

(December 16)

Modern Diplomacy.

BY MR. URDAIN J. LEDOUX.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "Modern Diplomacy," Mr. Urdain J. Ledoux said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—Following two such distinguished men of my own country in the educational field, and also in that field in which I am engaged, in that of world dominization, men of mature experience, men both large as to their physical person and as regards their minds, and even more their spirit, I feel that I, a youth, a young French-Canadian, am placed somewhat at a disadvantage; and my first words to you are those that, may I hope, bring me your indulgence, that I, under such circumstances, might be called to address you on a subject of such importance as "Modern Diplomacy."

I wish that I could be privileged to address you in the language in which I have been educated in your midst—that is, in French—for one reason, a very special reason, because I feel that I could discuss the subject which your chairman this evening had requested me to discuss, of that of nationalism, in a true spirit of that old citizenship that I was holding on this side of the border, and that is of the Canadian citizen, of a brother, of French-Canadian extraction.

I may truly claim the spirit of internationalism. My parents—of French-Canadian extraction—migrated to the United States in their youth, and married there, in the midst of the strangers of the New England States, lived there for ten years after their marriage, accumulated a certain amount of money, as some did at that period through the most strenuous economy, and returned through that love of country—through that love of what they call "*la patrie de la nouvelle France*"—returned to your midst. And they had hardly resided in Canada one year until I was born.

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When man was created and then was given the companionship of woman, man was bound—a community through ties of blood. Those ties kept him bound, and bound solidly. There was no need of government. Then we had the tribes, then we had the hordes, then we had the provinces, and then these provinces continued on as regions of discord until nearly a century ago. If your mind can be turned back to the France, for instance, of a little over a century ago, you will find it in every dukedom, in every district where a count held supreme, in every district where a baron held supreme, with a different monetary system. You will find it with different customs; you will find it not united, but divided. Within those districts man had found his passions and his pleasures confined—man was of the village. But science came to the aid of humanity, and from then have we seen man progress and go towards that international spirit that you may call empire, or confederation, or internationalism, but that true spirit of brotherhood that is cemented by mutual interest.

Man is no more of the village; man is of the nation, and when I read and hear that some of my former fellow-countrymen, in spite of the fact of their good intentions, through a lack of that communication with their fellow-men of different creed, of different language, of different customs, endeavor to return to those conditions, that we are dividing nations and bringing discord, I can only say that I regret it sincerely, and that I notice with pleasure it is receiving the condemnation that is fully deserved, and receiving a lesson in their midst as regards its unfortunate results that shall, I hope, be helpful in cementing the English and French-speaking elements of Canada.

The conditions in the New England States are similar to yours here, and we both have to battle with them; and, in spite of the fact that through my declarations to-night and through the declarations that I shall make in the Province of Quebec later, where I am glad to speak in both languages, I shall continue to make them, because of their truth; and, if I shall suffer through the criticism that I shall receive, may it be the share of an apostle.

And that, I say, is more than diplomacy. It is modern diplomacy. The diplomacy of the past called for the appointment to the court of other nations the courtier who could lie the best for the advantage of his master, not the man who would brave the condemnations of thousands of millions of people to tell the truth. The diplomacy of the past is defined by Sir Henry Wotton, as this: "An ambassador is an honest

man sent to lie abroad for the commonwealth." Another of an older day—Polix—who was sent on an embassy, was asked whether he was the representative of his sovereign. His reply was: "If I succeed, I am an informer of the people; if not, I came of my own volition," in the as-he-was-going-to-be-hung conditions of those days. There was another definition which might be of interest, which said: "Ambassadors are the eyes and ears of state." I stop at that; they should be.

The other day Mr. Huntington Wilson, Assistant Secretary of State in the United States, appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of Congress to defend the continuation of an appropriation of \$100,000 for special commercial work in the diplomatic circles, and there he showed what they had been able to accomplish through that appropriation in securing additional trade for the United States, and it was baptized in the press of the United States as the "diplomacy of the almighty dollar," or the "dollar diplomacy." It was a new diplomacy.

