Sources on antitrust and the creation of the postwar world are numerous but widely scattered. Scholars have examined various facets of the matter in the course of studying other subjects such as the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community, the postwar reconstruction of Japan, and the histories of various firms. No one, however, has examined the story as a whole.

The press did cover many aspects of the process. The New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, Time, Newsweek, The Nation, the New Republic, and Business Week all contain informative articles. The Wendell Berge Papers in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., contain a large collection of press clippings from regional papers on the subject.

Chapter 1. The Cartel Ideal

In the 1930s and 1940s, many scholars published general studies of cartels, including Ervin Hexner, International Cartels (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946); Kenneth L. Mayall, International Cartels: Economic and Political Aspects (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1948); Robert Liefmann, Cartels, Concerns and Trusts (London: Methuen, 1932); Karl Pribam, Cartel Problems: An Analysis of Collective Monopolies in Europe with American Application (Buffalo, N.Y.: Hein, 1937); and George W. Stocking and Myron W. Watkins, Cartels in Action: Case Studies in International Business Diplomacy (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1946), and Cartels or Competition: The Economics of International Controls by Business and Government (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1948). Narrower examinations of various aspects of the subject include the League of Nations World Economic

Conference, Final Report (C.E.I. 44), June 3, 1927; Leisa G. Bronson, Cartels and International Patent Agreements (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Reference Service, 1944); Edouard Herriot, The United States of Europe (New York: Viking Press, 1930); and William Oualid, International Raw Materials Cartels (Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, League of Nations, 1938).

Since 1950, such studies have become rarer, but good ones do exist. They include Kingman Brewster, Antitrust and American Business Abroad (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958); Tony Freyer, Regulating Big Business: Antitrust in Great Britain and America, 1880-1990 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Akira Kudo and Terushi Hara, eds., International Cartels in Business History: International Conference of Business History 18, Proceedings of the Fuji Conference (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1992); Debora Spar, The Cooperative Edge: The Internal Politics of International Cartels (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); and Wilfried Feldenkirchen, "Big Business in Interwar Germany: Organizational Innovations at Vereinigte Stahlwerke, IG Farben, and Siemens," Business History Review 61 (1987): 417-51. William A. Brock and Jose A. Scheinkman, "Price Setting Supergames with Capacity Constraints," Review of Economic Studies 52 (1985): 371–82; D. K. Osborne, "Cartel Problems," American Economic Review 66 (1976): 835-44; and George J. Stigler, "A Theory of Oligopoly," Journal of Political Economy 72 (1964): 44-61, examine the economics of cartels. Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1990), and Alfred Chandler, Franco Amatori, and Takashi Hikino, eds., Big Business and the Wealth of Nations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), place cartels in a broader context.

Ervin Hexner, The International Steel Cartel (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943); Richard A. Lauderbaugh, American Steel Makers and the Coming of the Second World War (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1980); and Daniel Barbezat, "Comptoir Sidérurgique de France, 1930-1939," Business History Review 70 (1996): 517-40, all chronicle the activities of the international steel cartel. For electrical equipment, see Federal Trade Commission, Report on International Electrical Equipment Cartels (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948); U.S. Congress, Temporary National Economic Committee, Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power: Monograph No. 31, Patents and Free Enterprise, 76th Cong., 3rd sess., 1940; Arthur A. Bright, The Electric-Lamp Industry: Technological Change and Economic Development from 1800 to 1947 (New York: Macmillan, 1949); and Leonard S. Reich, "Lighting the Path to Profit: GE's Control of the Electric Lamp Industry, 1892–1941," Business History Review 66 (1992): 305–34. Of particular value are court decisions in the antitrust cases involving General Electric, which discuss matters of fact as well as of law. These include United States v. General Electric Company et al., 272 U.S. 476; United States v. General Electric Co. et al., 80 F. Supp. 989; and United States v. General Electric Co. et al., 82 F. Supp. 753.

Stocking and Watkins, Cartels in Action, and Hexner, International Cartels, contain information on the rubber cartel.

