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**THE EXTENT, FOCUS, AND CHANGES
OF CANADIAN PUBLIC INTEREST
IN LATIN AMERICA**

1957-1967

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**A Report Prepared By
J.C.M. Ogelsby**

for the

**Latin American Division
Department of External Affairs**

Submitted September 15, 1967

THE EXTENT, FOCUS, AND CHANGES OF CANADIAN PUBLIC
INTEREST IN LATIN AMERICA, 1957-1967

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Introduction

The goals established by the Latin American Division, Department of External Affairs were set out in a memorandum of February 17, 1967. They were as follows:

Specifically, we would like to suggest an initial study on the extent, focus and changes of Canadian public interest in Latin America, and the extent to which this interest has been affected by Canadian policy toward Latin America over the past ten years, or possibly since the accession of Castro to power in 1959. By more precisely identifying the areas of public interest such a study, if effectively presented, would be helpful to the Division and to missions in Latin America in defining our priorities in the area and in developing policy recommendations. It would be interesting to know more of the extent to which the attitude toward Latin America in English-speaking Canada differs from that in French-speaking Canada.

It seemed appropriate to begin the project by selecting 1945 as a starting point and concentrating specifically on the decade 1957-1967. This was done in order to determine the impact, if any, of Cuban affairs on Canadian public opinion. The study carried forward through August, 1967.

The sources used for assessing the objectives of the study included Canadian newspaper comment and editorial opinion,¹ scholarly journals, journals of opinion, letters and comments of the public contained in the files of the Latin American Division, radio and television scripts, and, where time and availability permitted, personal contact with institutions and individuals who have some knowledge of Latin America.² It does not contain information readily available from Parliament or from government departments (e.g. Hansard, Foreign Trade, etc.).

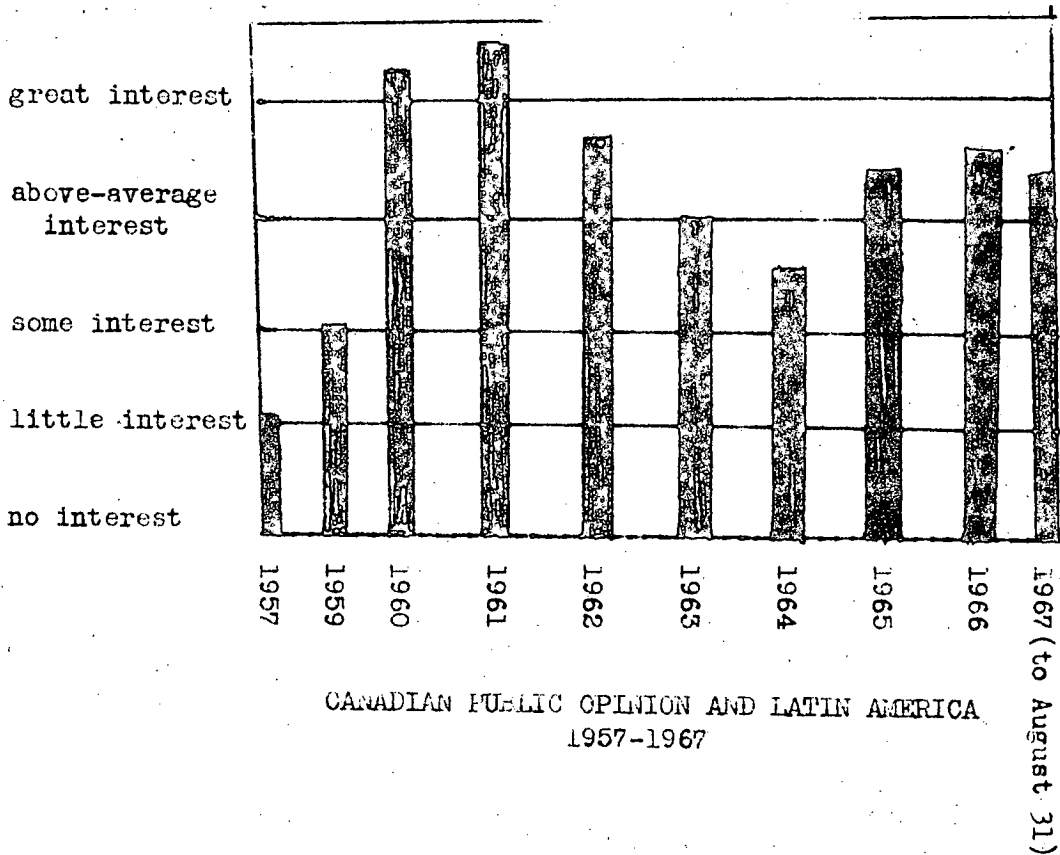
Plan

The report is structured as follows:

- (I) A chronological discussion
- (II) Focus - OAS
- (III) Focus - other issues
- (IV) Institutional interest
- (V) English-speaking and French-speaking attitudes
- (VI) Analysis

I

Since the end of World War II Canadian interest in Latin America has fluctuated:



CANADIAN PUBLIC OPINION AND LATIN AMERICA
1957-1967

In 1947, a Gallup poll reported that 70% of the people knew nothing about the Pan American Union, but 1948 saw a flurry of interest sparked by apparent United States willingness to have Canada join the Inter-American system. But Canadians did not respond to the overtures because, as one scholar suggested, ^{of} the too close ties with the United States during the war and an "intense desire for the success of the United Nations."¹

The decade after 1948 drew very little comment from the public, the most significant event being the "First Canadian Seminar on Inter-American Affairs" held at the University of Ottawa in January, 1954. University professors and other interested persons came from Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario to take part and several proposals resulted emphasizing the desire for improvement of Canada's understanding of and relations with Latin America. But there has not yet been a "Second" seminar.

The year that this study begins, 1957, was a slim year for interest in Latin America. Only the Canadian Labour Congress made a strong bid for improving relations with Latin America. Its publication, Canadian Labour, urged its readers of the April issue to persuade the government to join the Organization of American States (OAS). More than that, it described conditions within the Trade Union movement in Latin America and the difficulties faced by the workers there. The author, a Latin American, and Secretary General of ORIT (Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers) was seconded in his appeal for Canadian support for Latin American labour by the vice-president of the CLC.²

The change in government, and a possible change in policies, did not apparently excite much interest. Time, whose Canadian content was written and edited in the United States until its switch to Montreal in 1962, did however begin its low-pressure urging for Canadian involvement in Latin America and the OAS, with a reference to the Minister for External Affairs' November statement on Latin America.³

The following year was also lacking in comments. However, in October, there was an article on the market potentialities of Latin America,⁴ and even Castro's victory and his first year in power, 1959,

apparently created no ferment in Canadian public opinion. Only the question of membership in the OAS and Mexican President Lopez Mateos' visit inspired any notable comment.

Maine Congressman Frank Coffin stirred some response from Time, and from Gerald Waring, by a speech on "The Empty Chair" made in Portland, Maine. Waring had fun with Coffin's statement that the real reason for Canada's refusal to join the OAS was for reasons of protocol, because the Queen, it was feared, would have to visit all the Latin American states whenever a Canadian visit was arranged. Time, however, presented Coffin's urging of membership in the OAS in sombre detail.⁵

Columnist Max Freedman strongly opposed Canadian participation in the Pan-American Union. He wrote, "As Canadians watch the confusion and violence of Latin American affairs, they must often rejoice that Canada does not belong to the Pan-American Union." He said that Canadians could be friends with Latin Americans without becoming involved in their feuds and factions.⁶

The visit of President Lopez Mateos apparently caused little reaction among the Canadian public in 1959. Time suggested that the lack of interest "underlined anew that Canadians look South very little beyond the U.S."⁷

The Conservative Government's move to develop closer ties with Latin America, however, contributed to marked increase of interest and to a great deal of debate in 1960. The question of OAS membership was a major issue and led to comment for and against membership throughout the year. The Globe & Mail hoped that Mr. Green's January statement in Vancouver foretold "a more positive Canadian policy in Latin America". It cited Canadian trade activities

there and saw the creation of a vacuum as Latin American countries broke their traditional ties with the United States. Rather than have the Soviet Union take advantage of this situation, the Globe felt Canada should become involved in this critical period of transition and counteract Soviet involvement by increasing its own trade and political relations in order to keep "Western influence alive in Latin America."⁸

The Victoria Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs held an extraordinary meeting on March 12th, 1960, to discuss "Canada and the OAS". The participants included professors from the Canadian Services College, Royal Roads and Victoria College, as well as a number of retired professional and businessmen with Latin American experience. After much discussion the members resolved against membership in the OAS at that time and suggested that Canada only join if there was substantial support for such a move in Latin America.⁹

Editorial comment in March, 1960, inspired in part by the visit of Brazil's Foreign Minister, reflected the lack of consensus existing in Canada over membership in the OAS. The Globe began its continued opposition to Canada's joining.¹⁰ While the Vancouver Sun,¹¹ the Kingston Whig-Standard,¹² and the Ottawa Citizen¹³ had articles which weighed the pros and cons, but made no definite commitment.

