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

1967-1976

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A report prepared by
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for the
Historical Division
Department of External Affairs

March, 1977

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INTRODUCTION

The terms of reference for this study were set forth by the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs on May 1, 1976, as follows:

"The purpose of the research is to prepare a study of the extent, focus and changes of the Canadian public's interest in Latin America, and the extent to which this interest has been affected by Canadian policy over the past ten years. In particular, your study should include an analysis of the Canadian public's reaction over the last ten years to the possibility of Canadian membership in the Organization of American States."

The study covers the period from mid-1967 to the end of 1976. It is a sequel to a study on the same subject by Professor J.C.M. Ogelsby which was submitted to the Department of External Affairs on September 15, 1967, and subsequently incorporated as an appendix in Professor Ogelsby's book, Gringos from the Far North (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1976). It is based on material found in the relevant files of the Department of External Affairs; in the Debates of the Senate and the House of Commons; in the proceedings and reports of parliamentary committees; in books, pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers; and on information obtained through personal interviews. Some, possibly many, recorded expressions of opinion have been missed. Many, but not all, Canadian periodicals have been scanned. Reliance has had to be placed on External Affairs files of clippings from selected newspapers rather than on a perusal of every

newspaper published in Canada in nearly a decade. Opinions expressed in radio and television programmes were not available. An attempt is made to counter the incompleteness of the source material by citing a large number of opinions with a view to giving an impression of their variety and flavour. The length of the study and the large number of opinions cited should not be taken however, as an indication that there is a great deal of popular interest in Latin America: in fact, it is clear that only a miniscule proportion of the people of Canada are really interested in the affairs of the Latin American countries. Although the sources drawn on are far from complete, it is considered that they provide a fair cross-section of such opinions as have been expressed by Canadians on Latin America, and on Canada's relations with the area, in the last ten years.

Two kinds of material have been deliberately excluded from the scope of the survey, namely, travel promotion material, and information aimed at exporters or potential exporters and investors.

Since the study is concerned with "the Canadian public's interest in Latin America", statements of opinion by federal ministers and officials are not mentioned, except in so far as they might have given rise to expressions of public interest.

II

CHRONOLOGY

The following is a chronology of the principal events, including statements of Canadian policy, that gave rise to expressions of public interest - or, at least, might have been expected to give rise to such expressions - during the period covered:

1967

- July 22 - August 6 Pan American Games, Winnipeg
- September Visit to the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Colombia, Costa Rica and Mexico of Gérard Pelletier, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs.
- September 24 OAS foreign ministers by a vote of 20 to zero, with Mexico abstaining, called on all friendly countries to halt exports to and imports from Cuba until that country ceased exporting revolution.
- October 9 Death in Bolivia of Che Guevara, Cuban revolutionary.

1968

- March 29 Paul Kidd, Southam News Services, declared persona non grata by Cuba, and requested to leave by the next flight, for "incorrect conduct" during a previous visit.
- April 22 Death of President Duvalier of Haiti. Succeeded by his son.
- May 8 Prime Minister Trudeau, in a message to the Secretary General of the Organization of American States (OAS) pledged "continuation and development of the constructive cooperation which now exists between Canada and the OAS and other institutions of the inter-American system"

May 20 Attempted invasion of Haiti by Haitian opponents of Duvalier regime.

May 29 Prime Minister Trudeau's press statement on foreign policy:

"...We have to take greater account of the ties which bind us to other nations in this hemisphere - in the Caribbean, Latin America - and of their economic needs. We have to explore new avenues of increasing our political and economic relations with Latin America ..."

September 16 Prime Minister Trudeau announced that a ministerial-level mission would visit South America to demonstrate the importance attached by Canada to its relations with its neighbours, and to study how best to promote those relations and Canada's interests in the hemisphere.

October 3 Coup d'état in Peru

October 12-27 Olympic Games, Mexico City

October 24 Prime Minister Trudeau announced that the ministerial mission would leave October 27 for visits to Venezuela, Columbia, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Guatemala and Costa Rica.

November 22 Announcement in Mexico of formation of Canada-Mexico Joint Ministerial Committee.

November 29 Brief report to the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, on the ministerial mission to Latin America

1969

Canadian Association for Latin America (CALA) established.

January 24

Preliminary report of ministerial mission to Latin America tabled in the House of Commons.

(No final report was presented: the mission's findings were incorporated in the section on Latin America of the white paper, Foreign Policy for Canadians, which was published in June 1970).

February 4-5

Visit to Ottawa of Galo Plaza, Secretary General of OAS, who gave the Secretary of State for External Affairs a "legal view" of how Canada's relations with Cuba would be affected if it were to join OAS.

March 7-8

Seminar sponsored by Canadian Institute of International Affairs for senior officials, academics, and others interested in Canadian relations with Latin America.

June 12

Inaugural meeting of Canadian Association for Latin American Studies (CALAS), York University, Toronto.

July 8

Outbreak of hostilities between El Salvador and Honduras.

July

Conflict between El Salvador and Honduras terminated as result of action taken by OAS.

August 24

Inauguration of 14th Congress of the International Institute of Latin American Literature, Toronto (with address by Secretary of State for External Affairs).

November 3

Closing of Canadian embassies in the Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Uruguay announced.

1970

May 31

Earthquake in northern Peru. Canadian aid provided.

- June 8 Coup d'état in Argentina. Government of President Onganía overthrown by the armed forces.
- June 25 White paper, Foreign Policy for Canadians, tabled in the House of Commons.
- June 30 Jean-Pierre Goyer, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, as head of Canadian observer delegation to the first special session of the General Assembly of OAS, announced Canada's decision to seek permanent observer status at OAS.
- September 4 Election of Salvador Allende as President of Chile.
- December 4 Cuba accepted the kidnapers of James Cross.
- December 4 Salvador Allende sworn in as President of Chile.
- 1971
- January 18 University of Toronto announced the conclusion of an agreement with the University of Chile and the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., U.S.A., for the installation of a telescope for astronomic work in Chile.
- March 23 In Argentina the ruling junta removed President Levingston and a few days later installed General Lanusse as President.
- April 15 André Ouellet, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, led Canada's observer delegation to the OAS General Assembly in San José, Costa Rica. He assisted in drafting a resolution which would establish the status of permanent observer and clear the way for the appointment of a Canadian permanent observer.

July 8 Severe earthquake in Chile

July Pan American Games, Cali, Colombia

August Canada applied for membership in the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)

September Conference on relations with Latin America, Lac Beauport, P.Q., under the auspices of the Centre québécois des relations internationales.

September 27 Canada became a member of the Pan-American Health Organization

October 21-22 First meeting of Canada-Mexico Ministerial Committee, Ottawa

1972

January 17-18, 19-20 Seminars regarding OAS and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) held in Toronto and Montreal by the Canadian Association for Latin America (CALA).

January 19 The Permanent Council of OAS approved a procedure whereby non-members might be granted permanent observer status.

February 2 The Secretary of State for External Affairs announced that Canada's application for the accrediting of a permanent observer to OAS had been approved, and that a Permanent Observer Mission would be established in Washington in the near future.

April 26 Mr. A.J. Pick appointed first head of the Permanent Observer Mission to OAS.

October 6 The Secretary of State for External Affairs announced that Canada would become a full member of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences.

November 17 Return of General Peron to Argentina for a brief visit after years of exile.

December 23 Earthquake in Nicaragua.

1973

February 12 Armed forces of Uruguay gained supervisory control over the civilian administration of President Bordaberry.

February 15 Signature of agreement with Cuba on air hijacking.

March 11 Hector Campora, Peronista candidate, elected president of Argentina.

March 29-April 2 State visit to Canada of President Echevarria of Mexico.

June 20 General Peron returned to Argentina.

June 27 Under military pressure, President Bordaberry of Uruguay dissolved Congress, ending 40 years of constitutional rule.

September 11 Allende government in Chile overthrown by armed forces in a coup d'état. Allende assassinated.

September 23 General Peron elected president of Argentina.

September 29 Recognition by Canada of the military regime in Chile.

October Visit to Venezuela of Hon. Donald Macdonald, Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources.

November 2 Release from prison in Cuba of Ronald Lippert.

November 30 The Minister of Manpower and Immigration announced special measures to govern admission of Chilean refugees.

1974

January Visit to Cuba of Canadian parliamentary delegation.

February 4-9 Visit to Cuba of President of Canadian International Development Agency; signature of technical assistance agreement.

March Visit to Cuba of trade delegation led by the Deputy Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce.

July 1 Death of President Juan Domingo Peron of Argentina; presidency assumed by his widow.

September 19-20 Hurricane Fifi, worst in history of Honduras.

October 18-27 Visit to Brazil of Hon. A. Gillespie, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce.

November 12 OAS meeting in Quito failed by narrow margin to lift sanctions against Cuba.

1975

January Visit to Cuba of 180-member Olympic training team.

March 19-26 Visits to Cuba and Venezuela of trade mission headed by Hon. A. Gillespie, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce.

April Visit to Cuba of Hon. Marc Lalonde, Minister of National Health and Welfare.

May Annual meeting, in Ottawa, of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences.

July 30 OAS at meeting in San Jose, Costa Rica, lifted the boycott of Cuba.

August 29 Coup d'état in Peru.

September 30 Official visit to Canada of the Vice-Prime Minister of Cuba.

October 18 Signature (not by Canada) of treaty to establish SELA (Sistema economico latino-americano).

November 19

Cuban troops reported to have intervened in Angola.

1976

January 23-February 3

Official visits of Prime Minister Trudeau to Mexico, Cuba and Venezuela.

February 4

Earthquakes in Guatemala.

March 24

President Isabel Peron of Argentina ousted by the armed forces.

June 12

President Bordaberry of Uruguay ousted by the armed forces.

July 4

Jose Lopez Portillo elected president of Mexico.

September 29

Chile refused visas for proposed visit of three members of parliament.

October

Exhibition of pre-Columbian Peruvian art in Toronto.

December 1

Inauguration of Jose Lopez Portillo as president of Mexico.

LATIN AMERICA IN GENERAL

The Canadian public's interest in Latin America is expressed in a variety of ways. Politicians, academics, journalists and others express views on what Canada's policy should or should not be in relation to Latin America in general, to individual countries, or to the possibility of Canada's participating in the Organization of American States and other inter-American bodies. Some people express opinions on aspects of Latin American affairs as more or less detached observers, without offering suggestions as to policies that might be adopted by the Canadian government. Others become passionately involved, and urge the government to take certain actions. Some are interested in Latin America primarily as a market - or a potential market - for Canadian goods and services; as a place for the investment of Canadian capital and "know-how"; or as a source of supply of goods not produced in Canada. For others the main interest may be humanitarian, or in cultural relations. For perhaps the largest group of Canadians with any interest at all the emphasis is touristic: Latin America offers warmth and sunshine when Canada is in the grip of winter.

Canadian Policy towards Latin America

In the period covered by this study there have been expressions of opinion on Canadian policy that have been made without reference to specific events, and comments on policy provoked by such events. The long-range view is taken for the

most part by academics in books and articles. They frequently combined their opinions on policy towards Latin America and on policy towards the OAS. In this study an attempt is made to deal for the most part with the two matters separately; but in some cases views are so intertwined that they must be dealt with together. First, some examples are given of views that have been expressed in general terms on Canada's policy towards Latin America, or on what the policy should be.

- Comments not related to specific events

Professor R. Craig Brown, University of Toronto, in Writings on Canadian-American Studies (Michigan State University, 1967), wrote:

"...Canada does not have the historical foundations for a wholistic 'Latin America' policy ... Canadian relations with the Latin American nations have been bilateral relations or the relations of so-called 'middle-power' states ... in the United Nations. ...It most decidedly is not in Canada's interest to associate herself with the forces of counter-revolution in Latin America or with the 'right' of American intervention at any time anywhere..."

Irving Brecher and Richard A. Brecher, in an article in Queen's Quarterly, Autumn 1967, said that if something were not done soon to ease the frustration of the Latin Americans, the hemisphere might be in for violent revolution. They spoke of Canada's ostrich-like attitudes and pleaded for Canadian involvement by joining OAS, stepping up aid to Latin America, and developing cultural and other relations.

In Peace, Power and Protest, edited by Donald Evans (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1967), Brewster Kneen, a United States citizen who had been secretary of the Canadian Fellowship of Reconciliation, wrote with approval of revolution as the only way to bring about social justice in Latin America. Canada, he said, should pursue a "hands off" policy: cease supporting the status quo, refrain from intervening (except to provide medical and educational aid through the U.N.), and be responsive and sympathetic to new situations arising out of revolution. Donald Evans, the editor of the book, commenting on Kneen's contribution, noted that Canada would probably assist U.S. interventions by providing war materials, that there were strong moral reasons for reducing exports under the Defence Production Sharing Agreement as soon as possible, and that Canada should stay out of the Washington-dominated OAS.

In a speech to the Canadian Inter-American Association, Montreal, reported in the Montreal Gazette of March 14, 1968, Dr Arthur Lermer, Sir George Williams University, said that Canada should start accepting some responsibility for what was happening in Latin America. He did not think "democracy could survive if we let Latin America go down the drain". He advocated Canada's entry into OAS and urged a review of Canadian credit policy towards Latin American countries and a closer look at economic aid policies and investment. In a trip through Latin America he had received the impression that there was "no serious danger in the immediate future of Castro-ism spreading across Latin America".

John W. Holmes expressed some ideas on Canada's relations with Latin America in an article in the Journal of Inter-American Studies, April 1968, which was subsequently incorporated in his book, The Better Part of Valour (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970). He wrote:

"...If there is one region to which Canada does not naturally belong it is the so-called Western Hemisphere ... Better and closer relations between Canada and Latin America have been frustrated by the attempt to base them on mythology. The Pan American idea gets in the way because it doesn't ring true for us... Our interest in sweeter and more profitable relations with Latin America needs no special justification ... Canadians should help Bolivians as well as Nigerians, but it is hard to understand why there should be a priority for Bolivia on geographical grounds...

"The U.S. with all its power finds it virtually impossible to guide Latin American countries to stability and democracy. The idea that Canada can be a catalyst, a third force in inter-American politics, is to be treated with caution."

In Etudes internationales (Vol. 1, no. 2, 1970) he wrote of "cette région artificielle" qui "manque tellement d'uniformité géographique et culturelle qu'elle risque peu de toucher nos intérêts fondamentaux..."

In a speech reported in the Montreal Gazette of May 13, 1968, Dean Maxwell Cohen, McGill University, called for an extension of Canada's official interest in the Caribbean which "should lead us deeper into Latin America, where the standing invitation to us is both cordial and not so costly that we can afford this hemispheric indifference. We need not fear becoming either an echo of U.S. policy or a tool to attack it..." In an article in

the Gazette of December 20, 1968, Dean Cohen reiterated these views, adding:

"Trade and aid, scholarships and cultural exchanges, are waiting to be explored, with Quebec a 'Latin' link here of high utility..."

In the book, An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada, edited by Stephen Clarkson (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Ltd., 1968), Professor Ian Lumsden was highly critical of U.S. policy which was directed towards revolutionizing Latin America without transforming the prevailing social system. He decried Cuba's lack of political democracy, but recognized the achievements of the Castro regime in effecting a genuine social revolution. The remainder of Latin America, he said, was being misdeveloped in the interests of a small class. He considered that Canada would have nothing to gain from offering positive encouragement to revolutionary movements in the hemisphere, but could play a useful role in acting as a link between the United States and revolutionary regimes in Latin America. It should not offer economic aid which "mainly helps to stabilize outmoded social systems" that have not been able to solve the region's problems, except for aid to Cuba and the promotion of research in such fields as medicine and agronomy. Professor Lumsden opposed Canada's joining the OAS.

The Montreal Star of January 9, 1969, in an editorial on "The Military Rulers of South America" declared

"that the present wave of authoritarianism is bound to end in violence and upheaval... Our disavowal of them and our confinement of contact to the most formal level would only be first steps in showing that our sympathy must lie with liberal, reform elements..."

A few weeks later, on February 25, 1969, the Toronto Telegram expressed a somewhat different view of the new kind of Latin American military leaders, many of whom were directed by "discipline and an over-exercised sense of puritanism about national goals". The newspaper opined that the big powers and countries like Canada would not have an easy time working with them.

Discussing Canadian aid policy in a submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and Defence on February 25, 1969, Professor John W. Warnock, University of Saskatchewan, said that more could be done in Commonwealth and francophone countries than in Latin America, where the United States had an "overwhelming interest". He thought it would be better to develop ties with countries not "under the control of the U.S." On March 6, Professor Stephen Clarkson, University of Toronto, favoured concentration "on countries and areas where its aid capacities and linguistic abilities gave it the greatest potential for successful impact", including "those Latin American countries that had proven their ability to make the necessary political and social progress which is a prerequisite for economic development in that continent". At another point he said he would put aid to Asia ahead of aid to Latin America.

On July 23, 1969, the Toronto Globe and Mail, in an editorial on aid to Latin America, gave qualified approval to the views expressed in a speech by a Cuban-born Canadian business man, Antonio Toledo. Mr Toledo had said that Latin America was turning against U.S. economic power, leaving a gap that Canada might fill

by providing "technology and development". He said that Cuba's example was attractive to Latins, and that it was up to North Americans to show Latin Americans the advantages of "systems of government that embrace pluralistic and private enterprise principles". He suggested that Canadian business men form a corporation to provide management skills, equipment and capital to aid Latin American enterprises".

On January 8, 1970, a group of about 40 Canadian Oblate missionaries working in Latin America presented a brief to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. In it they described the extremes of wealth and poverty which explained why there was such tension between rich and poor as to create a pre-revolutionary situation. They said that democracy was in decline, and that military regimes or military dictatorships had seized power in many countries in order to maintain the status quo in the interests of the propertied classes and in many cases in foreign economic and military interests. They urged that Canadian aid be directed as much as possible to private organizations that were working among the under privileged, rather than direct to governments, since experience showed that the latter tends to flow into the hands of the ruling classes, thus accentuating the prevailing disequilibrium. They recommended in particular concentrating on helping the developing countries to feed themselves. They opposed Canadian participation in OAS, which they described as a military alliance dominated by the United States; and they recommended that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation station correspondents in the principal Latin American capitals.

The brief presented by the Oblates was approved editorially by the Toronto Star (January 10), Telegram (January 13), and the Globe and Mail (January 17). The Star remarked that most of the aid money distributed through the Inter-American Development Bank did not filter down to the poor who needed it: the IADB was closely associated with OAS, which was little more than a cover for the efforts of the United States and Allied Governments to maintain the status quo in South America. The paper went on to say:

"We must be concerned enough to administer our own aid, staying away from the OAS and South American governments themselves and dealing with the people and their organizations."

The Telegram said that "we must deal, of course, with the established governments, but the aid should be directed to self-help projects as in agriculture..."; and it approved the Oblates' proposal for a centre for Latin American studies.

Michael R. Lubbock, Executive Director of the Canadian Association for Latin America, contributed an article to Américas (January-February 1971) in which he attributed a growing Canadian interest in Latin America to a realization that, with economic development and a dramatic population growth, the region was offering expanding markets from which Canada should not exclude itself; and to "an awakening acceptance that Canada is indeed a part of the Americas and cannot opt out of the responsibilities and obligations of a good neighbour..."

Graeme S. Mount, in an article in Commentator (February 1971), noted the paucity of Canadian news in the Colombian press

and suggested that Canada subsidize "hemispheric newsmen" (what a shape!) so that Latin American readers might get a balanced view of Canada which might lead them to look to Canada as a source of supply of goods and technical advisers. A side-effect might be that Canadian firms operating in Latin America might be less likely "to share penalties intended primarily for Americans".

Humphrey B. Style, Chairman, Executive Committee, Canadian Association for Latin America, speaking at the second annual conference of CALA, Montreal, October 1971, listed some reasons why Canadian businessmen should turn their eyes to Latin America. It is an area, he said, in which several countries are already on the borderline between developed and developing, and which as a whole is nearer "take-off" than other developing regions; which has an average income more than three times that of Asia and Africa; that is one integral part of western civilization; and some of whose economies have distinct similarities to that of Canada.

Le Devoir (Montreal) of September 27, 1975, reported on a conference at Lac Beauport on relations with Latin America, organized by the Centre québécois de relations internationales. One of the participants complained that Canada aided "des régimes non-démocratiques qui pratiquent la torture, la répression, l'exploitation du peuple"; and another proposed that the government be urged to denounce torture in Brazil. (The proposal was ruled inadmissible).

The December 1971 issue of Maintenant contained an article on the study conference by Jorge Leon, a young Ecuadorian

who had spent several years in Canada. He wrote that the

"présence (du Canada) en Amérique latine quoique relativement faible, n'a pas laissé de susciter des appréhensions chez les congressistes parce qu'il suit le même chemin que le capitalisme américain. Les intérêts canadiens, en Amérique latine, par exemple, prêtent main-forte à des régimes qui ont peu de soucis pour le respect de la personne humaine..."

In 1971 the Canadian Economic Policy Committee of the Private Planning Association of Canada, in collaboration with CALA, published a book, Canada and Latin America: The Potential for Partnership, written by Colin I. Bradford, Jr. and Caroline Pestieau. A statement by the Committee, which comprised about 70 business, labour, agricultural and professional leaders, welcomed the "increasing fascination with Latin America" displayed by Canadians in recent years. After writing of Latin America as an increasingly important market and source of supply, and a promising location for investment, the Committee noted that the Latin American nations "can provide this country with some additional 'American' contacts among people who, like themselves, face difficulties in accommodating to an existence always overshadowed by the immense power of the United States".

John D. Harbron, long an advocate of closer relations with Latin America, contributed an article to International Perspectives (May-June 1972) whose title indicated its thrust: "Canada and Latin America: ending a historic isolation". He noted that although Canada and certain Latin American countries have

comparable problems (e.g. the Arctic and the Amazon basin) there was almost no tendency to benefit from one another's experience. Commonwealth and francophone ties were more important to Canadians than possible ties with Latin America. Continuing, he remarked approvingly that the Canadian government, ahead of public opinion, had in fact "slowly but surely moved us close to Latin America" through its decisions to enter agencies of the OAS, etc.

Thomas A. Hockin and others, in a book, The Canadian Condominium: Domestic Issues and External Policy (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Ltd., 1972) expressed the view that

"there are institutional obstacles to the facilitation of trade with Latin America. To date, there is inadequate direct and continuing Canadian contact with governments through regional and international organizations such as the Latin American Free Trade Area and the Central American Common Market..."

Le Devoir (Montreal) of October 7, 1972, published an article by Lionel Desjardins, "Le Canada et le Québec en Amérique latine". After dealing with the question of a permanent observer with OAS (covered elsewhere in this study) Desjardins spoke of

"un vague sentiment d'affinités culturelle (de la part de la population québécoise) qui dans les faits sont loins d'être réels. Pour le reste de la population canadienne les liens sont pratiquement inexistantes..."

He considered that observer status at the OAS should permit more direct contact with Latin American countries on such problems of common interest as disarmament, pollution, fisheries and the law of the sea. He remarked that the government of Quebec had some connections with "les pays francophones des Antilles

par l'Organization des Amériqne francophones" (sic) which had been constituted in February 1970. (This is the only reference to the alleged organization that has been seen).

Charles B. Lynch, in his column in the Ottawa Citizen of December 14, 1972 (and in other Southam newspapers), reporting on a journalistic trip to Brazil, Argentina and Chile, wrote that "our own government seems to have veered away from trying to work out a policy for Latin America as a whole, in favour of separate policies for each of these great countries..."

A propos of the visit to Canada of the President of Mexico, Jack Best wrote an article in the Ottawa Journal of April 4, 1973, entitled: "Interest in Latin America up one day, down the next?" In it he wrote:

"...It's just that there is something about the subject that brings out (Canadian politicians') latent weakness for clichés, slogans and mere tokenism".

Fulgence Charpentier wrote in Le Droit (Ottawa) of July 5, 1973:

"...Nos gouvernements... ne peuvent pas demeurer indifférent aux appels d'aide économique et financières de nos voisins d'Amérique latine, dont les ennuis politiques ont souvent comme cause la trop grande disparité entre les riches et les pauvres..."

The Toronto Globe and Mail of September 28, 1973, published a letter from a teacher, born in the Dominican Republic, saying:

"Latin America needs the help of a country such as Canada which will earnestly help to educate the illiterate and offer a fair exchange of resources. It doesn't need the draining power of the United States..."

The December 1973 issue of Saturday Night carried an article by Robert Fulford entitled, "Canada, friend of all dictatorships".

In its issue of January 14, 1974, the Toronto Star published an article by Professor Harvey Levenstein, McMaster University, the paper's regular contributor on Latin American affairs, entitled: "Latin America: We can learn more than we can teach". After alleging that none of the Canadians at the embassy in Chile could speak Spanish, he wrote that "it has long been a commonplace among Canadians in Latin America that the last place to go to find out what is happening in the country is the Canadian embassy". He went on to say that this smacked of the type of story regarding the U.S. foreign service in the 1950's, the era of the "Ugly Americans". This, he thought, was no accident, "for our policy towards Latin America (and much of the world) is still being shaped by the people whose minds were cast in those years". Professor Levenstein alleged that "for years our foreign policy makers regarded Latin America as the private fief of the United States". That is why Canada never joined the OAS. Although we prided ourselves on our independent policy vis-à-vis Cuba, in fact we did everything short of withdrawing recognition. "We are now plunging full blown into a pallid imitation of American policy of the early 1960's", by trying to develop markets by low-interest loans and technical aid-markets for manufactured products that Latin American countries might get more cheaply from the American firms that own the branch plants in Canada. He wrote that

"our indecent haste" in recognizing the brutal régime in Chile was "reputed to have been at least in part the result of our government's desire to save a De Havilland contract for the sale of six small planes to the Chilean military".

Levenstein concluded that

"it is about time we stopped pretending that we are one of the great industrial, imperial countries, and recognized that ...our economy has much in common with those of the 'underdeveloped' countries south of the Rio Grande... We have much more to learn from Latin America than to teach it... To use our Prime Minister's analogy, we are all mice sleeping beside an elephant. ...Our only hope of resisting being crushed is through some sort of united action".

He cited as examples common regulations concerning foreign investment formulated by the Andean nations, "with rules much stiffer than those of Mexico, and certainly those of our country..."

In an editorial on February 1, 1974, the Toronto Star supported "a strong Canadian effort to develop political and economic relationships with Latin America", adding that "it can be handled better on a bilateral basis..."

R. Barry Farrell, in América Latina y Canadá frente à la Política exterior de los Estados Unidos (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1975) thought the development of closer relations between Canada and Latin American countries might be looked on with disfavour by the United States if the latter's relations with some of the countries concerned should deteriorate, as was to be expected; but that, on the other hand, there might be cases in which Canada could support U.S. policies and help dispel suspicion and misunderstandings on the part of Latin Americans. He

considered that there were two factors tending to bring Canada and Latin America closer in the next few years, viz: mutual interests and the possibility of cooperation in negotiating with the power and influence of the United States; and a recognition that there could be advantages in establishing more direct ties between Canada and Latin America, coinciding with relations with the United States, in such areas as trade, investment, culture and diplomacy.

In April 1975 Professor Francis Bregha (in collaboration with CALA) prepared a working paper on "Canada's relations with Latin America" for the Atlantic Institute's study on Latin America. In it he set forth "convincing reasons" why Canada should become more involved in Latin America and greatly expand her relations with the republics in every sphere, particularly in business. He wrote that the area was an increasingly important market, and mentioned particularly the openings for Canadian expertise gained in dealing with and solving problems very similar to those being faced by Latin American countries. He mentioned the lack of any trace of imperialism in Canadian policy as an advantage in dealings with Latin America, and argued that Canada's experience with foreign investment automatically gave it an appreciation of Latin sensitivities on the same subject.

In the sittings of the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs in 1975 there were a few brief references to aid programmes in Central America, Haiti, Cuba, Brazil, and in Latin America in general.

In a speech to a conference of communist parties of Latin America held in Havana in June 1975, and reported in Communist Viewpoint, September-October 1975, William Kashtan said:

"...Latin America and Canada are among U.S. imperialism's last reserves. Let us make them U.S. imperialism's lost reserves..."

Since 1962, the Canadian Labour Congress, in its annual memoranda to the Government, has frequently advocated closer relations with Latin America and the entry of Canada into OAS, largely on the grounds that geography places Canada in a position to develop closer relationships, or that Canada should end its "isolation...in the Western hemisphere of which we are an integral and inseparable part". On one occasion the CLC mentioned its close ties with Latin American trade union organizations. In 1973 the Congress welcomed CIDA's growing involvement; but in 1974, after expressing disagreement with the policy followed vis-à-vis Chile, it expressed the opinion that "our aid could be more effectively used in the few democratic countries still existent in Latin America".

