

imports onto the United States than was the pre-Kennedy Round system, which relied in the main on tariffs and not too extensively on the other devices which now play such a central role." (at page 15)

18 A key study attempting to quantify the costs of tariff protection was J.H. Young's study for the Canadian Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects (Gordon Commission) in 1957: Canadian Commercial Policy; it is discussed in Chapter VI.

19 The modern interest in this concept was launched by Clarence Barber's 1955 article: "Canadian Tariff Policy" in XXI Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, No. 4, November; subsequently a literature on the theme of effective protection developed: see Herbert G. Grubel and Harry G. Johnson (eds.), Effective Tariff Protection, Geneva, GATT and the Graduate Institute of International Studies, 1971.

20 These writings are so numerous, and so repetitive, that it is not useful to provide a detailed citation.

21 This is the so-called "bicycle theory" of trade policy, to the effect that one must always be preparing for a new negotiation, or conducting one, in order to contain protectionism. It is a view often expressed in the United States, but given less credibility in Europe. The view is asserted as an act of faith, there having been no persuasive investigation of its validity. It is a view which has a great deal of appeal to the members of the "trade negotiations community" — members of trade associations, economists and lawyers whose advice is for hire, officials who conduct negotiations — all of whose careers depend on the prospect of negotiations. This theory is, of course, being argued in support of the conduct of yet another round of negotiations.

22 Bruce E. Clubb: "United States Foreign Trade Policy in Historical Perspective"; Remarks to the American Iron and Steel Institute, United Steel Workers of America, Washington, 3 February 1971.

23 Tumlir's numerous writings on these themes are reflected the two GATT research studies of which he was one of the authors: Richard Blackhurst, Nicolas Marian and Jan Tumlir: Trade Liberalization, Protectionism and Interdependence, GATT, 1977, and (same authors): Adjustment, Trade and Growth in Developed and Developing Countries, GATT, 1978. Tumlir's personal views are most easily accessible in: "The Protectionist Threat to International Order", XXXIV, International Journal, No. 1, 1978-79; "The Contribution of Economics to International Disorder", Harry G. Johnson Memorial Lecture, No. 2, Trade Policy Research Centre, London, 1981 (reprinted in 3 The World Economy, No. 4, 1980; "Salvation Through Cartels? On the Revival of a Myth" 1 The World Economy, 1978, No. 4; "International Economic Order — Can the Trend be Reversed?" 5 The World Economy, No. 1, 1982; "Need for an Open Multilateral Trading System", 6 The World Economy, No. 4, 1983, and in "The New Protectionism, Cartels and the International Order", in Ryan Ammacher, Gottfried Haberler and Thomas D. Willeit, (eds.); Challenges to a Liberal Economic Order, Washington, American Enterprise Institute, 1979.

24 Harald B. Malmgrem: "Threats to the Multilateral System" in William Cline (ed.): Trade Policy in the 1980's, Washington, Institute for International Economics, 1983, p. 191.