

BATTLES OVER FREE TRADE

General Editor: Mark Duckenfield

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \it Volume~1~~ ' \\ \it The~Advent~of~Free~Trade,~1776-1846 \\ \end{tabular}$

EDITED BY
Gordon Bannerman and Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey



General Introduction	хi
Abbreviations • xx	kiii
Introduction ;	XXV
Tentative Moves towards Free Trade, 1778-86	1
Anglo-Irish Relations and Irish Free Trade Agitation of 1779-85	
Motion respecting Trade in Ireland, 19January 1779, Cobbett's Parlia-	
mentary Debates{177S-S0)	7
'Debate in the Commons on the State of the Trade and Commerce of	
Ireland', 15 February 1779, Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates (1778-80	9 (
Sir James Caldwell to Lord George Germain, 28 September 1779, in	
Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville (1904-10)	12
Speech of the Lord Lieutenant to the Irish Parliament, Dublin Castle,	
12 October 1779, Annual Register ,(,1780)	13
'Debate in the Commons on Lord North's Propositions for the Relief	
of the Trade of Ireland', 13 December 1779, Cobbett's Parliamentary	
. Debates (1778-80)	14
John Hely Hutchinson, The Commercial Restraints of Ireland, Consid-	
ered in a Series of Letters to a Noble Lord (1779)	23
William Eden, A Letter to the Earl of Carlisle from WilliamEden Esq.	
on the Representation of Ireland respecting a Free Trade (1779)	33
Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1786	
'Commerce with France. Observations on, Office' ([c late 1785])	44
Minutes of the Committee of Trade, 14 March 1786	50
William Eden to Lord Carmarthen, 6 June 1786, in The Journal and	
Correspondence of William,.Lord Auckland, tc\. G. Hogge(1861-2)	52
William Pitt to William Eden, 12 September 1786 (extract), in The	
Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland, ed. G. Hogge	
(1861-2)	53

William	Pitt to the Marqui	s of Stafford, 27	August 178	6, in <i>The</i>
	and Correspondence		•	
Harcou	rt(1860)			' 55
William	n Eden to Robert List	on, 27 September	1786	56
Ralph V	Woodford to Robert I	Liston, 24 Octobe	r 1786	57
Daniel	Hailes to the Marquis	s of Carmarthen,	25 October 1	786 58
Ralph V	Woodford to Robert L	iston, 29 Decemb	er 1786, List	on Papers,
Nationa	al Library ofScotland	, MS 5545, fols 1	51-2.	64
A Lette	r from a Manchester	Manufacturer to	the Right H	onourable
	s James Fox, on his Po			
with Fr	rance (1787)			65
Tuada aa au	Instrument of Wor	1702 1012		69
	Instrument of War, nental System I '	1/93-1612		09
	ct of the Treaty betwe	on Groot Britain	and the Unite	d States of
Americ	•	Register	(179	5) 75
	vark Petition', <i>Annual</i>	-	(17)	79
	Sinclair to Henry Du		r 1706	81
_	Continental System,			
)6, Annual Register (1	•	iiii Decree, 2	82 82
	Response: Orders in			02
	Stephen to Spencer Pe		er 1807	85
	s in Council; or, An			
	of the New System			•
Review	-	or commor e	toguiamono,	88
	Stephen to Spencer Pe	rceval. 23 May 18	308	101
	ial Situation of Engla	•		
	Regent in Council, C		,	*
	ed in Castlereagh to N			
	(1812-13)			104
Mr Fos	ster to Viscount Castle	reagh, 20 June 18	12, enclosing	Madison's
Declar	ation of War on Brita	in, 18 June 1812	, Parliamento	ary Papers
(1812-	-13)			105
[James	Stephen], A Key to th	e Orders in Coun	cil (1812)	100
Madan	ne de Stael <i>Wo\sx</i> .€\ <i>n</i> ,	An Appeal to the l	Nations of Eu	rope Against
the	Continental	System	(181	3) 12:
Divergent	Paths: Britain and A	merica. 1812-30)	129