- Comments related to events

In addition to the foregoing comments, which for the most part do not appear to have been prompted by specific events, there were a good many expressions of opinion on Canada's relations with Latin America that were provoked by statements or actions of the Canadian government, or by events occurring in Latin America.

A) Prime Minister's foreign policy statement, 1968
and the Ministerial Mission

On May 29, 1968, shortly after taking office, Prime Minister Trudeau issued a statement on foreign policy in which

he said that "we have to take greater account of the ties that bind us to other nations in this hemisphere...and of their economic needs", and that "we have to explore new avenues of increasing our political and economic relations with Latin America, where more than 400 million people will live by the turn of the century and where we have substantial interests"; and he announced the government's decision "to send before the end of 1968 a special mission at the ministerial level to tour Latin America". This part of the Prime Minister's statement attracted little or no attention at the time. The only comment noted was that of the United Church Observer of August 1, 1968, which welcomed the proposed mission as "a wise and overdue move, long delayed because we feared it would bring us into conflict with the United States". When the group of ministers and officials was about to set out in late October 1968, however, there was a spate of comment, not all of it favourable. Anthony Westell, writing from Ottawa in the Toronto Globe and Mail of October 5 thought the mission would break no new ice but should at least improve the flow of development aid to Latin America. Maurice Western in the Winnipeg Free Press of October 28 dismissed the mission as a "junket". On the same day the Ottawa Journal opined that the mission was not needed to promote trade, since "the Trade Department has watchful representatives", nor "to find out how we are regarded in Latin American capitals"; but it speculated that the mission might "drum up enough courage to make a flat recommendation on whether it is in Canada's interest to involve itself in the OAS", and finished by

remarking that "Canada can't keep on, like Cortez, looking on Latin America with the wild surmise of an explorer every quarter century".

Charles Lynch, Southam News Services, in the Ottawa Citizen of October 26 and other papers, made an impassioned plea for the development of closer relations with Latin America; the expansion of the aid programme which, at \$10 million a year, was "a mere token compared to our efforts in Africa and Asia"; and Canada's entry into OAS.

The Toronto Globe and Mail in an editorial on October 26, 1968, noted that Canada had been "far too fitful in its attentions to Latin America" and welcomed the despatch of the ministerial mission. Canada it said, should be interested in Latin America on grounds of humanity and self-interest; but it argued that our naturally close ties were with other parts of the world, and that it would be against our interests to enter OAS.

There was also some comment in the House of Commons. The leaders of the Progressive Conservative and New Democratic Parties approved the despatch of the ministerial mission; but Mr Stanfield (PC) had reservations regarding the OAS, and Mr Lewis (NDP) hoped that it did not signify a first step toward membership in the OAS, "something which should not occur at this time". Gérard Laprise supposed that the mission would study the possibility of Canada's entering OAS in order to establish closer relations "between Canada and other countries of our continent". Frank Moores and Jack Marshall described the mission as a "junket", a

word which, some months later, was used again by at least two other members of the House in passing references to the mission.

News coverage of the mission was pretty scant: in the Ottawa Citizen of November 30 Charles Lynch noted that Paul Kidd, Southam News Services, was the lone Canadian reporter on much of the tour. (Later, in an answer to a parliamentary question, it was revealed that eight correspondents had accompanied the mission for all or part of its duration, six of them being from the CBC). While the tour was in progress, and afterwards, most of the comment centred on the OAS question, and is dealt with in Part IV of this study.

Following the tabling in the House of Commons of the preliminary report of the ministerial mission, Charles Lynch, in the Ottawa Citizen of January 25, ^{1969,} regretted that the report stopped short of recommending that Canada join the OAS, and noted that what seemed to be in prospect was that the government would seek to establish closer bilateral relations with a selected group of Latin American countries. "Anything", he concluded, "will be an improvement". The Ottawa Journal, which had taken a rather jaundiced view of the tour from the outset, noted on February 19, 1969, that the tour had cost \$199,335 and wondered why the substance of the mission's report "could not have been discovered by a few resident external affairs men and trade commissioners".

B) Closing of three embassies

When the closing of embassies in Uruguay, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic was announced on November 3, 1969, Mr

Diefenbaker asked in the House of Commons if this was the "climax" of the ministerial mission. The closing of the missions was also mentioned by Professor Louis Sabourin, University of Ottawa, in testimony before the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and Defence on December 11, 1969. He said that the closing "ne seront pas tragiques", but that it did not make sense to close missions and give money to CIDA which needed diplomatic missions to develop programmes of cooperation on an effective basis. On April 7, 1970, Robert Thompson, M.P., said in the committee that he regretted the closing of the embassies so soon after the government had demonstrated interest in the area by sending a ministerial mission. On April 14, 1970, Gordon Fairweather, M.P., also expressed regret at the closing of the three embassies.

C) Latin American policy review

In connection with a review of policy relating to Latin America which it was conducting, the Department of External Affairs requested the Canadian Institute of International Affairs to arrange a seminar, which was held from March 7 to 9, 1969. Among the views expressed at the seminar were the following:

a) Professor James C. McKegney, University of Waterloo, advocated giving Latin America a preference over Africa and Asia in our aid programmes;

b) John Harbron, Toronto Telegram, advocated greater attention by the Canadian mass media to Latin America;

c) L'Abbé Gérard Dion, Laval University, advocated gover-

mental support for universities and other private institutions ready to contribute towards the establishment of closer relations with Latin America (and, by implication, for the humanitarian activities of religious missions);

d) Professor J.C.M. Ogelsby, University of Western Ontario, said that "we are interested in Latin Americans because they are part of this shrinking world"; that the government and its agencies were "the best means of stimulating Canadian involvement in Latin America"; that the Canadian position on Cuba was reasonable and logically should be a model for "a response to other revolutionary governments with a profoundly radical alternative to the status quo..."

D) Foreign Policy for Canadians, 1970

In the section on Latin America in its white paper, Foreign Policy for Canadians, which was published in June 1970, the government announced its intention not to seek membership in OAS, but that in the meantime Canada should draw closer to individual Latin American countries and to selected inter-American institutions, "thus preparing for whatever role it may in future be called upon to play in the western hemisphere...". The section gave rise to very little public discussion. The Canadian Institute of International Affairs invited a number of academics, business men, trade unionists, politicians and others to record their first impressions of the white paper, which were published in Behind the Headlines, August 1970. Only one, Professor J.C.M. Ogelsby, University of Western Ontario, discussed the section on Latin America in any

detail. He hoped the government would assist exchanges of professors, students, technicians and artists, some of it under the umbrella of development assistance. He favoured concentrating aid in the countries with which it was proposed to increase bilateral relations some of which might soon be able to help their neighbours. In particular he favoured aid to Cuba. All in all, he thought the general position with regard to Latin America was sound. Professor Peyton V. Lyon, Carleton University, thought that "the miniscule increase in activity proposed for Latin America" was "anti-climactic". Roy MacLaren, Massey-Ferguson Limited, thought that Latin America received undue prominence in the white paper: why take 32 pages to justify doing so little or to state the reasons for not doing more?

Press comment on the statement on Latin America in Foreign Policy for Canadians was very sparse. Communist Viewpoint, November-December 1970, remarked "that Canadian monopoly and its governments have for some years...made use of the deep-seated opposition to U.S. imperialism in Latin America so as to advance (their) own trade, investment and political positions..."; and the Vancouver Sun, January 4, 1971, approved the proposal to have an official observer with OAS, and to increase aid to Latin America, "where the need is probably greater than anywhere else".

At a meeting of the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence on October 22, 1970, A. D. Hales regretted that the Speech from the Throne contained no proposals for developing trade with Latin America as a result

of the ministerial mission. In 1971 the Committee studied Foreign Policy for Canadians and invited comments on it. At the Committee's meeting on January 19, Dr. K.J. Holsti, University of British Columbia, interpreted the paper on Latin America as assuming that "extending relations in Latin America is a means of compensating for the sort of overwhelming relationship we have with the United States"; and he questioned the validity of that assumption. He said that he favoured international specialization, and that he doubted whether Latin America was the appropriate area in which Canada should become involved. He thought membership in OAS might come in five or ten years. Though he was obviously not enthusiastic at the prospect of membership, he mentioned that he did not think much of the argument that it would put Canada at odds with the United States: Mexico had felt no great repercussions of its opposition to United States policy in OAS.

The Canadian Chamber of Commerce in its submission on April 6, 1971, recommended continuing participation in the Inter-American Development Bank, strengthening diplomatic representation in Latin America, and "further effective steps to develop relations with Latin American countries". In answer to a question the representative of the Chamber said that the Chamber of Commerce had been studying the question of Canada's joining the OAS for ten years, and had not adopted a position on it.

On April 27, 1971, Guy Smith, a retired member of the Foreign Service, questioned the compatibility of proposals for developing interests in Latin America, and the need for concentrating

Canada's efforts. He considered that the fact that Canada was in the western hemisphere had no political or economic significance. He said that the paper on Latin America gave no substantive reasons why involvement in Latin America was necessary, would benefit Canada, or would make Canadian foreign policy more effective. He asserted that trade prospects would not be enhanced as a result of Canada's joining OAS.

On May 21, 1971, Dr. J.A. Gibson, for the United Nations Association, favoured increased aid to Latin America.

On June 1, 1971, representatives of the United Church of Canada and the National Board of the Y.M.C.A. of Canada advocated increased development aid, with the former warning against aid being managed in such a way that stimulation of the Canadian economy should be the main objective.

On May 19, 1971, a few observations on relations with Latin America were made by members of the committee. Hubert Badanai, M.P., favoured closer relations with Latin America and asked the Secretary of State for External Affairs some questions regarding OAS and the Inter-American Development Bank. Paul St. Pierre, M.P. saw no merit in Canada's entering OAS, but Robert Thompson, M.P. considered that entry was inevitable.

In 1973 there were some faint echoes of Foreign Policy for Canadians. In the March 1973 issue of Last Post (published by the Canadian Journalism Foundation) Eric Hamovitch noted that the Southam News Service had closed its Latin American Bureau shortly after the government had stated in the white paper that it

would welcome the establishment of bureaux and would assist media representatives who might help make Latin America better known in Canada. On October 30, 1973, in the Montreal Gazette, Guy Demarino wrote that

"Canada and Latin America seem well on the way towards the closer bonds predicted and encouraged by the Canadian government in its 1970 foreign policy review...".

E) Prime Minister's Tour, 1976

Prime Minister Trudeau's visit to Mexico, Cuba and Venezuela (January 23-February 3, 1976) prompted comments on relations with Latin America in general as well as on relations with the individual countries, which will be treated under country headings.

The United Church Observer (January 1976) "enthusiastically welcomed" the announcement of the Prime Minister's trip, adding:

"Our relationships with South America have been neglected too long, and our refusal to occupy the vacant seat (in the OAS) has never been fully understood".

On January 13, Charles Lynch, in the Ottawa Citizen and other papers, criticised the timing of the trip, adding:

"The odds are high that in saying the things that are in his heart and mind in Mexico, Venezuela and Cuba, Mr. Trudeau will risk exacerbating (Canada-U.S.) relations and in the process reinforce the impression of leftward leanings made by his New Year's statements...".

On January 17, Lionel Martin, in a despatch from Havana to the Toronto Globe and Mail suggested that Canada was exercising

its Third Option in developing trade ties with Mexico, Venezuela and Cuba, which also wished to diversify their relations. A similar point of view was expressed by Georges Angers in Le Soleil (Quebec) on January 17; by Marcel Lepin in La Presse (Montreal) on January 19; and by Le Soleil in an editorial on January 27.

Geoffrey Stevens, in a despatch from Ottawa to the Globe and Mail on January 22 also used the Third Option theme, and then wrote:

"Canada's view of Latin America over the years can be stated in one word - indifference. We know, and care, less about Latin America than about any other part of the world...Some of this should be corrected over the next two weeks..."

Reporting from Caracas on February 3, he noted that goodwill and a desire for closer relations evidently existed but that the problem was to translate a general desire into something specific. One possibility would be for Canada to take out observer status in a new grouping, SELA (the Latin American Economic System). Stevens said that it was imperative for Canada to work more closely with developing nations, and that Latin America was "a particularly promising region with which to begin". He concluded:

"...If understanding leads to some sort of special relationship between Canada and Latin America, so much the better. Mr. Trudeau's trip has opened a door. The Canadian Government would be a fool not to try to walk through it".

Commenting on Stevens's article of January 22 in a letter to the Globe and Mail on January 24, Michael R. Lubbock, Executive Director of CALA, wrote that the purposes of the trip were clear

and definite:

"The Prime Minister is making his all-important contribution to the process of showing Latin America that Canadian interest and activity in that region has greatly increased since 1968 and is growing fast".

Georges Vigny contributed an article, "Ottawa à la recherche du cadre latin" in Le Devoir (Montreal) on January 26:

"...Le premier cadre, bien sûr, est celui proprement canadien, qui se trouve déployé sur Cuba, le Mexique et le Venezuela (le quatrième étant le Brésil), qui trouve sa justification dans une politique autrement plus dynamique - espérons-nous - qu'un vague continentalisme aujourd'hui éclaté par l'universalité des problèmes et des crises.

"Le deuxième est celui, évidemment, de l'Organisation des Etats américains (OEA), où le Canada peut réclamer (ou non) le statut de membre à part entière.

"Le troisième concerne le Système économique latino-américain ou SELA qui, nourri à la crise cubaine et actualisé par la solidarité économique face au colosse 'etats-uniens', nous intéresse au plus haut point dans la mesure où Ottawa est intéressé à un nouveau type de relations à condition qu'il ne soit pas conçu dans une perspective de confrontation...

"Que ce soit dans nos relations tant avec la Havane qu'avec Mexico et Caracas, il ne faut pas être dupe de ses illusions: cette coopération entre, qu'on le veuille ou non, dans notre stratégie de diversification. Mieux encore: de tranquille distanciation par rapport aux Etats-Unis... A mesure que cette politique canadienne se déploiera, tant au niveau latino-américain que vis-à-vis de l'Europe et du Pacifique, ce ne seront pas seulement les occasions qui augmenteront c'est aussi l'intensité qui ira croissant".

In an editorial on February 3, the Montreal Gazette said that the Prime Minister's tour offered strong evidence that the moment was ripe for a surge of Canadian interest in Latin America. Important trading opportunities were opening up. A prime ministerial tour was an excellent means of focusing national attention - always too inward looking - on Canada's world role. Noting that a move by Canada to full membership in OAS "would oblige Venezuela, disoblige Cuba and leave Mexico indifferent", the paper concluded that Canada could "probably get a better grip on relations with Latin America by continuing to improve ties with individual countries..."

On the same day James Ferrabee reported to the Gazette, for Southam News Services, that the Prime Minister's first venture into Latin America in pursuit of the "Third Option" foreign policy was producing some flak from the countries he was trying to woo: in particular, the "visit to Cuba was not appreciated by the Venezuelan government and perhaps other countries in Latin America.."

The Toronto Star in an editorial on February 4, said that, for all the controversy it had generated the visit accomplished one important purpose, the opening of trade doors.

On February 5, Jean Pellerin, in La Presse (Montreal) said that the Prime Minister "n'avait aucunement pour objectif d'ennuyer les Américains, mais bien plutôt de promouvoir les intérêts canadiens". He concluded:

"Il se peut (que) ... M. Trudeau n'ait pas obtenu tous les résultats concrets qu'il espérait. Mais on peut convenir avec lui que les relations du

Canada avec chacun des pays visités se trouvent désormais resserrées, ce qui semble de nature à donner une impulsion nouvelle aux échanges canadiens avec ces régions."

The Ottawa Journal in an editorial on February 3, was severely critical:

"Prime Minister Trudeau should have stayed at home. His progress through Mexico, Cuba and Venezuela was an ego-stroking exercise with no discernible advantages to Canada to offset the damage done by the wretched timing of the Cuban visit and his fawning over Fidel Castro.

"The best that the government's apologists for the tour can claim is good intentions in Venezuela to help Canada reduce its balance-of-trade deficit... But the hard economic, geographical and political realities do not change. Canada's prosperity depends as much as ever upon the health of its relations with its traditional trading partners. The rest is nickel-and-dime stuff. ...

"Mr. Trudeau antagonized not only Americans but Latin Americans who have rightly viewed Mr. Castro as the most dedicated exporter of communism to the Western Hemisphere and now to Angola. And for what possible purpose? For what gain to Canada?... He gave aid and comfort to Mr. Castro at a time he needed it. He achieved nothing in return except further diminishing his own standing in the eyes of those who really matter to Canada.

"In all, one of the most embarrassing and counter-productive episodes in Canadian history..."

In Le Soleil (Quebec) of February 6, Gilles Boyer warned against Canada's espousing "l'anti-américanisme assez virulent qui règne en certains pays d'Amérique du Sud", but argued that

"Être plus lié à cette fraction de notre continent ne signifie aucunement que le Canada doive en épouser tous les travers. Il pourrait, au contraire, agir en conciliateur le cas échéant ce qui ne peut se produire que si nous gardons nos distances suffisantes vis-à-vis de Washington..."

Boyer discussed the difficulties involved in pursuing the Third Option without antagonizing the United States. He concluded that the Third Option could pay good economic and diplomatic dividends -

"à condition ... que cette nouvelle voie s'effectue avec les nuances voulues, qu'elle ne nous fasse pas oublier, que les Américains sont appelés, pour longtemps, à demeurer notre premier partenaire économique et politique..."

Factual accounts of Canada's relations with Latin America

Two books on Canada's relations with Latin America were published in Canada during the period.

J.C.M. Ogelsby's book, Gringos from the Far North (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1976) comprises historical essays on various aspects of Canada's relations with Latin America, and, as an appendix, "The Extent, Focus and Changes of Canadian Public Interest in Latin America, 1957-1967", of which the present study is a sequel.

Canada and Latin America: The Potential for Partnership. by Colin I. Bradford, Jr., and Caroline Pestieau (published in 1971 by the Canadian Economic Policy Committee of the Private Planning Association of Canada, in collaboration with the Canadian Association for Latin America) comprises a study of trends and prospects in Latin America and a study of the history of Canada's

economic relations with Latin America, with an examination of the prospects for their development in the future.

Brief factual accounts of certain aspects of Canada's relations with Latin America appeared in the following books:

a) Thomson, D.C., and Swanson, R.F.: Canadian Foreign Policy: Options and Perspectives (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1971).

b) Thordarson, Bruce: Trudeau and Foreign Policy (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1972)

c) Dobell, Peter C.: Canada's Search for New Roles: Foreign Policy in the Trudeau era (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).

A factual article, in Spanish, by Bernard N. Wood, "La nueva politica de Canada hacia América latina", was published in Foro Internacional (quarterly of the Colegio de Mexico), vol. xii, no. 1, julio-setiembre 1971.

Comment on political problems in Latin America (not in specific countries)

There were a good many articles commenting on political developments and problems in Latin America generally, that is, not in specific countries. They were written from the point of view of detached observers of the Latin American scene. The following are some examples:

a) Regina Leader-Post, March 18, 1968, editorial on "Troubled situation in South America".

b) Montreal Star editorial, October 14, 1969, and

Quebec Le Soleil article by A. Tremblay, October 25, 1969, on Latin America's habit of having coups d'état followed by the nationalization of industries.

c) Toronto Globe and Mail March 20, 1970, Reuters article on Latin American guerillas.

d) Ottawa Citizen, April 5, 1970, syndicated article, "Latin American generals stage coups and seek social justice".

e) Winnipeg Free Press, June 16, 1970, editorial on the situation in Argentina and Brazil:

"...The Alliance for Progress has failed... without reforms the outlook for Latin America and for the entire hemisphere is bleak indeed".

f) The Montreal Gazette, June 25, and the Ottawa Journal, June 27, 1970, an A.P. article on "Dictatorship the rule through Latin America".

g) The Montreal Star, April 4, 1970, an article from the Washington Post, "Latin prison life harsh".

h) The Winnipeg Free Press, April 13, 1970, an article from Washington by Richard Alfred, "Revolution moves to the city".

i) Le Soleil (Quebec), July 24, 1972, an article by A. Tremblay forecasting "nouvelles convulsions" in Latin America.

j) The Christian Science Monitor (Boston), October 11, 1972, an article by John D. Harbron, Toronto Telegram,

on "Generals with a social conscience".

k) Le Soleil (Quebec), November 14, 1972, an article by A. Tremblay on "L'évolution latino-américaine".

l) Le Droit (Ottawa), July 5, 1973, an article by Fulgence Charpentier on developments in Uruguay, Argentina and Chile, and on the question of Canada's entry into OAS (which he thought would be inopportune).

m) Le Devoir (Montreal), articles by its regular commentator on Latin American affairs, Xavier Uscategui, on corruption (June 10, 1975); "Pénible conjoncture pour l'Eglise en Amérique latine" (regarding persecution in Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Argentina) (November 6, 1976); and "L'Eglise d'Amérique latine et les ultras préconciliaires" (December 8, 1976);

n) Relations, which is published by a group of Jesuits, contained a large number of articles most of them sympathetic towards movements aiming at bringing about, by revolution if necessary, fundamental changes in social structures in Latin America, as prerequisite to improving the economic situation of the masses of the people;

o) Winnipeg Free Press, December 29, 1976, article by John Rector, "A steady retreat from democracy".

Comment on economic problems of Latin America (not of specific countries)

The following are some examples of articles on economic

problems of Latin America, not of specific countries:

- a) Writings on Canadian-American Studies (Michigan State University, 1967), an article by Heath Macquarrie, M.P., in which he described the Alliance for Progress programme as "splendid"
- b) Le Droit (Ottawa), August 14, 1967, an article by Pierre Gélinau arguing that solutions to Latin America's problems could be found only in "une véritable intégration ibéro-américaine".
- c) Regina Leader-Post, February 19, 1968, editorial on Latin American export problems.
- d) Toronto Financial Post, June 15, 1968, an article welcoming moves by Latin American central bankers to set up a common system of settling trade balances.
- e) Toronto Globe and Mail, May 18 and September 7, 1974, articles by Marilyn Dawson on the Union of Banana-exporting countries.
- f) Toronto Globe and Mail, articles on the Community of Latin-American and Caribbean Sugar-exporting countries (May 17, 1965), and on SELA (Sistema economico latino-americano) (August 30, 1975).
- g) Le Devoir (Montreal), May 21, 1975, article by Xavier Uscategui on "Le crépuscule du Pacte des Andes".
- h) Vancouver Sun, November 22, 1976, editorial, "Adios El Dorado", speculating that Chile's withdrawal from the Andean Pact would lead to its complete disintegration

and thus to the fading of "another vision of fruitful regional economic unity".

* * * * *

CANADA AND THE ORGANIZATION
OF AMERICAN STATES

Discussion not related to events

In the period covered by this study the best case - and almost the only reasoned case - for Canadian participation in OAS was made by Health Macquarrie, M.P., who has an academic background; and the most cogent arguments against participation were made by academics and by the Toronto Globe and Mail. Macquarrie, a perennial advocate of participation, made the following points in the Dalhousie Review, Spring 1968:

- a) While there is no great surge of opinion in favour of OAS membership, neither is there a large body of opinion opposed;
- b) Canada should seek to strengthen ties with an area of great potential that is bound to play a decisive role in world affairs;
- c) If trouble erupts in Latin America and spreads, Canada will be involved whether or not it is in the OAS and should contribute to the consultative machinery now existing;
- d) Canada has asserted and must continue to assert the right to disagree with the United States on matters of foreign policy (vide Cuba). Canada's right to disagree is as important to the position of the United States before the world as it is to

Canadians. There is therefore little reason to be patient with the view that Canada should stay out of the OAS for fear of incurring the displeasure of the U.S. or the Latins.

At the Montmorency Thinkers' Conference of the Progressive Conservative Party, in August 1967, the party's president, Dalton Camp, suggested the possibility of participation in OAS "in a role hopefully of a determined non-military nature", if "we were to conclude that the most appropriate and meaningful contribution Canada could make to the improvement of world conditions would be through a substantially increased aid program and if this meant a re-allocation of our resources and a contracting of our military role..." (text in Journal of Canadian Studies, August 1967).

The Toronto Telegram, in a mainly favourable editorial on the Alliance for Progress in its issue of October 19, 1967, asked rhetorically what Canada, consistently critical of the United States' role in Latin America, was doing. Its answer to the question was:

"...We are not there, not sharing the experiences of modernizing frustratingly slow social systems. Rather we claim that the political hazards of our membership in the OAS outweigh these..."

The paper favoured "membership in the OAS and full partnership in the difficult development of our own hemisphere".

At a colloquium attended by Canadians and Mexicans - private persons and officials - at Oaxtepec, Mexico, in November

1967, one of the subjects discussed was OAS. It was reported that the Canadians thought that Canada had moved closer towards membership in OAS, but that it was unlikely that a decision would be taken in the near future, because

- a) Canada would be unwilling to break with Cuba in order to comply with an OAS resolution of 1964;
- b) Canada could accept neither the Charter of OAS because of its voting system nor the Pact of Bogota because of its mechanism for settling disputes which obliged member states to exhaust the remedies provided for in the Pact before having recourse to others; and
- c) membership of Canada in OAS would result in unnecessary conflicts with the United States.

In Writings on Canadian-American Studies (Michigan State University, 1967) Professor R. Craig Brown, University of Toronto, wrote:

"...Canadian membership (of OAS)... would create very serious problems in Canadian-American relations and more aggravate than enhance Canada's relations with the Latin American nations. Canada's policy vis-à-vis Cuba is a clear case where an independent nation in the hemisphere is playing a constructive role (not just in Canada's interest but in the interest of the United States as well...)"

(A similar view was expressed by Professor James C. McKegney, University of Waterloo, at a seminar on relations with Latin America arranged by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, at the request of the Department of External Affairs,

in March 1969). Professor Craig Brown failed to see how joining OAS would increase Canada's ability to play a more constructive role in hemispheric affairs or result in increased trade.

In an article in Queen's Quarterly, Autumn 1967, Irving Brecher and Richard A. Brecher wrote of Canada's ostrich-like attitudes and pleaded for Canadian involvement in Latin America by joining OAS, stepping up aid, and developing cultural and other relations. At about the same time Donald Evans, in a book edited by him and entitled, Peace, Power and Protest (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1967) declared that "we ought to stay out of the Washington-dominated Organization of American States".

In March 1968 Dr Arthur Lerner, Sir George Williams University, in a speech to the Canadian Inter-American Association, advocated Canadian entry into OAS in order not to "abdicate our responsibility", and on the contrary "to share in the consequences of what is happening" in Latin America.

John W. Holmes, in an article in the Journal of Inter-American Studies, April 1968, which was reproduced in his book, The Better Part of Valour (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970) wrote that it was hard to see how Canada could, even if it were so disposed, join OAS until there had been some change in the organization's relations with Cuba:

"...If Canada's first act after joining the OAS were a rupture of relations with Cuba, it would confirm the view of those who have always argued that joining the OAS would commit Canada to docile submission to U.S. policy".

He questioned whether Pan Americanism was a good idea for the future, whether Canada would be joining a lost cause, whether by joining the OAS Canada would be strengthening an organization that was polarizing Latin America and the United States and thus increasing rather than relaxing tension between them. He wondered whether Canada - and the United States itself - might be more helpful to Latin America outside OAS than inside.

Professor Albert Legault, Laval University (in a paper presented to a Conference on Canada, Latin America and United States Foreign Policy at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, February 17-20, 1972) objected to the provision of the Rio Treaty of 1947 whereby members of OAS may be obligated to apply political and economic sanctions against a member state by virtue of a two-thirds vote.

Professor C.S. Burchill, Royal Roads Military College (in the Victoria Daily Colonist in June 1969) was highly critical of the Caracas Declaration of 1954, which amended the constitution of OAS to permit intervention if "the domination or control of the political institutions of any American state by the international Communist movement ... would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and independence of the American states". (He mentioned this as providing justification for the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965). He went on to argue that participation in OAS would involve an over-extension of our military commitments.

In his article in the Journal of Inter-American Studies, April 1968 (already cited) John W. Holmes commented that "to be committed by a majority of South Americans when one had refused to be committed by a majority of fellow members of the Commonwealth or the North Atlantic community implies a priority to Western Hemisphere relations that would be unrealistic for Canadians to concede". About the same time he also wrote (in Behind the Headlines, March 1970):

"Before committing ourselves to the Organization of American States and full participation in inter-American security and economic agreements it would be advisable to examine whether our NORAD and NATO obligations would in any way prejudice our freedom of action in considering inter-American security questions. What would be the American expectations of our behaviour as a special kind of ally in this system?"