The Prime Minister's visit to Mexico called for further press reaction during April. The Vancouver Province¹⁴ and the Ottawa Citizen saw Canada becoming more involved in Latin America; the Citizen's Frank Swanson asked if Canada could remain aloof from involvement in Latin America much longer. He said the answer seemed to be no "which may be a sign of our own

development and maturity."¹⁵ A Le Droit editorial declared "Le Canada ne doit pas demeurer à l'écart" and stated that Canada should play a role in Latin America; if need be, in the OAS. It believed that Canada would become no more involved in internal affairs of OAS nations than it did by participating in NATO and the UN.¹⁶

The May visit of the Secretary of State for External Affairs of South America was news and the Globe viewed possible OAS entry as "A Dangerous Commitment."¹⁷ Mr. Green's statements on his return were reported in the Canadian press apparently without much comment. But his trip, and the continued Government interest in closer relations with Latin America, led a number of individuals with varying experience in Latin America to write articles for Canadian publications. These appeared in late summer and in the autumn, and discussed the economic prospects for Canada in Latin America, or were designed to introduce the area to readers. The question of OAS participation was included in most of the articles and the authors inclined toward membership, though it was not unanimous.¹⁸

The special meeting of the Toronto Branch, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, reflected the ambivalence demonstrated by the above writers. In a stimulating discussion regarding "Canada and the OAS" the panelists split 4-3 in favour of joining, and the majority of observers were also divided on the question. However, there apparently was little reasoning and a great deal of emotion generated over the issue; and when it came to trying to discover how the OAS functioned there was an evident lack of knowledge on that subject.¹⁹

Canada's Cuba policy also sparked comment because there was concern in Canada over how Canada's "independent posture", as the Vancouver Sun stated, would affect Canada-U.S. relations.²⁰ Two other writers attempted to interpret Cuba for their readers,²¹ while the Financial Post had articles on Mexico and Peru which outlined the prospects for Canadians in those two countries.²²

The Canadian Institute of Public Affairs' renowned Couchiching Conference concentrated on Latin America at its 1960 meeting. The participants included some of the Americas' most experienced students of Latin America and the subsequent report of the meeting was well-received. The meetings certainly provided an insight into certain racial divisions existing in Canada among religious leaders from the older generation, who, with their nineteenth century religious legacies, had at one another. It also illustrated that there were few Canadians who could intelligently discuss the area.

Reaction to Canada's Cuba policy grew in intensity as 1960 came to a close. Remarks made by the Minister of Trade & Commerce generated different responses from editors and journalists. Time reported the Montreal Star's comment that good U.S.-Canadian relations were more important than a "few fast bucks".²³ The Star modified its opinion in the first week of January, 1961, by pointing out that the American decision to restrict its trade with Cuba would not prevent American businessmen from continuing a profitable trade with the island.²⁴ Editorial comment in other newspapers supported the Canadian Government's desire to pursue amicable relations with the Cuban government, although the Ottawa Citizen warned that U.S. public opinion might criticize Canadian trade policies with Castro, who had some sympathy in Canada, where he was seen

"as a dedicated social reformer."²⁵

John Bird, Toronto Star Ottawa correspondent, made the point that U.S. reaction to Canada's position demonstrated "that a good many Americans regard Canada as different from other foreign countries--just a friendly extension of the U.S., very much 'one of us' ".²⁶ Still, the editors of the Montreal Star, St. Catherine's Standard, and the Ottawa Citizen suggested that, as it was unlikely that there would be a significant increase in trade with Cuba, Canada ought to be cautious about trying to capitalize on the break in U.S.-Cuba relations.²⁷ Kenneth McNaught's article in Saturday Night was not as cautious and he saw the Government's Cuban policy as a measure of Canadian independence.²⁸

Canadians barely had time to digest the implications of their relations with the U.S. and Cuba before being once again exposed to the question of membership in the OAS. On January 10, a report from Kingston, Jamaica, where the Prime Minister was vacationing, stated Mr. Diefenbaker had said that Canada had "no intention" of joining the OAS. The newspapers carried the report on January 12. Editorials the following day in Le Soleil and the Ottawa Citizen favoured Canadian membership, and by the time the report from Jamaica was found to have been in error the Globe & Mail stated, laconically, that the Prime Minister would have been better to have remained misquoted because "Canada has nothing to gain from joining the OAS, and much to lose."²⁹

In March and April, Cuba's situation, and U.S. policy toward it, continued to attract the attention of editorial writers. They tried

to interpret the revolution and the various reactions against it.³⁰

Pan American week, celebrated annually by the Union des Latins d'Amérique, a predominantly French-speaking association in Montreal, did not go unnoticed by a La Presse editorial writer, who mentioned that it was also the Union's 20th anniversary. He wrote, significantly, "Bref, la semaine panaméricaine n'aura pas passé cette année inaperçue."³¹ His remark illustrated the change of climate in Canada as the question of the OAS once again became a contentious issue. The debate on the question was a result of Mr. Green's April request for an expression of public opinion and President John F. Kennedy's speech to the Canadian Parliament in May, 1961.

Time, Ottawa Citizen, Le Soleil, Montreal Star, Le Devoir, Calgary Herald, Kitchener-Waterloo Record, Antigonish Casket, Calgary Albertan, Winnipeg Free Press, Sherbrooke Daily Record, Le Droit, and Canada Month urged membership; while the Globe & Mail, Vancouver Sun, Montreal Gazette, Financial Post, Victoria Colonist, Halifax Chronicle Herald, Edmonton Journal, either opposed membership outright or cautioned Canada against joining at that time.³² Those who advocated a cautious approach to joining the OAS felt that President Kennedy's invitation to Canada to participate more fully in the Inter-American system would seem too much like bowing to U.S. pressure; and this apparently was the Government's response as well. Mr. Green, whose Department received a steady, but not overwhelming, flow of mail in response to his request for Canadian opinion, had become reluctant to move quickly toward membership in the OAS.

The OAS issue dominated whatever Canadian opinion appeared throughout the remainder of 1961. The CLC, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Student Christian Movement (SCM), and the National Federation of Canadian University Students (NFCUS now CUS) all went on record urging OAS membership. There were those with doubts, however, as U.S. Cuban relations appeared to be heading for another crisis which would involve the Inter-American system. One such doubter was Professor Jacques-Yvan Morin, who published an interesting analysis in the January, 1962 issue of Maintenant, a Catholic radical publication. He saw Castro having changed the future of panamericanism whose "Le plus beau moment . . fut sans doute la période 1945-55." He suggested that the U.S., by going to the four corners of the world in her efforts to contain communism, had neglected Latin America. As a result Latin Americans, who had long been isolated within their system, began to look elsewhere and discover the rest of the world. This broadened outlook, and the fact that the United States no longer seemed to be the defender against the "Holy Alliance" but rather a member of that nineteenth century conservative group, caused Latin Americans to look for solutions elsewhere. And this meant seeking trade ties in the wider world and between themselves.³³

The January Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the OAS, held at Punta del Este, Uruguay, excluded Cuba from that body. This action, pushed as it was by the United States, did not receive much support in Canada. Twenty newspapers were disturbed by the action, and Time (now settled in Montreal) could remark that Canada seemed happy to not have been involved in Latin America.³⁴ Even Le Devoir seemed less

inclined to push OAS membership and felt that had Canada been at Punta del Este it might have been embarrassing.³⁵ The Canadian Government's determination to maintain links with Cuba received favourable support, but this did not mean that everyone who expressed an opinion was pro-Castro. Maclean's Magazine was certainly not.³⁶ Canada Month, on the other hand, was not anti-Castro, although it published Paul Kidd's article questioning whether Canada was wise to deal with Cuba if it meant loss of respect in the U.S.³⁷

The OAS debate continued, and Dr. Marcel Roussin's report to the Head of the Latin American Division, on his return from a visit to Washington D.C. and the Pan American Union, reflected his increasing pessimism about the OAS. He said it had lost its spirit and seemed more than ever to be dominated by the U.S. State Department. He still favoured joining, but he suggested that Canada should be more aware of what she would be getting into.

