

# REFERENCE PAPERS

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## CANADA AND THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM

".... I am convinced that Canadian participation in such an organization could be based only upon a wide general appreciation in this country of the purposes and responsibilities of the Pan American Union. I am not convinced that such appreciation now exists." Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King in the House of Commons, August 4, 1944.

According to a Gallup Poll the results of which were published in January, 1944, 72% of the adult population of Canada did not know what the Pan American Union is. Yet Canada is an American State and the Union of American States (of which the Pan American Union is the permanent secretariat and administrative agency) is the general international organization of the American States. If, as the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals suggest they may, regional organizations such as the Union of American States become important cogs in the world security system, the question of Canada's relationship to this Union may become a matter of the very greatest importance to every Canadian.

The purpose of this Reference Paper is to provide, in as concise a form as possible, a statement of the origins, constitution, purposes and nature of the various Pan American organizations and institutions which together make up the Inter-American System and the Pan American movement.

## HISTORY OF THE PAN AMERICAN MOVEMENT

The history of the Pan American movement falls into two sharply defined periods: an early Spanish American period that began with the American wars of independence against Spain; and a modern period that began in 1889 with United States and Brazilian participation in the movement.

The father of the movement and the man whose spirit continues to dominate it was the Great Liberator, Simon Bolivar. Bolivar's great ambition was to create a confederation of American nations, the immediate purpose of which would have been to consolidate the recently won independence of the former Spanish colonies. (Under Bolivar's leadership the countries that today are Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru won their independence from Spain). To this end he invited all the former Spanish colonies, Brazil, the United States and even Great Britain (which was at that time an important American power) to send representatives to a congress to be held in Panama.

The Congress met in 1826. But of the 11 States invited only four were represented, although Great Britain sent an observer. The Congress never achieved the principal purpose for which it was convened. Nor indeed were any of the secondary objects achieved; for, while the Congress adopted four conventions, none of them ever came into force.

Notwithstanding the failure of Bolivar's great plan, various other attempts were made in the course of the nineteenth century to



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.

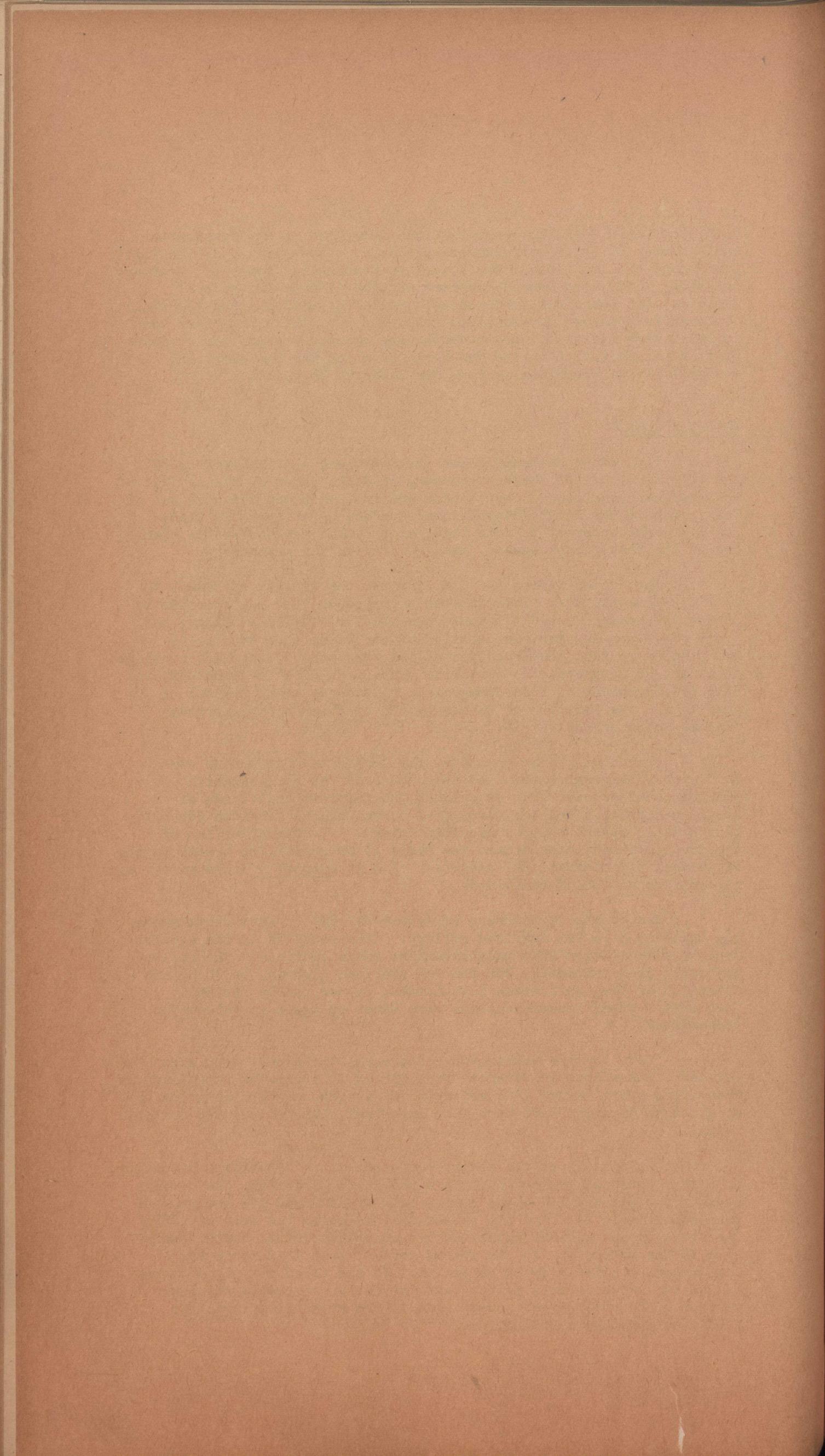
The United States had also invited the Kingdom of Hawaii to send a representative. This created a precedent that may sometime be of use to Canada. In 1889, Canada was still virtually a colony; and there was never any serious question of her being invited. It is nevertheless a fact that the invitations 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.



### MEXICO CITY CONFERENCE (1901)

The second regular Pan American Conference met in Mexico City in 1901. This conference was concerned chiefly with the establishment of machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, no less than three agreements on that subject being adopted.

The first of these was a protocol by which the republics agreed to be bound by the principles enunciated in the three Hague conventions of 1899, including the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. Later, most of the republics adhered to the three conventions.

The second arbitration agreement negotiated at the Mexico City Conference was a treaty of "compulsory" arbitration to which the United States, however, did not become a party.

The third agreement provided for the arbitration of pecuniary claims. In 1910, the latter treaty was replaced by a treaty that is still in force.

Eight other conventions were also adopted. One of these related to the codification of private and public international law, a subject that has occupied the attention of more than one Pan American conference. Among the subjects regulated by the other conventions were copyright, patents and trade-marks, the exchange of publications, extradition, the rights of aliens, etc.

Among resolutions adopted was one which reorganized the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics which now became the International Bureau of the American Republics.

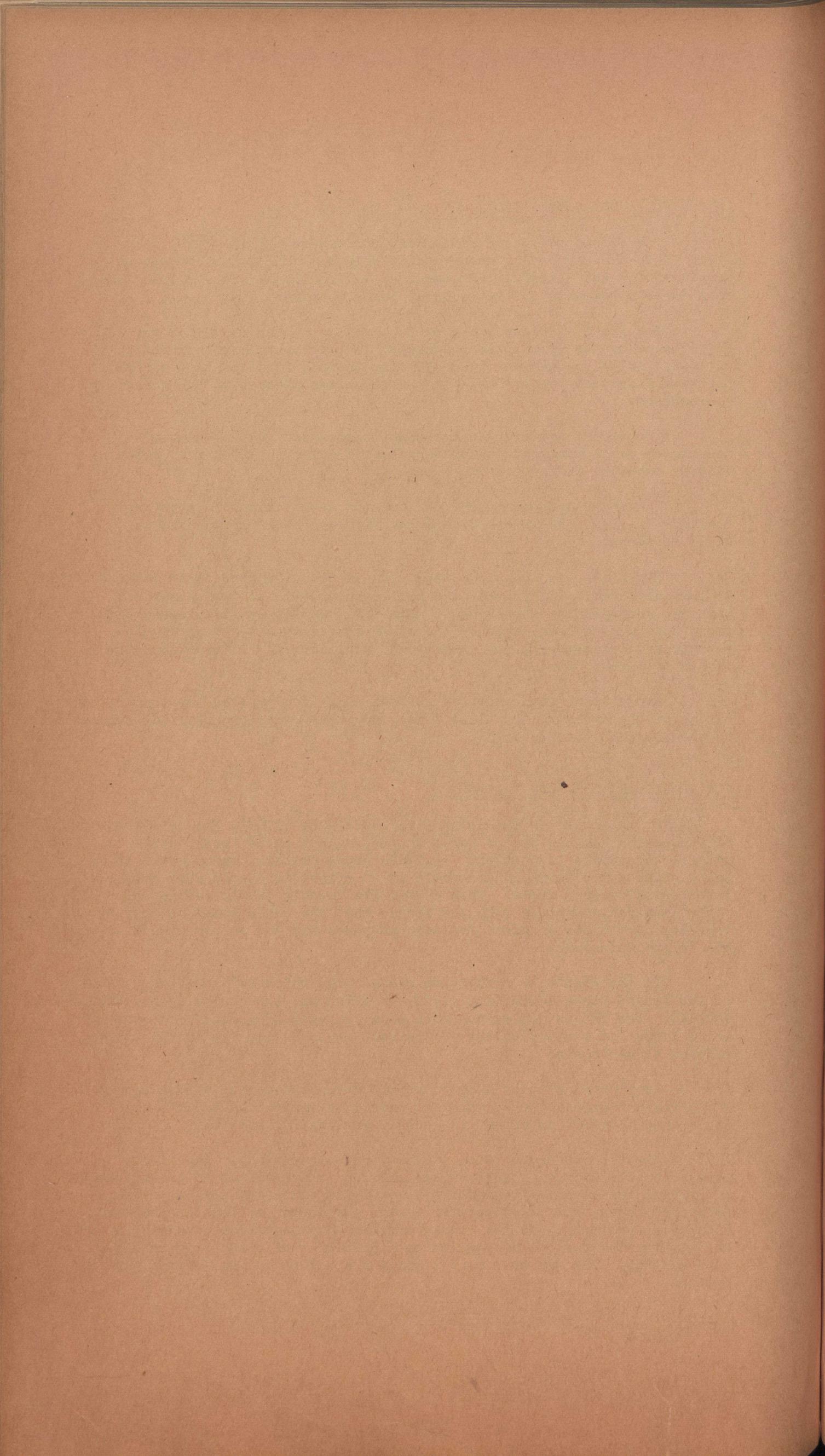
### RIO DE JANEIRO CONFERENCE (1906)

At the third or Rio de Janeiro Conference (1906), the main subject of discussion was the use of force in the collection of public debts owing by one State to another. In 1902, Great Britain, Germany and Italy had blockaded the ports of Venezuela in an effort to coerce that country into paying certain debts. This action was roundly criticized in the other American countries with the result that the whole question of the legality of the use of force for such purposes was put on the agenda of the Third Conference.

In the result, a resolution was adopted which referred the question to the Second Hague Conference (1907) to which all the republics had been invited. The latter conference adopted a convention outlawing the use of armed force for the collection of contract debts unless the debtor State refused to arbitrate.

Another resolution adopted at Rio recommended that the delegates of American nations at the Hague Conference be instructed to urge that Conference to adopt an effective general arbitration treaty.

The Rio Conference also adopted four conventions. The first related to the status of naturalized citizens who returned to their country of origin; the second extended the life of the pecuniary claims convention mentioned above; the third related to the protection of intellectual and industrial property; and the fourth created an International Commission of Jurists for the purpose of drawing up a code of public and private international law. The Conference also adopted a number of resolutions and motions.



#### BUENOS AIRES CONFERENCE (1910)

The fourth and last regular conference before the first World War was the Buenos Aires Conference of 1910. This conference adopted four conventions. Three of them dealt with the protection of intellectual and industrial property; and the fourth again extended the life of the pecuniary claims convention.

There were also many resolutions; but none of them were important. One of them, however, reorganized the International Bureau of the American Republics which now became the Pan American Union.