Chapter 2. The Context of Antitrust

Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1977), and Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), give overviews of the economic and social transformation of American society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thomas McCraw, Prophets of Regulation: Charles Francis Adams, Louis D. Brandeis, James M. Landis, Alfred E. Kahn (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1984), and "Rethinking the Trust Question," in Thomas McCraw, ed., Regulation in Perspective (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), examine attitudes toward big business during this period. Freyer, Regulating Big Business, and A. D. Neale, The Antitrust Laws of the United States of America: A Study of Competition Enforced by Law (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), trace the evolution of antitrust laws. Louis D. Brandeis, Other People's Money; and How the Bankers Use It (Fairfield, Conn.: Kelly, 1986), and The Curse of Bigness (New York: Viking Press, 1935); Herbert Croly, The Promise of American Life (New York: Macmillan, 1909); Theodore Roosevelt, The New Nationalism (New York: Outlook, 1911); and Woodrow Wilson, The New Freedom: A Call for the Emancipations of the Generous Energies of a People (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961), all elucidate Progressive Era attitudes toward big business. Ellis Hawley, ed., Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce: Studies in New Era Thought and Practice (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1981); Ellis Hawley, The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly: A Study in Economic Ambivalence (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966); and Robert F. Himmelberg, The Origins of the National Recovery Administration: Business, Government, and the Trade Association Issue, 1921-1933 (New York: Fordham University Press, 1993), bring the story of antitrust up through the 1930s. Otis Graham provides an interesting perspective on intellectual developments in "The Planning Ideal and American Reality: The 1930s," in Stanley Elkins and Erik McKitrick, eds., The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial (New York: Knopf, 1974). Gerard Swope, "The Swope Plan - Details," in J. George Frederick, ed., The Swope Plan: Details, Criticisms, Analysis (New York: Business Bourse, 1931), constitutes the chief American defense of cartels.

For the antitrust drive in Roosevelt's second administration, see Hawley, New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly; Alan Brinkley, The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War (New York: Vintage Books, 1995); and the publications of the Temporary National Economic Committee, particularly its final report, In-

vestigation of Concentrations of Economic Power, 77th Cong., 1st sess., 1941. Of particular value are the papers of the chair of the TNEC, Senator Joseph O'Mahoney, in the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming, Laramie. O'Mahoney collected papers from bureaus throughout the government, as well as some from outside it, and there are few aspects of the drive to make the world safe for competition on which this collection does not touch.

The first source on Thurman Arnold is his own papers in the American Heritage Center. See also the collection of his letters edited by Gene M. Gressley, Voltaire and the Cowboy: The Letters of Thurman Arnold (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1977), as well as Arnold's own books: Folklore of Capitalism (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1937), The Bottlenecks of Business (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1940), Democracy & Free Enterprise (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), and Fair Fights and Foul: A Dissenting Lawyer's Life (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969). Alan Brinkley provides a scholarly assessment of Arnold's career in "The Antimonopoly Ideal and the Liberal State: The Case of Thurman Arnold," Journal of American History 80 (1993): 565–90.

Chapter 3. Reform versus Mobilization

Good histories of the American experience in World War II include John Morton Blum, V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II (New York: Harvest Books, 1976); Brinkley, End of Reform; Bruce Catton, The War Lords of Washington (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1948); William L. O'Neill, A Democracy at War: America's Fight at Home and Abroad in World War II (New York: Free Press, 1993); and Richard Polenberg, War and Society: The United States, 1941–45 (New York: Lippincott, 1972).