An evolution has been going on in the consular service, where I have had the honor of serving the United States for ten years—first as consul in Quebec, then in Bordeaux, France, and then in Prague, Austria. There still more is the diplomacy of the almighty dollar evident. Our consular service has become a commercial branch of our government, and the consul has returned to his original function—that of commerce, for consuls were created first by the commercial men of the Venetian State, who were trading in the Orient, and, having disputes in their midst, appointed one of their own as arbitrator, who was called "consul judge." The name of consul at the time had been taken by these magistrates of mediæval times, who, holding the highest office in the community, as man was then of the village, desired to take the highest title that they had been able to acquire from Rome. They were made consuls, and they were men in commercial pursuit. Later the state, seeing the great possibilities through these commercial representatives, brought them under her wing. Then they became not only commercial officials, but also diplomatic officers, and continued so long as the conditions of the world justified it, because the distances were great. But as the world became smaller and smaller, these lost all the diplomatic functions that were not absolutely necessary for the protection of their fellow-citizens. To-day, I may say, as regards the American consular service, 99 per cent. of the duties of the consuls are commercial; the consul has returned to his original functions. He was no more of the diplomatic service; he was of commerce.

I am asking myself why, if the consul has become a consular agent, would it not be wise, would it not be possible, for the nation which is our neighbor—the Dominion of Canada—to have a consular commercial service of its own? Trade agents, if you will, but such as would not only be stationed in one capital of a nation, but would be stationed in the principal commercial points of the world. Trade agents that would not be stationed in any special district or city, but who would travel continually to investigate conditions and report, so that your commerce might be extended. For the upbuilding of all nations it is necessary, if you desire to conduct your affairs on a business basis, to be properly respresented in the management of your sales department. And, if my experience as American consul abroad, and the fact that I am of Canadian extraction and have lived in your midst for nearly six years, and, added to that, your hospitality, may in some way prompt me to leave here this as advice to Canada, you are entirely welcome to it.

But there is a wider diplomacy. The one I have been speaking of is of government appointment. There is a diplomacy that is not of government appointment. There is a diplomacy that depends on the people themselves, and it is of that diplomacy which I desire to speak to-night. It is the diplomacy that shall cement nations to each other. Internationalism shall be the result of that diplomacy—it is the diplomacy of the people. While I was in Europe this year to study international organization I came across the following conditions: Society was becoming divided into strata, and was not going to continue to be divided into nationalities. The nations were coming closer together through internationalism. Congresses were held all over Europe, and the nations and the people were brought together in one spirit, and that of a strata of humanity. We have the strata of commerce, international in character. Men were meeting in international congresses, one of which I have had the pleasure of attending in London—the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce—and there were represented forty-two nations by officers from the strongest official and unofficial chambers of commerce of the world. This was the strata of commerce.

I attended, for instance, the World's Congress of International Institutions. There had been assembled 132 international institutions, representing the professions, representing, for instance, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Pan-American Union, the Telegraphic Unions, and the Railway Unions. These had assembled in Brussels to share in the co-operation

of the different strata of society into a sure and proper support, in the knowledge of the various pursuits of mankind, to the government. There was organized a central office, and this central office was organized to ensure that co-operation with the governments of the world, in order that we may have the proper internationalism in the various pursuits of mankind. We created there, at this congress, an organization that would, as regards America, assure a representation on discussions of commerce, banking, shipping, of our Government. To cite an instance, the International Chambers of Commerce has secured three congresses of nations—first on the question of uniformity of legislation on bills of exchange. For seventy-five years various organizations strived to secure that uniformity which was so necessary to the proper conduct of affairs, but without success. We held a congress at Liege, another two years later somewhere else, and then at still another congress we secured the co-operation of the Government of Holland, and a conference of nations was held during last summer, and this question is to-day receiving the necessary attention to secure a proper solution.

We called a conference in Belgium on the equalization of customs statistics. Then Switzerland consented to call a conference on the question of the revision of the calendar. There was the new diplomacy. The business men, in organization, after a study of the subject, went as diplomats, through their organizations, to plead with their governments to call a conference of nations, and that conference was called because there was the proper backing of organization itself in the midst of the business men, and then they went further. Through this international organization are we securing that diplomacy of modern times. We went further, and organized ourselves into bands of diplomats in each country, that would, when a conference was called, secure the appointment of men who were conversant with the subject—not simply men of wealth, who, happening to be going where the conference was to be held, went as the official representative of the nation, because the nation was not ready to pay the expenses, and a man of wealth was ready to secure the honor. This was a new diplomacy—the diplomacy of business men in each calling, for instance, in agriculture, which is being discussed at this moment at Ottawa.

