remained in Geneva, under Professor Milhaud's leadership, but the question of transferring responsibility for the journal to the Ciriec soon came up. Carrying out this relocation, which the Belgian section soon wanted, seems to have been trickier than when the Centre itself moved. Three stumbling blocks hindered the process. First of all, there was Milhaud's willingness to free his heirs from any duty related to the journal. This went back to the question of the Ciriec's financial responsibility for the journal, of the full legal transfer of the *Annals* to the Ciriec, which meant that the latter would have a legal personality; however, the Centre could not have a personality of this kind in Belgium in the same way that it could in Switzerland. A solution was to be found in the adoption of international scientific association status, granted to the Ciriec by royal decree in July 1961. Milhaud then passed the editorship of the journal on to Lambert solely on condition that the Belgian section's journal, *Experiences*, should cease to be published separately. However, to start with the

31 Ciriec SB-A, Records of the minutes of the GM and Board meetings 1951–1955, The First International Collective Economy Congress.

32 Gélard, Y., 1947–1997..., *op. cit.*, p. 7–16; Bettens, L., 1957–2007. *Ciriec: 50 Years in Belgium. From the Shores of Lake Geneva to the Banks of the Meuse-A Relocation Story*, Liège, Ciriec, Belgian section, 2007, p. 9–19.

33 For more on this relocation, see Bettens, L., *op. cit.*, p. 36–48.

members of the Belgian section were not keen on this, because *Experiences* was a non-commercial journal aimed at Ciriec members paid for by dues which were often well above the usual cost of a subscription to a journal; these dues enabled the financing of the Belgian section which was itself the most solid financial supporter of the Ciriec international. The direction of the Belgian section feared losing support if there was just a subscription to *Annals* instead of *Experiences*. At the same time, there are certain factors which suggest that the members of the Ciriec International Board were not entirely satisfied with Milhaud's editorship: Charles-Henri Barbier wanted the editorial offices of the journal to move to Liège, and Paul Lambert suggested sacrificing *Experiences* for the setting up of a new editorial committee – which would thus become more collegial – and for the *Annals* to be published more regularly, which was hardly the case at the time. After an interim stage when the Belgian section agreed to a division of labour between the two journals, the principle of their merger was agreed to in October 1959.³⁴ In the end, the relationship between Milhaud and Lambert became fraught over the way the journal was financed. Although in 1958, for the first time in its history, Milhaud agreed that the journal should carry advertisements for public enterprises, in 1959 he refused to agree to the *Annals* receiving a Belgian ministerial subsidy, believing that 'by allowing itself become a subsidised publication, the *Annals* would be committing moral suicide' [sic].³⁵ After all the various compromises, *Experiences* and the *Annals* merged, the latter being due to appear, from 1960 onwards, under the joint editorship of Milhaud and Lambert (the former retaining the editorship of the English edition and the latter of the German edition).³⁶ When Milhaud resigned

34 Ciriec SB-A, minutes of Board meetings 1956–1970, P. Delbouille to P. Lambert, 03.12.1957; P. Lambert to P. Delbouille, 10.12.1957; board meetings held on 17.12.1957, 30.01.1958 and 29.10.1959.

35 Ciriec Int-A, f. 'For the Liège File', Milhaud to Lambert, 02.11.1959. He would say no again three years later, when the matter of publishing the journal with the tagline 'published with the support of the University Foundation' arose; Milhaud's intransigence then led Lambert to talk of resigning, Ciriec Int-A, f. 'For the Liège File', Milhaud to Lambert, 24.07.1962, Lambert to Milhaud, 01.08.1962 and Delbouille to Milhaud, 06.08.1962. We will see later on that without these two large, recurring subsidies (the Ministry of National Education and the University Foundation), it would have been impossible for the journal to be published.

36 Ciriec Int-A, f. 'For the Liège File', E. Milhaud to P. Lambert, 13.11.1959; Milhaud, E., 'Les 'Annales de l'économie collective' et 'Expériences' unissent leurs destinées', *AEC*, January-March 1960, p. 1–23.

both the Chairmanship of the Ciriec and the editorship of the *Annals* in May 1960, Paul Lambert took over sole editorship of the journal.

Financing

When the journal started publication again in 1948, Edgard Milhaud set the price of subscription at its pre-war level. This price exactly matched the members' dues for the Ciriec; it was sometimes adjusted – downwards – depending on certain members' ability to pay contributions. Vice versa, some national sections and some collective economy organizations gave the Ciriec subsidies to fund the journal. At this point in time, it was clearly the journal which funded the Ciriec, and not the other way around, as would happen later. After fifty years, the accounts of the *Annals* did nevertheless show a chronic annual deficit of around 5000 Swiss francs, and Milhaud estimated the amount he had spent to ensure the journal's publication out of his own pocket at 15,000 Swiss francs since 1948.³⁷

The journal's financial position could have become still worse with the publication of the proceedings of Ciriec congresses in the *Annals*, because the volumes to be printed were both substantial and irregular, as Figure 1 shows.

To deal with this problem, Milhaud and his successor tried to get the country organizing the congress to meet the publication costs of the congress proceedings; amongst others this is what happened for the conferences held in France (Puteaux, 1957), Yugoslavia (Belgrade, 1959) and Austria (Vienna, 1961).³⁸

Distribution

In order to distribute his journal, Milhaud relied not only on the already-formed national sections – in 1957, he decided to appoint someone at each of them responsible for the interests of the

37 Ciriec Int-A, f. 'Prof. Milhaud 1958', P. Lambert to E. Milhaud, 21.01.1959; Ciriec Int-A, IB, 1957–1959, P. Lambert and E. Milhaud to Ciriec members, 13.03.1958.

38 Ciriec Int-A, IB, 1957–1959, meeting held on 11–12.04.1958, p. 17; *Ciriec News*, May 1961, no. 9, p. 17.

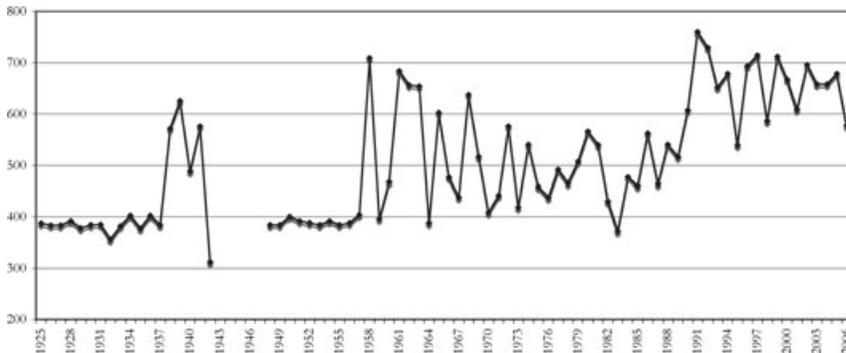


Figure 1 – Growth in the number of pages per annual volume of the English edition of the *Annals* (1925–2005)

Source: Blackwell file; own calculations

journal³⁹ – and those which come later, but he also mobilized his pre-war networks, former journal correspondents, international organizations, etc.⁴⁰ However, from this period on, the journal's editorial team lamented that the national sections were not very involved in its distribution.⁴¹

The development of its content and its authors

There was no significant change to the balance between the various types of article in the period just after the war. Descriptive articles accounted for 59% of the total number of articles published ($n = 368$), compared to 29% for programmatic articles (the percentages calculated from the number of pages giving almost identical results); there were not many articles in the theoretical articles category. Starting in 1958, a little duplicated bulletin was published alongside the *Annals*, with the title *Ciriec News. In-house newsletter published by the Ciriec Permanent Office*, which acted as a publication liaising between the members of the Board, the Permanent Body and the sections, and amongst the sections themselves. In spite of this publication, a not inconsiderable part of the *Annals* was still devoted to internal Centre matters. That was particularly due to the fact that the proceedings of the Biannual Ciriec congresses were

39 Ciriec Int-A, IB, 1957–1959, Executive committee meeting held on 21.12.1957, p. 5.

40 Gélard, Y., 1947–1997..., *op. cit.*, p. 11.

41 Ciriec Int-A, IB, 1947–1957, meeting held on 03-04.03.1956, p. 7.

Table 2 – Geographical breakdown of descriptive articles published between 1948 and 1959 (top 10 countries listed). Figures shown as percentages

| Belgium | Uk | France | Yugo- slavia | USA | Sweden | Europe | FRG | Switzer- land | India | Total |
|---------|----|--------|-----------------|-----|--------|--------|-----|------------------|-------|-------|
| 29 | 13 | 12 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 88 |

Source: Blackwell file; own calculations; n locatable descriptive articles = 210, n countries = 23, n regions = 3, international = 1.

published in the journal (this was to continue up until 1986), which both provided the journal with content and helped to promote the Ciriec's activities; however, alongside extracts from congress speeches, these publications also include lists of participants, messages of welcome, etc.