The Cuban missile crisis illustrated how vulnerable Canada was when the two great powers decided to test each other. Reaction in the French-language press, with reference to Latin America, was divided. La Presse printed a letter suggesting that Canada would do well not to become involved with U.S. policy; Le Droit's editorial said that the crisis showed that Canada ought to join the OAS "dont le général est la sécurité économique, social et militaire de notre hémisphère." Le Soleil urged Canadians to encourage their American allies against succumbing to the use of force because of anti-cuban hysteria.³⁸

The OAS question dominated Canadian interest in Latin America in 1963. This was in part because of the approaching election, and Charles

Lynch, a perennial advocate of membership, thought that if the Liberals won they would join. The Conservative supporters for such a move had been weakened by the departure of several cabinet ministers; and the New Democrats, while interested in Latin America, had reservations about the OAS.³⁹ In the event, the Liberals did form the Government, and the few articles and comments published during the remainder of the year pondered about which direction that Government would go.⁴⁰

The United Church's Committee on the Church and International Affairs opposed entry. The Canadian Union of Students believed Canada belonged to the Americas. John Harbron published "Canada and the Organization of American States", a booklet written for the Canadian-American Committee, in which he set out the arguments for and against membership. The author thought Canadian membership in OAS inevitable.⁴¹

1964 was a relatively quiet year in the press and in journals. However, there were some articles published on Canada and the OAS; and the CLC reaffirmed its desire to help Latin America and to join the OAS.⁴²

There was one important development in 1964, which may have profound consequences for Canadian interest in Latin America. This was the decision of the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges (now the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada) to urge an increase in course offerings in international studies. Latin America was one of the areas selected for expansion, and, as a recent report shows, there have been considerable strides made in introducing Latin American subjects into the curriculum.⁴³

In August, 1964 the Second Conference on World Development met at Banff to discuss the topic "Latin America: Challenge and Response". Besides outlining the problems existing in Latin America, and the contributions made to that area by Canada, there was also debate on OAS membership, and discussion on the United States role in the area. Ronald Hilton, a British-born scholar from Stanford University, California, and a very subjective person, was impressed with the discussions which "were marked by that intellectual sharpness characteristic of Canada...", and he noted an interest in Latin America, but a disinclination to join the OAS.⁴⁴

One Banff speech in favour of OAS was published in 1965 in Queen's Quarterly. Arthur Irwin, the former ambassador to Brazil and Mexico, wrote it. And his speeches and writing on the subject during the year marked him as one of Canada's foremost advocates of membership. His cause was made more difficult by the United States intervention in the Dominican Republic.⁴⁵

CBC Vancouver had a weekly series on the "Crisis in Latin America" between January and April which elicited over 300 requests for scripts. The national network's "Newsmagazine" gave extensive coverage to the Dominican crisis; and Radio-Canada carried an interview with the Minister for External Affairs.

A Montreal Gazette editorial of January 24, 1966, on "Should Canada Join the O.A.S.?", pointed out that the issue came up frequently but irregularly and was usually sparked by some Government statement. In this case, it was the Prime Minister's remark during a trip to Jamaica. Mr. Pearson mentioned the possibility of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Canada joining the organization. Charles Lynch's January 25, column

supported Canada's membership, while a meeting of Victoria's branch of the World Federalists had a debate on the issue. This turned out not to be a debate at all, between the Hon. Howard Green, two professors, and a student from the local university, who had recently returned from Chile as a participant in the World University Service (WUS) of Canada 1965 seminar. No one favoured Canadian membership at that time, Mr. Green remarking that the Dominican crisis had shown the need for OAS reform.

In April, the Financial Post had Knowlton Nash's comments on the OAS, and another column devoted to "Chance for Canada in Latin American Block." Queen's Quarterly's Spring issue carried a rebuttal to Mr. Irwin's article by a University of Saskatchewan political economist.⁴⁶

The end of the summer, 1966, found Canada once again exposed to Latin America through its hosting of the 8th American Regional meeting of the International Labour Organization at Ottawa. Mr. Martin addressed the opening session and also had talks with the OAS Secretary-General, José Mora. This activity led to speculation among commentators. A column in the Cornwall Standard-Freeholder summed up the attitude very well by stating that the meeting could be seen as "another big step in Canada's long march to greater involvement in Latin America."⁴⁷

This question of involvement was important from two points of view in Quebec. In June, Marcel LeBlanc's article on "La tactique de l'UGEQ au Québec" in Aujourd'hui Québec worried about UGEQ's (Union Général des Etudiants du Québec) apparently close relations with Cuba's student federation. It was a right-of-centre Catholic reaction to a more radical student group which was becoming revolutionary in the international style of the 1960s. In contrast to M. LeBlanc, the more radical

Maintenant devoted its November issue to Latin America. Its editorial argued that Quebec could do something tangible to aid Latin America to overcome its problems: "c'est de se dissocier de la politique canadienne en Amérique Latine. Cette politique en est une d'inféodation pure et simple aux intérêts des investisseurs américains."⁴⁸

The first eight months of 1967 has demonstrated that Latin America continues to be worthy of discussion. The entry of Trinidad and Tobago into the OAS elicited little comment, although its action deprived those who saw Canada leading the Commonwealth nations into the inter-American system of their programme, and would force them to reconsider their position in the light of this new situation. The Punta del Este conference in April received CBC "Newsmagazine" coverage in which Knowlton Nash presented the arguments against joining. He concluded by stating "But whether or not Canada ever actually joins with Uruguay and other countries in the Western Hemisphere family of nations, inevitably Canada will be drawn closer because of the trade and economic implications of the Latin American Common Market."⁴⁹

Irving and Richard Brecher had a two-part article in the Gazette (which will be published soon in Queen's Quarterly) on May 25, 26. They asked, when will Canada assume its responsibilities in the hemisphere and join the OAS?

Relations' June issue, Sept-Jours' July 1, issue, Canadian Dimension's July issue and Le Magazine Maclean's August issue devoted space to articles on the problems existing in Latin America. The Maclean's article was highly emotional and factually incorrect (It was not written by a Canadian), but all these articles reflected a desire to stimulate

opinion in favour of involvement.⁵⁰

The Government's position was reiterated before the Canadian Inter-American Association on May 31, 1967. The New Democratic Party's convention in July did not mention Latin America in its resolutions on international affairs, while the Montmorency "Thinkers Conference" of the Progressive Conservatives quickly dismissed the idea of joining the OAS.

The Pan-American Games, interestingly enough, did not appear to generate much interest in the OAS-Pan American Union question. And for that matter, there does not appear to have been much comment on closer relations with Latin America as a result of the games. Perhaps this reflects the fact that in most sports reports the United States dominated the games so completely, followed by Canada, that Latin American athletes (save for the Cubans) were virtually unnoticed.

It seems safe to say from the evidence available that there has been more opinion expressed in Canada about Latin America since 1960 than there was between 1945 and 1960. Some of it has been informed and some of it quite emotional, but it has been opinion, nevertheless. The next sections will try to illustrate what issues have attracted attention, what response there was to them, and by whom.