It is of interest to note in passing that in the same year the Pan American Union was given its beautiful building in Washington. The architect at least must have expected that Canada would sometime become a member; for the Board Room was provided with an extra chair on which the arms of Canada were carved; and the Canadian arms also appear on the walls of the patio amongst the arms of the twenty-one republics.

#### SANTIAGO CONFERENCE (1923)

Because of the war, the fifth regular conference was postponed until 1923; but a number of special and technical conferences met in the interval. The same thing has happened in this war. The ninth regular conference which was to have met in Bogota in 1943 has been postponed; but a number of important special conferences have met, some of which will be referred to below.

By the time that the fifth conference met at Santiago de Chile in 1923, the political picture in the Americas had changed considerably. the defeat of Germany and the birth of the League of Nations made the Latin American countries feel less dependent on the United States, the leadership of which in the Pan American movement now begins to be challenged for the first time.

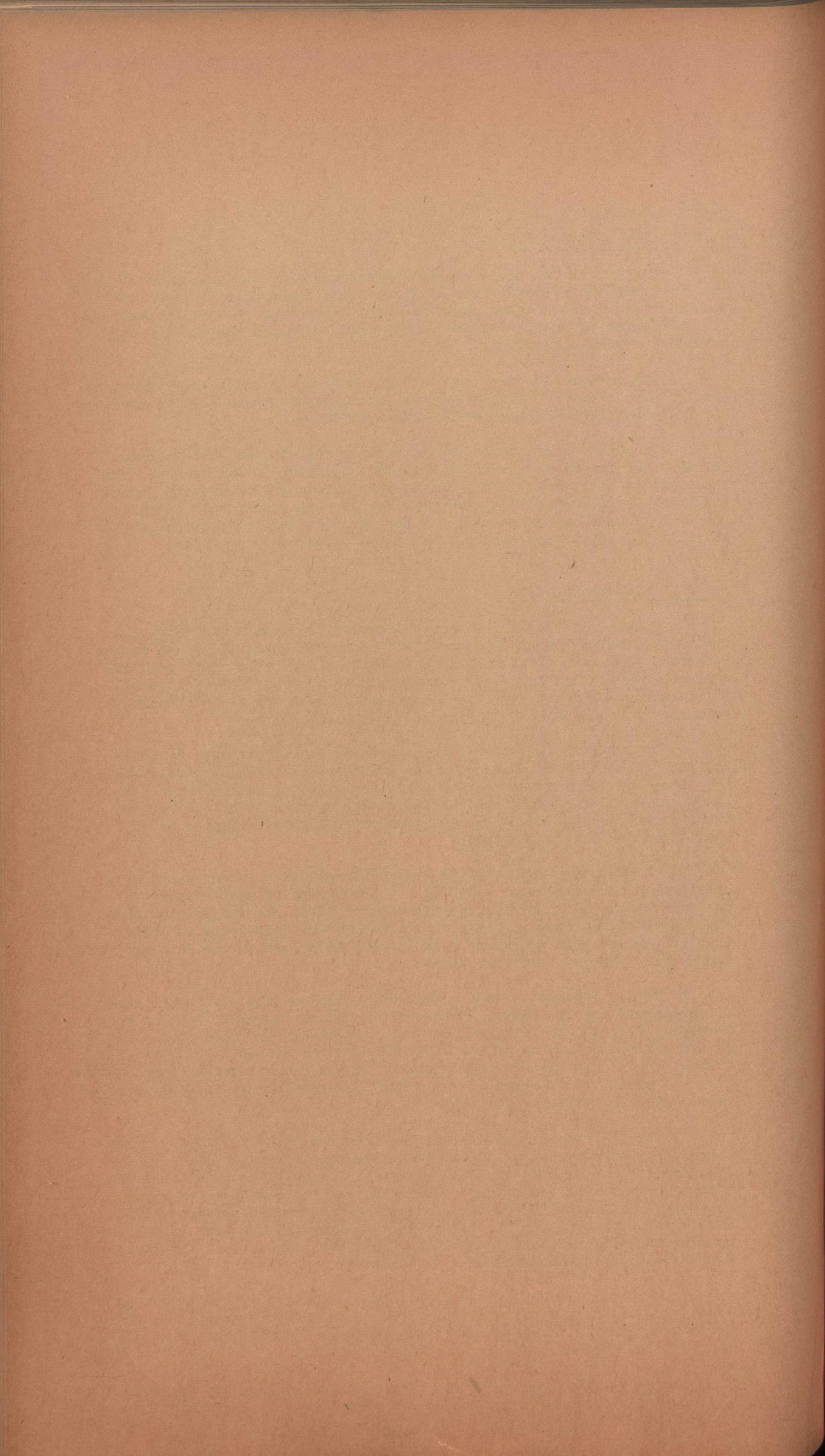
On the other hand, United States intervention in certain Central American countries had not added to the popularity of that country in Latin America. All this brought about a crisis in Pan Americanism which did not, however, come to a head until the Havana Conference in 1928. Three republics even refrained from sending delegates to the Santiago Conference. One of these was Mexico.

Mexico refused to send a delegation because its government was not recognized by the United States and it had no representation on the Governing Board of the Pan American Union which at that time consisted of the diplomatic agents of the various republics accredited to the United States. This rule has now been changed, it now being possible for a member State to appoint a representative to the Board whether it is otherwise represented in Washington or not.

One feature of the Santiago Conference was the relatively large number of controversial political questions that were discussed. These included the Monroe Doctrine, the rights of aliens, a proposal for the creation of an American League of Nations, and the reduction of naval armaments. Since United States naval policy had been determined at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments the year before and none of the Latin American republics were naval powers, the last topic must have appeared academic to some observers.

The real purpose of the discussions, however, was to arrive at some agreement on the basis of which future expenditures could be limited. As it turned out no such agreement was reached. Neither was it possible to reach any agreement on the treatment of aliens.

The question of the Monroe Doctrine and the proposed American League were closely associated; for one of the principles on which the



proposal for the new League was based was a guarantee of territorial integrity and national independence of the member States; and this would have been tantamount to a "Pan Americanization" of the Monroe Doctrine. As we will see later, the Monroe Doctrine was "Pan Americanized" at a subsequent conference; but notwithstanding the fact that the question came up again at other conferences and was scheduled to appear on the programme of the postponed Bogota Conference, the proposed League was never created.

There has been some recent talk of such a League in certain Latin American circles. This would not be incompatible with the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, Section C of Chapter VIII of which makes provision for regional agencies of this type. It is interesting to note that President Wilson once proposed the creation of an American League. Colonel House, who suggested the plan to the President, hoped that Canada would become a member.

#### GONDRA TREATY ETC.

The most important achievement of the Santiago Conference was the adoption of the Gondra Treaty on the Prevention of Conflicts between the American States. Under this treaty, the republics agreed to submit to Commissions of Inquiry for investigation and report all disputes that could not be settled diplomatically or by arbitration under existing treaties. As under the Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, the parties were under an obligation to maintain the status quo until after the Commission had rendered its report which was not, however, binding on them. The treaty was later strengthened by the General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation which was adopted at a special conference on arbitration and conciliation held in Washington in 1929.

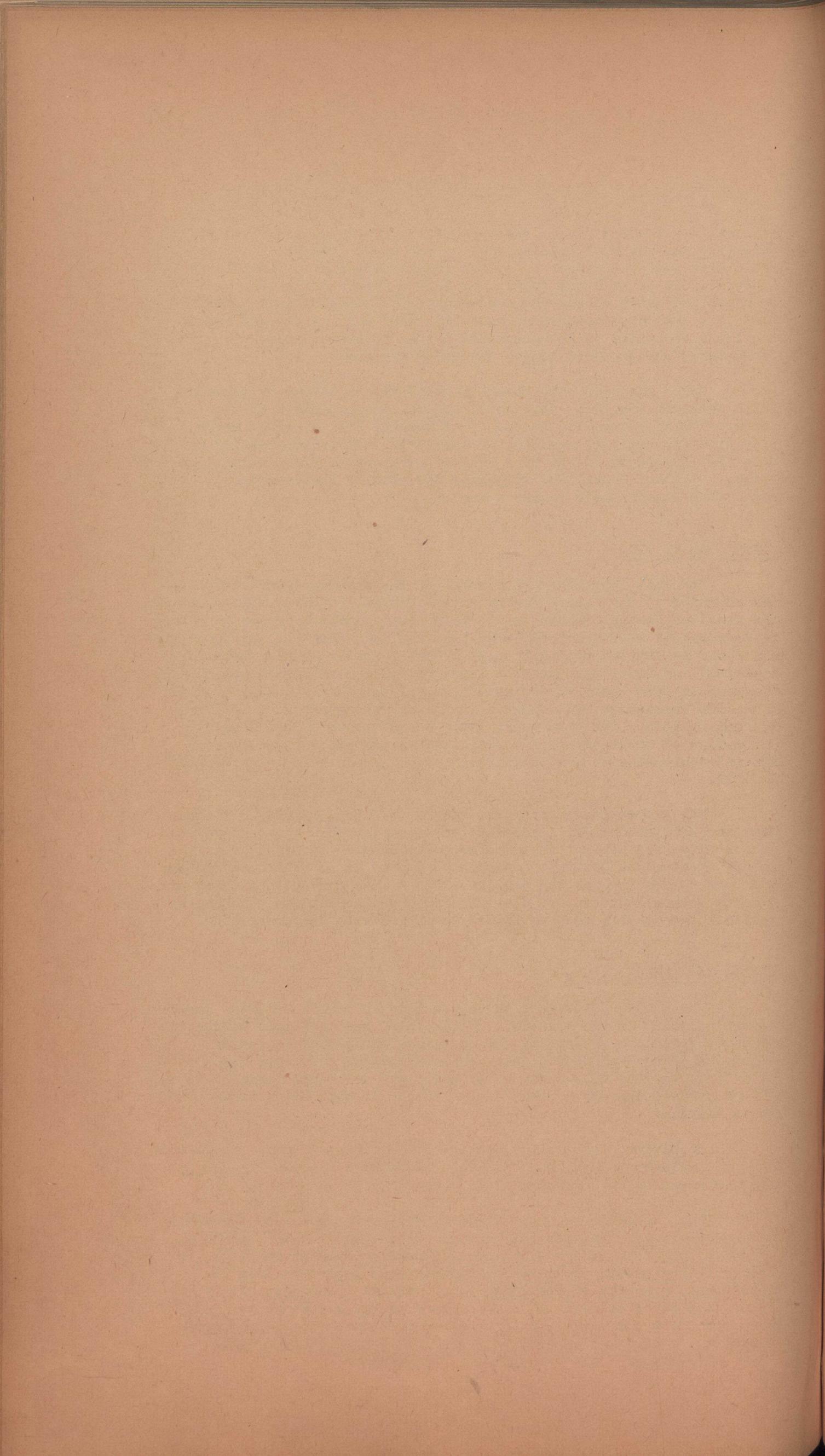
The latter conference also adopted a General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration which represented a considerable advance over the Mexico City Arbitration Treaty referred to above. In addition to the Gondra treaty, the Santiago Conference adopted three other conventions and over 60 resolutions and motions. One of the conventions dealt with uniform nomenclature in the classification of merchandise, another with publicity of customs documents, and the third with trade-marks.

#### HAVANA CONFERENCE (1928)

The Sixth Conference, which was held in Havana in 1928, marks a turning point in the movement. While there had been some discussion of controversial questions at the Santiago Conference, including criticism of the Monroe Doctrine, the conferences had never been used as a forum for the discussion of economic and political issues arising out of certain aspects of the foreign policy of the United States in Latin America.

At Havana, this policy was openly criticized for the first time, and this notwithstanding the fact that there were already signs of a reorientation in the Latin American policy of the United States.

For one thing the United States was on the point of abandoning the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine under which, in 1904, it had assumed "an international police power" in Latin America. The agenda of the meeting had not contemplated any departure from the traditional practice of excluding controversial questions, provision being made for discussion of such matters as the status of the Pan American Union, juridical matters, communications, intellectual co-operation, etc.



The Committee of Jurists that had been established at the Rio Conference to draw up codes of public and private international law was also to make its report.

But one of several projects that had been prepared by this committee was a draft convention on the rights and duties of States. This draft proposed the adoption of the rule that "no State may interfere in the internal affairs of another". In the political circumstances of the time no question could have been more controversial; for Latin American criticism of the United States was based largely on her policy of intervention, particularly in Central America; and the debate that ensued was marked by great bitterness.