The geographical breakdown of the descriptive articles is partly as a result of the institutional changes which came with the setting up of the Ciriec. The countries which hosted a Ciriec conference had much greater visibility in the journal. Belgium, headquarters of the Ciriec international and the 'permanent office', seemed to carve out the lion's share of it for itself; but that can be explained mainly by the initiative taken by Milhaud to publish an entire issue devoted to the collective economy in Belgium as part of the 1958 Universal exhibition; similar themed national issues would appear later covering the Austrian (1960) and Italian (1964) collective economies.

Europe makes its first appearance as such here and international (not specifically European) articles account for 9% of the locatable total; in the period just after the war, the 'supranational' made up 14% of descriptive articles and 20% of the total number of descriptive and programmatic articles.

If we break the articles down into the three main collective economy categories defined in the journal's mission statement in 1925 and redefined in 1960,⁴² which account for roughly 85% of all

42 In 1960, we again find the constituent elements of the three hubs, although presented in a less compact way. 'By the expression "collective economy", the *Annals* and the CIRIEC meant economic activities where the direct goal is the service to be provided to a local authority. Their subjects for study were as follows: State intervention in the areas of economics, and national and regional planning; Municipalism; Public Enterprise; Co-operation; the economic role of trade unions', (transl.) supplement to the *AEC*, December 1960.

the articles, we can see that, in addition to the collective economy dealt with as a whole (11%), it is the public economy which gets the most attention (34%). Three principal lines emerge from this, of which municipalism ranks first. Alongside the numerous articles dealing with economic initiatives by the communes in the special issue devoted to Belgium, it was municipal credit and, to a lesser extent, communal projects in the energy and housing sectors which got the most attention; Milhaud was working on setting up a European municipal credit body and he also supported the creation of a Council of European Municipalities in 1951.⁴³ Then came the issue of nationalization, in particular reports on British, French and Austrian projects, and finally public enterprises, especially Belgian ones. The articles on co-operatives, mutual insurance organizations and trade unions made up around 27% of the total number of articles with a little under 15% of articles being on various forms of State intervention in economic life, presented mainly from the point of view of planning and international co-operation.

In spite of Milhaud's moral authority, the structure set up to support the publication of the journal, especially the national sections, questioned the journal's editorial policy – sometimes seriously. In 1954, a representative of the German co-operatives was talking about the difficulty of getting the *Annals* to penetrate its area of influence, and wanted to know: 'what use is this journal to us?', adding that it 'will be up to the *Annals* to increase its usefulness and demonstrate – more clearly that it has been doing – its *raison d'être*'.⁴⁴ On this occasion, the Ciriéc Board of Directors decided to create an *Annals* Committee, made up of Andreas Meyer, Erwin Hasselmann, Gabriel Ventejol and Edgard Milhaud;⁴⁵ this first committee, which does not seem to have been very active, was formed to take the pressure off the director, Milhaud. When several years later, an editing and publishing committee for the *Annals* made up of Charles-Henri Barbier, Erwin Hasselmann, André Hirschfeld, Paul Lambert, Franz Rauscher and Edgard Milhaud was formed, it was to deal with some of the journal's problems, including the irregularity of its publication and the time-lag between the three

43 Dogliani, P., 'European Municipalism in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: the Socialist Network', *Contemporary European History*, 2002, 4, p. 593.

44 Ciriéc Int-A, IB, 1947-1957, meetings held on 31.03 and 01.04.1954, p. 3.

45 As we do not want to encumber the text with short biographical accounts, we refer you to those published in Bettens, L., *op. cit.*, p. 68–74.

editions. Confronted with the financial problems which had arisen at the end of the 1950s, some sections suggested taking a fresh look at what the journal aimed to achieve. Thus the representative of the Austrian section, believing that ‘as the *Annals* carries few articles of international economic interest, it ought to limit itself to carrying extracts from various collective economy journals’ or ‘settle for being a newsletter relaying news on the development of the collective economy movement in its various sections, leaving the job of publishing doctrinal articles to the many specialist journals around the world’, acting as a kind of collective economy press agency. Milhaud replied by bringing up the journal’s distribution to around a thousand libraries worldwide, including 150 American universities, and pointing out that ‘by its international nature and the whole of its doctrine, the *Annals* serves a need which no other publication meets’.⁴⁶

In the nucleus of authors who made more than one contribution to the *Annals*, we again come across several of the Ciriec’s founders, such as Charles-Henri Barbier, Léon Jouhaux, André Hirschfeld, etc.

4 The *Annals* under the editorship of Paul Lambert⁴⁷ (1960–1977)

Management of the journal

The editorial staff and their work

When he took sole editorship of the *Annals*, with effect from the second issue of 1960, Paul Lambert had well-established influence as a result of his many roles. As a Professor of Political Economy at the University of Liège, having spent time at the London School of Economics before the war, he was well acquainted with the work of

46 Ciriec Int-A, GM held on 28.06.1957 at Puteaux, p. 2–3; IC 1957–1959, meeting held on 08–09.11.1957, p. 5; Ciriec Int.-A, IB, meeting held on 25–26.11.1961, p. 8.

47 ‘Obituary: Professor Paul Lambert’, *Review of International Cooperation*, 1977, vol. 70/4, p. 384–385; Gélard, Y., ‘Paul Lambert (1912–1977)’, in *L’économie, la gestion et les sciences sociales à l’Université de Liège. Book published on the occasion of the centenary of the start of social sciences and management teaching at the University of Liège 1896–1996*, Liège, 1996, p. 52–54; Delforge, P., ‘Lambert Paul’, in *Encyclopédie du mouvement wallon*, vol. II, Charleroi, Institut Jules Destrée, 2000, p. 911.

John Maynard Keynes, which he helped to publicize among Belgian economists.⁴⁸ He was the author of a reference book on co-operative doctrine,⁴⁹ and put his ideas to work for the Belgian co-operative (socialist) world, chairing its main body, Febecoop, as well as internationally, sitting on the 'central committee' and then the executive committee of the International Co-operative Alliance. Together with other academics, he helped draft two ideological programmes which would be a milestone for the FGTTB, the socialist trade union of which he was for a time the principal economic advisor.⁵⁰ Lastly, he was an administrator and then a member of the executive committee of the Société Nationale de Crédit à l'Industrie (National Credit for Industry Society), one of the Belgian economic policy bodies. He may have been less well-versed in municipalism than Milhaud, but Lambert was still active in all areas of the collective economy.

Lambert was aided in his editorial role by the staff of the Permanent Office and by the members of his own university department. Throughout her time working for the Ciriec, where she spent her whole career, Mrs Yvonne Gélard-Schreder, a business and economic sciences graduate, was a key figure at the Centre. In Geneva, Mrs Calame was in charge of the English edition, of proof-reading French proofs, of managing subscriptions, of working with translators and of selling collections, stocks of which had been taken back from various printers so that they could be kept in Geneva. She retired in 1986.⁵¹

Thanks to the research contracts awarded by the Belgian public authorities, the team gathered around Paul Lambert helped not only to fund the journal but kept it going with the fruits of their labour;⁵² while the journal struggled to get contributions from the national

48 Lambert, P., *Cours sur l'œuvre de J.M. Keynes*, Liège, University of Liège-Law Faculty, 1952–1953 [a first volume was published ten years later: Lambert, P., *L'œuvre de John Maynard Keynes*, Liège, Scientific College of the Law Faculty, 1963]; such teaching was then unique in Belgian universities, Bismans, F., *Croissance et régulation. La Belgique 1944–1954*, Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1992, p. 482.

