

bring the Latin American countries into some kind of an organization; and a number of other conferences were held. These included: the First Conference of Lima (1847); the so-called Continental Congress (Santiago de Chile, 1856); the Second Congress of Lima (1864); and several juridical and technical conferences. Only the juridical and technical conferences produced any tangible results. But, while the other conferences were failures, they nevertheless created a tradition of international consultation in the New World on which the Pan American movement of the twentieth century was later to be built.

MODERN MOVEMENT

The modern movement began in 1889 when, chiefly because of the efforts of United States Secretary of State James G. Blaine, all of the American countries except Canada and the Dominican Republic met at Washington in the First International Conference of American States. It is of some interest to note that, at the time the Conference opened, one of the States represented, namely, Brazil, was a monarchy.

The United States had also invited the Kingdom of Hawaii to send a representative. This created a precedent that may sometime be of use to Canada. In 1889, Canada was still virtually a colony; and there was never any serious question of her being invited. It is nevertheless a fact that the invitations were issued under instructions of an act of Congress, the preliminary draft of which had contemplated "the establishment of free commercial intercourse among nations of America and the Dominion of Canada by the creation of an American Customs Union or Zollverein."

The actual achievements of the Washington Conference were hardly more impressive than had been those of the early Spanish American conferences. But it created the International Union of American Republics and the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics (which later became the Pan American Union). It drew up a Plan of Arbitration which later became the basis of an unratified treaty on the settlement of international disputes. And it adopted a large number of resolutions and recommendations.

Few of the latter were implemented. One of them recommended the building of a Pan American railway. This resulted in the appointment of a commission that made extensive investigations. The railway has never been completed; but the Pan American highway, to which the attention of the conferences soon turned, is now nearly finished. Some of the other recommendations were taken up again at subsequent conferences.

Including the Washington Conference, there have been eight regular Pan American conferences (meeting at intervals of approximately every five years) since 1889 and over 150 special or technical conferences, some of which have been more important than the regular conferences.

The history of the modern conferences divides itself naturally into four periods: the period before the first World War; the period between the war and 1929; the period between 1929 and the outbreak of the second World War; and the period that began in the Fall of 1939. The first period was characterized by undisputed United States leadership in the movement. In the second period, that leadership was challenged, particularly by Argentina. In the third period, a change in United States foreign policy laid the basis for the substantial measure of inter-American cooperation in the present war that has characterized the fourth period.