Post-War Protection and the United States

H. U. Addington to George Canning, Washington, 30 May 1824	
(extract), in 'Papers relative to American Tariffs' Parliamentary Papers	
(1828)	137
Report of the Committee on Commerce, 22 May 1824, in 'Papers	
relative to American Tariffs', <i>Parliamentary Papers</i> (1828)	140
Address of the Committee on Behalf of the General Convention of	
Agriculturists and Manufacturers, and Others-Friendly to the Encour-	
agement of the Domestic Industry of the United States, Assembled	
at Harrisburg, 30 July 1827, in 'Papers relative to American Tariffs',	
Parliamentary'Papers (1828)	141
Charles Richard Vaughan to the Earl of Dudley, 27 April 1828, in	
Papers relative to American Tariffs', <i>Parliamentary Papers</i> (1828)	143
The American Tariff, Edinburgh Review (1828)	144
Britain and Cautious Reciprocity \ •	
'Merchants' Petition of 1820 in Favour of Free Trade', in <i>Revised Report</i>	
of the Proceedings at the Dinner of 31st-May, 1876, Held in Celebra-	
tion of the Hundredth Year of the. Publication of the 'Wealth of Nations	s'
(1876)	162
Edinburgh Petition for Free Trade, 20 April 1820, Caledonian Mer-	
<i>cury</i> , 29 April 1820	166
William Husldsson, Speech on the 'Foreign Commerce of the Coun-	
try', 25 March 1825, <i>Hansard</i> (1825)	168
Vote of Thanks from Manchester Chamber of Commerce to Husk-	
isson, 16 July 1828; and Husldsson to Manchester Chamber of	
Commerce, 20 July 1828, in The Speeches of the Right Honourable Wil	l-
liam Huskisson, with a BiographicalMemoir (1831)	188
Solomon Atkinson, The Effects of the New System of Free Trade upon	
our Shipping, Colonies, and Commerce, Exposed (1827)	190
Henry Stephens, A Letter Addressed to the Landowners and Tenantry	
oj"the Countyof'Forfar (1827)	202
The Mechanic in his Own Defence; or Word About with Henry Stephe	ns,
Esq. ofBalmadies (1827)	222
A Maxamant Haltada Intermetional Dayanactive 1920 42	227
A Movement Halted: International Perspective 1830-42	237
Anglo-French Commercial Relations Lohn Pouring, First Paraert on the Commercial Polations between	
John Bowring, First Report on the Commercial Relations between	243
France and Britain, <i>Parliamentary Papers</i> (1834) Chamber of Commerce of Boulogne-sur-Mer to the Minister of	
Commerce ([c. 1834]), in John Bowring, Second Report on the Com-	
mercial Relations between France and Britain, <i>Parliamentary Papers</i>	
· · ·	246
(1835).	2 4 0

Correspondence between Havre Chamber of Commerce and the	
Minister of Commerce, 14 and 18 October 1834, <i>Parliamentary</i>	252
Papers (1835)	252
'First Report of Messrs. Villiers and Bowring', Westminster Review	254
(1834)	254
Britain and the Zollverein	
Minute of the Board of Trade, 17 January 1826, relative to the Com-	
mercial Relations between Great Britain and Prussia, December	260
1825-January 1826, Parliamentary Papers (1839)	260
Lord Palmerston to the Earl of Minto, 17 January 1834	266
"The Prussian League', British and Foreign Review (1842)	268
The Corn Laws: The Evolution of British Commercial Policy, 1832-46	281
Elite Debate on the Corn Laws in the 1830s	
Ebenezer Elliott, 'An Address to the People of England, on the Corn	
Laws', Tait's Edinburgh Magazine (1834)	289
'And Corn-Law Association', Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser, 16	
May 1834	297
"The Corn Laws', British and Foreign Review (1836) •	299
Richard Cobden, 'Modern History of the Corn Laws', Anti Corn-Law	
Circular (1839) -,	319
From the Politicians to the Populace: Civil Society and Repeal of the Corn	
Laws, 1838-46	
Petition of the President, Vice President and Directors of the Cham-	
bet of Commerce and Manufactures of Manchester, 20 January 1838,	
in Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee on Public Petitions	
(1837-8)	331
Richard Cobden to John Norton, 23 August 1838	333
'Dilemmas on the Corn Law Question' <i>Blackwood's Magazine</i> (1839)	334
'Petitions' and 'Our Weapons of War', Anti Corn-Law Circular (1840)	344
'Support of the Anti Corn-Law League by the Working Classes', Anti	
Corn-Law Circular (1840)	346
'Address of the Metropolitan Anti Corn-Law Association', Anti Corn-	
Law Circular (1840)	349
'Manifestation of Public Feeling on the Bread Tax', Anti Corn-Law	0.,
Circular (1840)	353
'Corn-Law Agitation Humbug', <i>Chartist Circular</i> (1840)	355
"The Bread-Taxing Bishops and the Bible-Reading People', <i>Anti Corn</i> -	-20
Law Circular (1840)	356
Petition! Petition! Petition Anti Corn-Law Circular (1840)	359