David Lappan has secured the establishment in Rome of the International Institute of Agriculture, and the King of Rome has subsidized it with \$50,000 a year. There you have representatives of forty-four governments, who are gathering

from all nations reports on the crops of each nation, in order to prevent the exploitation of both the producer and the consumer through false reports distributed amongst the public by men who want to exploit humanity. This is again diplomacy.

This international organization, composed of 132 international institutions, to my own mind, is humanity becoming diplomats, but of the new, modern school. We are all diplomats. Those who surround this table are embryo diplomats. We have all, within our own calling, to go through the school of diplomacy in business, just as a child to secure certain favors from the parents; then in business, in order to secure the trade of our neighbors; and, perhaps, later in the night, in order to get upstairs without your wife noticing. (Laughter.) That last diplomacy is the diplomacy of the past, but it might be the diplomacy of the present by the laughter it has brought. Are we that surround this table fellow-members?—I am a member of the Canadian Club of Boston, and also secretary of the Federation of Canadian Clubs, so it may be additional fellow-membership—are we who belong to the Canadian clubs, and attend its gatherings, diplomats and members of one of these congresses which is not as yet affiliated to the larger group of international organization, but that is on account of its membership in commerce, of its membership in science, the sum of the organizations forming the larger group of diplomacy?

What will give you an instance of the possibilities of such groups of business men is this. I will cite to you what New York has accomplished in the world of business, of modern diplomacy, composed of a group of business men who were extremely occupied in their calling. It started a movement for the appointment of a peace commission by the Congress of the United States. It started out on business principles. It had a plan that was practicable, and the World's Federation League, of which I have the honor of being on the advisory board, went before the Committee of Congress on Foreign Affairs, where we secured a resolution authorizing the appointment of a peace commission, and this is the initiation in the diplomacy that is not purely and simply of national character, but that is of an international character.

With the larger organization that we have been creating in Brussels, called the Central Office of International Institutions, all of these international organizations in that one large group shall work for one thing, and that is the co-ordination of efforts, the co-operation between the various groups. We hope to ultimately secure what these various societies and

such commissions as have been appointed by our Congress are striving to secure, and that is relief from the heavy burden of disorganization, international disorganization in various lines of business, in various callings, but principally in that of world politics. The heaviest burden we have to carry in that line of international politics is that of the excessive armaments. In the United States, for instance, 73 per cent. of our revenue is absolutely absorbed by the cost of past wars and for preparation for future wars, leaving for direction, for the building up, for constructive work in the United States a paltry 27 per cent. This is of interest to you, who are starting on a policy that is of a nature to call for the centralization of all your intellectual resources, in order to understand whether you should follow the examples of others who have preceded you in it.

Without criticizing in your own home the policies that are those of your people, without following the example of one of our distinguished citizens, who has in your own home ventured, after a short period of life in one of your dependencies, to tell you how you should govern. I shall simply tell you the story of what it is costing in one special line, and that is of the larger battleships, called the Dreadnoughts, and in one universal line—that of universal armaments. You might, perhaps, be interested in knowing what you can do with the money required for one battleship of the Dreadnought type.

Here are figures compiled by the World's Federation League:

A 26,000-ton battleship costs \$12,000,000; twenty years' upkeep will cost \$16,000,000 more—\$28,000,000 in all. Then the junk pile.

The cost of a battleship would build and equip fifty manual training schools, wherein 75,000 students might annually be taught.

It would build and equip forty Y. M. C. A. buildings of the largest size.

It represents twice the sum spent up to the present time for the construction of Harvard University.

It represents the combined cost of the buildings of the New York Metropolitan Opera House and New Theatre, Philadelphia Opera House, Boston Opera House, Brooklyn Academy, Chicago Auditorium, and the Paris and Berlin Opera Houses—the cost of one battleship!

It would pay the annual cost of educating 1,000,000 children in the public schools.

A 13-inch gun costs more than many a high school building.

To those who aspire for such costly machines of destruction these comparisons will be creators of very serious reflection.

And all that is needed to make this expenditure unnecessary is a piece of work hardly more difficult than the organization of the United States Steel Company.

What a terrible toll are we not paying for our lack of the proper international spirit—for our lack of world organization! The British Chancellor of the Exchequer says: "To maintain peace the nations of the world spend annually \$2,250,000,000." The nations, by settling all controversies through an international court, could, after reserving \$500,000,000 for policing, save annually \$1,750,000,000.

This saving, productively employed, would build annually 250,000 miles of macadamized roads, exceeding in length the railroads of the United States.