49 Lambert, P., *La doctrine coopérative*, Brussels, Propagateurs de la Coopération, 1959.

50 Tilly, P. 'L'histoire revisitée des congrès de 1954 et 1956 de la FGTTB', in Alaluf, M. (ed.), *Changer la société sans prendre le pouvoir. Syndicalisme d'action directe et renardisme*, Brussels, Labor, 2005, p. 47–64.

51 G. Calame interviewed by L. Bettens in Geneva on 15.09.2007 (IHOES collection).

52 Ciriec Int-A, GM held in Vienna on 25.05.1961, p. 15 and GM held in Rome on 11.04.1963, p. 2.

sections, Lambert had to face criticism for publishing too much work by contributors from Liège.⁵³

The main difficulties for Lambert's team originated in the fact that there were multiple editions, and especially in the losses made by the German edition in the 1970s. At the beginning of his editorship, Lambert still saw the multilingual nature of the journal and its international distribution – which it appeared to share with the journal of only one international non-governmental organization, the journal of the International Co-operative Alliance – as a form of leverage which could help to sustain its influence and its distribution, just as Milhaud had thought before him. During this period, when Lambert still imagined that the French and German editions could be 'self-supporting', it was the English edition that remained the most costly.⁵⁴

From 1966, the printer of the *Annalen* in Berlin, who had only recently been given the job, seemed too expensive and printing was rapidly moved to the Netherlands. At the start of the 1970s, the situation of this edition became critical, due to falling subscriptions and high translation costs. Indeed on the one hand, the number of subscriptions fell by 24% between 1971 and 1972 (including a loss of 63 subscriptions out of 163 in Germany and 18 out of 140 in Austria).⁵⁵ But above all there was an editorial problem to be faced. As the Austrian and German sections each had their own publications, they kept back articles which could have been submitted to the *Annalen*, with the result that the latter was mainly made up of articles translated from the other editions.⁵⁶ The cost structure clearly reflected this situation.

The situation was complicated by the fact that the German-speaking sections were also those which, after Belgium, had shown

53 Ciriec Int-A, IB, 1975-1976, meeting held on 24.05.1974, p. 5.

54 Ciriec-A SB, Board meeting held on 13.12.1962, p. 2.

55 Ciriec Int-A, GM held in Hamburg on 24.05.1974, p. 13.

56 For financial reasons related to translation costs, the three editions had partly the same and partly different contents. Only the congresses and articles of international interest were translated into the two other languages (the latter often published with a time-lag); articles with lesser scope were usually published only in the language in which they were originally written. Also, translated articles were often published in an edition subsequent to that which contained the original article; at the start of the 1960s, the English edition was 'more condensed due to financial considerations', Ciriec Int.-A, IB, meetings held on 14–15.05.1960 and 29–30.10.1960.

Table 3 – Cost structure for publication of the three editions of the *Annals* in 1973 (in Belgian francs)

| | French edition | German edition | English edition |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Printing | 320,390 | 328,690 | 224,500 |
| Translation | 13,932 | 193,343 | 88,871 |
| Distribution | 27,707 | 35,604 | 10,000 |
| Total cost | 362,029 | 557,637 | 323,371 |
| Number of subscriptions | 807 | 345 | 504 |
| Unit cost ⁵⁷ | 449 | 1,616 | 642 |

Source: Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 09.11.1974, Explanatory notes on Agenda of Governing Body meeting held on 9 November 1974.

themselves to be ‘the most financially co-operative’, and could not therefore be deprived of their own edition.⁵⁸ However, from 1975, seeing that the cost of the *Annalen* amounted to 676,614 BEF in 1974 while the income specifically from this edition had only been 305,000 BEF, and that dues from the sections concerned had only covered 15% of the cost of publication, for the first time Lambert brought up the idea of suspending that edition.⁵⁹ The following year, he brought up the idea of abandoning the three editions and publishing just one journal where the articles would appear in their original languages,⁶⁰ an option which he had nevertheless rejected himself not long previously. During that same year, 1976, Lambert found himself obliged to ask for the German language edition to

57 A few months earlier, P. Lambert had given different information, the cost price for the French editions being set, on average for the years 1972 and 1973, at 702 BEF, the German edition at 2192 BEF and the English edition at 854 BF, Ciriec Int.-A, GM held in Hamburg on 23.05.1974, p. 14.

58 Ciriec Int-A, IB 1973, executive committee meeting held on 17.03.1973, p. 2. We note here that the Belgian-Luxembourg section had published a Dutch edition of the *Annals* (*Annalen der Gemeenschaps-economie*), albeit in a duplicated form, which included translations or condensed versions of the articles published in other editions; Professor Frans Van Bocxlaer (University of Antwerp) adding a few specifically Belgian-interest contributions. Due to the number of subscriptions being even lower than that for the German edition, it was not viable to print this edition, Ciriec-A SB, Board meeting, minutes dated 22.01.1975, p. 3; *Ciriec News*, no. 28, September 1978, p. 44.

59 Ciriec Int-A, IB 1975-76, P. Lambert to the German-speaking members, 07.05.1975.

60 Ciriec Int-A, IB, P. Lambert to members, 16.02.1976.

be withdrawn from 1978, a decision which was only put off as the result of a belated subsidy from the Belgian Ministry of Economic Affairs.⁶¹ From that moment on, the possibility of publishing a scientific journal aimed at scientific circles was on the cards; although it would be almost another fifteen years before this decision became necessary.

Financing

When he took over the editorship of the *Annals* after Edgard Milhaud's resignation, Paul Lambert appealed to Ciriec-friendly Belgian collective economy enterprises to ask for financial support in order to revive a prestigious international journal.⁶² This life-saver, together with the growth in the number of subscriptions and the relocation of the printing, distribution and securing advertising to the German section, offered hope, at least from 1965, for an improvement in the journal's financial circumstances.⁶³ After this date the German edition – and, more broadly, the retaining of the three editions – would lead to a structural imbalance in the accounts. In addition, as Figure 1 shows, the annual number of pages went up from 300 to 400 pages/per year regularly reaching more than 600 pages (even 800 for the French edition). While the publication of the proceedings of congresses accounted for much of this, even so there was a structural tendency towards increased volume. When the idea of reducing the number of pages in order to limit the losses was suggested to Lambert, the director objected that this volume was necessary in order to attract new sections and then to encourage them by carrying articles which they might submit.⁶⁴ Even so, faced with the size of the losses in 1973, Lambert was to take the decision to limit the journal's annual volume to around 500 pages,⁶⁵ as is also shown in Figure 1. Another factor in the excess costs, singled out by the Swiss section, came from the practice of printing a larger number of copies than there were subscriptions (a surplus in the region of

61 Ciriec Int-A, Executive Committee 1970-1978, P. Lambert to members of the Ciriec board, 24.08.1977.

62 Ciriec Int-A, 1960 Dues, P. Lambert to H. Lemaire, 25.03.1960.

63 Ciriec-A SB, Board meeting held on 04.02.1965, General Secretary's report.

64 Ciriec Int-A, IB 1965–1966, meeting held on 02.09.1966, p. 8.

65 Ciriec Int-A, GM held in Hamburg on 23.05.1974, Treasurer's report, p. 15; *CIRIEC News. CIRIEC In-house newsletter*, no. 28, 09.1978, point 3, not paginated.

