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MANIFESTOS

BY

RT. HON. SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN,
K.C., P.C., G.C.M.G.

1916-17

OTTAWA
J. DE LABROQUERIE TACHÉ
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1918

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The Appeal of Sir Robert Borden for National Service.

OTTAWA, October 23, 1916.

TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA:

The world-wide struggle in which our Empire is fighting for its rights, its liberties, and its very existence has continued for more than two years. Every effort that could honourably be made on our part to avert war was put forth with the deepest earnestness and sincerity. There was no escape from the contest save in dishonour and ultimate disaster. The wonderful extent and thoroughness of the enemy's long and careful preparation was imperfectly understood at first, and the magnitude of the struggle has surpassed all anticipation. Great Britain's first expeditionary force has been increased more than twenty fold, and that of Canada more than twelve fold. The climax of the war is rapidly approaching. The last hundred thousand men that Canada will place in the fighting line may be the deciding factor in a struggle the issue of which will determine the destiny of this Dominion, of our Empire, and of the whole world.

The most eloquent tribute would fail to do fitting honour to the youth of Canada who have already rallied so splendidly to the colours and whose heroic valour and glorious achievements have crowned this Dominion with imperishable distinction before the world. Remembering the sacrifice by which that distinction was won, we recall with solemn pride the undying memory of those who have fallen.

In the history of every people there may come such a challenge to the spirit of its citizens as must be answered in service and devotion if the nation is to have an abiding peace in the future. The events of this war bring that challenge to-day to the manhood of Canada.

Since the war began, more than three hundred and seventy thousand men have enlisted in this Dominion. Two hundred and fifty-eight thousand have gone overseas, and more than one hundred thousand are now in the battle line. During the first ten months of the present year, the number sent forward will aggregate one hundred and forty-one thousand. From 1st January to April 15 of this year the enlistments were at the rate of nearly one thousand per day. Up to the present our forces have been enlisted and organized more rapidly than facilities of transportation and accommodation in Great Britain could be provided. During the past four months the number of enlistments has greatly decreased, and having regard to future needs the time has come for this appeal.

Notwithstanding the success of the allied forces in various theatres during the past summer, there is reason to know that the enemy is still strong and determined. A mightier effort than may be imagined is necessary to secure a conclusive victory. This war must have so decisive a result that lasting peace can be secured. We are fighting, not for a truce but for victory.

In all mechanical appliances which have played so great a part in this war, the allied nations have almost if not quite overtaken the enemy's standard of preparation. Therefore the result will depend upon the organization, of the man power of the allied nations. Canada must be strong and resolute in that great endeavour.

Our strength can be most effectively thrown into this conflict by utilizing, in all our national activities for sustaining the agricultural, industrial, and commercial stability of Canada, those who through age or by reason of physical condition are not available for service at the front; to the end that we may place in the battle line the greatest possible proportion of those fit for military service. With this view the Government has asked the Director General and the Directors of National Service to undertake duties of the highest importance and urgency. It is imperative that the men and women of Canada, individually and through their various organizations, shall serve the nation in those capacities in which their services may be of the most value.

Thus, it is the urgent duty of the Canadian people to join with the Government in organizing the full power of the nation in terms of human energy.

Under the responsibilities with which I am invested, and in the name of the State which we are all bound to serve, it is my duty to appeal and I do now appeal most earnestly to the people of Canada that they assist and co-operate with the Government and the Directors of National Service in the endeavour for this purpose. To men of military age I make appeal that they place themselves at the service of the State for military duty. To all others I make appeal that they place themselves freely at the disposition of their country for such service as they are deemed best fitted to perform.

And to the women of Canada, whose spirit has been so splendid and so inspiring in this hour of devotion and sacrifice, I bid God-speed in the manifold works of beneficence in which they are now engaged, and I pray them to aid still more in every field of national service for which they may feel themselves fitted.

Let us never forget the solemn truth that the nation is not constituted of the living alone. There are those as well who have passed away and those yet to be born. So this great responsibility comes to us as heirs of the past and trustees of the future. But with that responsibility there has come something greater still, the opportunity of proving ourselves worthy of it; and I pray that this may not be lost.

R. L. BORDEN.

Formation and Personnel of Union Government.

OTTAWA, October 18, 1917.

TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA:

The present Union or National Government has been formed with a desire to give representation to all elements of the population who support the purpose and effort of Canada in this war. Representative men of both political parties are included in its personnel; and it is intended forthwith to give to Labour special representation upon the principle already followed with regard to Agriculture. Impressed by the urgent necessity of putting aside all minor considerations, of sinking all party differences, and of presenting a united front at this solemn and momentous juncture in the nation's history, the members of the Government have come together in the duty of service to the national interest.