It would build annually six transcontinental railroads from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

It would build annually five trans-Siberian railroads. It would build annually five Panama Canals. It would build annually three "Cape-to-Cairo" railways. It would reconcile annually the losses of four San Francisco disasters. It exceeds by four times the value of all gold produced in the world in 1908.

This is worth considering, and it seems to me that there is a goal for a modern diplomacy—a goal, that of relieving yourselves and relieving the world from the heavy burden under which it is crushed. And that is the diplomacy of the people—diplomacy that, through its legislative branch of governments, shall secure the appointment of such commissions as will study this question thoroughly. By similar commissions being appointed all over the world, and then getting together, they shall draft some plan of convention that shall make this unnecessary.

It seems to me that a nation so new, a nation with such aspirations as the Dominion of Canada, could well co-operate in the work of securing for the world at large a relief from the burden of armament. It seems to me that, instead of simply limiting itself to armament, it could well balance the policy that it may have found necessary with that of the appointment of a commission to study the conditions of the world at large as regards the possibilities of our coming together on one understanding. That is the policy for you

diplomats of the Canadian Club of Toronto, having been told, and having read, what the diplomats of the World's Federation League, who are business men like you, have done—that is a policy, I say, that should be yours, as it is ours.

Let us be diplomats of the almighty dollar to relieve our pocket-books from the drain which it is suffering on account of lack of world-organization. I say to you gentlemen that, after a study of these world-conditions, I have come to the conclusion, in common with those business men who are members of that league, and who are constructors of railways and builders of large industries, I have come to the conclusion that it is not more difficult than the organization, let us say, of the United States steel industry.

As it is, no nation has consented to appropriate even sufficient funds for one man to set to work at it; and when we had secured the authorization for the appointment of a peace commission in the United States, what did we receive but a paltry \$10,000, when, in the same year, two battleships had been authorized!

I desire to make this statement, that I am a big navy and a big army man. That may seem strange to you; but I am a believer in this, that as long as we have this state of disorganized society we are in the same condition as the pioneers of the '49 in California. We had then a state of disorganized society. The man from Boston who had brought some of his worldly possessions there and had started certain diggings found that men of insight had been there, too; others who were not honest and industrious were there, too, and they were pilfering. In consequence, the man of Puritan extraction, who had never carried a weapon in his life, took two, and carried them summer and winter. Why? Because society was disorganized. He barricaded his doors—society was disorganized. But the man was of a constructive mind, and has shown his spirit of ingenuity, after suffering all of the trials of the scanners of the prairies, and realized that he could not continue to do so with weapons in his hip pocket summer and winter. He started to organize vigilance committees, started to organize municipal governments, police county governments, and state governments, and ultimately continuing to keep his weapons because he did not feel safe as regards the system he was establishing or the individual he was placing there to conduct these systems. Gradually he realized that his goods were safe, and that his wealth was not being pilfered, and gradually he put away for a souvenir for his family one of the six-shooters, and the other soon followed, and

society in California to-day is disarmed, as well as it is in the Eastern States. And so I say that in the state of disorganized society the United States is fully justified, as well as Great Britain, to continue as it does without taking the proper precaution of appropriating sufficient funds to employ the best minds of the Empire and of the United States in an analysis of these conditions that force upon its people the heavy burdens under which they are crushed. It is going into an unwise—a very unwise—policy, but, unfortunately, as one of the grand chancellors of Sweden once said, when sending his son to travel over the world: "Go on, my son, and see how unwisely the world is governed."

See how unwisely the world is governed! Unfortunately we are unwisely governed in international matters, and it is time that the business men, the men of different callings, step in and inaugurate that policy of practical business—the dollar diplomacy—that shall stop the drain from his own pocket-book and the pocket-book of his neighbor.

One of our fellow-citizens, with whom I had the pleasure of conversing only last Friday, and with whom I had a long conference on world-organization, has come to the help of humanity, and has given the greatest amount ever given for the peace movement—I mean Mr. Andrew Carnegie. And this amount, I may say, is to be used for a new diplomacy, an organization world-wide in its scope, international in character, embracing these organizations that I mentioned a moment ago, who are of the new dollar diplomacy, shall bring together these various races which are continually looking upon each other as enemies, and shall help to cement in your own country the races that are speaking a different language, that have different aspirations, shall bring them together in a smelter—and there is a smelter of humanity—that of internationalism, from which shall issue the steel of co-operation and the gold and silver of universal brotherhood.