In the result, however, the question was referred to the next conference; and, at Montevideo in 1933, the United States, which had in the meantime adopted its Good Neighbour Policy, accepted the non-intervention principle.

The other draft conventions, namely those on the status of aliens, treaties, diplomatic officers, consular agents, maritime neutrality, asylum, the rights and duties of States in the event of civil strife, and private international law, were adopted without difficulty.

The Conference also adopted three other conventions and a great number of resolutions and motions. These conventions dealt with copyright, commercial aviation, and the status of the Pan American Union. Since its creation in 1889, the Pan American Union had been governed by resolutions adopted at the various conferences. It was now proposed to establish it on a firm treaty basis. This has not yet been done; for, while the Conference adopted the convention, it does not come into force until it has been ratified by all the republics, something that has not yet happened.

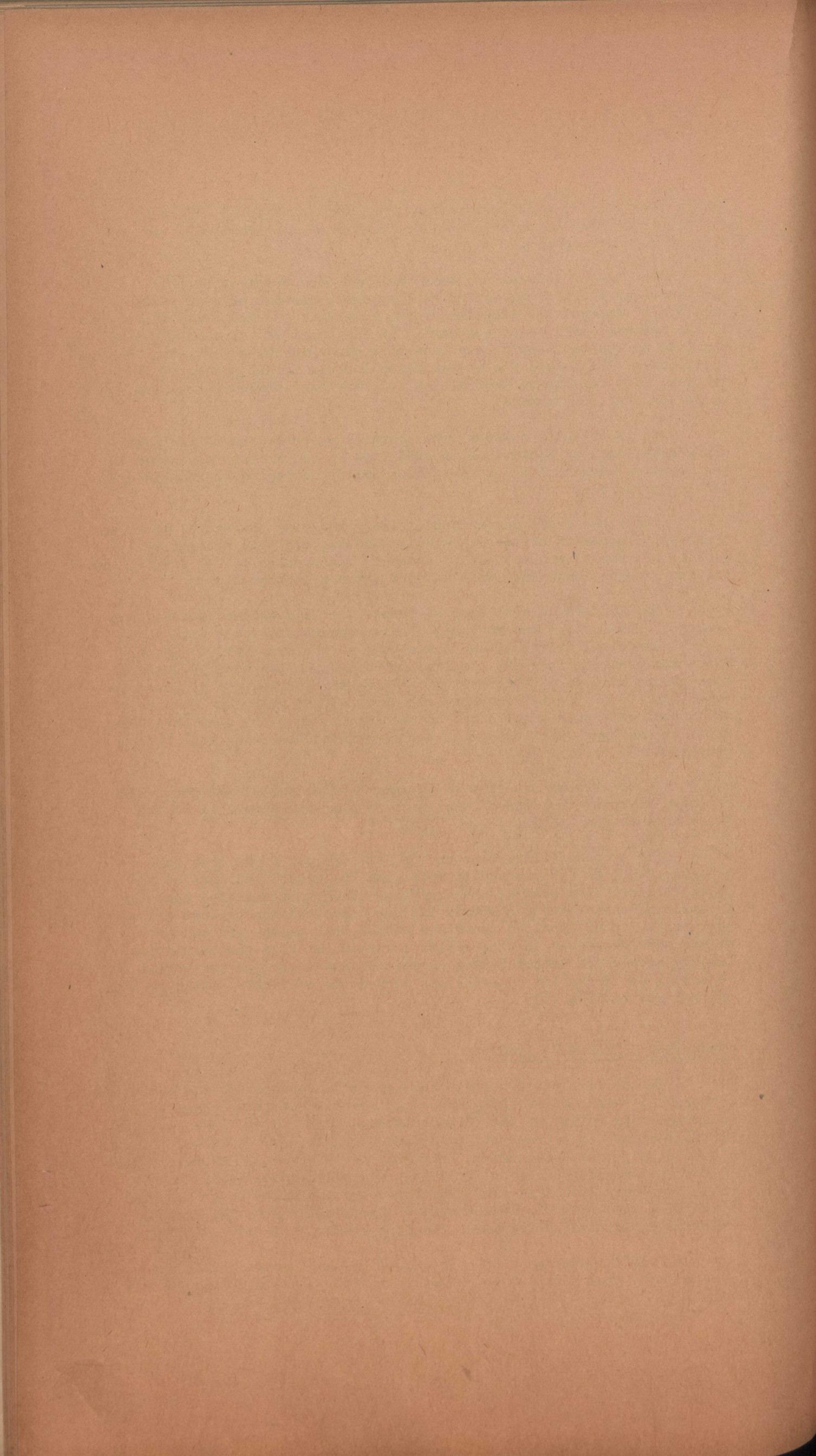
It is of some interest to Canadians to note that the convention proposed changing the name of the Union of American Republics to the Union of American States.

The proposed Convention on the Pan American Union provided Argentina with an opportunity to criticize the tariff policies of the United States. The head of the Argentine delegation insisted that the preamble of the convention should include a declaration against excessive barriers to inter-American trade and warned that unless his country's wishes were respected in this matter it would not sign the convention. Largely because of United States opposition the Argentine suggestion was rejected; but Argentina nevertheless signed the convention although she has not yet ratified it.

#### MONTEVIDEO CONFERENCE (1933)

In the five years between the Havana Conference and the Montevideo Conference, which met in 1933, important changes had taken place in the Latin American policy of the United States. Early in the year in which the Montevideo Conference met, President Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaimed the Good Neighbour Policy which, in an address before the Governing Board of the Pan American Union on April 12, he applied specifically to the Latin American republics. In 1930, moreover, the State Department had officially announced its abandonment of the Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine enunciated by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1904.

This fundamental change in United States foreign policy was greeted with great enthusiasm in Latin America. In the new atmosphere of



mutual confidence that now existed, it was possible to solve the two problems that had nearly wrecked the Havana Conference, namely the problem of intervention and the problem of tariff barriers. But the Conference failed to bring an end to the Chaco War between Paraguay and Bolivia which for four years had been disturbing the peace of the Americas.

One of the highlights of the Conference was Secretary of State Hull's statement in favour of the reduction of high tariff barriers. The United States also consented to become a party to the Convention on the Rights and Duties of States which prohibited intervention by any State in the "internal and external" affairs of another. In both cases this represented a reversal of the position taken by that country at Havana.

In the same convention on the rights and duties of States, the United States abandoned another position; for the convention provides that "nationals and foreigners are under the same protection of the law and the national authorities and the foreigners may not claim rights other or more extensive than those of the nationals." This was in effect an acceptance of the Calvo Doctrine which had long been a bone of contention between the Latin American countries and the United States.

The Conference also adopted an Additional Protocol to the General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation of 1929 which considerably strengthened the Gondra conciliation system mentioned above. It may be noted, however, that the Conference turned down a Mexican proposal for a Peace Code which would have created an American Court of International Justice on which Canada would have been offered representation.

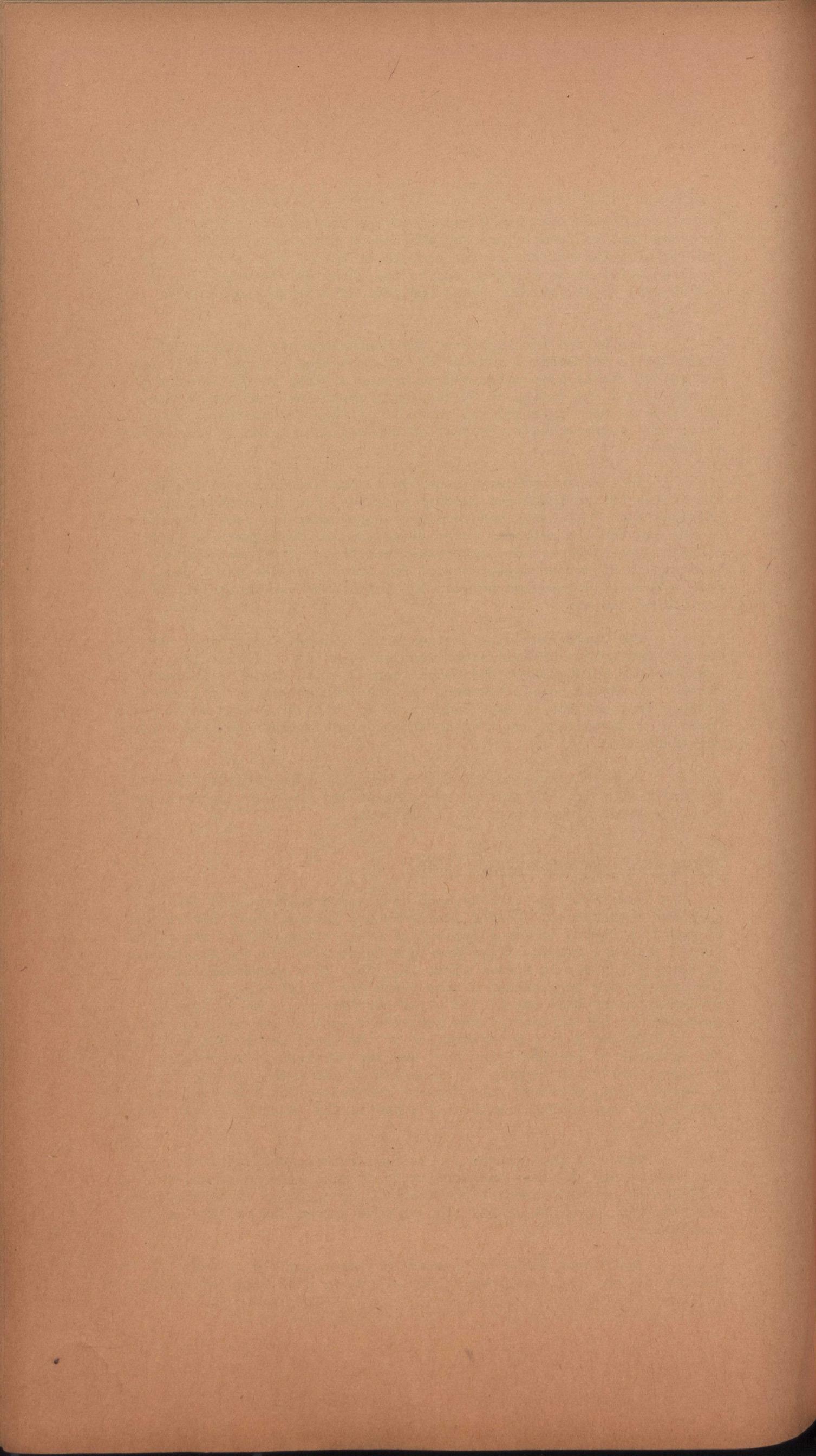
Other conventions adopted by the Conference related to nationality, political asylum, extradition and the teaching of history. The Conference also adopted 95 resolutions.

#### BUENOS AIRES PEACE CONFERENCE (1936)

Reference has already been made to certain special Pan American conferences. One of these was the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration of 1929 mentioned above. Another was the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace which met in Buenos Aires in 1936. This conference was inspired by the termination of the Chaco War in 1935; but it soon became apparent that one of its chief purposes would be to discuss measures for the defence of the hemisphere against foreign aggression. For if 1935 had seen the termination of the Chaco War it had also seen the outbreak of the Ethiopian War, and the adoption of compulsory military service in Germany in violation of the Treaty of Versailles. In March, 1936, moreover, the Germans reoccupied the Rhineland and repudiated the Locarno treaty; and a few months later civil war broke out in Spain.

There is good reason for believing that, while the growing European menace may have had nothing to do with President Roosevelt's decision to call the special conference, the question of hemisphere security was uppermost in his mind when he opened the conference on December 1.

The Buenos Aires Conference provided tangible evidence of the success of the Good Neighbour Policy which, by that time, was being put



into practice. And, notwithstanding the fact that there were signs of fundamental differences in the points of view of the United States and Argentina to which recent events have given added significance, the Conference was able to set up a consultative system that has not been without value in the present war.

The Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Re-establishment of Peace, popularly known as the Consultative Pact, provided for consultation between them "in the event that the peace of the American republics is menaced". As a matter of fact three such consultative conferences have been held: namely the Panama, Havana and Rio de Janeiro Meetings of American Foreign Ministers. The work of these conferences will be discussed later.