THE OAS

The issue that dominated Canadian opinion on Latin America was the question of membership in the OAS. In fact, Canadian concern over this issue so clouded expressions of interest in Latin America that it became apparent that Canadians regarded the OAS and Latin America as one and the same thing. To add to the confusion is the fact that there appears little awareness of what Latin America really is, a collection of independent states, and a few colonial possessions, with personalities all their own. This confusion in the Canadian mind has not permitted the public to have a clear understanding of what the OAS or Latin America or an individual country (e.g. Mexico) is all about.

Prior to 1957 there had been several scholarly publications dealing with Canada and the Inter-American system (whether the old Pan American Union or the OAS).¹ Canada had been prepared to join the system in 1940, but as Douglas Anglin has pointed out, the United States, the dominant partner in the system, had been reluctant to have her. In the post-war period there was considerable Canadian reluctance to try again. Yet, after 1957, the issue came to the fore as the new Diefenbaker administration searched for new and different policies, and membership in the OAS as a "prospect of a major departure in Canadian policy toward Latin America" offered "an immediate appeal."²

This awakened interest in Latin America has provided a decade of debate. From the Hon. Sidney Smith's statement in December, 1957, until this year there have been appeals to the Canadian public to join or not to

join, and most of the reasons expressed by commentators for and against membership have remained the same:

For

- a. Canada is part of the hemisphere and ought to assume her hemispheric responsibilities.
- b. Membership would increase trade opportunities.
- c. Membership would expose Canadians to a new societies and vice-versa, as well as enhance Canadian prestige in that area.
- d. Canada ought to contribute to the social evolution in Latin America.

Against

- a. Canada is already committed to the UN, the Commonwealth, and to NATO and would not be able to undertake increased responsibilities at this time.
- b. Canada would find itself being damned if it did or damned if it didn't support one side or the other in disputes arising between Latin American countries and the U.S.
- c. Canada already has ties with Latin America and has established its image there as a responsible nation.
- d. Canadians know little about the area.

There have been consistent advocates for and against membership during the decade. Time was noted for its advocacy during the period 1957-62. Since that year there has been a notable decrease in mention of Latin America in the Canadian section, which reflected, perhaps, the repatriation of the editorial staff from New York to Montreal. Charles Lynch has been an ardent advocate of membership and this seems to reflect his early exposure to the area in the late '40s. André Laurendeau was an advocate of membership, but had second thoughts as a result for the Dominican crisis. W. Arthur Irwin, on his retirement as Canada's ambassador to Mexico, became an ardent spokesman too. Dr. Marcel Roussin, author of

Le Canada et le système inter-américain, has until recently broadcast and written favouring membership.³

Organizations which have been consistent supporters of membership have been the CLC and the Union de Latins d'Amérique, while the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Student Christian Movement have expressed their support for such a move.⁴ United Church leaders, on the other hand, opposed membership.⁵

Newspapers which have continued to urge joining the OAS have been Le Droit and the Citizen, both of Ottawa. The Globe & Mail has just as vigorously opposed it, while other newspapers have debated the issue at one time or another. It is evident that they were prepared to take a stand, for or against, during the most heated period of discussion in April and May, 1961.⁶

Opinion journals have not reflected an intense involvement with the issue. As much as anything this reflects Canada's lack of qualified experts in the field of inter-american affairs.

Journals which carried articles discussing the issue at the time of the Diefenbaker Government's flirtations with the OAS were Cité Libre, Saturday Night, Canadian Chemical Processing, Canada Month, and Monetary Times. Adèle Lauzon pointed out that "l'adhésion éventuelle du Canada à l'Oea aurait une signification réelle. En adoptant une telle politique, notre pays trouverait des intérêts économiques et des atouts politiques appréciables."⁷ Nelson Cannon in writing for Chemical processors suggested that Canada could not long delay its decision to join OAS "without jeopardizing future economic possibilities in Latin America.

Politics and economics are very closely interwoven in the fabric of Latin American business."⁸ John Barleigh, writing in Canada Month's forerunner edition, said that Canadians, including journalists were uninformed about Latin America, and that there are reasons for or against joining the OAS, but, "one readily apparent benefit: we would have to learn more about the area."⁹

S.J. Randall, President of General Steel Wares Ltd., was anxious for readers of Monetary Times to understand the need for becoming involved in Latin America. He felt that with the emerging trading blocks it was necessary to get a toe-hold in them before it was too late. Canada, as a part of the Western Hemisphere, was involved in what happens there, and it would be to Canadian advantage to participate in creating an increased consumer market in the area. He implied that membership in the OAS was one means of creating contacts.¹⁰ Kenneth McNaught on "Canada's Pan-American Hot Seat," was opposed to joining the OAS. He cited historical reasons for avoiding membership.¹¹

Canada Month's, February, 1962 editorial, "Another Uncertainty: Canada into the OAS," discussed the issues involved. It believed Canadian opinion was "pretty solidly in favour" of membership, but could still see that the usual arguments against joining were strong. However, the editor believed that Canada was going to become more and more involved in Latin America at the expense of its British and European relations.¹²

John Holmes' account of his attendance at the Bahia Conference in International Journal cited his opinion that "Hemispheres are after all figments of the geographer's imagination." And he saw the inter-american

system as a United States-Latin American historical tradition. He also came away convinced that an impression already established by his experience at UN assemblies had been reinforced: "...Canadians--a pragmatic and inarticulate people--are intolerant of the incurably rhetorical Latins: the more committees we sit in together the less well we get along together." He felt that the Pan American idea might, in fact, be a barrier to Latin American development and suggested that "Canadians...should probe deeply into the future of Pan Americanism before reaching a decision on their own place in our other Hemisphere."¹³

In 1963, there were two articles on the OAS question. Ian Sclanders was strongly opposed to membership as his Maclean's article clearly showed. He outlined the usual arguments, and included his own assessment gained from a seven month tour. He concluded with the unusual argument, "But if there's one reason more compelling than others for not joining, it's the utter mess Latin America is in ..."¹⁴

Relation's December, 1963, editorial in support of membership presents an interesting reason for Canada's reluctance to do so. The reason is even more striking at this moment in 1967, when it is apparent France is still uncertain as to whether Canada is truly independent of Great Britain, for the editor of the Quebec French-language Catholic monthly was obviously not sure: "On objecte nos attachés avec le reste du Commonwealth, la priorité du plan Colombo, la Vocation médiatrice du Canada dans les querelles qui pourraient surgir. Mais au fond on craint l'humeur britannique." (my italics).¹⁵

Cité Libre's own editorial in favour of membership in its October, 1961, edition qualified its position so much that it was apparent that the editor was concerned about the organization. He favoured membership because Canada was an American nation, but he pointed out that Canada must retain its freedom to make its own policies in foreign affairs, and it should be free to disagree with other members.¹⁶ A guest editorial in Canadian Mining and Metallurgical Bulletin strongly advocated OAS membership. The author had no hesitations as he argued, "Latin America... is no longer remote and Canada cannot afford to maintain an indifferent attitude toward our friends, the Latin Americans."¹⁷

1965 and 1966 saw Arthur Irwin's articles in Queen's Quarterly and Canadian Forum and the reply by Professor Smith to the Queen's Quarterly article. There the issue stands for the moment.

It is interesting to note that the one time the government called on the public to express itself by writing directly to the Minister for External Affairs, The public did so. But not overwhelmingly. There were more letters in the Division files on that subject and in response to that issue than on any other Latin American topic. And a December, 1961 memorandum to the Minister showed the majority of the 205 letters received after April had been opposed to membership. About twenty-five per cent of the writers lived in British Columbia (Victoria, the Gulf Islands, and Vancouver) and the remainder on the Prairies and in Ontario. Québec and the Maritimes rendered little response. The penmanship reflected the age of a majority of the writers and the letters' contents reflected their emotional response. A July 6, 1961, memorandum to the Secretary of State pointed out that in

1960 the majority of mail had favoured membership (and a later memorandum had stated that in 1960 the letters, were fewer and had been more reasoned) but that the last few months had shown a noticeable swing away.