Years later, in Canada: a Middle-aged Power (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1976) he opined that it was hard to see a case for a hemispheric security organization.

Professor Legault, in the paper cited above, mentioned as justification for Canada's non-participation,

- a) social-cultural reasons the incidence of which, however, might be reduced in the long run, namely,
 - 1) the linguistic barrier,
 - 2) a lack of qualified personnel, and
 - 3) different perceptions of Canada within Latin American countries; and
- b) the widely held and frequently expressed objection to participation in an organization dominated by

the United States, coupled with the desire to avoid involvement in intra-Latin American or United States-Latin American conflicts.

Both Legault and Holmes foresaw the possibility of changes occurring in the character of OAS. The former wrote:

"...The conditions of a Canadian adhesion to the O.A.S. seem to rest upon the transformation of this body into an organization less attuned to military and political considerations and more dedicated to economic, scientific and cultural cooperation".

He went so far as to suggest that by entering OAS, Canada might exert a positive influence on effecting "a new orientation of this institution, less attuned to American interests and closer to Latin American desires". But he did not specifically advocate Canada's joining OAS.

Holmes (in Canada: a Middle-aged Power) said that the question of whether OAS should be strengthened or maintained was largely a matter for Latin Americans to decide. Decisions taken by the Latin American countries at Vina delMar might result in giving the organization a new raison d'être - but not one to encourage Canadian entry. Continuing he wrote:

"...Canadians would not want to be part of a North American bloc in the OAS. The suggested role for Canada of mediator between the United States and the Latin Americans should be regarded as an occasional rather than a professional occupation... We should discourage compulsive organizers attracted to grand designs for a new Western Hemisphere...All parts of it have their own deep involvements in other continents. As a pole-to-pole area it is strategically and economically incomprehensible".

In his contribution to An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada (Stephen Clarkson, ed., Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Ltd., 1968), Professor Ian Lumsden, York University, opposed entry by Canada into OAS on the grounds that the organization was not designed to alter the region's social structures, and that it helped to legitimize U.S. hegemony in the hemisphere.

In the summer 1969 issue of International Journal, Prof. Philip Althoff, University of Western Ontario, roundly opposed Canadian entry into OAS. Noting that the United States "has all too often put pressure on member states to play by the 'made in USA' rules", he argued that Canada would "compromise its independence" by joining the organization.

Appearing before the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence in December 1969, Mr. Robert M. Fowler, President, Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, was asked for his views on the OAS question. He said he had conflicting ideas about it, but concluded: "I would hesitate for us to plunge into it right now".

Testifying before the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs on March 17, 1970, John Harbron, Associate Editor, Toronto Telegram, spoke of the necessity of going into the OAS or some successor body, but indicated doubt as to whether entry should be effected "at the moment". Only one Senator questioned him on the OAS, asking what benefits he thought Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago had obtained from their membership. (The Committee was studying the Caribbean area).

In an article in International Perspectives (May-June 1972), Harbron argued that the old objection that membership in OAS might result in tensions with the United States had lost a good deal of its validity, since Canada-U.S. relations had entered rough waters for other reasons. He noted that under the OAS charter Canada would be able to abstain from decisions regarding other member states.

In June 1971 a panel meeting of Canadians and non-Canadians was held in Quebec to discuss Canadian external relations and domestic developments for the 1970's. In a book (Thomas A. Hockin and others: The Canadian Condominium: Domestic Issues and External Policy, Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Ltd, 1972) based on material prepared for the meeting the opinion was expressed that in Canada, since 1965, there had been more interest in Latin America but less interest in OAS.

Professor Harvey Levenstein, McMaster University, in one of his frequent articles in the Toronto Star, January 14, 1974, likened Canadian diplomats in Latin America to the "ugly Americans" of the 1950's, and alleged that Canadian policy towards the area was "still being shaped by the people whose minds were cast in those years". Continuing the line of argument, he wrote:

"For years our foreign policy makers regarded Latin America as the private fief of the United States. We refused to join the Pan American Union, and its successor, the Organization of American States (OAS) not, as the official explanation usually claimed, because it would conflict with our Commonwealth obligations but because we implicitly accepted the validity of the Monroe Doctrine, as interpreted by the United

States. The hemisphere south of the Rio Grande was its to preserve and 'protect' from 'outside intervention'. Implicit, too, was the assumption that the 'wogs' began at the Rio Grande".

In a book, América Latina y Canada frente a la Política exterior de los Estados Unidos (edited by R. Barry Farrell and published in Mexico City by the Fondo de Cultura Economica in 1975), Professor Dale C. Thomson expressed the opinion that Canada would be less reluctant to accept full membership in OAS if in fact the organization was evolving towards a less rigid form in which differences of opinion would be tolerated more easily; if the United States really ceased to use the organization to impose its views on other members; and if the organization changed its character, giving less emphasis to political matters and more to economic, social and cultural cooperation.

From mid-1967 to the end of 1976, references to OAS in parliament and in parliamentary committees were minimal, comprising questions and answers, brief observations, and, on one or two occasions, very brief exchanges. The question of Canada's possible participation in OAS was discussed en passant in the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and Defence on May 21, 1971. Dr. J.A. Gibson, who was appearing as a witness on behalf of the United Nations Association, replied to a question regarding the OAS from a member of the committee. He said that the question of Canada's possible participation in the organization had been discussed frequently at meetings of the Association. His own view was that Canada should associate itself formally with OAS,

primarily with a view to using it as a channel for directing assistance, and not primarily because some notion of political symmetry or inclusiveness required Canada to be a member. Mrs Bazar, president of the Montreal Branch of the Association, said that joining the OAS would be acceptable to her branch because of traditional ties of Quebec with Latin America; but she noted that other branches of the Association adopted resolutions annually against Canada's joining OAS.

In an isolated interjection in the committee on October 22, 1974, Hugh Alan Anderson, M.P., said:

"I feel that Canada does have a part to play in the North-South American relationship, and I feel that we could play a more dominant part which is to our interest by becoming a full member of the OAS".

In the House of Commons itself questions on the government's intentions regarding OAS and other inter-American organizations were few and far between: 1 in the latter half of 1967, 2 in 1968, 8 in 1969, none in 1970, 2 in 1971, 4 in 1972, none in 1973 and 1974, 1 in 1975 and 1 in 1976.

Discussion prompted by events

Over the ten-year period many expressions of opinion were prompted by events.

a) Sanctions against Cuba, 1967

In September 1967 the adoption by OAS of sanctions against Cuba led the Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, September 26, to note a division between the United States and the more progressive Latin American governments on the tactics to be followed in dealing

with "Castroist subversion", and to conclude that, the effectiveness of OAS being what it was, Ottawa had done well to keep its distance. The Toronto Globe and Mail, September 27, under the heading, "Not a club of equals", offered four criticisms of the OAS vote:

- a) it pushed weaker states dependent on U.S. aid, trade and investment into upholding Washington's self-proclaimed right to play the policeman in the hemisphere;
- b) it showed how dangerous it would be for Canada, if an OAS member, to be faced with the choice of publicly thwarting a policy held by the U.S. to be vital, or of giving up our own policy of divorcing trade from politics;
- c) it proceeded from a notion of "hemispheric solidarity" which substituted a spurious geographic closeness for more meaningful economic and political affinities; and
- d) it underlined the enduring sterility of the U.S. policies of containment, embargo, boycott, blacklisting into which membership of OAS "might fatally draw us".

The Globe and Mail declared that Canada could play no useful part until the United States decided to lead OAS in promoting democracy and economic and social reform. The paper spoke of "our future solidarity with Latin America, which we eagerly hope for", and

supported increased aid to the people of Latin America "through the non-political Inter-American Bank".

b) Prime Minister's policy statement, 1968

Although the Prime Minister's foreign policy statement of May 29, 1968, while alluding to the desirability of developing relations with Latin America, made no specific reference to OAS, some of the comments provoked by it touched on the possibility of Canada's entering the organization. Writing in the Montreal Star on June 29, 1968, Leslie Roberts said that it was not the time for Canada to join the OAS, "for the excellent reason that we would look to many outsiders as an echo of the United States". Entry was also opposed by an academic in a letter to the Toronto Globe and Mail in August.

About the same time a citizen who had been born in Latin America of Canadian parents wrote to the minister opposing entry on the grounds that Latin American expectations that Canada might "neutralize" or "influence" U.S. involvement in OAS would probably be disappointed, and that the U.S. would probably "absorb" Canada in its involvements.

Clive Baxter (Financial Post, July 13, 1968) said that to oppose U.S. interests within the OAS would be to risk poisoning Ottawa-Washington relations - and the prize wasn't worth that cost.

c) The Ministerial Mission, 1968

Editorials regarding the ministerial mission at the time of its departure in late October 1968 included some speculation on the OAS question. Some of this is mentioned en passant

in Part III of this study. At this time John Harbron contributed three articles on OAS to the Toronto Telegram, commencing on October 26, 1968. He concluded that the "chances appear good that we'll at last take the plunge and join". In an editorial on October 26, the Telegram was cautious, saying that Canada's "consistent disinterest" in Latin America might be "remedied somewhat" by the ministerial mission; that some of the reasons for not joining the OAS "hold less and less water as the years go by"; but that the decision to expand our relations would "be based on self-interest and national advantage".

The Montreal Gazette, October 30, 1968, expressed the opinion that the mission's discussions regarding trade, aid and cultural ties could be more important than discussions relating to OAS. It declared that Canada should be interested in the economic, social and political future of Latin America: indeed, it was part of the world that Canada could no longer ignore.

During the tour itself, and afterwards, most of the comment concerned the possibility of Canada's entry into the OAS. Just after the Ministers and officials left Canada the Ottawa Citizen of October 29/68 dealt with the OAS problem, concluding that "Canada's freedom to pursue an independent foreign policy in Cuba...remains a powerful argument against joining".

In the course of the tour the Secretary of State for External Affairs was reported from Buenos Aires as saying that the mission had received conflicting advice regarding the question of Canada's possible entry into the OAS: some countries were in favour,

others advised against it. This prompted La Presse (Montreal), November 13, 1968, to query whether the addition of Canada would correct the defects of the OAS mechanism. It led the Toronto Globe and Mail, November 15, 1968, to paraphrase the report thus:

"...The organization is a mess which Canada could gain nothing for itself by joining, but which its presence might improve for others";

and then to conclude that "it is difficult to imagine a worse reason for entering the OAS".

The Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, November 13, 1968, asserted that the OAS had become a tool for maintaining the status quo in many Latin American countries; noted that it was in some danger of hardening into a political-military alliance; and declared that "this is hardly the kind of company Canada should be getting into at this moment".

When the mission returned Charles Lynch, in the Ottawa Citizen, November 30, 1968, wrote of the newfound enthusiasm of ministers for Latin America, but doubted whether it would be sustained. He found somewhat surprising Mr Sharp's statement that not all the countries visited felt that Canada should join OAS; but he was unshaken in his conviction that "the case for joining the OAS...rests on our own self-interest, and the benefits as well as the headaches that would derive from our membership".

The Montreal Star, December 4, 1968, insisted that "the usual reasons why we should stay out remain as valid as ever". Commenting on the mission in Le Droit (Ottawa), December 9, 1968, Marcel Roussin showed no enthusiasm for Canada's joining OAS in

prevailing circumstances.

Professor Peyton Lyon, Carleton University, wrote in Commentator, January 1969:

"The Prime Minister's reluctance to join the Organization of American States (OAS) is considered sensible, but not his stated reason, which is that Canada should first work out a distinctive attitude towards Latin America to avoid appearing as an echo of the United States. This overlooks the fact that Canada has already expressed a quite different attitude, especially on Cuba, the hottest issue in hemispheric affairs, and that foreign observers have congratulated us for that very reason on our good fortune in not being a member of the OAS...Mr. Trudeau, however, appears to want to wait, until the divergence (between Ottawa and Washington) is much greater - and also the corresponding diplomatic cost - before occupying the seat reserved for Canada".

Early in February 1969 the Secretary General of the OAS visited Ottawa and gave the Secretary of State for External Affairs a "legal view" of how Canada's relations with Cuba would be affected if it were to join the OAS. The visit prompted the Toronto Star (February 6, 1969) to express the opinion that "Canada would be under pressure to break diplomatic relations with Cuba if it joined the OAS", and the Montreal Star on the same day to declare that "Canada would not likely be required to break relations with Cuba if she joined the OAS". A more vigorously expressed comment was contained in a telegram to the Minister from Courtenay, B.C.:

"More facts more protests if Canada is made another non-voting member of OAS".

In the House of Commons, R. Gordon L. Fairweather asked on March 3, 1969, that the House be given an opportunity to discuss

the military and defense implications of joining OAS before any decision on membership should be taken.

In testifying before the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence on February 25, 1969, Professor John W. Warnock, University of Saskatchewan, said that there was no reason why Canada should ever join the OAS:

"There is absolutely nothing to be gained from this except more headaches, more problems and more conflicts".

David Anderson, M.P., agreed, saying:

"I find it very curious that people would suggest that we get involved in an organization which has so little to offer Canada and, indeed, in which there is no role for us to play".

On March 4 the Voice of Women, Qualicum Beach, B.C. wrote to the minister saying that the U.S.A. had violated the OAS Charter by intervening in the affairs of member countries; that Canadian ministers during their tour had found that Latin American countries were ready to trade whether or not Canada was a member of the OAS; and that "we should keep it that way".

The Globe and Mail, March 10, 1969, attributed to the Secretary of State for External Affairs an alleged statement to the effect that more extensive relations with Latin American countries could only be achieved within a framework of institutions of which OAS was the most important. The accuracy of the report was challenged by the Prime Minister, but not soon enough to head off a telegram from the President of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers' Union claiming that the alleged statement

represented an attempt to condition the Canadian public to accept a seat in OAS despite evidence that the organization was an instrument for U.S. domination of the Americas.

The Prime Minister replied to a question at a press conference during a visit to Washington in March 1969 that Canada was in the process of defining its policy towards Latin America; that in time this could lead to membership in OAS; but that the matter was not first on Canada's agenda - nor on the agendas of Latin American countries. This prompted the St. John Telegraph Journal (March 28, 1969) to comment that the "moment of our choosing should be later rather than sooner"

d) Hostilities between El Salvador and Honduras, 1969

When hostilities broke out between El Salvador and Honduras in July 1969 a number of papers (including Le Soleil (Quebec), the Montreal Star, the Halifax Chronicle-Herald, the Citizen (Ottawa), the Journal (Ottawa), and the St. John Telegraph-Journal) devoted editorials to explaining the background of the conflict. The efforts of OAS to bring about a termination of hostilities led Le Droit (Ottawa), July 29, 1969, to comment as follows:

"...Le prestige de l'O.E.A.... est sérieusement mis à l'épreuve. Que ferait-il le Canada s'il était à bord de cette imposante mais impuissante embarcation?..."

When the OAS had one of its rare successes in dealing with the case, Le Devoir (Montreal) August 1, 1969, commented grudgingly:

"...C'est cependant un cas exceptionnel et limité où les Etats-Unis n'avaient pas d'intérêts économiques en jeu".

But the Montreal Star, July 31, 1969, and the Winnipeg Free Press, July 31, 1969, acknowledged the success of OAS; and the Montreal Gazette, August 4, 1969, went so far as to suggest that "it might even cause Canada to think again about joining the O.A.S."

At about the same time - on July 23, 1969 - the Toronto Globe and Mail, in commenting on a speech by a Cuban-born Canadian businessman, Antonio Toledo, who had advocated Canada's entering OAS, reiterated its consistent opposition to such a step.

e) The Oblates' Brief, 1970

In a brief submitted to the Secretary of State for External Affairs on January 8, 1970, a group of Canadian Oblate missionaries opposed Canada's entry into OAS, declaring that "Le Canada perdrait ... de son prestige à faire partie de cette alliance militaire" dominated by the United States.

f) Foreign Policy for Canadians, 1970

In the section on Latin America in Foreign Policy for Canadians, which was tabled in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for External Affairs on June 25, 1970, the pros and cons of Canada's participating in OAS were discussed. The paper envisaged the possibility that a Canadian Government might sometime conclude that the development of closer relations could best be fostered by Canada's joining the organization. For the time being, however, the government went so far only as to announce its intention to seek a formal link between Canada and the OAS countries at a suitable level. Within a week of publication of the white paper, Canada's decision to seek permanent observer status

at OAS was announced by Jean-Pierre Goyer, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, when he attended, as observer, the General Assembly of OAS. In a speech he listed the subsidiary inter-American organizations of which Canada was already a member, and those in which Canada proposed to seek membership.

The Canadian Institute of International Affairs invited a number of academics, businessmen, trade unionists, politicians and others to record their first impressions of Foreign Policy for Canadians which were published in Behind the Headlines, August 1970. Only three discussed the section on Latin America, and only two - Professor J.C.M. Ogelsby, University of Western Ontario, and Miss Adelaide Sinclair, a distinguished former member of the U.N. Secretariat, commented on the possibility of Canada's joining OAS. After saying that "a fairly large segment of informed and uninformed Canadians would have objected to a decision to seek OAS membership at this time", Ogelsby noted with evident relief that, although the OAS question had to be discussed, it was, "at last, not central to the over-all concept of our relations with the Latin republics". Mrs Sinclair merely approved "adherence to our earlier decision not to join the OAS".

Communist Viewpoint, November-December 1970, welcomed the review's position with respect to OAS, while regretting its watering down "by the proposal that Canada might be prepared to sit in as an observer at OAS meetings".

More than a year later Professor Harald von Riekhoff, Carleton University, discussing Foreign Policy for Canadians in the British quarterly, The Round Table, January 1972, argued that the probability of future conflict between Latin American countries and the United States was high; that Canada, if a member of OAS, would have to take sides; and that, if Canada were in OAS, "the Trudeau policy of broadening Canada's independence without openly resorting to anti-American behaviour might easily be shipwrecked over Latin America".

At a conference organized by the Centre québécois des relations internationales (CQRI) in September 1971, Professor Yvan Labelle expressed the view that the time was not opportune for Canada to enter OAS, "cette institution étant sur la voie du déclin". He added that, if Canada entered, it "se placerait du côté des intérêts américains plutôt que du côté des intérêts des latinoaméricains".

g) Permanent Observer status, 1970-72

There was very little public discussion of the announcement that Canada was seeking permanent observer status at OAS. The Vancouver Sun, January 4, 1971, said: "This is sound enough". The most important comment appears to have been that of the Canadian Labour Congress, which has been advocating Canada's entry into OAS since 1962. In a brief presented to the Cabinet on March 1, 1971, the Congress registered its disappointment at the "Government's decision to remain on the outside and merely observe the activities of this organization whose importance to

Canada cannot be ignored".

The announcement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs on February 2, 1972, that Canada's application for the accreditation of a permanent observer had been approved by OAS, and that a Permanent Observer Mission would be opened in Washington, provoked a good deal of comment, not all of it favourable. Heath Macquarrie, M.P., the perennial advocate of full membership, expressed his disappointment in the House of Commons on February 25, 1972:

"We will join the ranks of Spain, Israel and Guyana in that regard. This is not, in my opinion, a tremendously courageous move..."

The Toronto Globe and Mail, February 7, 1972, observed:

"So into this incipiently moribund organization moves Canada, going in carefully by the back door so that it will not have to deal with the thorny issues that confront a genuine member. It is a stuffy, somewhat disgusting move..."

The editorial drew a letter on March 3, 1972, from Michael Lubbock, Executive Director of the Canadian Association for Latin America, who asserted that OAS was showing renewed life and that U.S. dominance was declining, and was thankful that at long last Canada would begin to take its place among its fellow American states.

The Montreal Star, February 8, 1972, regarded the move as a "first, unfortunate, step towards membership", and wondered "why Canada has finally submitted to pressure from Washington when Latin American reformers urged us to do nothing that would give OAS stature".

Fulgence Charpentier commented in Le Droit (Ottawa)

May 3, 1972:

"Cette hésitation...ce pas timide...a de quoi laisser planer quelque doute sur l'efficacité de notre décision sur l'intérêt véritable que nous portons à l'avenir des nations" (de l'hémisphère).

John Harbron expressed approval in the Ottawa Citizen, February 7, 1972, and the paper in an editorial the following day remarked unenthusiastically that the "new association...should prove useful enough". The Montreal Gazette, April 17, 1972, welcomed observer status but said there were good reasons for hesitancy in joining OAS. The Halifax Chronicle-Herald, April 14, 1972, described the move as "surely appropriate and timely". The Union des Latins d'Amérique in its bulletin, April 5, 1972, rejoiced at the step that Canada had taken at long last.

A Vancouver citizen wrote to the Minister on March 27, 1972, saying that she and some of her friends had discussed the matter at various times and had opposed entry of Canada into OAS on the ground mainly that it would compel Canada to take sides in disputes. She hoped that "participatory democracy" would prevail and that the people would have a chance to discuss the matter before any final decision (presumably, on full membership) were taken.

The Toronto Globe and Mail reiterated its negative attitude on August 2, 1972, describing friction arising out of U.S. use of OAS "as a vehicle of its anti-Castro, anti-leftist policies". What, it asked, would be the role of Canada? "At least we have had

the common sense to retain our ties with Cuba and to continue our trade".

Lionel Desjardins (Le Devoir, Montreal, October 7, 1972) remarked that "en devenant observateur officiel le gouvernement comptait ainsi consolider ses avantages sans prendre de nouvelles responsabilités". He noted that some of the earlier objections to association with OAS had disappeared:

"...L'OEA a perdu quelque peu son caractère de pacte de sécurité au profit d'un plus grand intérêt pour la coopération économique. Egalement, le Canada craignait d'être pris... entre les Etats-Unis et le reste des états américains. Aujourd'hui on reconnaît que les pays latino-américains ne forment pas un bloc homogène et qu'il est rare qu'ils s'entendent sur une position commune".

Later, he observed that Canada's participation in the Inter-American Development Bank and other specialized agencies rendered less important adherence to OAS itself.

In its brief to the Cabinet in 1973 the Canadian Labour Congress, which had earlier regretted as inadequate the decision on observer status, welcomed the decision to have a permanent observer at OAS and to become a member of the Inter-American Development Bank and of various specialized agencies of OAS; but it continued to advocate full membership in OAS.

h) Comment in 1973

In 1973 there was very little press comment on OAS or Canada's role in it. Exceptions were two articles by Fulgence Charpentier in Le Droit (Ottawa). On April 17 he wrote:

"...L'Organization des états américain n'a jamais marché plus mal... On peut supposer que (nos observateurs) jugeront peu opportun de nous lancer dans une entreprise, toute valable soit-elle, où semble régner une si parfaite mésentente..."

On July 5, under the heading, "On presse le Canada d'entrer à l'OEA", he wrote of the "malaises populaires (qui) éclatent en Uruguay, en Argentine, au Chili", and continued thus:

"Et devant ces désordres l'Organization...qui se réunit à Lima, réitère au Canada son invitation qui prend l'allure d'un appel au secours...Au milieu de ces bouleversements le moment parait mal indiqué pour que la voix, toute sympathique soit-elle, de nos amis de l'OEA soit entendue..."

i) Mr Sharp's press conference, Mexico City, January 30, 1974

At a press conference in Mexico City on January 30, 1974, the Secretary of State for External Affairs said that OAS "tends to divide the region between the United States on one side and Latin America on the other", that it was "an organization more concerned with ideologies than with economic problems and practical results", and that Canada would only join an American regional organization concerned with more important matters for the unity of the continent. (Reuter report in Toronto Globe and Mail, January 31, 1974). This prompted the Vancouver Sun, February 1, 1974, to conclude "that the Canadian Government has come around to the correct assessment of the present worth of the Organization of American States". The Toronto Star, February 1, 1974, approved the line taken by Mr Sharp in Mexico, adding that observer status

is "all that is needed at least for the time being". Jack Best in the Ottawa Journal, February 7, 1974, noted that OAS was considering switching to decision-making by consensus rather than by formal vote, which would eliminate a Canadian objection. He remarked that cost (as an objection to joining the OAS) was no longer such an important factor, since we already had an observer mission and were taking part in various sub-organizations. The Voice of Women, Toronto, in a letter to the Minister in February 1974 opposed entry into OAS on the grounds that it might involve Canada in military adventures and would not help Canadian trade.

j) Cuba again, 1974-75

There was some press comment criticizing OAS for its failure, at its meeting in Quito in November 1974, to lift the sanctions against Cuba. Georges Vigny in Le Devoir (Montreal), November 13, 1974, noted that some member countries were defying OAS. The Montreal Gazette, November 18, 1974, had an editorial on "OAS sham in Quito". Marilyn Dawson had an article in the Toronto Globe and Mail, November 30, 1974, entitled, "Divided over Cuba". Professor Harvey Levenstein, in the Toronto Star, December 5, 1974 declared that, in the light of the failure at Quito, "Canada would be foolish to think of climbing onto that sinking ship". Jack Best (Ottawa Journal, December 16, 1974), expressed the opinion that the growing importance in world affairs of Latin American countries such as Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina and "booming Brazil", and of Canada's investment, trade and aid interests in Latin America, were pulling Canada "willy-nilly into

the hemispheric orbit", and that consequently Canada might soon "have to come to grips once again with the perennial question of membership" in OAS.

The action of OAS in lifting the sanctions against Cuba, on July 30, 1975, prompted the Montreal Gazette, August 2, 1975, to comment that it would do more for OAS than for Cuba. The Toronto Globe and Mail, August 4, 1975, welcomed the decision "as a step toward sanity in the affairs of this hemisphere," and concluded:

"What is certain is that through it all the OAS has functioned as no more and no less than an instrument of American foreign policy, an unwise and costly foreign policy. It has proven again that the OAS is a body Canada is well out of".

k) Prime Minister's Tour, 1976

The Prime Minister's visits to Mexico, Cuba and Venezuela in January 1976 prompted some comments on Canada's relationship with OAS. Geoffrey Stevens, Toronto Globe and Mail, January 22, 1976, wrote that if Mr Trudeau wanted to demonstrate Canada's desire for closer relations with Latin America, the single most important thing he could do would be to announce that Canada would become a full member of the OAS. In the same paper on January 24, 1976, Michael Lubbock, Executive Director of the Canadian Association for Latin America, contested the view expressed by Stevens:

"Most of us who best know the Latin American scene would disagree, not because OAS is dominated by the United States (which increasingly it is not) but because the organization is going through a transition stage. On the other hand, Mr Stevens wholly omits to mention the far more important step of joining the Inter-American Development Bank as Canada did a few years ago."

In welcoming the announcement of the Prime Minister's trip, the United Church Observer (January 1976) remarked that Canada's failure to occupy the vacant seat in OAS had "never been fully understood".

In Le Devoir (Montreal), January 26, 1976, Georges Vigny commented:

"Que l'Organisation des Etats américains soit inopérante ou, pire, qu'elle n'ait fonctionné à ce jour qu'à sens unique, qu'elle soit morte dès l'instant où chacun des membres a été laissé libre de renouer ou non avec Cuba, qu'elle soit artificielle et statique, sont autant d'affirmations que chacun des pays intéressés a déjà formulées.

"Mais ce qui intéresse Ottawa est de savoir si cette OEA peut être rajeunie, revitalisée, en un mot, repensée. Ce sera au président Echeverria, à Fidel Castro et au président Perés Andrés de le dire à M. Trudeau, sans omettre de préciser le rôle que chacun d'eux entend voir jouer par le Canada."

Jean Pellerin, La Presse, Montreal, February 5, 1976, reported that Venezuela had pressed Canada to become a full member of OAS, but that the matter was likely to remain "à l'étude". It would please Venezuela but create problems vis-à-vis Cuba. In any event Canada already had observer status in OAS and was a full member of the Inter-American Development Bank.

Professor Jacques Gélinas, University of Ottawa, noted in an article published in Le Soleil, Quebec, February 10, 1976, and in Le Devoir, Montreal, February 24, 1976, that the three countries visited by the Prime Minister were, with Colombia, the principal promoters of SELA (Sistema economico latino-americano).