For the development of chemical cartels before 1939, as well as their wartime experience, see the DuPont Records at the Hagley Museum and Library in Wilmington, Delaware, in particular the Walter S. Carpenter Papers, the Jasper E. Crane Papers, and the files of DuPont's Foreign Relations Committee. Thurman Arnold's papers also contain much material on the subject. Useful books include Peter Hayes, Industry and Ideology: IG Farben in the Nazi Era (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Henrietta Larson, Evelyn H. Knowleton, and Charles S. Popple, New Horizons: History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), 1927–1950 (New York: Harper & Row, 1971); W. J. Reader, Imperial Chemical Industries: A History, vol. 1, The Forerunners, 1870–1926; vol. 2, The First Quarter-Century, 1926–1952 (London: Oxford University Press, 1975); and Graham D. Taylor and Patricia E. Sudnik, DuPont and the International Chemical Cartels (Boston: Twayne, 1984). U.S. Senate, Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, Investigation of the National Defense Program: Part 11, Rubber, 77th Cong., 1st sess., 1942, out-

lines the agreements between Standard Oil and IG Farben. The papers in the Roy A. Pewitt Files in the National Archives in Washington, D.C., Record Group 122, contain much of the information compiled during the war by the Federal Trade Commission on international cartels.

Arnold's papers contain much information on the Antitrust Division's offensive against international cartels in 1940 and 1941, as do those of Wendell Berge. George Edward Smith, From Monopoly to Competition: The Transformation of Alcoa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), chronicles Alcoa's encounters with the antitrust laws. Several congressional hearings contain valuable information as well: U.S. House, Committee on Patents, Preventing Publication of Inventions and Prohibiting Injunctions on Patents, 77th Cong., 2nd sess., 1941; U.S. Senate, Committee on Patents, Patents, 77th Cong., 2nd sess., 1942; and U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Scientific and Technical Mobilization of the Committee on Technical Mobilization, Scientific and Technical Mobilization, 78th Cong., 1st sess., 1943, and 78th Cong., 2nd sess., 1944. Ethyl Gasoline Corporation et al. v. United States, 309 U.S. 453, is the chief decision that the Antitrust Division secured against patent cartels during this period.

Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1943, vol. 1, General (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), and Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1944, vol. 2, General: Economic and Social Matters (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), contain information on wartime commodity accords, as do the O'Mahoney Papers. The chief sources for the rubber case are the Senate hearings Investigation of the National Defense Program: Part 11, Rubber, and Larson, Knowleton, and Popple, New Horizons. Papers of Harry S. Truman in the Senatorial File at the Truman Presidential Library in Independence, Missouri, also contain a good deal of information, including some unpublished hearings. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, has much information on antitrust during the war, particularly in the Office Files, Personal Secretary's Files, Secretary's Files, and Francis Biddle Papers. The Senate hearings Scientific and Technical Mobilization contain discussion of patent reform, but O'Mahoney's papers are the chief source on congressional action (or inaction) on cartels. The DuPont Records as well as the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) Papers at the Hagley Museum and Library give industry's views on cartel legislation.

Chapter 4. Making the World Safe for Competition

Polemical works during and immediately after World War II dealing with cartels are numerous. They include United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *International Cartels*: A *League of Nations Memorandum* (New York: United Nations

Publications, 1947) (drafted by Corwin Edwards); U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on War Mobilization of the Committee on Military Affairs, Economic and Political Aspects of International Cartels, 78th Cong., 2nd sess., 1944 (also by Edwards); U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on War Mobilization to the Committee on Military Affairs, Cartels and National Security, 79th Cong., 2nd sess., 1944; Howard Watson Ambruster, Treason's Peace: German Dyes & American Dupes (New York: Beechhurst, 1947); Wendell Berge, Cartels: Challenge to a Free World (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1944); Joseph Borkin and Charles A. Welsh, Germany's Master Plan: The Story of Industrial Offensive (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943); Robert A. Brady, The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism (London: Gollancz, 1937); Bronson, Cartels and International Patent Agreements; Josiah E. Dubois, The Devil's Chemists: 24 Conspirators of the International Farben Cartel Who Manufacture Wars (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952); Franz Neuman, Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism (London: Gollancz, 1942); Guenter Reimann, Patents for Hitler (London: Gollancz, 1945); and Charles R. Whittelsey, National Interests and International Cartels (New York: Macmillan, 1946). Joseph Borkin's The Crime and Punishment of IG Farben (New York: Free Press, 1978) constitutes a more scholarly update on the evils of cartels and German business in general.