35% in 1975), which was probably a throwback to the days when Milhaud used to build up stocks so that complete collections could be sold.⁶⁶

The journal's income came from three main sources: subscriptions, which on average accounted for 52% of income between 1965 and 1969, sales of complete collections and individual issues (13% of income) and direct subsidies (12% of income); in addition there was advertising, which ceased to provide any income from 1969 onwards and covered 6% of expenditure for the years in which it is entered in the accounts. Finally, from time to time there is miscellaneous income which reduces the losses, on average amounting to around 13%, not including staff costs, with the exception of G. Calame's part-time salary in Geneva.⁶⁷

Table 4 – Changes to the number of subscriptions under Paul Lambert's management

| | French | German | English | Total |
|------|--------|--------|---------|-------------|
| 1961 | 810 | 452 | 341 | 1603 |
| 1962 | 1030 | 483 | 357 | 1870 |
| 1964 | 1067 | 477 | 483 | 2027 |
| 1965 | 1087 | 507 | 505 | 2099 |
| 1966 | 905 | 481 | 404 | 1790 |
| 1970 | 879 | 466 | 484 | 1829 |
| 1971 | 849 | 459 | 479 | 1787 |
| 1972 | 722 | 350 | 458 | 1530 |
| 1973 | 807 | 345 | 504 | 1656 |
| 1974 | 755 | 342 | 498 | 1595 |
| 1975 | 745 | 349 | 503 | 1597 |
| 1976 | 744 | 332 | 484 | 1560 |
| 1977 | 737 | 322 | 474 | 1533 |

Sources: Ciriec News, November 1961, no. 11, p. 35 and August 1966, no. 20, p. 8; Ciriec Int-A, IB, meetings held on 04.07.1964, p. 11, 20.03.1965, p. 12, P. Lambert to members, 03.11.1965, meetings held on 27.11.1965, p. 13, 22.01.1967, p. 8; Ciriec Int-A, IC minutes of the GM held in Montreux on 14.05.1970, p. 7; Ciriec Int-A, IC 1975–76, P. Lambert to the German-speaking members, 07.05.1975, appendices; Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 08.11.1975, appendix: Estimated income...; Point 4 on the agenda for the Board meeting held on 23.05.1976; Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 20.11.1976, appendices; Ciriec Int-A, IB, Note re: the *Annals*, November 1984, p. 2. N.B.: the figures for the year 1962 are those for November 1961.

66 Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 13.12.1975, p. 4.

67 *CIRIEC News. CIRIEC In-house newsletter*, no. 21, 12.1968, p. 28 and no. 22, June 1970, p. 19.

The losses made by the *Annals*, which had become a part of its structure, was met by the Ciriec International, whose accounts were ultimately balanced by the Belgian section, at least for as long as this section could rely on two regular subsidies from the Belgian Ministry of National Education and Scientific Research and the University Foundation.⁶⁸

Distribution

During the early years of Paul Lambert's editorship, the journal's distribution underwent very strong growth; thus the journal gained 267 new subscriptions between 1960 and 1961,⁶⁹ in 1963, it had a presence in 64 countries.⁷⁰ However, this data does not fully convey the growth in subscriptions, because the Belgian, French and Swiss sections gave subscriptions to all of their members and a German Foundation (Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung) had taken out subscriptions on behalf of developing countries.⁷¹ During this period, the English edition was the only one that grew (+26% between 1961/62 and 1977, as opposed to -25% for the French edition and -45% for the German edition); in Lambert's eyes, it was 'also the most important edition in terms of gaining prestige'.⁷²

The development of its content and its authors

While the contents of the journal were under discussion within the Ciriec under Milhaud's editorship, some members had been tempted to go further during the handover period, proposing that some articles should be subject to 'prior approval by the sections', an option which was not taken up. This meant that Paul Lambert was to enjoy a great deal of freedom, even though the journal's editorial policy was to be discussed regularly at the Ciriec's international Board meetings, usually in relation to the journal's financial difficulties.

Unlike the change made in 1925, the alteration of the title of the French edition in 1974 – the *Annales de l'Économie Collective* (*Annals of Collective Economy*) becoming the *Annales de l'Économie*

68 Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 24.05.1975, p. 4; Point 4 on the agenda for the Board meeting held on 23.05.1976, p. 1.

69 Ciriec-A SB, Board, meeting held on 14.12.61, p. 2.

70 Ciriec-A SB, Board, meeting held on 19.12.63, p. 2.

71 Ciriec-A SB, GM held in Brussels on 26.03.1964, p. 3.

72 Ciriec-A SB, Board, meeting held on 04.02.65, p. 3.

Publique, Sociale et Coopérative (Annals of Public, Social and Co-operative Economy) – was not to affect its contents.⁷³

Under Lambert's editorship, there was a marked change in the make-up of the articles published: the proportion of descriptive articles became a lot smaller (n = 683); they accounted for just 28% (33% of pages published) out of the total number of articles published (n = 683). While programmatic articles still made up a little less than a third of articles (31%), two categories of articles appeared or reappeared.

In parallel to the development of economics as a scientific discipline, numerous articles which could be categorized as theoretical articles (14%) were published in the *Annals* and a fair number of articles were on doctrine and the history of economic thought (amongst other things dealing with the co-operative movement and Keynesianism). In 1974, Lambert mentioned the decision to publish articles containing a mathematical formalization, which was unusual for the journal and very costly, but 'whose quality is an investment'.⁷⁴ This direction was bound to arouse some criticism. As soon as the journal became the Ciriec's mouthpiece, there was tension between the editorial team, who were keen on the publication's scientific character, precisely because of the 'scarcity of scientific periodicals specific to the public sector',⁷⁵ and certain national sections who found it too theoretical 'for practitioners' and wanted it to be 'more

73 From 1964, the English edition, which had suffered as a result of its original title the *Annals of Collective Economy*, had been called the *Annals of Public and Co-operative Economy*; the title would be slightly amended to the *Annals of Public and Co-operative Economics* to underline the publication's scientific dimension. Although during the same period P. Lambert felt that the expression 'économie collective' (collective economy) became accepted in French, it appeared that this title, which inevitably conjures up an authoritarian planning system, might subsequently have become an obstacle to the journal's distribution; in Belgium, it was a handicap in terms of getting help from the public authorities, Ciriec-A SB, minutes of the Board meeting held on 19.12.1963; Ciriec-A SB, GM of 26.03.1964; Ciriec Int.-A, IB, meeting held on 08.02.1964, p. 7, 07.07.1973, p. 6 and 01.12.1973, p. 4–5; Lambert, P., 'Autre nom, même contenu', *AEPSC*, 1974/1, p. 3–4.

74 For instance the articles by Douette, A., 'Une condition du plan économique: l'étude du coefficient de capital', *AEC*, October-December 1973, p. 427–445 or Pauwels, J.-P., 'Étude des rendements croissants et de la tarification optimale dans l'entreprise du téléphone', *APCE*, April–June 1974, p. 161–199.

75 Ciriec Int.-A, GM, Chairman's Report, 17.03.1973.

positive and less theoretical', 'of direct interest to collective economy enterprises'.⁷⁶

With the Ciriec and *Annals* management teams brought together in Liège, Lambert decided to resume twice-yearly publication of a section which had disappeared from the journal at the start of the 1930s, namely a column, a kind of 'world tour' of collective economy, setting out the salient facts concerning economic intervention by public authorities, public enterprises, the co-operative movement and trade unionism. The first column was about countries with authoritarian planning systems, for which Lambert vouched for the quality of the information published.⁷⁷ The publication of this column could also be seen as a response to certain criticisms and desires repeatedly expressed in respect of the direction taken by the journal. The publication of this column which, according to Lambert, might have used the services of a Ciriec international researcher, would be called into question and see a reduction in its volume (dropping to fewer than twenty pages per year) at the beginning of the 1970s, linked to the journal's financial difficulties.⁷⁸

In addition to this column, the *Annals* offered a voluminous bibliography on the collective economy; it made up 15% of the total number of pages published (in the English edition). It was the result of a systematic analysis carried out by the Ciriec international, in both their own collections and in journals received in exchange.