The treaty instituting SELA, a regional organization from which the United States was excluded, had been signed on October 18, 1975, "dans le but ouvertement énoncé de faire contrepoids à l'influence prédominante des Etats-Unis au sein de l'OEA". Professor Gélinas said that since the expulsion of Cuba in 1962, "l'OEA ... n'a cessé de verser dans le verbiage et l'inefficacité bureaucratique", whereas "le SELA ... part sur une base réelle..." He concluded:

"...Mais pour le Canada, en quête d'une affirmation économique face à son éléphanter voisin, entrer en Amérique latine par le SELA, c'est passer par la bonne porte".

Among the comments on OAS provoked by the Prime Minister's tour an unusual note was struck in a letter to the Toronto Globe and Mail, January 28, 1976, from Professor Bruce Campbell, Carleton University, who wrote:

"...Joining the OAS would be the one thing Canada could do that would alienate Latin America. It is widely acknowledged that the OAS is a rubber stamp for American policy in the region...Canada's present observer status...sets us apart from American hegemony of which Latin Americans are so resentful. A real coup would be for Canada to gain observer status in a newly formed Latin American Economic Organization (Sistema Economico Latinoamericano)..."

Interest in OAS

Apart from expressions of opinion on the question of Canada's relations with OAS, there are from time to time indications of interest in the subject. The following are a few examples, gleaned from departmental files and the press:

a) In 1968 a high school student asked the Department of External Affairs for information, saying that the subject was being discussed in his Grade 13 history class.

b) In 1969 there was a panel discussion at Carleton University, Ottawa.

c) In 1968, Américas, the principal periodical publication of the Pan American Union (the secretariat of OAS), was sent to 1296 subscribers in Canada, including governments, libraries, institutions and 952 individuals. By the end of 1976 the total number of subscribers had declined to 412.

d) In 1975 a party of 30 students from Montreal visited Washington and requested the participation of an OAS specialist in a discussion of problems of the third world.

Conclusions

Interest in OAS on the part of the Canadian public is limited to a tiny minority of the population, and has probably declined as a result of disapproval of the organization's sanctions against Cuba, and of evidence of disenchantment with it on the part of many Latin Americans and of some of their governments.

Comment on Canada's relations with OAS, or on Canadian policy towards OAS, increases slightly in response to significant events, and then wanes: it is spasmodic, and even when it waxes it remains pretty sparse. Since 1967, expressions of opinion on the possibility of Canada's entering OAS have run at least four against to one in favour.

The government's decision to seek the status of permanent observer in OAS was evidently not prompted by public demand: it was neither welcomed nor condemned with enthusiasm. In the light of the almost universal apathy on the subject, it is probably safe to prophesy that a decision that Canada should become a full member of OAS would cause no more than a ripple of public interest.

OTHER INTERAMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

From time to time there have been mild expressions of interest in inter-American organizations other than OAS.

On March 4, 1968, in answer to a question by Heath Macquarrie, M.P., the Secretary of State said that Canadian representatives had attended meetings of the Inter-American Indian Institute in 1949 and 1964, and that Canadian membership in the Institute had been urged by a few individuals and by the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, the National Indian Council, the Canadian Indian Youth Council, and the Miss Indian Canada Pageant.

In answer to a question by Mr Orikow on January 22, 1969, the Secretary of State for External Affairs said that the possibility of Canada's joining the Pan-American Health Organization had been under study for some time; and on November 8, 1971, in answer to a question by Mr Macquarrie, he said that Canada had become a member on September 27, 1971. In answer to the latter question (and in Foreign Policy for Canadians), it was indicated also that Canada was seeking membership in the Inter-American Indian Institute, the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, and the Inter-American Development Bank.

The decision to seek full membership in the Inter-American Development Bank was enthusiastically supported by the Canadian Association for Latin America, and received other indications of approval. John Rolfe, in the Toronto Globe and Mail, February 25, 1972, described the move as "the most significant step

ever taken by Canada toward strengthening and improving its relationship with Latin America".

On the occasion of the annual meeting, in Ottawa, of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, the Ottawa Journal, May 10, 1975, praised the Institute's work. The Journal's editorial was prefaced by the remark that, while politicians continued to argue the pros and cons of Canadian membership in OAS, "there has never been any serious opposition to strengthening ties between Canada and Latin America"; and there had been no complaints when Canada joined the Institute in 1972.

COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA

A. ARGENTINA

Neither the visit to Argentina in November 1968 of the ministerial mission, nor the coup d'état of June 8, 1970, attracted significant interest in Canada. Indeed in the first four years of the period the only noteworthy comment on Argentine affairs that was noted was that of the St. John Telegraph-Journal, March 13, 1969, which wrote:

"It would be pleasant...to be able to report that Argentina's progress was due to democratic rule... But failing that ideal it seems better to have an efficient military dictatorship that cares for the country a bit than an incompetent civilian administration which let it slip downhill".

In September 1970 there were reports that Argentina was going to deport a Canadian priest, Father Lefebvre, who had previously been deported from Bolivia.

In March 1971, when the ruling junta deposed President Levingston and installed General Lanusse as president, the Toronto Telegram, March 26, 1971, commented editorially on Argentina's seeming inability to govern itself, and the Toronto Globe and Mail, March 27, 1971, published an article by Marilyn Dawson, its regular contributor on Latin American affairs, entitled, "Economic crisis and the junta".

In 1972, there were a note in Etudes internationales, mars 1972, on political crises in Argentina; an editorial in the Ottawa Citizen, August 28, 1972, on the political situation; and

editorials and articles in several newspapers when General Peron, after years of exile, visited Argentina in November. The articles were for the most part a mixture of information and speculation.

There were further articles in 1973 commenting on the general elections in March, which resulted in the election to the presidency of Hector Campora, a Peronista; and on developments leading to the return of General Peron in June, and his election to the presidency in September. Among the newspapers commenting were the Ottawa Citizen, Journal and Le Droit; the Montreal Le Devoir, Gazette and La Presse; the Quebec Le Soleil; the Toronto Globe and Mail and Star; and the Winnipeg Free Press.

The death of General Peron and the assumption of the presidency by his widow on July 1, 1974, prompted a spate of editorials. Thereafter there was comment from time to time on the increasing instability in Argentina, which led to the deposition of Isabel Peron by the military in March 1976.

Beginning in 1974, there were reports that refugees from Chile were being murdered by right-wing terrorists in Argentina, that many were being imprisoned without trial, or were being deported to countries where they would be in further danger. One effect of the reports was that the concern felt by many Canadians regarding the situation in Chile was extended to cover also the situation in Argentina, especially in so far as refugees from Chile were affected. Accordingly, there were demands that the government make representations to the Argentine government, and that it improve its procedures for dealing with immigration

applications from refugees in Argentina.

At first, the emphasis was on the plight of refugees from Chile in Argentina. Subsequently, reports were received alleging that the Argentine government was adopting repressive measures, and that political groups were engaging in widespread terrorist activities. These gave rise to expressions of concern by many of the groups that had been interested in the Chilean situation since 1973; by groups of Canadian Jehovah's Witnesses regarding the alleged persecution of their brethren in Argentina; by the Group for the Defence of Civil Rights in Argentina, with headquarters in Mississauga, Ontario; and by trade union organizations and other groups and individuals. In September 1976 three members of Parliament - Messrs Brewin, Duclos and David MacDonald - visited Argentina as representatives of an inter-church committee. On December 20, 1976, Mr Brewin referred in the House of Commons to a report by Amnesty International on "continuing and uncontrolled terrorism, detention without trial of 10,000 political prisoners, and daily incidents of bombings, reprisals and kidnappings". The following day Messrs Brewin and Duclos spoke in the House of Commons on the situation in Argentina as they and David MacDonald had seen it.

The flavour of the comment on Argentine affairs towards the end of 1976 may be judged from the titles of articles that appeared at that time, as follows:

- a) "Argentine unions back in business to present formidable challenge" (London Observer article in the Winnipeg Free Press, November 15);
- b) "Les militaires ont décidé d'en finir avec les agitateurs", and "Un régime qui tourne au franquisme" (Michel Nadeau, Le Devoir, Montreal, November 30 and December 2);
- c) "Argentine: économie et terreur" (Xavier Uscategui, Le Devoir, December 7);
- d) "L'Argentine a d'abord rendu la liberté au commerce avant de l'accorder aux citoyens" (Jean Poulain, La Presse, Montreal, December 7);
- e) "Hardliners lose a battle within Argentine military" (James Neilson, Southam News Service, Montreal Gazette, December 29);
- f) "Un ordre fragile règne en Argentine" (Vincent Price, La Presse, Montreal, December 29).

News of the conclusion of an agreement for the sale of a CANDU nuclear reactor to Argentina immediately gave rise to questions. On October 22, 1974, a member of the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence questioned the wisdom of selling a reactor to Argentina, "which is not a member of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty". Between the fall of 1974 and the middle of 1976 upwards of 35 questions were asked in the House of Commons regarding the transaction, mainly by party spokesmen on nuclear affairs. It was objected that Argentina was

"not a poor developing country", and that the political situation there was "highly volatile", and "most unstable". Reference was made to reports that Argentina might be negotiating with France for the construction of a plutonium separation plant. Concern was also expressed in the press, in letters to editors, and in letters to ministers. An example of the criticism levelled at the government is that of W.A. Wilson, in the Ottawa Journal, July 28, 1975:

"...Having entered into a contract with Argentina, the government seems quite prepared to renege unless it gets words - not actions, but words - that go beyond the accepted international safeguards... It does not matter in the slightest what words, if any, the government now extracts from the government of Argentina because it is not primarily the good faith of Senora Peron's regime that is in question: it is the stability of that regime and comforting words to Canada can have no bearing".

Towards the end of 1976 controversy raged in Parliament and in the press regarding allegations that sales commissions paid by Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. were used to bribe Argentine officials.

B. BOLIVIA

There was a flurry of news reports, articles and editorials in the summer and fall of 1967 on Che Guevara, Regis Debray and United States and Cuban activities in Bolivia. On September 4 and 11, 1971, Le Devoir (Montreal) had articles on the work of Père Maurice Lefebvre, o.m.i., who had been killed in an uprising. On April 26, 1975, Val Cleary contributed an article to the Toronto Globe and Mail on the harassment of Canadian Oblate missionaries

by the Bolivian military regime. On October 30, and November 1 and 2, 1976, Le Devoir published reports on the brief incarceration in Bolivia of Marcel Pépin, ex-president of the Confédération des Syndicats nationaux, ending with an article by Jean-Claude Leclerc, who wrote:

"...Avec raison, Marcel Pépin s'étonne qu'un pays comme le nôtre puisse tout bonnement faire ses affaires et ses profits avec des pays où, comme en Bolivie, c'est encore littéralement la vie des travailleurs, qui est broyée dans la machine industrielle..."

Over the period there was a handful of factual articles, by Marilyn Dawson in the Toronto Globe and Mail, by Xavier Uscategui and Georges Vigny in Le Devoir (Montreal) and by Bruce Handler in Le Droit (Ottawa).

C. BRAZIL

The departmental files of press clippings contain about 60 articles and editorials on Brazil, with the larger number having been published in 1974, 1975 and 1976. (It is to be noted that few articles in the financial press are included). A good many of the articles were straightforward factual reports. When they expressed opinions regarding the political situation under the military regime in Brazil they were almost invariably unfavourable.

Under the heading, "Not an ideal government", the Toronto Globe and Mail, May 13, 1969, wrote that the government's desire for closer relations with Latin America would bring Canada into closer contacts with governments "whose structures are very different from the liberal democracy we attempt to foster at home".

Commenting on favourable things said about the military dictatorship by Hon. Robert Winters, President of Brazilian Light and Power (now Brascan), it said that "it is unfortunate that he did not temper his praise with hope for an early end to the political repression".

Discussing aid programs in the United Church Observer, November 1, 1969, Harvey Shepherd wrote of the shortcomings of such programs from the point of view of the receivers. Continuing, he said:

"...Apart from loans, the Canadian government has not done much of anything in Latin America, and at least you could assume it was not doing much harm. But...Do Canadians participate in a system that sells Brazil too many things for too much money and buys too few for too little? What do Canadian tax laws affecting a company like Brascan ultimately mean for Brazilians? How much profit syphoned from Brazil to Canada offsets aid from Canada to Brazil?"

Maintenant, mai 1970, published an article about the military dictatorship and tortures in Brazil. Relations, octobre 1970, published articles by Lina Gagnon on "La violence institutionnalisées au Bresil", and by Irenée Desrochers on "Tortures et terrorisme au Brésil". In the latter article it was mentioned that "les évêques canadiens qui sont membres du Conseil d'administration de la Conférence catholique canadienne viennent... d'appuyer les évêques du Brésil en dénonçant les tortures subies dans ce pays...".

Commenting on Foreign Policy for Canadians, the United Church Observer, April 1971, alleged that the government had "chosen to ignore human rights and to collaborate with a regime (in Brazil)

which is under condemnation ... for its cynical crushing of legitimate dissent and its cruel abuse of many of its citizens...".

On March 30, 1973, the Toronto Globe and Mail reported J.H. Moore, President of Brascan, as saying:

"It would be inappropriate for me, as a foreigner doing business in Brazil, to make judgments on Brazilian government policies. However, any observer of modern Brazil must conclude that the government is stable...".

J.C. Leclerc, in Le Devoir, (Montreal), April 25, 1973, wrote:

"...On ne peut condamner la violence chez soi et tirer profit de la torture ailleurs. On ne peut prôner la participation et la qualité de la vie au pays, et continuer de pactiser avec des régimes qui en sont la sanglante négation...".

From July 14 to 23, 1973, Le Devoir published a series of articles by Yves Materne on "L'Escadron de la Mort au Brésil".

The Ottawa Citizen, March 29, 1974, had an editorial on a flood disaster in Brazil, urging that Canada provide assistance; and the following day the Toronto Star published a report on flood damage by a staff writer, John Brehl.

The Brazilian methods of combating inflation were described in articles in several newspapers in 1974.

The trade mission headed by the Hon. A. Gillespie, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce in October 1974 was accompanied by at least two Canadian correspondents, Roger Leroux of Le Soleil (Quebec) and Michel Nadeau of Le Devoir (Montreal) each of whom sent a series of reports to his paper. Perhaps as a result, Le Devoir, November 21, 1974, commented editorially on

the federal and state legislative elections held on November 15 under the heading, "Un certain 'dégel' brésilien?" Other newspapers, e.g. the Toronto Globe and Mail and La Presse (Montreal) sent correspondents to Brazil from time to time.

Concern regarding the situation in Brazil was expressed occasionally in letters and petitions to ministers, in letters to the press, in Parliament, and in other ways.

On January 21, 1969, a member of Parliament, asking a question regarding a loan to Brazil through the InterAmerican Development Bank, wondered why, if money could be lent to Brazil interest free, it could not also be used to subsidize the purchase of houses by Canadians; and on December 15, 1969, two parliamentary questions linked the sale of aircraft to Brazil with allegations regarding the "extermination of Indians". On May 26 and June 1, 1970, there were questions in the House of Commons proposing food aid to Brazil, where thousands were threatened with starvation as a result of crop failure.

In October 1970 the Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne of Montreal wrote to the minister contrasting the great efforts being made regarding Jasper Cross with neglect of the situation of thousands of people imprisoned and being tortured in Brazil; and the Young Christian Workers, Toronto, wrote regarding leaders of the movement in Brazil who had been arrested.

A Comité Solidarité Brésil was set up in Montreal and Quebec in 1970 to organize protests regarding oppression in Brazil. In the spring of 1971 a member of parliament transmitted to the

minister a constituent's enquiry regarding a campaign being conducted in Montreal against Brascan, which was alleged to be "collaborating with the Brazilian government in assisting them in their anti-terrorist activities."

The March 1973 issue of Last Post contained an article, "The Brascan File", attacking the government for its alleged support of Brascan, and attacking Brascan for its alleged support of the military regime in Brazil. The article had been prepared by Last Post staff members in collaboration with Project Brazil, an organization "committed to informing Canadians about the repressive military regime in Brazil, and the help extended to it by Canadian government and business".

In 1973 there were three parliamentary questions regarding the financing of exports to Brazil by the Export Development Corporation.

In 1974 there were parliamentary questions and a letter to the minister regarding the possibility that armoured vehicles might be purchased from Brazil for the Canadian Armed Forces; and on April 13, 1976, John Rodriguez, M.P., proposed that the government cease considering such a purchase which would encourage a "vicious military dictatorship" and the "building up of a military economic complex in Brazil". In October 1974 the Canadian Economic Panel (Anthony Hampson, Canadian Development Corporation; H. Ian Macdonald, President, York University ; André Raynauld, Chairman, Economic Council of Canada; A. Edward Safarian, University of Toronto; and John F. Sokol) visited Brazil, and recommended that

two Canadian-Brazilian colloquia be held, one in Canada, the other in Brazil. (No further reference to the proposal has been seen).

Several letters expressing concern and urging that the government exert some kind of pressure were addressed to the minister by citizens late in 1974 and in 1975: some of the letters were sparked by a CBC "Man Alive" programme on torture in Brazil.

On October 1, 1973, John Newcomb wrote to the Ottawa Citizen opposing the granting of an interest-free loan of \$4 million because of the "blatant use of torture". On February 20, 1975, two members of Parliament questioned the need for a Canadian aid programme to a country which had an aid programme of its own.

Questions were asked in the House of Commons, in July 1975 and January 1976, regarding a proposed sale by West Germany to Brazil of enriched uranium and recycling facilities.

The Brazil-Canada Chamber of Commerce was established in December 1973. Its objectives are:

- a) to encourage the exchange of information and cultural material between Brazil and Canada;
- b) to encourage exchange visits between members of professional, cultural, commercial and industrial groups; and
- c) to promote increased trade between the two countries.

It works closely with a counterpart organization in Brazil. In 1976 the Chamber had 37 corporate members. Its headquarters are in Toronto.

From the above, it is clear that interest in Brazil on the part of Canadians has not been great, though it has been increasing slightly in the last three or four years. Comment on Brazil's internal affairs has been almost entirely adverse, because of the repressive policies pursued by the military regime; but feeling against the regime has not been strong enough or sufficiently widespread to induce the government to reduce its aid programme or to modify Canada's relations with Brazil in any significant way. Indeed, the announcement in December 1976 that the Secretary of State for External Affairs would visit Brazil in January 1977 attracted little notice.

D. CHILE

Chilean affairs, and Canada-Chile relations, 1967-70

Developments in Chile since 1970, when Salvador Allende, an avowed Marxist, was elected president, and especially since September 1973, when Allende was assassinated and his government overthrown, have given rise to more letters and petitions to ministers, articles and letters to editors, than any other Latin American events or developments have ever provoked in Canada.

From mid-1967 the beginning of the period covered by this study, news and comment on Canadian-Chilean relations and on Chilean affairs were at first sparse indeed. Among the few events reported were the visit to Chile in September 1967 of Gerard Pelletier, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; the visit to Chile of the ministerial mission

in November 1968; the visit to Valparaiso of the Canadian oceanographic ship "Hudson" in April 1970; the visit to Canada of the Chilean Air Force Academy, also in April 1970; the conclusion of an agreement in January 1971 between the University of Toronto and the University of Chile, for the installation of an astronomical telescope in Chile; and the conclusion of an agreement between the Centre québécois de relations internationales and the University of Chile, in September 1971, "de coordonner leurs projets de coopération dans le domaine de la recherche, de l'information et de la conduite d'activités communes diverses".

So far as Chilean affairs is concerned the only articles noted in the early period were one by a Washington Post writer on "Chile continues swing to left", in the Montreal Star, December 21, 1967, and an account of an interview with President Frei by Louis Wiznitzer, in La Presse (Montreal) February 21, 1968. On October 23, 1969, the Montreal Star commented on a "pocket military revolt" in Chile. In May 1970, George Bain, who was making a tour of Latin America for the Toronto Globe and Mail, sent a despatch analyzing the situation in Chile in view of the elections to be held the following September; and on July 1970, Le Devoir (Montreal) carried a somewhat similar article by Robert Guy Scully.

The Allende government.

Just prior to the elections, on September 4, 1970, the St. John Telegraph-Journal speculated that if Allende won, his victory would be played for all it was worth by Marxists throughout the world. When news of Allende's victory was received, the Telegraph-Journal, September 12, noted the existence

of rightist forces, but thought that Chile's "top brass" would wait to see how things would develop under a Marxist president. The Toronto Telegram, in an editorial, "Is Chile the next?" (i.e. after Czechoslovakia and Cuba) on September 10, 1970, wrote that "ideologically what happens this fall in Santiago affects our own backyard". The Montreal Star, September 8, 1970, thought it unlikely that the United States would interfere, and went on to opine that "despite its ideological swing farther to the left, (Chile) could still offer a model for much of Latin America". On September 10, 1970, the Ottawa Journal warned that "unless the whole situation is handled carefully and the United States acts with scrupulous correctness, communism could yet come to Chile by the ballot box". The Ottawa Citizen, September 10, 1970, and the Toronto Globe and Mail, September 11, 1970, were moderately optimistic about the way things might go in Chile. The Montreal Gazette, September 10, 1970, noted that the exploitation of Chile's resources to the advantage of foreigners and a small native élite was the "stuff of revolution" and thought that "the victory of Allende might set off a revolutionary trend in South America". The Winnipeg Free Press, September 14, 1970, feared that left-wing radicals all over Latin America would be encouraged to overthrow whatever reforming Christian Democratic regimes were left, and prophesied that "the outcome will probably be more military regimes, more oppression, more chaos and more poverty". The Vancouver Sun, September 26, 1970, saw Chile as "a new source of friction between the United States and the Soviet Union". The Montreal Star, October 2, 1970, saw Allende

"as a symbol of legality and democracy" who should be able to introduce badly needed reforms, and criticised the "verbal intervention" of senior U.S. officials, which could play into the hands of revolutionary groups in Latin America.

Towards the end of October 1970, as the date (November 4) of President Allende's inauguration approached, there were more editorials. The Toronto Telegram, October 26, 1970, expressed hopes for the success of Allende's coalition. The Montreal Gazette, October 27, 1970, wondered whether Allende could "steer such a tricky course without compromising democracy in Chile". The Edmonton Journal, October 28, 1970, advocated an increase in economic and technical aid to Latin America and thought that "we won't do wrong by starting with Chile".

After the inauguration of President Allende the Montreal Gazette, November 9, 1970, published an article by a U.S. correspondent expressing pessimism regarding Chile's prospects. On November 27, 1970, the St John Telegraph-Journal commented on Chile's decision to renounce the OAS resolutions on Cuba and to re-establish relations with that country. John Harbron in the Toronto Telegram December 2, 1970, expressed fears for press freedom in Chile.

Commencing in the early summer of 1972, the newspapers frequently published news and comment on the growing tension in Chile, drawing on agency reports, occasional visits by their own correspondents, and reports prepared for and syndicated by U.S., British and French newspapers. Typical was an editorial in the Winnipeg Free Press, June 21, 1972, entitled, "Chile's Agony", in

which the possibility of civil war was envisaged. The paper wrote that "the rule of President Allende, who was to bring to Chile socialism and justice, has brought ruin instead", and that "the middle classes are exasperated". The tone of other editorials is indicated by their titles: "Chile's regime falters" (Ottawa Citizen, September 8, 1972), "La fièvre du Chili" (Le Soleil, Quebec, September 12, 1972); "The tragedy of Chile" (Winnipeg Free Press, September 30, 1972); "La Crise au Chili" (Le Soleil October 19, 1972), and "Chile's unusual troubles" (Toronto Globe and Mail, October 27, 1972).

William R. Frye reported to the Ottawa Citizen, December 12, 1972, on President Allende's speech to the United Nations General Assembly:

"Allende complained at length of the damage done to Chile's credit...He saw this as a wicked conspiracy...Nowhere did he show an awareness that his own policies were largely responsible for destroying his country's credit".

On December 15, 1972, the Montreal Gazette criticised the policy towards Chile of the United States, which was "drifting into the swamp that has entangled its relations with Cuba".

An article in Le Devoir (Montreal) December 21, 1972, quoted Rev. John Morgan, President of the Canadian Peace Congress:

"...Nous sommes derrière Salvador Allende et derrière tous les Allendes du monde... Couper les crédits au Chili...est encore plus efficace que des bombes pour réduire un pays à la misère..."

During a visit to Chile in January 1973 Charles Lynch, Southam News Services, sent back a series of five articles. In

the first, published in the Montreal Gazette, January 3, 1973, he wrote:

"The only credits Chile can get abroad are political ones, forcing her willy-nilly to take her place in the global communist grouping, taking her friends where she can find them.

"Among nations turning their backs is Canada, since we take the line that we do not extend credits on grounds of politics. Chile will be getting Canadian wheat this year, but only because China and the Soviet Union, whose credit is good in Ottawa, will provide it...

"The Alliance for Progress way has failed in Chile. Now, the same forces that evolved the Alliance for Progress seem bent on ensuring that Allende's way fails, too...

A Toronto Star staff writer, Vincent Devitt, and a Southam News Services correspondent, Guy Demarino, visited Chile in March 1973 and sent back reports on political and economic conditions. La Presse (Montreal) March 12, 1973, published a story regarding two Canadian missionaries who had left holy orders, married Chileans and become Chilean citizens "parce qu'on se sentait tous les deux impliqués dans le processus de révolution".

On March 28, 1973, the Ottawa Journal had an editorial on revelations regarding the roles of the CIA and ITT in Chile; and on April 11, 1973, the Ottawa Citizen published an article by Azhar Ali Khan, "U.S. plotters fail in Chile". The Montreal Gazette, July 4, 1973, wrote approvingly of the democratic tradition which had enabled Chile to overcome an attempted coup.

Typical of articles appearing in various papers in the

late summer of 1973 was one by George G. Vincent, in the Ottawa Journal, August 15, 1973, entitled, "Chile on the brink of dictatorship: death throes of a democracy?". On September 12, the day after the coup d'état, the Toronto Star carried an article, presumably written earlier, by James Taylor, managing editor of the United Church Observer, complaining of distortions in the press coverage of Chilean affairs, due mainly to reliance on biased U.S. agency reports.

Coup d'état, 1973

The news of the assassination of Allende and the overthrow of his government by the Chilean military was received with shocked horror, but many commentators thought that Allende had brought the tragedy upon himself.

Charles Lynch, in the Ottawa Citizen of September 13, 1973, described Allende as a "martyr to the cause of social betterment for the masses". The following day the Citizen, after speculating on possible U.S. involvement, wrote:

"...The tragedy of Chile is not only that Dr. Allende and perhaps thousands of others died, but that the nation had been so bitterly divided for the last two years...

"The armed forces moved but not a day too soon. And it is worth remembering that if Chile had a Marxist revolution by force rather than by ballot, the bloodshed would have been far greater.

"In its hour of agony, Chile needs outside help. Canada should provide assistance ... such as food".

The Ottawa Journal, September 13, 1973, viewed the matter thus:

"...Democracy did not fail in Chile. The men in power failed. They could not reconcile the majority of Chileans to the drastic policies they insisted in pushing through...

"Martyr he may be considered by some; but his was a self-deceiving blindness which put ideology ahead of his country's welfare."

On the same day the Winnipeg Free Press recited the failures of Allende to solve Chile's problems, and concluded that "it became clear that Marxist-socialism was not the answer, and the military stepped in..."; and the Montreal Gazette, under the heading, "Collapse of an experiment", wrote:

"...It was probably the impossible dream - to think that he could bring Marxism to his country by democratic means...Government... no longer had the consent of the governed".

In an editorial on "The Allende tragedy", the Vancouver Sun, September 13, 1973, declared that the events in Chile provided "little comfort for democrats" and "no comfort for Marxists". After noting that the "deplorable contrasts" between rich and poor seemed to invite upheaval it concluded bitterly that "the answer...is the gradual takeover of a hemisphere by the military." On the same day the Toronto Globe and Mail made the point that the military takeover in Chile was not an ordinary Latin American coup: Chile had a democratic tradition, and the loyalty of the armed forces had enabled the government to survive as long as it did.

The downfall of the Allende regime on September 11, 1973, immediately provoked demonstrations, letters to editors, and letters to the Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs. There was a protest demonstration in Toronto on September 12, organized by the Canadian Peace Congress, the Communist Party of Canada, and other groups. A letter from ten members of the faculty of the University of Toronto, published in the Globe and Mail of September 13, urged condemnation of the illegal and violent seizure of power by the Chilean military, and demanded that the regime "should not be recognized or supported in any way by the Canadian government".

