

Why Canada Needs a Protective Tariff

Summary of Statement submitted to the Committee of Cabinet Ministers at Winnipeg, on September 14th, by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

ACCORDING to the Dominion Census, about 700,000 people are employed in the factories of Canada. Including their families, the number of persons who depend for their living on the wage rolls of Canadian factories number 2,000,000. In addition there are probably half as many more wholesale and retail traders, professional and business men and others who derive the chief part of their income indirectly from industrial establishments. Moreover, as about 80 per cent of the total annual produce of Canadian farms is consumed in Canada, chiefly by the people living in towns and cities, farmers are also vitally concerned with industrial conditions.

Any civilized country that aspires to greatness must be strong in its following departments: national activity; agricultural, manufacturing, transportation and finance. Purely agrarian countries have never reached any degree of greatness; purely industrial countries cannot exist; both manufacturing and agriculture are helpless without the machinery of finance and transportation systems to carry produce.

What part does the factory play? Remove the factories and imagine the effect on the wholesale and retail trade, on the banks, on the financial and brokerage houses, on real estate, on the professional men, on the tax-collecting departments? In the majority of Canadian cities and towns the factories are the direct or indirect cause of a very considerable part of business transacted, because the welfare of many allied activities depends on the ebb and flow of the factory output, the buying capacity of the factory purchasing department and the spending of the factory payroll.

Strike at the factory and you strike at nearly every one in the city or town. Strike at the agricultural and you strike at the agricultural population surrounding the city or town, for cities and towns use the produce of the farms, while the cities and towns in their turn supply the farms with most of those luxuries, comforts and necessities which are part of civilized existence.

Nearly every family in Canada, directly or indirectly, is benefited by industrial prosperity and injured by industrial depression.

The Principle of Protection. As the Canadian Customs Tariff has not been revised since 1907, revision is now overdue. After careful investigation, it may be found that the rates are too high and will consequently be lowered; or, in certain other cases, that the rates of duty are too low and will consequently be raised; or, in other cases, that the rates of duty will be considered fair and remain unchanged. But all tariff revisions are governed by a guiding principle, and this guiding principle of protection or the policy of free trade. The term "tariff for revenue" is misleading because a tariff of even 10 per cent on an article produced in Canada yields revenue and also affords a small degree of incidental protection.

In presenting this statement, therefore, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association respectfully begs to reaffirm its advocacy and support of the policy of adequate protection for Canadian industry (the policy which has been maintained since 1878 in Canada by all political parties that have held power).

Moreover, the Association pledges its support to any measures which will hasten the adoption throughout the British Empire of substantial customs preferences for Empire products, corresponding to the preferences now provided in the Customs Tariff in Canada.

The objective of the protective system in Canada has been and should continue to be— (1) To diminish, as far as possible, the importation of goods from foreign countries which can be produced at home.

(2) To facilitate the importation of raw materials for manufacturing processes, which cannot be produced at home.

(3) To encourage the exportation of Canadian goods as finished products.

(4) To make Canada self-contained by developing and encouraging within her boundaries all legitimate activities that will give occupation to Canadian citizens.

The protective system is, above all things, a national system. The country is the unit. It aims to make the individual country strong in all vital departments of activity. If it were founded on any other basis it could not survive, and the only reason that the protective system has been in operation, in practically all civilized countries, for several centuries, with a few intermittent exceptions, is that the system safeguards and develops the resources and prosperity of the great majority of the citizens of each country.

The Tariff. The tariff protects domestic industry by imposing a duty on imported competing products; in the second place, it secures revenue for the Government; and in the third place, it can be used either as a reason against any foreign country that is using discriminatory methods, or to bargain with a foreign country for tariff concessions that will open Canadian markets for Canadian products. Consequently, the tariff, being the chief instrument which maintains the protective system in

operation, cannot be suddenly changed or abolished without at the same time changing or abolishing the protective system.

Support of the protective principle should not be confused with advocacy of a high tariff. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association has never advocated a high tariff; and does not advocate a high tariff now; but it is a constant statement of fact to say that the Canadian customs tariff as it stands today is not a high tariff and that in comparison with tariffs of other countries it is very moderate.

During the year ending March 31st, 1920, the average rate of duty on all dutiable importations, less the customs war-tariff collections, was 22 1/2 per cent.

The average rate of duty on all importations, free and dutiable, after deducting the customs war-tariff collections was 14 2/3 per cent.

On the 18th day of May, 1920, the customs war tariff rates were completely removed by Parliament. Surely it is reasonable to say that the average rate of duty of 22 1/2 per cent on all dutiable importations and the average rate of duty of 14 2/3 per cent on all importations, dutiable and free, now imposed by the Canadian Customs Tariff, constitute a moderate tariff.