Finally, a not-inconsiderable number (6%) of pages were still devoted to Ciriec internal matters and mainly to its conferences; vice versa, accounts of the general meetings were reported in the in-house newsletter.

Under Lambert's editorship, the geographical coverage of the empirical articles significantly expanded, with the top ten countries in the table below not accounting for more than 69% of the articles, compared to 90% in the preceding period; amongst other things, there are articles devoted to Africa, South America, Asia and Oceania (although they made up only around 7% of the total).

The balance between the three main areas of the collective economy, which with the collective economy taken as a whole

76 Ciriec Int-A, IB 1960-1962, meeting held on 25-26.11.1961, p. 8 and IC 1967, meeting held on 22.01.1967, p. 4; Ciriec Int.-A, IB, 1970-1978 executive committee, meeting held on 17.03.1973, p. 3.

77 Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 03-0 4.05.1962, p. 4 and Ciriec-A SB, GM held on 14.03.1963, p. 3.

78 Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on the 09.11.74, p. 2.

Table 5 – Geographical breakdown of descriptive articles published between 1960 and 1977 (top 10 countries listed). Figures shown as percentages

| Austria | UK | Israel | India | France | FRG | Italy | USSR | Belgium | Canada | Total |
|---------|----|--------|-------|--------|-----|-------|------|---------|--------|-------|
| 14 | 13 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 69 |

Source: Blackwell file; own calculations; n locatable descriptive articles = 150, n countries = 31, n regions = 4, n international = 1.

(9%), occupied three quarters of the journal, hardly changed at all.

The public economy share went down slightly, with 28% of the total articles, including 24% for public enterprises. Organizational, production and performance issues already made up more than 40% of the articles devoted to public enterprises from this time onward; these questions made up one of the themes of the Berlin Ciriec congress held in May 1965, and would be picked up on again in a major study by Professor Stefani in 1973. Another quarter of these articles were devoted to the financing of public enterprises (including the reports to the Liège congress in 1968 on the subject of funding public and co-operative enterprises). On the other hand the attention given to the economic role of local authorities fell significantly compared to the previous periods. The co-operative movement retained its large share (roughly 24% of articles); concentration in this type of enterprise and their financing still got a lot of attention. Economic organization and local authority interventions in economic life made up 15% of the total number of articles in this period; the predominant place which was therefore taken by indicative planning should be underlined. Like the share taken by theoretical articles, economic articles which were not solely about public, social or co-operative economy, took up a fifth of the publication in terms of numbers, with articles on doctrine and the history of economic thought accounting for 25% of the total.

There were three core groups of writers under Paul Lambert's editorship: direct partners of the International Centre and members from the University of Liège (such as Edmond Langer, Maurice Konopnicki, Joseph Stassart, Daniel de Brulle, Arlette Schmatz, André Velaerts, Michel Culot, Yvonne Gélard, Michel Joiris, etc.), members of national sections and the Ciriec's Scientific committees (such as Gerhard Weisser, Theodor Thiemeyer, Giorgio Stefani, etc.). Big names in economics, as Joan Robinson, Jan Tinbergen, François

Perroux and John Kenneth Galbraith all contributed to the journal (in the form of articles or reports to the Ciriec congress).

5 Guy Quaden's editorship: an era of profound change (1978–1989)

Management of the journal

The editorial staff and their work

When Professor Lambert died, his colleague Joseph Stassart, to whom the late editor had turned for support, suggested handing the reins of both the Ciriec and the *Annals* over to a young junior lecturer at the university of Liege, Guy Quaden.⁷⁹

He inherited the journal's financial problems, which was to get worse because of a further falling off in its readership: almost 30% in eight years, the shrinkage amounted to 55% of subscriptions during Guy Quaden's term of office (see table 6 below).

Although the new editor was not keen on withdrawing the only German edition, managed to bring the International Council round to his way of thinking, the adoption of a new editorial formula would prove to be especially arduous.

In order to limit the losses as a result of translation costs, from 1981 onwards, the journal published articles only in their original languages, along with summaries in the two other languages. However, the three editions were temporarily kept going, although the only difference between them was their covers, contents pages and summaries.⁸⁰ Furthermore, in order both to increase income

79 Guy Quaden (b1945), a graduate of the *École pratique des Hautes Études* (Paris), and doctor of economic science, became a junior lecturer and then a professor at the University of Liège. He was Chairman of the *Conseil central de l'économie* (Central Economic Council), and member of the *Conseil supérieur des Finances* (High Council of Finance), and the OECD economic policy committee, and became Director (1988) then Governor of the National Bank of Belgium (1999); amongst other posts, he was a member of the Council of Governors and the General Council of the European Central Bank, administrator of the Bank For International Settlements, and governor of the International Monetary Fund, *Annuaire du corps enseignant et du personnel scientifique permanent*, Liège, University of Liège, 1993; Delforge, P. 'Quaden Guy', in *Encyclopédie du mouvement wallon*, vol. III, Charleroi, Institut Jules Destrée, 2001, p. 1313.

80 Gélard, Y., *1947–1997... op. cit.*, p. 43.

– given that issues were sold as monographs – and at the same time to give the Ciriec’s scientific activities greater visibility, the option of themed issues, which Lambert had considered at the start of the decade, was taken up.⁸¹ These themed issues made up 39% of the total issues over the period 1978–1989, not including those devoted to congress proceedings. While, since Milhaud’s time, the emphasis had often been on the competition between the journals published by the national sections and the *Annals*, Guy Quaden very rapidly came to believe that the journal should complement ‘the national sections’ publications by only publishing contributions likely to be of interest to an international audience’.⁸² In 1984, it seemed that the main problem faced by the *Annals* was no longer so much its funding, which had now become less critical, so much as its poor distribution and the lack of interest shown in it by the sections, to the extent that Quaden, the editor, went so far as to raise the question of ‘whether our members’ interest in this work is worth the money spent on it’.⁸³ In the report which he drew up at the time, Guy Quaden put forward four reasons for the decline in subscriptions: 1. the economic crisis which had led subscribing institutions (universities, government departments, businesses) to cut back on their expenditure, including subscriptions to periodicals; 2. the difficulty of satisfying both of the journal’s target audiences at the same time; 3. the termination, by some national sections, of subscriptions taken out for their members; 4. the lack of interest shown in the journal by the sections, the most dynamic of which had their own journals,⁸⁴ and the others struggling to keep their affiliated members.⁸⁵

The International council spent two years dithering over the direction in which the form and content of the journal should go.

During its meeting in Basel (20 October 1986), it came down in favour of a formula involving a single annual issue translated into the three languages; six months later in Vienna (18 May 1987), its preference changed to one English-language edition, four times a

81 Ciriec Int-A, IB, Note for the executive, 29.11.79.

82 Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 16.04.78, p. 4.

83 Ciriec Int-A, GM, G. Quaden to Ciriec members, 29.08.1984.

84 In fact, it seems that at the time only the Belgian section did not have – or no longer had – its own national publication, since even the French section, although it did not have its own journal, was closely associated with the *Revue des études coopératives, mutualistes et associatives*, Gélard, Y., 1947–1997... , *op. cit.*, p. 40–41.

85 Ciriec Int-A, IB, Note on the *Annals*, November 1984, p. 2.

year, while throughout the process there was an ongoing exchange of correspondence between the vice-chairman of the Ciriec, Alberto Mortara, and the editor, Guy Quaden.⁸⁶

In the end, the formula of a quarterly journal with articles in the original language, English or French, and summarized in four languages [French, English, German and Spanish (due to the founding of the Spanish section in 1986)] would be agreed upon in 1988. This actually was not far away from the formula mentioned by Lambert in 1976. This implicitly meant giving up the German version although there was no formal decision to this effect. In fact, although the editor's report to the general meeting held in Bordeaux in September 1988 had foreseen that the journal would be made up of articles in French and English, at the next board meeting Chairman Rauter asked for an amendment to the minutes of the previous GM, to record the fact that there 'had never been any question of halting the publication of original articles in German'. Quaden, the editor, then replied that it 'is to be expected that English will gradually take over' but that 'all articles submitted in German will be considered according to the same selection criteria as other articles'.⁸⁷ In actual fact, the journal published no more articles in German after 1989 and the choice of languages for publication, explicitly set out at the GM held in Valencia in 1992, was not discussed again, with the exception of a speech made by an Austrian section representative in 1996.⁸⁸

Even the content of the journal divided members. In its form inherited from the previous editor, it apparently did not fully satisfy either of its two target audiences: section members, public enterprise or co-operative managers, who wanted articles aimed at a general audience (a point of view championed by the French section at the time) and academic subscribers who demanded highly scientific articles.⁸⁹

86 Ciriec Int-A, Praesidium, minutes of the meeting held on 28.03.1988, Appendix: Correspondence between A. Mortara and G. Quaden, 08.06.1987 to 07.09.1987.