It is the emotional reaction to the issue that stands out. It would appear, from reading the material available on the question of Canada's participation, that there is virtually no one in Canada who could adequately discuss the OAS. This is not to down-grade the work of Dr. Roussin, Mr. Ronald Macdonald, Mr. Harbron, and others who have attempted to introduce some understanding of the Organization and what it is attempting to do. But the complexities of the day-to-day work of the OAS, an understanding of its successes and failures, and its potentialities or liabilities in the future elude the Canadian moulder of public opinion. There seems little likelihood that there will be a change in attitudes and responses to the OAS in the near future. In the best Latin American tradition rhetoric will triumph over reason.

III

OTHER ISSUES

LATIN AMERICA, CUBA, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

a. Latin America

Almost every statement on the OAS spoke in general on the existing problems of a developing Latin America and how Canada should participate in this development. Thus, the Canadian public has been exposed to a general conception of Latin America as a "Continent in Ferment" with "Evolution or Revolution" as prime considerations. And the words of A.J. Knowles, that "Cuba has made Canada aware of Latin America", ring true, for it is in the period after Castro's victory that there has been a notable increase in interest in the area.¹

Canadian opinion journals in 1960 reflected this interest with a number of articles introducing the region to Canadian readers. NFCUS, the national university students' organization, sent a memorandum to the Secretary of State for External Affairs urging a greater interest in Latin America.

Professor Morin's article in Maintenant, discussed in Section I, was but one of several expressions of opinion on Latin America's development from Quebec in 1962-1963. Relations carried an article by a Jesuit father in March, 1962, entitled "Amérique latine; Vers la reconquête social". He discussed the problems of the area, the role of Canadian priests there, and the need for many more of them. In April, 1963 a Relations editorial "Jean XXIII, nos évêques et l'Amérique latine" contrasted Montreal and Québec City with Bogotá and Lima and showed how great was the need for more parish priests in the two Latin American capitals.²

Canadian Labour continued to inform its readers of the trade union situation in Latin American countries. It entitled its April 1964 article "Foment in Latin America".³

John Harbron's "Le Québec et le Réveil des Sociétés Latines," in the December 1965, Cité Libre, discussed the Mexican and Puerto Rican experience, where technocrats have replaced intellectuals in the conduct of the "industrial révolutions" taking place there, and compared them with the situation in Québec. He suggested that it would not be absurd for Quebec technocrats to have a dialogue with their counterparts in Mexico.⁴

Paul-Yves Denis, a Montreal geographer, described the situation in Latin America in Relations' January 1966 issue. Kenneth Hilborn pointed out to Canada Month readers in February, that "As a nation of the Western Hemisphere, Canada would be extremely short-sighted if she neglected to watch Latin American developments closely, and to contribute what she can to the economic progress of the area".⁵

Maintenant devoted its entire November issue to Latin America and its social and economic problems. Yvon Labelle, a Canadian teaching in Chile at the time, believed that Canadians were profiting by the exploitation of Latin America, because Canada was a parasitic society, parasitic on both the United States and Latin America. He said that Canadians feel that CUSO, the Alliance for Progress etc. attack the problems, but he suggests that they might actually impede development.⁶

Marcel Roussin's "'Mañana' il sera trop tard" in the June 1967, Relations discussed the Populorum progressio, the Protocole of Buenos Aires, and the Acte final of Punta del Este. He urged help for Latin America because these cries may be its last hope.⁷

Sept-Jours' July 1 issue outlined the Latin American situation in fourteen points; while Le Magazine Maclean's August issue had a Franco-Brazilian's emotional discourse on "L'Amérique latine du sud au seuil de la colère" suitably illustrated. In fact, the illustrations had a great deal of impact, and there is no doubt that Le Magazine Maclean's reader would come away emotionally charged.

It might be well to point out that Latin America as a whole, or individual countries as a part, receive very little recognition from the Canadian press. This lack of coverage has been noted before, most vigorously by Professor McKegney's June 1964 Maclean's article "Why we Know Next to Nothing About 200 Million Fellow Americans". Most news bulletins on the area come from United States wire services, and are coloured for American readership. Canadians receive it this way. French language newspapers, on the other hand, use Agence France Presse, and receive a different point of view. Even at that, only the Victoria Daily Times (whose publisher is W. Arthur Irwin), Le Devoir and Southam News Service appear to give fairly regular coverage to Latin American affairs.

Opinion journals have had to rely on the work of qualified specialists or men who have devoted their spare time to interpreting events, hence the fact that Latin America has received only occasional mention. Canadian Forum over the last seven years has had articles on Venezuela, Cuba, Chile, Mexico and Argentina; Commentator has more recently been including articles by James Nelson Goodsell, the respected Latin American correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, as well as articles written by Canadian specialists;

Canadian Dimension has carried articles on Cuba and the Dominican Republic; and Cité Libre has had articles on Cuba and Brazil. A glance at the contents of International Journal, the publication of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, reflects perhaps the interests of specialists at work in Canada. This is illustrated by the following:

Articles appearing in International Journal, 1957-67 on:

U.S.A.	-	10	Europe	-	54
U.N.	-	5	Africa	-	14
Great Britain	-	6	Asia	-	18
Commonwealth	-	8	LATIN AMERICA	-	3
Africa	-	19			
Asia	-	17			
West Indies	-	2			
Antipodes	-	5			

Over the past years the Institute itself, however, has had a number of speakers drawn from Canada and abroad who have discussed aspects of Latin America. Until very recently both the Institute and its journal have not had many specialists on Latin America available in Canada upon whom they could call for talks or articles. It is worth noting that the Institute's Toronto Branch had a highly successful Canada-Mexico study group (led by John Harbron and John Sokol). The group finished its programme with a very stimulating colloquium in October 1966.

b. Cuba

Canadian interest in Cuba grew as a result of the conflict emerging between Premier Castro and the United States. It is interesting to note that Canada's perpetual need to demonstrate its independence from United States foreign policy appears to have been as great a stimulus in creating Canadian

interest in Cuba as have the activities of Dr. Castro. There is evidence too that it may even have been greater. Certainly there was concern expressed that perhaps Canada had gone too far in its refusal to follow the United States lead, but on the other hand, many writers saw Cuba as a means of Canada's asserting itself.

The debate on this issue was heaviest in the period 1960-61, when United States-Cuban relations went from bad to worse. It carried on through the Missile Crisis, 1962, and then tapered off.

Castro had only been thirty days in power when Saturday Night published John Harbron's "Can Castro Keep Cuban Politics Clean?" The article was an attempt to assess the Cuban situation in the light of the past, and Harbron believed that Cuba's future would be as unsettled and unstable as the past.⁸

Relations had articles in July and September 1960 also trying to understand Castro. They were cautious and not very optimistic about the future either. There was still a hope that Cuba was not Communist, however. A Université de Montréal law student, writing in the University paper, said of her visit to Cuba that she found it was not Communist and that it remained "profoundly catholic". She wrote in October at the time the Government was declining to support a U.S. blockade of Cuba.⁹

The question of Cuba's direction was discussed in Saturday Night's November 12, 1960, issue by a Canadian graduate student at Harvard. Barry Lando asked "Is Cuba a Communist Beachhead?", and proceeded to discuss the problems of Latin America and Canada's lack of involvement in the area. He did not feel that the Castro government was Communist.¹⁰

Norton Anderson thought "Canada Has 'Hysteria' Over Cuban Situation". In his Financial Post article he said the decision to continue trade with Cuba had been carried out of all proportion to the existing facts. The facts, as he saw them were, that Canada had relatively little trade with Cuba and that it might go only from \$15 million to \$18 million. He also felt that reports of Cuba's nationalization of Canadian firms was poorly explained.¹¹