The World Tendency Towards Protection

Fiscal policies of countries are inter-related and swing together like a pendulum towards protection at one period and towards free trade at another period. This fact is significant because the present swing of the world pendulum is strongly towards protection.

Following the armistice, industrial countries, especially those that had been engaged in the war took precautions to safeguard their home markets against a deluge of foreign goods, in order that their

Table showing Total Trade, Agricultural Production in Canada, and Manufacturing has shown a similar extraordinary advance.

Table showing Manufacturing Industries: Year, Capital Invested, Employees, Value of Products.

demobilized soldiers and war workers could secure employment in their own countries. The United Kingdom, notwithstanding statements to the contrary, is not a free trade country. She now applies various protective duties, and has designed to prevent dumping, arising from exchange depreciation or other causes. During his budget speech in the House of Commons on April 19th last, the Honorable Asquith Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated that the United Kingdom had raised during the year ending March 31st, 1920, the sum of £149,360,000 from customs duties imposed on goods imported into the United Kingdom. That is, every resident of the United Kingdom paid a customs tariff tax on the average of about 16 per cent last year. In Canada last year the average per capita tariff tax, including the war tariff, now removed, was about \$23,000 or without the war tariff was about \$19,500. Yet some people describe Great Britain as a free trade country and Canada as a high tariff country.

The business men of Great Britain reacted early in the war that steps must be taken upon the cessation of hostilities, to protect British industries and various committees have reported to the British Parliament recommending a measure of protection for British industries.

France increased her tariff rates during the past year on most goods by amounts varying from ten to three hundred per cent., and as late as April 28th, 1920, she announced a new and extensive list of prohibited imports. Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Spain, Roumania and the Balkan States have made general increases in their tariff rates, and have also announced that still higher protection is being provided in most of these countries, and especially in France, Italy and Spain. Japan has now in operation a high protective tariff.

In South America, all countries have tariffs designed not only for the purpose of protecting their own industries, but for a reasonable measure of protection for home industry. The average rate of duty on all importations, both free and dutiable, for these countries, for 1913, the latest year for which statistics are obtainable, follows:

Table showing Average ad valorem duty on imports for various countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay (1912), Venezuela.

The following clause was adopted by the National Republican Convention of the Republican Party of the United States, at Chicago, June 10th, 1920:

"The uncertain and unsettled conditions of international balances, the abnormal economic and trade situation of the world, and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future, preclude the formulation of a definite programme to meet conditions year hence. But the Republican party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market."

A copy of the full statement may be obtained on application to any office of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

for American Labor, agriculture and industry."

A tariff was introduced in Australia on March 24th, 1920, which is highly protective in character. All British countries outside the United Kingdom, have tariffs that are protective in character, with the exception of certain Eastern countries, such as India and the Straits Settlements, which impose duties on certain imports for revenue.

Official records show that there is not in the world today any country making any pretensions to industrial development that is without a protective tariff.

This Dominion's tariff legislation designed for national development, must be affected by the fact that every great industrial nation today throughout the world has erected protective tariff barriers against the exploitation of its markets by other nations. Were our customs tariff removed whilst other countries maintain and strengthen their markets, would be filled with the overflow goods from protected foreign countries, while our goods would be largely shut out of foreign markets. This would so reduce the markets of our factories as to raise Canadian production costs above a competitive basis; and many of them would be compelled to cease operations.

The best way to determine whether or not Canada has flourished under the policy of adequate protection for Canadian industry is to study the statistics, not for one industry, but for all the great basic industries, and see how they have developed since 1878. Consider first the total trade of Canada. The following table shows that since the introduction of the National Policy, our total trade has multiplied by sixteen times:

Table showing Total Trade: Year, Total Trade.

The products of the forests, of the mines and of the fisheries, and the volume of banking and insurance business have shown the following great increase in values under the National Policy:

Table showing FOREST PRODUCTION: Year, Log Products and Value.

One of the most remarkable developments attributable directly to the adoption of the protective system in Canada, is the investment of British and foreign capital in this country. At the present time there are over 600 branches of United States factories in Canada, employing about 37,000 people and representing invested capital of about \$400,000,000. While a few of these concerns might have come to Canada if there had been free trade, it is an absolute fact that the great majority came to Canada because the Canadian Customs Tariff stood as a partial barrier to the importation of products manufactured by the United States. Although the number of branches of British factories established in Canada is small in comparison with the number of United States branches, as against this, according to Sir George Paish's estimate in 1911, the sum of \$1,860,000,000 of British capital was invested in Canada at that time, a considerable proportion of which was invested in manufacturing enterprises.