'Mr. John Glad	stone's Remedy for the Distress of the Working Classes',	
	cury,21 May 1841	361
Protectionist E	Editorial, Chelmsford Chronicle, 28 May 1841	364
H. N. Burroug	thes and E- Wodehouse, Joint Election Address to the	
Electors of East	st Norfolk, Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette, 12	
June 1841	·	366
John Bowring,	Election Addtess, Bolton Chronicle, 26 June 1841	367
Richard Cobde	en to George Wilson, 25 September 1841	369
America and t	he British Corn Law. Compiled from the Work of Mr.	
John Curtis of	Ohio', The Anti-Bread-Tax Almanack (1842)	370
'Corn Laws as	re Potato Laws', The Anti-Bread-Tax Almanack (1842)	373
Petition of Inh	abitants of Manchester, Manchester Times, and Lanca-	
shire and Che	shire Gazette, 11 March 1843	375
First Annual N	Meeting of the Agricultural Protection Society for Great	
Britain and Ire	eland, Morning Herald, 14 December 1844	376
Lord Palmerst	on to the Earl of Minto, 27 December 1845	380
P. Bennet, Spo	eech to Central Suffolk Agricultural Protection Associa-	
tion, Bury and	l Suffolk Herald, 21 January 1846	381
The Corn Lav	ws as a Buttress for the Aristocracy', Economist (1846)	383
Richard Cobd	en.to William Rathbone, 2 February 1846	386
French Reacti	on to the Reduction of British Duties on Brandy and	
Silk, Kentish	Gazette, 10 February 1846	387
House of Lord	ls Protest against the Corn Bill, 25 June 1846, Hansard	
(1846)	•	388
The Ghost of	a Dead Monopoly!', Economist (1846)	391
		•
Copyrights and Pe	ermissions •	395

BATTLES OVER FREE TRADE

General Editor: Mark Duckenfield

Volume 2 The Consolidation of Free Trade, 1847-1878

EDITED BY
Gordon Bannerman and Anthony Howe



Introduction .	ix
The Decline of Protectionism in Britain, 1846-52	1
Defeat of Protectionism in Britain	
John Lewis Ricardo, The Anatomy ofth.e'Navigation Laws (1847)	9
John Charles Herries to George Frederick Young, [8?] January 1849	14
'Protection Disinterred', Economist (1849)	15
Lord Stanhope to G. F. Young, 29 May 1849	19
Lord Stanhope to G. F. Young, 8 June 1849	21
Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Acting Committee of the National	
Association for the Protection of British Industry and Capital, 15	
October 1849	22
J. C. Herries to G. F. Young, 15 November 1849	24
Free Thoughts on Free Trade (1852)	25
Notice of Anti-Corn Law League Meeting, <i>Economist</i> (1852)	33
Henry Ashworth, Recollections of Richard Cobden and the Anti Corn-	
Law League'(1877)	35
Ramifications of Free Trade	
Arbitration Instead of War (1848)	41
Richard Cobden, Speech on 'Free Trade and Peace', Manchester Times	
and Gazette, 21 December 1847	44
'Peace on Earth - Good Will Towards Men', Manchester Times, 8 Jan-	
uary 1848 '	47
Alexander Alison, Universal Free Trade, by Means of a Property, Incom	ne
and Wages Tax (1852)	48
Sir James Graham to W. E. Gladstone [^] 13 November 1852	53
Sir James Graham to W. E. Gladstone, 19 November 1852	54
Diffusion of Free Trade Abroad	55
Promoters and Opponents	
Richard Cobden to Marco Minghetti, 21 May 1847	61