The NAM Papers are an excellent source for business opinion on cartels. NAM summed up its position on the subject in NAM Looks at Cartels: Positions Formulated by the Committee on International Economic Relations and Approved by the Board of Directors Together with an Analysis of the Economic Aspects of Cartels Prepared by the Research Department (New York: National Association of Manufacturers, 1946). Anton de Haas provided one of the few American defenses of cartels in International Cartels in the Postwar World (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Association, 1945). Evidence of British opinion is to be found in the DuPont Records, in the Berge and O'Mahoney Papers, in the Clayton-Thorp Papers at the Truman Library, as well as in the Records of the State Department and in the Harley Notter Papers, both Record Group 59 in the National Archives. The best source, however, is probably the Foreign Office Records in the Public Records Office in Kew, England.

Berge's papers as well as the Office Files, Personal Secretary's Files, Secretary's Files, and Biddle Papers at the Roosevelt Library all contain information on the revival of antitrust after 1944. The Pewitt Files also offer a good deal of information, particularly on the alkali case. Charles W. Cheape, *Strictly Business: Walter Carpenter at DuPont and General Motors* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), provides the perspective of a leading corporate executive on these events. Reader, *Imperial Chemical Industries*, and Taylor and Sudnik, *DuPont and the International Chemical Cartel*, are useful sources as well. The Dupont Records are valuable for both DuPont's and ICI's reaction to antitrust prosecutions.

The Notter Papers contain all the memos and minutes of the Cartel Committee, and Harley Notter's *Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation*, 1939–1945, General For-

eign Policy Series, no. 15 (Washington, D.C.: Department of State, 1949), deals extensively with the subject as well. The British Foreign Office Records include information on negotiations between Washington and London on cartels and on the development of the ITO. Other sources on efforts to restructure the international economy during and after the war include Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1942, vol. 1, General: The British Commonwealth; The Far East (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960); Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1945, vol. 6, The British Commonwealth; The Far East (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969); Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945, vol. 2, General: Political and Economic Matters (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967); Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, vol. 1, General: The United Nations (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972); Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947, vol. 1, General: The United Nations (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973); and Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, vol. 1, General: The United Nations (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974); Susan Aaronson, Trade and the American Dream: A Social History of Postwar Trade Policy (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996); Richard N. Gardner, Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy: The Origins and the Prospects of Our International Economic Order (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969); and R. F. Harrod, The Life of John Maynard Keynes (New York: Discus Books, 1951). Information on the fate of the ITO comes from the Clayton-Thorp Papers, the Tom Clark Papers, the White House Central Files, and the William L. Clayton Papers, all in the Truman Library.

Court decisions in the antitrust cases, which address questions of fact as well as of law, are among the best sources on the cases themselves. They include Timken Roller Bearing Co. v. United States, 341 U.S. 593; United States v. General Electric Company et al., 272 U.S. 476; United States v. General Electric Co. et al., 80 F. Supp. 989; United States v. General Electric Co. et al., 82 F. Supp. 753; United States v. Imperial Chemical Industries Limited et al., 100 F. Supp. 504; United States v. Imperial Chemical Industries Limited et al., 105 F. Supp. 215; United States v. Line Material Co. et al., 333 U.S. 287; United States v. Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. et al., 92 F. Supp. 947; United States v. National Lead Co. et al., 63 F. Supp. 513; United States v. National Lead Co. et al., 333 U.S. 364; United States v. National Lead Co. et al., 333 U.S. 319; United States v.Timken Roller Bearing Co., 83 F. Supp. 284; United States v. United States Alkali Export Association, Inc., et al., 86 F. Supp. 59; and United States v. United States Gypsum Co. et al., 333 U.S. 364. Mira Wilkins, The Maturing of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from 1914 to 1970 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), contains valuable information on the response of American firms to the changing legal atmosphere.