Growth of Canadian Agriculture. The Canada Year Book of 1918, published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Trade and Commerce Department, gives the following extract on page 219 of this volume, the following extract appears:

"The Canada Year Book of 1918, published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Trade and Commerce Department, gives interesting statistics in regard to Canadian agriculture. On page 219 of this volume the following extract appears: 'If to the estimated value of agricultural production in 1917, viz., \$1,621,023,999 be added for land, \$2,722,299,000 for buildings, \$22,548,000 for implements, \$387,079,000 and live live stock \$1,102,267,000, the total estimated agricultural wealth of the Dominion of Canada for 1917 amounts to \$6,830,145,000.'"

That was Canada's agricultural wealth in 1917. Revisiting the importance of agriculture, the Dominion and Provincial Governments have given special attention and substantial financial assistance to this basic industry. Of recent years the money appropriated for railway extension has been spent almost entirely

with the intention of providing better facilities for the agricultural communities, and possibly to commodity carried by the railways of Canada enjoys a better rate, than farm grains.

All these measures are sound, and consistent with the doctrine of protection, because they are designed to stimulate and safeguard the great basic industry of agriculture, Replies to Free Trade Arguments.

Free trade arguments are being used today as the spear head of the attack against the protective system in Canada. It may be that many who use the free trade arguments do not believe in them, and are merely trying to create a diversion from which they may profit. But, since these free trade arguments are being used to attack the National Party, it is necessary to show why they cannot be applied profitably to Canada.

One of the chief free trade arguments to be heard is the value of the home market, especially to farmers. It is stated that Canadian farmers sell their products in an open market where the prices are fixed by international competition, and that they buy what they need in Canada which is described as a closed market. For 1919 the gross value of the agricultural production of Canada has been officially estimated as \$1,975,841,000. During the same year, exports of unmanufactured farm produce were valued at approximately \$315,000,000, or if butter and cheese be included, at a little over \$361,000,000. In other words, only between 16 and 18 1/2 per cent of all the produce of Canadian farms was exported to the unmanufactured state while between 81.5 and 84 per cent was marketed in Canada.

The home market under normal conditions is a constant market. In a country where the population is steadily increasing it is a growing market. The foreign market or open market is an uncertain market. It may be lost entirely through war. It may be restricted through legislation or economic causes.

It is natural that the argument about selling in foreign markets and buying in protected markets should be most strongly urged in Western Canada, where grain is grown for export. But the conditions of agriculture are changing very rapidly in Western Canada. Not so many years ago wheat was the principal source of farm revenue in Ontario. What is the case now? Figures for the year 1917 show that wheat constituted 5 per cent of the total value of the total produce of Ontario.

Roughly speaking, a new country, starts growing wheat and gradually develops into mixed farming, and the progress of the Prairie Provinces away from the wheat growing stage to the mixed farming

stage has already reached extensive proportions.

The increase in farm live stock between 1911 and 1916 in the Prairie Provinces is set forth in Table 18, page 195 of the Canada Year Book, 1918.

Table showing Prairie Provinces Increase per cent: Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Poultry.

The growth of industry in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta is also extraordinary. In 1900 the value of goods manufactured in these three provinces was a negligible quantity. For the present year a very conservative estimate would place the value of the goods manufactured in the three Prairie Provinces at \$300,000,000. In 1900 there was not a single manufacturer of Canadian-made goods in the West of the Great Lakes. At the present time there are seven hundred—five hundred in fact in Western Canada—is becoming rapidly industrialized—the great strides in clothing, paper, steel and iron, millings, textiles, building and paper.

The Canadian home market that absorbs farm produce is the population of the cities, towns and villages. Analyze the present and village, and it will be found that a considerable part of the activities of its inhabitants has its origin and existence in the life blood of whole sale and retail trade, transportation, professional practices, and clusters around the factory, the hotel, the restaurant, the business or the factory and business dwellings and the home market declines.

Another free trade argument is that under the protective system industry is devoted to the expense of agriculture.

Taking the Canada Year Book's estimate of the agricultural capital of Canada in 1917 of \$6,830,145,000 and dividing this sum by the number of farms in Canada, given by Government statistics as 730,000, we find that the average capital per farm was \$9,356. Moreover, our industrial development has not caused any unique depopulation of the rural areas. In 1911 the rural population of Canada was 54.07 per cent of the total population. This is a marked contrast to Great Britain, where the rural population was 49.8 per cent of the whole when free trade was adopted in 1846 and had fallen to 21.9 per cent in 1913.