The lines of policy which will be followed chiefly relate to the prosecution of the war and to consideration and solution of problems which will arise during its progress or which will supervene upon the conclusion of peace.

They may be outlined as follows:—

1—The vigorous prosecution of the war, the maintenance of Canada's effort by the provision of necessary reinforcements, the immediate enforcement of the Military Service Act, and the most thorough co-operation with the Governments of the United Kingdom and of the other Dominions in all matters relating to the war.

2—Civil Service Reform, with a view to extending the principle of the present Civil Service Act to the Outside Service, and thus to abolish patronage and to make appointments to the Public Service upon the sole standard of merit. The Civil Service Commission has already been directed to make a report

to the Prime Minister as to the necessary steps for that purpose. Such arrangements will be subject to the existing regulations, which give preference in appointments to returned soldiers who are duly qualified.

3—The extension of the franchise to women, with suitable provisions for enabling married women to determine their nationality and to obtain naturalization, notwithstanding marriage.

4—Adequate taxation of war profits and increased taxation of incomes, as necessitated by the continuance of the war.

5—A strong and progressive policy of Immigration and Colonization, accompanied by suitable provisions to induce settlement upon the land, to encourage increased agricultural production, and to aid in the development of agricultural resources.

6—Effective arrangements for demobilization, for the care and vocational training of returned soldiers, for assistance in enabling them to settle upon the land, and for adequate pensions to those who have been disabled and to the dependents of those who have fallen.

7—The development of transportation facilities; the co-operative management of the various railway systems so as to ensure economy in operation, to avoid unnecessary construction, and to secure the widest and most effective use of existing railway facilities; the encouragement and development of the ship-building industry and the establishment of steamship lines upon both oceans and upon the Great Lakes; co-operation with the various Provincial Governments for the improvement of highways; the investigation of the possibilities of Air Service for important national purposes.

8—The reduction of public expenditure, the avoidance of waste, and the encouragement of thrift.

9—Effective measures to prevent excessive profits, to prohibit hoarding and to prevent combination for the increase of prices, and thus to reduce the cost of living.

10—The encouragement of co-operation among those engaged in agricultural production, with a view to diminishing the cost of production and marketing so that the price paid to the producer may conform more closely to that paid by the consumer.

11—The general development of all the varied resources of Canada, and their conservation and utilization to the best advantage of the people, with the co-operation and assistance of the State in every reasonable way for that purpose.

12—Adequate consideration of the needs of the industrial population; the maintenance of good relations between employers and employed, and such conditions of employment as will ensure suitable standards of living among the labouring classes.

The policy of the Government will also aim at a truer understanding and comprehension between the various communities, both East and West, and the development of a national spirit of united effort among our people as the trustees of a great heritage.

For the purpose of effectively carrying out these policies the following methods have been determined:—

1. A new portfolio, that of Immigration and Colonization, has been established.
2. For the effective prosecution of the war a permanent committee of the Cabinet will be established.
3. For the purpose of considering and carrying out the other lines of policy above mentioned, another permanent committee of the Cabinet will also be constituted.

The Orders in Council establishing these committees have been prepared, and as soon as they are approved by His Excellency the Governor General, they will be given to the press for publication. The personnel of each committee will be announced at the same time.

R. L. BORDEN.

Winning the War the Supreme Issue Confronting the Nation.

OTTAWA, November 10, 1917.

TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA:

The twelfth Parliament has been dissolved, and it becomes the duty of the people to choose a new House of Commons. Under the constitution the mandate of those whom the constituency returned in 1911 expired a year ago. But by agreement between the two parties in both the Commons and the Senate, and with the clear sanction of public opinion, the duration of Parliament was, for causes strange and momentous in our history, extended for one year. A further extension was proposed, but owing to the attitude of the Opposition it could not be pressed, and a general election thus became inevitable.

The circumstances and conditions under which and upon which the people must pronounce judgment are without precedent or parallel. Nearly three and a half years ago, in obedience to honourable alliances and out of regard for her very existence and the security of her Dominions, Great Britain engaged in war with Germany. Canada, as became a partner nation in the British Commonwealth, entered the struggle by the decree of her Parliament. That decree was enacted without a single dissenting voice; and it gave true expression to the sentiment and determination of the people of this country. No Government could have lived, and no Government would have deserved to live, that did not give such instant effect to the popular will. Hesitation would have savoured of cowardice. Delay would have humbled and defamed the nation. Failure to mobilize the manhood and resources of the Dominion for Freedom and Civilization would have exposed us to the scorn of our own time and the contempt of posterity. But neither the Government nor the people hesitated. The resolution and patriotism of the Canadian people found prompt and adequate expression. By voluntary enlistment, an army of over four hundred thousand has been enrolled. Three hundred and fifty thousand Canadian soldiers have gone overseas to service and sacrifice on the scarred fields of France and Flanders. Many thousands of them lie in graves hallowed by their blood

and glorified by their suffering. Pride in their valour and their achievements mitigates the sorrow which possesses so many of our homes.