The whole issue flared up in the press in the first week of January, 1961, with comments for and against Canadian policy toward Cuba. Those opposed to it did so on the grounds that it might hurt our relations with the U.S.; those supporting it did so with exuberance because Canada was taking an independent stand. The Globe & Mail thought that Canada had a right to differ with the U.S. and "...Canada is better off to pursue a pragmatic course, dealing civilly with Cuba just so long as Cuba deals civilly with us." The Telegram believed Canada should keep her lines of communication open with Cuba, but should not try to profit "from the misfortunes of others." The Ottawa Citizen cautioned Canada to go slow and not try to take advantage of the U.S. break with Cuba. The Star suggested that Canadians should not worry too much about the U.S. It felt that Americans would still do all right in Cuban trade.¹² Kenneth McNaught regarded the Government's steps as a measure of independence.¹³

The Bay of Pigs in April, 1961, did excite some response in the press. Le Soleil regarded the Caribbean as the powder-keg of the Americans. Le Devoir said Mr. Diefenbaker has had hard words for Castro since he had established a Communist bridgehead in Latin America, but that the Prime Minister has also said that he believes Castro ought to be allowed to prosper in peace. The editor would like to have communism removed but does not want to see Cuba return to economic domination by the U.S..¹⁴

Adèle Lauzon's article, "Castro a-t-il trahi sa révolution?" in Cité Libre did not think that Castro had done so. She reasoned this was so, because now the government was going to do things for the majority, sacrificing no one.¹⁵

The Spring of 1962 saw several articles on Cuba. William Eccles wrote on "Cuba's Program to Export Revolution" in Maclean's, which was a description of his experience in Cuba. He noted the almost religious fervour of those who had stayed in Cuba and how they were infecting other Latin Americans who had been invited to the island in order to learn how to export the Cuban revolution.¹⁶

Francois Piazza discussed the Punta del Este Conference as "La Farce est jouée". He did not approve as the U.S. forced the expulsion of Castro's government from the OAS. He also remarked on Canada's relations with Castro by writing "Nous ne pouvons qu'approuver la réponse sèche et presque agacée de M. Diefenbaker".¹⁷ Canada Month had an article by Paul Kidd which did not agree with M. Piazza: "Canadians could indeed wonder whether the pickings made up for their loss of respect in the U.S., or for their own bad conscience."¹⁸

The Cuban missile crisis excited some editors, but the general impression gained is that most editors felt that the events were in the hands of the great powers and that there was little Canada could do. The Prime Minister's suggestion of neutral inspection was not well-received in Washington, Le Soleil noted, and there was little to be done. An editorial in Maclean's thought that there was something to be done, and that was to break relations with Cuba and stop pretending to be neutral in the struggle against communism.¹⁹

After that, Cuba-Canadian relations began to fade away as a public issue.

In the days prior to the election of 1963, Maclean's carried an article by Knowlton Nash entitled "Public opinion in Cuba. Diefenbaker, si! Pearson, no!" The Cubans had liked Diefenbaker's anti-U.S. stand. Nash's impression was that Cubans regarded Canadians as rather like themselves because they were both engaged in a struggle for survival against the U.S.²⁰

The Dominican Republic

Canadians generally disapproved of the U.S. intervention. Letters to the Minister for External Affairs reflect this, although the content is highly emotional and many of the writers appear to have been retired from an active life. But newspapers, television, and radio comment centred on the unilateral action by the U.S. and most hoped that the OAS presence might be able to bring order out of chaos. There was little post-intervention interest expressed.

Summary

In sum, it would appear that the concept of Latin America as a single unit, with its social and economic problems, concerned certain Canadians between 1957-1967. It also appears that Cuba was an important and debateable issue between 1959-1963. What stands out is that, save for Cuba, no other country in Latin America has merited a great deal of attention in the Canadian press or opinion journals. An occasional article on Mexico, Brazil, Argentina etc. may provide information, but the lack of intense or repeated coverage that can shape an informed opinion is missing.

IV

INSTITUTIONAL INTEREST

Certain sectors of Canadian society expressed an interest in Latin America at one time or another during the 1957-67 period.

Academic

The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) and its predecessor (NCCUC) have undertaken to stimulate university interest in international affairs programmes. One of the areas selected was Latin America, and a number of universities have expanded into Latin American studies (the most active at the moment are Laval, Toronto, Western, and Calgary). The AUCC has also decided to establish communication with Latin American universities and their 1966 general meeting passed several resolutions with this in mind:¹

- 1) Resolved that a (standing) committee of the AUCC be established to examine all matters pertaining to inter-university co-operation with Latin American countries...
- 2) ... that the International Programmes division... take the initiative in co-operation with the Department of External Affairs, the National Research Council, The Canada Council, UNESCO and other interested agencies, in providing selected Latin American institutions with Canadian publications in appropriate fields.
- 3) ...the AUCC offer its full co-operation to the Canadian Government for the early establishment of a scholarships and fellowships programme for Latin-American countries, similar to those programmes that are successfully in operation with Commonwealth and French-speaking countries.

Monsignor Garneau, the Associate Director of AUCC, has said that his committee on Latin America is presently undertaking to carry out the resolutions.

A letter was sent to each of the Provincial Department of Education requesting information on the teaching of Latin America in the primary and secondary schools. Only Ontario had not replied at the moment of completion of this report.

The response shows that Latin America is not a neglected field by any means. More time is spent studying it at primary level on such topics as "Plains life" (Argentina)", "Mountain life" (Mexico) than is done, in most cases, in the secondary school curriculum. The latter includes mention of the conquest, the wars of independence, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Good Neighbour Policy, but the study of post-independence Latin America is usually mentioned in the wider context of European and North American affairs. It is worth noting that students in the province of Quebec get fewer hours of instruction on Latin America and, also, rarely discuss the post-independence period. This is not the case in the eight other provinces where there is planned discussion on the republican period.

The correspondence in Latin American Division files included a number of requests from school children and university students. They always needed information on "Canada and the OAS" for their essays and debates. This demonstrates that teachers and professors continue to regard Canada and the OAS as a worthy topic.

The exposure to Latin America in the social studies programmes will no doubt increase as more teachers become familiar with the area. Certainly the enrollments in university extension and summer courses on Latin America indicate that there is interest in this "exotic" field. And teachers who have an interest and awareness of "exotic" subjects have an opportunity to present them in the majority of provincial educational programmes.

The expansion of Latin American subjects in the universities is a result of increased affluence as much as it is, as some American Latin Americanists have stated, to Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution. It is also a result of a need to know about long-ignored areas of the world because they can no longer be ignored. Therefore it is not surprising to find the universities as centres where discussions on Latin America are held. Since 1964, the universities of Victoria, British Columbia, Calgary, Saskatchewan, Toronto, Waterloo, Western, Montréal, McGill, Sir George Williams, and Laval have all had meetings or public seminars devoted to Latin American topics. In 1966-67, the University League for Social Reform's seminar on Canadian Foreign Policy discussed Cuba and Latin America as part of its programme.

Religious

As is well-known the Canadian Catholic Church has been active in Latin America for many years, and at the moment there are 1, 791 Canadians in Latin America. Of that number 210 are English-speaking. The countries which have the most Canadians are Bolivia (121), Brazil (315), Haiti(375), Honduras (122), and Peru (356). Since 1961, when 1,157 Canadians were in Western Hemisphere colonies and republics outside of North America, there has been a yearly increase in the number of volunteers. The majority of these volunteers have gone to Latin America.

Father Gérard Dionne, the new Director of the Canadian Catholic Office for Latin America, has said that volunteers continue to offer themselves for service in Latin America, and that there is a continual call for such volunteers from the Church authorities there.²

This interest in Latin America has led one of Father Dionne's predecessors publicly to urge membership in the OAS.³ The activities and contacts of missionaries who have returned from Latin America has also had some influence on others. Two 1966 CUSO volunteers e.g. attributed their desire to go to Latin America to their contact with returned missionaries. And within clerical circles, there are obviously more such cases.

No information on Protestant activity in Latin America was seen, but they are known to be very active. Only the United Church did make its position on membership in the OAS quite clear. It opposed such membership.⁴

Labour

The CLC has continued to advocate closer contact with Latin America and membership in the OAS. Its OAS position has been contrary to that recently held by the CLC's political affiliate, the New Democratic Party.