This Consultative Pact has been interpreted as a "Pan Americanization" of the Monroe Doctrine; for, in becoming a party to the Pact, the United States abandoned its traditional role of sole guardian of the Doctrine. The Pact contemplated two possibilities: a war between American countries, like the Chaco War, and a war outside America that might menace American peace. In so far as it related to inter-American wars, the Pact was supported by another convention known as the Convention to Coordinate, Extend and Assure the Fulfilment of the Existing Treaties between the American States. In this convention, the signatories reaffirmed their existing undertakings to settle their disputes by peaceful means. They agreed, moreover, that the disputants would not engage in hostilities or take any military action whatsoever during the consultation contemplated by the Consultative Pact and for a period of six months thereafter. If hostilities nevertheless broke out, then the other republics agreed to consult again and to adopt "in their character as neutrals a common and solidary attitude."

Other conventions adopted by the Buenos Aires Peace Conference were the Additional Protocol relative to Non-intervention, the Treaty on the Prevention of Controversies, the Inter-American Treaty on Good Offices and Mediation, a convention on the Pan American Highway, and a series of conventions on intellectual co-operation.

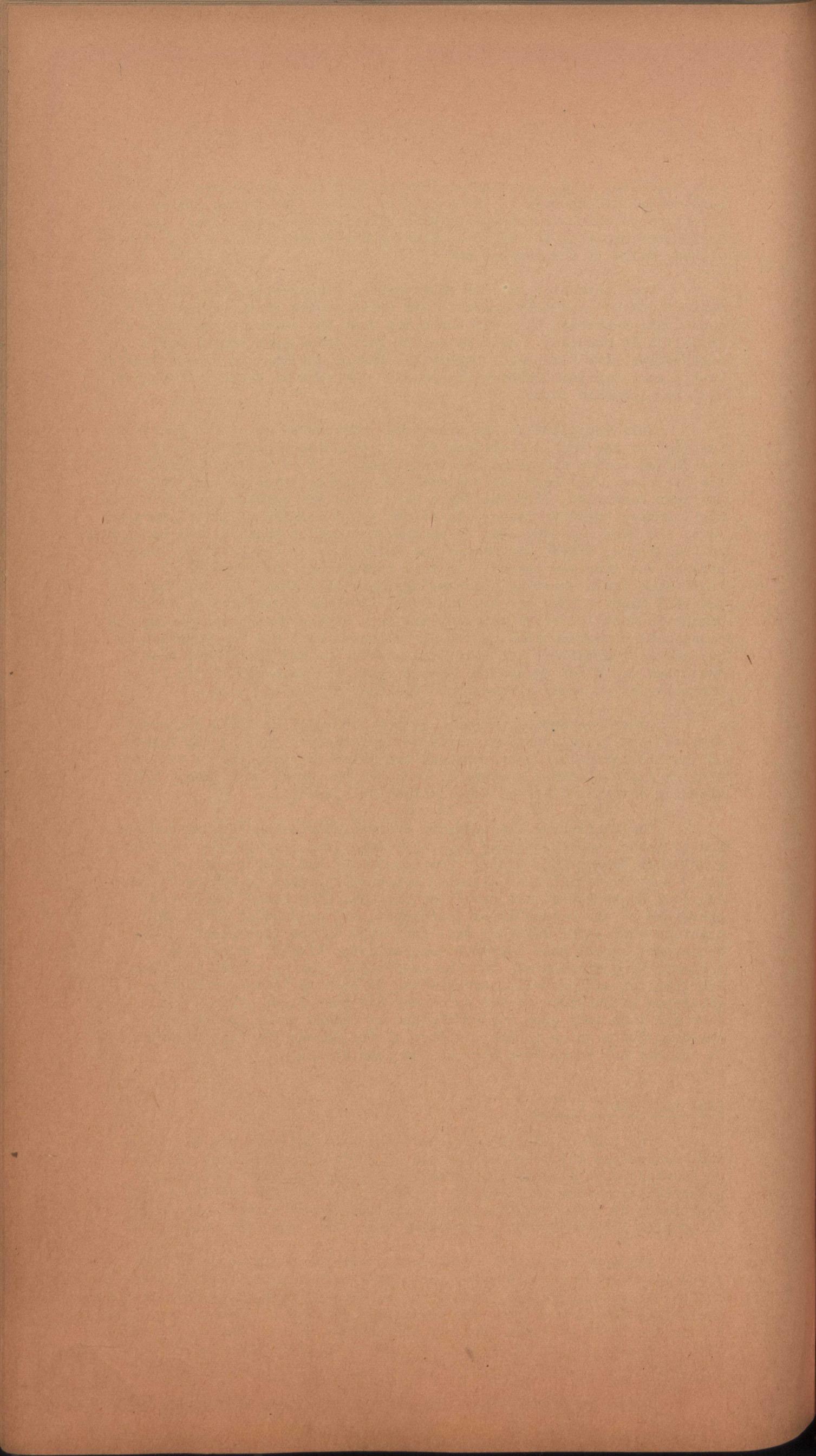
The Conference also adopted 62 resolutions and recommendations. One of these resolutions may have some importance for Canada. At the Montevideo Conference, the Pan American Union had been requested to study the advisability of allowing non-member States to adhere to Pan American conventions. The report of the Governing Board, which was presented to the Buenos Aires Conference, was against allowing this practice unless the contrary were indicated in the instrument. The Conference agreed that conventions should be "closed" unless the contrary were stipulated; but the resolution goes on to say that Pan American conventions will nevertheless be open to "the accession or adherence of American States which may not have signed them." The door was thus left open for adherences by Canada which is the only American State which is not a member of the Union. So far, however, Canada has not taken advantage of the resolution.

#### LIMA CONFERENCE (1938)

The last of the regular conferences to date was the Eighth or Lima Conference which met at the end of 1938. By this time, the seriousness of the general international situation, which had been perceptible to some in 1936, was evident to all. Like the Washington Conference of 1889, the Lima Conference adopted no conventions; but it adopted 112 resolutions, including some very important ones.

The most important, undoubtedly, was the Declaration of Lima which established machinery for the consultations contemplated by the Buenos Aires Consultative Pact, it being decided that these consultations would take the form of meetings of foreign ministers. Within less than a year the first of these meetings was to take place. The Declaration also extended the principle of consultation to other than security questions.

It was presumably in virtue of this provision that Argentina



recently requested the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to call a fourth consultative meeting of foreign ministers to discuss her relations with the other States of the hemisphere. As we will see later, the Argentina request was turned down. But arrangements were made to hold a special meeting of the American republics at Mexico City in February, 1945. Argentina, however, was not invited.

The Lima Conference also adopted a Declaration of American Principles which elaborated a Declaration of Inter-American Solidarity that had been adopted at Buenos Aires.

Another resolution dealt with the treatment of minorities. It had become evident that the Nazi-fascist powers were using their relatively large minorities in certain countries of South America as instruments of economic and political penetration. In these circumstances, the Brazilian delegate proposed a resolution to the effect that the principle of political minorities be not recognized in America.

The preamble of this resolution, which was unanimously adopted, states that "the system of protection of ethnical, language, or religious minorities cannot have any application whatsoever in America, where the conditions which characterize the groups known as minorities do not exist."

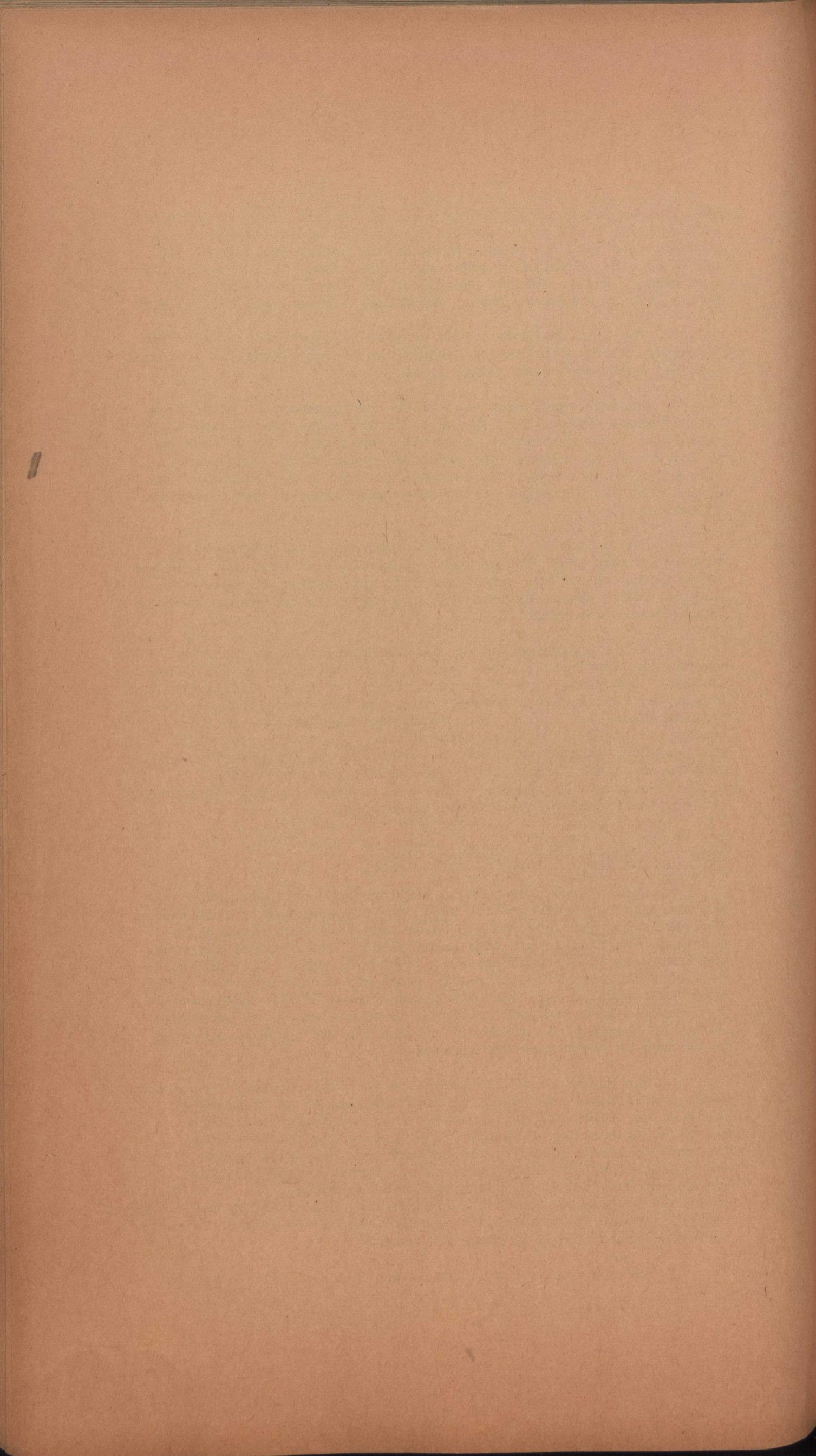
It is unfortunate that other language was not found to express the sentiment of the Conference on the issue; for in Canada at least, the protection of certain minorities is a constitutional principle. It is clear, however, that the Conference did not have in mind minorities such as the French Canadian minority in this country. This is clear from the enacting part of the resolution which declares that "residents who, according to domestic law, are considered aliens cannot claim collectively the condition of minorities....." On the other hand resolutions were adopted decrying persecution for religious and racial reasons.

#### PANAMA MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS (1939)

While there have been no meetings in the regular series of Pan American conferences since 1938 (the proposed Bogota Conference of 1943 having been postponed), three very important meetings of American foreign minister have taken place. The first of these was the Panama Meeting of September 23-October 3, 1939. This meeting reflected the policy of neutrality which was then common to all the American republics; and the main preoccupation of the delegates was to harmonize their national policies in such a way as to reduce in so far as possible the dislocations that the war could be expected to produce in their economic systems.

The intention of the republics to remain neutral in the new world conflict was manifested in such instruments as the General Declaration of Neutrality, a resolution on contraband, and the abortive Declaration of Panama. The last-mentioned declaration presumed to create a neutrality belt of some 300 miles around the whole of the Western Hemisphere, except Canada and Newfoundland, within which no belligerent act was to be permitted. As it is well known the declaration did not influence the conduct of the belligerents, something which the sinking of the Graf Spee by the British navy off Montevideo soon proved in dramatic fashion.