Through what they have done we have a new revelation of patriotism. The nation is clothed with new dignity. But how meanly we shall stand at the bar of history if, through any neglect or failure of ours, the cause for which they fell does not prevail. By the test which they met so steadily and bravely we shall be judged. If their living comrades in the trenches are not supported, shame and humiliation will be our portion. They will have paid a price for us beyond our deserts. What they sowed in honour we shall reap in dishonour.

When it became apparent that the voluntary system was not providing adequate reinforcements for the Army, it became necessary to consider the provisions of the Militia Act empowering the Government to enforce compulsory military service upon all male citizens of Canada between the ages of eighteen and sixty, inclusive. The selection under that law is to be made by ballot; that is, by chance. Under present conditions the public interest cannot be served by a chance selection, but it demands, instead, an intelligent selection based upon a wise and careful consideration of the country's needs, both in the fighting line and at home. Accordingly, a new measure to authorize a selective draft of persons between the ages of twenty and forty-five was prepared and submitted to Parliament. Much care was taken to ensure that the measure would not be unfair or unjust in its provisions, that there would be no prejudicial interference with agriculture or industry, that there would be no preference for groups, classes, sections, or interests. The Military Service Act is a democratic measure, calling the rich as well as the poor—indeed bearing more heavily upon the rich in that it is more difficult for a young man of means to claim exemption on the ground that his labour is needed at home for the support of his relatives. It is eminently fair as between the Provinces and as between those portions of our people who are of different racial origins, because it pays no attention whatever to provincial boundaries or racial groupings, but calls up all young Canadians of the same circumstances, wherever they may live. It is the most effective method possible, for it impartially selects the men who can go abroad and fight and the men who should stay at home and work, with an eye single to

their fitness for these two closely related services, and so ensures that each man is precisely where his blow or his labour tells best. In enforcing this act the Government will proceed upon the principle that the service and sacrifice of any family which has already sent men to the front must be taken into account in considering the exemption of other members of the same family.

There was no thought of compulsion until compulsion became imperative. There was no hesitation to seek authority for enrolment by selection when the necessity for greater reinforcements was indubitably established. It was the enemy—not the Government—which issued the call to arms and compelled a mobilization of all the resources of the Empire. The Government appeals to the people with confidence that the vigorous prosecution of the war is their immediate and supreme concern and that the Military Service Act which authorized the selective draft is but a reflection of the temper and will of the nation.

The Administration in whose name this appeal is made is not the agent or organ of any group, section, or party. There are those among its members who must assume responsibility for the conduct of the war thus far: and such members do not seek to evade that responsibility. There are those also among its members who have no such responsibility. For the Military Service Act all assume the fullest responsibility, as do all for the future conduct of the war and for future measures of policy and acts of administration. It is not suggested that the Government which held office for six years is immune from criticism because a Union Government has been organized, but only that the war is the first consideration, and that to its energetic and successful prosecution union among the people is as necessary as the coalition of political leaders.

No claim of exceptional patriotism or public virtue is made for those who have united to constitute a Coalition Cabinet. But it was necessary to sink differences and overcome prejudices if that object was to be attained. If the object was great enough to justify union and co-operation of political leaders divided by old quarrels and acute differences in feeling and opinion, it is surely great enough to justify the like unity of purpose and endeavour among the electors upon whose decision the fate of the Government and the measures to be taken for the further prosecution of the war depend. In the trenches, Liberals

and Conservatives fight and die for a common Canada and a common Empire. No party wall divides the wounded in the hospitals. Nor do those who minister to their wounds and ease their sufferings ask to what party the afflicted belong. Is it too much to expect that the spirit by which the Army lives and triumphs will be as active and as powerful among the people at home when they cast their ballots, and that here as there the great cause for which we contend will unify and inspire the nation?