Journalists

Charles Lynch and Paul Kidd of Southam News Service have continued to be ardent advocates of involvement in Latin America; Lynch, particularly, supports joining the OAS. John Harbron, now of the Toronto Telegram, and former editor of Executive, has been one of the few journalists to concentrate on Latin American affairs. He has urged membership in OAS. Other syndicated columnists have occasionally written their views on Latin America, when the issue appeared to warrant it. But Canada has lacked journalists with experience and knowledge of the area or of the OAS. Gerald Clark of the Montreal Star, who is not a Latin American specialist, nevertheless wrote a perceptive book on the subject. His Coming Explosion in Latin America

received approbation by American scholars. It was also read by a number of Canadians.

Students

University students have exhibited a "revolutionary spirit" in the '60s, much of it inspired by an awareness of international problems and by activities in the United States and Latin America, particularly in Cuba. The Canadian Union of Students (CUS and formerly NFCUS) has been a leader in directing this awareness. Through its International Affairs department it has attempted to urge the members to have seminars on developing countries, it has organized trips abroad (including Cuba in 1966), and it has established relations with a number of Latin American student federations. In 1960, it sponsored an International Student Workshop in Chile. All this activity is a result of the belief that "Canadian students will have much to gain by closer alliance and co-operation with those of our hemisphere."⁵ In its 1965-66 "Working Paper" 27 of its 63 pages was devoted to reports on Latin America.

UCEQ (Union Général des Etudiants du Québec), a body independent of CUS, has also exhibited an interest in Latin America. This interest has been directed toward sympathy with social revolutionary aims and contact with Cuba.

The World University Service of Canada, has, on the other hand, had as its international commitment a closer understanding of other nationalities.

Recently it devoted 1964-65 to Chile (in 1965-66 it was Turkey). During the year each university that was a WUS member selected a student who would study Chile for a year and then spend the summer there. On his return the student was expected to acquaint the student body of his university with his experiences through talks, motion pictures, and essays in the student paper. WUS also had a seminar at Sir George Williams University, Montreal, where the focus was on Latin America. It published the proceedings in its Scope.

The Student Christian Movement of Canada also has urged closer relations with Latin America. Its National council in 1961 resolved to urge "that Canada become a member of the Organization of American States."⁶

The Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) began to send volunteers to Latin America in 1965. This was several years after its foundation, but as a number of potential volunteers expressed an interest in the area, it seemed logical to expand CUSO's programme to include Latin American countries when it was possible to do so. In 1967, 9% of CUSO's 727 applicants had Latin America as their first preference.

The response to a questionnaire sent to the fifty-four 1967 CUSO volunteers appointed to Latin America was small, but it did indicate (because of the nature of the questions asked) that for most of the volunteers the area in which they served was secondary to their interest in work in a developing country. However, seven did state that they especially selected Latin America because of previous interest in the area. French-speaking respondents and English-speaking respondents of this nature had usually been

influenced in their choice by contact with a teacher or cleric. Three indicated that their university work inspired them, and two replied that their contact with missionaries or clerics had been responsible for their interest. One had visited Mexico and liked it, while another's father had been an engineer in S.E. Brazil. Otherwise most of the 54 volunteers were going there because there were openings there.

An assessment of the CUSO volunteers' position seems to reflect that exposure to Latin America is still in the developing stage. But the return of the volunteers who have been in Latin America will contribute an increasing number of experienced people who can speak with some authority on the subject.

Latin America, then, is an area which appeals to students. It is not the only area, however, on which they concentrate, and is but one of several areas where those students with an interest in international affairs and who have a social consciousness can direct their attention.

Business

There has been interest in Latin America among certain sectors of the business community for many years. The Canadian Inter-American Association (with branches in Toronto and Montreal) has been in existence since 1943 and its support comes mainly from corporate members. It has not had much impact, however, as an organization in influencing public opinion or in contributing to the development of closer ties with Latin America.

The Canadian Chamber of Commerce has also expressed its desire for closer relations with Latin America during the past decade. In 1961, its

annual brief to the Government urged membership in OAS. And the Engineering Institute of Canada has a role in the Union of Pan American Engineering Institution. The Chemical Institute of Canada, also, has contact with Latin America.

It is obvious that the Government's expressed interest in Latin America stimulated the business community. Articles placed in such journals as the Financial Post, Monetary Times, Canadian Chemical Processing and Canadian Business in late 1960, and early 1961, reflected this. Businessmen were urged to look at Latin America as a potential market, and to consider the pros and cons of membership in the OAS. After 1961 there was a notable decline in the number of articles dealing with the area. As the business community settled back into its old channels, John Harbron's report of a comment, "Why try and sell in Bogotá when I can make a buck in Windsor?", apparently had some validity.⁷

The Financial Post has been the most consistent publication in urging Canadian businessmen to look south of the United States for markets. As Latin America moved very slowly toward a common market, the journal has urged Canadians to move more quickly so that Canada is not shut out. But even its writers are not really sure about what is taking place or how best to respond to such a move on the part of the Latin Americans.

It is also apparent that Canadian business, like the public at large, prefers to have government take the initiative. The lack of interest in Latin America before 1960-1961 and the lack of interest afterward demonstrate this.

The General Public

Only a small number of Canadians react to Latin American issues. The 205 letters to the Secretary of State in 1961, in direct response to an appeal to the public, demonstrate this. It is also evident that the majority of correspondents were retired people with time on their hands. Only occasionally was there a letter from a person who had attempted a reasoned rather than an emotional response.

The two issues that inspired the most letters to the Secretary of State were the OAS and the Dominican crisis. The latter were anti-American in tone. The former were divided on the issue, but the majority opposed membership.

One correspondent wrote his M.P. in 1963 on the OAS question, and he was obviously concerned enough to poll his fellow employees. He said 95% opposed membership: the older the individual, the stronger the opposition.

FRENCH SPEAKING AND ENGLISH SPEAKING

ATTITUDES

There seems to be very little difference in attitudes toward Latin America in the two linguistic groups. It has often been suggested that French-Canadians have a greater affinity for Latin America than their English language compatriots. A study of attitudes, as expressed in opinion journals and in the press, does not confirm this.

The concept of Latinité has been held by a very small minority of intellectuals in Quebec, but only rarely have these intellectuals had much knowledge of the society with which they consider they have some cultural affinity.¹ Latin Americans also have this misconception as Adèle Lauzon pointed out in the July 1967, Le Magazine Maclean. She wrote, "...ils nous perçoivent dès le départ comme un foyer de résistance possible à l'envahissement américain, indépendamment des affinités culturelles que nous pouvons avoir avec eux." But the point has been made that almost everyone, English or French, "thinks" there is this affinity and it is ever regarded thus. The evidence seems to show, however, that the Anglo-Saxon society, with some probable exceptions because of traditional biases, stereotyping, and ignorance, have as great an interest in having closer relations with Latin America.

Both linguistic groups have organizations dedicated to developing closer relations with Latin America. The Union des Latins d'Amérique, founded in 1940 as a Quebec nationalist organ, became less political after 1945 and has devoted its attention to urging closer co-operation with the Pan American Union-OAS and to the teaching of

Spanish, Portuguese and Italian. Its membership is around 1500 and it is centred in the Montreal area.

The Canadian Inter-American Association is the Union's English-speaking counterpart and it too desires to create interest in Latin America. It was founded in 1943, and has been dominated by its corporate members, who saw, it would seem, an opportunity for the expansion of Canadian trade in Latin America. It, too, has offered courses in Spanish at its Montreal and Toronto branches. The Montreal branch incorporated Toronto into the CIAA when it appeared that a group of Toronto businessmen, inspired by their trip to Latin America in 1953 with the Hon. C.D. Howe, decided to organize their own association.