87 Ciriec Int-A, GM 1974–2001, GM held in Bordeaux on 22.09.1988, p. 2; Ciriec Int-A, IB, minutes of the meeting held on 10.12.1988, p. 2–3.

88 Ciriec Int-A., Ciriec director-A, Stephan Orbán to Bernard Thiry, 09.04.1996.

89 Ciriec Int-A, Praesidium, minutes of the meeting held on 01.02.1985, p. 5–6; Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 03.05.1985, p. 5–6; Ciriec Int-A, Praesidium, minutes of the meeting held on 28.03.1988, appendix: *Rapport de J. Defourny sur la situation des Annales*, no date [late 1987].

At the end of the debate, the Ciriec chose to give the journal a markedly scientific identity. Amongst other things this meant that it had an independent scientific editorial team, which would be set up in Bordeaux in 1988. Two editors-in-chief were chosen, both of whom were members of the faculty of economics at the University of Liège: Bernard Thiry (head of public economy) and Jacques Defourny (head of social economy); they were supported by an editorial assistant, Mrs Christine Dussart. This organization was made clearer in 1988 with the creation of a Management Board responsible for the editorial management of the journal and an Editorial Board, which was asked to advise the management board but first and foremost to attract high-quality articles to the journal and to maintain its influence. In other words, it was a matter of widening the Ciriec's own network by recruiting renowned researchers, who were not members of the Ciriec's international sections⁹⁰ and who themselves had major contacts in scientific circles, to the editorial board. So, for example, Avner Ben-Ner and Saul Estrin, both members of the International Association for the Economics of Self Management, helped make the journal better known among social economy researchers; David Heald and Dieter Bös played a comparable role with regard to public economy. These members also sometimes edited a themed issue; thus Avner Ben-Ner, together with Benedetto Gui, published an issue on *The Nonprofit Sector in the Mixed Economy* and another on *The Shifting Boundaries of the Mixed Economy and the Future of the Nonprofit Sector*; and David Heald edited issues on the *Demutualization of Financial Institutions* and *Public Policy Towards Cross Subsidy*. In order to gain a foothold in new scientific circles, the journal also asked 'guest editors' to produce themed issues tackling issues on the fringes of the journal's subject area, such as the issue edited by Estelle James on *Comparative Analysis of Old Age Security Arrangements* or by Benedetto Gui on *Economics and Interpersonal Relations*.

The members of each of the Boards were appointed for a renewable term of three years, thus guaranteeing intellectual dynamism. As J. Defourny wrote 'the days when journals were edited by one

90 This option was not accepted without some difficulty; in 1991, a German section representative was surprised to find a German scientist on the editorial board even though the section – which did not itself have a representative – had not been consulted about this. Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 31.10.1989, p. 4.

person for decades now seem to be over'.⁹¹ By drawing on this structure, the journal could adopt the article selection process used by the major scientific journals, namely a system of reviewing the articles proposed for publication by referees who receive the texts in an unattributed form. The journal also expected these bodies to draw up a strategy which would look beyond the short term.

Nevertheless, the *Annals* was not turning into a journal aimed solely at the academic world. As well as adopting a structure which bolstered the scientific nature of the publication, the editors chose subject matter likely to be of interest to Ciriec members.

Choosing a scientific identity also meant taking another big decision: handing the publishing over to a specialist company – De Boeck-Wesmael in Brussels – although the Ciriec retained not just ownership of the title but complete control over the publication's scientific aspects. As well as transferring the financial risk and certain practical aspects relating to the management of the journal to the publisher, this decision was also justified by the desire for improved distribution, as by this time the national sections were hardly involved in the journal's distribution at all and the assertion of its scientific personality was not enough to curb the continuing fall in the number of subscribers.

Financing

The decision to gradually abandon three genuinely separate editions and all the translation work involved in them, soon had an impact on the journal's finances: whereas the average annual losses had reached 894,000 BEF/year between 1974 and 1979, it fell to 459,000 BEF/per year between 1980 and 1983, at the prices at the time.⁹²

Distribution

Once again, these overall figures do not accurately reflect the journal's market presence in that they include people who had subscriptions taken out automatically for them by their national sections. So, while subscriptions in French, German and English can be divided up into the following respective proportions: 44, 23 and 33%, if we discount the 292 subscriptions to the French edition and

91 *Ibidem*, p. 5; Ciriec-A, *Annals* Editorial office archives, *The New Organisation of the Annals*, no date.

92 Ciriec Int-A, IB, Note on the *Annals*, November 1984, p. 2.

Table 6 – Changes to the number of subscriptions under Guy Quaden's editorship

| | French | German | English | Total |
|------|--------|--------|---------|-------------|
| 1978 | 702 | 301 | 453 | 1456 |
| 1979 | 643 | 285 | 443 | 1371 |
| 1980 | 626 | 278 | 442 | 1346 |
| 1981 | 622 | 270 | 417 | 1309 |
| 1982 | 585 | 259 | 410 | 1254 |
| 1983 | 558 | 244 | 391 | 1193 |
| 1985 | 451 | 241 | 339 | 1031 |
| 1987 | 308 | 175 | 376 | 859 |
| 1989 | | | | 648 |

Sources: Ciriec Int-A, IB, Note on the *Annals*, November 1984, p. 2; Ciriec Int-A, IB, session of 18.05.1987, p. 3 and 18.10.1996, Annex III: Evaluation of the *Annals* Situation . . . , p. 5. NB: data of 1987 are those known at the date of meeting of May 18.

47 subscriptions to the German edition taken out by the national sections on behalf of their members, the share becomes 23, 28 and 49% for the English edition, which was now the largest in commercial terms.⁹³

The development of its content and its authors

During this difficult period, when the journal was wondering about its identity and the decision was taken to bolster its scientific nature, there were no appreciable changes to the shares taken by the various categories of article. The proportion of theoretical and empirical articles grew [17% and 31% of the total number of articles respectively (n = 377), again making up 20% and 34% of the pages published], while the share of programmatic articles fell (22 and 20% respectively). The bibliography took up 14% of the publication. Giving up on the three editions led to a new type of section in the journal, summaries (6% of the pages printed).

The geographical coverage of the empirical articles did not expand significantly compared to the preceding period; similarly, the proportion from African, Asian and Latin American countries remained at around 10%.

The thematic breakdown of the articles changed over the course of this decade with the appearance of the social economy as a

93 Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 03.05.1985, p. 5.

Table 7 – Geographical breakdown of descriptive articles published between 1978 and 1989 (top 10 countries listed). Numbers shown as percentages

| Belgium | FRG | Italy | GB | France | Austria | USA | Europe | India | Spain | Total |
|---------|-----|-------|----|--------|---------|-----|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| 12 | 11 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 82 |

Source: Blackwell file; own calculations.

category in its own right which, because it was wider, incorporated the co-operative movement and picked up on its principles.⁹⁴ The social economy made up some 26% of the articles whose main themes could be put into our categories; shared and co-operative management counted for about 4% of them.

While the public economy still took up the largest share of the articles (42%), again covering mainly public enterprise (27%), the public economy also made an appearance in its own right. And from this point on nationalizations gave way to privatizations (5%). Tariff setting, mainly in public enterprises, received more attention than in previous periods.