Richard Cobden, Speeches in Europe, in Reminiscences of Richard	
Cobden, compiled byj. Salis Schwabe (1895)	63
'Congress of Political Economists at Brussels' <i>Economist</i> (1847)	73
Free Trade Meeting at Marseilles, <i>Economist</i> (1847)	79
Richard Cobden to Michel Chevalier, 22 March 1851	82
Michel Chevalier in Dionysus Lardner, The Great Exhibition and	
London in 1851(1852)	83
Speech of M. Thiers on the Commercial Policy of France and in Oppos	į-
tion to the Introduction of Free Trade into France, 27June 1851, trans.	
M.de Saint Felix (1852)	91
. Henry Duncldey The Charter of the Nations: or, Free Trade and its	
<i>Results (1854)</i> • .	110
The Abortive Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1852, 1853	117
American-Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, Despatch from Lord	
Lyons to Russell, 28 February 1862, Parliamentary Papers (1862)	126
Lord Clarendon to Lord Palmerstpn, 20 April 1856	129
Cardwell Memorandum on Commercial Policy towards Russia, 29	
October 1854	131
Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1860 and the Treaty System	137
Anglo-French Commercial Treaty	
Michel Chevalier, The History of Political Economy Taught by the His	-
tory of the Freedom of Labour, trans. W. Bellingham (1869)	143
Richard Cobden to John Bright, 16January 1860	148
Richard Cobden to Francois Arles-Dufour, 10 August 1860	153
H. Reader Lack, The French Treaty and Tariff of 1860(1861)	154
'Commercial Treaties and Free Trade', Economist (1860)	161
Robert Andrew Macfle, 'Notes on the French Treaty', Liverpool Daily	
Post, 16 February 1860	164
George Frederick Young, The French Treaty, a Mockery, a Delusion,	
and a Snare (1860)	169
Treaty System and Promotion of Free Trade	
Richard Cobden to E. A. Billeroche, 12 September 1861	174
'Memorandum on the Commercial Policy of European States and	
British Trade'(1879)	175
Henry Charles Carey,. The French and American Tariffs Compared in	
Series of Letters to Chevalier (1864)	179
[R. Morier], Commercial Treaties: Free Trade and Internationalism	
(1870)	187
'Commercial Treaty with Austria' (1866)	196

Louis Mallet, Memorandum on Modifications of Anglo French	
Treaty, 19 August 1871	207
C. M. Kennedy, 'Treaties of Commerce with, and between, Europea Powers, with Especial Reference to the Trade of the United Kingdom'	ın '
(1875)	212
Free Trade Under Threat, to 1879	229
Britain, Europe, and the United States	
Manifesto of the Association of Revivers' of British Industry ([1869])	235
Kuklos [pseud., John Harris], The Commercial Policy of England in	
<i>1877(1877)</i> . '	241
J. Slagg, "The Commercial Treaty with France', Fortnightly Review	
(1877)	254
William Bateman Hanbury, Lord Bateman's Plea for Limited Protec-	
tion, or, for. Reciprocity in Free Trade (L878)	257
W. Far rer Ecroyd, The PolkyofSelf Help: Suggestions towards the Con-	-
solidation of the Empire and. the Defence of its Industries and Comme	rce
(1879)	262
Sir Louis Mallet, Reciprocity (1879)	270
Free Trade• and,the European Treaties of Commerce (1875)	283
The Colonial World	
Cosmopolite, Free-Trade and No Colonies (1848)	312
John Dunmore Lang, Freedom and Independence for the Golden Land.	S
ojAustralia (1852)	323
George Ward Cole, Protection as a National System Suited for Victoria	!
(1860)	327
Henry Ashworth, 'Our Colonies: Their Commerce and their Cost', in	
Henry Ashworth, Pamphlets and Other Papers (1872)	334
George Reid, Five Free Trade Essays (1875)	338
Letters of Henry Parkes, George H. Reid and Gower Evans, in Free	
Trade and the European Treaties of Commerce (1875)	348
Copyrights and Permissions	353