There are also a number of other clubs in both linguistic groups which have as their goal a furthering of knowledge about Latin America. Almost every university has its Círculo or Tertulia, while Winnipeg has its own Latin American Institute, founded in 1941, by Mrs. E.B. Bollert. Since its foundation, this institute has continued to offer Spanish classes as well as programmes devoted to cultural affairs. The Institute was very proud of the fact that it would be ready and able to assist in the Pan-American games, and one of its "graduates" served as interpreter for Winnipeg's delegation to Sao Paulo, where they made their successful application to serve as hosts.²

The Roman Catholic Church has its most numerous adherents in French-speaking Canada. And the Church in Canada has supplied an

increasing number of missionaries to Latin America. Seven out of eight are French-speaking. This religious link with a Catholic Latin America is often presumed to mean that French-speaking Canadians are more interested in Latin America. The evidence would seem to indicate that Catholic journals such as Relations and Maintenant have not devoted a great deal of space to Latin American topics.

The Church's attitude, too, appears to be more concerned with the fact that there is a desperate shortage of priests in Latin America. Canadians can supply personnel to fill these needs because they are Catholic. However, the Canadian missionaries have had to adjust to Latin American Catholicism and have found it quite different from their own experience.

Both English and French-speaking missionaries from Canada tend to be more interested in spiritual than "revolutionary" activity. It is interesting to note that one such Canadian Father, Charles Conroy, went to Peru with the aim of improving the spiritual outlook of his new parish. He soon became involved in the worldly issues of improving their social and economic conditions. He has described this change in outlook in his letters, published posthumously in 1966.³ Father Conroy's experience has been shared by others.

Both English and French speaking writers have been concerned with the problems existing in Latin America and have urged more Canadian activity there. French-language newspapers and journals have tended to have articles in favour of OAS membership, but this has been by no means unanimous. There have been qualifications concerning this as well. La Presse has not favoured membership, while Le Devoir became disillusioned at the time of the Dominican crisis. And those who were whole hearted in

their espousal of involvement in that organization did not really differ from their English-language compatriots.

On the other hand, English-language newspapers and journals have had more argument for and against membership in the OAS. This would seem to reflect that the division is greater in English-speaking Canada on the subject and that there is some reluctance to participate in the Hemisphere, if it has to be done through the OAS. But there has been no notable expression of opinion that Canada should not become more involved in Latin America. Those opposed to the OAS were not opposed to extending Canadian activity in Latin America.

Canadian journals in both languages carried comment, then, which was in support of increased Canadian activity in Latin America. There were minor differences of approach between French and English Canadians' writings on the subject, but none suggested that his linguistic compatriots were better able to aid in this proposed increased activity. There appears to be unanimity that Canadians could do it.

ANALYSIS

It appears from the result of this examination into Canadian public opinion concerning Latin America that there has developed an increasing awareness of the region. Several points concerning this awareness are readily apparent.

- 1) Canadians still regard Latin America as a monolithic unit. There is little comprehension or awareness of the region's many parts, the varieties of peoples, and the various stages of development that exist there.
- 2) Canadians have difficulty distinguishing between Latin America and the OAS. They seem to regard them as one and the same thing; in other words, most commentators feel that it is impossible to be involved in Latin America without being a member of the OAS.
- 3) Canadians become more aware of Latin America and its parts when there is a crisis in U.S. relations with that area. This permits Canadians to demonstrate latent anti-Americanism or their "independence" because of their lack of involvement.
- 4) There is no one in Canada who really knows intimately how the OAS functions. There is a great deal of emotion generated by the OAS, but opinion is by-and-large uninformed as to the role and function of the organization itself. It is possible to say, however, that reasons given for and against Canadian membership, with rare exception, have remained the same throughout the period.

- 5) The OAS issue has tended to obscure Canada's already established activities throughout Latin America. Even the continued reiteration of these activities merely serves as ammunition in the OAS debate.
- 6) The Diefenbaker Government's call for public opinion did not produce a rational response, nor was it overwhelming. This, perhaps, reflects the public's desire to be led. This was most evident in the business community, which was stimulated by the Government's activities, but once the Government soft-pedalled the issue, the business community lost interest.
- 7) Some sentiment does exist in French-Canada that suggests there is sympathie between the Latin people. But this sentiment has its counter-part in English-Canada for different reasons, which are mainly "exotic" and romantic responses stimulated by the very real cultural differences. However, French-Canada and English-Canada are definitely North American, and the approach of the two linguistic groups to Latin America is basically the same. They both want to improve the social and economic conditions, whether inside or outside of the OAS. This is not to say that the vast majority of Canadians know much about the area, and it would be well to emphasize that the uninformed in both groups "think" differently on the subject. The French-speaking feel there is a sympathie because their background and education do not reflect the bias against Spaniards and Spanish-Catholics perpetuated in the "English" schoolbooks

since the days of Sir Francis Drake. This latter attitude is breaking down in this increasingly immediate world of mass communication and travel.

- 8) One of the most promising factors is the increased academic interest in Latin America. This interest is a potential source of scholarly analysis and it will contribute to a greater understanding of the area.
- 9) It is worth emphasizing that there has been no notable expression of opinion that Canada should not become involved in Latin America. Those opposed to the OAS were not opposed to Canada's becoming involved in Latin America.

★ ★ ★ ★

In the light of the nine points mentioned, it might be worth considering ways and means of separating the OAS issue from Latin American involvement. The two are not necessarily the same, but are regarded as such. One such method might be by developing a recognition that Latin America is not a single entity. Closer and more publicized bi-lateral relations with selected countries, as in the case of Mexico, would establish in the Canadian mind a firmer recognition of the separate nations that exist within the area. This is said, even in the face of proposed moves toward economic integration, because it would appear that Canada lacks the ability to render specific aid to every country in the area. By selecting priorities and establishing closer relations with specific countries, Canada could provide a more satisfactory relationship and meet the aspirations of its people to aid developing nations.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1
Syndicated columnists, of course, appear in newspapers across the country. The sources of editorial opinion are mainly from Quebec and Ontario newspapers, unless a particular editorial from elsewhere has appeared in the files of the Latin American Division.

2
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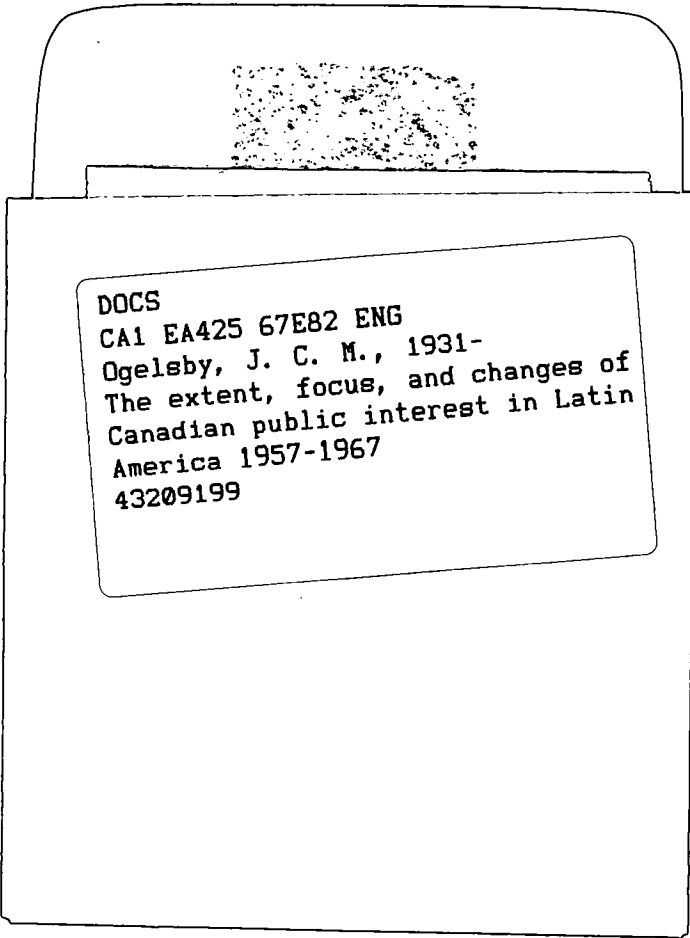
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