Another resolution contemplated the possibility that the



fortunes of war might result in a transfer of sovereignty over some American colony of a non-American power to another non-American power. If this happened, a new consultative meeting was to be convoked immediately. It is obvious that what the American foreign ministers were really afraid of was that Germany, which possessed no colonies in America, might acquire a base for propaganda and eventual military activities.

On the economic front, the most important act of the meeting was the adoption of a resolution to the effect that every effort should be made to make Latin America less dependent on Europe by encouraging inter-American trade. The same resolution established the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee.

#### HAVANA MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS (1940)

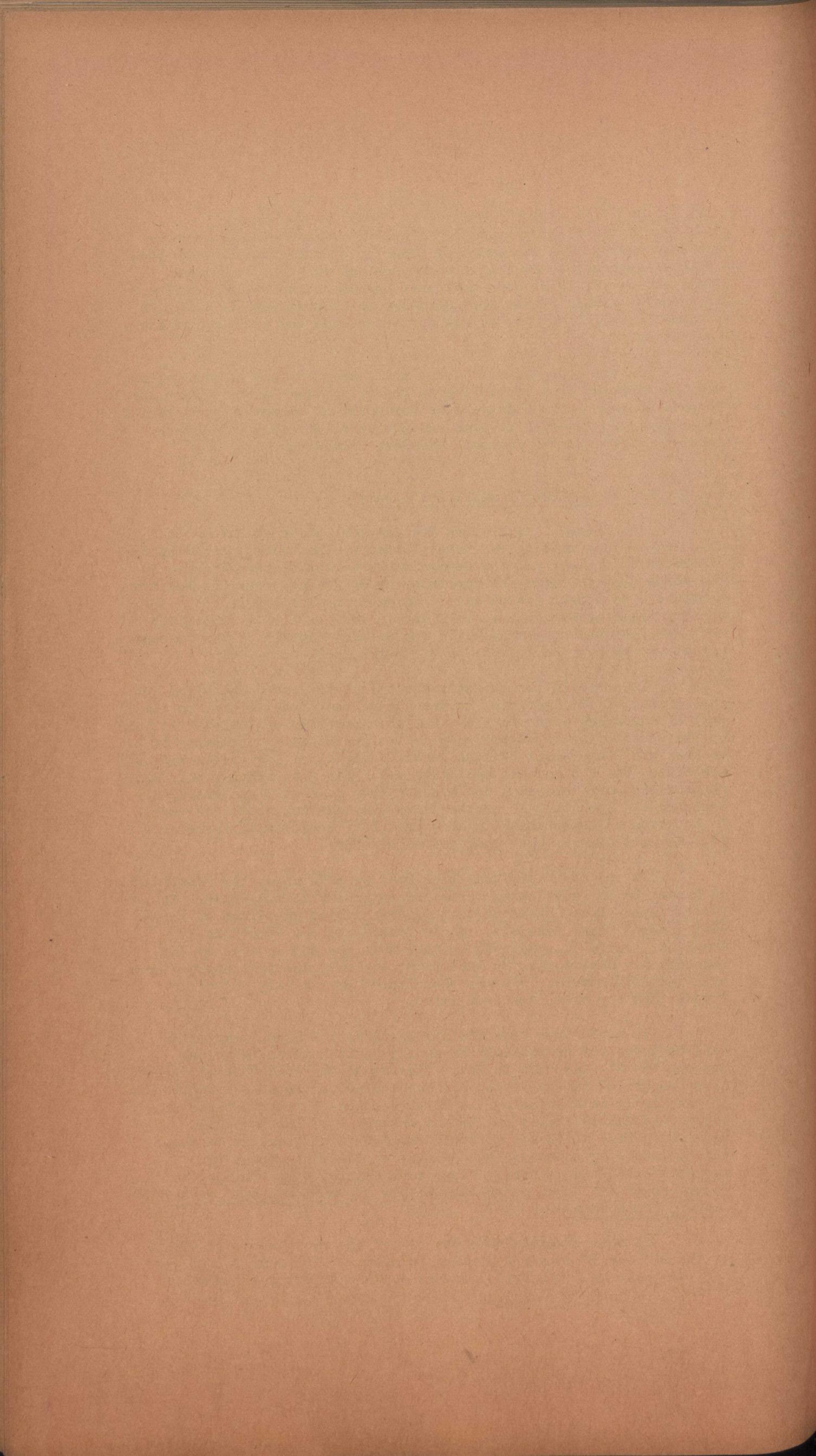
The Second Consultative Meeting took place at Havana in July 1940. This meeting was precipitated by the sudden change in the character of the war and the German sweep across Western Europe. In the weeks that followed the capitulation of France, even the Western Hemisphere no longer seemed safe from Nazi-fascist aggression. In these circumstances comparatively little was heard of a neutrality that was fast becoming academic. The primary concern of the foreign ministers was now the defence of the hemisphere.

In a resolution on Reciprocal Assistance and Cooperation for the Defence of the Americas, it was agreed that "any attempt on the part of a non-American State against the integrity or inviolability of the territory, the sovereignty or the political independence of an American State shall be considered as an act of aggression against the States which sign this declaration." This was fighting talk and perhaps the most important declaration ever made at a Pan American conference. Less than 18 months later the American republics were to be given an opportunity to show what they would do to implement it. We will discuss what they did do directly.

In the meantime, something must be said about the relationship of Canada to the developing system of inter-American defense. In the first place, it may be noted that the resolution was drawn up in the most general terms possible. While Canada was not specifically mentioned, there is reason to believe that she was covered by the resolution. Canada was, at that time, the only American State at war with the Axis powers. She was therefore a more likely object of attack than any other American State.

It would have been ridiculous under the circumstances to have excluded the possibility of an Axis attack on the Americas through the St. Lawrence valley. The use of the word "State" rather than "republic" in the resolution was therefore probably intentional. It can hardly be a coincidence, moreover, that less than three weeks later, the United States and Canada entered into the so-called Ogdensburg Pact which set up the Permanent Joint Board on Defence which, according to the joint declaration issued by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King, was, amongst other things, to "consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere."

In some respects this was one of the most important events in the history of Canada's foreign relations. Not only did it put our relations with the United States on an entirely new basis; it



meant that Canada had in effect become a party to the inter-American defence system. The real situation would hardly have been different had the Canadian Secretary for External Affairs been present at Havana and signed the resolution on Reciprocal Assistance. It also meant that for all practical intents and purposes Canada had under-written the Monroe Doctrine, a doctrine that had been extended to Canada in 1938, when President Roosevelt had promised that the people of the United States would not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil were threatened by a foreign power.

The resolution on Reciprocal Assistance was also important for another reason. Ever since its formulation in 1823, the Latin American countries had striven to transform the unilateral Monroe Doctrine into a multilateral agreement. That ambition had now been achieved. By its adherence to the resolution on Reciprocal Assistance the United States abandoned its pretension to act as the sole guardian of the Doctrine. This was a development of tremendous psychological importance.

Closely associated with the Monroe Doctrine was the United States "no-transfer" rule. The United States has always opposed the transfer of colonies in the Americas to non-American powers. It will be remembered that the possibility of this happening had been discussed at Panama in 1940. At Havana, the republics "Pan Americanized" the United States "no-transfer" rule and set up machinery for implementing it if necessary. Indeed they went as far as to assert a right to take threatened regions under their administration. By the Act of Havana they created an Emergency Committee which was to assume the administration of any threatened region before the ratification of a convention on the same subject. This convention was the Convention on the Provisional Administration of European Colonies and Possessions in the Americas which provided for the establishment of an Inter-American Commission for Territorial Administration.

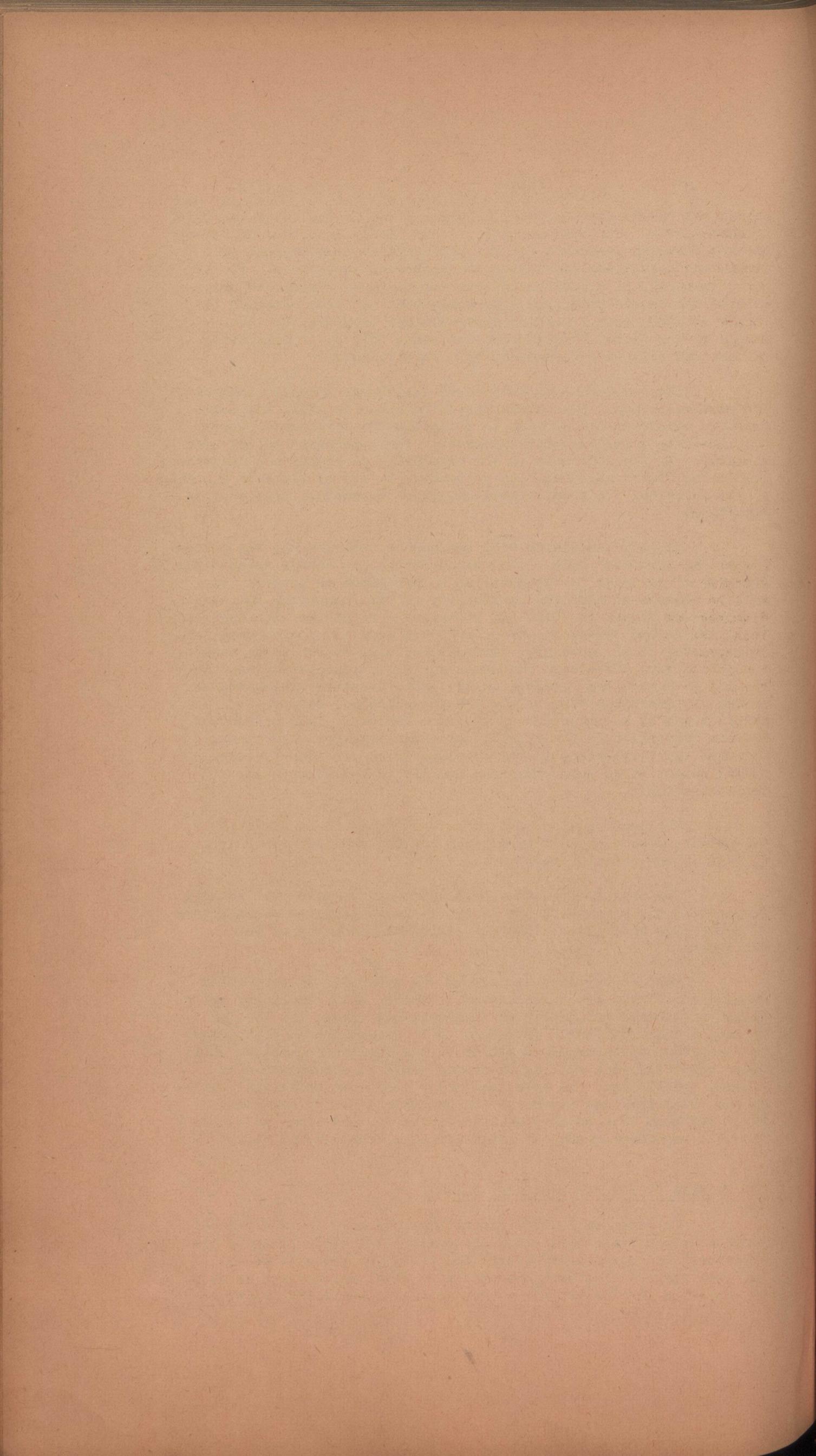
The meeting also adopted several resolutions aimed at the growing menace of Axis propaganda and the abusive use of diplomatic and consular agencies.

The object of another resolution was to make each country responsible for preventing its territory from being used as a centre of subversive activities directed against the security of the hemisphere.

Mention may also be made of one other of the many other resolutions. This was a resolution in which, after declaring their belief in liberal principles of international trade, the foreign ministers indicated their intention to do everything in their power to strengthen the economic position of the American republics until other countries were willing to resume trade in accordance with liberal principles. The same resolution conferred additional duties on the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee which had been created at Panama and which by this time had become the most important agency of inter-American economic collaboration.