It is also argued that as Canadian manufacturers during the war produced munitions which compared favorably with those produced by other countries, they do not need protection now. This argument ignores the extraordinary conditions governing the munition industry. There was no competition. The price of munitions was fixed and calculated to yield a reasonable margin of profit where the business was efficiently conducted. The work was done to standard specifications. No selling force was required; because the market took all the supply. More important still, Canadian manufacturers secured the opportunity to manufacture in large quantities. That is the pressing need today, and the home market is necessary to supply it.

It is also argued that protection causes combines.

Proper trade organizations produce greater efficiency, better quality and lower prices. Improper organizations cause inefficiency and higher prices. In any case, industrial combination has not reached undue proportions to date in Canada. The census places the number of manufacturing establishments at about 35,000, although this includes concerns which can scarcely be called manufacturing. As the number of employees per industrial establishment in Canada is about twenty, a more serious charge is that Canadian manufacturers, take undue advantage of the tariff, for example, by adding freight and duty to selling price of competing products in fixing their own selling prices. We do not defend such practice, but we submit that specific charges should be made against offenders rather than general statements against all manufacturers, or against the protective system.

We beg to draw attention to an unfair method of attacking manufacturers, and through them, the protective system. A few manufacturers who have enjoyed marked prosperity are singled out. They are attacked in a sensational manner in the press and on the platform. Their profits for particularly successful years, are advertised. Their financial statements are analyzed unfairly. No attempt is made to average the lean years with the good years. No tribute is admitted to efficiency, economical management, or unusual business ability. These outstanding examples of prosperity are held up to the public as a general condition of entire industries.

This method of argument is as unfair as it would be to hold up some phenomenal case of profitable farming, or a lucky strike in mining as an example of how agriculture or mining pays generally.

A recent survey of the shoe manufacturing industry shows, first, that a very considerable number of firms have tried to succeed in this industry, but have become bankrupt, and second, that the average return on the capital invested in the shoe industry was 5.29 per cent per annum. Dun's estimate of failures of Canadian manufacturing firms for the years indicated are as follows:

Table showing No. of Failures of Mfg. Firms: Year, No. of Failures.

This is the other side of the story. For the year ending March 31st 1921, the Minister of Finance, in his budget speech, estimated that Canada's balance sheet will be: Estimated expenditure (including capital outlays) \$549,649,428. Estimated revenue 381,000,000. Estimated deficit \$168,649,428.

Adopt free trade, lose the customs revenue, which he estimated at \$167,000,000, and the deficit will be \$335,649,428.

Those who would abolish the Canadian customs tariff and thus lose the revenue should be replaced by the imposition of the following taxes—a direct tax on unimproved land values and natural resources, increased taxation on personal incomes, increased inheritance taxes, and increased taxation on corporations. As to taxing unearned income as such, no objection is offered, but it must be remembered that vacant land now pays taxes to the municipalities and in some provinces additional taxes to the provincial government. In fact, much vacant land has been given up by the owners in preference to paying the taxes now imposed. Income taxes are now paid by individuals to the municipalities, and also the Dominion Government. Inheritance taxes are now imposed by all the provinces. Corporations are taxed as persons by municipal governments, provincial governments, and the Dominion Government, and also pay special taxes to every province for the privilege of being corporations. As submitted, the suggested forms of direct taxation, while capable of some extension, cannot produce in one year the huge sum of \$385,000,000 (or almost the present entire revenue of Canada).

The fact that the per capita amount of revenue raised by the tariff in Canada is less than in the United States is often used as an argument that the Canadian tariff is too high. The explanation of the fact is simple. The United States imposes a high tariff on imports compete with domestic products. But, because the United States has built home industry by constantly adhering to the protective principle for 137 years, it has accumulated a surplus of duty collected is smaller per capita than in Canada, not because the United States duties are lower, but because the volume of imports is comparatively much smaller.

United States Competition. The United States, with a population of 105,000,000 buys from this country of 3,000,000 people only about one-third as much of our goods which it sells us. Our exports to the United States and imports from the United States for various years since 1907 follow:

Table showing VALUE OF IMPORTS FROM UNITED STATES: Fiscal year, Amount.

Table showing VALUE OF EXPORTS TO UNITED STATES: Fiscal year, Amount.