But there are other reasons why the Union Government should be entrusted with power. It has pledged itself to the extirpation of old abuses, and to a wise and bold policy of constructive reform. The system of patronage in the distribution of contracts and offices which has prevailed in Canada for generations has been the root of many political evils. It has fostered local and sectional interests incompatible with the national welfare and injurious to the efficiency of the national services. It has troubled representatives of the people, permitted the ascendancy of organized minorities in the constituencies, and affected the independence of Parliament itself. It may be that these evils should have been overcome long ago. Censure may lie upon successive Governments which have tolerated the system, but inveterate diseases succumb only to heroic treatment—and heroism has not distinguished Canadian parties in dealings with patronage. Generally, Governments have lived long in Canada, and when for many years distribution of patronage has been confined to the party in power there is a natural disposition to adjust the balance when at length the other party succeeds to office. Once committed to the system, influences are recognized and interests created that are not easily resisted or dislodged. It is believed that a Government derived from both political parties and strengthened by special representation of agriculture and organized labour, can act with greater freedom and independence than a Government which held office under the old conditions. Hence the resolution to abolish trading in patronage, to fill public offices by merit and not by favouritism, and to establish honest and open competition in awarding contracts and buying supplies.

It is not necessary to repeat in full the announcement of policy already made public. In carrying out these policies the Government engages to stop wasteful expenditure in unwise

duplication of railways, and to arrange effective co-operation between the public and private railway systems. With the acquisition of the Canadian Northern Railway the State becomes one of the chief carriers of passengers and products. If public management is to be satisfactory, there must be vigour in administration and breadth and courage in outlook. Efficiency must be ensured. Consideration of personal or political patronage must be sternly ignored. Accommodation equal to that which the private companies afford must be provided. Measures must also be taken to ensure adequate ocean transportation under national or international regulation, if extortionate charges are attempted. For many years in Canada railway policy was determined, not so much by the needs of transportation as by the demands of rival groups of railway builders. As a result we have a great railway mileage, constructed at heavy cost, with long stretches of parallel lines where a single system could have handled all the traffic, and at lower charges upon a smaller investment of capital. It is believed, however, that Canada will yet develop traffic in excess of present rail facilities; and in the meantime the Government will endeavour to co-ordinate existing services, and improve and protect the national railways without injustice to private companies.

As old methods of railway building have to be abandoned, so old systems of taxation have to be revised. In order to meet the ever-increasing expenditure for war purposes, and also to ensure that all shall share in common service and sacrifice, wealth will be conscripted by adequate taxation of war profits and increased taxation of income. There will be close inquiry into expenditures in order to protect the treasury against purely local demands, and to eliminate undertakings of purely political origin and object. Permanent Committees of the Cabinet have been established for War and Reconstruction. The very difficult and intricate problems inevitably arising out of war conditions are being considered and studied earnestly and attentively with a view to effective action with the least possible delay. Immigration and Colonization will receive careful and continuous attention, always with a sympathetic regard for labour and in full recognition of the necessity for greater production. Thorough and effective co-operation among agricultural producers will be encouraged. The men, by whose sacrifice and endurance the free institutions of Canada will be preserved, must be re-

educated, where necessary, and re-established on the land or in such other pursuits or vocations as they may desire to follow. The maimed and the broken will be protected; the widow and the orphan will be helped and cherished. Duty and decency demand that those who are saving democracy shall not find democracy a house of privilege, or a school of poverty and hardship. The franchise will be extended to women, not chiefly in recognition of devoted and capable service in the war, but as a measure of justice too long delayed. If men die women suffer, if they are wounded women heal, if they are maimed women labour. And since there can be no separation in suffering and sacrifice, there should be none in citizenship.

The Government will strive to develop and stimulate a common patriotism in all elements of the people and all portions of the Dominion. It inherits no baneful legacies. It cherishes no grievances or animosities. East and West are equal at the Council table, and in the new Parliament all the provinces will have equal and adequate representation. In the electoral campaign it is greatly to be desired that reticence should be observed in the treatment of all questions in which smoulder the fires of old racial and religious quarrels and contentions. Those who gave their lives for us on far-away fields of battle cherished the vision of a United Canada. To deny the vision would be treason to their memory.

The Government thoroughly realizes that in this National emergency there is imperative necessity for fulfillment of its policies with the least possible delay. It pledges itself to prosecute the war with ceaseless vigour, to strive for national unity, to administer the public departments with economy and efficiency, to devise measures of taxation which will regard social justice, and to neglect nothing that may be required to sustain the soldiers on service or to comfort those of their households whom they have left behind. Firmly convinced that these objects can best be achieved by a Government representing all parties, classes, creeds, and interests, I appeal with confidence on its behalf for the sympathy and support of the Canadian people.

R. L. BORDEN.