BATTLES OVER FREE TRADE

General Editor: Mark Duckenfield

*Volume 3*The Challenge of Economic Nationalism,! 879-1939

EDITED BY
Anthony Howe and Mark Duckenfield



Introduction •	xi
The Rise and Fall of Fair Trade, 1879-92	1
"The Past and the Future. A Plistorical Sketch of Fair Trade, and Com-	
mercial Policy since "the Settlement of 1846"', Fair-Trade (1885)	7
'The Story of the Movement', Fair Trade (1888)	10
Robert Andrew Macfie, Letter to the Shipping and Mercantile	
Gazette, 25 November 1880, in R. A. Macfie, <i>Cries in a</i> Craw (1881)	13
G. W. Medley, 'England under Free Trade' (1881), in <i>Pamphlets and</i>	
Addresses (1899)	15
Annie Besant, 'What is Really Free Trade', in Free Trade v. Fair Trade	
(1881)	17
Sampson Lloyd, The Fair Trade Policy: A Reply to the Charge of taxing	-,
the Poor Man's Loaf (1882) •	23
'The Fair-Trade Party'; Correspondence of j. B. Barkworth, 'Protection	
for Home Agriculture', and R. A. Macfie 'Protection for Manufactur-	
ing Industries', Fair-Trade (1886)	30
Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 'Manchester and the Manches-	50
terians: Storming the Citadel', Fair-Trade (1886)	34
'Causes of Trade Depression', Fair-Trade (1886)	36
Royal Commission on Depression in Trade and Industry, 'Minority	50
"Fair Trade" Report', Parliamentary Papers (1886)	40
Robert Andrew Macfie, "Hie Fair-Trade Policy', Fair Trade (1888)	44
Robert Andrew Mache, The Fair-Trade Folicy, Fair Trade (1888)	
Tariffs and Empire, 1880-1902	45
G. Smith, "The Canadian Tariff' <i>Contemporary Review</i> (1881)	49
G. Baden Powell, 'Protection in Young Communities', Fortnightly	.,
Review (1882)	51
S. Bourne, 'Imperial Federation in its Commercial Aspect', <i>Imperial</i>	<i>J</i> 1
Federation (1886)	56
'Imperial Federation' Fair-Trade (1886)	59

"The Fair Trade Scheme of Commercial Federation', <i>Imperial Federa-</i>	
tion (1887)	62
R. Giffen, 'Commercial Union between the UK and its Colonies'	
(1891) ;	64
Howard Vincent, Commercial Union of the Empire (1891)	67
British Empire League, Report of Inaugural Meeting of the League	0,
([1896])	72
British Empire League, Report of Speech of the Right Hon. Joseph	12
Chamberlain ([1896])	74
Chambertain ([1870])	/4
Tariff Wars in Europe, 1880-1914	77
'Protection in Germany', Economist (1881)	83
Trade and Treaties Committee, First Report, 24 January 1891, Parlia-	
mentary Papers (1B9Q-1),	84
R. Giffen, 'The Relative Growth of Free Trade and Protection' 25 May	٠.
1892	88
Memo on Terminating the Belgian and German Commercial Treaties,	00
10 June 1897	90
Tariff Wars between European States: Report on the Franco-Italian	90
Tariff War, 1888-99; Reports on the Tariff War between Germany	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
and Russia; Summary of the Franco-Swiss Tariff War, 1893-5, <i>Parlia-</i>	06
mentary Papers (1904)	96
'Commercial'Diplomacy 1860-1902'	106
Free Trade versus TariffReform: The Edwardian Battleground	115
R. D. Denman, "The City and the Tariff Question' Westminster	110
Gazette, 23 June 1903	119
Philip Snowden, <i>The Chamberlain Bubble</i> (1903)	121
Editorial on Labour Representatives and the Tariff Commission,	121
Morning Post, 16 January 1904	124
'What Co-Operative Women Think', Free Trader, 23 October 1903	127
•	
C. Booth, 'Fiscal Reform', <i>National Review</i> , January 1904	129
B. R. Wise, Free Trade and Imperial Preference (1905)	133
Tariff Commission Memo, 'Colonial Preference and Imperial Reci-	120
procity', 22 July 1908	138
F. W. Hirst, "The City and TariffReform', Free Trader, May 1910	142
Tariff Battles in North America, 1880-1914	145
W. E. Gladstone, 'Free Trade', North American Review (1890)	149
Editorial, <i>The Times</i> , 9 October 1890	152
A. K. McClure, <i>The McKinley Tariff Robbery and Fraud</i> (18.92)	
A. K. Micciule, The Mickiniey Turijj Koovery and Fraud (18.92)	134