As news of the coup was quickly followed by news of mass arrests, torture and killings, and of large numbers of people seeking asylum in embassies, opinion quickly hardened against the military regime. Surprisingly, there were practically no protests regarding the indignities suffered by Canadians, presumably because it was felt that they had been caught in a dragnet, had suffered little in comparison with others, and had been released fairly soon. There were, of course, allegations that the Canadian Embassy had been slow in attending to their interests. Much more vehement were the allegations that the Embassy had not opened its doors to refugees to the same degree as some other diplomatic missions. The news led Jean-Claude Leclerc to write in Le Devoir (Montreal) September 25, 1973:

"...Il est urgent que le Canada offre publiquement l'asile politique aux réfugiés latino-américains ainsi qu'aux prisonniers politiques chiliens..."

L'Ambassade canadienne à Santiago s'inquiétait davantage de la reconnaissance de la junte, au lendemain du coup d'Etat, que du sort des partisans du gouvernement élu du président Salvador Allende. Une telle attitude ne doit pas prévaloir à Ottawa."

On September 26 Le Devoir published the text of an open letter to the Prime Minister from Jean-Louis Roy, président de la Ligue des droits de l'homme, Montreal, demanding

- a) that Canada refuse recognition of the junta;
- b) that Canada work with other countries to establish a surveillance of what was happening in Chile, in particular in relation to the thousands of trials that were pending;
- c) that Canada associate itself with international measures to restrain multinational corporations "qui abolissent les souverainetés nationales et les décisions démocratiques de peuples entiers"; and
- d) that Canada should give special attention to demands for asylum that might be received from Chileans and from foreigners who had taken refuge in Chile and who were now threatened with deportation to their own countries where their lives would be in danger.

La Presse (Montreal), September 20, 1973, published an open letter to the Prime Minister from "Les amis des peuples de l'Amérique latine" demanding that the government refuse "de reconnaître ou d'établir des relations diplomatiques avec la junte du Chili"

The Toronto Globe and Mail. September 19, 1973, wrote:

"In historical perspective, the chaotic, doctrinaire and difficult regime (of Allende) may not look all that bad...Canada is right to delay any recognition of the new terrorism".

Fulgence Charpentier, in Le Droit (Ottawa) September 21, 1973, approved the decision of the government not to hurry in recognizing the junta, and urged that the government request safe-conduct for the "asilados" in the Canadian Embassy to leave Chile.

On September 29, 1973, the Montreal Gazette reported that "three Quebec missionaries expelled from Chile pleaded yesterday for the Canadian government to hold back recognition of the military junta". The same attitude had been expressed a few days earlier in a statement issued by leaders of the Anglican, Roman Catholic and United Churches. Professor James Eayrs and numerous other writers of letters to editors and ministers at this time opposed recognition of the junta, but others were of a different view: George T. Fulford of Brockville wrote to the Globe and Mail on September 18, 1973, that "it is none of our business". In an editorial in the Ottawa Citizen of September 24, 1973, Charles King argued that "the wiser course would be to establish normal relations with the new regime, as distasteful as it may appear, and exercise what diplomatic pressure we can summon to persuade the military to return the country to civilian rule." He added:

"...Peaceful coexistence should encompass regimes of the right as well as left, and military dictatorships as well as one-party 'democracies' established by revolutionary methods."

Recognition; Embassy reports

At the end of September Canada recognized the military regime, and at about the same time a member of parliament made public some reports from the Canadian Ambassador to Chile, A.D. Ross. The reports gave objective analyses of the situation preceding the coup, and of developments thereafter. One phrase, "riff-raff of the Latin American left", which the Ambassador had used to characterize some of the political activists from Latin American countries with rightist regimes who had found refuge in Allende's Chile, and who were now threatened with deportation to their own countries, was seized upon by a good many Canadians as evidence of bias on the part of the Ambassador.

Recognition of the new regime provoked a mixed reaction in Canada. It was approved by some e.g., the Ottawa Citizen, October 1, 1973; Charles Lynch in the Citizen, October 2, 1973 and other Southam papers; and the Winnipeg Free Press. Even before recognition was accorded the Ottawa Journal, September 28, 1973, noted that Chile's new government had shown that it was in business, and wondered what was holding up Canada's recognition. Jean-Claude Leclerc, in Le Devoir (Montreal) of October 1, 1973, wondered whether the government had not been motivated primarily by concern for Canadian financial interests in Chile; and on October 2, 1973, Hugh Winsor alleged in an article in the Toronto Globe and Mail that concern regarding a de Havilland \$5 million contract had been "a major factor in expediting recognition". The Toronto Star October 2, 1973, acknowledged that "Ottawa is legally proper

in its cold-eyed realism", but would have preferred a delay; and it opined that the Government should ^{have} made known expressly that approval was not to be inferred.

On October 2, 1973, the Montreal Gazette published an article by Glen Allen, who thought that if Canada had recognized "simply for form, because it was expedient, we have made a bad mistake", since "if Canada and all the Canada-sized countries in the world withheld recognition the generals might have hung up their machine guns for a few days and thought things over". On the same day the Gazette in an editorial wrote that recognition was predictable, but that it was distressing to hear Mr Sharp state that Canada did not "necessarily" approve of the junta: the least that could have been expected was "something firmer". The Vancouver Sun, October 2, 1973, thought that "External Affairs might have waited a while longer". La Presse (Montreal), October 2, 1973, explained why recognition had been accorded, without approving or condemning the action. Le Soleil (Quebec), October 2, 1973, remarked that if Canada refused to recognize governments that came to power by coups d'état, it would have relations with few countries in Latin America, and concluded:

"Maintenant que la reconnaissance diplomatique est chose faite, le Canada doit utiliser le canal de son ambassade à Santiago pour exercer des pressions diplomatiques sur le régime militaire contre l'arbitraire de sa répression et en vue de l'instauration le plus tôt possible des libertés individuelles et collectives au pays. Il faut faire comprendre aux militaires chiliens que c'est là le meilleur moyen de s'assurer la collaboration de l'étranger pour faire sortir le Chili du chaos où il était tombé."

The leaked reports from the Embassy in Santiago were attacked as biased and distorted by Professor James Eayrs; Tom Anthony, Anglican Church of Canada; the Legal and Literary Society, Osgoode Hall Law School; the Ontario Federation of Labour, and many others. The Ambassador was defended by Charles Lynch and others, including a lady who wrote to the Toronto Star on October 9, 1973, that "Tom Anthony knows little or nothing of the situation..." and that "the Canadian Ambassador is to be congratulated on his insight and clear assessment."

Refugees

From the time that Canada recognized the military regime at the end of September, much of the comment focussed on the refugee question. There was criticism of the Ambassador and his staff for not granting asylum to more people at the time of the coup; for regarding some of the refugees as "riff-raff"; and for being slow in dealing with requests, partly, it was alleged, because none of the Canadian staff of the embassy could speak Spanish. There was criticism of the government for not opening Canada's doors to receive refugees, for allowing bureaucratic procedures and lack of qualified personnel to impede the flow of refugees, and for being too restrictive in its selection standards. There were appeals to the government to endeavour to obtain the release from Chilean prisons of certain persons by offering to admit them to Canada.

On October 3, 1973, representatives of the Canadian Council of Churches and the Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops presented a brief to the Secretary of State for External Affairs,

regretting the government's "inadequate response to the need for refuge of thousands of Chileans and other Latin Americans in Chile"; urging that it offer "asylum, safe conduct and assistance to any Chilean or other Latin American refugees who may wish to come to Canada, complete with a government or internationally funded airlift if necessary"; and urging that it register the strongest protest against the violations of human rights by the military regime.

There was, however, some opposition to an indiscriminate admission of refugees, and even to the government's policy of admitting a certain number of selected refugees. The Ottawa Journal in an editorial of November 29, 1973, wrote:

"...Canada does not want persons who would immediately dedicate themselves to the overthrow of its social system or who would find the old FLQ a congenial cause...Only refugees who pass a rigorous screening process should be admitted..."

In a letter to the Toronto Star, December 13, 1973, a refugee from a Baltic state opposed the use of his tax dollars "to strengthen the 'fifth column' in Canada which will try to destroy our freedom". Of six letters published in the Star on December 11, 1973, three said that resources should be used first to help Canadians, one that Canada already had enough revolutionaries, one that Chilean refugees were all communists, and one that the refugees should go to communist countries.

Role of the churches

The Canadian churches played a vigorous role in the public discussion of the Chilean situation and related matters. It was the Canadian Council of Churches that organized a group including

representatives of the Canadian Labour Congress, the Confederation of National Trade Unions, World University Service, National Union of Students, Canadian Association for Latin American Studies, Canadian University Service Overseas, Amnesty International and Oxfam of Canada, which presented a brief to the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Minister of Manpower and Immigration in October 1974. By March 1976, when a second brief was presented, the group of organizations called itself "The Coalition on Canadian Policy towards Chile".

The influence of French-speaking Roman Catholic missionaries in Chile - of whom there were about 200 - made itself felt in various ways. A group of missionaries who were expelled from Chile by the junta issued a manifesto, published in Relations, decembre 1973, demonstrating clearly their sympathy for the oppressed masses and, by inference at least, with the efforts of the Allende government to improve the conditions of the people. The November 1973 issue of Maintenant, published under the responsibility of the Dominican Order, contained a number of articles favourable to Allende, critical of the Chilean Christian Democrats and condemnatory of the United States, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Inter-American Development Bank, multinational corporations, and "le rôle equivoque que joue en ce moment le gouvernement canadien." Maintenant and Relations, which is published under the authority of a group of Jesuits, frequently published articles showing sympathy with revolutionary movements in Latin America. In the months following the coup French-language

newspapers published a number of accounts highly critical of the military regime by anonymous eye-witnesses who were almost certainly Roman Catholic missionaries. On the other hand, a priest wrote to La Presse (Montreal) on January 29, 1974, quoting a letter from a Canadian priest in Chile: "on continue dans la joie de la délivrance de l'horrible cauchemar...".

Canadian Labour Congress

In its annual memorandum to the Government, presented on March 18, 1974, the Canadian Labour Congress wondered "if the government is equipped to analyse and understand what is really happening in this highly volatile area". It had urged the government not to recognize the junta, and "to launch an immediate open door policy to receive the refugees from Chile". It deplored the "plodding manner" with which the government had responded to "this humanitarian call"; and it urged the government to hold back all financial credits, either bilaterally or through multilateral institutions, till democracy is restored. It expressed the opinion that "our aid could be more effectively used in the few democratic countries still existent in Latin America".

Parliament

The reaction of the Canadian public to events in Chile was reflected in Parliament. In the spring of 1973, Wallace Nesbitt, M.P., and John Harvey, M.P., alleged in the House of Commons that the Export Development Corporation was discriminating against Chile on political grounds, possibly due to U.S. pressure. Since the

coup in September 1973 members have been addressing questions to ministers on recognition, refugees, credits - indeed, on the whole gamut of matters raised in communications from the public to ministers and the press, as outlined earlier.

Favourable views of the military regime

Kind words for the military regime in Chile were rare, but were expressed from time to time in letters to the Montreal Gazette by E.H. Campbell, a Chilean-born Canadian business man, describing improving conditions. Another person writing to the Gazette declared that the Chilean army struck only before being engulfed in civil war led by foreign-trained communist activists. Vincent Devitt, a Toronto Star staff writer reported from Santiago on January 23, 1974, that "it is hard to find people who mourn the end of the nightmare days of the Chilean winter that foreshadowed (Allende's) defeat...".

Comments, 1974-76

In the years that have elapsed since the coup, interest in Chile has continued. On the first anniversary, in September 1974, for instance, the Montreal Gazette sent Glen Allen to Chile to do a series of articles, and on September 12 published an editorial, "Bleak anniversary", in which it blamed the United States for helping to bring the junta to power. After citing other examples of meddling by the C.I.A., the paper remarked:

"One would think something had been learned from the poor results of such arrogance. Better, one might suppose, that Chile go communist on its own responsibility than fascist on someone else's".

In a book review in International Journal, summer 1974, Professor J.C.M. Ogelsby wrote:

"...To regard Allende's government as an 'experiment'...is to lose sight of the historical process in that remarkable country, for Allende carried forward programmes of nationalization and agrarian reform that had long been a goal of the Chilean majority. He moved more rapidly than his predecessors, but not rapidly enough for some of his supporters. The resultant conflicts contributed to his government's demise".

Judging from the following examples, there has been little change in the tone of Canadian comment:

- a) On March 15 and 29, 1975, the Toronto Globe and Mail published articles by Marilyn Dawson on tortures, etc., committed by the military regime, and illegalities committed by the Allende government;
- b) The Ottawa Citizen, October 18, 1975, said in an editorial that Latin American countries should back a U.S. decision not to attend a proposed assembly of OAS in Santiago in 1976 unless Chile cooperated with an international commission on human rights;
- c) The Inter-Church Committee on Chile in a statement on August 7, 1975, declared that gross violation of human rights continued, and that Canada should adopt a policy of "evident diplomatic coolness" and ease the immigration requirements for refugees;

- d) a Financial Times News Service story dated May 4, 1976, criticised the alleged participation of three Canadian banks in a consortium that would lend \$125 million to "the military dictatorship in Chile";
- e) The Ottawa Journal, January 3, 1976, published an editorial on "torture and decay";
- f) La Presse (Montreal), July 3, 1976, published the first of a series of articles by Pierre Saint-Germain, from Santiago, reporting that "l'ordre règne, mais aussi la faim et la peur";
- g) The Ottawa Citizen, October 4, 1976, commented editorially on the refusal of the Chilean government to grant visas for the proposed visit of three members of the Canadian parliament, and suggested that the military regime had had a hand in the assassination in Washington of a former Chilean Ambassador to the United States who had been a minister in the Allende government;
- h) Vincent Price visited Chile in December 1976 and reported, in an article in Le Devoir, Montreal, December 28, entitled, "La junte chilienne a perdu sa crédibilité", that:

"...Elle n'a pas su, par des politiques éclairées, garder l'appui d'une majorité de la population qu'elle s'était pourtant acquis en mettant fin au régime d'Allende..."

Communications from the public, 1973-76

The External Affairs file of letters, petitions, etc. on Chile, from March 1973 to the end of 1976 runs to 31 volumes, containing a total of more than 1400 communications, many of which were signed by numbers of people. The Department of Manpower and Immigration also received a large number of communications from the public. With some of the communications there were copies of letters or telegrams addressed to Chilean authorities. It is not possible to prepare a detailed analysis of the communications received, since the first nineteen volumes of the file have been destroyed. Some indication is provided, however, by an analysis made at the end of January 1974, covering the period November 18, 1973, to January 25, 1974, as follows:

Recognition and refugees	290 individual letters
Ambassador Ross	179 " "
Petitions and form letters (Recognition, refugees, Ambassador Ross)	3502 signatures

The division of opinions was approximately as follows:

	PRO	CON
Recognition of new government	20%	80%
Admission of refugees to Canada	60%	40%
Ambassador Ross	20%	80%

The principal points made in letters to ministers, letters to editors, petitions, and resolutions adopted by private organizations were as follows:

- a) Opposition to, and some advocacy of, the granting of recognition (before the action was taken);
- b) Criticism of the government for its allegedly hasty recognition - and some support for the government's decision;
- c) Allegations that Canada had not done enough to support the Allende regime, that it had contributed to the downfall of the Allende government by withholding financial credits at a critical time, and even that the Canadian government or Canadian business interests had taken part in a C.I.A. plot to overthrow Allende;
- d) Criticism of Ambassador Ross on various counts, frequently coupled with demands that he be recalled - and some support for him;
- e) Concern regarding the situation in Chile, frequently coupled with appeals to the government to make representations to or put pressure on the Chilean authorities to modify their policies, even to the point of restoring democracy; to withdraw recognition, sever relations, or reduce the level of Canadian diplomatic representation; to cut off all credits, export insurance and aid; to urge international organizations not to provide

aid or financing to Chile; to sever commercial relations; to place an embargo on the sale of military equipment to Chile and to prevent the shipment to Chile of U.S. military equipment through Canadian ports; to abstain from participation in a proposed rescheduling of Chile's debt repayment; to prevent a Canadian company, Noranda, from investing in Chile - or at least express disapproval of an investment that was being considered;

- f) Concern regarding the fate of individuals, trade unions, and church and other organizations sometimes coupled with appeals to the government to endeavour to obtain the release of certain political prisoners by offering to admit them to Canada;
- g) Criticism of immigration policy and procedures, and appeals to the government to admit more refugees - and some opposition to the admission of refugees;
- h) Criticism of the Canadian Embassy staff;
- i) Criticism of Canadian foreign policy vis-à-vis Latin America in general, and Chile in particular.

The public opinion that expressed itself in letters, petitions, demonstrations, etc., appears to have been organized in large measure by groups of people whose political sympathies were with the Allende regime; by Amnesty International and other civil liberties organizations; and by church groups. In many centres ad hoc groups were formed to express solidarity with the Chilean people and to coordinate efforts to rouse public opinion to put pressure of various kinds on the government. As a result, there were many petitions, form letters and letters obviously inspired by organizations. There were also, however, many letters apparently written spontaneously by people horrified by reports of Chilean brutality, or by people to whom anything smacking of communism was anathema.

Most of the representations came from Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. There was a smaller volume from Alberta and Manitoba, and almost none from the Atlantic provinces except for one Halifax group.

Since the fall of 1973 and the early months of 1974 there has been a decline in the volume of comment on Chile and Chile-related questions; but throughout 1976 the Secretary of State for External Affairs was still receiving more than 40 communications per month on such questions.

Noranda and the banks

Mention has been made of opposition to Noranda Mines Ltd.'s possible investment in a copper mine in Chile, and to the participation of three Canadian banks in an international banking

consortium which would lend \$125 million to the Chilean government. Among the groups opposing action by private corporations that would help the Chilean regime are the Task Force on the Churches and Social Responsibility, and the Toronto-based Latin American Group. The former, which comprises representatives of six churches and several organizations interested in problems of the Third World, has taken the battle to the annual meetings of the corporations concerned. The latter publicises instances of injustice and violations of human rights, and the alleged cooperation of business interests with reactionary governments, and acts as a pressure group on governments and corporations.

Summing-up; the double standard

It is clear that the Canadian reaction to the coup d'état of 1973 in Chile was more vociferous than the reactions to violent events in other parts of the world. Little more than a week after the downfall of the Allende regime Le Soleil (Quebec), September 19, 1973, published an editorial by A. Tremblay drawing attention to the double standard being applied to events in Chile and those in Afghanistan where there had been a coup d'état "commandité par Moscou en juillet, lequel fit plusieurs milliers de morts, (et qui) n'aura pas en tant de répercussions."

There was perhaps some feeling that Chile was in our own back-yard, as some papers expressed it, but this does not explain why the reaction was more intense than reactions to the military takeover in Brazil. Indeed, the strength of the Canadian public's reaction contrasted markedly with the general paucity of Canadian

interest in Latin America. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Canadian interest was greater in the events in Chile (a) because the degree of violence marking the coup was great and was out of keeping with Chile's democratic tradition; (b) because the government that was overthrown had attracted the sympathy of people with leftist sympathies, who traditionally express themselves more vehemently than people of other political persuasions; and (c) because it enabled people to give vent to a certain anti-United States sentiment. Gerald Waring compared the reactions to the Chilean coup and the Cuban revolution, and raised the question of a "double standard" in an article in the Vancouver Sun of October 9/73, in which he wrote:

"...This minority may be so audible as to sound like the voice of the Canadian people but it is not.

"There are four basic differences between the Cuban and Chilean revolutions that may explain why Canadians with political and humanitarian concerns about other countries approved Castro's victory and deplored the Chilean coup d'etat.

- The Cuban revolution appeared to be a victory for the little man, the poverty-stricken peons. The Chilean revolution appears to be usurpation of power by a fascist military clique.

- Castro destroyed a despotic and corrupt dictatorship that Fulgencio Batista had established by force. The Chilean generals destroyed a popularly elected government.

- Castro's coup was a victory for communism. The Chilean coup was a defeat for communism.

- The Cuban revolution was a political defeat for the United States. The Chilean revolution was a political victory for the United States.

"This does not mean that all Canadians who decry events in Chile are Communists or that all are influenced by anti-American attitudes.

But each of these four factors has played a part in the total Canadian vocal reaction.

"On the other hand there is undoubtedly a contrasting but non-vocal satisfaction in Canada at the overthrow of communism in Chile, perhaps with reservations that it would have been better if it had been brought about by constitutional means..."

E. COLOMBIA

The Pope's visit to Colombia in August 1968 was the subject of news reports and a few editorials in Canadian newspapers. Reports on the Pan American Games which were held at Cali in 1971, and in which a Canadian team participated, were confined pretty well to the sports pages. There have been factual articles by Marilyn Dawson in the Toronto Globe and Mail in 1974; by Xavier Uscategui in Le Devoir (Montreal) in 1975 and 1976; and an article on the "situation pré-révolutionnaire" by Jean-Pierre Bonhomme in La Presse (Montreal), May 27, 1976.

From time to time there have been practical expressions of interest in Colombia. A conference on agricultural aid as a base for economic development in Colombia was held in Ottawa on November 2 and 3, 1970: it was sponsored by Imasco Ltd. (Imperial Tobacco) and was attended by representatives of 16 Canadian companies, the Agricultural Institute of Canada, CIDA and the International Development Research Centre. In 1971 the United Nations Association of Winnipeg took the initiative in organizing a group of high school students to carry a "Fraternal Flame" to the Pan American Games in Cali. Departmental files contain correspondence regarding a small group of entomologists from Toronto who went to Colombia in

1972 to engage in field research. The Ottawa Citizen, August 16, 1973, published a news story regarding World Vision of Canada, an organization which had bought a farm in Colombia where it was planning to look after 100 orphans, and where 16 Canadian students had spent part of their summer clearing land and otherwise preparing facilities.

In 1975 three questions were asked in the House of Commons regarding Colombian workers in the Canadian textile industry.

F. CUBA

There was a good deal of comment on Cuban internal affairs, on Cuban policy vis-à-vis other Latin American countries and in Angola, on United States policy regarding Cuba, and on Canadian policy towards and relations with Cuba.

Cuban Internal Affairs

Comment on Cuban internal affairs was for the most part even-handed or favourable. Professor Ian Lumsden, in a book, An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada (edited by Stephen Clarkson and published in 1968), while regretting the undemocratic nature of the Castro regime, recognized its achievements in bringing about a genuine social revolution, which had led to the restructuring of the country's economy and society. Even newspapers like the Toronto Globe and Mail and the Montreal La Presse and Gazette, while regretting the totalitarian aspects of the regime, expressed admiration for the degree of its success in improving the living

conditions of the Cuban people. Among the very few outrightly unfavourable comments were editorials relating to the Cuban government's having to ration gasoline and even sugar (1967 and 1969), and to an attempt by Cuban exiles to land in Cuba in 1970 and engage in Castro-style guerilla warfare; and a comment by Jan Drabek on CBC radio, Vancouver (reported in the Vancouver Sun, January 30/76) to the effect that "Cuba is a country which professes the creation of a just society, yet forces seven percent of its population to live in exile", and "holds some 50,000 political prisoners in its jails..."

The volume of comment in the early years was not great, rising when several reporters visited Cuba in December 1970 in search of the FLQ kidnapers of James Cross, who had been allowed to go to Cuba in return for the release of their prisoner. For some unexplained reason it was almost nil in 1972, and has been increasing steadily since then.

Cuban Policy vis-à-vis other Latin American Countries

In 1967 there were a good many editorials criticising Cuba for exporting revolution to other Latin American countries. The Toronto Telegram, July 31, 1967, complained of Cuban efforts "to destroy the so-called social democracies of the Americas, republics committed to wide social change but through non-revolutionary means...". The Halifax Chronicle-Herald, August 3, 1967, said that Cuba "is becoming increasingly a breeding place for revolution and insurrection". On August 4, 1967, the Toronto Globe and Mail had an editorial on Castro's "Organization for

Latin American Solidarity" (O.L.A.S.), which was promoting revolution in South America. Jean Martel, in an editorial in L'Action Catholique (Quebec), August 14, 1967, commenting on O.L.A.S., noted that poverty in Latin America provided fertile ground for revolutionary activity, and concluded that, "si l'on ne veut pas être obligé de faire face à d'autres Vietnams en Amérique du Sud, si l'on ne veut pas devoir y faire la guerre, il est temps de donner aux Sud-Américains les moyens de développer leur pays...". At this time, and over the next few months (when Che Guevara was killed in Bolivia), various commentators noted Cuba's "loneliness" and "isolation" arising out of its promotion of subversion in Latin America and the divergence between its policy and that of the Soviet Union. The Montreal Gazette, November 14, 1967, in an editorial called Cuba a bad investment for the U.S.S.R.; and the St. John's Evening Telegram,^{July 29, 1969,} noted that all was not too happy between Cuba and the Soviet Union.

During 1968 some papers pointed to evidence that Castro's revolutionary policy was not meeting with success; and on January 1, 1969, the tenth anniversary of Castro's rise to power, the Toronto Globe and Mail asserted that Cuban-aided guerilla movements in Venezuela, Bolivia and Peru had fizzled out, and noted that various Latin American countries were thinking of a friendlier stance towards Cuba. On January 10, 1969, the Ottawa Citizen declared that "Premier Castro's call to insurrection in the Americas seems to have become stilled", adding:

"With gasoline rationed last year, and sugar now, he evidently has enough to keep him busy at home".

In an article in the Toronto Globe and Mail, March 18, 1970, A.R.M. Ritter wrote that Cuba was placing "less emphasis on promoting guerilla wars and greater emphasis on making the Cuban revolution a success at home and vigorously selling the Cuban model abroad".

Over the next few years there was little comment on Cuban policy towards, and relations with, Latin America, until 1974, when disappointment was expressed at the failure of OAS, by a narrow margin at a meeting in Quito, to lift the economic boycott of Cuba. On May 24, 1975, ^{the Ottawa Citizen,} anticipating the lifting of the boycott, noted that "the spirit of détente is finally headed toward the Western Hemisphere". When sanctions were lifted, at an OAS meeting in Costa Rica on July 30, 1975, the move was generally welcomed by various papers.

Any impression that all was now sweetness and light between Cuba and other Latin American countries was dispelled at the time of the Prime Minister's visits to Mexico, Cuba and Venezuela in January 1976: James Ferrabee, Southam News Services, reported from Caracas to the Montreal Gazette, February 3, 1976, that the editor of an "influential" magazine had written in the current issue that Cuba posed a more substantial threat than it did in the 1960's to free Latin American countries, and that Venezuelans "must be alert to those who are lowering their ideological guard and indulging in the puerile game of playing games

with Havana"; and that a newspaper reported to be close to the government had "blasted the Trudeau visit to Cuba". In the same edition, the Gazette mentioned the Venezuelan President's coolness "towards Mr Trudeau's idyll in the sun with Fidel Castro". Also on February 3, 1976, the Ottawa Journal declared that "Mr Trudeau antagonized not only Americans but Latin Americans who have rightly viewed Mr. Castro as the most dedicated exporter of communism to the Western Hemisphere, and now to Angola".

United States Policy regarding Cuba

There was considerable volume of Canadian comment on United States policy regarding Cuba, almost always critical.

On September 26, 1967, the Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, disapproving the decision of OAS to subject Cuba to economic sanctions, expressed satisfaction that the United States had not succeeded in obtaining adoption of a resolution black-listing non-Communist firms doing business with Cuba. Subsequently there were favourable comments on Cuban behaviour in respect of various hijacking incidents, and on February 14, 1969, the Vancouver Sun welcomed the fact that the U.S. was at last talking to Cuba - regarding air piracy. On April 15, 1968, the Toronto Telegram had said in an editorial that "sooner or later the United States will have to make its peace with Cuba"; and on January 2, 1969, the Montreal Star predicted a gradual normalization of relations between the two countries. On June 25, 1969, the Charlottetown Evening Patriot noted that U.S. Black Panthers had not been warmly received in Cuba; and on July 29, 1969, the St. John's Evening

Telegram assessed the prospects of a modus vivendi between Cuba and the U.S.A. On April 14, 1969, the Montreal Gazette in an editorial suggested that Washington's bad experience with Cuba was prompting it to tread more carefully in dealing with Peru. In the Toronto Globe and Mail of March 18, 1970, A.R.M. Ritter suggested that a serious obstacle to reconciliation was being removed by Cuba's moving away from its earlier policy of exporting revolution. The Montreal Star, on July 28, 1970, commented that, in spite of difficulties, "a spirit of dedication" still placed many Cubans solidly behind Castro, and that "time alone should have convinced Washington to accept reality and aim for diplomatic exchanges and normal relations".