Interest in economic intervention by local authorities seemed to weaken (16%), and mainly covered economic policy. Economics understood in a wider sense than the public and social economy appeared in a comparable proportion (11%).

Because of their numerical size, the subjects of some of the themed issues should be mentioned here, illustrating how they were rooted in the Ciriec's concerns as much as in the current affairs of the day [Co-operative management (1978/2), The end of Keynesian politics? (1979/1), The Setting of Electricity Prices (1979/3), The State and Steel in Europe (1980/4), Price Control (1981/4), Crisis and Rebirth in Planning (1982/2), The Economic Performance of Co-operatively Managed Enterprises: A Comparative Analysis (1986/1), The Privatisation of Public Enterprises: A European Debate (1986/2), Productivity Studies on Public Transport Companies (1989/1)].

Among the core group of writers who made more than one contribution to the journal, one counts several colleagues of Professor Quaden at the University of Liège and fellow-workers of Ciriec

94 Maree, M. and Saive, A.-M., 'Économie sociale et renouveau coopératif: définition, financement, enjeux', *AEPSC*, January–March 1984, p. 33–37.

(such as Jacques Defourny, Pierre Pestieau, Bernard Thiry, Sergio Perelman, Henry-Jean Gathon, etc.).

6 The *Annals* since 1990: the assertion of the journal's scientific identity

Management of the journal

The editorial staff and their work

In 1990, Professor Quaden, who in the meantime had become director of the National Bank of Belgium, handed over the editorship of the journal to his University of Liège colleague, Professor Bernard Thiry.⁹⁵ He combined this post with that of editor-in-chief, which he held up until the end of the decade. At this time, Professor Fabienne Fecher, who also taught at the Faculty of Economics, Management and Social Sciences at the same university, and who had recently taken up the post of deputy editor of the *Annals*, became its editor-in-chief.

Following a speech by S. Orbán of the Austrian section,⁹⁶ among other factors, the editorial structure set up under Guy Quaden's editorship was discussed and rearranged in 1997, in particular to strengthen the link with Ciriec committees and working groups and to blur the formal distinction between the public and social economy. The intermediate level which had consisted of the two editors-in-chief was also done away with. From this point onwards, the editorial team consisted of the editor of the *Annals* who was also the director of the Ciriec, the Management Board (4 to 6

95 Bernard Thiry (b1955), a doctor in economic science and graduate of Stanford University, was an assistant lecturer and then a professor at the Faculty of Economics, Management and Social Sciences at the University of Liège; a member of the Central Economic Council, Vice-Chairman of Febecoop, Chairman of the National Union of Socialist Mutual Insurance Companies, Chairman of the Executive committee of the Office Wallon de la Formation Professionnelle et de l'Emploi (FOREM – Walloon office of professional training and employment), he had been administrative director of the Electricity and Gas Regulation Committee and is presently a part-time professor at the University of Liège and director of International Relations at Ethias, *Annuaire du corps enseignant et du personnel scientifique permanent*, Liège, University of Liège, 1993 and biographical note provided by the Ciriec.

96 Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 01.01.96, p. 4.

writers in charge of the actual running of the journal, including the Chairman of the International Scientific Council and the two scientific committees) and the Editorial Board. The International Council confirmed the general aim of the journal, which was to 'publish scientific articles according to conventional academic quality criteria and deal in a non-technical way with topics of interest to Ciriec members', which was itself considered to be 'a tool for exchange and mutual enrichment between the world of research and practitioners of the public, social and co-operative economy'.⁹⁷

At the end of two publishing contracts with De Boeck and several years of the new editorial structure being in operation, it seemed that although the scientific standard of the journal had given it a significant new lease of life, its finances and international distribution remained problematic.

Financing

Starting in December 1990, the financial situation appeared to get worse compared to the immediately preceding period.⁹⁸ The journal's own income, coming on the one hand from the publisher – royalties and the covering of editorial running costs – and on the other hand University of Liège and French Community of Belgium grants, left an average deficit of some 260,000 BEF/year between 1990 and 1996, which was nevertheless significantly lower than the first half of the 1980s.

Distribution

In the context of the publishing contract concluded with De Boeck, the journal was inadequately distributed outside of Europe and not only did this affect its funding, above all it hindered the recruitment of English-speaking writers. In fact, with university appraisal practices being based largely on publication in journals that were themselves rated, English-speaking authors, who were the

97 Ciriec Int-A, IB, meeting held on 18.01.1997, p. 6–7. During this meeting, an evaluation of the journal, which had already been available at the International Council meeting which took place in Valencia in October 1996, was presented, serving as a basis for the proposed reform; Ciriec Int-A, GM 1974–2001, Annual report 1998–1999.

98 Ciriec Int-A, *Annals'* Editorial Office archives, *Annals*, December 1990, p. 4; Ciriec Int-A, Praesidium, minutes of the meeting held on 08.03.1991, p. 2.

core readers the journal was aiming at, were not going to be very interested in writing for the *Annals* if it had such a low profile in the English-speaking world.⁹⁹ For these various reasons, the Ciriec council decided to entrust the publishing of the journal to the British company Blackwell Publishers, with effect from the first issue of 1995.

Table 8 – Changes to the number of subscriptions under Bernard Thiry's management

| | Total number of subscriptions ¹⁰⁰ | | Total number of subscriptions |
|------|--|------|-------------------------------|
| 1989 | 648 | 1998 | 495 |
| 1990 | 536 (636) | 1999 | 611 |
| 1991 | 592 | 2000 | 570 |
| 1992 | 592 (693) | 2001 | 646 |
| 1993 | 526 (634) | 2002 | 1064 |
| 1994 | 574 (682) | 2003 | 1182 |
| 1995 | 496 | 2004 | 1525 |
| 1996 | 479 | 2005 | 2144 |
| 1997 | 467 | | |

Sources: Ciriec Int-A., *Annals'* Editorial Office-A, *Annals*, December 1990; Id., *Annals* c/o De Boeck, M. Jezierski to B. Thiry, 12.08.1992; M. Jezierski to C. Dussart, 28.01.1994; Id., *Annals'* distribution all over the world; *Annals of Public & Cooperative Economics*, Publishers' Report, 1995 to 2005.

In 1994, the 682 subscriptions to the *Annals* were spread out over 44 countries, although three quarters of these subscriptions were taken out in just seven countries.

In order to curb the fall in subscriptions, which continued after 1995, Blackwell ran large marketing campaigns on the journal's behalf, details of which were given in its annual report: advertising leaflets inserted into the publisher's journals, sent to subscribers to particular journals, handed out at conferences etc., advertisements in the journals, contacts with abstract journals (JEL, etc.) or access

99 Ciriec Int-A, IB, meetings held on 11.10.1993, p. 12 and on 25.02.1994, p. 8; Ciriec Int-A, *Annals'* Editorial Office-A, D. Heald to B. Thiry, 21.09.1993.

100 Outside the brackets are the numbers of paying subscribers, inside the brackets are the totals including free copies, as well as those for exchanges and for stocks. When Blackwell took over publishing, some De Boeck figures were adjusted downwards.

Table 9 – Geographical distribution of three-quarters of the subscriptions to the *Annals* in 1994

| | Belgium | USA | France | Germany | Italy | UK | Canada | Spain |
|-------------------------|---------|-----|--------|---------|-------|-----|--------|-------|
| Number of subscriptions | 155 | 94 | 89 | 51 | 47 | 28 | 26 | 26 |
| Combined percentages | 23% | 37% | 50% | 57% | 64% | 68% | 72% | 76% |

Sources: Ciriéc Int-A, Editorial office of the *Annals*, *Annals* c/o De Boeck 1991–1994, Worldwide distribution of the *Annals*. In 2002, this distribution stayed unchanged overall, with only Japanese subscriptions growing strongly, going from 2 to 8% of subscriptions between 1994 and 2002.

providers (EBSCO, ABI, etc.) It was not so much putting the journal online as the policy of contracts with user consortiums which led to a 72% growth in subscriptions in 2001 and 2002. This growth obviously took the form of online subscriptions, with print subscriptions declining still further; even as early as 2002, they accounted for no more than 30% of the total number of subscriptions taken out.¹⁰¹ In 2001, articles from the *Annals* were looked up 2878 times; in 2005 the number of article downloads reached 15,163, i.e. a more than five-fold increase in four years.