#### RIO MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS (1942)

On December 7, 1941, an attempt was made "on the part of a non-American State against the integrity or inviolability of the territory, the sovereignty or the political independence of an American State." The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour was as much an attack on the Western Hemisphere as if the bombs had fallen on



the docks of San Francisco. How would the republics implement the Resolution on Reciprocal Assistance and Cooperation which their delegates had signed at Havana? Nine Latin American countries - all of which were close neighbours of the United States - immediately declared war on the aggressor. And to this number can be added Canada, notwithstanding the fact that she had not been a party to the resolution. Three other countries, namely Mexico, Columbia, and Venezuela, immediately broke off diplomatic relations with Japan. The other American countries were slower to act, although some of these, including Argentina and Chile, immediately stated that they would not treat the United States as a "belligerent", a fiction which would make it possible for that country to use their ports without being subject to the restrictions imposed by the rules of international law governing the conduct of neutrals.

Generally speaking, Latin America's immediate support of the United States was in inverse relationship to distance from the United States. The only thing, of course, that the republics had agreed to do in the event of an act of aggression had been to "consult among themselves in order to agree upon the measure it may be advisable to take."

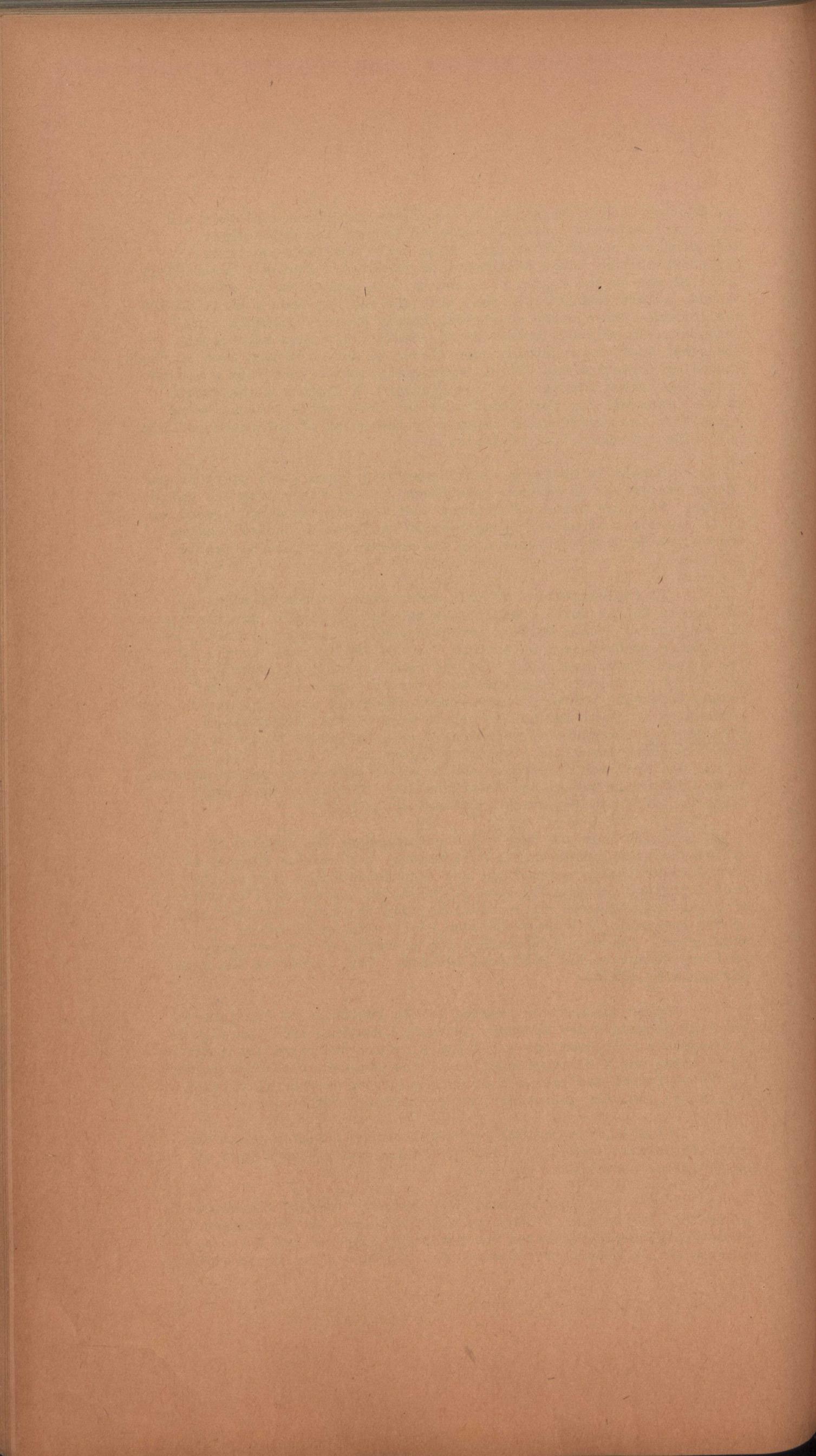
In implementation of this undertaking it was immediately decided to hold a third consultative meeting of foreign ministers at Rio de Janeiro. This meeting, which opened on January 15, 1942, was in some respects a serious setback for the Pan American movement. The United States had hoped that the meeting would at least agree on a joint rupture of relations with the Axis powers. It soon became apparent, however, that neither Argentina nor Chile would consent to do this; and in the result a resolution was adopted recommending a rupture of relations. As a matter of fact all the Latin American republics, including Argentina and Chile, have now either declared war on Germany and Japan or broken off relations with them. But Chile maintained relations with the Axis powers until January, 1943, and Argentina until January, 1944.

Apart from the resolution recommending the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Axis powers, the Meeting adopted 40 other declarations, resolutions and recommendations. One of the most important recommended general rules for the eventual severance of financial and commercial relations with the Axis. Another set up the Inter-American Joint Defence Board with headquarters in Washington. Another provided for the creation of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense. This Committee has been particularly active.

Other resolutions related to the functions of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee and generally to the economic mobilization of the hemisphere. One significant act of the Meeting was the transformation of the Inter-American Neutrality Committee (which had been set up by the Panama Meeting of Foreign Ministers) into the Inter-American Juridical Committee.

Finally, the Meeting expressed its satisfaction that the Atlantic Charter included "principles which constitute a part of the juridical heritage of America."

There has been no meeting of American foreign ministers since the Rio Meeting of January, 1942, although the government of Argentina recently requested the Governing Board of the Union to convene such a meeting to discuss that republic's relations with



the other countries of the hemisphere. As we have already mentioned, this request was rejected. But arrangements were made to hold a special meeting in February, 1945, at Mexico City of the American republics cooperating in the war effort. Argentina was not invited to this meeting. Neither was Canada - but for different reasons. When, at a press conference on January 10, the United States Secretary of State was asked if Canada would be represented, he is reported as having said that it would not be, "because technically it was not classified as one of the American republics." The Mexico City Conference will probably discuss the eventual relationship of the Union of American States to the proposed world security organization, other post-war problems, and economic matters. It may also discuss the position of Argentina.

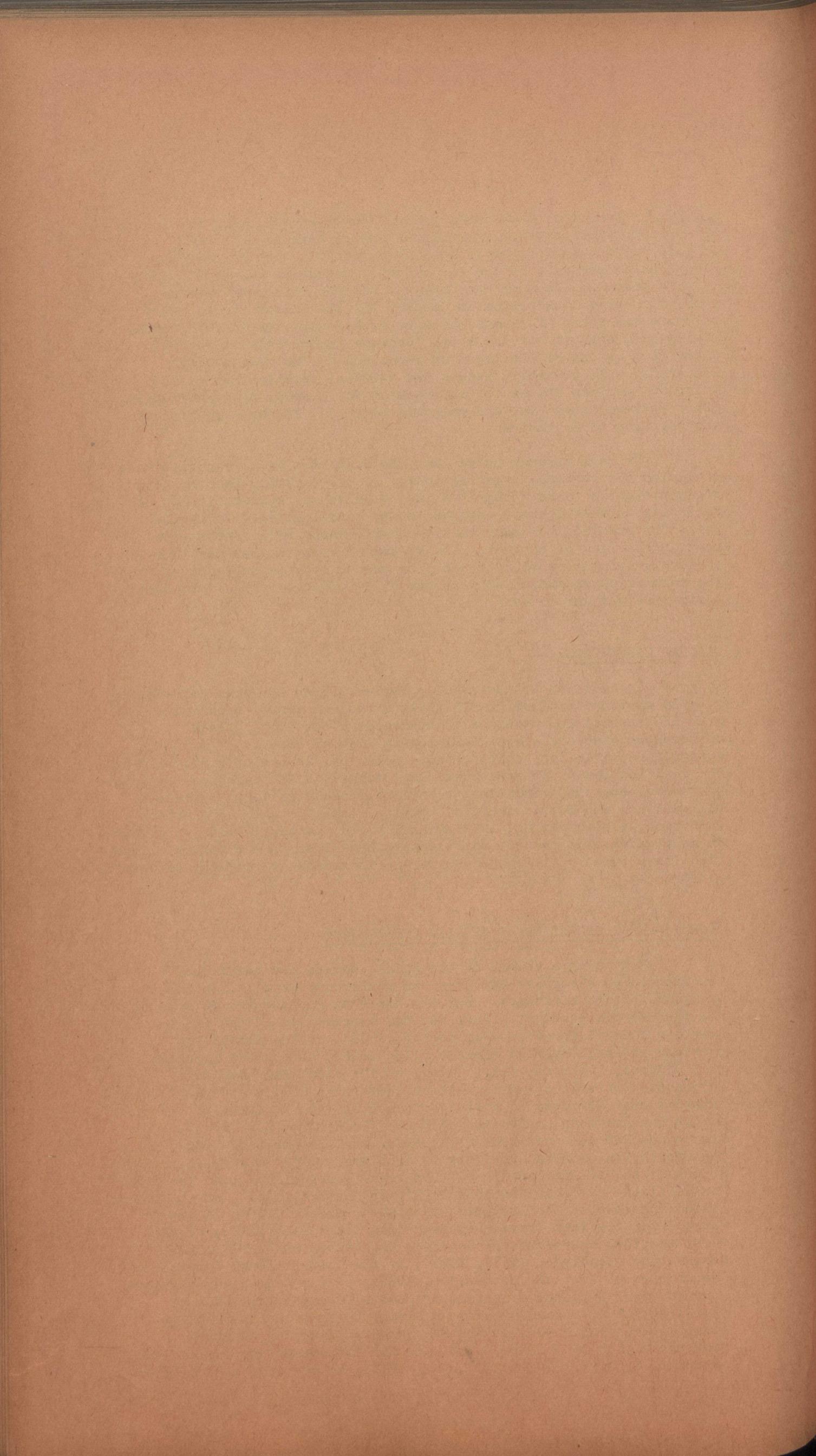
We have already noted that the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals make provision for regional organizations. If the existing Pan American organization is to be integrated into a universal system, it may be necessary to make certain changes in its constitution. It may be taken for granted, however, that the conferences will continue to meet in one form or another. The system of consultative meetings of foreign ministers will probably be maintained for emergencies; but the regular quinquennial conferences will undoubtedly begin to meet again once the war is over.

#### SPECIAL CONFERENCES

In addition to the regular series of Pan American conferences and the meetings of foreign ministers discussed above, there have been over 150 special and technical conferences since 1889. These conferences have dealt with an imposing list of subjects, including agriculture, aviation, bibliography, botanical research, child welfare, the codification of international law, commercial cooperation, consular procedure, customs, education, electrical communications, finance, highways and automotive traffic, housing, intellectual cooperation, nutrition, public health, trade-marks, postal matters, radio, etc. etc. In many cases, the special conferences themselves form a series. Thus, there have been over a dozen sanitary conferences and as many scientific conferences.

#### CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT SPECIAL CONFERENCES

Not being a member of the Union, Canada has never been represented at a regular Pan American conference or at a meeting of American foreign ministers. But she has been represented at some of the special conferences. Thus, she was represented at the First Pan American Medical Congress (Washington, 1893), at the Second Pan American Medical Congress (Mexico City, 1896), at the Pan American Road Congress (Oakland, Cal., 1915), at the First Pan American Aeronautic Convention and Exposition (New York, 1917), at the First International Congress of History of America (Rio de Janeiro, 1922), at the Pan American Conference of Women (Baltimore, Md., 1922), at the Second Pan American Red Cross Conference (Washington, 1926), at the Fourth Pan American Congress of Architects (Rio de Janeiro, 1930), at the First Pan American Postal Congress (Madrid, 1931), at the Third Pan American Red Cross Conference (Rio de Janeiro, 1935), at the Fourth Postal Congress of the Americas and Spain (Panama, 1936), at the First Inter-American Travel Congress (San Francisco, 1939), at the First American Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation (Santiago, Chile, 1939), at the International Congress of Democracies of America (Montevideo, 1939), at the Fourth Pan American Conference of National Directors of Health (Washington, 1940) at the First Pan American Congress on Mining Engineering and Geology (Santiago, Chile, 1942), at the Eleventh Pan American Sanitary Conference (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), at the Inter-American Conference on Social Security (Santiago, Chile, 1942), at meetings of the Inter-



American Bar Association, at the Inter-American Demographic Congress (Mexico City, 1943), at the First Pan American Conference on Criminal Jurisprudence (Santiago, Chile, 1944), at the Conference on Cartography (Rio de Janeiro, 1944), and she was represented by an observer at the First Conference of the Commissions of Inter-American Development (New York, 1944).