Edward Atkinson, 'Arguments in Favor of such Discrimination in	
Framing the Tariff as shall Best Promote Domestic Industry', in Argu-	
ments against the Dingley Bill (1897)	157
J. A. Hobson, The Fruits of American Protection (1907).	160
'Tariff Reform in Canada', Nation, 20 August 1910	165
Canadian National League, Reciprocity with the United States (1911)	168
'Canada's Answer" <i>The Standard of Empire</i> , 29 September 1911	170
The New American Tariff, Economist (1913)	173
Swire Smith, The New American Tariff (Simmons-Underwood) and the	
Wool Industry of Bradford (1914)	175
The Paris Economic Conference, 1916	183
Foreign Office Note of Invitation from the French Ambassador for	
the British Government to Participate in an Economic Conference in	
Paris, 10 February 1916	187
Foreign Minister Edward Grey's Memorandum on British Participa-	
tion in Paris Economic Conference, 11 February 1916	188
Confidential Correspondence between Edward Grey and Sir Francis	
Villiers, British Ambassador to Belgium, 6 March 1916 and 5 April	
1916	189
J. A. Hobson, 'The New Protectionism', War and Peace (1916)	192
"The Endofthe Warandkker, Economist (1916)	197
'Who Were Our Best Customers?', Economist (1916)	201
"The Paris Economic Conference and After', New Statesman (1916)	206
Commercial Correspondence between Edward Grey and Sir Francis	
Villiers, British Ambassador to Belgium, 27 June 1916	209
Report on the American Press's Response to the Paris Conference,	
June 1916	210
"The Economic War', War and Peace (1916)	212
'The Allies' Economic Combine', New Republic (1916)	215
Considered Views of Intetdepartmental Committee to Considet	
Dependence of the British Empire on the United States, October 1910	6218
Confidential Cabinet Report of the Foreign Office on the Interde-	
partmental Committee to Consider the Dependence of the British	
Empire on the United States, 31 October 1916	219
Confidential Telegram from Sir Conyngham Greene (British Ambas-	
sador to Japan) to Edward Grey (Foreign Minister) regardingjapanese	
Participation in the Paris Economic Conference, 27 June 1916	229
Recommendations of the Economic Conference of the Allies Held at	
Paris on June 14 15 16 and 17 1916 Parliamentary Papers (1916)	23

A. Stanley, 'Economic Desiderata in the Terms of Peace', February 1917	243
Secret Report on Economic and Non-Territorial Desiderata, Committee on Terms of Peace, Imperial War Cabinet, April 1917	247
Memorandum by the Boatd of Trade on Economic Considerations	241
Affecting the Terms of Peace, November 1918	252
The Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, 1930	261
Republican Patty Platform of 1928, 12 June 1928	265
'Hoover Promises to Call Congress to Act on Farm Aid if December	
Session Fails', The New York Times, 28 October 1928	267
Herbert Hoover, State of the Union Address, 3 December 1929	269
'1028 Economists Ask Hoover to Veto Pending Tariff Bill', The New	
York Times, \$ May 1930 .	272
Official Protests about Tariff Bill 1930 from Foreign Governments,	
Congressional Record, 9 June 1930	275
Herbert Hoover, Statement Upon Signing the Tariff Bill 1930 into	
Law, 15 June 1930	290
"The New American Tariff', Economist (1930)	294
'The United States Tariff and Swiss Trade', Economist' [1930]	295
Cordell Hull, 'Economic Policies of the Government', Congressional	
Record, 16 February 1931	296
Reed Smoot, 'Our Tariff and the Depression', Current History (1931)	300
Franklin D. Roosevelt, National Radio Address, 'Forgotten Man', 8	
April 1932	311
Herbert Hoover, Campaign Speech at Butler University, Indianapolis,	
Indiana, 28 October 1932	314
'Trade Agreements or Free Trade?', Review of the River Plate, 29 July	
1934, translated by UK Embassy, Buenos Aires	322
The Ottawa Imperial Economic Conference, 1931-2	325
Report of the Committee on the Proposed Imperial Economic Con-	
ference at Ottawa, 23 November 1931	329
'Dominion Industries', The. Times, 18 December 1931	337
'Memorandum of a Conversation with the [Canadian] Prime Min-	
istet on Friday, March 11th, Concerning Agenda for the Imperial	
Conference', 14 March 1931	340
Lettet from the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in	
Ottawa to Sir Edward Harding (Under Secretary of State for Domin-	
ions) 17 March 1932	344