Under the previous editor, the journal had already been anxious about the kind of visibility that was likely to bring in new readers and it had been noticed that articles from the *Annals* had been cited notably in the *Journal of Economic Literature* (and thus in *EconLit*), in *Contents of Recent Economic Journals*, in the *Bulletin Analytique de Documentation Politique, Économique et Sociale Contemporaine*, in *ECODOC*, and in *Politische Dokumentation*. Because of the appraisal methods predominantly used in academic circles, the Managing Board had set itself the target of getting the journal to be awarded an impact factor by the *Social Sciences Citation Index* (ISI-Web of Knowledge).

The development of its content and its authors

The direction taken by the journal at the end of the transformation process carried out under Guy Quaden's editorship was immediately evident in the contents of the journal.

101 *Annals of Public & Cooperative Economics*, Volume 73, 2002, Publishers' Report, p. 2.

Empirical articles were based, for the most part, on the use of econometric techniques, and made a big comeback, accounting for 43% of the total articles ($n = 334$ between 1990 and 1999) and 50% of the number of pages printed. Theoretical articles remained at around 20% and although the share of programmatic articles fell by almost half, they did not disappear altogether (11%). The bibliography, based on a systematic breakdown of around a hundred journals, kept its share (10% of pages), although it was to be discarded in 2000. A new category of articles appeared, defined by their length rather than by their content – *short papers* – but it remained marginal and disappeared in around 1997. In terms of numbers of pages, the *Ciriec* columns disappeared almost completely. Following the policy initiated during the previous period, the journal publishes on a regular basis thematic issues entrusted to ‘guest editors’, as for example the special issue edited by G. Bognetti on ‘What Bank Model for Europe?’ and by H. Cox on ‘L’économie des services publics. Un défi pour l’Union européenne’.

The geographical coverage of empirical articles expanded: during the preceding period, the 108 articles in each category had related to 28 different countries and 2 multinational areas, between 1990 and 1999, the 143 empirical articles dealt with 33 different countries and 6 multinational areas and the growing share taken by African, Asian (including Oceania) and Latin-American countries made up 15% of the total.

The journal’s two main subject areas, entrusted to two editors-in-chief until 1997, accounted – in almost equal measure – for more than three-quarters of the journal.

Public economy-related topics took up around 40% of the articles. Public enterprise and services, on the one hand, and privatizations, on the other, held the top spots among these. Regarding public enterprise, it was once again questions of performance and efficiency which captured most of the attention.

Table 10 – Geographical breakdown of descriptive articles published between 1990 and 1999 (top 10 countries listed). Numbers shown as percentages

| UK | USA | Belgium | Germany | Spain | Italy | Europe | Quebec | Greece | Eastern Europe | Total |
|----|-----|---------|---------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|----------------|-------|
| 15 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 65 |

Source: Blackwell file; own calculations. n locatable descriptive articles = 140, n countries = 33, n regions = 6, n bilateral comparisons = 3, n international = 1

In the social economy (37% of articles), co-operatives were the articles' main subject matter, followed by social economy issues and the nonprofit sector in general.

Just as the journal had previously published economic articles with a more general scope than its own field, from this time onward it carried a certain number of articles dealing with sectors of activity which might have an impact upon public or social economy enterprises (banks, credit, the financial sector, post, telecommunications and media, and energy). Themed articles dealing with the question of performance-measuring or about public interest, which were presented in a high-pitched manner in the context of massive privatization, were also published.

During this period when the journal developed ways in which to present itself as an academic journal, the profile of its writers underwent a profound shift. Whereas under the editorships of Edgard Milhaud, Paul Lambert and to a lesser extent Guy Quaden, the journal had approached writers, from this point onwards, apart from the themed issues, it received a lot more articles than it published. So, at the end of the 1990s, the acceptance rate was only 33% of articles submitted.¹⁰²

Conclusions

Created as a platform for championing and illustrating public management of public services, the *Annals* has undergone three name changes and had four editors; even so its history can be summed up as covering three periods.

From 1908 until the start of the Second World War, the *Annales de la régie directe*, which became the *Annals of Collective Economy* in 1925, was a one-man, single-campaign-issue journal founded and run single-handedly by Edgard Milhaud, who took on all of the editorial tasks, and it contained contributions sourced from within the founder's own personal network of acquaintances: French (but also German, Belgian, English, etc.) reformist socialist circles; ILO officials and associates; members of the International Co-operative Alliance, the International Union of Local Authorities, etc. Publication began during a period of resumption by public authorities of

102 Ciriec Int-A, *Annals'* Editorial Office-A, Tracking System for *Annals* Submissions, Report to Editorial Board on 21 February 2003, p. 1.

economic activities which had previously been entrusted to the private sector. The journal aimed to champion publicly-run services by presenting its content in a scientifically acceptable way, in contrast to the press which was in thrall to private interests. The journal was initially aimed at the world of civil servants and at political debate, although it soon gained a foothold in a good number of university libraries, including many in the English-speaking world.

After an enforced break of a few years, the journal started publication again after the Second World War backed by a formal network set up to keep it going, the Centre International de Recherche et d'Information sur l'Économie Collective (Ciriec – International Centre for Research and Information on the Collective Economy), which soon acquired national sections. Although it was still run by one man, Edgard Milhaud then Paul Lambert, it was particularly aimed at the national sections which provided it with content, made up its readership and partly funded it. So it became the journal of a network involved in a struggle which was about to change in very contrasting ways. Following the triumphant post-war period, marked by nationalization in various countries and the growth in the local authorities' economic sphere of operations (indicative planning, setting up and extending the social security system, etc.), came a downturn, with criticism of public ownership, the conservative revolution and privatization. The journal's circulation was to undergo a similar shift, with circulation reaching a peak in the first half of the 1960s, followed by a slow but steady decline, which was due partly to circumstances and partly to the journal's multidisciplinary contents (mainly public economy on the one hand, co-operative then social economy on the other, even though there were specialist journals devoted to these issues) and to its target audiences (civil servants and public and co-operative enterprises on the one hand, academic circles on the other), and finally partly to the lack of interest shown by the national sections, most of which had their own journals.

In order to save the journal which, together with the congress, bound the movement together, its editor, the Director Quaden, and the Board took the journal in a new direction, which started to take shape in 1988. Stemming in particular from the acknowledgement that the core of the most stable subscriptions was in the English-speaking academic world, the Ciriec gambled on giving the journal an entirely scientific identity, endowing it with the attributes of a scientific journal, in particular a management board whose job it was to use its contacts in the scientific world to organize the peer reviewing of articles submitted for publication; the publishing work

was no longer in the hands of the editor and became a far more collective enterprise. At the same time, the Ciriec decided to hand the publishing and distribution over to a publishing company, initially De Boeck and then Blackwell Publishers so as to gain an entry to English-speaking circles. From the start of the 1990s onwards, the team centred around the editors-in-chief, Jacques Defourny and Bernard Thiry (this latter, being in charge of both the journal and Ciriec International), had the support of a management board and an editorial board in turning the *Annals* into a high-quality scientific journal, which only published some of the articles submitted to it, whereas previously the articles were mainly commissioned from within the Ciriec's own various networks. Even so there was not a complete break with the past because, while the journal was mainly aimed at an academic audience, as in the past it continued to deal with issues likely to be of direct interest to members of the Ciriec's national sections.

The rise in the number of subscriptions, fostered at the start of the 21st century by a consortium policy, shows that the journal has risen to the challenge set twenty years ago, that there is still room in the highly competitive environment of international economic journals for a publication which deals with methods of pursuing the public interest in economic and social activities, in a non-technical but transverse way.