In the fall of 1970 the St. John Telegraph-Journal, September 28, the Montreal Gazette, October 5, and the Ottawa Journal, October 20, referred editorially to reports that the U.S.S.R. was setting up a submarine support base at Cienfuegos, Cuba, which obviously would be a matter of grave concern to the U.S.

The conclusion of hijacking agreements between Canada and Cuba, and between the United States and Cuba, almost simultaneously, was welcomed by the Montreal Gazette, February 19, 1973, and by Jack Best in the Ottawa Journal, February 22, 1973. In 1974 various papers noted signs that the United States and Cuba might be moving slowly towards a resumption of relations: in particular, Le Devoir (Montreal) in 1974 and early 1975 carried at least three articles or editorials on the United States and Cuba. In 1975, as it became apparent that OAS would lift the

the economic boycott of Cuba there was increasing speculation regarding the possibility of a resumption of relations between the United States and Cuba. On May 17, 1975, the Toronto Star carried a report from Washington by Val Sears to the effect that if the U.S. should recognize Cuba it would put an end to the irritations caused in Canada by the U.S. foreign assets control regulations - and cause Canadian exporters to face U.S. competition in the Cuban market. The latter point was made also by the Halifax Chronicle-Herald on July 17, 1975.

Following the action of OAS on July 30, 1975, lifting the economic sanctions, there was a spate of comments. On August 2, the Toronto Star wrote that the decision "puts a finish to a sorry era of United States domination - often downright bullying - of inter-American affairs...". On the same day the Ottawa Journal wrote that "a resumption of U.S.-Cuban relations would benefit Canada by ending an irksome impediment to our trade with Cuba, would mean that American-owned companies in Canada would no longer reject trade orders from Cuba...".

Also on August 2, 1975, the Montreal Gazette said that the United States would not be among the countries that would then re-establish relations with Cuba, and commented as follows:

"Although Cuba has muted its denunciations of U.S. policy and taken a tough line on plane hijackers, several issues remain unresolved, particularly compensation for property seized by the Castro government, estimated at about \$1.5 billion. So Washington, while finally agreeing to repeal the OAS embargo, will probably keep its own as a bargaining chip in negotiating settlement of the other problems.

"In the long run, the most important outcome of the OAS action - and the reason it has been so long coming - is that it may mark the final end of the Monroe Doctrine. By accepting the presence of the Castro government, the United States is saying in effect it is ready to accept governments in the Dominican Republic or Chile that it could not tolerate as recently as two years ago".

The Toronto Globe and Mail, August 4, 1975, asked rhetorically what the embargo had ever accomplished, and then answered:

"...It has poisoned the massive energies and resources Washington has poured into Latin America for more than a decade, diverting into a mindless guerilla warfare of ideology the assistance that could have broken the cycle of misery in countries where the population is growing more quickly than the scanty food supply. It has doomed the most powerful and wealthy nation of the hemisphere to be invariably on the side of the privileged elites, invariably opposed to reforms that would benefit the deprived majorities of Latin America, in spite of the glowing rhetoric of the Alliance for Progress.

"Certainly Premier Castro became a close ally of Moscow. But was this such a foregone conclusion when the United States clamped its own embargo on Cuba in 1961? Or did Premier Castro turn toward Moscow only after he had been rebuffed by Washington?

"Radical measures of land reform, radical redistribution of wealth, radical expropriation - all these have been mistaken too often for Communism when applied by Third World leaders whose only goal was to drag a deprived people up by its own bootstraps. Fidel Castro's purges of dissidents can be neither justified or condoned. But we are entitled to wonder whether they would ever have happened had he not had reason to fear that his revolution was in imminent danger from outside intervention..."

Earlier, from March 29 to April 2, 1975, David Lewis, M.P., Leader of the N.D.P., contributed four articles to the Toronto Star on impressions gained during a visit to Cuba. He wrote:

"Everything we saw and heard underlined the appropriateness of Canadian action and the folly of American policy..."

Prior to, during, and after the Prime Minister's visit to Mexico, Cuba and Venezuela in January 1976, some Canadian commentators referred at least by implication to the effects on United States policy towards Cuba of Cuban intervention in the civil war in Angola. This will be dealt with in the next subsection of this study, on Canadian policy towards and relations with Cuba.

Cuba's denunciation of the anti-hijacking agreement with the United States, which had been described as an "unfriendly gesture" by United States spokesmen, was the subject of an article somewhat sympathetic to the Cuban position by Georges Vigny in Le Devoir (Montreal), October 16, 1976.

Canadian Policy towards and Relations with Cuba

On July 25, 1967, the Montreal Gazette and other papers reported that Cuban security guards at Expo '67 were "spending their spare time imparting guerilla warfare tactics to subversive groups at summer camps ... in the Laurentians". On October 17, 1967, Robert Thompson alleged in a question in the House of Commons that Radio Havana was beaming a daily half-hour programme in French to Quebec listeners giving instructions in subversive activities and guerilla warfare, and another programme urging Indians and Métis in western Canada to rise in a "red power" rebellion. Three days later he was reported by the Globe and Mail to be repeating the allegation of July 25. On October 30, 1967, he addressed an

open letter on the matter to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Nothing more was heard of the allegations; but a letter to the Minister from Nova Scotia, dated February 9, 1968, asked what was being done about the alleged Cuban broadcasts. Meanwhile, Real Caouette, M.P., on December 4, 1967, asked a question in the House of Commons regarding reports that well known Quebec separatists were visiting Cuba frequently. An editorial in the Regina Leader-Post of August 24, 1968, queried the propriety of the Canada Post Office's carrying "at one of its cheaper rates" a magazine published in Havana by the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, with articles on guerilla strategy and techniques.

On March 28, 1968, the Ottawa Citizen and other papers reported that Paul Kidd, Southam News Services, had been requested to leave Cuba by the next flight, because of allegedly "incorrect conduct" during a previous visit.

The Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph of May 8, 1968, and La Presse (Montreal) of May 9 reported a bizarre suggestion made by Frank Hanley, member of the Quebec legislative assembly, to the effect that Canada should enter into discussions with Cuba with a view to determining whether Cuba would like to become part of Canada.

In his contribution to An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada (Stephen Clarkson, ed., already cited), Professor Ian Lumsden, while in general opposing increased economic aid to Latin American countries which "mainly helps to stabilize outmoded social systems", made an exception for Cuba.

Commenting on the 10th anniversary of the Castro regime, the Toronto Globe and Mail, January 1, 1969, suggested that Canada offer Cuba technical aid, arguing that "a bridge of this sort could teach Canada, as much as Latin American states, a lot about an experiment in development which has had its unusual successes".

On April 14, 1969, the St. John Telegraph-Journal expressed the opinion that Canadian policy towards Cuba might be having some influence on U.S. policy. It approved the Prime Minister's comment in Washington that Cuba might be a nuisance to the United States, but Canada could not believe that it was a menace to mankind.

John Harbron, in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs on March 17, 1970, spoke of the opportunities for Canada, in terms of trade, arising out of Cuba's request for Canadian participation in a dynamic social revolution - on Cuba's terms.

For the next two or three years there was very little comment on Canada-Cuba relations. When arrangements were made early in December 1970 for the kidnappers of James Cross to go to Cuba, there was a flurry of questions in the House of Commons, and A.D. Alkenbrack, M.P. alleged that the government's permissiveness in allowing Cuban embassy and consular officials to support revolutionary activities in Canada explained why it had been so easy to get the kidnappers out of the country. Alkenbrack urged the government to "close immigration from Cuba" in order to bar persons "who support subversive activities in Canada". In 1971 and

1972 there were questions regarding the negotiation of an extradition treaty that would cover cases of air piracy (hijacking); and in February 1973 several members of parliament welcomed the signature of the treaty.

By 1973 interest in Canada-Cuba relations began to increase. Andrew Brewin, M.P., contributed an article to the Toronto Globe and Mail of January 8, 1973, regarding a visit that he and two colleagues (Heath Macquarrie and Ralph Stewart) had made to Cuba. He recommended

- a) that Canada redress the trade balance (\$60 million to \$10 million in Canada's favour) by accepting more imports, e.g., by modifying the Commonwealth preference for sugar and buying more fish products;
- b) that CIDA should expand its aid programme;
- c) that tourism be encouraged, and that Canada provide aid for tourist facilities; and
- d) that Air Canada should establish a service to Cuba.

On February 5, 1973, the Ottawa Citizen welcomed the announcement of the beginnings of an aid programme which was "as justified as our assistance to any other developing country", and had "the added attraction of going to one which has been treated by some of its neighbours as a pariah". The paper went on to say that "Canada's policy toward Havana...may help dilute revolutionary fervor in that land and lessen its dependence on the

Soviet bloc...". The Montreal Gazette on June 19, 1973, published a highly favourable article on Canadian aid to Cuba, by Susan Reisler, United Press International.

Pierre Saint-Germain wrote in La Presse (Montreal), on August 13, 1973, that "Le Canada fait de bonnes affaires avec Cuba, mais il pourrait en faire de meilleures s'il n'était pas victime - plus que d'autres pays capitalistes - du blocus américain..."

Commencing in February 1973 there were stories in many papers regarding the case of Ronald Lippert, a Canadian who had been convicted in 1960 of smuggling arms into Cuba, and sentenced to 30 years in prison. The gist of the stories was that he had served enough time, and that the Canadian government had not done enough to get the Cuban authorities to release him. He was released in November 1973.

Under the heading, "Cuba's Castro would be welcome here", the Toronto Star on January 24, 1974, urged that Castro be invited. In the editorial the paper said that "economic and political relations between Canada and Cuba are improving steadily and, Communist though he may be, Castro is known and respected by most Canadians for his leadership of the Cuban revolution..."

In its issue of June 1974, Canadian Business commented thus:

"Trading with whose enemy? ... Canada should be developing its own commercial relations with Cuba, finding a way around U.S. laws..."

In an article in the Atlantic Advocate of November 1974, Heath Macquarrie, M.P., urged the expansion of trade with, and

the establishment of a direct air service to, Cuba. Questions in the House of Commons favoured the establishment of a direct air service, and the conclusion of a bilateral agreement on sugar; and there were questions on aid programmes, some indicating opposition to the continuation of aid when Cuba was getting high prices for its sugar, and to the granting of a "soft loan" when Canadians had to pay high interest rates.

On the occasion of the visit to Cuba of a trade mission headed by the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, La Presse (Montreal), March 24, 1975, published a report from Havana by André Beliveau, giving an optimistic account of trade possibilities resulting from Canada's policy towards Cuba. The Toronto Globe and Mail of May 13, 1975, published a letter from William Bain of Ottawa advocating more aid to Cuba, partly on the ground that "Cuba does not have the same access to a panoply of sources of convertible foreign exchange as most other developing countries".

The Prime Minister's visit and the Angola question.

When it was announced that the Prime Minister would visit Mexico, Cuba and Venezuela in January 1976 the United Church Observer (January 1976) wrote that the most significant part of the projected trip was the visit to Cuba, and then continued:

"The Cubans, with the help of Russia, have made their revolution work against the almost hopeless odds imposed by the American trade embargo; this is not to say we like or approve everything about Castro's policies or a Marxist state. Far from it. But it's better for Canada to help than to follow the American way of isolating Cuba...And if Canada is able to nudge the U.S. to a more realistic policy re Cuba well, it's about time."

On January 12, 1976, the Halifax Chronicle-Herald expressed the opinion that the relationship that Canada had maintained with Cuba had been more of words than of action; that results in terms of trade had not been impressive, partly because of the lack of scheduled transportation services; and that Mr. Trudeau's visit could be important "if, as a result of it, commercial relations between the two countries could be improved".

After the announcement of the Prime Minister's proposed visit, and before the departure date, it was revealed that Cuban troops were intervening in Angola. This caused members of parliament and others to suggest that Canada discontinue aid to Cuba until it should withdraw its troops from Angola; and to urge the Prime Minister to cancel his proposed visit, or, if not, at least to let Castro know in no uncertain terms what Canada thought of his Angolan adventure. Under the heading, "Trudeau's Cuban trip poorly timed", the Toronto Star, January 22, 1976, declared that

if the Prime Minister told Castro firmly that the Angolan adventure was "dangerous mischief-making" he would "produce sharp frictions which do not now exist between Canada and Cuba"; and that if Mr. Trudeau glossed over the issue he would "have betrayed both his own foreign policy and the Canadian public". The paper asked whether it was "in Canada's interest to be bolstering Fidel's prestige in Latin America at a time when the Cuban is engaged in his dangerous African adventure". Continuing, the Star wondered why the trip was taking place at all: the former Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Mr. Gillespie, and a 55-man trade mission had beaten "the Cuban bushes pretty thoroughly" in March 1975 and it was questionable how the Prime Minister's visit would add to trade between the two countries.

Also on January 22 the Winnipeg Free Press supported criticism that had been voiced by Mr. Diefenbaker and John Fraser, M.P. Asking how the visit would "appear to our associates and to the world generally", the paper asserted that, however embarrassing it might be, the Prime Minister's trip should have been cancelled.

Geoffrey Stevens, in the Toronto Globe and Mail of January 22, 1976, did not suggest cancelling the trip. He said that on Angola Mr. Trudeau would "have to tread a fine line", going far enough to express disapproval, but not so far as to antagonize Dr. Castro; and that he would wish "to consolidate Canada's position in the Cuban market before, as is inevitable, the United States resumes trade with Cuba".

Once the tour was under way, Georges Vigny wrote in

Le Devoir (Montreal), January 25, 1976:

".. interrogé sur le problème précis de l'engagement cubain aux côtés des forces du MPLA en Angola, M. Trudeau a eu l'habileté de rappeler que si nos relations ont pu se poursuivre avec le gouvernement de Fidel Castro, c'est précisément à cause de 'la politique indépendante et de non intervention du Canada'. L'accent, comme on le notera, est mis non pas sur ce que fait Cuba mais sur la manière dont nous, au Canada, percevons nos relations avec l'enfant terrible de l'Amérique ibérique. A un moment où l'Administration américaine monte en épingle la dimension cubaine du conflit angolais, l'implicite refus de M. Trudeau de condamner ce qu'il ne lui appartient pas de juger est plus efficace que les plus grands discours... A Cuba, il pourra être question des programmes bilatéraux, mais toujours l'aspect politique et la réaffirmation du respect mutuel seront fondamentaux"....

On January 28, 1976, the Vancouver Sun speculated that Fidel Castro had deliberately chosen the first day of Mr. Trudeau's visit to tell the Cuban people officially of the intervention in Angola in order "to rub it in to the West that he is pushing ahead with dangerous adventures, on behalf of the Kremlin...regardless of the policy of detente and the diplomatic niceties". Continuing, the Sun set forth a view rarely expressed in Canada:

"...In some circles in Canada there has been a tendency to portray Cuba as a gallant, unjustly isolated little Latin American nation, victim of American big business, doing its revolutionary thing against capitalistic odds.

" The record is adding up to show the Castro regime as a nasty kind of hit-man for the bosses in the Kremlin...."

Two days later the Sun wrote in a very different tone that it had no real quarrel with the Prime Minister's discussing various matters, including Angola, with Dr. Castro, but asked whether it was really necessary to shout, "Viva...Castro", thus saluting a man who had sought to undermine other governments by force. In its same issue the Sun published the text of a radio commentary by Jan Drabek,

CBC, Vancouver, under the heading, "Not at all a nice place to visit". Drabek cited Cuba's intervention in Angola, its maltreatment of four Canadians whose private plane had made a forced landing because of bad weather, and, ^{as cited earlier,} the alleged facts that, while professing the creation of a just society, it forced seven percent of its population to live in exile and held some 50,000 political prisoners in its jails.

In an editorial on February 4, 1976, the Vancouver Sun returned to the attack, saying that the Prime Minister's explanations in the House of Commons did not remove the paper's adverse judgment on the Cuba visit. It agreed with the Prime Minister that it is possible to disagree with another country and still retain "civil and commercial ties" with it, but added,

"...But if it were necessary to be civil to Fidel Castro, it was not necessary to exude the warmth - almost awe - that Mr. Trudeau demonstrated in Havana. It was not necessary to qualify his statement in Havana that he disagreed with Mr. Castro on sending Cubans to Angola by telling the world that 'it was obvious to me that Premier Castro had made this decision with a great deal of thought and feeling' and applaud Mr. Castro as a 'man of world stature' who is well informed about Africa..."

"There were raised eyebrows in Washington. There are likely to be more in Commonwealth countries including neighboring Zambia whose survival is threatened by the civil war in Angola.

"Whatever the gains in Canada's relations with Cuba, then, the doubts planted in other areas of our foreign relations would seem to outweigh them..."

The Ottawa Journal, January 29, 1976, was scathing in its criticism of the visit to Cuba, which it described as ill-timed, with no compensating gain, adding:

"...Mr. Trudeau gives Premier Castro a tinge of respectability at a time when his foreign policies should be condemned. Mr. Trudeau allows Mr. Castro to trade on Canada's international credibility..." In a further editorial on February 3, 1976, the Journal wrote of the "wretched timing of the Cuban visit" and the Prime Minister's "fawning over Fidel Castro", and declared that "Mr. Trudeau antagonized not only Americans but Latin Americans who have rightly viewed Mr. Castro as the most dedicated exporter of communism to the Western Hemisphere and, now, to Angola". A month later, on March 4, 1976, the Journal wrote of a tough speech by President Ford about Cuba, compared it with "Mr. Trudeau's inopportune, toadying words in Havana", and concluded:

"...Now that Mr. Ford has spoken out so strongly against Mr. Castro for his blatant aggression in Africa, Canadians should contemplate how the president (and most Americans) feel about Mr. Trudeau's dilettantish and self-indulgent encounter with Cuba's dictator. Canadians will ask themselves again how their interests are served in all this."

The view of the Toronto Star was summarized in the heading of an editorial on January 3, 1976: "The wrong time to praise Castro"; but in its same issue the Star published a report from Havana by Richard Gwyn under the heading "Trudeau's Cuba visit a gain for both sides". On February 2, 1976, the Star carried a report from Caracas to the effect that two Cuban aircraft carrying troops to Angola had refuelled at Gander ten days before the Prime Minister left Canada on his three-nation tour.

La Presse (Montreal), February 2, 1976, published a report from Havana by Marcel P  pin summarizing the results of the Prime Minister's visit, describing the "entente" between Messrs. Trudeau and Castro which had "largement d'ailleurs d  pass   les exigences du protocole..." In a further report on February 7, P  pin noted that many people at home and abroad regarded the visit as an expression of anti-americanism, and then argued that one should consider the real effects rather than appearances. He remarked that "Mr. Trudeau est devenu l'un des rares chefs de gouvernement de l'occident    pouvoir exercer une influence sur le chef cubain", and prophesied that his example would soon be followed by other western leaders; and he speculated that in fact the Americans probably regarded the visit "d'un bon oeil". Finally, he stressed the commercial objectives of the visit.

The Montreal Gazette of February 3, 1976 published a report from Caracas by James Ferrabee, Southam News Services, saying that "the Trudeau visit to Cuba was not appreciated by the Venezuelan government and perhaps other countries in Latin America"; that "when the visit turned into an open display of affection between the two leaders, adding to the prestige of Cuba and Castro everywhere, including Latin America, the bad may have outweighed the good"; and that "this first venture into Latin America may be a good illustration of how not to carry ...out" the "third option" in Canadian foreign policy. In an editorial in the same issue the Gazette took a positive view of the visit to Cuba.

Assessing the results of the Prime Minister's tour in a report to the Toronto Globe and Mail of February 3, 1976, Geoffrey Stevens described as a major irritant in Canadian-Cuban relations

the involvement of Cuban troops in Angola which would "presumably resolve itself once the war in Angola is settled" (unless Cuba decided to send troops into other countries). He also noted, however, that "surely it was useful for the leader of a country with close ties to the United States to talk into the night to Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro about world problems and politics".

Maurice Western reported to the Winnipeg Free Press on February 4, 1976, on the "mini-debate" on the Cuba visit during question period in the House of Commons. He wrote that it was difficult to escape a feeling that the visit was motivated essentially by an assessment of Canadian business interests. He said that foreign policy evidently could not accommodate anything suggestive of moral indignation: "Butchery in Angola is to be deplored but not to the extent of risking a diplomatic slight which might lead (perish the thought) to a cooling of relations with our friendly neighborhood butcher".

In a column in the Ottawa Journal of February 5, 1976, John Best wrote that "Mr. Trudeau owed it to his country to do two things: register Canada's unequivocal opposition to the Cuban intervention in Angola, and warn that it is incompatible with Canadian economic assistance to Cuba". Canada, he said, had no obligation to assist a country that was capable of sending troops to fight in a civil war thousands of miles from its shores. The same point was made by the Winnipeg Free Press on February 9, 1976.

Gilles Boyer, in Le Soleil (Quebec) February 6, 1976, saw the visit to Cuba as an expression of the "third option", a line of policy that he approved subject to its being pursued in such a way as not to antagonize the United States, "notre premier partenaire économique et politique". Recalling the missile crisis of the Khrushchev era, he compared the Prime Minister's visit to Cuba with the visits of United States leaders to Moscow and Peking. He regarded the "Viva Castro" incident and other expressions of friendship as normal courtesies, which "ont été d'ailleurs assorties de nettes réserves exprimées à l'endroit de la politique cubaine en Angola".

In an article contributed to Le Soleil (Quebec), February 10, 1976, and Le Devoir (Montreal) February 24, 1976, Professor Jacques Gélinas, University of Montreal, wrote that "la visite...s'inscrit d'abord dans le contexte d'une extraordinaire expansion des échanges commerciaux entre ces deux pays depuis deux ou trois ans". He supposed that the intention had been to have a businesslike visit, but that Mr. Trudeau had been overcome by the warmth of the Cuban welcome, and had responded in such a way as to help rehabilitate Dr. Castro's image in the eyes of the world, and to give recognition to the successes of Cuban socialism.

The Winnipeg Free Press, February 13, 1976, speculated as to why Mr. Trudeau was "so insistent that Cuba be not mentioned by name in the parliamentary resolution demanding the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola". In searching for possible answers, it recalled statements that he had made in Moscow (regarding "the overpowering presence" of the United States in North America

and its effect on Canadian life) and in Peking (regarding the "success" of the Chinese social experiment), and enquired whether Mr. Trudeau's goals were identical to those held by Dr. Castro.

The few letters to the press regarding the Prime Minister's visit to Cuba that were seen in connection with this study expressed a variety of views. John B. Maugham of Calgary wrote to the Toronto Globe and Mail, January 30, 1976, and the Montreal Gazette, February 4, 1976, to say that he doubted whether a communist leader would have visited Canada if Canada were engaged in aggression against a country where the future of communism was at stake; and he thought the Prime Minister had shown poor judgment and had acted contrary to the wishes of the majority of the Canadian people. Edmund A. Cape, Toronto, in a letter to the Globe and Mail January 30, 1976, said that Cubans saw themselves as fighting racist South Africa. He thought that Geoffrey Stevens, in urging the Prime Minister to express Canada's strenuous opposition to Cuban intervention in Angola, was displaying a touching concern, "especially in light of our lack of opposition to American military intervention over the last 20 years in Iran, Guatemala, Vietnam, Indonesia, the Dominican Republic, Chile, Angola and Cuba itself". Peter Rudin, in the Ottawa Journal, February 6, 1976, said the Prime Minister's words cheering on Cuba in general and Fidel Castro in particular were bad enough, "but the millions of dollars given Cuba are even worse - we are financing our enemies".

Departmental files contain about 50 letters or petitions to the Prime Minister or the Secretary of State for External

Affairs regarding the Prime Minister's visit, or the Cuban intervention in Angola, or both. About a third protested against what was regarded as Canadian support for the Cuban action: most of these were from individual anglophone citizens, and varied in tone from mild to vehement to abusive. Some reflected bitter anti-communist feeling, and a few expressed concern regarding the likely effect on our relations with the United States. Others compared the Prime Minister's "agreement to disagree" with Castro on Angola with the criticism of the United States for its intervention in Vietnam. A few letter-writers objected to the continuation of economic aid to Cuba: one thought that if Cuba could afford to send soldiers to Angola it did not need external assistance, and that the money would be better spent on Canadian defence.

It is significant, however, that more than half of the communications that were received expressed support for, or approval of, the Prime Minister's visit. Many of the letters appeared to come from very ordinary citizens who praised the Prime Minister and Mrs. Trudeau for the warm human qualities that they had displayed during the visit. Surprisingly, few of the people who took the trouble to write displayed leftist sentiments: one praised Castro and Mao, and thought that union leaders were trying to destroy our country through inflation. One lady deplored the Cuban intervention in Angola, but asked rhetorically whether the Prime Minister had ever been criticised for visiting Washington while the U.S. was involved in Vietnam; and she supported the Prime Minister's policy of an independent foreign policy for Canada and his attempt

to counterbalance the enormous weight of the U.S.

In a debate on trade in the House of Commons on March 1, 1976, Sinclair Stevens criticised the Prime Minister for visiting Cuba despite the reaction of our chief trading partner, the United States: "Perhaps the Prime Minister intends to drive away United States business with Canada". Lorne Nystrom, in the same debate, said that "we should trade a lot more with countries such as Cuba".

On April 1, 1976, the Toronto Star carried a report from Ottawa by staff writer Bruce Garney forecasting tough measures by the United States against Cuba which "would plunge Canada and the U.S. into the old trading-with-the-enemy row that lasted for years". On May 1, 1976, Bill Smith in the Halifax Chronicle-Herald prophesied that once the U.S. elections were over, "the gears will shift and Cuba-U.S. relations...will get shipshape"; and he argued that Canada should do everything possible in the meantime to "cement a strong place in the long-term Cuban marketplace".

Lee Belland of the Toronto Star wrote on November 1, 1976, regarding exporters' complaints that Cuban payments were frequently delayed because goods had to await Cuban ships.

Summing-up

To sum up, it can be said that Canadian interest in Cuba in the period 1967-1976 has increased; that Canadian opinion of the Cuban social and economic revolution has been marked by a surprisingly high degree of approval and even admiration, which has led to broad acceptance of, or at least, little objection to, aid programs; and that attitudes were tempered in the late 1960's

by Cuba's attempts to "export revolution" to other countries of Latin America, and since late 1975 by the Cuban intervention in Angola. The generally sympathetic attitude of Canadians to Cuba is undoubtedly due in part to a reaction against United States policy towards Cuba, for which hardly a single kind word by any Canadian has been encountered.

G. DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The closing of the Canadian Embassy in Santo Domingo, which was announced in December 1969, was criticised in a few letters to the minister, and in an article, "Canada's missing the boat in the Dominican Republic", by John Sokol in Commentator, April 1970. Sokol held that the closing of the mission was a mistake because of the increased level of Canadian investment, and because the Dominican Republic might be playing an important role in a "new set of international relations developing in the Caribbean". (Mention of the increased level of Canadian investment was a reference to an announcement that Falconbridge Nickel Mines, which had had a small operation in the country since 1955, would undertake a major expansion representing an investment of \$195 million). From time to time since then, ministers have been receiving letters from companies doing business in the Dominican Republic, from Canadians resident there, and from interested visitors, urging that an embassy be established.

On May 15, 1970, the St. John Telegraph-Journal expressed satisfaction that for the first time an elected president of the Dominican Republic had been able to finish his term. On May 20 -

that is, after the elections of May 16 - the Montreal Star was pessimistic: it referred to the "unimpressive victory" of Balaguer, and to "unsuccessful attempts [of Bosch] to regain office in the face of campaign practices that virtually assure victory for any candidate supported by the military, business and landed interests..."

The editorial concluded:

"...One fears that when the inevitable explosion comes it will be too late for the relatively sober Bosch reformers to hold back extremism."

On June 30, 1970, the Montreal Star reported that the Royal Bank of Canada branch in Santo Domingo had been held up by seven men in army uniforms; and a year later, on July 8 and 9, 1971, the Star and Le Devoir reported allegations that the Dominican police had organized the hold-up with a view to discrediting leftists.

On May 14, 1973, William R. Frye wrote in the Toronto Star regarding political conditions and "U.S. meddling" in the Dominican Republic. On July 9 of the same year the Primate of the Anglican Church sent the minister a copy of a telegram he had sent to the Dominican Republic alleging a repression of human rights. Micheline Drouin contributed an article to Le Soleil (Quebec) June 20, 1975, on repression in the Republic.

A highly critical account of Falconbridge's activities in the Dominican Republic, of its relations with the Dominican government, with allegations that the latter is corrupt and reactionary, is contained in chapter 7 of Falconbridge: Portrait of a Canadian Mining Multinational, by John Deverell and the Latin American Group (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1975).