Minutes of the Fourth Meeting at the Board of Trade with Industrial	
Advisors [Motor Trade Representatives] Prior to the Ottawa Imperial	
Economic Conference, 3 June 1932	346
'Imperial Preference', Economist (1932)	349
Notes on the Cotton Delegation in a Letter from the High Com-	
missioner for the United Kingdom in Ottawa to G. G. Whiskard	
(Dominions Office), 15 June 1932	353
Secret Note by the United Kingdom Delegation on the Canadian Tar-	
iff Proposals, 8 August 1932	356
Memorandum by Industrial Advisors Representing the British Trades	
Union Congress on the Imperial Economic Conference, 8 August	
1932	360
J. G. Coates (Leader of the New Zealand Reform Party) to Stanley	
Baldwin, 8 August 1932 (;	362
Most Secret Report of a (UK) Delegation Meeting at Ottawa on the	
Australian and New Zealand Negotiation and a Duty on Meat, 15	
August 1932 .	364
Selections from the Ottawa Agreement, August 1932	370
'Textile Industry Reserves Opinion', Montreal Gazette, 23 August 1932	379
'Premier Disappointed: Tascheteau Says Little Done For Lumber	
Industry', Montreal Gazette, 23 August 1932	381
'OttawzReactions, Sydney Morning Herald, 24 August 1932	382
'The Riddle of Ottawa, Adelaide Advertiser, 24 August 1932	384
"The Harvest of Ottawa', <i>Economist</i> (1932)	386
'An Ottawa Impression', <i>Economist</i> (1932)	389
Copyrights and Permissions	393

BATTLES OVER.FREE TRADE

General Editor: Mark Duckenfield

Volume 4 • The Emergence of Multilateral Trade, 1940-2006

EDITED BY
Mark Duckenfield



Introduction •	ix
The International Trade Organization	1
'Editorial: Trade Agreements', Journal ojthe National Union of Manu-	
facturers (1946) i;	5
Letter from National Union of Manufacturers to Sir Stafford Cripps	
(President of the Board of Trade), 21 October 1946	8
'Chapter V. Retaliation and Other Indirect Consequences', Board of	
Trade Economic Group Report on Long-Term Problems and Conse-	
quences of Failure to Approve ITO, 8 JuJy 1947	10
Confidential Note on a Meeting with the FBI on 20 February (1947)	18
'Confidential Note of a Meeting Held at the Board of Trade on the	
25th February 1947, Between the National Union of Manufacturers	
and the Boatd of Trade'	23
Jacob Viner, 'Conflicts of Principle in Drafting a Trade Charter', For-	
eign Affairs (1947)	27
Clair Wilcox, "The London Draft of a Charter fot an International	
Trade Organization' American Economic Review (1947)	42
Memorandum on Imperial Preference, Loans from the United States	
and Tariff Negotiations between the United States and United King-	
dom, 14 October 1947	54
E. J. Elliot (Federation of British Industries) to E. A. Cohen (Board of	
Trade), 1 April'1948	57
R. J. Shackle (Board of Trade) to E. J. Elliot (Federation of British	
Industries), 8 April 1948	58
'Resolution on the Havana Chatter' First Draft, 10 May 1948	59
The European Economic Community	63
Notes for Prime Minister Winston Churchill in Preparation for Meet-	03
ing with Jean Monnet regarding United Kingdom Association with	
	67
the European Coal and Steel Community, 25 May 1954	67