Chapter 5. Among Unbelievers: Antitrust in Germany and Japan

John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War*, 1941–1947 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), discusses postwar planning. The Notter Papers contains information on plans for decartelization and deconcentration in both Germany and Japan, as does Notter's book, *Postwar Policy Preparation*. Hearings by the U.S. Senate, *Cartels and National Security*, provide a view from the legislative branch.

The chief sources on the occupation of Germany are the Records of the Office of Military Government and the Records of the Office of the High Commissioner, Record Group 260 and 446, respectively, in the National Archives, as well as the British government's Foreign Office Files. Other primary sources include Lucius D. Clay, The Papers of General Lucius D. Clay, ed. Jean Edward Smith (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), and Department of State, Germany, 1947–1949: The Story in Documents (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950). Lucius Clay's memoirs, Decision in Germany (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1950), are useful, as are those of James Stewart Martin, All Honorable Men (Boston: Little, Brown, 1950). Secondary sources include Volker R. Berghahn, The Americanization of West German Industry, 1945-1973 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Carolyn Woods Eisenberg, Drawing the Line: The American Decision to Divide Germany, 1944–1949 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Gregory A. Fossedal, Our Finest Hour: Will Clayton, the Marshall Plan, and the Triumph of Democracy (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1993); John Gimbel, The American Occupation of Germany: Politics and the Military, 1945–49 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1968); Martin F. Parnell, The German Tradition of Organized Capitalism (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Thomas Alan Schwartz, America's Germany: John J. McCloy and the Federal Republic of Germany (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991); and Jean Edward Smith, Lucius D. Clay: An American Life (New York: Holt, 1990). François Duchene, Jean Monnet: The First Statesman of Interdependence (New York: Norton, 1994), chronicles the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community.

The chief source on occupied Japan is the Records of the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers, Record Group 331, in the National Archives. The microfilms of the "History of the Nonmilitary Activities of the Occupation of Japan," Supreme Command for the Allied Powers, in the National Archives, is quite valuable as well. Also useful are Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1945, vol. 6, The British Commonwealth; The Far East (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969); Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947, vol. 6, The Far East (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972); and Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, vol. 6, The Far East and Australasia (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1974). George Kennan's Memoirs, 1925–1950 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), contains information on key decisions.

Studies of postwar Japan include William S. Borden, The Pacific Alliance: United States Economic Policy and Japanese Trade Recovery, 1947–1955 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); J. W. Dower, Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience, 1878–1954 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); Eleanor M. Hadley, Antitrust in Japan (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970); Michael Shaller, The American Occupation of Japan: The Origins of the Cold War in Asia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and Howard B. Schonberger, Aftermath of War: Americans and the Remaking of Japan, 1945–1952 (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989).

Chapter 6. The New Order in Practice: The Cases of Oil and Steel

Daniel Yergin's classic, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1991), provides an excellent history of the petroleum industry. Equally valuable for cartels are U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations of the Committee on Foreign Relations, *Multinational Corporations and United States Foreign Policy*, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess., 1974, and Federal Trade Commission, *The International Petroleum Cartel* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952). Larson, Knowleton, and Popple, *New Horizons*, deals extensively with the activities of the petroleum cartels, as do chapters in Robert F. Himmelberg, ed., *Antitrust and Business Regulation in the Postwar Era*, 1946–1964 (New York: Garland, 1994). The Office Files, Personal Secretary's Files, and Secretary's Files at the Roosevelt Library contain information on the Anglo-American Oil Accord, and the files in the Ralph K. Davies Papers in the Truman Library have documents relating to these negotiations as well as to the postwar petroleum cartel.

Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–57, vol. 4, Western European Security and Integration (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1986), chronicles American policy toward the European Coal and Steel Community. Books on the spread of antitrust worldwide include Corwin Edwards, Control of Cartels and Monopolies: An International Comparison (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana, 1967); Charles S. Maier, In Search of Stability: Explorations in Historical Political Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Helen Mercer, Constructing a Competitive Order: The Hidden History of British Antitrust Policies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Freyer, Regulating Big Business; and Brewster, Antitrust and American Business Abroad.