In the summers of 1971, 1972 and 1973, small groups of Canadian students went to the Dominican Republic as volunteers to work on rural development and related projects. In 1969 a small French-Canadian medical team performed heart operations. In 1971 it was reported that the University of Windsor was collaborating informally with Michigan universities in providing technical assistance to the Dominican Republic under United States A.I.D. programmes.

H. ECUADOR

The St. John Telegraph-Journal, April 18, 1968, referred to Ecuador's establishment of a 200-mile territorial sea, and remarked that this and the actions of other states improved the chances that Canada's 12-mile claim would be recognized. The Ottawa Journal of May 3, 1968, reprinted an editorial from the Victoria Times in which it was noted that "while Ecuador makes arrests, this country continues to debate, or to shelve discussion on baselines..." and that "the South Americans apparently make their territorial laws stick..."

Apart from factual articles in Le Devoir, (Montreal), January 24, 1976, and the Toronto Globe and Mail, February 21, 1976, the only other significant article noted was that of the Montreal Post, November 22, 1975, which wondered why the Canadian government had been expressing increasing interest in Ecuador in view of the corruption and bad management prevailing there:

"Loans have been arranged, commercial missions have been sent, and Canadian investments have been encouraged. The question is - why?"

Departmental files contain a number of letters from Canadians resident in, or visiting, Ecuador, expressing the opinion that a Canadian embassy should be opened in Quito. (The embassy in Quito was closed at the end of 1969.)

I. HAITI

Haitian affairs and Canada-Haiti relations

French Canada has special ties with Haiti, the only French-speaking republic in the Americas: more than 400 French Canadian missionaries are working in Haiti; French Canadians are working there under CIDA programmes; many Haitians have studied in Quebec; and there is a sizeable Haitian community, including political exiles, mainly in the Montreal area. It is not surprising, therefore, that most - though by no means all - of the news and comment on Haitian affairs is to be found in French-language newspapers and periodicals.

There has been a considerable volume of comment on Haitian internal affairs, almost all of it unfavourable. The following brief references give the flavour of the comment:

- a) article by Ruben Salazar, "Haiti: Duvalier renforce sa domination", La Presse (Montreal), July 1, 1967;
- b) Editorial, "Wave of Terror", Toronto Globe and Mail, September 7, 1967;
- c) Editorial by Fulgence Charpentier, Le Droit (Ottawa), May 27, 1968, regarding bombs dropped on the

President's palace: "...la nation haitienne n'aurait pas le gouvernement qu'elle mérite";

d) Editorial, "Failure in Haiti", Ottawa Citizen, May 28, 1968;

e) Article (first of a series), "La Nuit sur Haiti", by Marc Chancerelle, Le Devoir (Montreal), June 20, 1968;

f) Article by Gordon Donaldson, "Papa Doc prescribed terror", Toronto Telegram, May 22, 1969; and

g) Article, "Opération survie d'une tyrannie", by Patrick Boucher, Le Devoir (Montreal), February 3, 1971.

In an article in Relations, février 1971, Yves Vaillancourt noted that President Duvalier had arranged that his son succeed him, and then wrote:

"...Le moins que nous puissions faire, c'est de ne pas accepter le rôle de complices où de témoins consentants...Il faut nous ouvrir à une solidarité active avec les Haitiens qui dénoncent la tragédie de leur peuple et cherchent les moyens d'y mettre fin".

He appeared to be suggesting what the attitude of Canadians should be, rather than what Canadian official policy should be.

Following the death of President Duvalier on April 22, 1971, and the installation of his young son as president, there was at first very little comment. A year later, Le Devoir (Montreal), April 29, 1972, published an article by Patrick Boucher, "Le grand bluff des successeurs de Papa Doc". On June 23 of the same year Le Devoir carried a report on demonstrations, organized by Haitian émigrés, against participation by Quebec in a "Festival des Fleurs" in Haiti, followed on July 7 by an open letter on "Tourism et misère à Haiti"

to a Quebec minister who had attended the festival. On December 1, 1972, the Ottawa Citizen, commenting on the arrival in Florida of 65 Haitian refugees, suggested that under the new president there had been some relaxation which at least had made possible the escape. The Winnipeg Free Press of December 17, 1973, published an article by Jerry Hamelin on "Slight Improvement in Haiti"; and the Toronto Globe and Mail of August 18, 1974, opined that "there has been a shift in the direction of the Haitian Government...toward sanity and a bit of decency". On August 30, however, Le Devoir (Montreal) published a "Libre opinion" article by Germain Legault, "Pourquoi les haitiens fuient leur pays"; and on December 7, 1974, Le Soleil (Quebec) published an article by Paule France-Dufaux, "Haiti: une vaste prison, un vaste campe de torture." At the end of 1976 Vincent Price reported to La Presse (Montreal), December 27, in an article entitled, "La dictature jette du lest en Haiti"; and on December 30, the Toronto Globe and Mail, published a Washington Star report entitled, "Life in Haiti better, but violence continues".

Refugees

On May 23, 1969, the Toronto Globe and Mail reported that the Catholic International Immigration Committee was urging that Canada admit some Haitian refugees who were in jail in the Bahamas; and four days later Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, in an editorial in Le Droit (Ottawa) pleaded for the admission of refugees.

Towards the end of 1972 and early in 1973, following the adoption of a policy designed to liquidate the problem of illegal

immigrants there were several articles, mainly in Le Devoir and La Presse, regarding the effect of the new regulations on Haitians. Claude Lemelin, in an article in Le Devoir, December 29, 1972, headed, "Le scandale de l'immigration haitienne", attacked the government for "la brutalité avec lequel les autorités fédérales ont appliqué les nouveaux règlements..." The following day there was a more moderate article in Le Devoir, and on January 15, 1973, Vincent Price, in La Presse (Montreal), explained what the government was trying to do. At this time there were several articles in the Montreal newspapers, in both languages, regarding the plight of Haitian refugees.

From October 1974 to January 1975 six protests were received regarding the deportation of Haitian political refugees who, it was alleged, were in danger of being imprisoned and tortured if they returned to Haiti: one was from an Ontario church group, one from La Ligue des droits de l'homme, Montreal, and the others from citizens in Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. In the House of Commons on November 5, 1974, Claude Wagner, MP, spoke of the applications of 828 Haitians for landed immigrant status, 90 percent of which had been denied: he characterised the Duvalier regime as one that "succombe aux caprices les plus effroyables pour se maintenir en place", and said that Haitians feared deportation because of the "triste sort" awaiting them at home. In January 1975 the Montreal Star published a report by a Canadian social worker who visited Haiti to investigate the cases of 28 Haitians who had been deported from Canada: he found that none had suffered reprisals.

On November 6, 1974, Robert Stanfield, MP, Leader of the Opposition, asked in the House of Commons whether there was

any special immigration programme for attracting Haitians consistent with the policy of recruiting francophones.

Aid Programmes

From time to time there were expressions of interest in private and public aid programmes. On June 12, 1969, the Toronto Globe and Mail reported on the work of a private group supported by Oxfam in installing equipment for distilling salt water. On July 7, 1970, the Montreal Gazette reported on a group of 225 young Québécois who had gone to Haiti for "working holidays", under the auspices of the United Nations Association. Le Devoir (Montreal), April 14, 1973, and Le Soleil (Quebec) April 19, published a statement made by Richard Dubois, Comité québécois Solidarité-Haiti, deploring the complicity of the Canadian aid programme in aiding the Duvalier regime; and also deploring support of the regime by Canadian and American capitalists, to whom the Haitian government had given vast portions of Haitian territory, and the support given by tourists. A very different view was expressed by William R. Frye in an article published in the Toronto Star, May 7, and the Winnipeg Free Press, May 29, 1973, regarding a power struggle within the regime which threatened to spoil the investment climate in Haiti, "which desperately needs foreign capital". Yvan Dufour, in Le Devoir (Montreal), September 21, 1973, criticised the establishment in Haiti of industries which used cheap labour to assemble goods imported and then re-exported.

Missionaries

Maintenant, mai 1970, contained a number of articles on

Haiti, in one of which it was stated that there were 421 Canadian Roman Catholic missionaries - one-fifth of the total number of such missionaries in Latin America. In an editorial, Maintenant recognized the sincerity of Canadian missionaries, but wondered whether, with the best will in the world, "nous ne sommes pas en train de faire d'Haiti une colonie de l'Eglise canadienne, particulièrement de l'Eglise québécoise." There was some correspondence in Le Devoir, commencing July 27, 1973, regarding the work of Canadian missionaries. On September 30, 1974, Le Devoir, published an article by Renaud Bernardin, a former Haitian, criticising missionaries for educating children of the privileged classes and thus contributing to the maintenance of the regime; criticising capitalists whose enterprises frequently resulted in peasants being dispossessed of their land; and demanding "un nouveau style de présence du Québec en Haiti".

Cultural Relations

Over the years cultural relations between French Canada and Haiti have developed. Le Devoir (Montreal), April 28, 1973, reported the formation of "L'Association socio-culturelle haitiano-québécoise". Delegations have attended legal, medical and other congresses in Haiti.

Conclusions

Summing up, it may be said that interest in Haiti has increased in the last ten years and that Canadian attitudes towards the regime of the younger Duvalier are slightly more tolerant, or at least less hostile, than they were towards that of his father.

J. MEXICO

In the period covered by this review there were probably hundreds of articles on Mexico's tourist attractions, and a large number on Mexico as a potential market for Canadian goods and services, or on investment prospects. There were also articles of a general nature, as well as articles and editorials on specific aspects of Mexican domestic and international affairs, such as Mexico-United States relations, communism in Mexico, community development, and agrarian reform - to mention only a few examples. Some were by Canadian journalists who visited Mexico or specialized in Latin-American affairs, and some were distributed by foreign news services.

Some of the articles and editorials were prompted by specific events or developments.

Unrest, 1968

Student unrest culminating in riots shortly before the 1968 Olympic Games attracted a good deal of editorial comment such as that of the Montreal Star of September 26, 1968:

"...The remaining hope is that the conflict will diminish...Mexico is too important to all of us, with a history that is inspirational for all of Latin America, to be allowed to slip into chaos or massive bloodshed...The onus remains on the government to remove those social and economic injustices that exist."

President Echevarria

The election of Luis Echevarria to the presidency in 1970 gave rise to an editorial in the Toronto Globe and Mail of July 8, 1970 on "The lost revolution". The paper noted a "steady deterioration

of civil rights"; remarked that the PRI had managed to keep the presidential succession with a small, conservative oligarchy; and supposed that Mr. Echevarria would "be faithful to his line". The Ottawa Journal of July 13, 1970 was more optimistic, headlining its editorial, "A new era for Mexico?"

The state visit to Canada of President Echevarria in the spring of 1973 naturally was the subject of considerable editorial comment, and of articles on Mexico. The Toronto Star of March 28, 1973 published an article by Professor Harvey Levenstein, McMaster University on, "Who is Luis Echevarria - and why is he coming here?"; and on March 31, 1973 an editorial saying that "Canadians will listen with particular interest to advice from the President of Mexico... because our two countries share the common challenge of preserving an individual identity in the shadow of the United States..." The Ottawa Citizen of April 2, 1973 remarked on the applause that greeted the President's assertion in his speech to Parliament that, "We struggle to make our progress more than a mere reflection of a metropolitan influence", and commented that Mexico's example should be followed. The Ottawa Journal of April 3, 1973 commented that "seldom has the visit of a foreign head of state made such an impact upon Ottawa", and welcomed the President's speaking out so strongly on multinational corporations and national sovereignty. On April 4, 1973, the Vancouver Sun in an editorial, "Mexico on the move", welcomed the Echevarria visit as making "a positive contribution to better understanding and closer liaison between two growing states on the borders of the U.S." Henry Heald, in the Ottawa Journal, April 4, 1973, expressed surprise at the lack of anti-U.S. sentiment in President Echevarria's declarations, and

noted that he had recognized the inadequacy of OAS and called for a completely reconstituted hemispheric organization. On March 30, 1973, Fulgence Charpentier wrote in Le Droit (Ottawa):

"...Le Mexique est le pays de l'Amérique latine avec lequel nos liens se sont le plus développés ... Cette visite pourra peut être donner une nouvelle impulsion, un sens et une orientation à la solidarité continentale, à l'interdépendance de plus en plus grande de nos pays et de nos peuples".

On March 30, 1973, the Toronto Globe and Mail asserted:

"...If Canada is to pursue an interest in Latin America on a bilateral basis... Mexico is the logical country to begin with. It has always been anomalous that relations between two of the three principal countries on this continent should be as indifferent as they have been between Canada and Mexico".

The following day the Globe and Mail's "Report on Business" had a "special feature report" on Mexico.

A. Tremblay, in an editorial in Le Soleil (Quebec) on March 29, 1973, remarked that "il est de l'intérêt des deux pays de maintenir d'excellentes relations".

The visit of President Echevarria prompted a Saskatchewan resident to write to the Secretary of State for External Affairs proposing that Canada provide economic and technical aid to the Mexicans, "who have been exploited by the U.S."

On March 26, 1973, a former Cabinet Minister, in a letter to the Minister, gave what he described as "a superficial view of Mexican-Canadian relations based on a ten-day visit": Canadians have an economic interest in developing bilateral relations, and Canadians and Mexicans have a common political interest to consult each other on relations with the United States and to support each

other in Washington.

Canada-Mexico Ministerial Committee

When the ministerial mission that toured Latin America in the fall of 1968 visited Mexico, it was announced that the two governments had decided to create a joint Canada-Mexico Ministerial Committee. The press reported the announcement but appears to have offered little or no comment. The first meeting of the Committee, which was held in Ottawa in October 1971, gave rise to a question in the House of Commons, but otherwise excited little interest.

Control of foreign investment

For several years Canadians, in considering ways to control foreign investment in Canada, have studied the Mexican system. In July 1971, in its Behind The Headlines series, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs published Foreign Investment in Mexico: Some Lessons for Canada, by I.A. Litvak and C.J. Maule. At the time of President Echevarria's visit articles on the subject appeared in the Ottawa Citizen of March 20, 1973, by Guy Demarino, Southam News Services; the Ottawa Journal of March 29, 1973, by R.U. Mahaffy; and the Toronto Star of April 4, 1973, by Professor Harvey Levenstein. Three months later, on July 3, 1973, R. John Lukas wrote in the Star that the Mexican legislation on foreign investment was said to be based largely on Hon. Herb Gray's report, which had been translated into Spanish and was "required reading" in certain Mexican circles. On October 15, 1975, the Star published another article on the subject, this time by Mark Gayn, who offered this comment:

"...There is one thing that nearness to the American

giant has done for Canada and Mexico: it has made them feel like first cousins. Each one feels she must do something about the United States' domination of her economy..."

Prime Minister's Visit, 1976

Prime Minister Trudeau's visit to Mexico in January 1976 provoked surprisingly little comment, being overshadowed by controversy surrounding the Cuban part of his three-nation tour. Before the Prime Minister left Canada Geoffrey Stevens, in a report to the Toronto Globe and Mail of January 22, wrote at length about the forthcoming visits to Cuba and Venezuela, but thought the visit to Mexico would be "a more routine exercise"; from Mexico he reported on January 26 that the talks there had been "largely a waste of time"; but from Caracas on February 3 he conceded that "it may even have been useful...for Mr. Trudeau to sit through the long-winded expositions of President Echevarria and his ministers on just about every subject under the sun". Georges Vigny in Le Devoir (Montreal) of January 26, 1976, after paying tribute to Mr. Trudeau as one "qui a aujourd'hui toutes les chances de comprendre et, surtout, de se faire comprendre", and stressing the importance of a "nouveau dialogue" as compared with any agreements that might be signed, wrote that "c'est surtout les explications données par le président Echevarria sur la conceptions qu'il se fait du SELA qui témoignent de la prise de conscience". James Ferrabee, Southam News Services, wrote in the Montreal Gazette of February 3, 1976, that the Mexican visit had been planned to show the flag and generate trade; and that the Mexicans had been "politely pleased" to see the Canadians but had not succeeded in their attempt "to

conscript Trudeau into an anti-American alliance". Editorially, the Gazette remarked on the same day that in Mexico the accent had been on commerce, adding that a move by Canada to full membership in OAS would "leave Mexico indifferent". The Ottawa Journal of February 3, 1976, was devastatingly negative:

"...For all the impact of the Mexican part of the tour, the Trudeaus might have spent that whole time sunning in Cancun. Nothing was achieved in Mexico with any consequences for Canada or for Mexico."

La Presse (Montreal) of February 5, 1976, summed up the results of the visit to Mexico thus:

"Le Canada a peut-être moins besoin du Mexique que le Mexique a besoin du Canada. Il reste toutefois que le Mexique demeure la porte d'entrée de l'Amérique latine. Par ailleurs, le Mexique a besoin de technologie et d'énergie, deux choses que le Canada peut lui fournir. En conséquence, un groupe de ministres mexicains viendront prochainement à Ottawa étudier la possibilité d'utiliser le réacteur Candu ainsi que la possibilité d'une coopération dans le développement de l'industrie électrique."

Two days later the paper's "envoyé spécial", Marcel Pepin, wrote of the visit to Mexico that it

"constitue une autre facette d'une même démarche: affirmer l'indépendance de la politique étrangère et commerciale du Canada, cultiver un nouveau marché qui grandit rapidement au sud des Etats-Unis, faire connaître la présence du Canada dans une région du monde où, par insouciance ou manque de besoin, on n'a guère fait d'efforts jusqu'ici pour s'implanter."

He noted that Canada and Mexico both wish to "atténuer l'influence prépondérante" of the United States on their respective economies, and that neither wishes to "affronter" their great neighbour.

Gilles Boyer, in Le Soleil of February 6, 1976, assessed the visit to Mexico in terms of trade prospects.

New Government in Mexico, 1976

News of economic difficulties facing Mexico at the time of the inauguration of President Lopez Portillo on December 1, 1976, provoked some comment. On November 27 Brigitte Morrissette wrote in La Presse (Montreal) of "La plus grave crise économique et sociale depuis des décennies"; and a few days later, on December 2, she contributed an article entitled, "Lopez Portillo prête serment sous le signe de l'austérité". The Toronto Star had an article on November 27 by Hodgson Budd on "Crime and chaos as Mexico gets new president", followed on November 29 by an article by Mark Gayn, "Land reform brings violence in Mexico", and on December 4 by an article by Harvey Levenstein entitled, "Mexico's new president takes over economic chaos created by mentor". On December 3, the Vancouver Sun published an editorial, "A sashful of headaches" (referring to the sash, an insignia of office, given to the new president by his predecessor). Xavier Uscategui assessed Mexico's prospects under the new president in Le Devoir (Montreal), December 21.

Mexican justice

From time to time there were news stories and editorials and letters to ministers and to the press regarding Canadian tourists who had had bad experiences in Mexico, and especially about Canadians who had been arrested and imprisoned and caught up in the slow-moving and allegedly corrupt machinery of Mexican justice. Some of the letters to the Minister and the press, and some of the editorials, were vehement in their denunciation of Mexico and, in some cases, of the alleged inability or unwillingness of the Canadian government to

take effective action on behalf of ill-treated Canadian citizens.

U.N. resolution on racism

Mexico's support in 1975 for a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly purporting to equate Zionism with racism and racial discrimination attracted adverse comment and caused numerous Canadian would-be tourists to cancel plans for visits to Mexico.

Aid, and cultural relations

There were occasional letters to the Minister from citizens proposing specific aid projects or cultural relations projects.

Mennonites

In September 1971 a private organization wrote to the Minister regarding a group of survivors and descendants of Canadian Mennonites who had emigrated to Mexico many years ago, and who now might wish to "return" to Canada in view of the approaching expiry of an agreement with the Mexican government for exemption from military service.

K. PARAGUAY

No comment on Paraguay has been noted.

L. PERU

The Canadian public's interest in Peru appears to be rather limited. Three events that attracted substantial press coverage were the coup d'état of October 3, 1968; an earthquake on May 31, 1970, to which the government reacted, with general approval, by sending

a Hercules and several Caribou aircraft that rendered most valuable service in connection with relief work; and the coup d'état of August 29, 1975. Each of the events provoked a rash of editorials and reports, mainly of a factual nature.

There were, of course, occasional editorials and articles at other times. The St. John Telegraph-Journal commented editorially on Peruvian affairs on several occasions: on October 30, 1967, regarding Peru's purchase of a dozen French supersonic aircraft, which was "sufficient to cause ripples from southern Chile to northern Venezuela"; on May 29, 1968, regarding the cutting off of U.S. aid to Peru; and on August 31, 1970, criticising Peru's "restructuring" of the automobile industry. L.N. Willmore expressed approval of the military regime's aims in an article, "Revolution in Peru: Working towards a new society" in the Toronto Globe and Mail, September 11, 1970. Le Droit (Ottawa), July 13, 1972, published an article by Fulgence Charpentier, one of a series of articles on "L'Amérique latine en marche". Daniel Toucher and Jacques Fournier contributed an article to Le Devoir (Montreal), January 4, 1974, on the Indians of the Amazon. The Winnipeg Free Press in an editorial on July 30, 1974, and Marilyn Dawson in the Toronto Globe and Mail of September 21, 1974, regretted the nationalization of newspapers in Peru. At various times reports from roving correspondents appeared in the principal Canadian newspapers.

Although Canada has a substantial aid programme in Peru, it appears to have attracted very little attention. The same is true of the work of Canadian missionaries, though it is known that

the Canadian Franciscans working in the Peruvian Amazon region are provided with aircraft by an organization known as "Ailes de l'Espérance". In the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence, on April 24, 1975, it was mentioned that the Canadian Save the Children Fund had a project in Peru.

M. URUGUAY

Comment on Uruguayan affairs has been very sparse. There were factual articles by David F. Belnap (apparently from a U.S. news service) in La Presse (Montreal), November 16, 1967, and by Marilyn Dawson in the Toronto Globe and Mail, December 30, 1972. John Harbron had an article in the Toronto Telegram, July 17, 1969, regarding the Tupamaros, urban guerillas in Uruguay, in which he wrote that "this kind of violence and upheaval may be the norm in Latin America republics for years to come..." George Bain visited the country and wrote articles for the Toronto Globe and Mail April 3, 4 and 7, 1970 - two on the economy and one on politics and terrorism. The Ottawa Journal, August 12, and the Montreal Star, August 14, 1970, had editorials on the Tupamaros. When the military gained supervisory control over the civilian administration, La Presse, Montreal, February 17, 1973, published an article by Charles David, "Uruguay: le pouvoir aux mains de militaires soi-disant réformistes." Following the dissolution of the Congress in June 1973 the only comment noted was that of Fulgence Charpentier in Le Droit (Ottawa), July 5, 1973, who wrote:

"...Le président Juan-Maria Bordaberry a chassé le Parlement et pris les pleins pouvoirs avec l'aide de l'armée. Cette dernière éprouverait une inclination marquée pour la ligne dure du...Bresil. M. Bordaberry...est un homme de droite. On s' imagine mal comment il pourra se maintenir en selle à la remorque de l'armée montée sur ses petits chevaux..."

On July 1, 1974, the Toronto Globe and Mail published a long letter from David L. Hitchcock, Dundas, Ontario, alleging a systematic suppression of human rights in Uruguay. Early in 1975 the Department received a copy of a telegram sent by the United Church of Canada to the President of Uruguay, protesting against the detention of a clergyman; and in 1975 and early 1976 the Department received several enquiries from academics regarding the fate of a Uruguayan mathematician believed to have been subjected to torture. On March 16, 1976, Le Devoir (Montreal) reported a press conference regarding torture and political detentions in Uruguay that had been held by the Quebec branch of Amnesty International and the Ligue des droits de l'homme; and on May 5 it published an article on the violation of human rights, by Jean-Claude Buhner.

On February 24 and March 15, 1976, questions were raised in the House of Commons regarding alleged torture in Uruguay, along with suggestions that the government express its revulsion and urge Uruguay to "end such monstrous crimes", and to accept an impartial international investigation. Following the ouster of President Bordaberry by the military on June 12, 1976, questions were asked in the House regarding two Uruguayan families that had been denied refugee status, and whose "civil rights would be in serious jeopardy should they be returned to Uruguay".

No comment was noted on the closing of the Canadian

Embassy in Montevideo in December 1969.

N. VENEZUELA

Venezuela is Canada's principal trading partner in Latin America. Imports, mainly oil, were valued at \$1101 million in 1975, and exports were valued at \$320 million. Because of the importance of commercial relations, and because Venezuela has had a relatively stable political situation most of the Canadian interest in the country has been expressed in the financial and business press, which has not been covered in this survey. An exception is the interest expressed in connection with Prime Minister Trudeau's visit in January 1976.

This is not to say that the Canadian public's interest has been exclusively related to trade. Since 1967, and especially since 1973, factual articles have appeared in the press from time to time. The Toronto Globe and Mail published articles on Venezuela by Marilyn Dawson on June 8 and December 14, 1974 and June 21, 1975; and a series of four articles by G. Stevenson from September 4 to 7, 1974, suggesting that Canada could learn from Venezuela's experience in handling foreign investment and in operating a state petroleum corporation. The Toronto Star published articles by Tim Lucas, on April 21, 1973; Mark Gayn, on June 28 and July 3, 1974; and Harvey Levenstein, on July 17 and 18, 1975. Gerardo Inchausti contributed an article on "Les prêtres rouges du Venezuela" to Le Soleil (Quebec), October 1, 1973. Claude Ryan visited Venezuela early in January, 1976, and wrote three articles for Le Devoir (Montreal).

On January 6, 1969, the Regina Leader-Post commented favourably on elections in which, for the first time in Venezuelan history, a political party surrendered power peacefully to a rival party. (The same editorial appeared in the St. John Telegraph-Journal on January 9.) On December 13, 1973, the Ottawa Journal commented editorially that "free elections being a rarity in Latin America, it is refreshing to note that Venezuela has held one".

On December 18, 1976, the Toronto Globe and Mail published an article by the president of Venezuela, Carlos Andres Perez, "Changing a Collision Course", defending the policies of the oil-exporting countries in relation to the economic development of the third world. This prompted S. Bruce Campbell, Carleton University, to write a letter, which was published in the newspaper on December 30, 1976, harshly criticising the use made by Venezuela itself of its oil revenues.

In a brief presented to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs on March 17, 1970, John Harbron of the Toronto Telegram, proposed that "our most meaningful aid and assistance in the longterm future should go into a large and underdeveloped republic like Venezuela..."

With only a couple of minor exceptions, references to Venezuela in parliamentary questions and debates have related to oil.

When the Prime Minister visited Mexico, Cuba and Venezuela in January, 1976, the visit to Caracas attracted more attention than the visit to Mexico, but less than the visit to Cuba.

The day before the Prime Minister's departure, Geoffrey Stevens recalled in his column in the Toronto Globe and Mail, January 22, 1976, that when Hon. Donald Macdonald, as Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, visited Venezuela in October 1973, the Venezuelans had proposed that Canada set up a state petroleum corporation to which the Venezuelan state corporation would sell oil, thus cutting out the multinational oil companies; that Petro-Canada had been set up in 1975; and that nothing had happened on the Venezuelan offer. Stevens wrote that Venezuelans felt that Canada was discriminating against them in buying large quantities of oil from the Middle East. He mentioned that the members of the Andean Pact, including Venezuela, had agreed to protect their industries, and that Mr. Trudeau might "find himself fighting to hang onto our existing small market in Venezuela". After the visit, on February 3, Stevens noted that the only major irritants in the relationships with the countries visited were the \$1 billion a year trade deficit with Venezuela, and the involvement of Cuban troops in Angola. Barring a collapse in world oil prices, he thought that the first problem did not seem susceptible to early solution.

On January 25, 1976, Marilyn Dawson wrote in the Globe and Mail of the use by Venezuela of its oil profits to develop its economic relationships with certain other Latin American and Caribbean countries, and in so doing to challenge Brazil's dominance of business in Latin America.

Georges Vigny, in Le Devoir (Montreal), January 26, 1976, wrote that "il nous appartient d'explorer plus à fond les possibilités du marché vénézuélien sans être écrasés par l'ombre gigantesque

du milliard de dollars en notre défaveur"; and he noted that the trade mission led by Mr. Gillespie in March, 1975, had opened up possibilities of selling \$600 million worth of goods, not to mention firm orders worth \$25 million obtained in four days. Vigny mentioned also the community of interest with Venezuela expressed in the joint chairmanship /by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs/ of the North-South conference on problems of development.