Not all of these conferences, however, were held under official government sponsorship. It is of some interest to note that in his speech on foreign affairs in the House of Commons on August 4, 1944, the Prime Minister said that "the government (Also) looks with favor upon the presence of Canadian officials and experts at technical and scientific conferences of a Pan American character."

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM

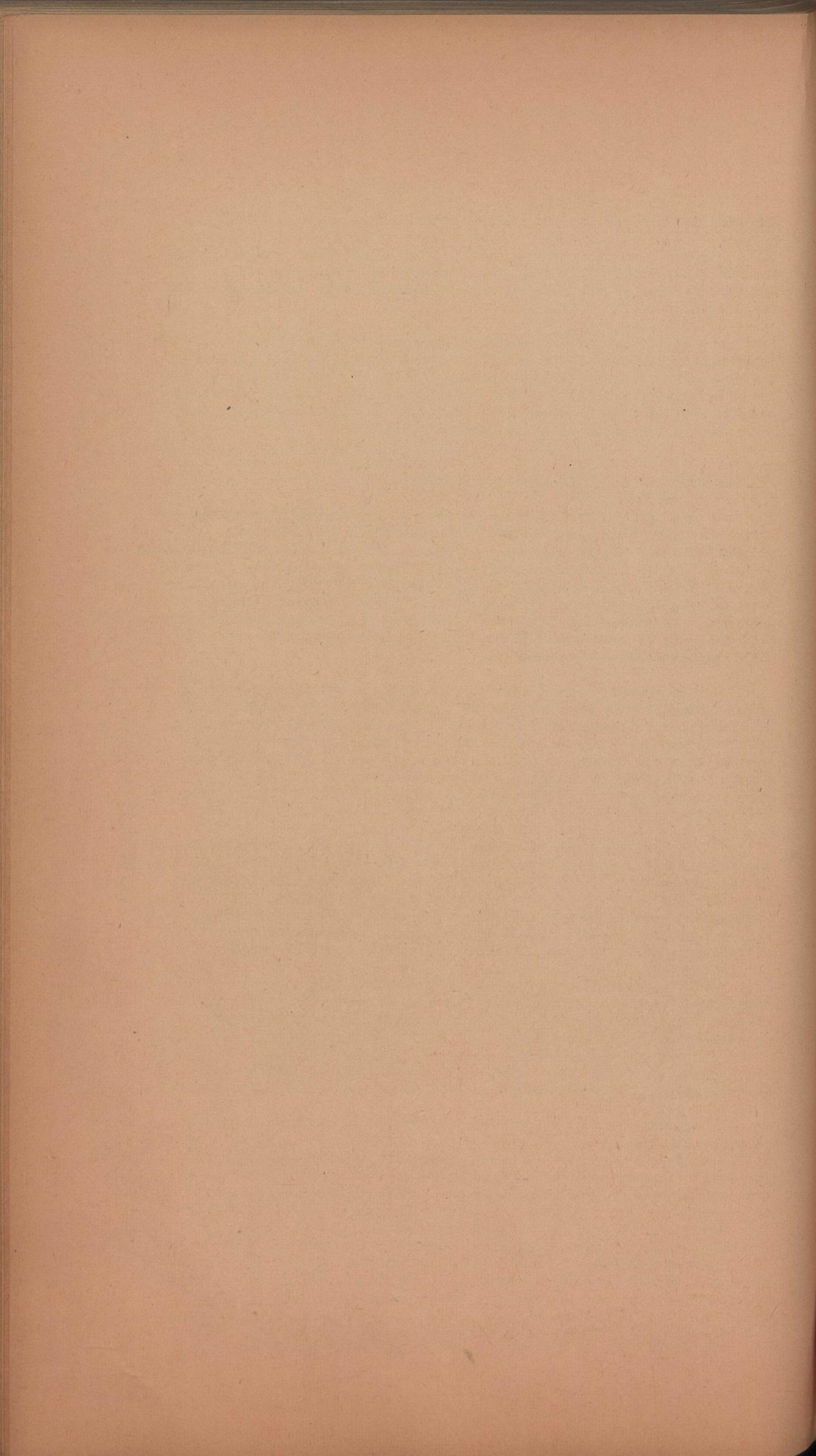
The conferences described above and the conventions and agreements that have been concluded at them constitute the principal manifestation of the Pan American movement. But the movement is something more than simply a series of conferences. There are a number of inter-American organs and organizations which provide an institutional basis for the movement and carry on the work of the conferences between meetings. There are now well over threescore such inter-American organs, although some of them are unofficial in the sense that they are not directly sponsored by governments.

The general organization is the Union of American Republics (called the Union of American States in the unratified convention of 1928) which was created by resolution at the Washington Conference in 1889. In popular usage this organization is usually referred to as the Pan American Union. Strictly speaking, however, the latter term should be reserved to describe the permanent secretariat and administrative agency of the organization which has its headquarters in Washington.

The Pan American Union has approximately the same relationship to the Union of American Republics as the Secretariat of the League had to the League of Nations. The Pan American Union is under the management of a Governing Board on which each member of the Union is represented usually by its diplomatic representative in Washington. The Chairman of the Board has always been the Secretary of State of the United States, although this is no longer a legal necessity.

Originally, the duties of the secretariat were purely commercial; but its functions have been considerably extended over the years. It is responsible for preparing the agenda of conferences, implementing resolutions adopted at them, preparing reports, etc. but it is expressly prohibited from engaging in any political activity. The convention of 1928 not having been ratified by all member States the Union is still governed by resolutions of the conferences.

It will be impossible even to list the names of the other Pan American organs of which, as we have already indicated, there are a great number. Mention may be made, however, of a few of the most important. These include the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, the Inter-American Development Commission, the Inter-American Joint Defence Board, the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defence, the various agencies that have been set up to prepare codes of international law, the Inter-American Commercial Arbitration Commission, the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, the Pan American Highway Commission and the International Office of the Postal Union of the Americas and Spain. It may be noted in passing that Canada is a member of several inter-American organizations, including the Inter-American Committee to Promote Social Security, the Inter-American Radio Office, and the Inter-American Statistical Institute.



CANADIAN INTEREST IN THE PAN AMERICAN MOVEMENT

The Canadian attitude towards the Pan American movement has changed radically in the last five years. Before the Second World War there were few Canadians outside of academic and political circles who showed any interest in the movement. If Canadians thought about it at all, they were apt to associate it with ideas of United States dominance in Latin America. There was little disposition to join a Union which, in the minds of many, seemed to be little more than an adjunct of the United States State Department. The Latin American countries, moreover, seemed to be very far away indeed; and Canada had few contacts with them, either economic or cultural.

Even more important, perhaps, was the fact that Canada had only recently achieved international status. She was a member of the League of Nations and certain other international organizations; but in the conduct of her foreign relations she usually followed the leadership of Great Britain who also represented her interests in foreign countries until, in 1927, Canada began to send her own diplomatic missions abroad.

Canada had little interest in the Western Hemisphere apart from the United States. Notwithstanding her preoccupation with domestic problems, she was in no sense isolationist; but in international affairs her thoughts were directed towards Europe rather than towards the Western Hemisphere.

In the summer of 1940, this attitude of indifference towards the Pan American movement suddenly changed. German successes in the Low Countries and the capitulation of France forced Canadians to contemplate the possibility of an attack on their shores by an overseas power. In Canada, as in the other countries of the Americas, people began to think in terms of hemisphere defence.

Reference has already been made to the preoccupations of the American foreign ministers at the Havana Consultative Meeting in July. Canada was not represented at that meeting; but there is reason to believe that Canada's strategic position as part of any hemisphere defence system was not ignored. One thing is certain - slightly over two weeks after the Havana Meeting, Canada entered into a defence arrangement with the United States by which it was agreed that the two countries would set up a Permanent Joint Board of Defence one of the duties of which was to be to "consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere." By the Ogdensburg Pact Canada not only put her relationships with the United States on an entirely new basis, she recognized for the first time that she had interests that extended to at least the equator.

At the same time that she discovered that she had an interest in hemisphere defence, Canada also discovered that she had increasingly important economic interests in Latin America. For one thing, Canada was in need of United States dollars. Some of these dollars might be obtained by selling more Canadian goods in an area where dollars were still to be had. There was also the necessity of finding new sources for strategic materials that could no longer be obtained from traditional sources; and Canadian exporters were looking for markets to replace those that had been lost in Nazi-dominated Europe.

It was in these circumstances that in November, 1940, the MacKinnon Trade Mission set out on a tour of the southern part of the hemisphere. This particular venture had to be abandoned when the Minister fell ill in Panama; but in August, 1941, the interrupted tour was continued.



In the result, treaties were negotiated with Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Ecuador, which provided for most-favoured-nation treatment in both tariff matters and exchange control. Arrangements were also made to exchange diplomatic representatives with certain Latin American States. The first Canadian minister to a Latin American country was appointed in June, 1941, when Mr. Jean Desy was named minister to Brazil. On July 31, 1941, the Hon. W.F.A. Turgeon became the first Canadian minister to Argentina; and on January 2, 1942, he presented his credentials as the first Canadian minister to Chile. In 1944 a Canadian legation (later elevated to the rank of an embassy) was opened in Mexico, and an embassy in Peru. Our missions in Brazil and Chile have also been elevated to the rank of embassies.

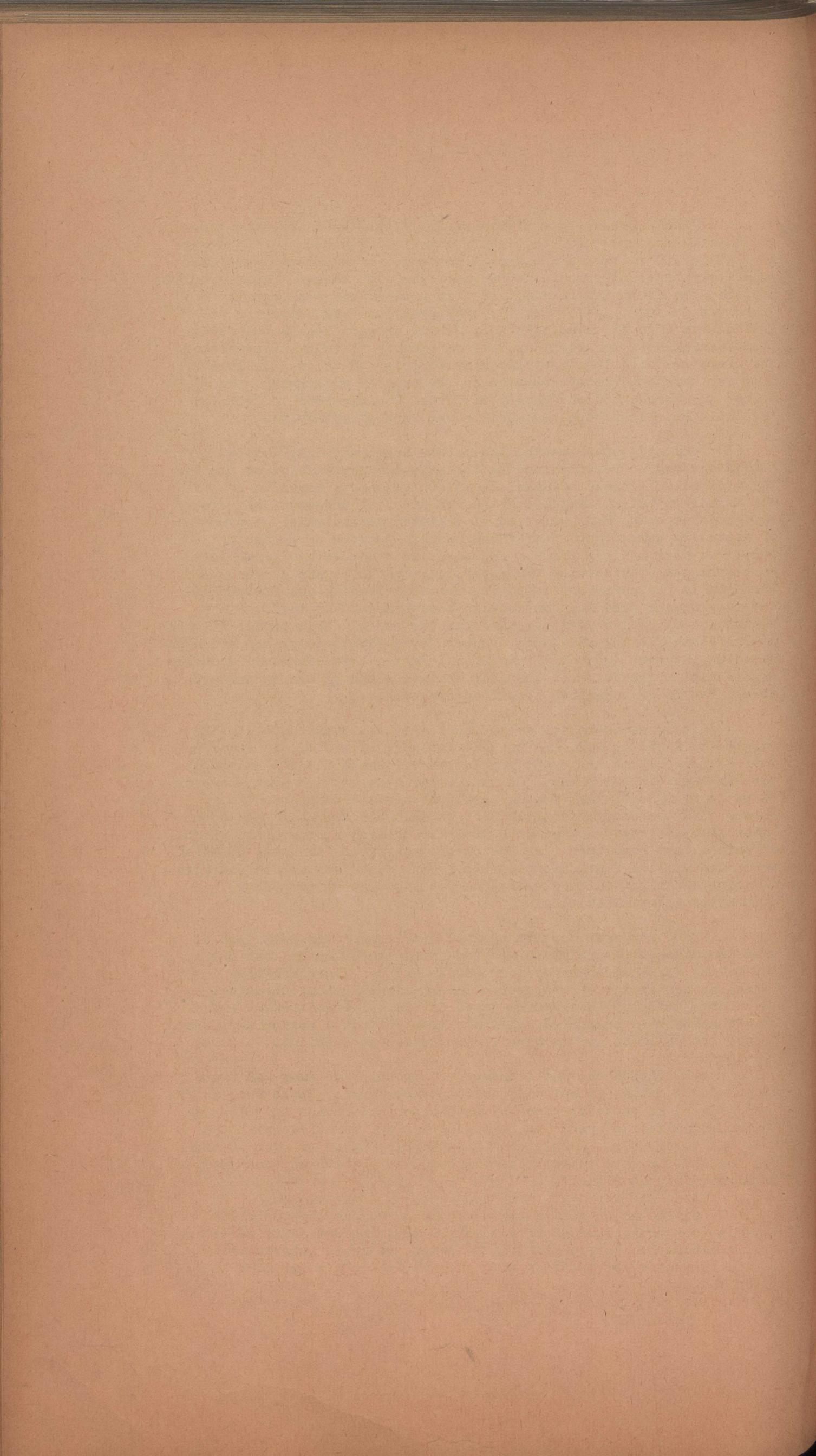
Official governmental action was accompanied by a growing public interest. Notwithstanding the extraordinary claims of the war for attention in their columns, Canadian newspapers began to devote more space to Latin America and the Pan American movement than ever before. The same thing was true of Canadian periodicals. A number of societies were organized for the express purpose of fostering relations with Latin America. Exchanges of students and professors were arranged with some of the republics; and there was a great increase in the number of Canadians learning Spanish and Portuguese. And at the same time Pan Americanism became a popular topic of discussion at public meetings and over the radio. This public interest was reflected in the political arena. Representatives of the principal Canadian parties, including the Liberal Party, have advocated Canadian membership in the Union of American States, although the government itself has never committed itself on the question.