Last year each inhabitant of the United States bought \$4.41 worth of Canadian goods, while each Canadian bought \$1.34 worth of United States goods. Significant also is the fact that our purchases from the United States are in many cases manufactured goods while their purchases from Canada were chiefly raw materials. It is surprising that the ratio of exchange in Canada and that our money is at a disadvantage in the United States. This is the situation with a protective tariff. What would it be if the tariff were abolished? Canada, in company with the United States, operates at present under certain disadvantages which may be summarized as follows:

1. The United States has maintained a protective tariff for 37 years. Canada has none.

2. The United States has a more highly organized industrial evolution than Canada. Its population of 105,000,000 people, guarantees a larger output of finished goods than the population of 3,000,000 people of Canada. This has already been seriously investigated.

3. The United States has a comparative labor supply.

4. The United States has comparative labor supply.

5. The United States discourages Canadian imports with the customs revenue. In Europe the protective law maintains for them, or we can recover in our determination that Canada shall continue to develop as a manufacturing country, as well as an agricultural country.

In Europe a great known "beneficial penetration" translated, this means the dominant country, the small country, is often known the form of "beneficial penetration" after freedom has been granted. Both in terms of financial and commercial independence.

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between Western Canada and the United States that would make Canada only an adjunct of the United States. It would transfer all their important business to Chicago and New York, with their bank credit and everything else, and it would increase greatly the demand of Canada for our manufacturers. I see this is the argument made against reciprocity in Canada, and I think it is a good one."

It is his reply to the late Ex-President Roosevelt, stated: "It seems to me what you purpose to do with Canada is admirable from every standpoint. I fully believe in free trade with Canada for both economic and political reasons."

Those who do not believe Canadians, when they point out the dangers of free trade, are bringing to Canada, will perhaps believe such men as Ex-President Taft and the late Ex-President Roosevelt.

The above references to the United States are made in a friendly spirit. A certain amount of trade between the two countries is necessary and most desirable. But the people of the United States will appreciate the natural wish of Canadians to promote their own national development, while maintaining with the United States the most cordial relations.

Conservation. There are two courses we can pursue in regard to our natural resources. We can plunder these resources and ship the raw or partly finished products out of the country to other countries, which will take these materials, manufacture them, and ship them back to us in the shape of finished articles at greatly enhanced prices. The other course is to conserve, to manufacture in Canada not only the preliminary processes, but also the succeeding processes and export the products in a finished state. Under the first plan, for example, we export our timber, ores and pulpwood. Under the second plan we would manufacture for domestic and foreign consumption. Under the first plan only a limited amount of rough labour would be necessary. Most of the business connected with the processes of further manufacture, affecting banking, transportation, insurance, would go to the foreign countries, and part of our own population would be forced to emigrate in search of employment. Under the second plan we would carry these processes of manufacturing to the highest stage here, providing employment and creating business. The first plan is free trade. The second plan is protection.

Preferential Tariffs Within the British Empire. On the whole, prospects seem bright for the general extension of British preferential tariff systems throughout British countries. Such arrangements amongst British Overseas Dominions would correspond with the policy followed between the United States and the United States overseas countries, including Cuba. A similar policy is followed toward their respective possessions by France and Italy, and was followed by Germany.

Canadian Factories in the War. Shortly after the beginning of the war the Canadian factory system was practically put on a war basis, and munition making was organized. How Canadian factories succeeded in war manufacturing is illustrated by the following statement from the report issued by the War Cabinet and presented to the Imperial Government. "The manufacturing resources in Canada have been mobilized for production almost as completely as those of the British Isles." Munition work was done chiefly under the control of the Imperial Munitions Board—which placed orders in Canada amounting to \$1,200,000,000. At the peak of operations between 250,000 and 275,000 workers were employed in making munitions including shells, bombs, 64 wooden ships, 44 steel ships and 3,000 aeroplanes. At the same time Canadian factories largely supplied the Canadian people at home and the Canadian army abroad. About half the Canadian arms came from the factories and half returned to the factories on demobilization. If we had not built up a factory system and allied business, if our manufacturing and business had been done for us largely by other countries, then Canada could not have sent as many men to the war, could not have supplied shells, ships and aeroplanes, could not have given large financial aid, and could not have absorbed her demobilized soldiers.

Conclusion. In the course of this statement an effort has been made to show that manufacturing in Canada is inseparably connected with other industries. That a million wage earners and dependents secure their living through manufacturing, and that the most of the remainder of the population derive indirect benefits; that this country as a whole has made remarkable progress under the National Policy of protection; that with the aid of world swinging towards protection Canada cannot relinquish it; that the revision of the tariff should be scientific and take into consideration the requirements of all classes, that a stable fiscal policy of protection with some assurance of permanence is a vital need; and finally, that the aim of the fiscal policy determined as a result of this enquiry should be to advance Canada towards her destiny as a fully developed nation within the British Empire.

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