	Memorandum for Prime Minster Anthony Eden on Meeting of the Ministerial Committee Meeting on Relations with the ECSC, 4 July 1956	69
	'Record of Conversation between the Sectetary of State [Foreign Sec-	
	retary Selwyn Lloyd] and the Netherlands Ambassador on July 15,	
	1960'	71
	'Press Conference by President de Gaulle, Paris, 14th January 1963'	
	Remarks, made by President Charles de Gaulle at his Fifteenth Press	, .
	Conference, 16 May, 1967	78
	Sir Con O'Neill (Head of UK Delegation to the European Commu-	, 0
	nities), 'Valedictory Despatch', 3 May 1965	81
	'Record of a Meeting Between the Prime Minister [Harold Wilson],	01
	and the Foreign Secretaty [George Brown] and the Acting Vice-Presi-	
	dent [Albert Coppe] and Other Members of the High Authority of	
	the European Coal and Steel Community, on Sth March 1967'	88
	Memorandum for Non-Cabinet Ministers, 'Ten Reasons Why Britain	-
	Should Join the Common Market', December 1970	96
	'Record of Conversation between the Chancellor of the Duchy of	
	Lancaster [Sir Geoffrey Rippon] and the Portuguese Foreign Minister	
	[Dr Rui Patricio]', 8 March 1972	98
	'Cassis' Decision, Judgement of the European Court of Justice, 20	
	February 1979	104
	German Beer Purity Law Decision, Judgement of the European Court	
	of Justice, 12 March 1987	110
	,	
The	e Association of South East Asian Nations .	125
	Statement of S. Rajaratnam (Ministet for Foreign Affairs of Singa-	
	pore) at the ASEAN Conference, 8 August 1967 *	129
	Statement of Adam Malik (Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia)	
	at the ASEAN Conference, 8 August 1967	132
	Priority Telegram from UK Embassy in Bangkok regarding Declara-	
	tion Establishing the ASEAN, 8 August 1967	134
	Restricted Telegram from UK Embassy in Moscow regarding Soviet	
	Response to South-East Asian Regional Cooperation, 14 August 1967	136
	Confidential Summary on the Association of South-East Asian	
	Nations from Giles Bullard (British Embassy in Bangkok) to George	
	Brown (Foreign Secretary), 15 August 1967	138
	Telegram from British Embassy in Manila on the Philippines and	
	ASEAN, 30 October 1967	142
	Report of British Embassy in Bangkok on EEC Visit to Thailand, 13	
	September 1973	143

Memorandum on EEC/ASEAN Relations, 2 October 1975 •	147
'Address by Mt Lee Kwan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, at the	
Opening Session of the ASEAN Summit, Bali, on 23 February 1976"	149
'Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia', 24 February	
1976	152
Confidential Memorandum, 'ASEAN Summit: A Thai View', 2 March	
1976	157
Cooperation Agreement between the EEC and ASEAN, 7 March	
1980	159
Background Brief, 'ASEAN's Changing Priorities', June 1992	165
The North American Free Trade Agreement	169
The Second Clinton-Bush-Perot Presidential Debate, 15 October 1992	2173
The Third Clinton-Bush-Petot Presidential Debate, 19 October 1992	177
House of Commons Debates. Official Record (Canada) (1993)	187
'NAFTA Debate: Gore vs. Perot', on Larry King Show,, 9 November	
1993	203
'Canada Prepared if NAFTA Fails; Movement Afoot to Art ange Bilat-	
eral Deal with Mexico', Globe and Mail (Toronto), 13 November 1993	244
'NAFTA Backers Must Speak Now', Crain's Detroit Business, 15	
November 1993 .	246
"The National Interest: House Members Have Clear Obligation to	
Free Trade', Houston Chronicle, 16 November 1993	247
Dennis Wharton, 'H'wood: Muy Bueno, eh? Valenti Sees Doors	
Opening as House Passes NAFTA Treaty', Daily Variety, 18 Novem-	
ber 1993	248
'NAFTA All Clear in Mexico', Record (Canada), 23 November 1993	250
Jonathan Ferguson, 'NAFTA: Canada's Concerns', Toronto Star, 30	
November 1993	252
'U.A.W. Wants Trade Payoff in Jobs'; iVw York Times, 1 January 1994	256
The World Trade Organization .	259
Cotdell Hull, Statement on Tariffs and an International Tariff Con-	
gress, Congressional Record, 8 July 1916	263
Senate Debate on the World Trade Organization (Uruguay Round	
Agreements Act), Congressional Record, 30 November 1994	267
Scott Sunde; 'Chaos Closes Downtown', Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 1.	
December 1999	282
'Remarks by the President to Fanners, Students from the Seattle-	
Tacoma Area Who Study Trade, and Area Officials', Seattle, 1	
December 1999	286

Kerry Murakami, 'Geneva Sounded WTO Warning That Went	
Unheeded in Seattle', Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 10 March 2000	293
Doha Ministerial Declaration, 14 November 2001	296
Statement by President George W. Bush Announcing Temporary	
Safeguards for the US Steel Industry, 5 March 2002	310
Gordon Brown, UK Statement to the International Monetary and	
Financial Committee, 17 September 2006	312
Copyrights and Permissions •	319
Index '	323