It is nevertheless a fact that when, in January, 1944, the results of a Gallup Poll on the question were published, it appeared that 72 per cent of the adult population of Canada did not know what the Pan American Union was. Of the 28 per cent who did know, however, 84 per cent thought that Canada should be a member. The poll also showed that Canadians living in British Columbia knew more about the Union than did their compatriots in other provinces, something which surprised many observers; for the chief impetus in favour of Canadian membership in the Union had been the French Canadians, whose Catholic religion and Latin culture gave them special reasons for being interested in Latin America.

Much has been made in certain quarters of the fact that so many Canadians apparently did not know what the Union is; but the poll may not be as significant as some people think. There are many Canadians who do not know what the International Labour Organization is and many more who have never heard of the Universal Postal Union. It has never been suggested, however, that this is a reason why Canada should not maintain her membership in these organizations.

Why Canada was not a member of the Union of American States in the early period is not difficult to understand. There was, in the first place, no particular desire on the part of Canada to join. We had no political interests in Latin America and our trade with the area was negligible. Rarely had Latin America taken as much as three per cent of our total exports and it supplied us with an even smaller proportion of our imports.

On the other hand, there were good reasons why the other American countries would hesitate before inviting Canada to participate in the movement. For, until 1919 at least, Canada's international status (whatever her position with the British Empire may have been)



was little better than that of a colony. To have invited Canada to join the Union at any time before 1919 would have been tantamount to giving Great Britain a voice in the councils of the American republics.

But this is no longer the case. Canada is now an independent State in full control of her foreign policy. It was therefore with some surprise that, in December, 1942, Canadians read the instructions that had been issued, in 1928, by the United States to its delegates at the Havana Conference. These instructions refer to the possibility of Canada being proposed as a member of the Union. In that event, the United States delegation was to be "guided by the oral instructions given by the Secretary of State." What these oral instructions were the published document does not say; but it is clear from the context that they were to oppose Canadian membership. "If", the written instructions say, "colonies, possessions or dominions, whose foreign relations are controlled by European States, were represented in these conferences, the influences and policies of European powers would be injected into the discussion and disposition of questions affecting the political entities of this hemisphere. Whatever value such conferences would have, it would not be that attaching to a conference distinctly American."

However extraordinary this attitude may appear to Canadians, there is no public evidence that the State Department has changed its views even now. It is perhaps in the light of the United States instructions of 1928 that we must read the statement of the Canadian Prime Minister in the House of Commons on August 1, 1942, when he said that reasons had been given to the government "why it would not be advisable to have an invitation extended." The Prime Minister then went on to say: "During this period of war, there are special reasons why the South American republics and the United States might wish to discuss certain economic and other problems without having representation present from any member of the British Commonwealth of Nations...it is not simply a matter of relations between Canada and other countries on this continent."

In public discussion of the question, certain reasons have been suggested why it would not be in Canada's interest to join the Union. The most important of these refer (a) to Canada's membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations, (b) to our special relationship to the United States, (c) to our form of government, and (d) to the alleged isolationist character of the Union of American States.

The first objection made is that membership in the Union would be incompatible with Canadian membership in the British Commonwealth. This objection is usually met by the assertion that there is no incompatibility whatsoever between membership in the two organizations. Both the British Commonwealth and the Union of American States are associations of free nations. Membership in the Union, as it is now organized at least, would not put Canada under any obligation to accept commitments that might be prejudicial to the interests of the Commonwealth. On the contrary, if Canada were a member of the Union, she could use her influence to prevent the other American countries from moving in directions that were inimical to the interests of the Commonwealth.

The second objection is based on the thought that Canada might find herself lined up with the Latin American republics in opposition to the United States on some important question of policy. It is suggested that this might interfere with traditional friendly relations with that country. This view is met by a statement that Canada can hardly be expected to always agree with the United States; and it might happen that the Canadian point of view will be the same as that of the Latin American republics. But that is not held to be a sufficient reason why Canada should deny itself the right to



participate in the affairs of the hemisphere. If the argument were sound, it is reasoned, Canada should refuse to participate in any other international organization, including the international security organization proposed by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, in which the United States is also a member.

The third objection is answered by the reply that because Canada is a monarchy and the other American countries republics is no reason why Canada should not cooperate with them within the Pan American movement. The references to republican forms in various Pan American instruments are merely descriptive of the present membership. There never seems to have been any intention to limit membership to republics.

Indeed, when Brazil was invited to the First International Conference of American States in 1889, she was not a republic; and the Kingdom of Hawaii was invited to the same conference. It is of some interest to note in this connection that, under the unratified convention of 1928, the name of the general organization is changed from the Union of American Republics to the Union of American States. If Canada were to become a member of the Union it would be a very simple matter to make the few adjustments that would be necessary in view of the monarchical nature of Canada's government.

Finally, it is sometimes said that the Pan American movement is isolationist. It cannot be denied that in certain periods of its history the Union reflected isolationist sentiments in the United States as regards Europe. On the other hand, there is also evidence of cooperation with the Hague Peace Conferences, the League of Nations, and the International Labour Organization. At one time or another, moreover, all the members of the Union with the exception of the United States were also members of the League of Nations.

The important thing, however, is not the past record of the Union, but its probable future course. If, as it now seems that it will, the United States abandons its traditional isolationism, there is little likelihood that the Union of American States will ever again become isolationist. Present indications are that the Union will be coordinated with other international organizations under the proposed new international security organization. Thus, Section C of Chapter VIII of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals suggests that regional organizations, of which the Union of American States will probably be one, will play an important role in maintaining international peace and security. In these circumstances, the Union could hardly become a factor in Western Hemisphere isolationism.

Reference may be made to some of the arguments that have been made in favour of Canadian membership in the Union. It has been urged that Canada should join in all efforts to organize international relations within her neighbourhood. Canada has played a fairly active role in efforts to organize the world society; but she is in the anomalous position of being the only American State which is not a member of the hemisphere organization. As long as this state of affairs continues, there is some danger that she will be regarded as isolationist in so far as the affairs of the Western Hemisphere are concerned.

It has also been suggested that, apart from any question of international duty, Canada should be part of any international system that can help consolidate her security. By the Ogdensburg Pact Canada recognized certain responsibilities for the defence of the Americas. If she joined the Pan American organization, she would have a right to any reciprocal benefits that might result from formal participation in the developing system of hemisphere defence. It may be, indeed,



that participation in the regional system will be a logical and necessary corollary to membership in the new universal security organization proposed at Dumbarton Oaks.

There is also an economic argument why Canada should join the Union. Canada will be in greater need of export markets after this war than ever before. Not only has the capacity of our industrial system increased tremendously, but it is going to be harder to sell Canadian products in traditional markets. Thus, Great Britain has always been Canada's best customer; but the capacity of the British to pay for imports has been seriously affected by the war; and it is to be feared that they will buy relatively less from Canada, once hostilities cease, than they did before 1940. Under these circumstances, every effort will have to be made to find new markets. Not only will we have to find new customers in countries like Russia and China, but we will have to increase our trade with Latin America. It may be that membership in the Union of American States would help us do this. One of the principal functions of the Pan American Union is to encourage trade between member states.

Then there is the argument that membership in the Union might help us in the conduct of our increasingly important relations with the United States. As the inter-American community of nations becomes more highly coordinated, an unintegrated State may find itself in a growing position of disadvantage even in its relations with particular States. The United States, for example, will be more inclined to use inter-American machinery and institutions in its relations with other American countries. It has been suggested that, if Canada remains outside the system, the other American States may simply fail to take her interests into account as they did when the Havana Meeting of Foreign Ministers set up machinery for the administration of European colonies in the Americas. It is conceivable, moreover, that our absence from the Union will render more difficult the work of our diplomatic agents in the various American capitals. It may be noted in passing that the Canadian ambassador in Washington was not invited to the recent conversations in that city between American diplomats on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

Canada also has cultural interests in Latin America. This is particularly true of French-speaking Canada. Many Canadians think that membership in the Union of American States would help cement existing cultural ties with the southern republics and foster new ones. Finally there is the question of national prestige. As long as we remain outside the Union, there will be people who will attribute this fact to lack of international status. Canadians are becoming accustomed to looking upon themselves as citizens of an independent State; but in other countries there is still some popular misconception regarding our status. There are certainly many Latin Americans even in educated circles who do not understand the intricacies of the Commonwealth connection. Indeed, the instructions to the United States delegates at the Havana Conference referred to above indicate that misconceptions regarding Canada's status are shared by some officials. If Canada were to become a member of the Union of American States, it might help dispel archaic notions regarding her constitutional and international status.



Canada's trade with the Latin American republics has risen greatly from pre-war levels during the past five years. European competition for the time being has been cut off and Pan American countries are very receptive to Canadian products. Trade must move both ways, however, and increased shipments of strategic raw materials from the Pan American are feeding Canada's industries.

Canada is taking advantage of the enlarged opportunities for trade which Latin America offers. Furthermore, Canada does not compete in important products with any Latin American country except Argentina.

Brazil is a heavy importer of Canadian newsprint and a market for general machinery, asbestos, rubber products, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals and copper. The same demands exist, in varying degrees, in other Latin-American countries.

Canada exports meat and wheat, and she imports cotton from Brazil, sugar from Cuba, oil from Venezuela or Mexico, citrus fruits from whatever country can produce them cheapest, and all the other tropical products that a northern country can use.

Latin American countries offer a promising post-war market for Canadian products. The high standards and excellent quality of Canadian goods have earned them an enviable reputation in the Latin Americas and enlarged possibilities of post-war trade exist in this field. An immense area as yet only partly developed, Latin America has a large population but industrialization has proceeded slowly. These factors contribute to a steadily growing market for manufactured goods, which is reflected in increased trade with Canada.

Exports from Canada to representative Latin American countries and value of goods imported from them in 1939 as compared with 1943;

(000's omitted)

	1939		1943	
	Exp. \$	Imp. \$	Exp. \$	Imp. \$
Argentina	4,117	4,406	3,677	10,198
Brazil	4,407	1,111	4,964	4,800
Chile	957	226	1,028	596
Colombia	1,781	5,437	1,338	5,021
Peru	1,245	601	766	692
Cuba	1,497	889	2,416	8,552
Venezuela	1,702	1,943	735	6,004
Mexico	3,004	479	8,330	12,503