Reporting on the Prime Minister's visit James Ferrabee, in the Montreal Gazette, February 3, 1976, said that Venezuelans regarded Mr. Trudeau's policy on Cuba as naive, even dangerous, and that Canada's commercial relations with Venezuela might suffer as a result.

The Montreal Gazette, February 3, 1976, summed up the visit to Venezuela thus:

"...However cool he may have been towards Mr. Trudeau's idyll in the sun with Fidel Castro, President Carlos Perez was firm in his assurances that Venezuela was ready to try to redress the trade imbalance..."

Jean Pellerin, in La Presse (Montreal) February 5, 1976, wrote of the visit to Venezuela:

"De son côté, le Canada obtient l'assurance qu'il ne manquera jamais d'huile et l'on verra à ce que des démarches immédiates soient entreprises pour ouvrir de nouveaux marchés entre le Venezuela...et le Canada"

The Ottawa Journal, February 5, 1976, opined that the Prime Minister should have stayed at home. On the visit to Venezuela it wrote:

"The best that the government's apologists for the tour can claim is good intentions in Venezuela to help Canada reduce its balance-of-trade deficit. But they are only good intentions, and those are cheap...

"The talk about Venezuela buying Canadian products and Canadian technology is unconvincing. Canada's trading deficit with Venezuela is going to be significantly lowered only when Canada buys less oil from Venezuela. It is simply not in the cards that Canada will be able to penetrate the Venezuela market to the extent of making more than a marginal impact on the current \$1 billion annual oil deficit."

Marcel Pépin, writing in La Presse (Montreal), February 7, 1976, saw the Prime Minister's tour as an affirmation of Canada's political and commercial independence; noted the common interests of Canada, Mexico and Venezuela vis-à-vis the United States; and stressed the importance of the Venezuelan visit in commercial terms. He mentioned that Canada was Venezuela's second most important customer.

Gilles Boyer, in Le Soleil (Quebec), February 6, 1976, underlined the trade aspect, noting that "on a promis de combler le déficit". He mentioned particularly the possibility that Canadian technology might be employed in the exploitation of oil sands and in railway construction.

Coincident with the Prime Minister's visit to Venezuela, the Canadian Association for Latin America (CALA) held a conference attended by 175 Canadians and about 70 Latin Americans - businessmen, government officials, and representatives of international organizations. The programme included a luncheon at which the Prime Minister was the principal speaker.

0. CENTRAL AMERICA

The principal facets of Central American affairs attracting Canadian public interest were the hostilities between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969, a hurricane in Honduras in 1974, earthquakes in Nicaragua in 1972 and in Guatemala in 1976, and the continuing dispute between Panama and the United States regarding the Panama Canal; but there were also some comments from time on political conditions in the various republics, and, in one or two cases, on Canadian policy.

A comment of a general character was made by Carl Mollins, Canadian Press, in an article, "Central America looks for new friends", published in the Montreal Gazette, November 28, 1969. Mollins reported that people in Central America were asking "about what ever became of the ballyhooed Canadian review of its relations with Latin America".

Costa Rica

There were some human interest stories regarding President Oduber Quiros, a McGill graduate, and his Canadian wife. The Ottawa Journal, of May 13, 1975, published a story about a group of Canadians that was establishing a "Pueblito-Canada" in Costa Rica for abandoned children.

El Salvador

The only comments on El Salvador that were noted referred to the successful efforts of OAS to bring about a termination of hostilities between El Salvador and Honduras in July 1969. The Toronto Telegram (date not clear) explained the background of the dispute in an editorial.

Honduras

There were a few articles on internal affairs. Le Devoir (Montreal), February 2, 1973, published an article by special correspondents Daniel Foucher and Jacques Fournier, entitled, "Au pays de la United Fruit, un coup d'état bien ordinaire", regarding the coup of December 4, 1972, in which the civilian president and his ministers were ousted by General Lopez, commander of the armed forces. An article in La Presse (Montreal), June 9, 1973, took the line that the military regime appeared to have the support of the masses. In 1975 Le Devoir (Montreal), April 23, had an editorial note on the downfall of President Lopez following charges that he had accepted a bribe from United Brands; Harvey Levenstein contributed an article on corruption to the Toronto Star, May 21; and Marilyn Dawson reported on unrest and a demand for agrarian reform in the Toronto Globe and Mail, June 14.

Commenting on the destruction wrought by Hurricane Fifi, the Globe and Mail, September 24, 1974, wrote:

"...The only response worthy of our membership in the unity of all humanity is to do all in our power to help the surviving people of this stricken country...Canada is well equipped to play a large part in meeting these needs..."

On September 28 the Ottawa Citizen criticised Canada's slowness in providing help. In April 1975 La Presse reported on a fund of \$20 thousand collected in Montreal for relief of the hurricane victims.

In December 1975 the Department received a copy of a letter addressed to the President of Honduras by St. Paul University, Ottawa,

lamenting the assassination of a priest, and praying for the ending of violence and the coming of true justice.

Guatemala

In 1968 the Montreal Gazette, January 19, published an editorial, "Guatemala terror", in which U.S. activity was criticised; and the Ottawa Citizen, March 6, published a Chicago Daily News Service article, "Fear becomes a way of life in Guatemala". On September 2 the Toronto Globe and Mail commented editorially on the murder of the U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala, without criticising U.S. policy in the country. On September 5 the St. John Telegraph-Journal, in an editorial, "They vote with guns", blamed a Castroite group for the assassination.

John Harbron, writing in the Toronto Telegram, April 7, 1970, described Guatemala as "the largest and most deeply troubled of the tiny, restless Central American republics", and went on to speak of kidnappings and assassinations as "an outward and visible sign of the ever-growing unrest of Latin American societies".

Commencing February 4, 1976, a series of earthquakes wrought terrible devastation in Guatemala. The Canadian government, churches and other organizations responded quickly. There were many stories on the quakes and their aftermaths, and on relief and rehabilitation work done by Canada and other countries. Canadian concern was expressed in many editorials. The line taken by the Ottawa Journal, February 10, was typical:

"...Canada is sometimes thought to be aloof

from the affairs of Central and South American nations, and that judgment is true. But in this time of Guatemala's anguish, there should be no doubt of Canada's deepest concern and of its willingness to reach out through spiritual and material support in the name of a common humanity and as neighbours on the same continent."

Canadian correspondents visited Guatemala and sent back reports, including charges that "red tape" was delaying relief, and that powdered milk could kill starving adults or make them violently ill.

In articles published in the Toronto Globe and Mail, February 10 and 11, 1976, Robert Turnbull gave a rosy account of pre-earthquake Guatemala and a correspondingly unfavourable account of conditions in neighbouring Belize (British Honduras). He was soon taken to task by three correspondents who asserted that standards of living, literacy rates, etc., were higher in Belize than in Guatemala.

Nicaragua

There were press reports on the earthquake that devastated Managua on December 23, 1972, and on the assistance provided by Canada thereafter.

Panama

The St. John Telegraph-Journal, July 17, 1967, published an editorial on United States-Panamanian relations. In 1968 there were editorials in the Montreal Star, March 27, on "Tangled Panama", where two men both claimed the presidency; a similar editorial in the Ottawa Citizen, of April 11, followed by another on June 3 which

spoke of "sordid" elections. The Ottawa Journal of October 17 commented editorially on the coup d'état of October 11.

From 1973 to 1976 there were several articles and editorials in the Ottawa Journal, Citizen and Le Droit, the Montreal Gazette and the Toronto Globe and Mail and Star on the dispute between the United States and Panama regarding the Panama Canal. The only reference to a possible Canadian interest in the dispute was that of Guy Demarino, Southam News Service, in the Montreal Gazette, February 22, 1974:

"...Official Ottawa appears to be in no mood to discuss the future of the Panama Canal - yet that future is vital to Canada, and steps should be taken now to ensure that Canadian interests are safeguarded..."

He alleged that the Department of External Affairs was not interested in the problem; and he provided statistics of Canadian traffic through the canal to demonstrate its importance to Canada.

VII

ACADEMIC INTEREST IN LATIN AMERICA

The Canadian Association of Latin American Studies (CALAS)

Towards the end of 1967 a professor wrote to the Department of External Affairs regarding his desire to establish a programme of Latin American studies at the University of Waterloo. He mentioned that the University of Calgary had sent two representatives to the 5th Assembly of the Union of Latin American Universities, and that they had been the only North American delegates. He also mentioned that efforts were being made to establish a Canadian Association of Caribbean and Latin American Studies.

The efforts eventually bore fruit, and the Canadian Association of Latin American Studies/Association canadienne des études latino-américaines (CALAS/ACELA) was formed in 1969. Its purposes are:

- "1. to facilitate personal contact and exchange of information among those engaged in Latin American teaching and research in Canada;
- "2. to foster throughout Canada, and especially within the universities, the expansion of information on, and interest in Latin America;
- "3. to promote close links between Canadians and Latin Americans engaged in similar or related fields of intellectual endeavour."

In 1976 CALAS had 252 members, representing an increase of 26 percent over the membership in 1975. The association meets annually, usually with the other Canadian learned societies; but in 1971 and 1974 it had its meetings in Mexico City and Quito respectively and in 1977 it plans to hold its meeting in Bogota. In 1976 it inaugurated the publication of a journal with a very long title:

NS NorthSouth NordSud NorteSur NorteSul
Canadian Journal of Latin American Studies
Revue canadienne des études latino-américaines

Latin American Studies in Canadian Universities

The first article in the first number of the journal, published in April 1976, is one on "Latin American Studies in Canada", by Walter C. Soderlund, University of Windsor. In it he quoted a

report of 1964 by D.L.B. Hamlin, as follows:

"Spanish is taught at thirty universities; some attention to Latin America is given in approximately fifteen of these institutions, most often to Spanish-American literature. Some Spanish departments give a course variously called Civilization of Spanish America, Introduction to Hispanic Culture, etc. In other departments, there does not seem to be the same trend towards the introduction of courses on Latin America as there is on Africa. Approximately six departments of History provide a course on Latin America and a few others offer a course usually called History of the Americas, which gives some attention to Latin America. Ottawa offers a half-course, Inter-American Relations, in the Department of Political Science. In 1963-64, Loyola is introducing a course called Government and Politics in Latin America. Dalhousie is the only university to offer an economics course on Latin America: a tutorial group called the Regional Economy of Latin America is available to senior students. A course in anthropology, Peoples and Cultures of Latin America, is offered by Alberta both at its main campus in Edmonton, and at the Calgary campus where there are plans to develop Latin American studies in the next few years."

Professor Soderlund provided a table showing the number of institutions offering courses on Latin America, by subject area, in 1963-64 and 1973-74, as follows:

Subject Area	1963-64*	1973-74*	net change
Anthropology	2	12	10
Economics	1	6	5
Geography	8	14	6
History	11	21	10
Political Science	3	17	14
Sociology	0	6	6
Latin American Studies	0	5	5
Latin American Literature	16	23	7
Portuguese (lang. and lit.)	3	9	6
Latin American Degree Programs	0	10	10

He noted that whereas in 1963-64 the only academic disciplines which had more than sporadic coverage of Latin America in Canadian universities

were Spanish literature, history and geography, by 1973-74 these had been joined by Portuguese, anthropology, economics, political science and sociology as disciplines with reasonably adequate coverage.

Professor Soderlund found that the growth of Latin American studies had been concentrated primarily in Ontario, and to a lesser degree in the west, with Quebec and the Atlantic provinces lagging behind. He reported that the number of faculty members interested in Latin American studies was increasing dramatically: 90 in 1968-69; 139 in 1969-70; and 267 in 1973-74.

According to Statistics Canada the number of persons teaching Spanish in Canadian universities increased from 67 in 1967-68 to 151 in 1974-75.

In an article in the CALA Review, No. 5, April 1976, Professor J.C.M. Ogelsby included a paragraph regarding the Ontario Cooperative Programme in Latin American and Caribbean Studies, as follows:

"Some Ontario universities recognized the difficulty of trying to provide Latin American studies at the graduate level, when libraries and staffs were thinly spread throughout the provincial system. It has been virtually impossible for any one library to acquire holdings on as vast a region as Latin America; nor has each university had sufficient expertise to cover the entire region. So in 1969, Windsor, Waterloo, Guelph, McMaster, York and Queen's joined together to found the Ontario Cooperative Programme in Latin American and Caribbean Studies (OCPLACS). Western joined several years later. OCPLACS has not met all the initial expectations. It has been found hard to shift students around and the universities most distant from the core area of Waterloo-Hamilton-Toronto have rarely utilized the available professors. Where OCPLACS has been most successful has been at its bi-annual seminars, where students and professors have gone to a host university to listen to papers, to

attend panels or to participate in work-shop discussion groups. OCPLACS has provided a means of professional contact that might not otherwise have been available. These seminars have been open to the public and in several cases have been devoted to economic and business themes."

Writing in NEWSTATEments

Vol.1,

No.3, 1971, Herman Konrad reported that in November 1970 a conference at Carleton University, Ottawa, not organized by CALAS, brought together 70 specialists on Latin America (58 of them from Canadian institutions), representing fields other than language and literature. About 32 seminars probed "the complexity and diversity of social, political and economic transformations in store for Latin America during the decade of the Seventies".

With the increase in interest in Latin American studies several universities have been undertaking activities in Latin America. Some recent examples are:

- a) Since 1971 the University of Ottawa has been conducting an Andean summer field programme: in 1977 it will be in Colombia, where it will focus on human geography and development problems, and where participants will attend a joint meeting of the Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers and the Asociación Colombiana de Geógrafos;
- b) the University of Calgary conducted several courses in Mexico in 1976;
- c) the University of British Columbia proposes to have a Spanish language course in Mexico in the summer of 1977.

From time to time Latin American academics are invited to come to Canadian universities as visiting professors: in 1976-77 McGill University and the University of Guelph each received one such visitor.

VIII

ORGANIZATIONS

The principal organizations of people interested in Latin America as a whole whose activities have been noted in the preparation of this study are the Canadian Association for Latin America (CALA), the Canadian Association of Latin American Studies/ Association canadienne des Etudes latino-américaines (CALAS/ACELA), l'Union des Latins d'Amérique, and the Latin American Working Group. An organization concerned with relations with one country is the Brazil-Canada Chamber of Commerce. These organizations except for CALAS/ACELA which is covered in the section on Academic Interest in Latin America, are described briefly below. In addition there has been a fairly large number of organizations that have been set up to arouse public interest in the situation in Chile, to serve as pressure groups to influence government policy regarding Chile, and in some cases to help Chilean refugees. Some comprise individuals, and others simply coordinate the work of various bodies. There have also been a few organizations concerned with the affairs of other Latin American countries notably, Argentina, Brazil and Haiti.

Canadian Association for Latin American (CALA)

The Canadian Association for Latin America (CALA) was

established in 1969, replacing the previously existing Canadian Inter-American Association, which for some years had not been very active. CALA's basic aim is to involve Canada more deeply in Latin America, and vice versa. It hopes eventually to be concerned with all aspects of the relationship, including the social, the cultural and the academic; but in fact it has given its attention mainly to the development of trade, consulting services and investment between Canada and Latin America. It has established an information centre to answer enquiries on all aspects of Latin American life. It has arranged conferences of Canadian and Latin American business men some of which have been held in Canada, and the others in Latin American countries. It has organized conferences and seminars, sometimes in conjunction with the federal Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and once in conjunction with the governments of the four western provinces, for the discussion of trade and investment possibilities in Latin America. It has helped to arrange programmes for visits to Canada of Latin American business men, and for visits of Canadians to Latin America. It has held five major conferences: the first three were devoted to explaining Latin American economies and prospects to Canadians; and the fourth provided a forum for discussions with fifty business leaders from Latin America. The fifth conference involved the participation of 175 Canadians and 72 Latin Americans, and was held in Caracas in January 1976, coinciding with the visit to Venezuela of Prime Minister Trudeau, who was the principal speaker at a luncheon meeting.

CALA submitted views to the House of Commons Standing

Committee on External Affairs and National Defence in 1970.. It has had meetings with government officials in Ottawa. It is the Canadian member of the Inter-American Council for Commerce and Production, and maintains relations with the OAS, the Inter-American Development Bank, and other inter-American institutions.

Since April 1975 CALA has been publishing the quarterly CALA Review. It contains notes on economic conditions in individual Latin American countries, and on the activities of LAFTA (Latin American Free Trade Area), ANCOM (Andean Common Market) and other regional organizations. Most issues also have an article regarding the experience of a Canadian company that has been doing business successfully in Latin America.

CALA started out in 1969 with forty corporate members. By mid 1976, the number of corporate members was more than 130.

L'Union des Latins d'Amérique

L'Union des Latins d'Amérique, Montreal, was founded in 1940, with the object of promoting "le rapprochement des Latino-Américains et des Canadiens". It has provided instruction in Spanish and Portuguese (and to a limited degree in Italian) to thousands of French-speaking Canadians; and it has published information regarding the various countries of Latin America. The Union has been a perennial advocate of Canada's entry into the Organization of American States.

Latin American Working Group

This is an organization of individuals, with headquarters

in Toronto, which monitors government and corporate involvement in Latin America; provides information to the public on certain aspects of Latin American affairs, in particular, instances of injustice and violations of human rights; and acts as a pressure group on government and corporations. An example of its activity is a book, Falconbridge: Portrait of a Canadian Mining Multinational (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1975) by John Deverell and the Latin American Group, which is highly critical of the company's activities in various countries, including the Dominican Republic.

Brazil-Canada Chamber of Commerce

As has been noted in the section on Brazil, the Brazil-Canada Chamber of Commerce was set up in December 1973, with headquarters in Toronto. In 1976 it had 37 corporate members. Its objectives are to promote trade; to foster exchange visits by members of professional, cultural and business groups; to promote a better knowledge of Brazil in Canada; and to encourage the exchange of information and cultural material between Canada and Brazil.

IX

CULTURAL RELATIONS

There have been some references to cultural relations with Latin American countries in the section on Latin American studies and elsewhere in this report. There obviously have been many cultural contacts. The following are a few examples:

- a) Latin American students attend Canadian schools and universities, and considerable numbers of Canadians study in Mexico and other countries of Latin America;
- b) Canadian musicians, painters and other artists visit Latin American countries to perform or to present their works, or simply to study or work, and Latin Americans do likewise in Canada;
- c) There was a major exhibition of pre-Columbian Peruvian art at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, in the fall of 1976;
- d) Canadian films have been shown at festivals in Latin America, and Latin American films have been shown at festivals in Canada;
- e) Astronomers from the University of Toronto have worked in Chile;
- f) There has been cooperation among scientists in various fields.

In the realm of sport, Canadian teams took part in the Olympic Games in Mexico City in 1968, and the Pan American Games in Cali, Colombia, in 1971 and Mexico City in 1975; and Latin American teams came to Canada for the Pan American Games in Winnipeg in 1967 and the Olympics in Montreal in 1976. Early in 1975 Canadian Olympic athletes visited Cuba for training and for competitions with Cuban athletes. Canadian basketball

players have trained in Mexico.

X

CHURCH ACTIVITIES

Canadian churches have been active in Latin America for many years.

Roman Catholic Church

Testifying before the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs on February 10, 1970. Father Gérard Dionne, Director of the Canadian Catholic Office for Latin America, said that the oldest Canadian Roman Catholic establishment in Latin America dated from 1864, when the Frères de l'Instruction chrétienne went to Haiti. He reported that in the previous ten years the number of Canadians working in Latin America had increased from 1156 to 2115. (The latter figure included about 100 persons working in Anglophone territories in the Caribbean.) Canadians were serving in 19 Latin American republics, the largest concentrations being in Peru (409), Haiti (406), Brazil (320), Chile (209), Bolivia (131) and Honduras (131). Father Dionne stressed that the missionaries did not regard themselves solely as preachers of religion, but rather as men and women concerned with the social and economic conditions of the people among whom they were working. He spoke of the Church's attitude to the need for social reforms in Latin America, as follows:

"La révolution est un mot connu partout, mais probable nulle part dans le moment. Les contrôles se referment de plus en plus fortement au niveau gouvernemental. L'inquiétude des chefs semble être plutôt d'assurer la sécurité nationale que les réformes sociales. On semble parfois avoir une peur malade du communisme, mais on est peu efficace à en combattre les causes.

"Au niveau des évêques, l'Eglise elle-même est parfois divisée dans ses positions; elle

veut les réformes sociales. Sur cela on s'entend, mais quelques évêques par le moyen le plus rapide; d'autres par une évolution normale, fut-elle lente. Des deux groupes l'union pourrait être une force puissante. Nos missionnaires penchent souvent pour l'évolution rapide; mais par principe et pour ne pas compromettre leur liberté d'action et leur apostolat, ils s'en tiennent au domaine du respect des structures et des conditions actuelles, tout en essayant de favoriser les changements que la simple justice suppose."

According to the Conférence religieuse canadienne the number of Roman Catholic missionaries working in Latin America and the Caribbean was 1894 in 1971; 1636 at the end of 1974; and approximately 1500 at the end of 1976.

In 1971 there was a meeting between francophone Canadians and some Latin Americans regarding cooperation between "l'Eglise du Québec" and Latin America. According to Le Soleil (Quebec) (date not clear), the general view seemed to be that the Church was much more "vivant" in Latin America, and that Quebec had much to learn from Latin American experience.

Anglican Church

The Anglican Church of Canada had up to a dozen people working in Venezuela over a period of several years, but has recently discontinued its activities there. It provides financial support to certain activities in Chile, Paraguay, Argentina and Brazil, and through the World Council of Churches to programmes in various parts of Latin America. It has a special relationship with the Episcopal Church of Cuba.

Baptists

Canadian Baptists first established missions in Bolivia

in 1899, and still have between 20 and 25 Canadians working in that country. Quite recently four Canadian Baptists have inaugurated missionary activity in Brazil.

United Church

Since 1961 the United Church of Canada has had a small number of missionaries in Brazil, where they work with the local Methodists.

According to an article by Harvey Shepherd in the United Church Observer, November 1, 1969, the Canadian Council of Churches held a seminar on Latin America in the summer of 1969, and the United Church of Canada had chosen the Americas as its mission study theme for 1970-71.

Human Rights and other issues

In other sections of this study reference has been made to expressions of opinion by churches or by groups within churches on various aspects of Canadian policy regarding Latin America or specific countries. Churches have been especially active in relation to human rights and refugee issues, and latterly in relation to the alleged cooperation of Canadian corporations with repressive regimes.

XI

TRADE AND INVESTMENT

This study has not included a detailed examination of Canadian trade with and investment in Latin America. Accordingly, no attempt has been made to examine more than cursorily the voluminous material on Latin America that has appeared in the Financial Post, the Financial Times, business sections of daily newspapers, and business periodicals. From the small amount of material that has been seen the impression has been gained that the great majority of the articles are dispassionate accounts of economic conditions in the various countries, written with a view to interest exporters and investors, or are of the "how-to-do-business-in-Brazil" variety - and that the volume has been increasing. As exports to Latin America have increased from about \$470 million in 1967 to \$1269 million in 1974 and \$1251 million in 1975, it can probably be inferred that interest in trading with the area has been increasing. It should be noted, however, that exports to the rest of the world have been increasing, and that exports to Latin America as a percentage of all exports have remained almost constant: 4.2 percent in 1967, 4.4 percent in 1974, and 3.9 percent in 1975.

Canadian engineering and other consulting services have greatly increased their activities in Latin America in the last ten years.

Two Canadian mining companies have undertaken major investments - Falconbridge in the Dominican Republic and INCO in Guatemala. Three or four other Canadian corporations have increased their operations considerably, and a few have undertaken modest expansions.

XII

ANALYSIS

Conclusions to be drawn from this study are as follows:

- 1) There has been a modest increase in the Canadian public's awareness of Latin America, as evidenced by the establishment and growth of the Canadian Association for Latin America and the Canadian

Association of Latin American Studies; the marked expansion of Latin American studies and the teaching of Spanish in universities; the increase in investment, trade and consulting services; and the enormous increase in the number of Canadian tourists visiting Latin American countries. Genuine interest in Latin America is still confined, however, to a miniscule proportion of the population.

- 2) Most of the public attention to Latin America has been concerned for varied reasons with a few countries, mainly Chile and Cuba, and to a less extent with Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and Haiti. Attention has been concentrated on Chile, mainly for reasons related to human rights; on Cuba, because of Che Guevara and the export of revolution, sympathy for the under-dog (vis-à-vis the United States), Cuba's acceptance of the kidnapers of James Cross, admiration for the achievements of the Castro regime, Prime Minister Trudeau's newsworthy visit, and the Cuban intervention in Angola; on Mexico, in relation to the visit to Canada of President Echevarria and the visit to Mexico of Mr. Trudeau, to Mexican support of the U.N. resolution equating zionism with racism, to the plight of Canadians caught in the toils of Mexican justice, and to some familiarity with the country (not to be exaggerated) gained by hundreds

of thousands of Canadian tourists; to a less extent on Argentina and Brazil, largely for human rights reasons but also, in the case of the former, because of controversy over the sale of a nuclear reactor; and on Venezuela, largely because of oil and the Prime Minister's visit. Some attention was given to Haiti, mainly because of the presence in Canada of a considerable number of Haitians who have left their country because of opposition to the Duvalier regime. Peru, Nicaragua and Guatemala attracted passing attention because of earthquakes, and Honduras because of a hurricane.

A side-effect of the concentration of attention on particular countries is doubtless an increasing realization that Latin America is not monolithic.

3. Interest aroused by events in Chile and certain other countries should not be regarded primarily as interest in Latin America, but rather as concern for human rights; but there is some evidence that such interest has been more intense because the events occurred in our own hemisphere rather than in Africa or Asia.
4. Interest in OAS has declined, due to disapproval of OAS decisions regarding Cuba and in view of indications of waning interest in the organization in Latin America. Canada's decision to obtain permanent observer status in OAS was not taken by

the government as a result of substantial public demand; nor was it acclaimed enthusiastically or denounced vigorously. There were some expressions of approval of Canada's joining the Inter American Development Bank, but entry into the Pan American Health Organization and other agencies was largely ignored. It is unlikely that a decision to enter OAS would excite much interest, pro or con.

5. Although Canada has substantial aid programmes in Latin America, they generally attract very little attention. There is, however, good support for assistance in the event of earthquakes and other national disasters.
6. Although there has long been a tradition that French-speaking Canadians are more interested in Latin America than are English-speaking Canadians, it is difficult to avoid concluding from a consideration of the facts that the tradition is a myth. Among Canadian missionaries in the area francophones greatly outnumber anglophones. French-language newspapers probably have better news coverage than English-language newspapers, largely because they use material provided by Agence France Presse, which appears to have better coverage than English - language news agencies. On the other hand, English-language universities give relatively more attention to Latin American studies than the French-language

institutions, and organizations such as the Canadian Association for Latin America, the Brazil-Canada Chamber of Commerce, and the Latin American group are overwhelmingly or entirely anglophone.

7. Evidence of the relative paucity of interest in Latin America is the fact that there has never been a debate in either house of the Parliament of Canada, or in any parliamentary committee, on relations with Latin America or on the question of Canada's possible entry into the Organization of American States. The most that can be said is that there have been questions and answers and, occasionally, brief discussions on specific issues, such as the violation of human rights in Chile, the treatment of refugees, and the sale of a nuclear reactor to Argentina.
8. There has been no notable expression of opinion that Canada should not develop its relations with Latin America. Those opposed to participation in OAS were not opposed to Canada's becoming involved in Latin America, and in many cases positively favoured greater involvement.

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It will be noted that the material listed in the bibliography is almost entirely in English. There are two main reasons for the absence of French titles, as follows:

- a) In the course of the study no French-language books dealing wholly or partly with Canada's relations with Latin America were found; and
- b) There appears to be a tendency for writers in French to include discussion of matters of long-term interest in newspaper articles dealing primarily with recent events, references to which are to be found throughout the text, whereas writers in English tend to discuss matters of long-term interest in books and in articles that are published in university and other periodicals that are readily accessible.

It should be noted that a useful list of editorials and editorial notes on Latin America that appeared in four leading French-language newspapers from 1959 to 1973 is to be found in Etudes Internationales, Vol. VII, No. 3, September 1976. (See entry in bibliography under the name of Gay, Daniel.)

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The first issue of the Journal, which is published by the Canadian Association of Latin American Studies (CALAS), appeared in 1976. It has not been established as a regular periodical, but will be published from time to time. Articles may be in one of four languages - English, French, Spanish and Portuguese.

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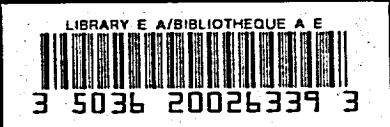
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